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Thousands Flee California Fire
Crews hoped lighter winds would help efforts to fight a wildfire that has raged across the hills northwest of Los Angeles. Page A19.

Hochul Explores Ways to Revive Congestion Pricing in Manhattan

This article is by Emma G. Fitzsimmons, Winnie Hu and Grace Ashford.

Gov. Kathy Hochul of New York is exploring options for reviving a congestion pricing plan for New York City before President-elect Donald J. Trump has a chance to kill it, according to four people familiar with the matter. Ms. Hochul's apparent shift toward saving the contentious plan comes as she faces pressure from various corners, including a group that represents transit riders and

is planning to start an advertising blitz on Monday in support of the tolling program. The plan that Ms. Hochul, a Democrat, is now exploring differs slightly from the one she halted in June. She is trying to satisfy opponents who had complained about the \$15 congestion-pricing toll that most motorists would have had to pay as well as supporters who want to reduce car traffic and fund mass transit improvements. The governor has talked to federal officials about the possibility

A Governor Is Looking to Carry Out a Plan Trump Dislikes

of a \$9 toll and about whether such a change might require the lengthy, involved process of additional environmental review, according to a Metropolitan Transportation Authority board member familiar with the matter. The discussions were first reported by

Politico. Mr. Trump, a Republican, has said he opposes congestion pricing, and his victory on Tuesday has apparently pushed Ms. Hochul to try to find a compromise. “The timing is everything,” said Danny Pearlstein, a spokesman for Riders Alliance, the riders' group that is planning the ad blitz. If congestion pricing has not started by January, he added “it’s very unlikely it would start.” “If it has started,” he continued, Continued on Page A14

Israeli Fans Flee Attacks Decried As Antisemitic

This article is by John Yoon, Christopher F. Schuetz, Jin Yu Young and Claire Moses.

The authorities in Amsterdam on Friday were investigating what they called antisemitic attacks on Israeli soccer fans that took place amid a charged atmosphere surrounding a soccer match involving a visiting Israeli team. The police in Amsterdam said that at least 62 people had been arrested in connection with attacks in the city, which unfolded over two tense days that saw people gather in support of the Israeli team while others protested its presence. The Dutch police said the violence included assaults on Israeli fans by people, some riding scooters, who kicked and beat them in “hit and runs.” Most of those arrested were later released, the police in Amsterdam said, though 10 people remained in custody as of Friday afternoon. Five Israelis who had been hospitalized with injuries were discharged, the police said, and between 20 and 30 others sustained light injuries. Concerned about the safety of its citizens, Israel’s government warned fans in Amsterdam to stay off the streets and helped arrange at least three flights to bring Israeli citizens home — an unusual move since the national airline, El Al, normally does not operate on

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MYKOLA TYS/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

Russia struck a residential area of Lviv, Ukraine, in September. A reporter’s building is at rear left.

The Moment the War in Ukraine Came Home

By YURIY SHYVALA

LVIV, Ukraine — I’ve covered the brutal realities of Ukraine’s war on its eastern front lines since the Russian invasion of 2022, but my home on the other side of the country remained largely untouched by violence. In September, the conflict reached my family in an unexpected way. Our car and the apartment we live in were hit by a Russian missile while I was away on assign-

ment, and while my wife and daughter were visiting family elsewhere. Even though none of us were at home when the missile struck, it was a jarring reminder that there are no truly safe places in Ukraine. For almost three years, war has split Ukraine into two realities. One is near the combat zones, where Russian ballistic missiles and guided bombs are an ever-present threat. The other is in places where life carries on relatively normally, with most of the trappings of peace — but with the

ominous sense that this can change at any moment. The events of September occurred as I straddled those two worlds. I was in Poltava, a city of about 300,000 people in central Ukraine, on one of its darkest days since Russia’s invasion. On Sept. 3, two ballistic missiles struck a military academy there, killing 59 people and injuring over 270 others. Among the survivors was a 25-year-old who gave his name only Continued on Page A6

In Frustration, California Tilts Right on Crime

Voters Overwhelmingly Pass Stiffer Penalties

By TIM ARANGO

LOS ANGELES — California is known for having some of the most progressive laws in the country. But in Tuesday’s election, the state lurched rightward, as voters sent a clear message that they were fed up with crime and homelessness in their state. Frustrated by open-air drug use, “smash-and-grab” robberies and shampoo locked away in stores, California voters overwhelmingly passed a ballot measure, Proposition 36, that will impose harsher penalties for shoplifting and drug possession. Voters in Oakland and Los Angeles were on their way to ousting liberal district attorneys who had campaigned on social justice promises to reduce imprisonment and hold the police accountable. And statewide measures to raise the minimum wage, ban the forced labor of inmates and expand rent control, all backed by progressive groups and labor unions, were heading toward defeat. Amid a conservative shift nationally that included Donald J. Trump’s reclamation of the White House, voters in heavily Democratic California displayed a similar frustration, challenging the state’s identity as a reflexively liberal bastion.

And Mr. Trump appears to have gained ground in California compared with four years ago, based on initial election returns, despite facing Vice President Kamala Harris in her home state. (She was still ahead by nearly 18 percentage points after a vote count update on Thursday, but Joseph R. Biden Jr. won in 2020 by 29 points.) The mood this year was “very negative about the direction of the country especially, but also the state,” said Mark Baldassare, who is a political scientist and the statewide survey director for the Public Policy Institute of California. “Lots of concerns about the direction of the economy, and worries about the cost of living and public safety.” In San Francisco, the ouster of Mayor London Breed was the latest sign of discontent in a city that began moving away from its liberal

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AS TRUMP TARIFFS LOOM, INDUSTRIES BRACE FOR IMPACT

SUPPLY CHAIN RIPPLES

Companies Look to Move Factories or Stockpile Chinese Imports

By ANA SWANSON

WASHINGTON — Rick Muskat woke up the morning after the election with an urgent task. He got his agent in China on the phone at 4:30 a.m. Beijing time and pressed him to ask their factory how many more pairs of men’s dress shoes they could make before Chinese New Year, at the end of January. “I told them if they could make an additional 30,000 pairs, we would take that,” Mr. Muskat, the co-owner of a shoe company called Deer Stags, said on Thursday. The impetus was not a sudden jump in demand for shoes but the looming threat of steep tariffs on Chinese products. By stockpiling now, Mr. Muskat reckoned, his company could avoid at least some of the levies that President-elect Donald J. Trump has promised to impose when he takes office in January.

“We’re going to take whatever they can make,” Mr. Muskat said. The election of Mr. Trump is already cascading through global supply chains, where companies are grappling with his promises to remake international trade by raising the tariffs the United States puts on foreign products. Mr. Trump has floated a variety of plans — including a 10 to 20 percent tax on most foreign products, and a 60 percent tariff on goods from China — that would raise the surcharge American importers pay to a level not seen in generations. Much remains unclear about his proposals, including which countries other than China would face tariffs, which products might be excluded and when the tariffs would take effect. But given Mr. Trump’s history of imposing taxes and the challenges those pose to global businesses that depend on moving products across borders, many executives are not waiting to see what he does. Continued on Page A15

For Harris, Star Endorsements Didn’t Shine as They Used To

By JESSE MCKINLEY

In an election season in which both parties sought out any possible edge, Democrats clung to one seemingly clear-cut advantage: Celebrities including Taylor Swift and Bruce Springsteen broke hard for that party, even as voters did not. President-elect Donald J. Trump had his own famous supporters, drawing from a more masculine cohort, with figures like Kanye West, Mel Gibson, Kid Rock and Jon Voight also weighing in with their endorsements. The result was a split-screen of American celebrity — two sets of famous people for two halves of the country. But by and large, the biggest names in entertainment said Vice President Kamala Harris should be elected to the nation’s highest office. In the end, it did not seem to matter much. Ms. Harris was decisively defeated on Tuesday, despite the backing of a megastar like Beyoncé. On the singer’s Instagram page, one commenter put it succinctly. “America is tired,” wrote Albert Pennachio, an independent voter who lives in Statesville, N.C. “And we don’t care what celebrities



KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES



RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Oprah Winfrey and Bruce Springsteen supported her.

think anymore.” It wasn’t always this way: Celebrity endorsements used to seemingly carry substantial weight, with influential figures like Oprah Winfrey helping to Continued on Page A17



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In Argentina, President Javier Milei’s austerity measures have cut programs aimed at helping women. PAGE A9

Europe’s Far Right Is Pleased
Viktor Orban of Hungary and other populists hailed the return of a like-minded U.S. president. PAGE A5

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Senate Democrats are running out of time to process judicial nominees in a lame-duck session before the Republicans take over. PAGE A18

U.S. Accuses Iranian Plotters
The criminal complaint filed in Manhattan federal court said that the men wanted to assassinate Donald J. Trump before the election. PAGE A19

Growing Food Instead of Lawns
Front yards transformed to tiny crop farms in Los Angeles provide vegetables for families and use a fraction of the water needed by grass. PAGE A20

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Candidate Tech Quietly Wooed
The executives of the industry’s biggest companies largely ignored Donald J. Trump in 2016, but were far more friendly this campaign season. PAGE B1

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Here’s what the president-elect has said he might do with taxes, student loans, Social Security and more. PAGE B1

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For jazz greats like Duke Ellington and Louis Armstrong, riding trains offered safety from racial violence. PAGE C8



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The 2025 Grammy Awards
Beyoncé, who received 11 nominations, and Taylor Swift, who received six, will face off in the top categories. PAGE C1

A Part He Wasn’t Meant For
Francis Jae’s role in “Yellow Face” on Broadway is one he first played in 2007, and one he almost didn’t get. PAGE C1

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Coach John Calipari, who parted ways with Kentucky, is now at Arkansas, and is on a win-now mission. PAGE B6

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Stephanie White, the new coach of the Indiana Fever, will play a major role in Caitlin Clark’s development. PAGE B7

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