

Biden in Tow,
Harris Courts
Union Voters

Campaign Blitz Across
‘Blue Wall’ States

By JONATHAN WEISMAN
and NICHOLAS NEHAMAS

DETROIT — President Biden gave a demonstration on Monday that the Democratic Party now belongs to Vice President Kamala Harris, stepping to the microphone at a campaign event in Pittsburgh to introduce his No. 2 rather than taking the speaking slot of honor for himself.

“Folks, we’ve made a lot of progress, and Kamala and I are going to build on that progress, and she’s going to build on it,” Mr. Biden said at a local union hall as he rallied the labor movement in support of Ms. Harris, who stood behind him leading the crowd in applause. “I’ll be on the sidelines, but I’ll do everything I can to help.”

But while the atmosphere between Ms. Harris and Mr. Biden was warm at their first joint campaign appearance, the president hardly seemed eager to take the supporting role. He spoke for more than 24 minutes, roughly eight minutes longer than the vice president’s remarks. And he talked far more about the accomplishments of his administration than Ms. Harris’s role in them or an coming election against former President Donald J. Trump that is expected to be razor thin.

When Mr. Biden finally invited the Democratic nominee up to speak, the crowd chanted “Kamala” as they clasped hands before he planted a kiss on her forehead.

“Can we please give it up again for our president, Joe Biden,” Ms. Harris said before delivering a speech that served as a paean both to organized labor and to the Biden administration’s support of unions.

“We are so proud to be the most pro-union administration in America’s history,” she said.

Ms. Harris’s stop in Pittsburgh capped a Labor Day spent seeking to press her advantage with

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AVISHAG SHAAAR-YASHUV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Hostage’s Final Home

A funeral was held on Monday for Hersh Goldberg-Polin, 23, an Israeli American whose body was found in a Gaza tunnel. Page A8.

The Book Hamas Wrote on Fighting Israeli Forces Underground

This article is by Adam Goldman,
Ronen Bergman and Natan Odenheimer.

TEL AVIV — Hamas’s handbook for underground combat describes, in meticulous detail, how to navigate in darkness, move stealthily beneath Gaza and fire automatic weapons in confined spaces for maximum lethality.

Battlefield commanders were even instructed to time, down to the second, how long it took their fighters to move among various points underground.

The 2019 manual, which was seized by Israeli forces and re-

viewed by The New York Times, was part of a yearslong effort by Hamas, well before its Oct. 7 attack and current war with Israel, to build an underground military operation that could withstand prolonged attacks and slow down Israeli ground forces inside the darkened tunnels.

Just a year before attacking Israel, Yahya Sinwar, the leader of Hamas in the Gaza Strip, approved spending \$225,000 to install blast doors to protect the militia’s tunnel network from airstrikes and ground assaults.

The approval document said that Hamas brigade commanders had reviewed the tunnels below

Detailed Strategies for
Using Hundreds of
Miles of Tunnels

Gaza and identified critical places underground and at the surface that needed fortification.

The records, along with interviews with experts and Israeli commanders, help explain why, nearly a year into the war, Israel has struggled to achieve its objective of dismantling Hamas.

Israeli officials spent years searching for and dismantling

tunnels that Hamas could use to sneak into Israel to launch an attack. But assessing the underground network inside Gaza was not a priority, a senior Israeli official said, because an invasion and full-scale war there seemed unlikely.

All the while, officials now realize, Hamas was girding for just such a confrontation.

Were it not for the tunnels, experts say, Hamas would have stood little chance against the far superior Israeli military.

The underground-combat manual contains instructions on how to camouflage tunnel entrances,

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NETANYAHU VOWS
TO KEEP CONTROL
OF A GAZA BORDER

TRUCE HOPES SEEM DIM

Biden Says Israeli Leader
Isn’t Doing Enough to
Reach a Deal

This article is by Patrick Kingsley,
Aaron Boxerman and Thomas Fuller.

JERUSALEM — Brushing aside pleas from allies and the demands of Israeli protesters for an immediate cease-fire in Gaza in exchange for the release of hostages, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel on Monday vowed to maintain Israeli control along the border between Egypt and Gaza, a contentious plan that appeared to dim, if not dash, prospects for a truce.

In his first news conference since the bodies of six slain hostages were recovered over the weekend, Mr. Netanyahu told reporters on Monday night that, to ensure its security, Israel needed to assert control over the Gazan side of the border with Egypt, known as the Philadelphi Corridor, calling it the lifeline of Hamas.

Hamas has said Israeli control of the corridor is a nonstarter in negotiations for a truce, demanding instead a complete Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip.

“If we leave, there will be enormous diplomatic pressure upon us from the whole world not to return,” Mr. Netanyahu said of the corridor, as a large crowd protested near his private residence in Jerusalem on Monday night.

Mr. Netanyahu made the comments a day after the Israeli military announced that the six hostages had been found dead in a tunnel underneath Rafah, the southern Gaza city. The discovery devastated Israelis and spurred both the mass protests on Sunday and a widespread work stoppage by the country’s largest labor union.

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Among the Butter Sculptures,
Walz Revels in His State Fair

By KELLEN BROWNING
and TALYA MINSBERG

ST. PAUL, Minn. — For Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, August was a dizzying climb to the highest echelons of politics. Since being selected as Vice President Kamala Harris’s running mate, he has been the featured guest at glitzy private fund-raisers, flown to more than a dozen states and headlined a night at the Democratic convention in Chicago, with thousands in the arena hanging on his every word.

On Sunday, Mr. Walz was back in more familiar territory: the Minnesota State Fair.

He chomped on a pork chop on a stick. He admired the dairy princess butter carvings. He handed out ice cream at the Dairy Goodness Bar counter and waved at the crowd, which was eager for a glimpse — or a selfie — with the governor, who, for once, got to eschew the formal suit and tie for his more comfortable T-shirt and Carhartt pants.

It could have been just another one of Mr. Walz’s many state fair appearances over the years, where he has burnished his profile as an approachable Midwestern dad by wearing socks with a corn-dog pattern and riding the Sling-shot, a nausea-inducing ride, with his daughter, Hope Walz.

Except for the presence of the Secret Service. And the motorcade that whisked him to and from the fair. And the officers stationed on the roof of the dairy building for



AP

Gov. Tim Walz at the Minnesota State Fair on Sunday.

an aerial view of the crowd, which was clamoring to see the man who has a chance this November to complete a meteoric rise from little-known Midwestern governor to vice president.

Mr. Walz, clutching a vanilla milkshake, acknowledged the obvious: Things were different this year.

“A little bit more of a disruption,” he told reporters, noting that he had to cut down from his usual 12 days of appearances. “But it’s exciting — I think people are seeing that we’re getting to talk about Minnesota across the country.”

Indeed. Supporters of Mr. Walz were bursting at the seams one after another, echoing Minnesota state pride as they waited to greet

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After Tragedy, Deaf Campers Savor the Summer

By JENNA RUSSELL

ROME, Maine — As the three girls drew closer to their Maine summer camp one morning in August, text messages pinged between their separate cars as they tracked each other’s progress toward their destination.

Maya Fitts, 16, reported that she was only 17 minutes away. Autumn Laughlin, 11, chimed in; her E.T.A. was almost exactly the same. Soon they would turn onto a dirt road that led through a forest of tall pines, rolling slowly down a steep hill until the shining surface of North Pond popped into view. The third friend, Ingrid Hagenbuch, 11, was delayed by a stop to buy a bathing suit.

They had looked forward to this reunion since last August, and every minute mattered. Their week-long overnight camp in Rome, Maine, Pine Tree Camp’s Dirigo Experience, is the only one in the state exclusively for children who are Deaf or hard of hearing.

For some of the 22 campers from around the state — many of whom are the only Deaf or hard-of-hearing students in their small rural schools — it would be the only time all year they spent with peers who were like them in this way.

“I’m finally home,” said Jayson Seal, 13, describing how he felt when he arrived. Like several other people interviewed for this article, he spoke through an American Sign Language interpreter.

His father, Joshua Seal, created the Dirigo Experience two years



CHAD UNGER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Trading shells in North Pond at the Dirigo Experience in Maine.

ago, determined to provide his four young children, and others across Maine, with an experience he never had as a Deaf child growing up there: a traditional summer camp adventure alongside Deaf and hard-of-hearing peers.

The name comes from Maine’s state motto, Latin for “I lead.”

Mr. Seal was supposed to be at camp this August, signing an exuberant welcome as campers emerged from their cars and dart-

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51 Go on Trial
As Rape Case
Shakes France

By CATHERINE PORTER
and SÉGOLENE LE STRADIC

PARIS — For years, she had been losing hair and weight. She had started forgetting whole days, and sometimes appeared to be in dreamlike trances. Her children and friends worried she had Alzheimer’s.

But in late 2020, after she was summoned to a police station in southern France, she learned a far more shattering story.

Her husband of 50 years, Dominique Pelicot, had been crushing sleeping pills into her food and drink to put her into a deep sleep, the police said, and then raping her. He had ushered dozens of men into her home to film them raping her, too, they said, in abuse that lasted nearly a decade.

Using the man’s photographs, videos and online messages, the police spent the next two years identifying and charging those other suspects.

On Monday, 51 men, including Mr. Pelicot, went on trial in Avignon, in a case that has shocked France and cast a spotlight on the use of drugs to commit sexual abuse and the broader culture in which such crimes could occur.

The accused men represent a kaleidoscope of working-class and middle-class French society: truck drivers, soldiers, carpenters and trade workers, a prison

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The Siren Call of Free Rent

San Francisco aims to lure businesses back to its emptied-out downtown with a powerful incentive.

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Roots of Hotel Workers’ Strike

Pandemic-era cuts to staffing have persisted, which unions say has burdened employees who remain.

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INTERNATIONAL A4-11

India’s Doctors Fear for Safety

Grueling shifts, abuse from the public and poor security are routine for the country’s medical workers. A killing has underscored their plight.

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Defying Brazil’s Order on X

Elon Musk’s satellite internet service is refusing to comply with a court order to block his social network.

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OBITUARIES B9

A Trailblazer in the Army

Arthur J. Gregg, the first Black Army officer elevated to lieutenant general, had a fort named for him. He was 96.



ARTS C1-6

Absurdist Visions of India

Video games playfully examine some of the nation’s darkest chapters. Above, the Museum of Dubious Splendors.

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Bone-Rattling Discoveries

A book by Edward Dolnick explains how the finding of dinosaur fossils rocked Victorian society.

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NATIONAL A12-17

Recall Brings Unease to Town

A deadly listeria outbreak linked to the Boar’s Head plant in Jarratt, Va., has residents worried about the community’s future. “It’s going to deeply affect us,” one of them said.

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Landslides Threaten Homes

The movement of the ground in Rancho Palos Verdes, Calif., is forcing power shutoffs. But as officials look for solutions, many residents in the scenic city are committed to staying.

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OPINION A18-19

Helen Ouyang

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SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

Mapping Volcanic Eruptions

Scientists are studying the course of lava flows in Iceland’s southwestern corner. Above, a microscopic image of patterns in lava crystals.

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