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JESSE JACKSON, 1941-2026

A Thundering Voice for Civil Rights, With a Rainbow Vision

By PETER APPLEBOME

The Rev. Jesse Jackson, whose impassioned oratory and populist vision of a "rainbow coalition" of the poor and forgotten made him the nation's most influential Black figure in the years between the civil rights crusades of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and the election of Barack Obama, died on Tuesday at his home in Chicago. He was 84.

His death was confirmed by his family in a statement, which said that Mr. Jackson "died peacefully" but did not give a cause.

Mr. Jackson was hospitalized in November for treatment of a rare and particularly severe neurodegenerative condition, progressive supranuclear palsy (PSP), according to the advocacy organization he founded, the Rainbow PUSH Coalition. In 2017, he announced that he had Parkinson's disease, which in its early stages can produce similar effects on bodily movements and speech.

Mr. Jackson picked up the mantle of Dr. King after his assassination in 1968 and ran for president twice, long before Mr. Obama's election in 2008. But he never achieved either the commanding moral stature of Dr. King or the ultimate political triumph attained by Mr. Obama.

Instead, through the power of his language and his preternatural energy and ambition, he became a moral and political force in a racially ambiguous era, when Jim Crow was still a vivid memory and Black political power more an aspiration than a reality.

With his gospel of seeking common ground, his pleas to "keep hope alive" and his demands for respect for those seldom accorded it, Mr. Jackson, particularly in his galvanizing speeches at the Democratic conventions in 1984 and 1988, enunciated a progressive vision that defined the soul of the Democratic Party, if not necessarily its poli-

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MARK MAKELA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Rev. Jesse Jackson ran for president twice in his effort to "transform the mind of America."

Mayor Floats Taxing Homes At Higher Rate

By SALLY GOLDENBERG
and GRACE ASHFORD

Mayor Zohran Mamdani on Tuesday proposed to raise property tax rates in New York City by nearly 10 percent, a measure he is preparing as a "last resort" to be deployed if he cannot persuade Gov. Kathy Hochul to raise income taxes on the wealthy.

The suggested 9.5 percent increase would affect more than 3 million single-family homes, co-ops and condos and over 100,000 commercial buildings, Mr. Mamdani said as he delivered his preliminary spending plan.

The mayor acknowledged that his proposal would not merely force the wealthy to pay more taxes, but would also be a "tax on working- and middle-class New Yorkers," and stressed that this was not his first choice.

But he noted that New York City mayors had little authority to raise taxes without the governor's and Legislature's acquiescence, and said that a city property tax increase — combined with raiding the city's reserve funds — was the only way to address a looming budget deficit projected to reach \$5.4 billion over two years.

"If we cannot follow this first path," he said, referring to his proposed two-percentage-point income tax hike on wealthier New Yorkers, "we will be forced onto a much more damaging path of last

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WEALTH TAX In California, high-profile leaders and powerful groups are escalating a fight over a proposed measure. PAGE A11

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ICE Reaches Beyond Cities

Far from the spotlight, small towns are dealing with President Trump's expanding mass deportation effort. PAGE A10

A Witch and a 'Bond Villain'

Abigail Spanberger, the new governor of Virginia, says the attacks from the right are a sign of her success. PAGE A15



The 'Laughingstock' Obama Didn't See Coming

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — As President Barack Obama's chief strategist, David Axelrod, made his way across a hotel ballroom on the night of the White House Correspondents' Association dinner in 2011, he happened to overhear Donald J. Trump boasting to other guests. "I know it's crazy," Mr. Trump was saying, "but I'm in front of the polls."

"I kind of chuckled at it and went to my seat," Mr. Axelrod recalled. "I don't think any of us really anticipated that Donald Trump would be a serious candidate for president, much less president." It was later that same

Misreading Mood Shift That Paved the Way for Trump's Rise

evening that Mr. Obama would mock Mr. Trump from the stage, ridiculing the reality television star in a moment that would go viral.

In fact, Mr. Obama and his team never saw Mr. Trump coming, as a new set of oral history interviews released on Tuesday makes abundantly clear. He was, to them, a "con man," a "clown," a "laughingstock." He was a thorn in the side

with his birther lies and demagogic blustering. But as it turned out, Mr. Obama and his advisers, like many others, missed the shifting mood of the country that would ultimately upend Mr. Axelrod's assumptions.

The oral history, compiled by Incite Institute, a social science research center at Columbia University, represents the most extensive set of interviews made public to date from the Obama presidency. The institute, in cooperation with the Obama Foundation, conducted more than 450 interviews totaling more than 1,100 hours of audio and video with cabinet secretaries, White House

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Budget Cuts From Trump Were Stymied

Congress Has Blocked Moves to Scale Back

By TONY ROMM

WASHINGTON — Shortly after returning to office, President Trump embarked on an aggressive campaign to pare back the core functions of the federal government, unveiling a budget that proposed some of the steepest spending reductions in U.S. history.

Nearly one year later, Congress has rejected much of that vision.

In a little-noticed development, lawmakers have systematically brushed off many of Mr. Trump's most severe cuts for this fiscal year, leaving intact a vast set of federal education, health, housing and research programs that the White House had tried to slash or eliminate.

For Mr. Trump, the result is a set of annual government expenses that do not appear radically different on paper compared with what he inherited in January 2017. Overall, Congress is on track to approve more than \$1.6 trillion in discretionary spending for 2018, amounting to little change from the previous fiscal year, according to a preliminary analysis of federal budget records by the Penn Wharton Budget Model, a nonpartisan research organization.

The finer details are apparent in the complicated legislation that Congress enacted between November and February. Targeting primarily domestic programs, Mr. Trump had originally recommended about \$163 billion in deep spending cuts. But lawmakers often did not abide, and in the end, some of the funding that the president had tried to erase — including for medical research, college aid and benefits for poor people — instead changed only slightly, the data show.

Mr. Trump still prevailed in other ways, most notably in his efforts to scale back the size and reach of government by ousting thousands of federal workers. Still, the outcome on Capitol Hill underscores the complex and fraught politics of austerity: Where the president sees evidence of spending that is woke, weaponized or wasteful, his critics in both parties see money that is

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VACCINE MAKERS CURB RESEARCH AND SHED JOBS

OUT OF FAVOR IN D.C.

Wallets Close to Industry
as Kennedy Puts Up
Obstacles

By REBECCA ROBBINS

In Massachusetts, Moderna is pulling back on vaccine studies. In Texas, a small company canceled plans to build a factory that would have created jobs manufacturing a technology used in vaccines. In San Diego, another manufacturing company laid off workers.

When Robert F. Kennedy Jr. was picked in November 2016 to become the next health secretary, public health experts worried that Mr. Kennedy, a longtime vaccine skeptic, would wreak havoc on the fragile business of vaccine development.

Those fears are beginning to come true, according to executives and investors involved with companies that develop and sell vaccines and the technology that is best known for the Covid vaccines.

At conferences and in interviews, they described the emerging consequences of the Trump administration's dismantling of the longstanding federal support for vaccines.

"There will be less invention, investment and innovation in vaccines generally, across all the companies," Dr. Stephen Hoge, the president of Moderna, said in an interview.

The Trump administration said it was not discouraging innovation.

But investors have grown hesitant to bet on a field that has fallen out of favor in Washington. Major manufacturers are reporting declining sales of their shots. Smaller companies are taking the brunt of the impact, with some stocks whipsawing in response to the changes.

Perhaps no vaccine maker has been hit harder by the federal policy changes than Moderna. Mr. Kennedy has repeatedly questioned the safety and effectiveness of the technology around which the company has built its business. The technology, known

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These Olympic Participants Are Generating Plenty of Buzz

By JASON HOROWITZ

CORTINA D'AMPEZZO, Italy — The fans next to the Olympic sliding track oohed and aahed with each sharp turn. They admired the navigational precision and soft landing. They shouted, "You're No. 1!"

They were cheering for a drone pilot.

"I'm almost feeling like I am with the athletes on the tracks," said Ralph Hogenbirk, the pilot operating one of the many drones that have become the buzzing — and, for some, unsettling — soundtrack of the 2016 Winter Olympics.

The robotic wasps chase behind lugers, skeleton pilots and bobsledders bombing down the ice track in Cortina d'Ampezzo. They are in hot pursuit of alpine skiers in the mountains of Bormio and record-shattering speedskaters gliding around the rinks in Milan, transporting viewers at home to the slopes and ice.

All of their unerring following has earned them a following of their own.

One night last week in Cortina, a small crowd gathered outside a white tent, cordoned off between a red tractor and heaps of dirty



snow, a few yards below the start gate for the skeleton race. Inside, Mr. Hogenbirk sat in a corner, a visor over his eyes, piloting his nearly nine-ounce drone.

It hovered behind the skeleton athletes as they collected themselves, crept behind them as they began their mad dash to start the race and then picked up speed, whirring behind the competitors as they shot down the track's first curves.

A screen in the tent showed the drone's flight path, including

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DADO GALDIERI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Rio's Rolling Carnival

The glittery and gritty Boi Tolo took over the city's streets in a marathon all-day party. Page A7.

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Iran Tries to Stifle Mourners

The authorities moved to suppress shows of defiance at ceremonies commemorating 40 days since thousands of protesters were killed.

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Frustrations After Munich Trip

Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez's stumbles overshadowed her anti-authoritarian message.

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Influential Documentarian

Frederick Wiseman exposed abuses in films like "Titicut Follies" and showed range in subjects. He was 96.

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Quiet Architect of a Trade War

Jamieson Greer, a low-key lawyer from a working-class background, is rewriting the rules of the global economy at President Trump's behest.

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Rebuke of a Late-Night Show

Stephen Colbert blasted CBS and the F.C.C. after his interview with James Talarico was barred.

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Pinch Me! It's Dumpling Week.

Our annual tribute to one of everyone's favorite foods returns, with recipes so good, they deserve a party.

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SPORTS B7-12

Former Rivals Join Forces

The ex-Jets coach Robert Saleh has hired the ex-Giants coach Brian Daboll to run the Titans' offense.

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'A Superstar Is From Here'

Laila Edwards, the first Black woman to play for the U.S. hockey team, has captivated her Ohio hometown.

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Art Looted by Nazis, or Not

The fuzzy provenance of a masterpiece once owned by a Jewish banker, now held by a German museum.

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Quick, Scrap the Book Cover

What's a publisher to do when a novel on the brink of release hews a little too close to the news cycle?

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Michael Eric Dyson

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