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## Democratic candidates make final Iowa push

Uncertainty looms over hotly contested race ahead of first caucuses

BY **MATT VISER**  
AND **DAN BALZ**

DES MOINES — The Democratic presidential candidates returned to Iowa in full force Saturday, using a brief break from impeachment proceedings to rally supporters ahead of Monday's caucuses with renewed pitches to an electorate that remains highly skittish and deeply undecided.

Joe Biden used his closing argument to present himself as the safest choice for voters worried most about finding a nominee who can defeat President Trump. Sen. Elizabeth Warren (D-Mass.), who like other senators in the race had been stuck in Washington until this weekend for the impeachment trial, made an explicit appeal to women — and pitched herself as the one who can, as signs behind her read, "Unite the Party."

Pete Buttigieg's campaign tried to rally the party behind his call for generational change, while Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.), using week-end concerts and rallies, sought to mobilize what many strategists here consider to be an army of dedicated supporters.

Several of the candidates played to overflow crowds, a contrast to earlier in the week when the absence of the senators damped the energy normally associated with the final days.

Virtually every campaign has come to predict privately that Sanders could turn out more people on Monday night than any other candidate. Due to the arcane rules of the Iowa caucus system, his rivals hope they can overcome

[SEE DEMOCRATS ON A11](#)

**Sunday Take:** Like impeachment, the election will be wrenching. **A2**

**Inside the feud:** Democrats worry about Clinton-Sanders divide. **A9**

**Iowa maps:** Where the action is, and what it takes to win. **A12**

**Touching:** After complaint, Biden keeps his hands-on approach. **A13**

ELECTION 2020



MATT MCCLAIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

Pete Buttigieg participates in a town hall event Saturday at the Oelwein Coliseum Ballroom in Oelwein, Iowa, as he campaigns for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination ahead of the Iowa caucuses, which will be held across the state Monday night. [More images from the campaign trail in Iowa, A14](#)

## Sanders and the specter of socialism

BY **SEAN SULLIVAN**  
AND **TOLUSE OLORUNNIPA**

DES MOINES — A handwritten sign posted inside a Bernie Sanders campaign office tells volunteers how to respond to concern about something that sets Sanders apart from all of his presidential rivals — his identity as a socialist.

"Affirm —> I get that! Labels can be intimidating," the sign instructs them to say, especially "those unfamiliar to us." It encourages them to say Sanders stands for "social equality" and "equal opportunity for all" and ends with a suggestion to "redirect" prospective supporters to other topics.

Three miles across town, in a Thursday-night rally here, President Trump was eager to talk about socialism, bringing it up in the first two minutes and return-

ing to the theme over and over: "This November, we're going to defeat the radical socialist Democrats that are right down the street," he blared.

As Sanders closes in on a potential win in Monday's Iowa caucuses and Trump sharpens a general-election message designed to portray Democrats as radical leftists, a heated debate is emerging over whether America is ready to embrace at least some aspects of socialism — if not a socialist president.

Sanders is portraying his agenda as a modern liberal movement, while Trump wants to conjure images of the old Soviet Union and oppressive foreign leaders such as Nicolás Maduro and Fidel Castro.

The president intends to return to the topic during his State of the Union address on Tuesday, ac-

[SEE SOCIALISM ON A8](#)



SALWAN GEORGES/THE WASHINGTON POST

Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.), a self-identified democratic socialist, is seeking the presidency.

## Blood banks in Kenya run dry without U.S. aid

Government in Nairobi was unprepared to take over transfusion services

BY **MAX BEARAK**  
AND **RAEL OMBUOR**

NAIROBI — When Sheilla Munjiru entered the world on Jan. 5, her skin was a sickly shade of yellow.

She had severe jaundice and urgently needed a blood transfusion, said doctors at the small-town clinic in Kenya's hill country where she was born.

But they had no blood. Neither did the doctors at a county-level hospital, so they sent her to Kenya's largest referral hospital in the capital, Nairobi. Even there, no luck.

Sheilla was born as Kenya's blood banks were beginning to run dry. The country had relied for years almost entirely on U.S.

aid for its state-run blood transfusion service, but the funding was discontinued in September.

The director of the service, part of Kenya's Health Ministry, said the support ended abruptly and prematurely, leaving Kenyan officials unprepared. But U.S. officials said a transition of responsibility had been discussed for 10 years.

The U.S. government gave Kenya \$72.5 million over more than 15 years through its global HIV/AIDS prevention program, called PEPFAR, to build its blood safety and transfusion infrastructure nearly from scratch — from the blood banks themselves to equipment and training. The aid was aimed at building confidence in blood collection so Kenyans wouldn't fear getting tested for the virus.

"The United States had consulted with the government of Kenya for several years on plans to transition this blood safety assistance to their responsibility,"

[SEE KENYA ON A20](#)

## Missteps, secrecy aided virus's reach

Chinese government did little to inform public as illness proliferated

BY **GERRY SHIH,**  
**EMILY RAUHALA**  
AND **LENA H. SUN**

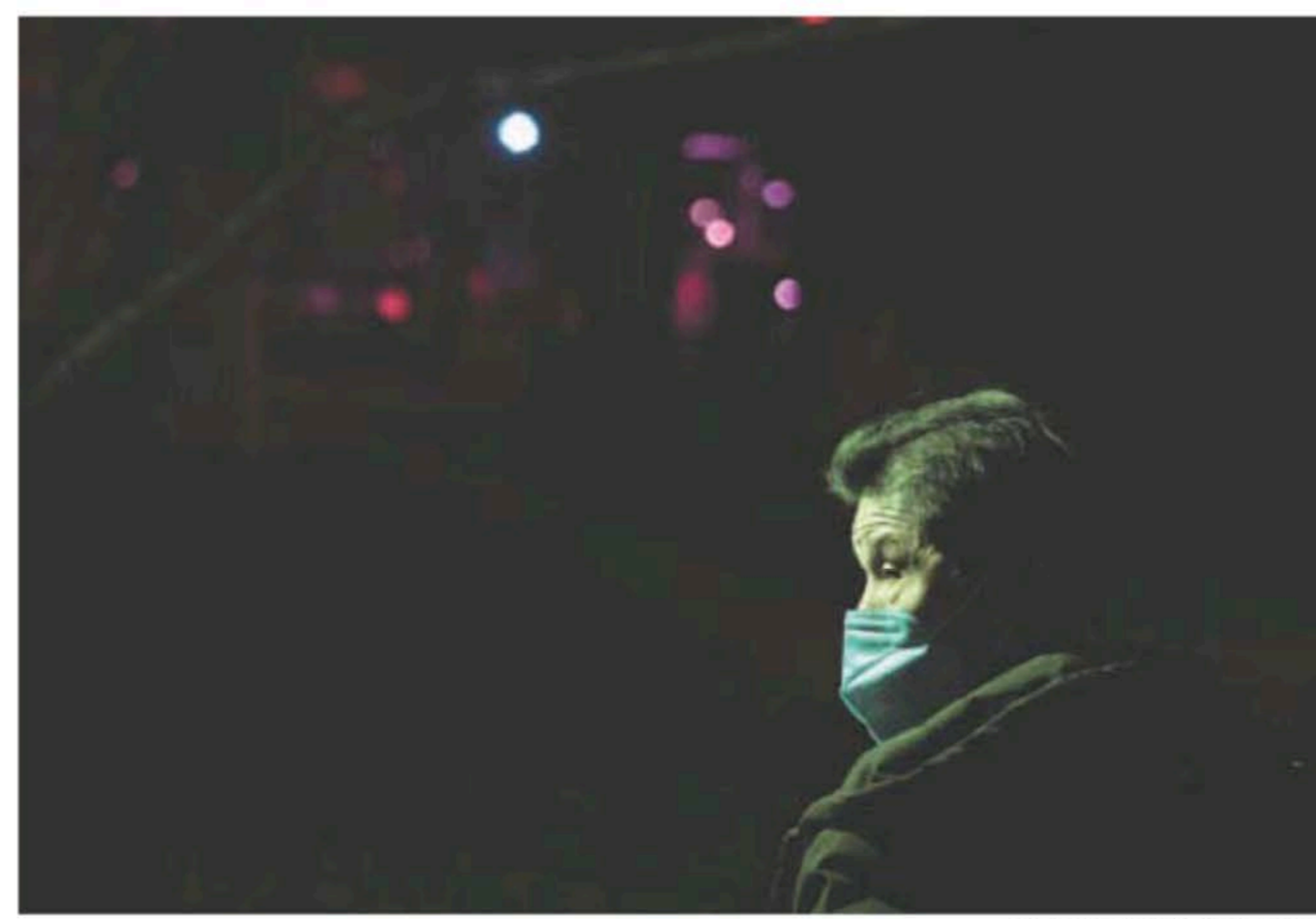
BEIJING — It was almost the Lunar New Year and Pan Chuntao was feeling festive.

He knew there were reports of a virus in his city, Wuhan. But local officials urged calmness. There was no evidence it was transmitted person to person, they said. They had not reported a new case in days.

On Jan. 16, the 76-year-old left his two-bedroom apartment to attend a government-organized fair.

"We told him not to go because we saw some rumors on WeChat of doctors getting infected," said Pan's son-in-law, Zhang Siqiang. "But he insisted on going. He said, 'The government says it's not a problem, there are no cases anymore!'"

Pan and his daughter may now be among the approximately 14,000 people infected with a new strain of coronavi-



THOMAS PETER/REUTERS

A man walks in a park Saturday in Jiujiang, China. About 14,000 people have been infected with the new coronavirus.

rus — an outbreak that has killed about 300 people in China, spread to more than 20 countries, disrupted the global economy and left 55 million people in China's Hubei province under an unprecedented lockdown.

Pan was one of millions of Chinese who mingled, traveled and carried on with daily life during the critical period from

[SEE VIRUS ON A18](#)

**A bigger risk:** In the U.S., the flu is a much larger threat. **A19**

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## Emails discuss Ukraine aid hold

MAY SHED LIGHT ON TRUMP'S REASONING

DOJ filing asserts full messages are privileged

BY **COLBY ITKOWITZ**

Hours after the Senate voted against seeking new evidence in the impeachment case against President Trump, the administration acknowledged the existence of two dozen emails that could reveal the president's thinking about withholding military aid to Ukraine.

In a midnight court filing, the Justice Department explained why it shouldn't have to unredact copies of more than 100 emails written by officials at the Office of Management and Budget and the Defense Department about the hold on funds to Ukraine.

Heather Walsh, an OMB lawyer, wrote that of the 111 redacted emails in the lawsuit, 24 are protected by "presidential privilege."

"Specifically, the documents in this category are emails that reflect communications by either the President, the Vice President, or the President's immediate advisors regarding Presidential decision-making about the scope, duration, and purpose of the hold on military assistance to Ukraine," Walsh wrote.

Democrats spent much of the Senate impeachment trial imploring GOP senators to allow new evidence in the case against Trump.

[SEE IMPEACHMENT ON A16](#)

## McConnell keeps ranks by isolating GOP rebels

BY **SEUNG MIN KIM**  
AND **RACHAEL BADE**

Inside the Mansfield Room at the Capitol, where Senate Republicans have held daily strategy sessions during President Trump's impeachment trial, senators began walking through their arguments on why they should block witnesses from testifying in the proceedings.

But at this lunch on Thursday, Sen. Mitt Romney (Utah) was getting visibly annoyed.

If this is meant to persuade me, Romney told his colleagues, it's not helpful, according to two officials with knowledge of the exchange. The senator, a near-lone GOP voice in seeking witnesses for the trial, felt as if other Republicans were singling him out.

That private remark illustrated how Romney has become a rarity in the Senate GOP conference and his party — the man Republicans rallied around for the presidency in 2012 was an outlier in a GOP bound to Trump and unwilling to challenge the president. That political reality helped Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) hold his conference together in preventing witnesses.

Ultimately, Romney and Sen. Susan Collins (R-Maine) — who faces a tough reelection in a Democratic-leaning state — sided with

[SEE RECONSTRUCT ON A15](#)

**@PKCapitol:** Trial leaves partisan Senate even more divided. **A4**

## SPRING ARTS PREVIEW | EXHIBITIONS



MUSEI DI STRADA NUOVA, PALAZZO BIANCO, GENOVA

"The Prodigal Son Expelled From the Tavern" (1630/1635), by Cornelis de Wael, a Flemish artist whose series based on the story of the prodigal son will be on view at the exhibition.

## Baroque gems of Genoa

National Gallery show spotlights works of artists attracted to the wealthy city in its golden age

BY PHILIP KENNICOTT

Wander through the world, especially the world of art and architecture, and Genoa keeps cropping up.

At a 2016 exhibition of Anthony van Dyck's portraits at the Frick Collection in New York City, some of the most sumptuous work on view was made during the artist's time in the Italian city. Stroll through Istanbul and one of the famous landmarks is the Galata Tower, a 14th-century Romanesque pile with panoramic views of the city. Like fortresses built in North Africa and the Crimea, the Galata Tower was built by the Genoese as part of their far-flung network of colonies and commercial hubs. Christopher Columbus, who made the world immeasurably smaller, was a sailor from Genoa.

It's an old lesson, essential to understanding the arts: Follow the money. Genoa had a lot of it, especially after it transitioned from a mercantile power to a banking one in the 16th century. Beginning in May, a National Gallery of Art exhibition titled "A Superb Baroque: Art

in Genoa, 1600-1750" will survey the golden age of its banking wealth, when all the conditions were right for it to become an artistic power as well as a financial one.

"They are the sole bankers of the Holy Roman Empire," says Jonathan Bober, senior curator of prints and drawings at the gallery. Genoa, like Venice, was also a republic, and an oligarchy. The city's leading families, he says, expressed their wealth "in a very contemporary way," through display, competition and emulation, and that made Genoa fertile ground not just for its homegrown artists, but for major artistic figures throughout Europe.

The National Gallery of Art's exhibition promises to be a sumptuous show, with about 130 works borrowed from public and private collections around the world, including paintings, sculptures, silver and works on paper. It also promises to be full of surprises, charting a history of interaction and cross fertilization between artists from Genoa and artists from the rest of Italy, and the Low Countries. Genoa, Bober says, was a curious mix, both insular socially and, as a maritime power, connected to the wider world.

"My elevator pitch for this was: This is the most spectacular early European art you don't know," he says. It is as rich and exuberant as other baroque styles, but it was driven by reticent oligarchs competing among themselves.

"Genoese baroque is as extravagant and spectacular as the Roman, but it is private," he says. And that remains true, somewhat, even today, with much of the art still held privately and not regularly on public view.

Among the great painters attracted to Genoa was Peter Paul Rubens, who visited several times in the early 1600s, painting altar pieces and portraits, including a large equestrian portrait of Giovanni Carlo Doria (a member of the vastly rich and powerful Doria family, which is famous today for lending its name to an ill-fated ship) that will be on view. Van Dyck arrived there in 1623 and made about 100 portraits. Other Flemish artists worked there, too, including Jan Wildens and Lucas and Cornelis de Wael (whose series based on the story of the prodigal son will be on view). The French artist Simon Vouet also had a Genoa chapter, and his painting of a

rugged-looking David will be on view along with Orazio Gentileschi's erotically charged "Danae and the Shower of Gold."

Genoa produced its own artists, some of whom, like Bernardo Strozzi, worked outside the city and became internationally renowned. But the exhibition promises an introduction to local artists who remain relatively little known. Among them, Bober says, are Domenico Piola ("at his best a remarkably synthetic painter and a superb draughtsman") and Gregorio De Ferrari.

"He is my absolute favorite, a fascinating character who was studying law and didn't even turn to art until about 18," Bober says. His virtuosic figures anticipate those of the French artist Jean-Honoré Fragonard a century later.

"A Superb Baroque" is billed as the first comprehensive survey of this material in three decades, and the largest of its kind in the United States.

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**A Superb Baroque: Art in Genoa, 1600-1750**  
May 3-Aug. 16 at the National Gallery of Art.  
[nga.gov](http://nga.gov).

## Paradise found — again

A Janet Echelman work returns to the Renwick, offering a chance to step away from city life into a space of beauty

BY SEBASTIAN SMEE

The Renwick Gallery — just steps from the White House — reopened in 2015 with an exhibit of nine large-scale artworks all aiming to induce oohs and aahs. The show was called, in fact, "Wonder," and by the yardstick proclaimed in the title, its biggest success was Janet Echelman's "1.8 Renwick," a sculpture made from undulating colored fabric suspended from the ceiling.

"1.8 Renwick," which is now in the Smithsonian American Art Museum's permanent collection, will be taking up residence again in the Renwick's second-floor Grand Salon, starting in April.

Echelman says she's excited about the work's reinstatement. "Maybe it's like a chance to spend time with a beloved friend who rarely visits," she wrote in an email. "Or for people who haven't experienced the work before, [it's] a chance to meet her."

The piece is part of Echelman's "Earthtime" series, which she started in 2010. "1.8 Renwick" was named for the number of microseconds by which the day was shortened when a single physical event — the 2011 Tohoku earthquake and tsunami in Japan, which led to the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear disaster — shifted the Earth's mass.

"We think of a day as a fixed quantity," Echelman says, "but the speed of Earth's rotation is constantly shifting in response to physical phenomena."

Echelman is an ambitious — and inspiring — artist. (Her popular 2011 TED talk, "Taking Imagination Seriously," is worth watching.) She was discovered and encouraged by Robert

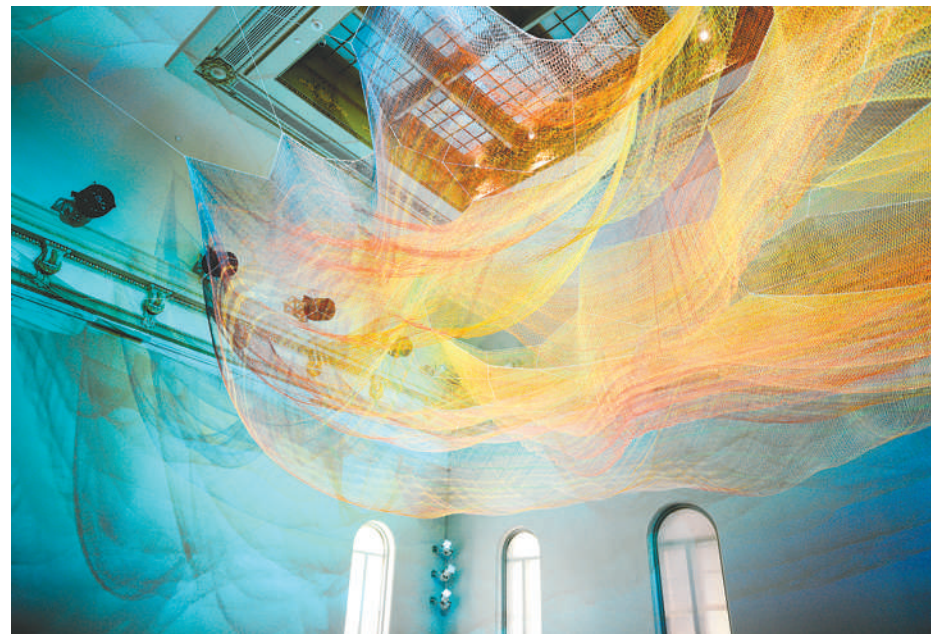


PHOTO BY TONY POWELL/JANET ECHELMAN/SMITHSONIAN AMERICAN ART MUSEUM/MUSEUM PURCHASE MADE POSSIBLE BY THE AMERICAN ART FORUM

**Janet Echelman's "1.8 Renwick," which uses about 50 miles of string and half a million knots, will be reinstated in the Renwick's Grand Salon this spring.**

Rauschenberg in Asia in the late 1980s. But it wasn't until 1997 — inspired by the artful bundling of fishing nets in a seaside village in India — that Echelman abandoned painting and more conventional forms of sculpture and began working with nets and woven fabric.

These days her sculptures are worked up from pen and watercolor sketches and physi-

cal maquettes in string, wire, foam and wood into sophisticated digital models developed in collaboration with architects and engineers. Those are then fabricated in looming and braiding factories in Puget Sound, near Seattle.

"1.8 Renwick" uses about 50 miles of string and half a million knots.

Echelman says she loves "the wisdom in craft." But she takes on daunting logistical challenges and eagerly embraces technology.

A crucial component of her work is the colored light she projects onto it. The projection is always changing, which means that a work like "1.8 Renwick" is "okay for a quick-see," she says, "but [it's] best to come with time . . . to take in the gradual changes of colored shadow drawing murals which slide across walls."

Expect audiences to do that exactly that.

Echelman says she feels "a need to find moments of contemplation in the midst of daily city life." She expects others feel similarly: "I love that the Renwick is free to everyone, and even if you have just a few minutes during your lunch break, you can come in and lie down on the soft carpet and look up at the intricate layers of knotted fiber and the projected shadow drawings. . . . If my art can create an oasis to contemplate the larger cycles of time and remind us to listen to our inner selves, that's all I could ask."

So: Bring your kids. Bring your loved ones. Make it a hot date. Or (maybe the best option?) come solo. Echelman says it takes 30 minutes to watch the entire cycle. The effects she achieves — not just at the Renwick, but also with sculptures that have appeared around the world, suspended between skyscrapers, over world-famous city squares, storied hotels and busy intersections — are captivating, calming and joyous.

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**Janet Echelman's "1.8 Renwick"** April 3-Aug. 14 at the Renwick Gallery. [americanart.si.edu/visit/renwick](http://americanart.si.edu/visit/renwick).