

The Boston Globe

Serving our community since 1872

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 24, 2024

At the end of the day, it's Trump in N.H.



DANIELLE PARHIZKARAN/GLOBE STAFF

Donald Trump greeted his supporters at a watch party Tuesday night in Nashua. Of his rival, he said, “She had a bad night, a very bad night.”

Write-in effort gives Biden his win, but enthusiasm’s low

By Matt Stout and Jim Puzzanghera
GLOBE STAFF

NASHUA — President Biden’s name wasn’t on the New Hampshire primary ballot Tuesday, but his supporters nonetheless hoped Democrats would deliver a big write-in victory for him in an unusual political undercard to the Republican race.

The Associated Press projected Biden as the winner just after the last polls closed at 8 p.m.

And with 77 percent of the precincts reporting late Tuesday night, Biden had 25 percent of the vote and Minnesota Repre-

sentative Dean Phillips had 20 percent. But about 43 percent of the ballots were unprocessed write-ins, and the vast majority of those were likely for Biden.

“I want to thank all those who wrote my name in this evening in New Hampshire. It was a historic demonstration of commitment to our democratic process,” Biden said in a statement. Donald Trump’s victory in the Republican primary made it clear that he will be the party’s nominee, Biden added, “and my message to the country is the stakes could not be higher.”

DEMOCRATS, Page A8



BARRY CHIN/GLOBE STAFF

Nikki Haley spoke Tuesday night in Concord, N.H., saying she’ll continue her campaign despite her defeat.

Talk of an upset fizzles but Haley vows to stay in the race for now

By Jess Bidgood
GLOBE STAFF

MANCHESTER, N.H. — Former president Donald Trump was projected Tuesday to win New Hampshire’s first-in-the-nation presidential primary, according to the Associated Press, a result likely to accelerate his march to the nomination even as it revealed a weakness with independents that could bedevil him in the general election.

Trump’s main opponent, former South Carolina governor Nikki Haley, had long sought to turn the primary into a two-person race, and over the past several months built a base of support among the moderate Republicans and flinty independent voters who make up a large swath of the swing state’s electorate. With most of the votes counted Tuesday night, Trump’s lead over Haley hovered around 11 percentage points — putting him on track for a narrower win than his landslide victory in conservative Iowa last week.

In the waning days of the race, Trump seemed to get a boost from the departure of conservative candidates, including Governor Ron DeSantis of Florida, denying Haley — and New Hampshire — the chance for a surprise upset that could have injected new uncertainty into a race Trump has long dominated. In New Hampshire, Trump sought not just to beat Haley, but to show that he now has the entirety of the Republican Party in his thrall.

“She had a bad night, a very bad night,” Trump said in an acerbic victory speech in which he insulted Haley’s primary-night clothing and accused New Hampshire Governor Chris Sununu, a prominent Haley supporter, of being on

REPUBLICANS, Page A8

Robberies and thefts in Boston spiked dramatically last year, raising concerns about thieves increasingly targeting stores. **B1.**

Yes, artificial intelligence systems are coming for our jobs, but they’re in no hurry, MIT researchers say. **B5.**

Russia launched a combination of cruise and ballistic missiles at Ukrainian cities in a large volley that killed at least 11 people. **A3.**

“Oppenheimer” picked up 13 Oscar nominations to lead the pack. Surprises and snubs, **C12.**



Drip city

Wednesday: Drizzle. High 36-41. Low 34-39.

Thursday: Still damp. High 46-51. Low 37-42.

High tide: 10:08 a.m., 10:49 p.m.

Sunrise: 7:06 Sunset: 4:47

Weather and Comics, G6-7. Obituaries, C10-11.

VOL. 305, NO. 24

Suggested retail price
\$3.50



‘My dream is that these sensors would be in every public washroom in every gas station . . . and McDonald’s.’

OONA KRIEG, *Brave Technology*

With overdoses on rise, a small idea is making a big difference in deaths

By Chris Serres
GLOBE STAFF

As a child, John King spent much of his time building things. He built radios, bicycles, and furniture, and signed up for an adult woodworking class in his hometown of Malden when he was just 14.

But King never imagined that his lifelong passion for building and tinkering would one day serve a grim but increasingly essential purpose: To prevent people who use powerful illicit

street drugs from dying in public restrooms.

The 63-year-old electrician has become the nation’s go-to expert on motion-sensor technology that can detect when a person has overdosed on drugs and has stopped moving in a closed space. Based on King’s records, more than 3,500 people have been resuscitated from potentially deadly overdoses using motion-sensor systems that he designed and helped install in scores of health facilities across

the country, from Hyannis to Los Angeles.

“It’s like a mini-time machine,” King said while doing a routine maintenance check on one of his systems. “It gives you the opportunity to roll back the clock a few minutes and save someone’s life.”

The systems use ultrasonic and infrared motion sensors equipped with timers that can detect the slightest body movements from the time a person

OVERDOSES, Page A5



MATTHEW J. LEE/GLOBE STAFF

BIG NIGHT AT THE GARDEN

— The first Women’s Beanpot championship held at TD Garden went to overtime before ending on a goal by Northeastern’s Skylar Irving (88) in a 2-1 win over Boston University. **C1.**

UMass protesters fight school’s penalty

3 barred from study abroad after arrests

By Maddie Khaw
GLOBE CORRESPONDENT

Aidan O’Neill was supposed to be in Spain right now. The University of Massachusetts Amherst junior was set to leave on Jan. 3 for his study-abroad program in Barcelona, which he’d been planning since last spring.

But weeks before he was supposed to leave, O’Neill learned UMass had revoked his eligibility to study abroad, along with that of two other students, leaving them on the hook for thousands of dollars

in fees and travel expenses while scrambling to find housing and still-open courses in Amherst. At the crux of it was the students’ fateful decision to join an Oct. 25 campus protest in support of Palestinians, where they were arrested along with dozens of other students and placed on disciplinary probation.

“To lose my abroad eligibility at the last second, that was just heartbreaking,” said O’Neill, now staying in his hometown, Scituate, until the spring semester starts on Feb. 1. “I was practicing my right as a student to speak up against the university funding a genocide. It just seemed, honestly, crazy and absurd to me that

UMASS, Page A5

In lean time for the state, Healey gives Cabinet raises

By Matt Stout
GLOBE STAFF

As her administration slashes hundreds of millions of dollars from elsewhere in the state budget, Governor Maura Healey is giving members of her Cabinet a pair of 4 percent raises that will hike their annual pay by nearly \$15,000.

Thanks to a quirk in state law, other officials, including the state’s suspended top cannabis regulator, will be due the same increases.

Healey’s Cabinet secretaries received 4 percent pay raises in December, pushing the pay of her budget chief and others to nearly \$189,000 a year. A spokesperson for the first-term Democrat said they’ll receive another 4 percent boost on Feb. 2, which would bring their annual salaries to \$196,550 — roughly \$14,800 more than they made just a few weeks ago.

Administration officials said they chose to give Healey the same increases.

RAISES, Page B3

The Nation

To reduce carbon emissions, colleges dig deep

Princeton is latest choosing to use earth to heat, cool

By **Cara Buckley**
NEW YORK TIMES

When administrators at Princeton University decided to cut the carbon emissions that came from heating and cooling their campus, they opted for a method that is gaining popularity among colleges and universities.

They began drilling holes deep into the ground.

The university is using the earth beneath its campus to create a system that will keep buildings at comfortable temperatures without burning fossil fuels. The multimillion-dollar project, using a process known as geexchange, marks a significant shift in how Princeton gets its energy and is key to the university's plan to stop adding greenhouse gases to the atmosphere by 2046.

The drilling makes an almighty muddy mess, but when all is said and done, the more than 2,000 boreholes planned for the campus will be undetectable despite performing an impressive sleight of hand. During hot months, heat drawn from Princeton's buildings will be stored in thick pipes deep underground until winter, when heat will be drawn back up again.

The change is significant. Since its founding in 1746, Princeton has heated its buildings by burning carbon-based



MAANSI SRIVASTAVA/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ted Borer offered a tour of the new energy control center in Princeton University's campus in Princeton, N.J., last month.

fuels in the form of firewood, then coal, then fuel oil, then natural gas.

"This moment is singular," said Ted Borer, director of energy plants at the school. "This is when we're switching to something that doesn't require combustion."

Geexchange is not new, but it's increasingly a choice made by colleges and universities, particularly in the northern United States, that are seeking

to decarbonize. Geexchange is one type of geothermal system. Other types extract heat from deep in the earth but do not return it.

Lindsey Olsen, associate vice president and senior mechanical engineer at Salas O'Brien, a technical engineering firm, said that five years ago, the company was working on two or three campus geothermal projects at one time. That figure has grown to be-

tween 20 and 30 projects, she said.

"It really feels like it is doubling every year," Olsen said. "For institutions in the northern climate that have heating demands, geothermal is one of the most economically viable technologies for producing low carbon heating."

Among the colleges where geexchange or geothermal systems are being tested, installed, or are in use: Smith, Oberlin,

Dartmouth, Mount Holyoke, and William & Mary. Cornell University has dug a 2-mile test geothermal borehole at its Ithaca, N.Y. campus and is using geexchange at one of its buildings on Roosevelt Island in New York City's East River. Brown University drilled test holes to gauge heat conductivity this past fall, and Columbia University secured a special state mining permit to drill an 800-foot test bore on its New

York City campus.

Many of the colleges are using their projects as a classroom, conducting educational seminars and tours.

Geexchange (also known as ground source geothermal district heating and cooling) works like a heat storage bank. In summer, heat is drawn out of warm buildings, cooling them, and transferred to water that is sent into pipes in a closed loop network deep underground. The heated water is stored beneath the frostline, warming surrounding rock. In winter, that heated water is pumped back up through piping and into buildings.

The systems work in tandem with heat pumps, and because it's all run by electricity, are generally greener than steam boilers that operate by burning natural gas, oil, or propane.

Geexchange especially suits colleges because they usually have lots of buildings close together, the space needed for borehole fields, and their own stand-alone heating, which makes the adoption of new heating and cooling technology easier. They also tend to have the resources for long-term investments: The systems require significant upfront costs but are projected to save money in later years.

"Institutions operating for a hundred plus years are willing to invest a lot of money, and thinking long term, and paying attention to the benefits this is going to have," Olsen said. Also, she said, "they have students that are demanding it."

DAILY BRIEFING



DENIS POROY/ASSOCIATED PRESS

CALIF. FLOODS — Homeowner Deanna Samayoa (left) hugged her neighbor Anita Torones in front of her home damaged by flooding Tuesday in San Diego. California Governor Gavin Newsom declared a state of emergency for San Diego and Ventura counties after heavy rain caused flash floods across the area.

N.Y. man convicted of fatally shooting woman who accidentally turned in his driveway

FORT EDWARD, N.Y. — A man was convicted of second-degree murder Tuesday for fatally shooting a young woman when the SUV she was riding in mistakenly drove up his rural driveway in upstate New York.

A jury found Kevin Monahan, 66, guilty of second-degree

murder for shooting 20-year-old Kaylin Gillis on a Saturday night last April after she and her friends pulled into his driveway while they were trying to find another house.

The group's caravan of two cars and a motorcycle began leaving once they realized their

mistake. Authorities said Monahan came out to his porch and fired twice from his shotgun, with the second shot hitting Gillis in the neck.

Monahan maintained the shooting was an accident involving a defective gun. He testified that he felt like the house

was "under siege" when the revving motorcycle and the two other vehicles pulled up his driveway. He said he fired a warning shot to let the intruders know that he had a gun.

But he said the second, fatal shot was unintentional.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Calif. university professors end strike

SAN FRANCISCO — The California State University system and the union representing thousands of professors and lecturers reached a tentative deal Monday to raise wages, ending what was the largest strike by university faculty members in American history.

The deal, announced by both sides Monday night, came just hours after the California Faculty Association, the union that represents 29,000 professors, lecturers, librarians, counselors, and coaches, began what was planned as a five-day walkout across the 23 CSU

campuses that serve nearly 460,000 students.

The tentative deal means that faculty at the nation's largest four-year public university system will return to work, union officials said.

Union leaders said that wages had not kept up with the high cost of living in California. The deal would immediately increase salaries for all faculty by 5 percent retroactively to July 1, 2023, with another 5 percent raise slated for July 1, 2024, according to union officials.

NEW YORK TIMES

Gators show off their special chill skill

The recent blast of cold weather has given alligators a chance to show off their way of coping with freezing temperatures.

The Swamp Park Outdoor Adventure Center in Ocean Isle Beach, North Carolina, posted eerie videos on social media on Sunday showing alligators suspended in frozen ponds with just the tips of their snouts peeking above the ice.

In one video, assistant manager Scott Perry got up close with one of the "swamp puppies" in their frozen state, reaching out to "boop" one alli-

gator's nose, while warning viewers, "Don't do this at home."

General manager George Howard said he was excited to see the phenomenon over the weekend.

The cold-blooded animals can't regulate their own temperature, so when temperatures drop they go into a state called brumation, Howard said. They can protect themselves by sticking their noses up out of the water, so they can keep breathing while the water freezes around them, he said.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Man suspected in Ill. shootings was related to victims

CHICAGO — A man suspected of shooting and killing eight people in suburban Chicago this weekend was related to most of the victims, authorities said Tuesday, a day after the 23-year-old fatally shot himself during a confrontation with law enforcement in Texas.

The Illinois authorities provided a clearer timeline of the

shootings on Tuesday, saying they believe all eight people killed and a ninth person wounded were shot Sunday and Romeo Nance fled the area that evening.

But they told reporters there is no evidence of a motive yet for the killings.

"We can't get inside his head," Joliet Police Chief Bill

Evans told reporters.

Investigators believe Nance first shot seven people at two relatives' homes in the city of Joliet on Sunday, then fired randomly at two men — one outside an apartment building and another on a residential street, Joliet and Will County officials said Tuesday.

ASSOCIATED PRESS



JOLIET POLICE DEPARTMENT VIA AP

Romeo Nance fatally shot himself Monday.

Mich. jury to decide if shooter's mother bears responsibility

Son appeals life sentence after killing 4 students

By **Stephanie Saul**
NEW YORK TIMES

Frequently left home alone, Ethan Crumbley texted his mother in March 2021 that he had seen a demon in their house, one that hurled dishes across the kitchen. Days later, his parents, James and Jennifer Crumbley, discussed how their teenage son was "worked up and agitated," weighing whether to give him Xanax.

The next November, James Crumbley, ignoring what seemed like warning signs that Ethan had mental health issues, bought his son a semi-automatic handgun. Ethan, then 15, used the gun to kill four students at Oxford High School, the worst school shooting in Michigan history.

On Tuesday, jury selection began in the trial of Jennifer Crumbley, 45, charged with involuntary manslaughter for the deaths — new territory when it comes to prosecuting school shootings. James Crumbley, 47, faces a separate trial, scheduled for March, also on involuntary manslaughter charges related to the killings.

As jury selection was getting underway, lawyers for Jennifer Crumbley and her son sparred over whether he should testify at her trial. The attorneys for Ethan, now 17, emailed a letter stating that they had advised him to not waive his privilege or confidentiality for the trial. That means his testimony and "confidential communication," like conversations with his psychiatrists, would be prohibited.

Jennifer Crumbley's lawyers

then asked the judge to order her son and three doctors whom he spoke with to testify in the trial, according to a court filing Tuesday.

Although adults have been prosecuted before when children commit violent crimes, the Oxford High School case goes a step further by trying to hold parents criminally liable for an intentional mass shooting. The Oakland County prosecutor, Karen D. McDonald, has said that the Crumbleys are culpable because they allowed their son access to a handgun while ignoring warnings that he was troubled.

Both parents have pleaded not guilty, and their lawyers have said that they had no inkling that Ethan was capable of such violence. Ethan is appealing his life sentence without parole.

"One of the bedrock principles in American criminal

law is that you're not responsible for somebody else's actions," said Ekow N. Yankah, a professor at the University of Michigan Law School. But Yankah said the Crumbleys provided a perfect case to test that principle, pointing to what he called a "damning" set of facts against the couple.

"It's hard to think of a set of facts that are more inviting for prosecution," he said.

Extensive testimony and court documents have portrayed the couple as neglectful parents. They drank heavily, fought loudly in front of Ethan, and frequently left him at home alone, despite his shaky mental health.

After James Crumbley purchased the gun, his wife took Ethan to the shooting range.

When a teacher reported seeing Ethan searching online for ammunition, his mother did not seem alarmed.



Jennifer Crumbley has been in jail for two years.

Reporting corrections

The Globe welcomes information about errors that call for corrections. Information may be sent to comments@globe.com or left in a message at 617-929-8230.

The World

Russian missiles pummel Ukraine cities

11 reported killed as concerns over air defenses grow

By Maria Varenikova
NEW YORK TIMES

KYIV — Russia launched a combination of cruise and ballistic missiles at Ukrainian cities Tuesday in a large volley that killed at least 11 people and injured an additional 88, including 10 children, according to local authorities. The assault added to concerns about the state of Ukraine’s air defenses as Russian barrages continue on its largest cities.

Ukraine’s air force said that 41 missiles had entered the country’s airspace early Tuesday. Ukrainian authorities provide details of cruise missiles in flight, and residents can track them for about an hour as they fly from Russia. The ballistic missiles, which travel much faster, struck in Kyiv on Tuesday just as the cruise missiles arrived.

Yuriy Ihnat, an air force spokesperson, said in a telephone interview that the military had intercepted only about half of the total barrage and just five of the 24 ballistic missiles. That was a lower success rate for Ukraine than achieved against earlier bombardments, because ballistic missiles, which are harder to intercept, made up a higher proportion of Tuesday’s volley, he said.

Most of the missiles “were ballistic, and our air force can’t down them all,” Ihnat said.

In Kyiv, the capital, at least one missile appeared to detonate at ground level, residents said, although it was unclear whether it had evaded Ukraine’s air defenses or whether the warhead fell and blew up after the missile was destroyed in the air.

Concern has grown in Ukraine that air defense ammunition will run low as further military aid from the United States remains stalled in Congress. Ihnat said that the air force had not run out of ammunition in Tuesday’s assault but that Ukraine did require a regular resupply.

He also said that not all of the missiles that evaded Ukraine’s defenses had hit their targets. “Many of them just fell in the fields, as Russian missiles’ quality has decreased,” he said.

Residents of the capital awoke to an air raid alarm around 6 a.m., followed by explosions and the rattle of machine guns firing at the cruise missiles. Missiles or falling debris struck five neighborhoods



PHOTOS BY SERGEY BOBOK/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES



Ukrainian rescue workers cleared debris as firefighters extinguished burning rubble following a missile attack in Kharkiv, Tuesday. Ukraine officials said the attacks killed at least 11 and injured 88, including 10 children.

tration, Oleh Syniehubov, said in a brief interview at the site of one of the strikes.

As Russia pressed ahead with its assaults on Ukraine, NATO officials in Brussels said Tuesday the military alliance had signed contracts worth \$1.2 billion to buy 155 mm caliber artillery shells — one of the most-needed weapons on Ukraine’s battlefields.

The estimated 220,000 shells will not be delivered for at least two years, officials said, and will be sent to member states to refill stockpiles that have been depleted by military assistance to Ukraine. It will be up to NATO states to decide whether they can spare more for Kyiv.

“Russia’s war in Ukraine has become a battle for ammunition,” said Jens Stoltenberg, the NATO secretary general.

Officials did not say which ammunition producers — whether based in Europe, the United States, or elsewhere — would manufacture the shells.

in Kyiv, according to the city’s mayor, Vitali Klitschko. Police strung red tape around strike sites, and emergency workers cleared bricks and broken glass from the streets.

One explosion from either falling debris or a missile rang out in the government district in central Kyiv, near the presidential office and parliament. It was the first damage from a missile attack in the district since October 2022.

In the city’s Sviatoshynsky district, an older man stood on the street, shaking and crying, after watching wounded children being evacuated from one strike site. “Their entire bodies were bandaged,” said the man, who declined to give his name. He struggled to say anything more. Cars caught fire on a street in one district. Klitschko wrote on the Telegram social messaging app that a warhead from one intercepted missile

had landed in a resident’s kitchen but did not explode.

In Kharkiv, Ukraine’s second-largest city, missiles killed two people and wounded at least 38, the mayor, Ihor Terekhov, wrote on Telegram.

Missiles hit at least four locations in the city, whose center is just 25 miles from the Russian border — the first strikes around 4 a.m. and another salvo three hours later, the head of the regional military adminis-

Explosion that killed soldiers linked to Israeli effort

About 20 died in blast related to buffer zone

By Adam Rasgon and Victoria Kim
NEW YORK TIMES

The Israeli military suffered its deadliest day of the Gaza Strip ground invasion Monday, announcing that 24 soldiers had been killed, about 20 of them in a single explosion inside the territory near the Israeli border.

►Israel’s treatment of Gaza detainees raises alarm. A4.

The blast occurred after militants in Gaza fired toward a tank guarding an Israeli engineering unit that had been setting explosives inside Palestinian buildings with the intention of demolishing them, the Israeli military said at a news briefing Tuesday. In the firefight, the explosives went off, causing the buildings to collapse and killing most of the soldiers inside, the military said.

Rear Admiral Daniel Hagari, the military’s chief spokesperson, said Tuesday night that two other soldiers, including a commander, were in a tank when it

was hit by a rocket, but he did not clarify whether they were still alive. Hagari said that rescue units extracted the soldiers struck in the firefight.

Hagari said the soldiers in the building, who were reservists, had been working to demolish infrastructure near the border between Israel and Gaza so that people could safely return to their homes in southern Israel. Tens of thousands of people have been evacuated from Israeli communities near the Gaza border since Hamas-led terrorist attacks on Oct. 7.

Israel has been demolishing Palestinian homes in eastern Gaza to create a buffer zone between Israel and Gaza, according to three Israeli officials who spoke anonymously because they were not authorized to speak publicly about the issue. Critics of Israeli policy say the practice is part of a wider disregard for civilian housing and property.

Hamas’s military wing confirmed it carried out an attack on a building east of the Maghazi neighborhood in central Gaza on Monday, leading to an explosion that destroyed the building. The military wing said it had also hit a tank guarding the building and detonated mines in the area.



AMIR LEVY/GETTY IMAGES

Family and friends mourned during a funeral for Captain Nir Binyamin, killed in a battle in Gaza, Tuesday in Israel.

The deaths came as Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu continued to struggle with domestic divisions over how to proceed in the war with Hamas, on top of international pressure over the enormous number of Palestinian deaths in Gaza and concerns about a broader regional war.

As Israeli politicians from the right and left expressed heartbreak over the losses, leading members of the government declared that the war should continue until Hamas is defeated.

Netanyahu said Israel had “experienced one of the most difficult days since the start of

the war” and that the army was examining the incident.

“We need to learn the necessary lessons and do everything to preserve our soldiers’ lives,” he said in a statement Tuesday, adding: “We will not stop fighting until complete victory.”

On Tuesday, the Israeli military also said it had killed dozens of Hamas fighters over the previous 24 hours. The claim could not be independently verified.

Netanyahu’s stated goals of the war are eliminating Hamas and securing the release of the hostages taken during the Oct. 7 attacks, although some Israeli military leaders have said the

two goals are incompatible in the short term. He faces mounting pressure to make a deal for the hostages’ release, even if that comes at the expense of eradicating the militant group.

President Isaac Herzog of Israel mourned the soldiers in a post on social media, saying news of the deaths had brought “an unbearably difficult morning.”

The military has released the names of all the soldiers who died in the explosion, ranging in age from 22 to 40. Nineteen of them were from the same brigade. It has also named three paratroopers killed Monday in Gaza.

Soldiers’ deaths can carry even heavier weight in Israel, a small country where military service is largely mandatory and a rite of passage.

Internationally, Netanyahu faces criticism over the widespread destruction in Gaza, where health officials say the death toll has surpassed 25,000 — by far the largest loss of life in a regional war with Israel in the past 40 years. Almost the entire population of 2.2 million has been displaced but remains sealed in Gaza, and international aid groups say disease is rampant and widespread hunger is nearing starvation levels.

DAILY BRIEFING

Germany bans public funding of neo-Nazi party

BERLIN — Germany’s top court on Tuesday stripped a neo-Nazi party of the right to public financing and the tax advantages normally extended to political organizations, a decision that could provide a blueprint for government efforts to head off a resurgence of the far right.

Although the party, Die Heimat, was too small to receive public funding, the case was closely watched because it could have implications for countering the Alternative for Germany, a more popular far-right party.

The government had tried to ban Die Heimat but failed because the court found that the party did not have enough support to hold any meaningful influence. That prompted the government to begin the procedure that culminated in the funding ban Tuesday.

Scholars and politicians have argued that the AfD should be banned on the basis that the party represents a threat to democracy. Others, however, have warned that approach, which would take years to clear all of the political and legal hurdles, could backfire by making the party even more popular.

NEW YORK TIMES

Turkey OK’s Sweden’s entry into NATO

ISTANBUL — Turkey’s parliament voted Tuesday to allow Sweden to join NATO, putting the Nordic country one step closer to entering the military alliance and easing a diplomatic stalemate that has clouded Turkey’s relations with the United States and hampered Western efforts to isolate Russia over its war in Ukraine.

The measure passed after a vote of 287-55, with four abstentions in the 600-member body. It makes Hungary the only NATO member that has not approved Sweden’s accession, depriving the alliance of the unanimity required to add a new member.

The bill’s passage is a big moment for NATO, paving the way for expanding its deterrence against Russia at a time when some of its members are struggling to provide Ukraine with enough arms to roll back Russia’s invasion. Sweden’s accession would open a vast stretch of Nordic land to potential military operations by the alliance and extend to Sweden the other members’ automatic protection should it come under attack.

NEW YORK TIMES

US military kills three militants in Somalia

MOGADISHU, Somalia — The US military said Tuesday that it conducted airstrikes in Somalia over the weekend that killed three Al Qaeda-linked Al Shabab militants, and that there were no civilian casualties.

The US Africa Command said in a statement that the strikes were done at the request of Somalia’s government, and that they were carried out in an area about 20 miles northeast of Kismayo on Sunday.

Al Shabab, the largest and most active Al Qaeda network in the world, has proved both its will and capability to attack US forces and threaten Washington’s security interests, the statement said.

The militants have been waging a 16-year-old insurgency against the weak, Western-backed Somali government, which is being bolstered by African Union peacekeeping troops.

In 2020, Al Shabab extremists overran a military base used by US counterterror forces on the Kenyan coast, killing three American soldiers and destroying several US aircraft and vehicles before they were repelled.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Israel’s treatment of Gaza detainees raises an alarm

Accounts detail being stripped, hit, interrogated

By Raja Abdulrahim
NEW YORK TIMES

Cold, almost naked, and surrounded by Israeli soldiers with M16 rifles, Ayman Lubbad knelt among dozens of Palestinian men and boys who had just been forced from their homes in the northern Gaza Strip.

It was early December and photographs and videos taken at the time showed him and other detainees in the street, wearing only underwear and lined up in rows, surrounded by Israeli forces. In one video, a soldier yelled at them over a megaphone: “We’re occupying all of Gaza. Is

that what you wanted? You want Hamas with you? Don’t tell me you’re not Hamas.”

The detainees, some barefoot with their hands on their heads, shouted objections. “I’m a day laborer,” one man shouted. “Shut up,” the soldier yelled back.

Palestinian detainees from Gaza have been stripped, beaten, interrogated, and held incomunicado over the past three months, according to accounts by nearly a dozen of the detainees or their relatives interviewed by The New York Times. Organizations representing Palestinian prisoners and detainees gave similar accounts in a report, accusing Israel of both indiscriminate detention of civilians and demeaning treatment of detainees.

Israeli forces who invaded Gaza after the Oct. 7 Hamas-led attack have detained men, women, and children by the thousands.

Some were ordered out of their houses and seized while others were taken as they fled their neighborhoods on foot with their families, trying to reach safer areas after Israeli authorities ordered them to leave.

Photographs taken by Gaza journalists have shown newly released detainees being treated in hospitals, the skin around their wrists worn down with deep cuts from the tight restraints Israeli forces kept on them, sometimes for weeks at a time.

The United Nations human rights office said last week that Israel’s treatment of detainees from Gaza might amount to tor-

ture. It estimated that thousands had been detained and held in “horrific” conditions before being released, sometimes with no clothes on, only diapers.

In a statement in response to questions from the Times, the Israeli military said it detains people suspected of involvement in terrorist activity and releases those who are cleared. It said Israeli authorities were treating detainees in accordance with international law and defended forcing men and boys to strip, saying this was to “ensure that they are not concealing explosive vests or other weaponry.”

“Detainees are given back their clothes when it’s possible,” the military added.

Human rights defenders say Israel’s detention and demeaning treatment of Palestinians in

Gaza could violate international laws of war.

“Since the beginning of the Israeli bombardment and ground invasion in Gaza, the Israeli army arrested hundreds of Palestinians in a barbaric and unprecedented manner and has published pictures and videos showing the inhumane treatment of detainees,” said a recent report by several Palestinian rights groups, including the Palestinian Prisoners’ Commission and Addameer.

“So far, Israel has concealed the fate of detainees from Gaza, has not disclosed their numbers, and prevented lawyers and the Red Cross from visiting detainees,” the report added.

A spokesperson for the International Committee of the Red Cross, Hisham Mhanna, said his

organization received daily reports from families in Gaza about detained family members. The organization is working on some 4,000 cases of Palestinians from Gaza who had vanished, nearly half believed to be detained by the Israeli military, he said.

The group has been seeking information about the conditions and whereabouts of detainees and pushing for visits. But only in a handful of cases has it even received proof of life, Mhanna said.

Brian Finucane, an analyst at the research organization International Crisis Group and a former legal adviser to the State Department, said international law set “a very high bar” to detain noncombatants and required that they be treated humanely.

African migrant hub reopens

Seen by many as path to Europe

By Elian Peltier
NEW YORK TIMES

AGADEZ, Niger — The bus station in Agadez, a remote city of low mud-brick buildings in the West African nation of Niger, is buzzing again.

Every week, thousands of migrants from West and Central Africa leave from the station in this gateway city to the Sahara aboard a caravan of pickup trucks, traveling for days toward North Africa, where many will then try to cross the Mediterranean in a quest to reach Europe.

For years, this portal was closed, at least officially. The country’s government, friendly to Europe, outlawed migration out of Agadez, and in exchange the European Union poured hundreds of millions of dollars into Niger’s coffers and the local economy.

But last summer, after generals in Niger seized power in a military coup, the European Union suspended financial support to the government — and in response, the generals severed the migration arrangement with the European Union in November. The gate is once again open, and a fresh flock of hopeful migrants is once again passing through, to the relief of many locals.

Niger’s decision, however, has caused alarm among European officials, who fear that the end of the partnership with Niger will lead many more people to attempt the treacherous journey north.

The land route through the



CARMEN ABD ALI/NEW YORK TIMES

Men returned from Libya on the way back to their countries of origin, in Agadez, Niger, last month.

Agadez gateway in Niger is thought by many migrants to be less expensive and less dangerous than the ocean route in the Atlantic — on rickety boats from the west coast of Africa through the Canary Islands. Even with the Niger route officially closed, migration toward Europe in 2022 reached the highest point since 2016.

Migration is once again topping the agendas of several European governments, and far-right parties looking to expel migrants are on the rise months before crucial elections for the European Parliament, one of the three key institutions of the European Union.

Emmanuela Del Re, the European Union’s top diplomat for the African region that includes Niger, said in a recent interview

that Niger’s junta was striking back at the European Union for refusing to recognize it: “They’re using migration as blackmail against the European Union.”

In Agadez, a desert outpost that has been at the crossroads of trade and migratory routes for centuries, thousands of households had relied on transporting, accommodating, and selling goods to migrants.

With migration legal again, opportunities are back: Young men are buying new pickups to drive people north. Entrepreneurs who arranged housing and transportation for migrants have been released from prison.

“We’ve always considered migration an economic activity,” said Mohamed Anacko, the top civilian official in the Agadez re-

gion. “It’s not trafficking, it’s transportation.”

Already, up to 100 pickups, with 30 passengers squeezed in each, leave Agadez every week under military escort to protect them from bandits. Before Niger’s government repealed the law last year, a few dozen trucks were leaving illegally, the local authorities and researchers say.

Few people have any incentive to keep the size of these caravans low: when Niger began implementing its antimigration law in 2016, thousands of locals lost their only source of income. Agadez essentially turned into a border post for the European Union, thousands of miles from European shores.

Countless people transiting through Niger never try to reach Europe; many work in

North African countries for a few years before going back home.

Still, scarred by the migration crisis of 2015, when more than 1 million people reached Europe mostly from the Middle East and Africa, the European Union has scrambled to keep migrants at bay, providing financial support to some key transit countries in exchange for tougher border controls.

For Niger, it was an appealing trade-off.

Until the coup last summer, the European Union provided nearly \$1 billion in bilateral aid to the government of Niger since 2014, according to official figures from the bloc, on top of the hundreds of millions spent by individual European countries.

Number of living Holocaust survivors shrinking

Only 245,000 are alive, with a median age of 86

By Kirsten Grieshaber
ASSOCIATED PRESS

BERLIN — Almost 80 years after the Holocaust, about 245,000 Jewish survivors are still living across more than 90 countries, a new report revealed Tuesday.

Nearly half of them, or 49 percent, are living in Israel; 18 percent are in Western Europe, 16 percent in the United States, and 12 percent in countries of the former Soviet Union, according to a study by the New York-based Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, also referred to as the Claims Conference.

Before the publication of the demographic report, there were only vague estimates about how many Holocaust survivors are still alive.

Their numbers are quickly dwindling, as most are very old and often of frail health, with a median age of 86. Twenty percent of survivors are older than 90, and more women (61 percent) than men (39 percent) are

still alive.

The vast majority, or 96 percent of survivors, are “child survivors” who were born after 1928, according to the report “Holocaust Survivors Worldwide. A Demographic Overview,” which is based on figures that were collected up until August.

“The numbers in this report are interesting, but it is also important to look past the numbers to see the individuals they represent,” said Greg Schneider, the Claims Conference’s executive vice president.

“These are Jews who were born into a world that wanted to see them murdered. They endured the atrocities of the Holocaust in their youth and were forced to rebuild an entire life out of the ashes of the camps and ghettos that ended their families and communities.”

Six million European Jews and people from other minorities were killed by the Nazis and collaborators during the Holocaust.

It is not clear exactly how many Jews survived the death camps, the ghettos, or somewhere in hiding across Nazi-occupied Europe, but their numbers were a far cry from the pre-war Jewish population in Europe.



EBRAHIM NOROOZI/AP

Ruth Winkelmann, 95, a Holocaust survivor, said her father died in the Auschwitz concentration camp.

In Poland, of the 3.3 million Jews living there in 1939, only about 300,000 survived.

Around 560,000 Jews lived in Germany in 1933, the year Adolf Hitler came to power. At the end of World War II in 1945, their numbers had diminished to about 15,000 — through emigration and extermination.

Germany’s Jewish community grew again after 1990, when more than 215,000 Jewish migrants and their families came from countries of the former Soviet Union, some of them also survivors.

Today, only 14,200 survivors still live in Germany, the demographic report concluded.

One of them is Ruth Winkelmann, who survived by hiding with her mother and sister in a garden shed on the northern outskirts of Berlin. Her father was killed in the Auschwitz death camp. Her younger sister Esther died of illness, hunger, and exhaustion in March 1945, just weeks before the liberation of Berlin by the Soviet Red Army. Winkelmann, who is 95 and still lives in Berlin, said there hasn’t been a day in her life when she didn’t remember her beloved father.

“It always hurts,” she said. “The pain is there day and night.”

For its new report, the Claims Conference said it defined Holocaust survivors “based on agreements with the German government in assessing eligibility for compensation programs.”

For Germany, that definition includes all Jews who lived in the country from Jan. 30, 1933, to May 1945, when Germany surrendered in World War II.

The group handles claims on behalf of Jews who suffered under the Nazis and negotiates compensation with Germany’s finance ministry every year.

Iran hangs protester over fatal accident

Crackdown on dissent continues

By Leily Nikounazar and Emma Bubola
NEW YORK TIMES

Iranian authorities hanged a 23-year-old man early Tuesday, the latest in a string of executions linked to the large-scale protests that shook the country in the fall of 2022.

Mohammad Ghobadlou, who worked in a barbershop, was accused of killing a police officer by running over him with his car. His execution, several months after the last hanging of a protester, illustrated how the government is continuing to crack down on dissent in the wake of that monthslong uprising against the Islamic Republic.

“They are killing us one by one,” actor Ashkan Khatibi wrote on social media in a post that included a picture of Ghobadlou’s father, a disabled veteran of the Iran-Iraq war, wrapped in a blanket in front of the prison where his son was held.

The protests were set off by the death of Mahsa Amini, 22, in September 2022 while she was in the custody of the morality police, accused of violating Iran’s hijab law. The months of demonstrations that followed in cities across the country broadened to include demands for social freedom and political change.

Iran’s security forces killed hundreds of protesters and arrested thousands. Many of the detained were accused of “moharebeh,” a broad term that means waging a war on God and is typically punishable with death. Iran has executed at least eight people over the protests.

After Ghobadlou’s arrest in Tehran in September 2022, his mother, Masomeh Ahmadi, said that her son’s actions had been affected by “bipolar disorder and not taking his medication” and by the overall situation in Iran.

As a result, he “lost his control and was not feeling himself during the incident,” she wrote on Instagram. “He wasn’t able to make the right decision.”

Before his hanging on Tuesday, she appealed for his well-being in a video that she posted on social media. “Bring my son back to me,” she said. “Forgive my son, my sick son.”

In the months after Ghobadlou’s arrest, a group of 50 psychiatrists in Iran wrote a letter to the judiciary in which they urged that a committee of professionals examine his health before his sentencing.

The Mizan news agency reported on Tuesday that the country’s Supreme Court had upheld the verdict and death sentence after a psychological examination. But Amir Raesian, Ghobadlou’s lawyer, said on social media that the Supreme Court had overturned the sentence and that the last information he had received from the judiciary was that the execution had been put on hold, subject to further investigation.

He said he had been informed of the execution only a few hours before it was carried out.

BOSTON GLOBE MEDIA
1 Exchange Place, Suite 201
Boston, MA 02109-2132

The Boston Globe (USPS061-420)
is published Monday–Saturday.
Periodicals postage–paid at Boston, MA.
Postmaster, send address changes to:

Mail Subscription Department
300 Constitution Dr.
Taunton, MA 02783

**YEARLY MAIL SUBSCRIPTION RATES
FOR NEW ENGLAND**

Seven days\$1,612.00
Daily (6 Days)\$1,060.80
Sunday only.....\$520.00

For all other mail subscription rates and
information, call 1-888-MYGLOBE or visit
www.bostonglobe.com/subscribe

Free newspaper reading service for
the visually impaired: Contact
Perkins Braille & Talking Book Library at
800-852-3133 or www.perkinslibrary.org


Experience Globe.com

UMass protesters barred from study abroad after arrests

►**UMASS**
Continued from Page A1
the university was going that far to punish me.”

During a tumultuous time on college campuses across the country following the Oct. 7 Hamas attack, the incident is another example of a clash between university administrators and student protesters opposing Israel’s bombardment of Gaza.

While UMass said it was simply following policies outlined in agreements students signed, the three students whose study-abroad eligibility was revoked say they are facing unusually harsh punishment because of their political views, with at least one threatening to sue. The saga has sparked concerns around First Amendment rights on campus and seen a flood of support from UMass students, faculty, and alumni calling on the university to drop disciplinary sanctions.

O’Neill “was participating in a peaceful expression of his political convictions,” said Rachel Mordecai, an English department faculty member and O’Neill’s faculty adviser. “This denial of the opportunity to study-abroad constitutes a disproportionate penalty for what Aidan participated in.”

Mordecai wrote a letter, obtained by the Globe, signed by 23 other English department faculty members, to UMass Amherst’s International Programs Office in support of O’Neill, whom they called “an exceptionally successful and talented student.”

Jason Moralee, UMass Amherst associate dean of research and diversity, equity, and inclu-

sion, also wrote to fellow administrators in support of O’Neill and the other two students, urging the International Programs Office to “clear these students for study abroad swiftly.”

Moralee previously served as director of the UMass Oxford Summer Seminar in England for two years. In his experience, he wrote, students are “routinely” cleared to study abroad even if they have code of conduct violations or are on academic probation for drunk and disorderly arrests or academic dishonesty.

“Surely, peaceful protest done by exemplary students whose records are otherwise clear . . . is an offense that should not in itself prevent students from studying abroad,” he continued.

UMass told the Globe that students with active academic sanctions are not cleared to study abroad. The university said its disciplinary measures have nothing to do with the content of the October protest; rather, administrators are just following policy for students who are placed on disciplinary probation for any reason.

“To participate in a UMass Amherst study-abroad program, students must be in good standing academically with the university and in compliance with the university’s Code of Student Conduct,” university spokesperson Ed Blaguszewski said in an email statement. “Consistent with the university’s past practice and the Student Agreement of Participation signed by each student, IPO revoked eligibility for these students to study abroad for the upcoming winter/



CRAIG F. WALKER/GLOBE STAFF

Aidan O’Neill said he’s considering pursuing study abroad next year, after his probation ends.

spring terms.”

It all began Oct. 25 when about 500 students staged a sit-in at the Whitmore Administration Building, demanding UMass cut ties with defense contractor Raytheon Technologies, which produces missile components for Israel’s Iron Dome air defense system. After refusing to leave when the building closed at 6 p.m., 56 students, including O’Neill, and one staff member were arrested for trespassing, and later placed on disciplinary probation until the end of the spring semester.

The IPO then revoked O’Neill’s study-abroad eligibility, citing an agreement he had signed stipulating that students cannot participate if they have pending legal or disciplinary actions or are on academic probation.

But O’Neill and the two other students, whose lawyers de-

clined to identify them, say their disciplinary treatment isn’t consistent with past practice.

In 2016, 19 UMass Amherst students were arrested for trespassing at a sit-in at the same building, demanding UMass divest from fossil fuel companies. However, the university did not pursue further disciplinary action, according to Mica Reel, who was a UMass sophomore that year and led the divestment campaign. In fact, Reel said, UMass leadership expressed support for the 2016 protesters and the university divested its endowment from fossil fuels a month later.

Rachel Weber, an attorney who represented the 57 protesters arrested in October in district court, said the university’s handling of the pro-Palestinian students constituted “differential treatment” compared to the 2016 protest.

With overdoses on rise, small idea making a big difference in deaths

►**OVERDOSES**
Continued from Page A1

enters a room to when they exit. If the monitor doesn’t pick up motion for a set amount of time, an alarm goes off and an emergency medical team can respond.

The life-saving monitors can go anywhere, though they have proven particularly effective in public bathrooms, which have long functioned as convenient sites for illicit drug use. Accessible but isolated and free from surveillance cameras, these restrooms are among the few places in public where drug users are out of view while they get high. Yet the seclusion of bathrooms also makes them deadly: People who have collapsed from respiratory failure can go unnoticed for hours, say harm reduction specialists and front-line health workers.

King installed his first system at a Boston health clinic nearly seven years ago, thinking it was a one-off project. Yet since then, the illicit drug supply in New England and across the nation has become increasingly dangerous, with the potent synthetic opioid fentanyl driving record overdose deaths year after year. In 2022, overdose fatalities in Massachusetts reached 2,359 — the highest on record and more than triple the number from a decade ago.

As overdoses have surged, so has demand for King’s monitors and technical know-how.

The growing popularity of the devices reflects the dire nature of an unrelenting overdose crisis that is claiming about 300 American lives a day, and the lack of safe and hygienic spaces for users. “It’s a desperate, terrible solution,” said Jessie Gaeta, a physician and former medical director for the Boston Health Care for the Homeless Program, among the first to adopt the motion-sensor systems. “Of course it’s better than not having the sensors, but it’s so below what people deserve and need.”

Long used in commercial alarm systems, the technology is straightforward to operate.

Install a motion-sensor device roughly the size of a fire alarm on the ceiling of a restroom. As soon as someone enters the room and closes the door, the motion detector turns on. If it does not detect any motion for 2 minutes and 45 seconds, a high-pitched alarm sounds and a strobe light flashes above the door, alerting people nearby to a likely overdose. Trained staff can then force open the door and administer naloxone, the overdose-reversal medi-



ERIN CLARK/GLOBE STAFF

John King’s alert system has been particularly effective in public bathrooms.

cation, and other emergency care, according to a recent video and description of the so-called safe bathroom devices by STAT News, the Globe’s sister publication for science and technology.

False alarms are inevitable. In homeless shelters, King noted, it’s common for people to be so exhausted when they come in from the elements that they fall asleep in restrooms — setting off the alarms. Other times, people pass out from drinking alcohol or simply sit motionless on the toilet for so long, reading or watching their phones, that the sensors fail to pick up movement, King said.

But with each new installation, more lives are saved. The Boston Public Health Commission estimates that at least 75 potentially deadly overdoses in the bathrooms of its homeless shelter have been reversed since last April thanks to alarms triggered by King’s systems, which range from \$8,000 to \$9,000 per bathroom for both the equipment and installation.

“It’s a vital tool,” said Gregory Grays-Thomas, director of the Homeless Services Bureau at the commission, which has equipped three of its shelters with King’s systems. “We can never be 100 percent aware of what’s happening in all our spaces, particularly when people are homeless and have few options for private space.”

Now others, inspired by King’s work, are looking for ways to scale up the technology. Vancouver, B.C.-based Brave Technology Co-Op has installed similar monitors in more than 50 sites across North America, and recently was awarded a contract by Rhode Island to roll out the equipment in up to 100 locations across the state, including areas identified as “hot spots” for overdoses. Brave has deployed the sensors in an array of settings, including bathrooms in public libraries, transit hubs, coffee shops, and shopping

malls.

“My dream is that these sensors would be in every public washroom in every gas station, A&W, Tim Horton’s [coffee shops], and McDonald’s across the continent,” said Oona Krieg, chief operating officer at Brave Technology. “When you look at how many people are using [drugs] on a daily basis, and that they are using alone and at risk, it’s a no-brainer.”

Mild mannered but intense, King said he became “obsessed” with making the technology work after a visit to a South End health clinic operated by Boston Health Care for the Homeless in 2016.

He had just wrapped up a routine electrical job when a facility administrator pulled him aside and asked if he knew of a way to wire the bathrooms to detect overdoses, which were happening at a rate of five per week at the clinic, King said.

King poured himself into the project. He outfitted the basement of his Andover home with motion sensor devices and electrical relay circuits, equipment that he had once used on alarm systems he installed in banks. Then he talked to doctors, nurses, and custodians to understand what happens to a person who overdoses, even acting out the experience in his basement worksite.

No one has died from an overdose once the alarms have been triggered, he said.

Over the years, King has fine tuned the equipment to respond to the growing potency of street drugs. Initially, he thought four minutes would be a long enough interval of no motion to trigger the alarm. Yet with fentanyl, respiratory failure can occur even sooner. In response, King has gradually ratcheted down the alarm system to detect overdoses in less than two minutes.

Yet even now, years after installing his first system, King is haunted by a tragic episode one winter day two years ago. A Boston clinic had asked King to install the sensors in its cafeteria bathrooms, but he was wrapping up another job at a hospital in Worcester and couldn’t immediately get there. In the meantime, a man died in one of the bathrooms from an overdose.

Now King rarely waits long when getting an order.

“I remember thinking to myself, ‘Oh my God, that [death] could have been prevented,’ had I been there sooner,” he said. “But I can’t be everywhere at once.”

Chris Serres can be reached at chris.serres@globe.com.



There’s a perfect place for your mom or dad.

And we’ll help you find it.

We know that finding the right senior care for your mom or dad is a big decision. That’s where A Place for Mom comes in. Our senior living advisory service ensures you’ll get a full understanding of all the options in your area based on your loved one’s care needs and budget.

You’ll get more than just expert advice and recommendations. You’ll also get peace of mind.

Start the conversation with one of our expert Senior Living Advisors today.

Our service comes at no cost to your family.
Connect with us at 866.333.4907.



aPlaceforMom.com
THE PLACE FOR SENIOR LIVING ADVICE

ASSISTED LIVING MEMORY CARE INDEPENDENT LIVING HOME CARE



Experience **Globe.com**

CAMPAIGN 2024 NEW HAMPSHIRE PRIMARY



ERIN CLARK/GLOBE STAFF



SUZANNE KREITER/GLOBE STAFF



JESSICA RINALDI/GLOBE STAFF

DECISION DAY — Bart Bartelsman (top) monitored ballot boxes at the Winnacunnet High School in Hampton, N.H., for the primary on Tuesday. At the Amherst Street School, a voter (left) cast a vote. Les Otten (above) walked out of the voting booth in Dixville Notch, N.H., at midnight Monday.

VOTERS VOICES

At the polls, a glimpse of the forces shaping the presidential race

As they trekked to polling places across the state Tuesday, New Hampshire voters embodied the range of cross-currents buffeting the country as it heads into a consequential election year.

Some arrived at the high school gymnasiums or community centers brimming with enthusiasm for former president Donald Trump, undeterred — or even spurred on — by the 91 criminal charges he faces. Others turned out in hopes of helping former United Nations ambassador Nikki Haley pull off an upset, tired of the constant drama the former president leaves in his wake.

Democrats turned out, too, but their choice was more complicated. President Biden, wasn't on the ballot, thanks to the Democratic National Committee's decision to bump New Hampshire from its traditional first-in-the-nation primary spot in favor of more-diverse South Carolina. An effort emerged to convince voters to write in his name; others chose to send a message of their unhappiness with him.

Whether these voters were motivated with zeal for their preferred candidates, or held their noses to pick the "lesser of two evils" as one voter put it, their voices capture the deeply divided national mood, and provide insight on both how the next nine or so months will play out and the challenges both parties face in rallying voters to their side before November.

'I had my mind focused'

Mark F. Walton, 60, wore a black hat with "Make America Great Again" embroidered in bright white letters as he and his wife, Gail A. Walton, 63, ex-

ited their Exeter polling place.

Registered Republicans both, they voted for Trump in 2016 and 2020 — and happily did so again in Tuesday's primary.

Trump did a good job in the White House, the couple said, so they want him in charge again.

"I want somebody that's going to do what they say they're going to do, not just tell me what I want to hear," Gail Walton said.

She never gave much consideration to voting for anyone else, including Haley, she said.

"I really never thought much about her — and I don't mean that in a bad way — I just, I had my mind focused, and that's where it was going to be," she said.

Mark Walton said immigration and border security are key policy issues on which he is eager for Trump's leadership. "I don't see nothing wrong with doing legal immigration, but all these men that are coming in that are of military age and stuff, young men, we don't know who any of them are," he said. "It's like an invasion. There's like thousands of them coming in every day. We don't know who they are. We don't know if they're criminals or where they came from."

STEVEN PORTER

'A step away from some significant negativity'

Joe Gorgol, an undeclared voter, voted for Haley at the Henniker Community School Tuesday. The 42-year-old military veteran and current defense contractor said the former South Carolina governor's messaging resonated with him.

"It's probably a good oppor-



SUZANNE KREITER/GLOBE STAFF

At the Amherst Street School in Nashua, Stephanie Valeras voted under the watchful eye of her 3-year-old son, Noah.

tunity to get a little bit of change in the course of our country and to take a step away from some significant negativity," Gorgol said.

He felt Haley would be very capable in addressing two of his top priorities as a voter: balancing the national budget and managing international relations and defense strategy, which is "near and dear to his heart."

As an independent, he said he tries hard to remain open minded when evaluating candidates, and while he feels he more aligned with the Republican Party, he's never considered voting for Trump.

"A bombastic, outspoken, 'I'm always right' personality doesn't strike me as an effective political leader or an effective representation of either myself or should be an effective representative of America,"

said Gorgol.

NIKI GRISWOLD

'Between fascism and the future of America'

In Franklin, Stephanie Larrabee, 42, and Joseph Myrdek, 38, were undeterred by Biden's decision to skip the first-in-the-nation primary; both wrote in Biden's name. It was an easy decision, as Myrdek put it, because his highest priority is to defeat Trump.

"It's really black and white almost at this point between fascism and the future of America," said Myrdek, who, like Larrabee, is a registered Democrat. "I'm not the biggest fan of what's going on in Israel right now, but I'm willing to put that aside for the greater election, where we go forth from here. Trump literally said he would be a dictator," he continued, referring to comments

Trump made in December saying he won't be a dictator if he wins reelection, "other than [on] day one."

Myrdek said he believes Haley would be a stronger general election opponent for Biden than Trump, given the former president's legal woes, and because Haley, at 52, is younger.

AMANDA GOKEE

'Two old dudes ... a nightmare'

Standing outside the Webster Elementary School in Manchester, Andrew Hershey, a 30-year-old independent, said he voted for Haley, mostly because "I can't vote for Trump."

"I'm hoping she can give Trump a run for his money, make him sweat a little bit and see him get rid of a little of that spray tan," the Manchester resident said.

Hershey said he voted for

Biden in 2020, and would do it again in November if it comes down to him versus Trump. But reliving that matchup inspires dread, not excitement. "We've got two old dudes, and don't want to see them going back at it again. It was a nightmare," Hershey said.

MATT STOUT

'Other people have chickened out'

Mark Kegel, 65, is a physician and a "Democrat through and through," who said he voted for Dean Phillips, a Democratic congressman from Minnesota who is running in the Democratic primary. "I just think we need someone younger, more vibrant," he said after voting in Concord.

"Other people have chickened out running against the president." He said health care is one of the biggest issues to him, and he supports Phillips's platform, which includes Medicare for All.

In Hampton, Katherine Harake stood alone amid a row of Biden supporters, holding a Phillips sign taped to a mop handle. Harake, a Democrat, said she supported Phillips because of Biden's handling of the Israel-Hamas war.

"I feel like having allies is one thing, but unconditional support to the point of 25,000 people dead for me is not something I can accept as an American and as a Democrat," she said.

Harake knows Phillips stands little chance of beating Biden in the primary, but as a proud New Hampshire resident, she plans to vote on her beliefs rather than out of fear, she said.

AMANDA GOKEE, NATASHA LACHAC

CAMPAIGN 2024 NEW HAMPSHIRE PRIMARY

POLLING PLACE SWAG

Kids’ designs add whimsy to typical stickers

New look proves popular among post-vote crowd

By Lylah Alphonse
GLOBE STAFF
CONCORD, N.H. — Voters across New Hampshire were rewarded with a little bit of whimsy when they went to vote in the presidential primary Tuesday. The “I Voted” stickers they received at polling stations were designed by fourth-grade students from around the Granite State.

“The sticker I got for voting was crazy cool,” said Dan Kelleher, 25, of Concord.

The students won’t be old enough to vote in a presidential election until 2032 at the earliest, but New Hampshire officials found a way to get them involved in this election cycle with a sticker-designing contest held in September and October 2023.

The hand-drawn designs had to include the phrase “I Voted” and be drawn on a 2-inch-wide template provided by the secretary of state’s office. Offensive or partisan messages were ineligible, each student could submit just one design, and parents had to give permission for their children to participate. The secretary of state’s office received more than 1,000 entries.

The three winning designs were picked by a panel of local election officials and unveiled on Oct. 24, 2023. The designs were judged based on their creativity, inclusivity of all voters, and focus on New Hampshire, organizers said at the time.

The winning designs featured iconic New Hampshire imagery: a moose overlooking fall foliage with Mt. Washington on the horizon, the Old Man of the Mountain with the American flag as the sky, and a cartoon figure shaped like the state of New



SUZANNE KREITER/GLOBE STAFF

The “I Voted” stickers were designed by fourth-graders as part of a contest held by the state in September and October.

Hampshire happily fishing in a lake with the stars and stripes overhead.

“We were thrilled by the number of submissions we received from highly engaged fourth graders across New Hampshire,” Deputy Secretary of State Erin Hennessey said in a press release. “Their designs showed a high level of talent, home state pride, and engagement in our election process. It was difficult to pick just three winners!”

On primary day, many voters were eager to get them instead of a more generic and more traditional design.

“The kids’ stickers are awe-

some. I hope I get one,” said Sam Call, 23, an independent voter in Salem who said he was casting his ballot for Republican Nikki Haley.

Even those who turned down a sticker acknowledged that the designs were good.

“They did offer me one. ... It’s a nice looking sticker,” Eddy Comeau, 20, said with a chuckle as he emerged from his polling place in Plaistow. “I’m just not a sticker guy.”

The state printed 2 million stickers, which were distributed to all polling locations in the state. Printing and delivery cost “about \$10,000,” Hennessey told the Globe.

“They should have enough for all of the elections in 2024, depending on how many stickers each voter takes,” Hennessey said.

Speaking from Windham, Hennessey said the feedback on the stickers has been strong, especially from parents who come in with children, and from former teachers. “Everyone has just been extremely positive about them,” she said. “They sometimes take all three.”

So far, there are no set plans to continue the contest for future election cycles, but there is definitely a lot of interest. Younger siblings of the current artists are especially hopeful,

Hennessey said.

“We have gotten such positive feedback,” she added. “Over 1,000 students entered the competition, and there was a lot of great talent.”

While only the three winning designs were printed and distributed statewide, all of the entries are currently on display in the tunnel between the State House and the legislative office building in Concord.

Amanda Gokee and Steven Porter of the Globe staff contributed to this report. Lylah Alphonse can be reached at lylah.alphonse@globe.com. Follow her @WriteEditRepeat.

GOP voters express concerns about immigration

WASHINGTON — New Hampshire Republicans who voted Tuesday expressed a desire to curb immigration and overhaul the federal government, yet they have some misgivings about former president Trump and the criminal charges facing him, according to a survey of voters.

There were signs Democrats are rallying around President Biden on the economy, but many have concerns about his age — he is 81 — and his handling of the war in the Middle East.

The findings from AP VoteCast point to some of the dominant issues that could shape the general election in November, with voters sharing which issues they care most about and how they perceive the top candidates. Even as the coronavirus pandemic has faded as an election-defining risk, the results of the survey show that the cultural and social forces from the 2020 election have endured.

AP VoteCast was a survey of more than 1,890 New Hampshire voters taking part in the Republican primary and 873 Democratic primary voters. The survey is conducted by the Associated Press-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research.

The New Hampshire primaries are unique because undeclared voters — those not affiliated with either party — can vote for a particular party. This draws in voters who are not necessarily party loyalists. More than 4 in 10 GOP primary voters are not affiliated with a party, compared with about 2 in 10 in the Democratic primary.

New Hampshire Republican voters were more likely than those in Iowa to say they are political moderates. They are less likely to identify as born-again Christians. GOP voters in New Hampshire are less supportive than are Iowa Republicans of a six-week abortion ban or reducing aid for Ukraine. Only about one-half identify with Trump’s “Make America Great Again” movement, and nearly half say Biden was legitimately elected



JESSICA RINALDI/GLOBE STAFF

The number of media dwarfed the number of voters in Dixville Notch early Tuesday.

four years ago.

As inflation has eased and job growth continued, concerns about the economy have become less pressing compared with the chaos along the southern border.

In New Hampshire, about 4 in 10 Republican voters identify immigration as the most critical issue facing the United States. About 7 in 10 say immigrants in the country today do more to hurt the country than help it. And 8 in 10 favor building a wall along the southern border.

By contrast, 3 in 10 Republican voters say the economy is their priority. This mirrors the results from the Iowa caucuses and marks a change from the 2020 and 2022 general elections when Republicans generally said the economy was a top concern.

About 8 in 10 GOP voters in the New Hampshire primary say they would like substantial changes or complete and total upheaval in how the country is run, continuing a theme that emerged among Republicans in the Iowa caucuses.

Compared with Iowa caucusgoers, New Hampshire Republican primary voters have slightly more doubts about Trump, who won the caucuses. About half of GOP voters are very or somewhat concerned that Trump is too extreme to win the general election.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

A frosty chasm between Democratic voters

MANCHESTER, N.H. — About 100 feet of sawhorse barrier lined the entrance to Hillside Middle School in Manchester, unintentionally evincing the divide in the New Hampshire Democratic primary.

At one end, closest to the parking lot, stood Representative Dean Phillips of Minnesota, a Democratic candidate challenging President Biden. He was surrounded by about a half-dozen staff members and volunteers energetically waving signs.

At the other end were two members of the local Manchester Democrats, proudly holding signs encouraging voters to write in Joe Biden, who is not on the ballot after a clash over his effort to strip New Hampshire of its first-in-the-nation primary status.

Julie Swant, 84, who was balancing a “Write-In Biden” sign on the back of the sawhorse fence, shifted her sunny disposition while greeting voters to glare at the mere mention of Phillips’s name.

“We love Joe Biden. We were just chatting about how much he’s done, and it’s so much,” she said. Her fellow “Write-In Biden” sign holder and neighbor, Jim Webber, 68, nodded in agreement.

Back on the other end of the

fence, Phillips continued to greet voters for about an hour, having arrived right as polls opened at 7 a.m., taking only a brief break for a radio interview from the quiet (and warmth) of his SUV.

“Good morning!” Phillips shouted to voters as they strode into the polls around 7:30 a.m., his hand outstretched for a handshake. “Do you know who I am?”

Poll workers briefly came outside, eager to take a picture with a candidate.

In an interview, Phillips called the day “the most joyful, wonderful day I think in my life, to be part of this.”

NEW YORK TIMES

Full appeals court rejects change in Trump’s gag order

WASHINGTON — Washington’s federal appeals court on Tuesday rejected Donald Trump’s request to reconsider a gag order restricting the former president’s speech in the case charging him with plotting to overturn the 2020 election.

Lawyers for the Republican presidential front-runner had asked the full US Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit to examine the gag order after a three-judge panel upheld but narrowed the restrictions on his speech. Trump can now appeal to the US Supreme Court.

An attorney for Trump didn’t immediately respond to a message seeking comment.

The gag order was imposed by US District Judge Tanya Chutkan in October in response to concerns from special counsel Jack Smith’s team that Trump’s pattern of incendiary comments could taint the proceedings, intimidate witnesses, and influence jurors. The three judge panel that upheld the gag order modified it in important ways, freeing Trump to publicly criticize Smith.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

In the state’s upper reaches, a tradition is tallied up

DIXVILLE NOTCH, N.H. — The first votes in the New Hampshire primary were cast in the township of Dixville Notch.

All six of them. Nikki Haley took 100 percent of the vote, with 100 percent turnout. The polls — or poll, in this case — opened just after the clock struck midnight, as they have here for 64 years, to great fanfare. And 10 minutes later, the voting was done.

The event is as much a press spectacle as it is a serious exercise in democracy. There were more than 10 journalists for every voter, including representatives from major TV networks, newspapers, wire services, and foreign press from over a dozen countries.

Haley’s unanimous victory came as something of a surprise to a first-time Dixville Notch voter, Valerie Maxwell, 54, who works for the resort where the voting was held.

“I wasn’t sure she would do it but I’m so excited,” Maxwell said.

The township, just 20 miles from the Canadian border, was once heralded as a near-magic bellwether. The winner of its Republican primary went on to win the party’s nomination in every election cycle from 1968 to 2012. Whatever predictive powers it may have possessed were exposed by Donald Trump, who lost in Dixville Notch, 2 votes to 3, in 2016 to former governor John Kasich of Ohio.

NEW YORK TIMES

STRATEGY

Biden set to shift top aide to lead campaign

O’Malley Dillon to move to Del.

By Reid J. Epstein
NEW YORK TIMES

MANCHESTER, N.H. — President Biden has approved a shake-up of the leadership of his campaign and will dispatch a top White House aide to take over functional control of his reelection effort just as former president Trump appeared to seize control of the Republican primary contest to oppose him.

The aide, Jennifer O’Malley Dillon, who was the campaign manager for Biden’s 2020 campaign and has served as a deputy chief of staff in the White House since he became president, will move to the Biden 2024 headquarters in Wilmington, Del., and direct the campaign’s efforts, according to five people familiar with the discussions.

It is unclear precisely what title O’Malley Dillon will take at the campaign or when the announcement will be made, though it could come later this week. Julie Chávez Rodríguez, the campaign’s manager since shortly after it began in April, is expected to retain that title.

“Our campaign manager is and will continue to oversee the president’s reelection efforts, and this campaign will remain laser-focused on defeating Donald Trump and MAGA extremism at the ballot box this November,” said Michael Tyler, the campaign’s communications director.

The move formalizes a setup in which O’Malley Dillon has for months overseen the campaign’s direction from Washington.

When the Biden campaign held a December retreat for staff members at its headquarters, it was O’Malley Dillon who led the proceedings — not Chávez Rodríguez, according to two people who attended the session but were not authorized to speak publicly about it.

O’Malley Dillon, considered one of the party’s most astute political operatives, grew up in Jamaica Plain and Franklin, Mass., and graduated from Tufts University.

Donors, operatives, elected officials, and other Democrats supportive of Biden have been increasingly worried about a campaign structure that had major and even minor decisions being made by White House aides and carried out by campaign personnel in Delaware.

In recent months, former president Obama met with Biden at the White House and raised concerns about the bifurcated arrangement, according to an account of their discussion reported by The Washington Post.

The expected leadership change comes as the campaign is set to shift into a general-election posture and a more aggressive effort to contrast Biden with Trump, who won Iowa’s caucuses last week and New Hampshire’s primary on Tuesday.

Another of Biden’s top advisers, Mike Donilon, will also depart the White House and join his reelection campaign, according to The Washington Post.

Donilon is expected to play a central role in the campaign’s messaging and paid media strategy.

“Mike and Jen were essential members of the senior team that helped President Biden and Vice President Harris earn the most votes in American history in 2020, and we’re thrilled to have their leadership and strategic prowess focused full time on sending them back to the White House for four more years,” Chávez Rodríguez said.

Material from The Washington Post was used in this report.

CAMPAIGN 2024 NEW HAMPSHIRE PRIMARY

Despite talk of possible upset, it’s Trump in N.H.

►REPUBLICANS
Continued from Page A1

drugs.

Then, he sought to dismiss Haley’s victory as insignificant even though it reveals a problem he would face in a general election: his difficulty winning over independent voters turned off by his first term.

“She only got 25 percent of the Republican votes, I don’t know if you saw that,” he said. “Tremendous numbers of independents came out.”

Trump will now turn his attention to the late February primary in Haley’s home state of South Carolina, where he is hoping that a blowout victory in a deeply conservative state that elected her governor twice will be enough to drive his remaining rival from the race.

But, in a fiery non-victory speech delivered shortly after the race was called, Haley insisted she is in the race for the long haul.

“New Hampshire is first in the nation. It is not last in the nation. This race is far from over,” Haley declared, before making the central argument for her candidacy: That she would be able to beat President Biden more easily than Trump.

“With Donald Trump, you have one bout of chaos after another: This court case, that controversy, that tweet, that senior moment,” she said.

But the base of her party — as well as many of its leading elected officials — has already fallen in line behind Trump.

One week after Trump’s landslide win in the Iowa caucuses, where he beat DeSantis by some 30 percentage points, with Haley just behind in third place, the race in New Hampshire came to be seen as a litmus test of the power of Republicans who do not support Trump — and, indeed, of the long tradition of retail politicking that has long defined the New Hampshire primary.

Haley has spent much of the past year visiting the state for town-hall style events where she took question after question from voters, while Trump paid New Hampshire scant attention aside from the occasional large campaign rally. Her poll numbers were stuck in the single digits here, however, until a series of strong debate performances in the late summer and early fall injected her campaign with new energy, attention, and — crucially — fundraising. But she spent much of the fall scrapping with DeSantis for second place, rather than making the case against Trump.

In December, Haley won the



DANIELLE PARHIZKARAN/GLOBE STAFF

After Tuesday night’s win, Donald Trump was looking ahead to South Carolina, where he hopes to finish off Nikki Haley.



BARRY CHIN/GLOBE STAFF

Haley said, “This race is far from over” after her defeat became clear.

endorsement of Sununu, the state’s most prominent Republican official and a vocal critic of Trump.

Over the past week, as Trump flew in and out of the state for campaign rallies, Haley sharpened her case against him.

She sought to tie him to Biden, depicting both as aging figments of the political past, and offered herself up as an antidote to the 2020 rematch that most voters do not want.

In recent days, she sought to depict Trump as unfit for office, seizing on comments he made at a Friday night rally in which he seemed to confuse her with former House speaker Nancy Pelosi, a Democrat.

“Trump goes on and on multiple times, saying that I prevented the security on January 6th at the Capitol. I wasn’t even anywhere near the Capitol. I wasn’t in office,” Haley said at a campaign event on Sunday in Derry. “He said it over and over

again. But the reality is he was confused.”

Trump, for his part, has used his rallies to criticize Haley and depict her as isolated, parading politicians including South Carolina Senator Tim Scott, whom Haley had appointed to his seat, and several other former presidential contenders who had all expressed support for Trump upon dropping out.

It was a message that one of his surrogates, Marjorie Taylor

Greene, echoed as she campaigned for him on Tuesday in Goffstown, N.H.

The primary, Green said, is a “referendum for the Republican Party,” which she said has been “divided” for years.

“A lot of establishment Republicans are basically bending the knee right now,” Greene said about the apparent unity. “I know this was coming, so it’s really cool, it’s happening.”

Interviews at polls across the state suggested that some of Trump’s attacks on Haley worked. In recent weeks, as Trump sensed possible weakness in his support in New Hampshire, he hammered Haley on the airwaves and at his rallies, calling her a Republican-in-name-only, or a RINO, accused her of warmongering, and running ads saying she wants to cut Social Security — an accusation she has repeatedly denied.

Those attacks seemed to have landed with some voters, including Kathleen Descoteaux, 64, who reluctantly backed Trump at her polling place in Goffstown, even though she does not approve of his personality or the way he speaks about women.

“Since I’m getting to be that age, [Social Security] is a concern of mine,” Descoteaux said. “I also have younger children

The results offered a revealing look at the problems Trump is likely to face with independent voters in a general election.

that are in their 30s; I want to make sure there’s something for them.”

But the results, here in a swing state, also offered a revealing look at the problems Trump is likely to face with independent voters in a general election.

CNN exit polls showed Haley won the support of two-thirds of independent voters — a group that could well be reluctant to back the former president in the general election.

Chris Bailey, of Nashua, is among the independents voters who selected a Republican ballot on Tuesday and voted for Haley because, he said, she can “articulate who our enemies are.”

“She does not like dictators,” he added.

Bailey, who dismissed much of what Trump says as “blatant lies,” is among those Haley supporters who say they won’t vote for Trump in November if he wins the Republican nomination. Even though he typically leans Republican, Bailey said he will vote for Biden instead.

“Politics is not entertainment,” said Bailey, 70.

Other voters also suggested that the same distaste for Trump that motivated them to support Haley would lead them to support Biden in a matchup between the current and former presidents.

“I’m hoping she can give Trump a run for his money, make him sweat a little bit, and see him get rid of a little of that spray tan,” said Andrew Hershey, 30, an independent from Manchester. He said he would vote for Biden in a general election matchup against Trump — although the possibility doesn’t excite him.

“We’ve got two old dudes, and I don’t want to see them going back at it again,” Hershey said, adding that the first time they ran against each other was quite enough.

“It was a nightmare,” Hershey said.

Jess Bidgood can be reached at Jess.Bidgood@globe.com. Follow her @jessbidgood.

Write-in effort gives Biden his win, but enthusiasm’s low

►DEMOCRATS
Continued from Page A1

Running for reelection with token opposition, Biden was expected to win handily. A Jan. 9 Suffolk University/Boston Globe/USA Today poll found nearly two-thirds of Democrats planned to write in his name. But his effort to bump the state’s primary from its longtime status in favor of South Carolina complicated a reelection campaign already burdened with lack of enthusiasm and concerns about his age as the oldest president ever.

After New Hampshire officials kept their primary in its traditional slot, Biden chose not to officially run. But because the state’s four electoral votes may be crucial to his bid for a second term, Democrats in the state, with help from elsewhere, launched a low-budget effort to convince voters to write-in his name.

“Despite President Biden’s absence from the ballot, Granite Staters still turned out in robust numbers to show their support for the great work that the Biden-Harris Administration has done to grow the economy, protect reproductive freedoms, and defend our democracy,” Ray Buckley, chair of the New Hampshire Democratic Party, said in a statement. He thanked “the hundreds of grassroots organizers who successfully coordinated an histor-

ic write-in campaign.”

For Democrats and independents alike, the feelings on Biden run the gamut. Some worry about the 81-year-old president’s ability to serve another four years, others about his commitment to New Hampshire after he all but ignored its primary. And some simply supported him because he’s not Trump.

“I stood there for a couple minutes [before voting]. It was tough,” Jack Dvareckas, a 76-year-old retired real estate agent and Democrat, said of his ballot box experience Tuesday in Nashua. He ultimately wrote-in Biden’s name because there was “nobody else to choose from” even though the age of both leading presidential contenders — Trump is 77 — gives him pause.

“They’re both more senile than I am,” Dvareckas said. “And I still forget my keys.”

Barb Stefaney, also a 76-year-old Democrat, said she voted for Phillips— one of the two better-known but still extreme long-shot Democrats whose names were on the ballot along with several other virtual unknowns — because she believes the country “needs new blood.”

“I’m roughly their age group,” the Nashua resident said of Biden and Trump. “We’re not going to be here much longer.”



SUZANNE KREITER/GLOBE STAFF

At Bedford High School in New Hampshire, Carolyn Mahoney stood outside with a sign.

Stefaney said she was also put off by Biden’s decision to skip New Hampshire.

“The way he disregarded the primary [here] . . . I felt it was kind of disrespectful,” she said. “I felt he should have gotten his message out here.”

Biden did not campaign in the state, leaving the write-in effort to a super PAC, which reported spending \$1.5 million through Monday, and Democratic surrogates in hopes of avoiding a disappointing victory margin. In a statement released Tuesday night by leaders of the write-in effort, New Hampshire state Senator Donna Soucy said the victory shows the state “strongly stands” behind Biden.

In 1968, President Lyndon Johnson got only 49 percent in a write-in campaign, nearly losing to an upstart anti-Vietnam War challenger. Not long after, Johnson decided not to run for reelection.

At least 12 senior Biden administration officials also have appeared in New Hampshire in recent weeks, technically just to tout his policies since they are prevented by federal law from campaigning while on official business.

But their presence amounted to a shadow campaign to spread the word about how Biden is helping the state through initiatives like the Bipartisan Infrastructure Law.

Biden spent Tuesday after-

noon at a rally for “reproductive freedom” in Manassas, Va., with Vice President Kamala Harris, highlighting the abortion rights issue as he focused on the November election while the polls in New Hampshire were still open.

“Let there be no mistake, the person most responsible for taking away this freedom in America is Donald Trump,” Biden said in speech interrupted several times by pro-Palestinian protesters. “I believe 2024 is going to be the most important election since 1864. The reasons are clear. Democracy’s on the ballot. Freedom’s on the ballot.”

The Jan. 9 poll showed Biden leading Trump by roughly 7 percentage points in a potential rematch in November. Biden won the state by nearly an identical margin in 2020. Trump also lost the state in 2016, but by just 0.3 percentage point.

Faith Miller Lakowicz, a 40-year-old Democrat from Concord, said she wrote in Biden’s name despite the “very low energy” New Hampshire race.

“It’s like I’m more invested [in his candidacy] than he is here,” she said of Biden.

For many voting in the Democratic primary, the specter of Trump returning to the White House loomed as large, if not larger, than anything else.

“I’m hoping there are enough good human beings out there who see Trump is not the one to lead us,” said Sable Grayson, a 48-year-old Democrat from Concord who said she proudly wrote in Biden’s name.

Cess Weintraub, an 81-year-old independent voter from Nashua, said the decision to vote for Biden was easy.

“Because he’s a good president. Enough of this nonsense,” she said. If Trump is elected, she said, she fears losing many of the freedoms that have defined America.

“It’s absolutely horrifying,” she said. “We’re going to lose our country.”

The Democratic National Committee has warned that it won’t recognize New Hampshire’s delegates chosen Tuesday at this summer’s nominating convention as punishment for going before South Carolina’s Feb. 3 contest. The DNC publicly called the New Hampshire primary “meaningless,” causing the state’s attorney general to send the organization a cease-and-desist letter warning of potential voter suppression.

Tal Kopan of the Globe staff contributed to this report. Matt Stout can be reached at matt.stout@globe.com. Follow him @mattpstout. Jim Puzsanghera can be reached at jim.puzsanghera@globe.com. Follow him @JimPuzsanghera.

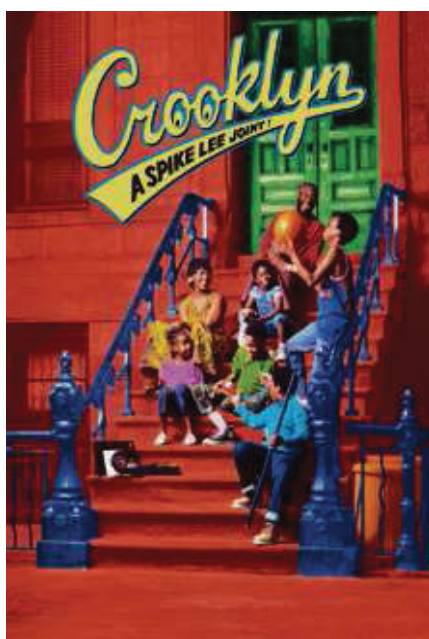
The Boston Globe

Black History Month Film Festival — Feb. 2024

The Boston Globe's **Black History Month Film Festival** honors and celebrates the lives, culture, and creativity of Black Americans through film. Featuring both classic and new works, each screening is followed by a virtual panel event to provide insight and context for these stories of strength, joy, and love.



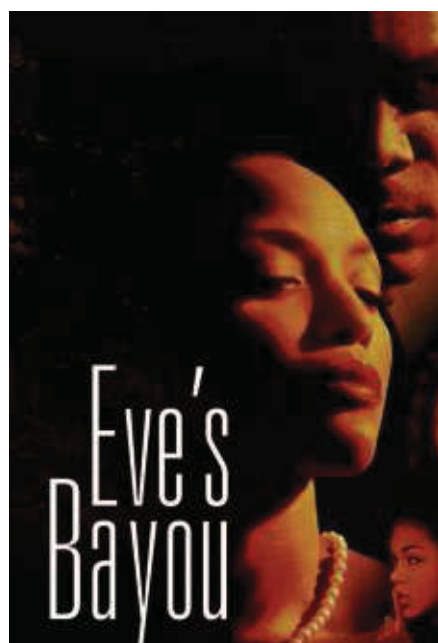
**IF BEALE STREET
COULD TALK**



CROOKLYN



**A BEAUTIFUL
RESISTANCE
LIVE AT THE
MUSEUM!**



EVE'S BAYOU



THE MURAL MASTER

Presented by **Capital One**
café

For more info and to RSVP go to [Globe.com/bhmff](https://www.boston.com/bhmff) or scan



Thank you to our partners



GLOBE DOCS
presented by CROSS



Museum of Science

Opinion

BOSTONGLOBE.COM/OPINION

EDITORIAL

Cities and towns could certainly use governor’s proposed tax boost

When is a tax hike not a tax hike? Well, presumably when it’s a “local option.”

So after having delivered more than \$1 billion in tax cuts last year, and vowing no statewide tax hikes this year, even as revenues slump, Governor Maura Healey last week proposed legislation that would lead to tax hikes estimated to cost more than \$150 million a year.

She hasn’t technically broken her promise because if the Legislature agrees — and passes the Municipal Empowerment Act — the unpleasant job of hiking meals and lodging taxes and the auto excise tax will fall to local political officials and the proceeds will stay in their cities and towns.

It’s an act of political legerdemain by Healey, aimed at increasing local revenues — some of its provisions worthy, some not so much. What is disappointing is that Healey’s pledge just days earlier to give cities and towns more local control over liquor licenses seems to have already been put on a back burner.

The governor, in addition to pledging to increase unrestricted local aid by 3 percent in her fiscal 2025 budget scheduled to be released Wednesday, introduced her proposals during a speech to the Massachusetts Municipal

Association. Not surprisingly they were welcomed as “a robust package of very meaningful reforms,” by MMA Executive Director Adam Chapdelaine.

The legislation would allow cities and towns to increase the local option part of the meals tax from the current 0.75 percent to 1 percent on top of the 6.25 percent that goes to the state. The local portion of the lodging tax on hotels, motels, and short-term rentals currently capped at 6 percent (over the 5.7 percent state tax) would go to 7 percent (and from 6.5 percent to 7.5 percent in Boston).

Some 216 municipalities have adopted a local option lodging tax and 251 have adopted a local option meals tax since both were introduced in 2009. The meals tax hike could generate \$58 million a year and the lodging tax hike \$49 million for local governments, according to the administration.

“The reality is our municipalities generate a huge share of their revenues from the property tax, but there are also some long-standing concerns about their reliance on that,” Doug Howgate, president of the Massachusetts Taxpayers Foundation, told the editorial board. “So allowing municipalities to generate more revenue outside of the property tax makes some sense.”

Updating existing local option surtaxes is one thing, but adding a new surtax — as Healey proposes with a possible hike in the now uniform rate for the auto vehicle excise tax — is quite another. The annual tax on motor vehicles — among the most hated in the state because of its continuing nature — is levied and collected at the local level. But its rate — \$25 on every \$1,000 of valuation factored on a sliding scale based on its year of manufacture — has always been uniform across the state.

Now the governor’s legislation proposes a local option surtax of up to 5 percent, which the administration estimates would bring in an additional \$48 million a year. In fiscal 2022 the existing tax generated \$950 million for local governments. So the local option surtax on that new Honda Accord

(listed at \$26,000) would tack another \$32.50 on top of the current \$650 excise tax bill. That’s real money. And the proposal also raises the prospect of different rates being charged by, say, Boston and Brookline — as if tax avoidance isn’t already an issue. (What, you never wondered why that car with the New Hampshire plates is always in your neighbor’s driveway?)

If it’s truly essential as a revenue source, Healey should take the political heat and call for a uniform statewide rate hike, not a local option.

And the governor’s seeming reluctance to include liquor license reform in the Municipal Empowerment Act is unfortunate — especially after raising expectations at the MMA meeting. Right



STEVEN SENNE/AO

Governor Maura Healey last week proposed legislation that would lead to tax hikes estimated to cost more than \$150 million a year.

now most cities and towns have to go hat in hand to the Legislature every few years looking for new liquor licenses for their local bars and restaurants to keep pace with their community’s growth, as Boston has been doing — not always successfully. Now clearly some legislators — like state Representative Michael J. Moran, who told the Globe he was concerned about giving too much power to even Boston’s mayor, of whom he is a supporter — don’t relinquish their own powers readily.

On the other hand, Senate President Karen Spilka was rather supportive Monday, telling reporters, “I do have to say, with the liquor licenses, honestly, I never understood why the Legislature approves them to begin with. So I would certainly be willing to take a look at that and make some changes.”

A spokesperson for Healey, who confirmed the liquor license proposals were not in the bills filled Monday, told the Globe, “We’ll continue discussions about potential changes to our liquor licensing system. We decided to take the time needed to ensure we had the language right.”

We’ll be watching — and waiting.

The bill as filed does, however, make some worthy changes, like making permanent a number of pandemic-era policies, which have become part of the landscape and would be sorely missed if they vanished as they are scheduled to on April 1. Everything from hybrid meetings of municipal bodies that allow citizens to view the events from home to rules allowing outdoor dining and those cocktails-to-go that have added to restaurant’s bottom lines are at risk without a permanent fix.

By all accounts, the year ahead is looking to be a little leaner, a little more sober in the revenue department than the past few years, and municipalities will be feeling the pinch too. The Legislature should remove the auto excise tax from the governor’s proposal and pass the rest. A little more revenue in the cashbox and a few more tools in the municipal toolbox would surely help ease the pain.

JEFF JACOBY

America’s elites live in a world of their own

Consider a few questions:

In America today, is there too much individual freedom or too much government control?

To curb climate change, should gas, meat, and electricity be strictly rationed?

Are your personal finances getting better or worse?

Can government be trusted to do the right thing most of the time?

Those were among the queries asked in a series of opinion surveys last year by Scott Rasmussen, a longtime independent pollster not affiliated with any candidate. Rasmussen was testing a phenomenon he had detected over months of conducting nationwide polls. “I consistently noticed that three groups held views that were different from most voters,” he told me this week. “People with a post-graduate degree, people who lived in densely populated urban areas, and people who made more than \$150,000 a year.”

In a standard poll of 1,000 adults, only about 10 respondents, or 1 percent, met those criteria. That’s too few from which to draw a statistically significant conclusion. So last fall Rasmussen conducted full-scale surveys of respondents meeting those conditions — a group he calls “elites” — and sure enough, the pattern he had sensed emerged full-blown. The views of elites weren’t just slightly out of sync with those of the population at large. They were dramatically different.

Take the questions listed above.

In Rasmussen’s general surveys, about 16 percent of respondents said there is too much individu-

The views of elites weren’t just slightly out of sync with those of the population at large. They were dramatically different.

al freedom, while 57 percent said there is too much government control. But among the polled elites, three times as many (47 percent) believed there is too much freedom. Just 1 in 5 responded that there is too much control.

Strict rationing of gas, meat, and electricity? In broad-based surveys, 63 percent opposed rationing and 28 percent approved. When elites were surveyed, on the other hand, the results flipped: Fully 77 percent *avored* rationing, while only 22 percent said they were opposed.

Personal financial circumstances? Of the elite respondents, an overwhelming 74 percent reported that their finances are getting better. When the question was put to a cross section of the public, by contrast, just 20 percent believed they were better off.

As for trust in government, 70 percent of elites surveyed expressed confidence that government officials will do the right thing most of the time. Yet among the general public, surveys have shown for years that less than 25 percent has that kind of trust.

“We haven’t had a majority of voters trust the government most of the time since Richard Nixon was in office,” Rasmussen told me. The reason elites are so much more confident, he speculates, is that government ranks are staffed disproportionately by men and women like themselves. “A lot of people on the outside like to think there’s a conspiracy,” he said. “It’s actually more like a fraternity.” Indeed, roughly half of the elites in his surveys graduated from one of just 12 prominent universities — the eight Ivy League colleges, Northwestern, Duke, Stanford, and the University of Chicago.

Unlike more conventional descriptions of the “1 percent,” Rasmussen doesn’t focus on the superrich. The key to elite status isn’t great wealth; it is influence and access to the powerful. “This group may not be the wealthiest,” he observed. “But they lead government agencies, they are active in the media, they get involved in the political process, and most of them happen to share a certain worldview.”

That worldview skews left: More than 70 percent of elites surveyed identified themselves as Democrats. But even the small minority of self-identified Republicans tended to embrace attitudes and opinions quite different from those of the general public.

Rasmussen is quantifying a phenomenon that is as old as American politics itself — a sense that there are two Americas: one well-off, well-educated, and well-connected, the other less privileged and less protected. William F. Buckley Jr. famously captured that sentiment when he wrote in 1963: “I should sooner live in a society governed by the first 2,000 names in the Boston telephone directory than in a society governed by the 2,000 faculty members of Harvard University.”

Decades later, Rasmussen’s data suggest that the arrogance of such elites remains entrenched. In America they see a nation where people have too much freedom and should be told what to do by a government that knows best. Recounting a presentation he gave at Harvard a dozen years ago, Rasmussen tells me he has never forgotten one faculty member who demanded in exasperation: “Why won’t Americans let us lead? It’s what we were trained to do.” You don’t have to scrutinize poll numbers to recognize the impact of that attitude on America’s civic life. Too many elites look down on their fellow citizens, and an awful lot of their fellow citizens return the favor.

Jeff Jacoby can be reached at jeff.jacoby@globe.com. Follow him on X @[jeff_jacoby](https://twitter.com/jeff_jacoby).

The Boston Globe

Founded 1872

JOHN W. HENRY
Publisher

LINDA PIZZUTI HENRY
Chief Executive Officer

NANCY C. BARNES
Editor

JAMES DAO
Editorial Page Editor

JENNIFER PETER, *Managing Editor/Chief of Staff*

CRISTINA SILVA, *Managing Editor/Local News*

EDITOR AT LARGE
Mark S. Morrow

DEPUTY MANAGING EDITORS
Marjorie Pritchard *Editorial Page*
Veronica Chao *Living/Arts*
Anica Butler *Local News*
Brian Bergstein *Ideas*
Jeneé Osterheldt *Culture, Talent, & Development*
Heather Ciras *Audience Engagement*

SENIOR ASSISTANT MANAGING EDITORS
Cynthia Needham *Editorial Innovation*
Mary Creane *Production*
Alan Wirzbicki *Editorial Page*

SPOTLIGHT EDITOR
Patricia Wen

BUSINESS MANAGEMENT
Dhiraj Nayar *Chief Operating Officer & Chief Financial Officer*
Dan Krockmalnic *EVP, New Media & General Counsel*
Kayvan Salmanpour *Chief Commercial Officer*
Anthony Bonfiglio *Chief Technology Officer*
Peggy Byrd *Chief Marketing Officer*
Tom Brown *VP, Consumer Analytics*
Josh Russell *GM, Print Operations*
Michelle Micone *VP, Innovation & Strategic Initiatives*
Rodrigo Tajonar *Chief People Officer*

INBOX

Push is on to shore up the imperiled Massachusetts coastline

Under ‘managed retreat,’ abandoned properties would become buffers

Thank you for the sobering reporting on the dilemma faced by local shoreline homeowners as sea level rise and worsening storms threaten coastal communities (“With coastline on the edge, what’s the next move?” Page A1, Jan. 19). The striking photos of the sea’s power during and after our recent storms speak volumes about our threatened shoreline.

A year ago, the concept of “managed retreat,” in which governments buy up properties doomed to be eroded away, had not entered into the consciousness of many of us. Abandoned shoreline properties would become wetland buffers against encroaching floods for the properties further inland.

Corey Miles, the coastal resources officer in Scituate (which has been dealing with episodic flooding of the shoreline for decades), sums it up well: “It’s a bad decision to continue occupying these areas. But in Massachusetts, these houses continue to be valued very highly. And that’s a problem for the future.”

In that future, even if we achieve net-zero emissions by 2050, sea level will continue to rise as polar ice keeps melting in the new, warmer Earth. But if we can cut greenhouse gas emissions now, we can limit how much the seas rise.

WILLIAM BECKETT
Watertown

Healey’s proposed disaster relief resiliency fund is strong medicine

Using managed retreat policies in the face of rising sea levels and violent storms may seem radical, but it’s absolutely necessary under the growing threat of climate change. Governor Maura Healey’s proposed disaster relief resiliency fund is a bitter pill we need to swallow to keep people and rescuers safe in the short term.

The reality of rising seas isn’t just the damage to the waterfront properties but the danger posed to entire communities.

But we need to shift from a reactive to a proactive mode using sustainable urban planning. Directly or indirectly, everyone’s “tax” will increase if we don’t. The reality of rising seas isn’t just the damage to the waterfront properties but the danger posed to entire communities that can least afford it and the tax they pay in the form of damaged resources, health, lives, and peace of mind. Adverse weather doesn’t respect ZIP codes.

As Andrew Ashton of the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution said: It doesn’t take a massive storm to produce big consequences. It’s time we stop trying to compete with nature.

MEG CLOUGH
Belmont

Boston can protect vulnerable areas cost-effectively

Sabrina Shankman’s Jan. 19 article on coastal flooding comes at a critical time for Boston and the Commonwealth. Although Boston did not suffer significant impact from the recent storms, the Harborwalk flooding should serve as a wake-up call for policy makers.

The City of Boston is working on coastal resilience plans that show how vulnerable areas can be protected cost-effectively, but efforts must be accelerated and coordinated with the state and private property owners. Unlike other coastal communities, the concept of “managed retreat” is probably not applicable to the inner Boston Harbor for two reasons: The waterfront doesn’t receive the kind of destructive wave action that we see in places such as Scituate, Plum Island, or the outer Cape, and we already have an acute housing shortage, which would only be exacerbated by the relocation of existing residents.

However, we don’t need another storm to persuade the private and public sectors to move faster. We need a contiguous line of coastal protection, not a parcel-by-parcel approach, and we need it now. Boston and Massachusetts have the right plans in place, but the time has come for rapid implementation to protect residents, businesses, and our way of life.

BUD RIS
Boston

The writer serves as senior adviser for resilience to the Boston Green Ribbon Commission.

If they don’t win it’s a shame: Another ho-hum Sox season ahead?

It’s rare that I find myself laughing over anything I read in the news lately, but the quote from Red Sox chairman Tom Werner in Peter Abraham’s Jan. 20 column did the trick (“Don’t expect Red Sox to make major upgrades.” Sports). Said Werner, “We think our record is probably the most important thing, but there are other things that make going to Fenway a special place.”

I assume he’s not referring to ticket, concession, or parking prices. But perhaps that’s too harsh.

We might all be better off (and happier!) if we could embrace Werner’s glass-half-full attitude. The reading instruction at my child’s school may be subpar, but the classrooms are bright and spacious! My commute on the T is taking me 45 minutes longer than it used to, but the seats are comfy!

Yes, let’s all resolve to walk on the sunny side this season, and keep in mind the immortal words of Jimmy Dugan: “There’s no crying in baseball.”

BARBARA DONLON
Stoneham

As I watch the Red Sox tinker around the edges and not deal with the fundamental issues with their roster, I can only think of The Who and their song “Won’t Get Fooled Again”: “Meet the new boss/Same as the old boss.”

DAVID VALADE
Melrose

RENÉE GRAHAM

Hoping to be Trump’s VP pick, Tim Scott puts a ring on it

When Selina Meyer, the titular character in the acerbic political comedy “Veep,” discovers that she’s pregnant, her chief of staff minces no words: “An unwed mother one aneurysm away from the presidency. How do you think that plays?”

So in deference to the archaic “family values” that voters selectively demand of certain politicians, Meyer does what any ambitious presidential aspirant would do — she concocts a story about being engaged to the man she’s been secretly dating.

Personal lives are always ripe for political fodder. This is especially true in presidential campaigns, which is something Republican Senator Tim Scott of South Carolina endured during his bid last year for the White House. Scott was badgered with questions, reportedly including from potential Republican donors, about why, at 58, he’s never been married. His dodgy answers may have helped close whatever slim path he had to the GOP nomination.

Now, Scott is suddenly engaged. While he garnered headlines last week for endorsing Donald Trump as his party’s presidential nominee, news of his engagement is a more potent announcement — he wants to be Trump’s pick for vice president. This time, Scott is taking a different tack to keep innuendo about his private life from derailing his political ambitions.

Scott proposed on Saturday to Mindy Noce, who made her surprise debut as Scott’s girlfriend at the end of his last primary debate, just before he suspended his campaign in November. Claiming he met her at church and that they’ve been dating for about a year, he’s portrayed their relationship as the real thing, not an act of political prestidigitation conceived to allay the queasiness of Republicans hung up on Scott’s sexual identity.

“As a guy who is mostly an introvert and on the quiet side, having to have a conversation about the engagement is a little, you know, uncomfortable in a way, but it’s the most exciting thing I’ll do with my life besides making Jesus my Lord,” Scott said in a Washington Post interview on Sunday. He even released a photo of himself, down on one knee, proposing to Noce on a South Carolina beach in a shot that could have been plucked from a season finale of “The Bachelor.”

Of course, this begs the question as to

why Scott, who has always been fiercely guarded about his private life, is suddenly so eager to talk about having found “a soulmate and someone who shares a lot of the same interests, passions and goals that I do,” as he put it.

It wasn’t that long ago when Scott balked at discussing his unmarried status. Barely into his campaign, he was asked at an event hosted by Axios how he would respond to those “hesitant to vote for a single man talking about family values.”



COURTESY TIM SCOTT

Senator Tim Scott announced his engagement to Mindy Noce on the social platform X on Jan. 21.

Scott, as publicly exasperated as he’s ever been, said that “to suggest that somehow being married or not married is going to be the determining factor on whether or not you’re a good president or not — it sounds like we’re living in 1963, not 2023.”

But Scott knows that unquestioned heterosexuality is at least one determining factor in becoming the standard bearer for his party. It also speaks to the utter hypocrisy of Republicans who blanch at the idea of backing for president or vice president someone who could be perceived as gay but support with their whole chest a man who cheated on each of his three wives; was pals with convicted sex offender Jeffrey Epstein; has been accused by more than 20 women of sexual misconduct; and was found liable by a civil jury last year for sexually abusing E. Jean Carroll in the 1990s.

Even Scott’s aggressive opposition to LGBTQ rights — from denouncing same-sex marriage to introducing a bill to restrict federal funding for elementary and

middle schools that allow trans kids to use preferred pronouns without parental consent — has never been enough to quell speculation about his private life.

But with a woman by his side as a banner of Scott’s heterosexuality, perhaps those whispers won’t be as prominent as he vies to be Trump’s running mate. Other contenders include Republican Representative Elise Stefanik of New York, who calls jailed Jan. 6 insurrectionists “hostages”; Vivek Ramaswamy, whose terrible

campaign flamed out after a dismal showing in Iowa; and Governor Doug Burgum of North Dakota, whose sole purpose in the presidential race seemed to be positioning himself to get on Trump’s VP pick list.

Trump doesn’t want a running mate as much as he wants a toady whose submission to him is above reproach. In that respect, Scott, who voted with the former president more than 90 percent of the time, certainly qualifies. And as a Black man, he would also be used as a counterweight to accusations of Trump’s racism.

It’ll be months before anyone knows whether any of this was enough to let Scott emerge as the veep-stakes winner. But whatever else happens in Scott’s quest to shed his Republican-vexing bachelorhood, at least he’ll always have his “soulmate.”

Renée Graham is a Globe columnist. She can be reached at renee.graham@globe.com. Follow her @reneeygraham.

Searching for the N.H. primary and coming up empty

By David Shribman

CONCORD, N.H.

I went looking for the New Hampshire primary and could barely find it.

Sure, there was the standard New Hampshire primary fare of rallies, meet-and-greets, Main Street walks, breakfast meetings, and set-piece speeches over the weekend. But candidates? Scarcer than an empty chairlift at Loon Mountain on a sunny morning during Presidents’ Day weekend. It’s enough to make someone actually miss Vivek Ramaswamy.

Four years ago I brought my McGill University students here and they saw seven Democratic candidates. This year’s group of students saw two Republicans. And therein lies some lessons about politics in 2024.

Entrepreneur Ramaswamy — charmless and giving off the air of someone who would take a right turn on every red light — dropped out of the race the night of the Iowa caucuses, his hundreds of small-town and street-side campaign events wasted.

Former governor Chris Christie of New Jersey spent an enormous amount of time here, haranguing former president Donald Trump and beseeching former governor Nikki Haley of South Carolina to actually say something stinging about Trump — but he was nowhere to be seen this weekend either.

The bravest of the candidates, and maybe the most qualified, former governor Asa Hutchinson of Arkansas, toiled for months in the small towns and mountain fastnesses of this state even though he barely measured a single percentage point in the polls. Surely he would stick around — but he also departed. Gone, too, were Senator Tim Scott of South Carolina and Governor Doug Burgum of North Dakota. So long, fellas.

And Governor Ron DeSantis of Florida, who withdrew Sunday afternoon? He was the campaign’s red-tailed hawk, a migratory bird sometimes here in winter but sometimes not.

Of course Trump was here, ducking in and out of New Hampshire between holding

campaign events in courtrooms. Haley was a constant presence.

But the empty feeling here provides a passel full of insights about this year’s presidential race.

For all the criticism of the Iowa caucuses and the New Hampshire primary eight wintery days later — they’re in peculiar states; the voting groups are wildly unrepresentative of the rest of the country; their demographic profiles are of an America that hasn’t existed for decades; their contests promote disproportionate emphasis on local

Candidates? Scarcer than an empty chairlift at Loon Mountain on a sunny morning during Presidents’ Day weekend.

issues like Iowa’s ethanol; the number of voters is too small and their impact is too big — the two states nonetheless traditionally perform a useful purpose: They give small-funded candidates an opportunity to air their messages and assess their chances, and they winnow the field.

That is why then-senator Joe Biden, who gave the 2008 campaign a spirited try, dropped out after Iowa. That is why then-governor Bruce Babbitt of Arizona plowed against the odds for months the same year but left the campaign right after New Hampshire.

But this year the winnowing came before Iowa and New Hampshire, not after.

That’s partially because campaigning in 2024 is far more expensive than it ever has been, and for many of the candidates it’s unsustainable.

Scott, for example, spent 72 percent more than he raised between July 1 and Sept. 30, according to a study by Open Secrets, which monitors campaign spending. So much for any argument of fiscal probity.

The group found that the organizations that aren’t regulated by federal spending rules, such as super PACs, already have spent \$318 million on presidential and congressional races as of last week, more than six times as much as they spent in the last political cycle. As former Senator Everett Dirksen of Illinois would say, a million here and million there, and pretty soon we’re talking about real money.

But the real reason is, like so much in American politics: Donald John Trump.

He’s a money machine, cashing in on adversity (91 counts in four separate indictments, an unorthodox but spectacularly successful marketing tool) and opportunity (he’s cultivated, and then earned, the profile as the likely if not inevitable GOP nominee). In two election cycles he has crowded out all competitors, cursing and crushing their campaigns, partly by tending to a loyal base of supporters and partially by letting loose a dispiriting and damaging fusillade of abuse against his rivals.

From the start, Republicans such as Governor Chris Sununu of New Hampshire have believed that clearing the GOP field of competitors was the only way to avoid a repeat of the 2016 campaign, when the opposition to Trump was so fractured that he managed to win the nomination with a series of victories with small margins. Sununu succeeded. It hasn’t mattered much.

Because now that the winnow brigade has prevailed — now that it is down to Trump and Haley — the Republicans are in the same position as they were eight years ago.

Some of the traditional New Hampshire campaign venues were empty for the final hours of the 2024 primary. It wasn’t the size of the field that mattered after all. It was the unavoidable factor that establishment politicians still haven’t reckoned with: Trump’s enduring if confounding appeal to Republicans.

David Shribman, previously the Globe’s Washington bureau chief, is executive editor emeritus of the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette.

To the Underdogs.

Here's to the Underdogs.
The Dreamers.
The Fighters.
The Davids.
The never-say-die Innovators.
The ones who achieve things they weren't supposed to achieve.

They aren't fond of bullies.
And they have no time for naysayers.

They start out in garages, on shoestring budgets.
Working long hours, sacrificing everything.
Taking on big challenges, by thinking bigger.

A lot of us get started this way.
We Invent. Adapt. Create.
Try new things. And if we fail, we try again.
We punch above our weight because we know that's what it takes.

At Masimo, we have never been afraid of roads less travelled.
How else would we have invented modern pulse oximetry that saves the eyesight of NICU babies?
Or, pioneered medical monitoring so that people taking pain medications are alerted to danger?
Or, created the world's first personalized earbud tuned precisely to how you best hear music?

We will never stop inventing things that help people live longer, happier, healthier.
We will never back down from our mission of improving life.

We will live on our grit, standing up for what's right—and for what's rightfully ours.
We will always live by the code of the underdog.
Even if, one day, we're the top dog.