

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

# The New York Times

**THE WEATHER**

Today, sun early, then cloudy, high 59. Tonight, rain late evening, some heavy, breezy, low 48. Tomorrow, breezy, cooler, rain tapering to showers, high 51. Weather map, Page A21.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



Ukrainian military cadets at the Motherland Monument in Kyiv on Tuesday marked 1,000 days since the war with Russia began.

## Ukraine Hits Russian Soil With U.S.-Made Missiles

**NEWS ANALYSIS**

### Kremlin Repackages Its Nuclear Threat

By DAVID E. SANGER

On the 1,000th day of the war in Ukraine, President Volodymyr Zelensky took advantage of Washington's new willingness to allow long-range missiles to be shot deep into Russia. Until this weekend, President Biden had declined to allow such strikes using American weapons, out of fear they could prompt World War III.

On the same day, Russia formally announced a new nuclear doctrine that it had signaled two months ago, declaring for the first time that it would use nuclear weapons not only in response to an attack that threatened its survival, but also in response to any attack that posed a "critical threat" to its sovereignty and territorial integrity — a situation very similar to what was playing out in the Kursk region, as American-made ballistic missiles struck Russian weapons arsenals.

And there was another wrinkle to Russia's guidelines for nuclear use: For the first time, it declared the right to use nuclear weapons against a state that only possesses conventional arms, if it is backed by a nuclear power. Ukraine, backed by the United States, Britain and France — three of the five original nuclear-armed states — seems to be the country Russia's president, Vladimir V. Putin, had in mind.

Yet it was telling that the reaction in Washington on Tuesday was just short of a yawn. Officials dismissed the doctrine as the nothingburger of nuclear threats. Instead, the city was rife with speculation over who would prevail as Treasury secretary or whether Matt Gaetz, a former congressman surrounded by sex-and-drug allegations though never charged, could survive the confirmation process to become attorney general.

The Ukraine war has changed many things: It has ended hundreds of thousands of lives and shattered millions of others, it has shaken Europe and it has deepened the enmity between Russia and the United States. But it has also inured Washington and the world to the renewed use of nuclear weapons as the ultimate bargaining chip. The idea that one of the nine coun-

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### Kyiv Hopes to Show More Potent Arms Will Pay Off

By MARC SANTORA and ERIC SCHMITT

KYIV, Ukraine — Ukraine's military used American-made ballistic missiles on Tuesday to strike into Russia for the first time, according to senior U.S. and Ukrainian officials, just days after President Biden gave permission to do so in a major shift of American policy.

The predawn attack struck an ammunition depot in the Bryansk region of southwestern Russia, Ukrainian officials said. Russia's Ministry of Defense said that Kyiv used six ballistic missiles known as ATACMS, for Army Tactical Missile System. A senior American official and a senior Ukrainian official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss ongoing operations, confirmed the use of ATACMS.

The strike represented a demonstration of force for Ukraine as it tries to show Western allies that providing more powerful and sophisticated weapons will pay off — by degrading Russia's combat capabilities and relieving pressure on Kyiv's overstretched forces.

The attack came on the same day President Vladimir V. Putin lowered Russia's threshold for the use of nuclear weapons, a long-planned move whose timing appeared aimed at showing the Kremlin could respond aggressively to Ukraine's use of American missiles to strike Russian territory.

The Kremlin has throughout the war used the threat of deploying its nuclear arsenal to try to deter the West from providing more robust military support to Ukraine. On Tuesday, Russia's foreign minister, Sergei V. Lavrov, called Ukraine's use of ATACMS in the Bryansk region "a signal that they want escalation" — referring to the U.S. and Western allies.

Ukrainian officials and military analysts, who have long cautioned that no single weapon will change the course of the war, noted that the impact of the shift in White House policy would depend on how many missiles were supplied. President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine had pleaded for months for permission to use the ATACMS to strike military targets inside Russia. The Biden adminis-

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**NEWS ANALYSIS**

## Squaring Off Over #MeToo

### Trump Defiant as Picks Face Abuse Allegations

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — When he takes the oath of office in January, Donald J. Trump will make history as the first court-adjudicated sexual abuser to assume the presidency. But if he gets the team of his choice, he will not be the only one in the room whose conduct has been called into question.

Mr. Trump, who was found liable in a civil trial last year of sexually abusing and defaming the writer E. Jean Carroll, has selected a defense secretary, an attorney general, a secretary of health and human services and an efficiency czar, all of whom have been accused of variations of sexual misconduct and, like the president-elect, deny them.

The rise of the accused to positions of power raises new questions about the future of the #MeToo movement that swept through the country and upended societal expectations in recent years.

The kind of accusations that took down titans of Hollywood, Wall Street, Silicon Valley, Washington, the news media, sports and state capitals have proved no obstacle in Mr. Trump's selection process.

Rather than be deterred by such allegations, Mr. Trump seems determined to force a fight over them. He knew that Matt Gaetz, the renegade Republican congressman, had been accused of all manner of sordid conduct, including sex with an underage girl, but tapped him to run the Justice Department anyway.

He may not have known that Pete Hegseth, the Fox News weekend host he named to preside over the Pentagon, had paid a woman who accused him of sexual assault, but has indicated that he will stand by him.

Likewise, Mr. Trump has expressed no concern about accusations that Robert F. Kennedy

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**HACKED** A computer file is said to contain testimony from a woman who said she had sex with Matt Gaetz when she was 17. PAGE A16

## Broke, Dismayed and Distrusting of Democrats

By JENNIFER MEDINA

The working-class voters Vice President Kamala Harris's presidential campaign needed were not moved by talk of joy. They were too angry about feeling broke.

**POLITICAL MEMO**

For decades, Democrats had been the party of labor and of the working class, the choice for voters who looked to government to increase the minimum wage or provide a safety net for the poor, the old and the sick. But this year's election results show how thoroughly that idea has collapsed

### From Hope to Cynicism For Minority Voters In Working Class

even among Latino, Black and Asian American voters who had stuck by the party through Donald J. Trump's first term.

Latinos had signaled what was coming: They drifted away from Democrats and toward Mr. Trump in 2020, before defecting in greater numbers this year. But working-class Black and Asian American voters have also now

broken ranks in startling numbers.

The losses up and down the ballot leave Democrats in crisis. Voters without a college degree make up a solid majority of the electorate. Without them, the White House could be out of reach. And for a party that stands for and takes pride in its diversity, the erosion of support from voters of color calls its identity into question.

Yet interviews over the past year with hundreds of working-class minority voters revealed the challenges confronting Democrats as both clear and daunt-

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EZRA ACAYAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

### They're Big in Asia. Really Big.

The Danish band Michael Learns to Rock has boomed on the other side of the world. Page A4.

## Officials Propose 4-Year Freeze on Trump's Case

This article is by Ben Protess, Kate Cristobek and Jonah E. Bromwich.

Manhattan prosecutors on Tuesday rebuffed President-elect Donald J. Trump's request to dismiss his criminal conviction in the wake of his electoral victory, signaling instead their willingness to freeze the case while he holds office.

In a letter to the judge overseeing the case, prosecutors from the Manhattan district attorney's of-

### An Appeal Could Reach the Supreme Court

fice emphasized that a jury had already convicted Mr. Trump of falsifying records to cover up a sex scandal. Prosecutors and judges are often loath to unravel a jury's verdict.

But acknowledging the unprecedented nature of the case — Mr. Trump would be the first felon to

serve as president — the prosecutors raised the prospect of a four-year freeze so that he will not be sentenced for his crimes until he is out of office.

The judge, Juan M. Merchan, will decide in the coming weeks whether to freeze the case or dismiss it outright, a momentous ruling that will shape the outcome of the only one of Mr. Trump's four criminal cases that made it to trial. Dismissing the case would further embolden Mr. Trump as he enters

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## Broadway, First Class and Spas For Realtor Group's Executives

By DEBRA KAMIN

When he became the chief executive of the National Association of Realtors seven years ago, Bob Goldberg negotiated a package of gold-plated perks.

N.A.R., the largest trade organization in the country, agreed to cover Mr. Goldberg's membership dues for private clubs in both Chicago and Washington and a country club of his choice, including an initiation fee of up to \$75,000. He would use all three clubs "primarily for business purposes," according to the contract he negotiated with the organization.

The group would also pay for first-class airline tickets when he traveled for business and, once a month, for a round-trip first-class ticket for his wife. He was given a \$1,500 monthly car allowance and \$2,250 a month to cover utilities and insurance at his pied-à-terre in Chicago, where N.A.R. has its headquarters. N.A.R. even agreed to pay for a pet sitter to watch his dogs when Mr. Goldberg was



NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF REALTORS

Bob Goldberg resigned last year from the Realtors group.

away from his home outside Washington on business.

The extras came on top of his \$1.2 million salary that would, according to N.A.R.'s tax returns, grow to \$2.6 million in five years.

The generous compensation, a New York Times investigation found, is in line with a free-spending culture at N.A.R., which for a century has dominated the Amer-

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INTERNATIONAL A4-12

### New Delhi's Air Pollution Woes

India's government seems powerless to protect its citizens from an annual crisis, let alone prevent it. PAGE A7

### Venezuelan Prisoners Freed

Experts say their release may be a signal from President Nicolás Maduro to President-elect Trump. PAGE A6

NATIONAL 13-22

### Trump Plans to Nominate Oz

Dr. Mehmet Oz, the celebrity physician, would oversee the Medicare and Medicaid programs that cover more than 150 million Americans. PAGE A21

### Education Board Backs Bible

In Texas, a new curriculum would infuse material drawn from the Bible into some school lessons. PAGE A19

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### Embracing Bankruptcy

Many people avoid filing out of shame or fear of ruining their credit. But it can provide much-needed relief. PAGE B1



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### In Rhythm With Beethoven

The latest album from Jon Batiste represents a return to his classical music roots, on his terms. PAGE C1

### A Portrait of Kindness

The owner of a gallery in Denver needed a liver transplant — and an artist turned out to be a lifesaver. PAGE C1

SPORTS B5-8

### A Champion Willing to Change

Dawn Staley, South Carolina's old-school women's basketball coach, has learned to ease up when her players engage in chatter and silliness. PAGE B5

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### Taught Traveling on the Cheap

Arthur Frommer, who expanded the horizons of postwar Americans with guidebooks that virtually invented the budget travel industry, was 95. PAGE A24

OPINION A26-27

### Linda Greenhouse

PAGE A27



FOOD D1-10

### A Fried Chicken Thanksgiving

Sure, turkey is the expected main dish. But maybe it's time for something a little crunchier. Crispy sage fried chicken, above, is a sure winner. PAGE D6

