

TIFFANY & CO.

Love is a gift.
Open it and you'll find possibilities.
A light that brings joy and guides our path.
Look inside and you'll find protection.
A bond that holds us together and cares for us.
Embrace it and you'll find strength.
A force that moves us through anything.
And whether shared with another
or with ourselves,
love, in all its facets,
is the most precious gift of all.

With love, Since 1837 **TIFFANY & CO.**

"All the News
That's Fit to Print"

VOL. CLXXV ... No. 60,712

© 2025 The New York Times Company

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 2025

Prices in Canada may be higher \$6.00

The New York Times

Two Men. One Identity. They Both Paid the Price.

Stolen Papers Used
for Migrant's Work

By ELI SASLOW

Dan Kluver saw the police lights flashing in his rearview mirror late last year and eased his car onto the shoulder, thinking there had been some kind of mistake. He had spent four decades in rural Minnesota without ever getting into trouble. He prided himself on a life built around dependability and routine, working at the same factory where his father once did and spending his weekends coaching baseball and teaching Sunday school. He had never fired a gun, or smoked a cigarette, or missed a payment, or been arrested.

"License and registration, please," the officer said. Kluver, 42, handed them over and waited while the officer went back to his patrol car. He listened to the church bells that rang every hour and watched sunlight reflect off the grain silos in downtown Olivia, where he knew most of the 2,400 residents, including the officer who was walking back to his car.

"Is everything all right?" Kluver asked.

"It's strange, but it looks like your license has been suspended," the officer said. "You've got another driver's license with some issues down in Missouri."

"What?" Kluver said. "I've barely ever been to Missouri. How's that possible?"

The officer had no answers, but Kluver feared he might know what was happening. Over the years, there had been signs that something wasn't right — stray letters about wages earned in unfamiliar towns and collection notices for debt that wasn't his. Kluver had tried to untangle the mess several times by hiring tax specialists and driving to government offices across the state only to run into the same bureaucratic dead ends. But now the problem was bigger than unpaid taxes. Someone was impersonating him, moving through the world as Dan Kluver, building a life in his name with a government-issued ID.

His case was one version of a problem that's been spreading across the country for years. The government estimates that as



Dan Kluver found that a man in another state was using his name and his Social Security number.

many as one million undocumented workers are using fraudulent or stolen Social Security numbers — a survival tactic used to pass background checks and get jobs. The numbers are skimmed from data breaches, sold in black markets online for as little as \$150 or handed out in border towns by human smugglers. Many numbers connect back to U.S. citizen chil-

dren, dead people or Puerto Ricans whose numbers circulate easily across the mainland. But thousands of others belong to people like Kluver, Americans whose names and identities are no longer theirs alone.

The police officer sent Kluver home with a warning, and he sifted through file cabinets with his wife, Kristy, searching for

Continued on Page 16

**From the Tomb,
Spain's Dictator
Fires Up Youth**

By JASON HOROWITZ

MINGORRUBIO CEMETERY, Spain — This past week, a pilgrim to the tomb of the Spanish dictator Francisco Franco wheeled a camouflage duffel bag of plastic flowers and flags to a shrine of banners and busts, crowns and crosses.

"I would like the regime to come back," said José Luis Ortiz, 50, who was born weeks after Franco died and who used a vacation from his job as a janitor on Spain's eastern coast to tend to Franco's crypt outside Madrid. A supporter of the fascist Falange party, Mr. Ortiz talked about dictatorial glory days and "all that Franco gave the Spanish."

Thursday was the 50th anniversary of the death of Franco, who has now been gone longer than the 39 years that he ruled as the Generalísimo lording over Spain's military dictatorship. In 1936, Franco, an ally of Mussolini and Hitler, staged a military coup that turned into a bloody three-year civil war in which Communist-backed forces were defeated and Franco began a four-decade au-

tocracy. Over that time, he sup-

pressed free speech, imprisoned

dissidents and repressed the

country's linguistic and cultural

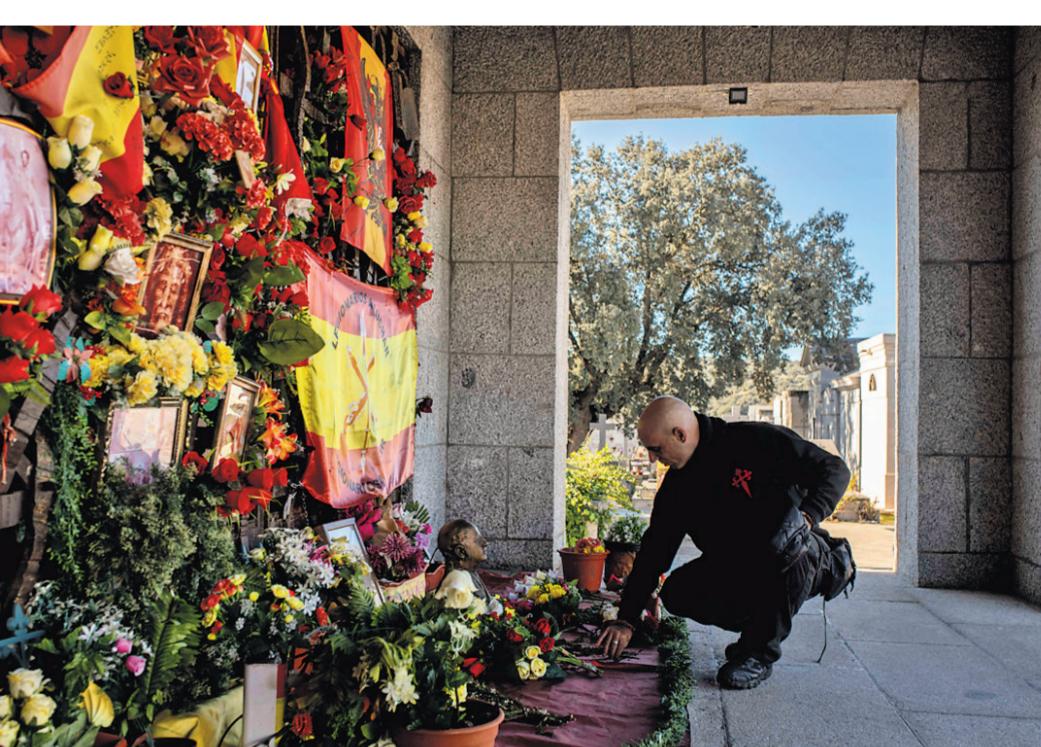
minorities — while pleasing his

supporters by improving infra-

structure and the economy.

Since Franco's death, his legacy

has been fiercely contested by the



Fifty years after his death, Francisco Franco draws in Spaniards, rousing disputes over his legacy.

left and the right and everyone in between. But instead of just fading away, that debate has intensified recently as young conservatives, many of whom back Spain's surging hard-right party, join the calls to revive the dictator's im-

age.

In recent days, the country has

been wrestling with a national survey showing that 20 percent of Spain's youth have a positive view of the Franco dictatorship. Social media channels of young voters team with pro-Franco content.

The left-wing government of Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez

Continued on Page 12

between. But instead of just fading away, that debate has intensified recently as young conservatives, many of whom back Spain's surging hard-right party, join the calls to revive the dictator's image.

In recent days, the country has

been wrestling with a national survey showing that 20 percent of Spain's youth have a positive view of the Franco dictatorship. Social media channels of young voters team with pro-Franco content.

The left-wing government of Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez

Continued on Page 12

been wrestling with a national survey showing that 20 percent of Spain's youth have a positive view of the Franco dictatorship. Social media channels of young voters team with pro-Franco content.

The left-wing government of Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez

Continued on Page 12

been wrestling with a national survey showing that 20 percent of Spain's youth have a positive view of the Franco dictatorship. Social media channels of young voters team with pro-Franco content.

The left-wing government of Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez

Continued on Page 12

been wrestling with a national survey showing that 20 percent of Spain's youth have a positive view of the Franco dictatorship. Social media channels of young voters team with pro-Franco content.

The left-wing government of Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez

Continued on Page 12

been wrestling with a national survey showing that 20 percent of Spain's youth have a positive view of the Franco dictatorship. Social media channels of young voters team with pro-Franco content.

The left-wing government of Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez

Continued on Page 12

been wrestling with a national survey showing that 20 percent of Spain's youth have a positive view of the Franco dictatorship. Social media channels of young voters team with pro-Franco content.

The left-wing government of Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez

Continued on Page 12

been wrestling with a national survey showing that 20 percent of Spain's youth have a positive view of the Franco dictatorship. Social media channels of young voters team with pro-Franco content.

The left-wing government of Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez

Continued on Page 12

been wrestling with a national survey showing that 20 percent of Spain's youth have a positive view of the Franco dictatorship. Social media channels of young voters team with pro-Franco content.

The left-wing government of Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez

Continued on Page 12

been wrestling with a national survey showing that 20 percent of Spain's youth have a positive view of the Franco dictatorship. Social media channels of young voters team with pro-Franco content.

The left-wing government of Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez

Continued on Page 12

been wrestling with a national survey showing that 20 percent of Spain's youth have a positive view of the Franco dictatorship. Social media channels of young voters team with pro-Franco content.

The left-wing government of Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez

Continued on Page 12

been wrestling with a national survey showing that 20 percent of Spain's youth have a positive view of the Franco dictatorship. Social media channels of young voters team with pro-Franco content.

The left-wing government of Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez

Continued on Page 12

been wrestling with a national survey showing that 20 percent of Spain's youth have a positive view of the Franco dictatorship. Social media channels of young voters team with pro-Franco content.

The left-wing government of Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez

Continued on Page 12

been wrestling with a national survey showing that 20 percent of Spain's youth have a positive view of the Franco dictatorship. Social media channels of young voters team with pro-Franco content.

The left-wing government of Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez

Continued on Page 12

been wrestling with a national survey showing that 20 percent of Spain's youth have a positive view of the Franco dictatorship. Social media channels of young voters team with pro-Franco content.

The left-wing government of Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez

Continued on Page 12

been wrestling with a national survey showing that 20 percent of Spain's youth have a positive view of the Franco dictatorship. Social media channels of young voters team with pro-Franco content.

The left-wing government of Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez

Continued on Page 12

been wrestling with a national survey showing that 20 percent of Spain's youth have a positive view of the Franco dictatorship. Social media channels of young voters team with pro-Franco content.

The left-wing government of Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez

Continued on Page 12

been wrestling with a national survey showing that 20 percent of Spain's youth have a positive view of the Franco dictatorship. Social media channels of young voters team with pro-Franco content.

The left-wing government of Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez

Continued on Page 12

been wrestling with a national survey showing that 20 percent of Spain's youth have a positive view of the Franco dictatorship. Social media channels of young voters team with pro-Franco content.

The left-wing government of Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez

Continued on Page 12

been wrestling with a national survey showing that 20 percent of Spain's youth have a positive view of the Franco dictatorship. Social media channels of young voters team with pro-Franco content.

The left-wing government of Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez

Continued on Page 12

been wrestling with a national survey showing that 20 percent of Spain's youth have a positive view of the Franco dictatorship. Social media channels of young voters team with pro-Franco content.

The left-wing government of Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez

Continued on Page 12

been wrestling with a national survey showing that 20 percent of Spain's youth have a positive view of the Franco dictatorship. Social media channels of young voters team with pro-Franco content.

The left-wing government of Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez

Continued on Page 12

been wrestling with a national survey showing that 20 percent of Spain's youth have a positive view of the Franco dictatorship. Social media channels of young voters team with pro-Franco content.

The left-wing government of Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez

Continued on Page 12

been wrestling with a national survey showing that 20 percent of Spain's youth have a positive view of the Franco dictatorship. Social media channels of young voters team with pro-Franco content.

The left-wing government of Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez

Continued on Page 12

been wrestling with a national survey showing that 20 percent of Spain's youth have a positive view of the Franco dictatorship. Social media channels of young voters team with pro-Franco content.

The left-wing government of Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez

Continued on Page 12

been wrestling with a national survey showing that 20 percent of Spain's youth have a positive view of the Franco dictatorship. Social media channels of young voters team with pro-Franco content.

The left-wing government of Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez

Continued on Page 12

been wrestling with a national survey showing that 20 percent of Spain's youth have a positive view of the Franco dictatorship. Social media channels of young voters team with pro-Franco content.

The left-wing government of Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez

Continued on Page 12

been wrestling with a national survey showing that 20 percent of Spain's youth have a positive view of the Franco dictatorship. Social media channels of young voters team with pro-Franco content.

The left-wing government of Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez

Continued on Page 12

been wrestling with a national survey showing that 20 percent of Spain's youth have a positive view of the Franco dictatorship. Social media channels of young voters team with pro-Franco content.

The left-wing government of Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez

Continued on Page 12

been wrestling with a national survey showing that 20 percent of Spain's youth have a positive view of the Franco dictatorship. Social media channels of young voters team with pro-Franco content.</p