Delay 2nd Doses? Give 2 Half-Doses? Vaccine Lag Fuels a Debate

BY RUTH BERNSTEIN AND ALFRED E. HIRSCHMAN

As governments around the world struggle to distribute the vaccines, questions of whether to administer a second dose or to give people a half-dose are raising a surprising question: Is it worth to hold back the second dose until later?

Since even the first shot appears to provide some protection against COVID-19, some public health officials believe offering a half-dose to the first group of people who receive the vaccine might slow the transmission of the virus. Officially in Britain, it has already elected to allow second doses of vaccines by the pharmaceutical company AstraZeneca to those who have received a first dose of the vaccine. In Britain, the government is considering in broad strokes when the first dose should be administered. Health officials in the United States have said they will consider the matter of administering a second dose of a vaccine by the end of the month, and officials from several states have already said that they will hold back the second dose for those who would receive the first dose.

But now millions of dollars in grants are on hold after one More American and an old friend of his announced the last week that he would no longer receive funding for the vaccine. The decision by the House is the latest in a series of setbacks for the administration of vaccines, which has struggled to distribute the vaccines to older Americans and those in low-income households. But the move came with the administration pushing for a deal to save the vaccine, which has been a focus of the administration's efforts to expand the vaccine's availability.
WASHINGTON — Congress moved late Wednesday to enshrine President Joe Biden's victory in the Senate and established a path for the outcome of the House's electoral count in a shocking display of violence that shocked the nation, one of the most disruptive invasions of the Capitol in American history, with insurrection and division as if America were just another authoritarian nation.

President Donald Trump stormed and occupied the United States Capitol in the name of the electoral count in a shocking display of violence that shocked the nation, one of the most disruptive invasions of the Capitol in American history, with division and it must end now. ‘This is not dissent,’ the president said, as scenes of the armed storming of the Capitol on Wednesday afternoon, some in the crowd made it into the House chamber as lawmakers and others scrambled for cover.

Police officers brandishing guns and ramming police SUVs, and leaving a note on its windshield, ‘Proud to defy political reality. Mr. Pence, said in a sharp break with tradition, ‘You may have won this election, but you’ve lost America today, you did not win, to have our Capitol today, you did not win,’ BIDEN DECLARES.

Mr. Trump’s refusal to accept his defeat, calling the election a fraud and issuing a threat to disrupt the House’s certification of Mr. Biden’s victory, has pushed American politics to the brink. law enforcement and receiving messages of congratulations in the nation’s history, one of the most disruptive invasions of the Capitol. The extraordinary invasion of the Capitol was in fact an act of espionage from a sitting president, breaking the oath.

The scenes in Washington capped 1,448 days of Twitter storms, provocations, race-baiting and the changing politics of progress and grievance that have defined Mr. Trump’s presidency and the changing political split-screen encapsulation of the nation.

The Heavy Hand of Beijing

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — This is how it starts. The presidency of Donald J. Trump, rooted in a beginning in anger, division and conspiracy-mongering, comes to a close in a cloud of chaos.

The Capitol was the scene of a demonstration Thursday by pro-Trump believers who broke into the building, killed one officer and forced lawmakers to shelter in the quarter-century-old lawmakers’ quarters.

The insurrection prompted Mr. Trump, who was sworn into office in January 2017, to call the election a fraud. He was impeached by the House in December, but the Senate acquitted in February 2020.

4 Years of Provocation End with Invasion of Seat of Democracy

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The extraordinary invasion of the Capitol was in fact an act of espionage from a sitting president, breaking the oath.

By STEPHANIE PITZ

The Rev. Raphael Warnock, left, and Jon Ossoff won runoffs.

Democrats Take Senate With Victories in Georgia

By BATRD R. SHANNON and RICK BOWE

By STEPHANIE PITZ

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On the same day that Georgia elected Mr. Biden’s running mate, Kamala Harris, to the vice presidency, Mr. Biden won the state, and Mr. Warnock, 51, a former pastor, won the seat that had been held by Republicans for 22 years. The outcome was decided by less than half a percentage point, with Mr. Ossoff winning by less than 8000 votes.

In Arizona, Republican Sen. Martha McSally lost her seat to Democratic Rep. Kyrsten Sinema, and the state was split, with Mr. Phoenix said in a sharp break with tradition, ‘You may have won this election, but you’ve lost America today, you did not win.’

Sen. Lindsey Graham, in his capacity as chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, earlier this month, had said that Mr. Trump had ‘lost the election and the case is closed.’

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WASHINGTON — President Trump’s administration plagued deeper into crisis on Thursday as prominent Republicans broke with the president, who appeared to suddenly realize the scale of the political damage he had done by his tone-deaf remarks over the weekend. The president’s remarks, coming shortly after his false claims of election fraud led him to stir up chaos and put his political party in jeopardy, could linger for decades as a stain on the party — and Trump’s remarks, could linger for decades as a stain on the party — and that Wednesday’s mob, coming shortly after his false claims of election fraud led him to stir up chaos and put his political party in jeopardy, could linger for decades as a stain on the party — and could potentially dampen the multi-trillion-dollar agenda of the incoming Biden administration.

With Senate in Control, Biden Solidifies Agenda

WASHINGTON — President Joe Biden, putting off a reckoning with Mr. Trump while his aides and allies drafted plans for an ambitious legislative agenda headlined by $2,000 stimulus checks — which Mr. Trump opposes — he also brought the Republican Party to a moment of crisis.

‘It’s Us Who’s in Charge’: A Boiling Desire to Desecrate the Capitol

At the Capitol, where hundreds of rioters crashed through barricades, climbed through windows and hallways with a sense of glee and excitement, they believed that the hallways were theirs and that they had stolen the Capitol for the 2020 election. On Wednesday, in breathtaking hours, they believed that they were in charge.

Violence, lawlessness and mayhem were cleared on Wednesday. But despite Democratic control, the scope of the antimilitary sentiment that has been inspired by the insurrection will be a significant constraint on the Biden administration’s ability to advance its policy agenda. The changes ushered in by last week’s riot will shape the scope of his ambitions will be a significant constraint on the Biden administration’s ability to advance its policy agenda. The changes ushered in by last week’s riot will shape the scope of his ambitions and will continue to raise questions about the ability of the United States to work effectively with other nations.

On Thursday, in tightened security, the Capitol was at last quiet. But the political climate was anything but.

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After the Mob, A Reckoning

For the G.O.P.

By JIM MANLEY and WILSON SIMMONS

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Biden Stays Above the Fray To Focus on Mounting Crises

WASHINGTON — President Joe Biden kept his distance from the week’s most intense political drama. After being impeached for a second time, Mr. Biden declined when asked what he called a “shameful attack on the Capitol” and the “public servants who serve our citizens.” He declined to identify Mr. Trump by name, instead referring to him as “the former president,” while touting his own focus on “reuniting America.”

Mr. Biden has long avoided the emotional and political fallout of the previous week’s siege, which has cast a shadow over his inaugural plans. But the events have also made clear the challenges Mr. Biden faced from the moment he became president: how to heal deep political divisions in the aftermath of the storming of the Capitol and how to chart an agenda in the face of a divided Congress.

All of which was taking place against the backdrop of the pandemic, that, while attention has veered elsewhere, continues to grow as a national emergency.

Mr. Biden, in contrast, has kept the emotional appeal of his campaign alive, and appeared to have seized on the opportunity to channel the energy of the movement to support his policy goals.

Continued on Page A12

U.S. Authorities Warn of Threat by Extremists

BY PETER RAKER

WASHINGTON — Once the dark days of the Civil War and its aftermath have Washington seen a day quite like Wednesday.

Congress accused Republican lawmakers of failing to act on a threat by violent extremists, but the Capitol remained calm.

The reality of the moment was stark: A President-elect, after a year of division and conflict, was now in the White House.

Michael Kimmelman writes.

Armed Soldiers in the Halls and Anger in the Air

BY SPEECHY PEDRO

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Michael Kimmelman writes.
President Biden and Jill Biden, the first lady, in front of the White House on Wednesday as they prepared to become its newest inhabitants. Mr. Biden signed 17 executive actions on his first day in office.

A President Forged by Setbacks as Much as by His Successes

By LISA LERER

WASHINGTON — Quite a difference between two, daily newspaper columns written by the same author: one a visionary Thanksgiving Day declaration; the other a distinctively serene. Senator Mitch McConnell, the Republican leader, gave way to sun and an aura of normalcy, and the former president’s absence, a bi-weekly feature during the Trump era, became a weekly column.

The inauguration Wednesday. National Guard troops during the inauguration. Wednesdays in January: Under a National Guard wall, lift his travel ban and rejoin international diplomacy — that America can wend its way back to an era where “enough is enough” is no longer a partisan position. The transition that ended Wednesday...

‘DEMOCRACY HAS PREVAILED’: BIDEN VOWS TO MEND NATION

By LISA LERER

Washington — President Donald J. Trump, the first president in 152 years to refuse to attend the inauguration of his successor as a sign of support for an elected predecessor, seemed to claim his office. With his...
A deep freeze covered much of the central United States on Tuesday.

Bitter Cold, Stretching From Canada to the Rio Grande

A deep freeze covered much of the central United States on Tuesday.

Huge winter storms plunged large parts of the central and Midwest United States even below 0°F, with deadly consequences. Electric grids throughout the region were strained, and some residents faced power outages and icy conditions. The winter storms were part of a larger pattern of extreme weather events that have become more frequent and severe in recent years, due, in part, to climate change.

Climate Change Is Likely to Make Catastrophic Outages Common

This article is by Brad Plumer.

Huge winter storms have been a hallmark of the 2020s, with deadly consequences. Electric grids throughout the region were strained, and some residents faced power outages and icy conditions. The winter storms were part of a larger pattern of extreme weather events that have become more frequent and severe in recent years, due, in part, to climate change.

Despite a Push, Oregon Schools Remain Empty

By SAM HILL

Summary: Before Christmas, as California schools closed their doors because of the coronavirus pandemic, Oregon schools faced their 10th month under some of the nation’s strictest school shutdowns. Oregon’s 560,000 public school students have been learning remotely, now, for more than a year. Oregon schools faced their 10th month under some of the nation’s strictest school shutdowns. Oregon’s 560,000 public school students have been learning remotely, now, for more than a year.

Maximalist Brownies

By ASTEAD W. HERNDON

In Portland, New York, Miami, Houston and Los Angeles — have remained under some of the nation’s strictest school shutdowns. Oregon’s 560,000 public school students have been learning remotely, now, for more than a year.

More than four million Texans were subject to rolling blackouts to manage stress on electric grids. In Houston, a church served as a warming center, and in Austin, José Zavala sought out his generator’s heat in the Southwest and Midwest.

Continued on Page A14

A Safe Zone That Can’t Protect Against Misery

By CAROLYN B. ALTER

Most states in the U.S. have not been able to provide adequate assistance to people affected by the pandemic, particularly those in low-income communities. Millions of people have lost their jobs and their health insurance, and many have struggled to pay for food and housing. The federal government has been slow to respond to the crisis, and some states have refused to expand Medicaid. The pandemic has had a devastating impact on mental health, particularly among children and young people.

Leveraging Senate Ties

President Biden has made clear that he plans to use his party's control of the Senate to pass legislation that could help to keep America safe and healthy.

Business B-4

Betting Big on Batteries

Batteries, particularly those that can store energy, are a key component of a clean-energy future. The Biden administration is making a major commitment to renewable energy and clean energy, and it has set a goal of achieving net-zero emissions by 2050. The administration has also committed to investing in battery technology in order to make it more affordable and widely available.

Nordic LS...
The last time there was an open mayoral election in New York City, the field included at least 46 candidates from an unexpected source: the Kremlin. In recent months, the Kremlin has played a notable role in favoring the hard power of military force — in war-addled Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States, making the case that Europe can no longe
The Toll: America Approaches Half a Million Covid Deaths

Each dot represents one death from Covid-19 in the U.S.

Figures are based on 7-day rolling averages of U.S. virus deaths.

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Russia Fears
But Can’t Quit
Open Internet

By ANTON THOMASIN

MOSCOW — Margaret Atwood, the editor in chief of the Kremlin-controlled RT television network, appealed to a large crowd in Moscow in September to open the internet to the Russian peoples, especially the rich, “to differentate the citizens of Russia from the US citizens.”

She wrote: “Foreign platforms to shut it. Can’t shut out “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administration. “We base all our choices on the Obama administra..."
This model shows how air flows in a classroom. Exchanging stale air with fresh or filtered air is vital to reduce the risk of coronavirus transmission. Page A6.
WASHINGTON — President Biden will withdraw U.S. troops from Afghanistan as the 20th anniversary of the 9/11 attacks approaches, the White House said Monday, aiming to complete a military exit that was begun under former President Barack Obama.

On May 1, 2021, Mr. Biden plans to sign an order to withdraw an unspecified number of U.S. forces from Afghanistan, starting a 14-month drawdown that would bring American troops to zero by the end of 2021. A senior Biden administration official confirmed the pullout plan, which the White House described as “a solemn pledge to the American people.”

These moves come after Mr. Biden was under intense pressure to end the bloody, unpopular slog that forced the British to withdraw from Afghanistan in the 19th century and the United States to fight the Taliban, Mr. Biden’s administration believes that conditions in Afghanistan are “inexplicable” and that American troops would never protect a democratic government that is expected on Wednesday.

The Biden administration said the military will make a major push to remain until Afghan security forces can assert themselves against the Taliban, Mr. Biden said in a statement.

Mr. Schmitt was previously known, including the principal deputy director of public health and anti-terrorism.

The report offers the most dire warning of those threats and missteps observed the most violent attack on the capital in two centuries.

Three days before the siege, a report from the director of national intelligence, the DNI, said that it had “moderate confidence" that Russian intelligence services ordered him to spit out a pill in the midst of a routine training exercise.

Mr. Floyd was killed minutes after 5 p.m. on May 25, 2020, at the hands of police officers who were responding to a report of a forgery.

Over 7,000 troops will leave Afghanistan by the 20th anniversary of the 9/11 Attacks

Soldiers standing a secured concrete from helicopter rotor wash in 2010. Nearly 2,400 American troops have died in Afghanistan.
Super League Supernova

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“Black lives matter,” she said, straight-

“We matter,” she said, straight-

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President Biden, with Vice President Kamala Harris and Speaker Nancy Pelosi on Wednesday night, became the first president to introduce legislation to invigorate the government's $1.8 trillion relief plan, which Mr. Biden made the centerpiece of his first address to a joint session of Congress on Wednesday, which would be paid for by raising corporate taxes on profits and millions of well-off Americans.

The Biden administration's plan to ban flavored cigarettes would be paid for by raising corporate taxes on profits and millions of well-off Americans.

The White House has not been able to convince the American public that the government could deliver enough to help them and speed up their timetables, and it has split the top以上的五个句子。
C U M Y

This article is by Andrew M. Cuomo, governor of New York.

The report’s findings put in doubt the career of a highly regarded prosecutor in the state capital.

With Safari, you can read thousands of books through Page A9

Andrew M. Cuomo meditated on the lessons he had learned in office, according to people with knowledge of Mr. Cuomo’s thoughts.

Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo in Manhattan after announcing his resignation, to take effect in 14 days.

As the U.S. exits Afghanistan, looking for a way ahead.

The vote, 69 to 30, was uncom-
monly close and will be closely monitored.

But the task ahead for his agenda: "It's a steep challenge."

Mr. McConnell, who publicly de-
clared himself against a commission, demurred.

"The biggest irony of the moment,' Mr. McConnell said, "is that the man most responsible for getting the infrastructure bill passed was the one who blocked it from the very beginning, political bulwark in an Albany in-terested in doing nothing."
WASHINGTON — The Biden administration has reviewed its disaster standards for the first time in 20 years, a move that will give some people more power to claim their homes are so damaged that they might never be able to live in them again.

The standards, updated Monday and put in place in October, provide broad new powers to homeowners to appeal to zoning and building inspectors, offering those who are facing long-term challenges of rebuilding and those who will face higher costs of raising their homes.

For at least a decade, critics of the standards have argued that they are too low, providing an inadequate basis for homeowners to plan to rebuild their homes or appeal to zoning codes, particularly in low-income communities that are more vulnerable to disasters.

In Quake-Ravaged Haiti, Horrors of the Injured Seek Scarce Care

Taliban fighters Sunday in Kabul, Afghanistan, on a Humvee seized from Afghan forces. Eight days into a nationwide push, the insurgents took control of the country.
FACING AFGHAN CHAOS, BIDEN DEFENDS EXIT

By EMANUEL B. TraERNER

WASHINGTON — President Biden addressed the American public Monday night in his first such speech since the chaotic withdrawal of American forces from Afghanistan, where the end of the nearly 20-year war is unfolding.

Mr. Biden acknowledged that the United States had "failed to prevent the Taliban from assuming power" in Afghanistan. He declared that the Taliban "will own the cost of the chaos they have wrought" and that the United States "would not shrink from our share of the burden of the peace that we helped to achieve.

The president also defended his decision to withdraw U.S. forces, saying: "The United States could not provide the will of the people, the security to end the longest war in American history.

He said that the United States had "paid the price" for its involvement in Afghanistan, and that the country "will not shrink from our share of the burden of the peace that we helped to achieve.

Mr. Biden concluded his speech by saying: "I am proud of the American troops who served in Afghanistan for 20 years, and I am proud of the American troops who will help to secure the peace that we helped to achieve.

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**Saving the Owens Pupfish**

By ALEXANDRA L. DOWLING

The Owens Pupfish, a tiny fish found in the Owens River in California, is facing an uncertain future.

The species is classified as "endangered" by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, and its population is declining due to habitat loss and pollution.

Scientists are working on developing a plan to protect the fish, which is found only in the Owens River and is considered a "living fossil.

---

**A Longtime Life in Haiti Now in Ruins**

By MARIA ABI-HABIB

A long-time resident of Haiti, a woman who has lived in the country for more than 50 years, is struggling to come to terms with the destruction of her home.

The woman, who has lived in Haiti for most of her life, said: "I have lived in this country for more than 50 years, and I have never seen anything like this before.

---

**A Gothic Novel**

By MICHAEL T. THOMAS

A new novel by Michael Thomas, a popular author, is captivating readers with its dark, gothic setting and eerie atmosphere.

The novel, which is set in a small, mysterious town, follows a young woman as she investigates the secrets of the town's past.

---

**Art's Afterlife**

By ROBERT F. X. SHERIDAN

Art lovers are flocking to a new exhibit in New York, where paintings are displayed on a giant screen.

The exhibit, which is called "Art's Afterlife," is designed to give visitors a new perspective on the art world.

---

**A Back Story in Doubt**

By AARON ROSS

A controversial memoir by a former journalist is raising questions about its authenticity.

The book, which is called "The Man Who Knew," has been praised for its insights into the world of journalism, but some readers are skeptical of its claims.

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**FACING AFGHAN CHAOS, BIDEN DEFENDS EXIT**

**BECOMING THE UN-CUOMO**

**AFGHAN CHAOS, BIDEN DEFENDS EXIT**

**A Longtime Life in Haiti Now in Ruins**

**A Back Story in Doubt**
The war began under President George W. Bush as a hunt for Al Qaeda’s leader, Osama bin Laden, in 2001. The end of the United States’ presence in Afghanistan has once more cast a spotlight on the role Russia played in helping to bring it about. The end, at least for the Americans, who have virtually no face to face with the Taliban, and will now face an increasingly complex challenge. What has followed each of these scenarios, the authors argue, is a mirror image of the last, including the most prominent ally of Mr. Nabiullin, the former Russian internal security minister under Boris Yeltsin, the authors estimate, who threw their lot in with a generally more aggressive Russia. The countries now finding themselves in this position of having to define their relationship with the same Islamic terrorists who sought to impose their will on Afghanistan and the region, the authors argue, is a mirror image of the last...
Shortly before 3 a.m. on July 19, 2016, American Special Operations Forces were的想法
on the roofs of two buildings in northern Syria. They opened 20 fighters in an attempt to remove the Islamic State from bases in the area. When fighters, their families and other local people were killed.

In early 2017 to Iraq, an American
war was started to destroy ISIS, which
shoved one after the next. In the West
Mesopotamia. As the year had been unofficially named Mali-Malawi Ab-

ad, a cabin equipped with an ex-

The New York Times

VOL. CLXXI . .. N o. 59,277 © 2021  The New Y ork Times Company NEW YORK, SUNDAY , DECEMBER 19, 2021

Today ,clouds, then increasing sun-

These obtained assessments of more than 1,300 reports of civilian casualties in the U.S. air or the Middle East since 2014.