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Forging Shells for Ukraine’s Artillery

In Pennsylvania and Iowa, steel shells are formed in 2,000-degree furnaces and filled with explosive — a lifeline for Kyiv. Page A7.

Koch Network  
Signals a Plan  
To Fight Trump

This article is by Maggie Haberman, Jonathan Swan and Kenneth P. Vogel.

The donor network created by the billionaire industrialist brothers Charles G. and David H. Koch is preparing to get involved in the presidential primaries in 2024, with the aim of turning “the page on the past” in a thinly veiled rebuke of former President Donald J. Trump, according to an internal memo.

The network, comprising an array of political and advocacy groups that have been backed by hundreds of ultrawealthy conservatives, has been among the most influential forces in American politics over the past 15 years, spending nearly \$500 million supporting Republican candidates and conservative policies in the 2020 election cycle alone. But it has never before supported candidates in presidential primaries.

The potential move against Mr. Trump could motivate donors to line up behind another prospective candidate. Thus far, only the former president has entered the race.

The memo went out to the affiliated activists and donors after a weekend conference in Palm Springs, Calif., where the network’s leaders laid out their goals for the next presidential election cycle. At various sessions, they made clear they planned to get involved in primaries for various offices, and early.

“The Republican Party is nominating bad candidates who are advocating for things that go against core American principles,” the memo declares. “And the American people are rejecting them.” It asserts that Democrats are re-

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Frustrated Harris Struggles to Define Her Role

This article is by Zolan Kanno-Youngs, Katie Rogers and Peter Baker.

WASHINGTON — Kamala Harris was frustrated. The text of a speech she had been given to deliver in Chicago to the nation’s biggest teachers’ union was just another dreary, scripted talk that said little of any consequence.

As Air Force Two made its way to the Midwest over the summer, the vice president told her staff she wanted to say something more significant, more direct. She brandished a Rolling Stone magazine article about the backlash against Florida school officials after new legislation barring the discussion of gender identity in the

Pressured to Make Her  
Mark While Still in  
Biden’s Shadow

classroom.

The teachers she was about to address were on the front lines of the nation’s culture wars, Ms. Harris told her staff. They were the same ones on the front lines of school shootings. Just blandly ticking through federal funding for education would not be enough. The plane was just an hour out from Chicago, but she said they needed to start over.

By the time she landed, she had a more spirited version of the

speech in hand, accusing “extremist so-called leaders” in the Republican Party of taking away rights and freedoms.

Ms. Harris’s small airborne rebellion that day encapsulated the trap that she finds herself in. She has already made history as the first woman, the first African American and the first Asian American ever to serve as vice president, but she has still struggled to define her role much beyond that legacy.

Her staff notes that she has made strides, emerging as a strong voice in the administration on abortion rights. She has positioned herself as a more visible advocate for the administration, giving a speech last week at the fu-

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CHRIS PIZZELLO/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Record Setter

In Los Angeles, Beyoncé became the most decorated Grammy artist ever. Page C1.

Is Goldman’s C.E.O. Mixing His Day Job and D.J. Side Hobby?

By EMILY FLITTER and KATHERINE ROSMAN

An amateur D.J. meets a high-flying music industry executive and lands the rights to remix one of the greatest hits of all time.

It could be an inspiring story. Or it could be the story of David Solomon, the chief executive of Goldman Sachs, who was able to remix

Whitney Houston’s “I Wanna Dance With Somebody (Who Loves Me),” thanks to Larry Mestel, whose music company is a client of the bank and has financial interests in the oeuvres of music legends like Prince, Bob Marley and Ms. Houston.

Mr. Solomon has been spinning records for years, mixing electronic dance music for live audi-

Gig May Pose Potential  
Conflicts of Interest

ences at tiki bars in the Bahamas, at the big Chicago music festival Lollapalooza, in downtown Manhattan. He has released about a dozen dance tracks in collabora-

tion with a handful of producers. The Goldman chief even started his own record label, Payback Records.

But the Whitney Houston remix, which became available on Spotify and other streaming platforms last summer, about six months ahead of a biopic about the singer that shares its title with

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Diplomatic Ties Strained  
Over Downed Spy Balloon

NEWS ANALYSIS

Brazen Move Stands  
Apart in Rivalry

By DAVID E. SANGER

It may be months before American intelligence agencies can compare the audacious flight of a Chinese surveillance balloon across the country to other intrusions on America’s national security systems, to determine how it ranks.

After all, there is plenty of competition.

There was the theft of the designs of the F-35 about 15 years ago, enabling the Chinese air force to develop its own look-alike stealth fighter, with Chinese characteristics. There was the case of China’s premier hacking team lifting the security clearance files for 22 million Americans from the barely secured computers of the Office of Personnel Management. That, combined with stolen medical files from Marriott hotels, has presumably helped the Chinese create a blueprint of America’s national security infrastructure.

But for pure gall, there was something different about the balloon. It became the subject of public fascination as it floated over nuclear silos of Montana, then was spotted near Kansas City and met its cinematic end when a Sidewinder missile took it down over shallow waters off the coast of South Carolina. Now it is coveted by military and intelligence officials who desperately want to reverse-engineer whatever remains the Coast Guard and the Navy can recover.

Yet beyond the made-for-cable news spectacle, the entire incident also speaks volumes about how little Washington and Beijing communicate, almost 22 years after the collision of an American spy plane and a Chinese fighter about 70 miles off the coast of Hainan Island led both sides to vow that they would improve their crisis management.

“We don’t know what the intelligence yield was for the Chinese,” Evan Medeiros, a Georgetown professor who advised President Barack Obama on China and Asia with the National Security Council. “But there is no doubt it was a gross violation of sovereignty,” something the Chinese object to vociferously when the United States flies over and sails through the islands China has built from sandbars in

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Navy Divers Brave  
Icy Sea to Recover  
Fallen Debris

By HELENE COOPER and EDWARD WONG

WASHINGTON — Navy divers were searching for debris from the Chinese spy balloon that a U.S. fighter jet shot down off the coast of South Carolina, defense officials said on Sunday, as the fallout from the dramatic confrontation between the world’s two great powers showed no signs of easing.

The recovery effort, which is expected to take days, began not long after debris from the balloon hit the water on Saturday, a defense official said. He added that a Navy ship had arrived on the scene, and that other Navy and Coast Guard ships, which had been put on alert, had also been dispatched.

The shooting down of the balloon, occurring at the end of a remarkable week of high-stakes international drama playing out in the open skies and behind closed doors, introduced a new phase in the increasingly tempestuous relationship between the United States and China, as each vies to be the pre-eminent world power across the economic, military and technological realms — with intelligence-gathering occupying a critical role in their competition.

That a confrontation over a single surveillance balloon deemed harmless by the Pentagon could destabilize diplomacy between the two countries showed the difficulties of putting “guardrails on the relationship,” a goal stated in those terms by President Biden and his aides.

The Chinese government denounced the U.S. decision to down the balloon, calling it an “excessive reaction that seriously violates international convention.” The Foreign Ministry said China “retains the right to respond further,” and the National Defense Ministry said it would “use the necessary means to deal with similar circumstances.”

American officials said they were watching China carefully for any reactions beyond words — including potential strikes on American assets. Officials from the State Department and the White House National Security Council spoke with Chinese officials about the downing of the balloon soon after it happened, a senior Biden administration official said. The State Department also briefed officials in allied and partner nations.

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PERVEZ MUSHARRAF, 1943-2023

Pakistani Ruler and U.S. Ally  
Dogged by Divisions at Home

By ALAN COWELL and STEPHEN KINZER

Pervez Musharraf, the onetime military ruler of a nuclear-armed Pakistan who promised critical support for Washington’s campaign against Al Qaeda after the attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, but faced growing resistance at home in a land seething with anti-Western passions, died on Sunday in Dubai, United Arab Emirates. He was 79.

His death, in a hospital, where he was being treated for a long, unspecified illness, was confirmed by Lt. Gen. Sahir Shamshad Mirza, the head of the joint chiefs of staff of the Pakistani military.

From the moment he took power in a bloodless coup in late 1999 to his resignation and self-exile under threat of impeachment in 2008, Mr. Musharraf offered the



AAMIR QURESHI/AFP — GETTY IMAGES

Pervez Musharraf in 2007, the year he resigned from the army.

world the swashbuckling image of a former army commando and ally of the United States who guaranteed a measure of regional stability in the upheaval after 9/11 and the subsequent United States attack on Afghanistan.

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Why Do Eggs Cost So Much?

Inflation, avian flu and war have made a food staple much more expensive in the span of a year. PAGE A12

Spitzer, a Co-op and a Ditch

New York’s ex-governor faces a board’s lawsuit over a spot of land that could upend his building plans. PAGE A13

INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Housing Dispute in Toronto

A plan to build 50,000 homes in a protected green space outside the city has led to a pitched debate over where to house an influx of immigrants. PAGE A4

On Slopes, a Respite From War

Ukrainians flock to ski resorts in the Carpathians, largely untouched by war, to relax, recover or forget. PAGE A6

OBITUARIES D6-7

Popularizer of Easter Favorite

By expanding production, Bob Born made gooe yellow Peeps chicks a pop-culture icon. He was 98. PAGE D6



SPORTS D1-5

Irving Is Traded to Dallas

His time in Brooklyn was marred by his refusal to be vaccinated and his posting of a link to an antisemitic film. PAGE D1

Gamecocks Going Strong

In a win against Connecticut on Sunday, South Carolina made use of its deep bench and athletic roster. PAGE D1

BUSINESS B1-6

Classrooms Critique Chatbots

While many schools are rushing to ban ChatGPT to stop its use as a cheating aid, others are teaching students how to spot the potential biases and risks of artificial intelligence. PAGE B1

A Rise and Fall in India

Gautam Adani often said his company’s goals were in lock step with India’s needs. Now, the Adani Group’s fortunes are crashing, a collapse whose pain will be felt across the country. PAGE B1

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David French

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A Director’s Tricks

M. Night Shyamalan, whose latest is “Knock at the Cabin,” above, has had to deal with an audience looking for a “Sixth Sense” sort of twist. PAGE C3

