

Emails Reveal
Oct. 7 Debates
Inside Harvard

G.O.P. Faults Colleges
Over Antisemitism

By ANEMONA HARTOCOLLIS

Two days after Hamas’s deadly attack on Israel last year, senior administrators at Harvard University wrestled with how to respond. Drafting a public statement, they edited out the word “violent” to describe the attack, when a dean complained that it “sounded like assigning blame.”

They debated whether to explicitly disown a declaration by some Harvard student groups that Israel was responsible for the violence, but ultimately decided not to.

The internal debate among Harvard leaders including Claudine Gay, then the school’s president, played out furiously in emails and text messages that were released in a report on Thursday by the Republican-led House Committee on Education and the Workforce.

The report, part of a nearly yearlong inquiry by House Republicans investigating antisemitism on university campuses, offers a rare window into the discussions at multiple universities and how difficult judgment calls made by a small handful of people were scrutinized around the world.

The committee report accuses the schools’ leadership of permitting rampant antisemitism as pro-Palestinian students organized demonstrations at campuses across the country.

What is clear is that administrators struggled to find consensus on delicate moral judgments — like whether certain behavior constituted antisemitism — and how to take a stand on portentous affairs dividing the world.

Often, they seemed lost.

The Republican staff report releases 400,000 pages of documents from Harvard, Penn, M.I.T., Yale, Columbia, Barnard, Rutgers, Northwestern, George Washington, Berkeley and UCLA. (The documents from Harvard and Columbia were obtained in part through subpoenas.) It argues that the schools may have violated civil rights law that requires universities receiving federal funds to address a hostile environment against Jews.

“How could you be somebody with a job at a university and not recognize antisemitism and move to do something about it?” Representative Virginia Foxx, Republican of North Carolina and the chairwoman of the House committee, said in an interview on Thursday. “It is not complicated, and it wasn’t complicated on these campuses.”

The problem, she said, “is that they treated it as a public relations

Continued on Page A18

For Some, Medicaid Is Vital



Lahela Bautista went on Medicaid when she learned she was pregnant, but for her it’s temporary.



For Billy Martin, it’s important. And many wonder how it could change after the election. Page A12.

Divided Town in Divided State in Divided Nation

This article is by Julie Bosman, Dan Simmons and Robert Gebeloff.

ALGOMA, Wis. — The confrontation in this tiny fishing town on Lake Michigan that markets itself as “Friendly Algoma” began, in the modern American fashion, with a Facebook post.

Early last month, an anonymous poster complained on Algoma’s community Facebook page that someone had been vandalizing political signs around town. Stay off your neighbor’s lawn, the poster wrote, saying that “kindness should always win.”

Dennis Paul, 65, an Algoma resident, saw the post and typed in a couple of sharp comments. So did

Wisconsin Community
Went to Biden in ’20.
By Six Votes.

his neighbor, Abbey Bridges, 40, a Democrat who lives across the street, writing that there was little point in engaging in political debate with Mr. Paul, a supporter of former President Donald J. Trump.

Hours later, sitting on the wrap-around porch of his white clapboard house, Mr. Paul saw Ms. Bridges walking her dog and decided not to let the whole thing

rest.

“Get a job!” he shouted, Ms. Bridges recalled, lobbing more insults and what she perceived as a threat to beat her up. She called the police.

Algoma is known in Wisconsin as a sleepy, charming little place, a draw for tourists with its charter fishing trips, antique shops and beachfront boardwalk that is perfect for a lakeside stroll.

What is less widely known is its unusually deep political divide.

The vast majority of Americans live in geographic polarization, towns and cities where many people generally share the same political sensibilities. Only 5 percent of the U.S. population lives in a

Continued on Page A15

Trump Clings
To His Image
As Strongman

Labeled a Fascist, and
in No Rush to Deny It

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — When former President Donald J. Trump’s longest-serving chief of staff said last month that his old boss “falls into the general definition of fascist,” Mr. Trump let loose with the insults, assailing his onetime right hand as a “total degenerate,” a “LOWLIFE” and a “bad General.”

What Mr. Trump did not do, at least at first, was actually deny that he was or aspired to be a fascist.

Any other politician might consider that a damning denunciation worth rebutting. Only when asked days later did he directly dismiss the idea. But in the nine years that he has been running for or serving as president, Mr. Trump has regularly evoked the language, history and motifs of fascism without hesitation or evident concern about how it would make him look.

While presidents have pushed the boundaries of power, and in some cases abused it outright, no American commander in chief over the past couple of centuries has so aggressively sought to discredit the institutions of democracy at home while so openly embracing and envying dictators abroad. Although plenty of presidents have been called dictators by their opponents, none has been publicly accused of fascism by his own handpicked top adviser who spent day after day with him in the Oval Office.

Mr. Trump does not use the word to describe himself — in fact, he uses it to describe his adversaries — but he does not shrink from the impression it leaves. He goes out of his way to portray himself as an American strongman, vowing if re-elected to use the military to crack down on dissent, to use the Justice Department to prosecute and imprison his foes, to shut down news media outlets that displease him, to claim authority that his predecessors did not have and to round up millions of people living in the country illegally and put them in camps or deport them en masse.

He has already sought to overturn a free and fair election that even his own advisers told him he had lost, all in a bid to hold on to power despite the will of the voters, something no other sitting president ever tried to do. When that did not work, he spread demonstrable lies about the 2020 vote so pervasively that he convinced most of his supporters that Mr. Biden’s victory was illegitimate, according to polls, eroding faith in the democratic system that is key to its enduring viability. He then called for the “termina-

Continued on Page A16

STEALTH DONORS
FUEL HIDDEN AIMS
LATE IN THE RACE

MONEY HARD TO TRACE

Millions to 3rd-Party Bids
for Luring Votes From
Harris or Trump

By THEODORE SCHLEIFER and KENNETH P. VOGEL

The campaign literature that landed in Republican mailboxes in North Carolina this week was jarring. On one side was a sonogram image of a human fetus, with this message: “Her heart is beating. We all know it. Only the courageous few will protect her.” On the other side was a call to action: “You have the courage and the conviction to vote for Randall Terry.”

But the mailer did not come from supporters of Mr. Terry, a third-party presidential candidate and longtime leader in the anti-abortion movement.

Rather, the fine print showed it was the work of a nascent super PAC with the anodyne name of Civic Truth Action that was funded by millions of dollars in difficult-to-trace money linked to Democrats trying to elect Vice President Kamala Harris as the next president.

The final days of a high-stakes election are often a time of political mischief. The message pushed by Civic Truth Action — purportedly to help Mr. Terry but aimed at siphoning votes from former President Donald J. Trump — may be among the most cynical. But it is far from unique. Across the country, supporters of Ms. Harris and Mr. Trump are taking advantage of a patchwork of lax laws that allow partisans to funnel millions of dollars through daisy chains of opaque entities into hard-hitting campaign tactics, all to try to sway the tiny slice of swing-state voters who could make the difference.

Campaign operatives and donors have long deployed creative accounting to mask the flow of

Continued on Page A18

2024 ELECTION

FINAL ARGUMENT Harris’s years as a prosecutor offer hints about how she will make her case to voters. PAGE A14

HEALTH Breaking up the C.D.C., moving funds from the N.I.H. — conservatives have floated changes if Trump wins. PAGE A10

THE COURTS An analysis of Biden’s and Trump’s picks found differences that could emerge again after November. PAGE A9

Big Plans for Public Housing Are Stirring Up Hope, and Doubt

Casa Celina now rises cheerfully, a grayish-white, 16-story beacon, above an asphalt parking lot in the Soundview section of the Bronx.

Designed by Magnusson Architecture and Planning, it’s a handsome new home for low-income seniors, several dozen of them formerly homeless. The Bronx has the highest senior poverty rate in New York. More than 50,000 people entered the lottery for Casa Celina’s 204 apartments.

The building is what is called an infill project, one that fills in an empty or otherwise available parcel of land on an already developed site. It takes over half of the parking lot at a corner of the sprawling campus for Sotomayor Houses, a 1950s-era New York City Housing Author-

ity development. The houses were renamed some years ago for Justice Sonia Sotomayor, who grew up there. During the last couple of years, other low-income senior housing projects have filled in similar parcels of open space on NYCHA properties.

For decades, infill on NYCHA land was pretty much a no-no. Campuses were designed to be low-density with open space, the midcentury urban planning solution to overcrowded tenement conditions of the early 20th century. But tower-in-the-park-style housing created its own problems. Attitudes have changed.

New York City has lately come around to the virtues of adding subsidized housing to architecturally remodeled public library branch sites. NYCHA is a vastly

Continued on Page A20



Chelsea, in Manhattan, is full of new skyscrapers that loom over aging public housing that may be headed for demolition.

Isolated and Roped Into a Scam,
Their Children Powerless to Help

By TARA SIEGEL BERNARD

When Chris Mancinelli walked into his father’s home for the first time after the 79-year-old man died last summer, he stopped to look at family photos displayed on the refrigerator door. Near a crayon drawing spelling out “grandpa” in rainbow colors were photos of his father’s three granddaughters at a swimming pool.

But one image jumped out: a photo of Alexa Bliss, a professional wrestling personality.

Mr. Mancinelli’s father, Alfred, was completely smitten with the star — or at least with the con artist impersonating her. He was convinced he was in a romantic relationship with Ms. Bliss, leading him to give up about \$1 million in retirement savings (and his granddaughter’s college fund) to

SWINDLED SAVINGS
Targeting Older Americans

the impostor and a varied cast of online fraudsters he interacted with over several years.

When Mr. Mancinelli tried to intervene, moving his father’s last \$100,000 to a safe account, Alfred sued him — his loyalty was to “Lexi.”

“There was nothing we could do to convince him,” said Mr. Mancinelli, 47, a chemical engineer in Collegeville, Pa. An elder care specialist deemed Alfred “really sharp,” he said, but lacking purpose.


Mr. Mancinelli and others who have tried to awaken their loved ones from this trance often feel

Continued on Page A19

SPORTS B7-10

The Genuine Bronny James
The Lakers rookie grew up in the spotlight, but was a “real joy” to many who knew him in Northeast Ohio. PAGE B9

Baseball Crowns a Champion
A comeback in Game 5 sealed the eighth World Series title in the history of the Dodgers’ franchise. PAGE B7



INTERNATIONAL A4-8

U.S. Turns to China
American agencies have assessed that China dislikes the growing partnership of Russia and North Korea, which has sent troops to fight in Ukraine. PAGE A8

Deadly Extreme Weather
Since 2004, more than half a million people were killed in 10 disasters that climate change worsened, according to a new report. PAGE A5

Facing Onslaughts in Ukraine
Over the past month, Russia has seized more than 160 square miles of land in the eastern Donbas region, the main theater of the war today. PAGE A7

NATIONAL A9-21, 24

Murder at a Hamptons Resort
After an artist was found slain, the body of her boyfriend and benefactor was discovered in Pennsylvania. PAGE A21

OBITUARIES B11-12


Star Who Replaced Streisand
Mimi Hines, 91, was best known as half of a comedy duo until her voice earned her raves as Fanny Brice. PAGE B11

A Prosecutor Turned Author
Charles Brandt, whose true-crime best seller about the death of Jimmy Hoffa was brought to the screen by Martin Scorsese, was 82. PAGE B12

WEEKEND ARTS C1-16

Crueler Realities
“Blitz” presents a more complicated version of history than what is often depicted in war movies. PAGE C1

A Nimble Dostoyevsky
American Ballet Theater unveils “Crime and Punishment,” based on the classic Russian novel. PAGE C14



BUSINESS B1-6

The Election on TikTok
Thousands of videos are posted each week about the presidential race, trying to crack the app’s algorithm. PAGE B4

Explaining the Economic Blahs
Lingering consumer pessimism is a puzzle, because the job market is strong and price increases have faded. PAGE B1

OPINION A22-23

J. Michael Luttig PAGE A22

