

NEWS ANALYSIS

Trump Swings Wrecking Ball At Status Quo

Startling Picks Seen as Government Stress Test

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — Somehow disruption doesn’t begin to cover it. Upheaval might be closer. Revolution maybe. In less than two weeks since being elected again, Donald J. Trump has embarked on a new campaign to shatter the institutions of Washington as no incoming president has in his lifetime.

He has rolled a giant grenade into the middle of the nation’s capital and watched with mischievous glee to see who runs away and who throws themselves on it. Suffice it to say, so far there have been more of the former than the latter. Mr. Trump has said that “real power” is the ability to engender fear, and he seems to have achieved that.

Mr. Trump’s early transition moves amount to a generational stress test for the system. If Republicans bow to his demand to recess the Senate so that he can install appointees without confirmation, it would rewrite the balance of power established by the founders more than two centuries ago. And if he gets his way on selections for some of the most important posts in government, he would put in place loyalists intent on blowing up the very departments they would lead.

He has chosen a bomb-throwing backbench congressman who has spent his career attacking fellow Republicans and fending off sex-and-drugs allegations to run the same Justice Department that investigated him, though it did not charge him, on suspicion of trafficking underage girls. He has chosen a conspiracy theorist with no medical training who disparages the foundations of conventional health care to run the Department of Health and Human Services.

He has chosen a weekend morning television host with a history of defending convicted

Continued on Page A14

TRUMP’S PICKS Where critics see underqualified nominees, his voters see mavericks. PAGE A15



ODELYN JOSEPH/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Running From Violence in Haiti

A search for a solution to the nation’s crisis is growing more urgent as gangs gain territory and stabilization efforts flounder. Page A6.

How Harris’s Campaign Spent \$1.5 Billion in Just 15 Weeks

By SHANE GOLDMACHER

Vice President Kamala Harris spent a remarkable \$1.5 billion in her hyper-compressed 15-week presidential campaign. But in the days since losing to President-elect Donald J. Trump, her operation has faced questions internally and externally over where exactly all that cash went.

Despite her significant financial advantage, Ms. Harris became the first Democratic presidential candidate to lose the national popular vote in two decades, ceding every battleground state to Mr. Trump.

Her cash-rich campaign spared no expense as it hunted for voters — paying for an avalanche of advertising, social-media influencers, a for-hire door-knocking operation, thousands of staff, pricey rallies, a splashy Oprah town hall, celebrity concerts and even drone shows.

A Frenzy of Payments Prompts Questions From Democrats

It was a spree that averaged roughly \$100 million per week.

The frenzied spending has led to second-guessing among some Democrats, including whether investing in celebrity-fueled events with stars such as Lady Gaga and Beyoncé was more ostentatious than effective.

Since her loss, the Harris operation has pressed supporters for more cash with desperate-sounding solicitations, stirring fears about post-election debts. “Is there anything we can say?” came one email asking for cash last Monday.

The biggest expense during the

Continued on Page A13

Labor Regulators Open Inquiry Into Shen Yun Dance Company

By MICHAEL ROTHFELD and NICOLE HONG

For years, New York labor regulators stood by while a prominent dance company headquartered in the state relied on children and teenagers to stage shows worldwide, earning tens of millions of dollars per season but offering little or no pay to the underage performers.

That changed in recent months when the State Department of Labor opened an inquiry into the group, Shen Yun Performing Arts.

The agency, which is tasked with enforcing laws on child labor, overtime and the minimum wage, declined to specify what it was examining. But the inquiry was opened following questions from The New York Times, which in August documented numerous instances of what legal experts and former performers describe as questionable labor practices.

Tiring Global Tours and Arduous Training for Little or No Pay

Shen Yun, which is operated by the Falun Gong religious movement from a guarded, 400-acre campus in Orange County, northwest of New York City, requires its performers to keep grueling tour schedules and train under abusive conditions, former performers have said.

Many of its young dancers and musicians were the children of ardent Falun Gong practitioners and had traveled from overseas to enroll in school at Shen Yun’s headquarters, Dragon Springs. They received full scholarships, plus room and board, and were told performing was part of their

Continued on Page A16

Berkeley Stiffens Homeless Rules as Camps Test Empathy’s Limits

By SHAWN HUBLER

BERKELEY, Calif. — Long associated with the counterculture of the 1960s, this city has a reputation for erring on the side of compassion when it comes to addressing drug use and homelessness. It is such a liberal outlier that Vice President Kamala Harris downplayed her origins there as she tried to appeal to moderate American voters this year.

So it came as a shock to Californians when Berkeley joined the scores of cities that have decided to tighten enforcement on homeless camps this year. In the coming weeks, Berkeley authorities plan to target two sprawling encampments that for years have generated waves of rats, fires, complaints and police calls.

“People are frustrated — even in this very progressive city that cares deeply about addressing homelessness,” Jesse Arreguin, the mayor of Berkeley, said last week.

Berkeley is among more than 75 cities nationwide that have imposed restrictions on homeless encampments since the Supreme Court decided in June to allow state and local governments to prohibit outdoor sleeping, said Eric Tars, the legal director of the



RACHEL BUJALSKI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Homeless encampments in Berkeley, Calif., have frustrated neighboring residents and businesses.

National Homelessness Law Center in Washington, D.C., which has been tracking the legislation.

About a third of the measures have been enacted in California, which is the nation’s most populous state and has a disproportionate

ately high number of homeless residents. Other restrictions have been passed in the Midwest and South, as well as in Washington, Montana and other Western states covered by the Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, which

had previously banned governments from punishing people for establishing homeless camps.

A handful of cities have made a point of rejecting a hard-line approach, calling it counterproductive

Continued on Page A12

Pat Koch Thaler Had Selected A Day to Die. But First a Chat.

By SAM ROBERTS

After writing obituaries for a decade, I received a phone call on Tuesday, Nov. 12, that began routinely enough.

Name of subject?
“Pat Koch Thaler” — the sister of the former New York City mayor Edward I. Koch, his sounding board and a former dean at New York University.

Day of death? “Saturday.”
The 9th, right?
The answer spooked me: “No, the 16th. And she wants to speak with you first.”

I have interviewed the subjects of dozens of obituaries before their deaths. But I’d never been contacted on behalf of someone who was about to take her own life, much less wanted to talk about it.

After 22 years of fending off cancer, Ms. Thaler had run out of miracles. Twice the disease had gone into remission, only to return. One kidney had been removed. She had been bombarded by radiation, chemotherapy and ablation. Finally, the tumors had been declared inoperable.

“My mother died in agony,” Ms. Thaler recalled. Her mother was



VIA SHMUEL THALER

Pat Koch Thaler, sister of former New York mayor Ed Koch.

62, misdiagnosed and undergoing an operation to remove her gall bladder when surgeons found her body was riddled with cancer.

Of her own experience, Ms. Thaler said she had been offered a drug that “would slow things down, but would have some serious side effects.”

“And I decided, I’m 92 and a half years old, I have lived a very, very rich life, a very happy life, and I

Continued on Page A12



NATIONAL A11-17

Sticking to the Scriptures

National Bible Bee contestants show off feats of memorization that make a spelling bee look simple.

PAGE A11

Twist in Election Litigation

As a Senate recount plays out in Pennsylvania, at least four counties are defying a mail ballot ruling.

PAGE A16

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Biden Visits the Amazon

The president toured the rainforest and promised Brazil environmental funds, even as the Trump administration looks poised to roll them back.

PAGE A6

Opposition to Putin Stumbles

Accusations of betrayal have already tarnished the movement once led by Aleksei A. Navalny.

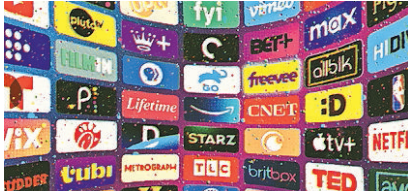
PAGE A4

SPORTS D1-8

Our Deteriorating Decency

Joel Embiid’s altercation with a critical columnist is a microcosm of society’s loss of respect for one another.

PAGE D1



BUSINESS B1-5

Streaming War Standouts

About two dozen smaller specialty streaming services have generated significant subscriber growth.

PAGE B1

Hawaii Fire Settlement Delay

Insurers are asking courts to block an unorthodox \$4 billion deal in the devastating Maui fire.

PAGE B1

OBITUARIES B6-7

‘Quiet Pioneer’ in Leadership

Clifton R. Wharton Jr. was the first African American to be president of a large, predominantly white university, C.E.O. of a major corporation and deputy secretary of state. He was 98.

PAGE B6

Father of Green Architecture

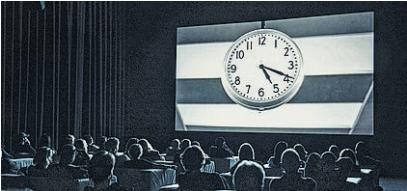
Sim Van der Ryn, who was credited with designing the first eco-friendly office building, never forgot the lessons he learned observing communes in the 1960s. He was 89.

PAGE B7

OPINION A18-19

Thomas Goldstein

PAGE A19



ARTS C1-8

‘The Clock’ Revisits New York

Christian Marclay’s 24-hour film, and a century of cinema history, is on view at the Museum of Modern Art, returning after more than a decade.

PAGE C1



0 354613 9