

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

THE WEATHER

Today, plenty of sunshine, still a bit breezy, high 60. Tonight, clear and cool, low 47. Tomorrow, bright and sunny with a milder afternoon, high 66. Weather map is on Page B12.

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THURSDAY, OCTOBER 17, 2024

Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



DAVID GUTTENFELDER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A school in Beirut that has been closed for years now houses 300 people from 80 families uprooted by Israel's war with Hezbollah.

NEWS ANALYSIS

War of Words In Campaign Gets Darker

Trump Hints at Using Military Against Rivals

By LISA LERER and MICHAEL GOLD

With three weeks left before Election Day, former President Donald J. Trump is pushing to the forefront of his campaign a menacing political threat: that he would use the power of the presidency to crush those who disagree with him.

In a Fox News interview on Sunday, Mr. Trump framed Democrats as a pernicious "enemy from within" that would cause chaos on Election Day that he speculated the National Guard might need to handle.

A day later, he closed his remarks to a crowd at what was billed as a town hall in Pennsylvania with a stark message about his political opponents.

"They are so bad and frankly, they're evil," Mr. Trump said. "They're evil. What they've done, they've weaponized, they've weaponized our elections. They've done things that nobody thought was even possible."

And on Tuesday, he once again refused to commit to a peaceful transfer of power when pressed by an interviewer at an economic forum in Chicago.

With early voting underway in key battlegrounds, the race for the White House is moving toward Election Day in an extraordinary and sobering fashion. Mr. Trump has long flirted with, if not openly endorsed, antidemocratic tendencies with his continued refusal to accept the results of the 2020 election, embrace of conspiracy theories of large-scale voter fraud and accusations that the justice system is being weaponized against him. He has praised leaders including President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia and Prime Minister Viktor Orban of Hungary for being authoritarian strongmen.

But never before has a presidential nominee — let alone a former president — openly suggested turning the military on U.S. citizens simply because they oppose his candidacy. As he escalates his threats of political retribution, Mr. Trump is offering voters the choice of a very different, and far less democratic, form of American government.

"There is not a case in American history where a presidential candidate has run for office on a promise that they would exact retribution against anyone they perceive as not supporting them in the campaign," said Ian Baszin, a former associate White House press secretary.

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POLITICS SHADES SECURITY THREAT AGAINST TRUMP

FEARS AND SUSPICIONS

Candidate's Safety Turns on U.S. Agencies He Calls Hostile

This article is by Jonathan Swan, Maggie Haberman, Julian E. Barnes, Eileen Sullivan, Kate Kelly and Devlin Barrett.

He has been the target of two would-be assassins in a matter of months. The intelligence agencies have told him that Iran is still threatening to kill him, and Iranian hackers got into the email accounts of his aides.

Those developments have left former President Donald J. Trump and his staff fearful, frustrated and dependent for the candidate's safety on federal agencies at the heart of what Mr. Trump has long portrayed as a hostile "deep state."

But Mr. Trump and his team have also seized on his predicament for political ends, suggesting without evidence that the situation is at least partly the fault of the Biden-Harris administration for being unwilling to provide him the protection he needs to travel the country freely and meet voters on his terms.

Mr. Trump approaches Election Day as simultaneously a subject of federal prosecution, a candidate who has threatened to fire much of the federal bureaucracy and a target dependent for information and protection on the same agencies likely to endure his retribution should he take office again.

Interviews with people close to Mr. Trump and officials across the federal government reveal how deeply unnerved the Trump campaign has been by the assassination attempts and the Iranian threats and hacking — and how the American security apparatus has responded.

At the same time, as Mr. Trump attacks and politicizes the agencies, he has also

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HAIYUN JIANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
The former president distrusts what he calls the "deep state."

In Just a Week, a Million People in Lebanon Have Been Displaced

By ALISSA J. RUBIN

TRIPOLI, Lebanon — At dusk, the parking lot of Tripoli's Quality Inn is packed with cars and families milling about. Children's shouts fill the air, reminding some of better times, when the hotel hosted weddings and birthdays parties.

Now, though, the cars in the lot are dusty and battered, the families sit on patches of grass, their faces worn with worry, and the children play in a drained swimming pool.

That is because the Quality Inn has been transformed into one of the biggest shelters in Tripoli for displaced Lebanese fleeing Israeli bombing in the country's south.

"I am lucky. I am with my whole family, and we just want this war to end so we can go home," said Hassan al-Aaker, 54, voicing a rare note of optimism even though he has no idea whether his house near the southern coastal city of Tyre will still be standing when he finally does go home.

In Lebanon, the displaced are

Sleeping in Schools, in Parks, by the Sea

practically everywhere. In Beirut, the capital, where many are staying, they have set up makeshift tents on the corniche by the sea, crafting shelters out of stray metal poles, bits of awnings and blankets. In the city's parks and squares, some families have placed floor coverings on the

ground, anchoring them with cases of water and folded blankets. Others are taking shelter anywhere that they can, mostly in schools but also in unfinished buildings.

The Lebanese government postponed the start of the school year and designated 1,000 schools as shelters, Ivo Freijzen, the Lebanon representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, said in an interview. Tourist hotels — there are many in

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Virtual Workers Take the Money For a New Life

By EMMA GOLDBERG

Business leaders and local officials in Tulsa, Okla., puzzled for years over how to fill the hole created when young people left for big coastal cities. What, they wondered, could keep professionals rooted in the heartland?

They ended up turning that premise on its head: Rather than fighting to hold on to native Tulsans, they decided to recruit outsiders. In recent years, the rise of virtual work opened up a new way of responding to the city's brain drain.

Five years after the George Kaiser Family Foundation began offering \$10,000 to remote workers willing to move to Tulsa for at least a year, some 3,300 people have taken up the offer.

Steven Briggs, 55, was working remotely as a data scientist in Dallas when he applied for the program, Tulsa Remote. He and his wife moved to Tulsa in 2021, and he jokes that his new hometown embodies the flip side of the famous line about New York City: "What you can say about Tulsa is 'If you can't make it anywhere, you can make it here.'"

The sudden onset of remote work during the pandemic prompted plenty of cities and states — Topeka, Kan., and Savannah, Ga.; West Virginia and northwestern Arkansas — to vie for new residents with programs offering cash incentives. Tulsa's program is one of the largest. Researchers at Harvard and other universities examined the effects of Tulsa Remote, wondering whether it was proving a good deal for the remote workers and the city itself.

Their research, released this week, found that Tulsa Remote

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PHOTOGRAPHS BY KRISTIAN THACKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

When the sugar maple that towered over Daryln Brewer Hoffstot's farm in western Pennsylvania succumbed to an underground fungus, Corey Snyder, a wood turner, crafted bowls from the tree.

Seeing New Beauty in a Beloved Maple's Demise

By DARYLN BREWER HOFFSTOT

LIGONIER, Pa. — When you live a long time with trees, they become a part of you.

So it pained me to take down the old sugar maple, my arboreal cathedral, one rafter at a time, her demise not from flames but an underground blaze of fungus.

Small honey-colored mushrooms fruiting at her base were "the giveaway," said the forester.

The tree was old when we moved to the farm 36 years ago — about the age of this farmhouse, we figured, 160 years. I know she was here as far back as the 1940s

Growing Roots Beyond the 90-Foot Shadow of a Leafy Friend

because we have a photo of her in her younger days, much smaller and not quite ruling over the side yard as she did in her later years.

In her old age, she reached about 90 feet high. And she was a tree with a personality. Not straight and narrow, but quirky, with a trunk that had split into four and branches that splayed

this way and that, coping with aging as best she could. I felt privileged to have lived under her canopy for many years.

But lately she's been battered by torrential rains, and then drought. Summers are hotter, winters aren't as cold. She's had little snow cover to insulate her roots. Climate change probably made her more susceptible to the fungus, armillaria, the forester said.

And she's not the only tree stressed on the farm. Ash trees have been decimated by the emerald ash borer. Native dogwoods are dying of anthracnose. Hemlock

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Democrats See Their Opening In Pennsylvania's Small Towns

By CAMPBELL ROBERTSON and ROBERT GEBELOFF

EPHRATA, Pa. — Politics came last at the 89th Ephrata Fair Parade.

After the cheerleaders, Shriners and Cub Scouts, after the Republican float piled with bales of hay, local Democrats, on Float No. 119, braced for a hail of boos and perhaps even candy projectiles. After all, it was late September in an election year in Ephrata, a conservative town in Lancaster County, Pa.

But that night, the boeing was more sporadic than they expected; there were even a few cheers. The most concentrated jeering came late in the route, when a yard full of parade watchers greeted them with the anti-Biden chant "Let's go, Brandon!"

The yard belonged to Brian Keith, 49, who has lived there for

years. "It's very much a conservative, right-leaning community," he said.

But with more newcomers showing up, "it's very much turning blue," he said. "Give it another 10 years, and we're going to be outnumbered."

Exactly where the partisan balance lies in this stretch of Southeastern Pennsylvania could determine the direction of the country this November.

Pennsylvania is arguably the most pivotal state in the election, carrying 19 electoral votes, the most of the so-called swing states. After voting for the Democrat in every presidential election going back to 1922, the state went for Donald J. Trump in 2016 by less than a margin of 10,000 votes.

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SPORTS B6-9

England Names a New Coach

The hiring of Thomas Tuchel, a German, to lead the men's national team provoked some strong feelings. PAGE B9

Shaking Off a Slump

The Yankees are hoping Aaron Judge's towering Game 2 homer will snap him out of his playoff hitting funk. PAGE B6

INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Ex-One Direction Singer Dies

Liam Payne fell from the third floor of a hotel in Buenos Aires, emergency services officials said. He was 31. PAGE A9

Italy Broadens Surrogacy Ban

While surrogacy is already illegal in Italy, a new law will criminalize people seeking the procedure abroad. PAGE A10

NATIONAL A12-21

Suing Army Over a Gunman

In Maine, survivors of a mass shooting intend to file lawsuits, saying the military failed to respond to warning signs from an Army Reservist. PAGE A12



ARTS C1-8

A Satire of Sincerity

"Hold On to Me Darling," with Heather Burns and Adam Driver, above, looks at the clichés of celebrity. PAGE C1

Milestone for Impressionism

We look back 150 years, when Monet, Degas, Renoir and a few of their pals spurred an artistic revolution. PAGE C1

BUSINESS B1-5

Push Against Legacy of Neglect

A pandemic relief bill set aside funds for tribal lands, including \$32 billion in assistance for tribes and reservations, that have lacked the infrastructure, to spur businesses. PAGE B1

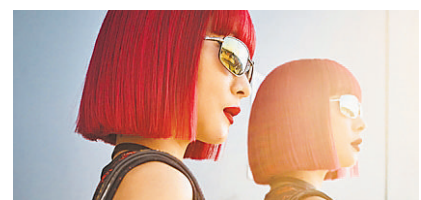
Big Tech Plugs Into Nuclear

Microsoft, Google and Amazon have recently struck agreements with operators and developers of atomic energy to fuel the boom in demand for power-hungry data centers. PAGE B1

OPINION A22-23

Charles M. Blow

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THURSDAY STYLES D1-8

Hair You Won't Soon Forget

The diversity of hairstyles seen at fashion weeks around the globe has grown to rival the range of clothing worn on and off the runway. PAGE D7



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