

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

# The New York Times

THE WEATHER

Today, sunny to partly sunny, cooler, high 58. Tonight, mainly clear, cool, low 45. Tomorrow, there will be plenty of sunshine, remaining cool, high 59. Weather map is on Page 28.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$6.00



A billboard in Tehran threatening Israel. Iranian institutions projected a sense of normalcy after an early-morning Israeli attack.

## Israel's 'Shadow War' Enters New Era of Strife

### First Acknowledged Forays Into Iran — Tehran's Muted Reply Eases Some Fears

By PATRICK KINGSLEY

JERUSALEM — Israel's retaliatory attack on Iran on Saturday morning marked the start of a new and more dangerous phase in the two countries' yearslong conflict, but it appeared, at least for now, to have stopped short of prompting an all-out war, analysts said.

The attack was the first time that Israel has publicly acknowledged conducting a military operation inside Iran, after years of maintaining a strategic silence about its assassinations and acts of sabotage on Iranian soil. It was also one of only a handful of attacks by a foreign air force in Iran since its war with Iraq in the 1980s.

Although it was a significant moment, Iran did not immediately set a time frame for a retaliation. The Iranian foreign ministry said that while Iran was "obliged to defend itself," it was aware of its "responsibilities for regional peace and security," avoiding the kind of bombastic language that characterized Iran's initial responses to previous Israeli attacks.

That eased fears that an uncontrollable conflict was about to break out, even if the prospect of such a clash has edged ever closer.

"The years of shadow war have fully entered open conflict — albeit a managed conflict, for now," said Ellie Geranmayeh, an Iran expert at the European Council on Foreign Relations, a Berlin-based research group. "Tehran can swallow these strikes against military facilities, without retaliating in a way that invites further Israeli action," she added.

After weeks of pressure from the United States to reduce the scope of its attack, Israel avoided

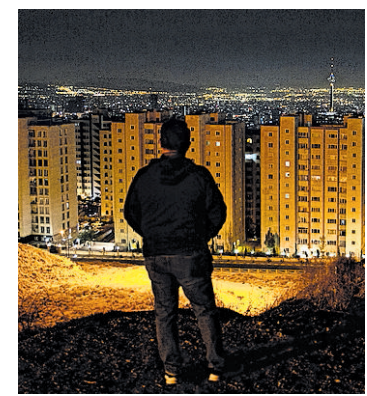
striking sensitive nuclear enrichment sites and oil production facilities in retaliation for the large barrage of ballistic missiles that Iran fired at Israel early this month.

On Saturday, Israel's fighter jets focused instead on roughly 20 military installations, including air defense batteries, radar stations and missile production sites, according to Israeli officials. Iran said the attacks also killed four of its soldiers.

The comparatively contained focus of those attacks allowed Iranian institutions to project a sense of normalcy on Saturday morning. The aviation authority reopened Iran's airspace, and the state-run news agencies broadcast images and footage of life returning to normal — all signs, analysts said, that Iran's leadership was trying to play down the significance of Israel's attack and reduce domestic expectations of a major Iranian response.

"This is the beginning of a new phase, a dangerous one, with many more sensitivities," said Yoel Guzansky, an Israeli expert on Iran at the Institute for Na-

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Watching Tehran after explosions were heard Saturday.

## Harris Keeps Equity Efforts Under Radar

By SHARON LaFRANIERE and JULIAN E. BARNES

Paging through intelligence reports just weeks after she was sworn in as vice president, Kamala Harris was struck by the way two female foreign leaders were described. The reports used adjectives that, in her view, were rarely used to describe male leaders.

Ms. Harris, the first woman to hold her office, ordered up a review that scrutinized multiple years of briefing reports from various intelligence agencies, looking for possible gender bias.

The study found some questionable word choices but no widespread pattern, according to a senior intelligence official, one of five who requested anonymity to discuss the review. (None would disclose the words flagged by Ms. Harris because the reports were classified.)

Still, the exercise had an impact: Intelligence officials added a new training class for analysts on how to judge and assess female foreign leaders, according to another official.

The episode proved to be a preview of Ms. Harris's priorities. The vice president put questions about gender and race at the center of many of the policy discussions in her office, aides and former administration officials said. Throughout her career, she pushed for policies aimed at systemic disparities and often used her bully pulpit to speak about what she saw as injustices.

While Ms. Harris's allies describe this as a defining feature of her vice presidency — one that separates her from her predecessors, including Democrats — she is not running on this part of her record.

As she appeals to moderate voters and tries to defy Donald J. Trump's claims that she represents "the radical left," Ms. Harris is emphasizing her broadest policies — abortion rights, entrepreneurship, help for home buyers and tax relief for families with children. She rarely talks explicitly about how she would use government to address racism and sexism — and only sparingly mentions her own status as potentially the first woman, first Asian

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## Ballot Power of Abortion Will Be Tested

By ELIZABETH DIAS and LISA LERER

With Election Day closing in, there are signs that a small but crucial segment of voters may back both abortion rights and Republican candidates, a dynamic that could hurt Vice President Kamala Harris in swing states and other Democratic candidates in pivotal races.

Ten states have abortion rights measures on the ballot this year, and Democratic activists express confidence that most will pass, just as every similar state measure has won approval since Roe v. Wade was overturned in 2022.

They remain less certain about how many of these newly engaged abortion rights voters will then support Democratic candidates.

### Support for Measures Doesn't Ensure Votes for Democrats

"The central question is, how much does abortion persuade people to vote for Democrats?" said Angela Kuefler, a Democratic strategist working on several abortion rights measures. "The issue itself is still of utmost importance to people. It is still a big driver when it comes to their vote decision. The question is just the ceiling."

In Arizona and Nevada, the presidential race is tight, but measures enshrining abortion rights in state constitutions are expected to cruise to victory. In

Montana, Democrats are struggling to hold a Senate seat but expect to pass a similar abortion rights referendum. And in Missouri, voters appear ready to back an abortion rights measure while also re-electing Senator Josh Hawley, one of the strongest opponents of abortion rights in Congress.

The result could be a strange split screen: Voters act to protect abortion rights in their states but also elect senators who have vocally supported restrictions, as well as former President Donald J. Trump, who has taken credit for overturning Roe.

There's also the possibility that one or more of the measures could fail, an outcome that would be a first in the post-Roe environment.

The Supreme Court's decision

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VALAURIAN WALLER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



ARDEN WRAY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

### How Art Changes Minds

At museums, galleries and auction houses across the country, the art world is stretching boundaries with new audiences, new technology and new perspectives. Offerings include an exhibition about dining in the Islamic world, left, and a solo show by the artist Chase Hall. Special Section.

## Ohtani's Ruthian Feats Can't Coax Japanese Yankees Fans to Turn Dodger Blue

By DAVID WALDSTEIN

Masa Kawai wore his faded Yankees cap on Wednesday as he served customers at the Japanese doughnut shop he owns in Edgewater, N.J. It was two days before Game 1 of a World Series that would feature his Yankees against the Los Angeles Dodgers, and Mr.

Kawai, who emigrated from Japan 20 years ago, left no doubt about his allegiance.

As happy as he is to see Shohei Ohtani, the incomparable slugger from Japan, reach the World Series, Mr. Kawai and his Japanese employees are not abandoning the Yankees, not with so much at stake.

"No, no, never," Mr. Kawai said

with a laugh. "I like Ohtani a lot. He is an amazing player and he is Japanese, like me. But I want the Yankees to win."

Japanese baseball fans are like sports fans everywhere. Some are fanatical about one team. Some are more casual and switch allegiances depending on a team's fortunes. Some root solely for a particular athlete, whether it is

Ohtani, LeBron James, Marta or Patrick Mahomes.

Ohtani, though, is a special case. It was once thought blasphemous to compare anyone to Babe Ruth, but Ohtani has done things even the Bambino did not. Ruth was a great pitcher with the Boston Red Sox and, later, a legendary slugger for the Yankees, but he rarely excelled at both at once as

Ohtani has.

With his unprecedented combination of all-around skill, plus his natural humility and boyish good looks, Ohtani has stoked the imaginations of millions of people. It is not outlandish to think he could one day be considered the best all-around player in history.

But don't expect hard-core Jap-

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INTERNATIONAL 4-16

### Years of Warnings About Dam

Government neglect and incompetence in Nigeria preceded a dam collapse that led to as many as 1,000 deaths. PAGE 4

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### Grateful Dead Bassist

Phil Lesh, a charter member of the band whose instrument regularly took a lead role, was 84. PAGE 29

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### Bills' Star and Class Clown

Dion Dawkins' big personality helped him overcome challenges. PAGE 32



SUNDAY STYLES

### Lessons for Influencers

Valeria Lipovetsky, who earns millions as an online personality, is running a school for content creators. PAGE 1

### Creating Clothes, Building Buzz

The designer Daniel Roseberry understands fashion, and keeps an eye on the attention economy. PAGE 10

METROPOLITAN

### A Wordsmith's Nightmare

Last winter, Alison Stewart, the host of "All of It" on WNYC, feared that a mass on her brain would end her thriving radio career. Now she's back. PAGE 1

ARTS & LEISURE

### Nice Guy? Not So Fast.

Seth Meyers has built up a friendly persona, but a new stand-up special on HBO finds the comedian showing off a more caustic side. PAGE 14

SUNDAY OPINION

### Maureen Dowd

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NATIONAL 17-28

### At 75, Still Toiling in the Sun

After two heat strokes and damaged kidneys, José Delgado remains stunned Florida banned counties from enacting protections for outdoor workers. PAGE 17

SUNDAY BUSINESS

### Inmate Labor's Moral Issues

A work-release program for prisoners in Alabama is providing labor for corporations and income for the state. But lawsuits are challenging the constitutionality of the arrangement. PAGE 6

### Fox News's Sharpest Foil

Jessica Tarlov, a Democrat and a panelist on "The Five," the conservative cable network's top show, may have the hardest job on television. PAGE 1

