

Nepalis Edgy
Over a Border
Along China

A Sign of Xi’s Push to
Expand and Control

By HANNAH BEECH
and BHADRA SHARMA

HILSA, Nepal — The Chinese fence traces a furrow in the Himalayas, its barbed wire and concrete ramparts separating Tibet from Nepal. Here, in one of the more isolated places on earth, China’s security cameras keep watch alongside armed sentries in guard towers.

High on the Tibetan Plateau, the Chinese have carved a 600-foot-long message on a hillside: “Long live the Chinese Communist Party,” inscribed in characters that can be read from orbit.

Just across the border, in Nepal’s Humla District, residents contend that along several points of this distant frontier, China is encroaching on Nepali territory.

The Nepalis have other complaints, too. Chinese security forces are pressuring ethnic Tibetan Nepalis not to display images of the Dalai Lama, the exiled Tibetan spiritual leader, in Nepali villages near the border, they say. And with the recent proliferation of Chinese barriers and other defenses, a people have also been divided. The stream of thousands of Tibetans who once escaped Chinese government repression by fleeing to Nepal has almost entirely vanished.

Yet Nepal’s leaders have refused to acknowledge China’s imprints on their country. Ideologically and economically tied to China, successive Nepali governments have ignored a 2021 fact-finding report that detailed various border abuses in Humla.

“This is the new Great Wall of China,” said Jeevan Bahadur Shahi, the former provincial chief minister of the area. “But they don’t want us to see it.”

China’s fencing along the edge of Nepal’s Humla District is just one segment of a fortification network thousands of miles long that Xi Jinping’s government has built to reinforce remote reaches, control rebellious populations and, in some cases, push into territory that other nations consider their own.

The fortification building spree, *Continued on Page A6*



ATUL LOKE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Chinese security tower looms over the Nepal border.



GEORGIA Frank Honoré, left, and his father, Stephan, in Mableton speaking to Democratic voters.



ARIZONA Amanda Blake canvassing in Mesa this month, hoping to convince Republicans to vote.

California Aims to ‘Trump-Proof’ Climate Rules

By CORAL DAVENPORT

California officials have been working for months on a plan to “Trump-proof” the state’s leading edge environmental and climate policies, in the event that former President Donald J. Trump returns to White House and follows through on his promise to gut them.

Whether California succeeds could affect more than a dozen other states that follow its emissions rules, and could have global impact because the state’s market muscle compels auto makers and other companies to conform to California standards.

The strategy being crafted in Sacramento includes lawsuits designed to reach wide-ranging settlements with industries that generate greenhouse gases, and new rules and laws that rely on state authority and would be beyond the reach of the administration.

Settlements Designed
to Extend Beyond a
President’s Reach

Mr. Trump, who considers climate change a “hoax,” has promised to weaken every major federal climate regulation, as he did in his first term.

But he is also expected to try to blow up California’s climate policies, which have set the pace for the rest of the nation and the world. The state is requiring about three-quarters of new trucks sold there after 2035 to be zero emissions. And in a request that is pending, California wants permission from the Biden administration to enact one of the most ambitious climate rules of any nation: a ban on the sale of new gas-powered passenger vehicles in the

state after 2035.

Both rules are far tougher than federal policy and could have influence beyond the United States, given California’s standing as the world’s fifth-largest economy. China and the European Union have already adopted parts of California’s car and truck tailpipe emissions reduction programs.

The Democratic-controlled state legislature has also passed a first-in-the-nation law requiring major companies to disclose their greenhouse emissions. And it has strengthened the authority of local governments to shut down oil and gas projects in their communities. Next month, Californians will be asked to approve a ballot measure to create a \$10 billion “climate bond” to pay for climate and environmental projects.

Under a provision of the 1970 Clean Air Act, the Environmental Protection Agency has for decades

Continued on Page A15

In Final Days, Campaigns
Diverge on Ground Game

Harris Revs Up the Turnout Machine as
Trump Tries an Unproven Alliance

This article is by Lisa Lerer, Julie Bosman, Kellen Browning, Maya King and Jonathan Weisman.

In the final weeks of the 2024 election, Vice President Kamala Harris and former President Donald J. Trump are staking their chances on two radically different theories of how to win: one tried-and-true, the other untested in modern presidential campaigns.

Ms. Harris’s team is running an expansive version of the type of field operation that has dominated politics for decades, deploying flotillas of paid staff members to organize and turn out every vote they can find. Mr. Trump’s campaign is going after a smaller universe of less frequent voters while relying on well-funded but inexperienced outside groups to reach a broader swath.

Interviews with more than four dozen voters, activists, campaign aides and officials in four pivotal counties — Erie County, Pa., Kenosha County, Wis., Maricopa County, Ariz., and Cobb County, Ga. — reveal a diffuse, at times unwieldy Republican effort that has raised questions from party operatives about effectiveness in the face of the more tightly structured Harris campaign operation. Democrats, in many places, are outpacing Republicans in terms of paid staff and doors knocked, and are counting on that local presence to break through a fractured media environment and to reach voters who want to tune out politics altogether.

“The national discourse kind of falls on deaf ears if it doesn’t feel real and localized,” said Dan Kanninen, the Harris campaign’s bat-

tleground states director. “Ultimately you’re trying to have a cohesive conversation with a voter across many modes to connect the dots.”

All told, the number of voters deciding the 2024 election could most likely fit in, and perhaps not even fill, a college football stadium. Across the seven battleground states, where the contests are in a dead heat, every ballot counts.

With 2,500 staff members located in 353 offices, the Harris campaign is working to convert the strongest backers into volunteers and to ensure that sporadic but supportive voters cast a ballot, all while winning over independents and moderate Republicans. Last week, the campaign said, it knocked on over 600,000 doors and made over three million calls through 63,000 volunteer shifts.

Mr. Trump’s team is largely operating under the assumption that Republicans who voted for Trump in previous elections will once again back him in large numbers. His campaign is focusing on a smaller number of infrequent voters who his team believes will back Mr. Trump if energized to vote. The campaign says it has “hundreds of paid staff” and over 300 offices across the battleground states. A top Republican strategist who spoke to campaign leaders, who spoke on condition of anonymity because he was not authorized to speak publicly about the operations, said the campaign was training 40,000 volunteers, called “Trump Force 47 captains,” who were each charged with mo-

Continued on Page A12

Feeling Penned In, Trump Rants
At Donors Over Lack of Money

This article is by Jonathan Swan, Maggie Haberman and Shane Goldmacher.

Donald J. Trump took his seat at the dining table in his triplex penthouse apartment atop Trump Tower on the last Sunday in September, alongside some of the most sought-after and wealthiest figures in the Republican Party.

There was Paul Singer, the billionaire hedge fund manager who finances Republican campaigns and pro-Israel causes, and Warren Stephens, the billionaire investment banker. Joining them were Betsy DeVos, the billionaire former education secretary under Mr. Trump, and her husband, Dick, as well as the billionaire Joe Ricketts and his son Todd.

Some politicians might have taken the moment to be charming and ingratiating with the donors.

Not Mr. Trump. Over steak and baked potatoes, the former president tore through a bitter list of grievances.

He made it clear that people, including donors, needed to do more, appreciate him more and help him more.

He disparaged Vice President Kamala Harris as “retarded.” He complained about the number of Jews still backing Ms. Harris, saying they needed their heads examined for not supporting him despite everything he had done for the state of Israel.

At one point, Mr. Trump seemed to suggest that these donors had plenty to be grateful to him for. He boasted about how great he had been for their taxes, something that some privately noted wasn’t true for everyone in the room.

The rant, described by seven

Continued on Page A13

Policies to Raise Fertility Rates
Haven’t Produced Baby Booms

By MOTOKO RICH

TOKYO — In 1989, Japan seemed to be an unstoppable economic superpower. Its companies were overtaking competitors and gobbling up American icons like Rockefeller Center. But inside the country, the government had identified a looming, slow-motion crisis: The fertility rate had fallen to a record low. Policymakers called it the “1.57 shock,” citing the projected average number of children that women would have over their childbearing years.

If births continued to decline, they warned, the consequences would be disastrous. Taxes would rise or social security coffers

would shrink. Japanese children would lack sufficient peer interaction. Society would lose its vitality as the supply of young workers dwindled. It was time to act.

Starting in the 1990s, Japan began rolling out policies and pronouncements designed to spur people to have more babies. The government required employers to offer child care leave of up to a year, opened more subsidized day care slots, exhorted men to do housework and take paternity leave, and called on companies to shorten work hours. In 1992, the government started paying direct

Continued on Page A5

Billions in Tax Breaks Dictate Film Locations, and Test the Crews



Finding the right spots in New York to make “Rosemead,” a film that’s supposed to be set in California, took some detective work.

By CHRISTOPHER KUO

On a rainy morning this past January, Roosevelt Avenue in the Flushing neighborhood of Queens was a stream of yellow cabs, honking buses and weaving cyclists. Nearby, a film crew peering out the windows of a Chinese pharmacy discussed how to make all of that invisible.

The film it was making, “Rosemead,” starring Lucy Liu as an immigrant mother with a mentally unwell teenage son, was based on a real-life story and set in the San Gabriel Valley of sunny Southern California. Any signs of the East Coast would need to be hidden. No cabs, no buses, no bare trees and overcast sky.

“That’s a very New York-looking trash can,” said Liz Power, an

assistant director, ruefully eyeing the green receptacle just outside the pharmacy’s glass door.

Filming “Rosemead” in Rosemead, Calif., would certainly have been easier. But the producers had decided on New York over California because of tax credits.

According to a survey by The New York Times, states have spent \$25 billion on tax incentives over the past two decades to lure Hollywood, often competing against one another. New York State, which writes checks to studios of up to 40 percent of their costs producing a movie or TV show, has handed out more than \$7 billion to entice productions from California, which has dedicated more than \$3 billion to try to retain them.

Continued on Page A18



INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Tide of Grief in Lebanon

Lebanon’s civilians bear the brunt of Israel’s campaign against Hezbollah members and military sites. *PAGE A9*

Finding Humor in War

As the conflict with Russia grinds on, stand-up comedy is sweeping Ukraine, and even raising funds. *PAGE A10*

NATIONAL A11-15, 18

A Tale of Two Hurricanes

Helene in North Carolina and Milton in Florida were very different: One was a catastrophic rainstorm; the other spawned deadly tornadoes. *PAGE A15*

Film Festival at San Quentin

The California prison used to house some of the state’s most violent criminals but has become more known lately for creative pursuits. *PAGE A18*

Texas Man Ends Abortion Suit

The action, using a new state law, had accused three women of wrongful death for allegedly helping the man’s ex-wife obtain abortion pills. *PAGE A13*

SPORTS D1-8

Breaking N.H.L. Glass Ceiling

Jessica Campbell, the first full-time female assistant coach, has long been adept at helping players excel. *PAGE D7*

World Series Scenarios

Now that we’re down to Major League Baseball’s final four, every potential matchup is fascinating. *PAGE D6*



BUSINESS B1-4

Sketchy Websites Find Haven

A building in Iceland, where privacy laws are robust, houses a penis museum and an H&M and is also the virtual home to an array of perpetrators of fraud and disinformation. *PAGE B2*

Feeling Squeeze on Insurance

Struggling landlords and developers are seeking leeway on coverage from their lenders — mostly in vain — as the rise in climate-related natural disasters is pushing rates higher. *PAGE B1*

OPINION A16-17

Jennifer Finney Boylan *PAGE A17*



ARTS C1-6

He Wants His Career Back

Bjarne Melgaard’s rise in the art world came with an unusual contract with investors. Now he’s suing to regain control of his artwork. *PAGE C1*

