inch of snow, high 32. **Tonight,** cold, partly cloudy, low 23. **Tomorrow,**

windy, cold, a mixture of clouds and sun, high 32. Weather map, Page D8.

\$4.00

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Signs of C.T.E.

Vexed Soldier

By DAVE PHILIPPS

cia Arritt spent years as an Army

nurse working with combat veter-

ans with brain injuries. And when

she started a relationship with

Matthew Livelsberger in 2018,

long before he shot himself and

blew up a Cybertruck in Las Ve-

gas last week, she recognized

many of the symptoms in her new

boyfriend that she had seen in her

A master sergeant in the Army's 10th Special Forces Group, he was forgetting words, losing his train of thought midsen-

tence and struggling with insomnia. He had headaches and de-

pressive moods that sometimes kept him shut away for days. In a text exchange after they started

dating, he mentioned having been deployed three times in three years. She asked if he had been hurt. "Just some concussions," he

"I think he wanted to get help,

but he thought if he said anything,

he wouldn't be able to do his job

anymore," she said in an interview

on Friday from her home in Col-

orado Springs. They dated for two

years, and then remained friends.

Livelsberger had been in the

Army more than a decade and had

been deployed into combat a num-

ber of times. He had spent years

jumping from airplanes and being

exposed to weapons blasts in

training. He had back injuries

from hard parachute landings and

had lost some of his hearing from

being around explosions and gun-

By the time they met, Sergeant

responded.

COLORADO SPRINGS - Ali-

In Vegas Blast

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Edgar Matobato says he killed over 50 people for Rodrigo Duterte, the Davao City mayor who later became the Philippines' president.

By HANNAH BEECH

MANILA — There are, the hit

A string tied between two sticks

strangles with a tug of the wrists.

A butcher's blade, long and thin,

Edgar Matobato said he fed a

man to a crocodile, but only once.

Mostly, he said, he ended people's

lives with a trusted weapon: his

"For almost 24 years, I killed

and disposed of many bodies," Mr.

Matobato said of his time with a

death squad in Davao City, in the

southern Philippines. "I am trying

to remember, but I cannot remem-

.45-caliber Colt M1911 pistol.

man said, many ways to kill.

slices into the heart.

On the Run, a Hit Man Gives a Final Confession

Desperate to Testify in

International Court

About Duterte

We were sitting in the outdoor

kitchen of Mr. Matobato's secret

refuge in the Philippines. A fierce

rain sent water skittering into the

room. Mosquitoes followed. He

slapped one dead, its body oozing

has been for a decade, ever since

he confessed to his crimes and di-

Mr. Matobato was in hiding. He

'I'm sorry," he added.

someone else's blood.

ber everyone."

MONDAY, JANUARY 6, 2025

Prices in Canada may be higher

NEWS ANALYSIS

How the Democrats Lost

Rancor Rose as Policies Left Some Behind

CHICAGO — Democrats had just absorbed a crushing defeat in the 1994 midterm elections when President Bill Clinton's very liberal labor secretary, Robert Reich, ventured into hostile territory to issue a prophetic warning.

Struggling workers were becoming "an anxious class," he told the centrist Democratic Leadership Council, two weeks after Republicans led by Newt Gingrich had gained 54 seats in the House and eight in the Senate. Society was separating into few winners and a larger group of Americans left behind, whose anger and whose disillusionment is easily manipulated."

"Today, the targets of that rage are immigrants and welfare mothers and government officials and gays and an ill-defined counterculture," Mr. Reich cautioned. "But as the middle class continues to erode, who will be the targets tomorrow?

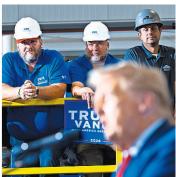
His message went largely unheeded for 30 years, as one president after another, Republican and Democratic, led administrations into a post-Cold War American heartland deindustrialulated.

As a half-century-old world order organized around American-Soviet contention gave way to a more freely competitive landscape of shifting alliances, presidents from both parties sought to secure U.S. leadership under new rules for economic competition, global stability and strong financial markets. Demolimited success, to expand safety nets at home, especially health care and income support for the poor. In the end, however, their bets on foreign policy — opening China to capitalism, halting Iran's nuclear program, tightening economic bonds with allies took precedence, and a new fealty to megadonors shaped fiscal policies that bolstered financial markets but shuttered many factories.

The unintended consequences often came at the expense of American workers. And Mr. Reich's "anxious class" — neither the impoverished nor the highfliers riding the rising global stock market — felt unheard until the rise of an unlikely new kind of Republican: Donald J. Trump.

The Democratic Party's estrangement from working-class voters first became clear with Mr. Trump's upset of Hillary Clinton in 2016, powered by broad shifts in the preferences of white voters without college degrees, and it became even more unmistakable with his emphatic defeat of Vice Presi-

Continued on Page A16



The seeds of Donald J. Trump's victories were sown long ago.

The Working-Class Vote By JONATHAN WEISMAN

two tiers, Mr. Reich said, with "a

global future that enriched the nation as a whole and some on the coasts to staggering levels, but left many pockets of the ized, dislocated and even depop-

cratic presidents tried, with

NEWS ANALYSIS

'Disaster'? No. Trump Inherits Nation in Pretty Good Shape.

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — To hear President-elect Donald J. Trump tell it, he is about to take over a nation ravaged by crisis, a desolate hellscape of crime, chaos and economic hardship. "Our Country is a disaster, a laughing stock all over the World!" he declared on social media last week.

But by many traditional metrics, the America that Mr. Trump will inherit from President Biden when he takes the oath for a second time, two weeks from Monday, is actually in better shape than that bequeathed to any newly elected president since George W. Bush came into office in 2001.

For the first time since that transition 24 years ago, there will be no American troops at war overseas on Inauguration Day. New data reported in the past few days indicate that murders are way down, illegal immigration at the southern border has fallen even below where it was when Mr. Trump left office and roaring stock markets finished their best two years in a quarter-century.

Jobs are up, wages are rising and the economy is growing as fast as it did during Mr. Trump's presidency. Unemployment is as low as it was just before the Covid-19 pandemic and near its historic best. Domestic energy production is higher than it has ever been.

The manufacturing sector has more jobs than under any president since Mr. Bush. Drug over-

Continued on Page A15

Enter the Congestion Zone The military has begun to rec-Continued on Page A17

The toll program, the first of its kind in the U.S., costs up to \$9 in the heart of Manhattan. Page A19.

Midlife Women, Sexy? Pop Culture Catches Up. If Plains Was His Home, Atlanta Was His Stage

By ALEXIS SOLOSKI

"Babygirl," the Nicole Kidman movie that opened on Christmas Day, starts with an orgasm. And it ends with one. Others are spread throughout. Kidman plays Romy, the poised, high-femme chief executive of a flourishing robotics company. Romy is married to Jacob (Antonio Banderas), a successful theater director. They have two teenage children, and Romy sometimes trades her pussy-bow blouses for an apron to

It Seems They Needed a Change in Narrator

whisk up wholesome family meals.

So far, so having-it-all. But Romy is in the business of automation and her life, personal and professional, feels automated, too. Sessions of eye movement desensitization therapy and a passing reference to having grown up in a

cult hint at troubles beneath Romy's glossy surfaces. That first orgasm? It's fake. Then Romy meets Samuel (Harris Dickinson), a 20-something intern at her company. Tentatively, they begin an affair, with elements of power exchange. Soon Romy is on her stomach, on the floor of some dingy hotel room, growling like an animal, experiencing real pleas-

An erotic thriller and a fairy tale, "Babygirl" moves like a mor Continued on Page A22

By EMILY COCHRANE

vulged who ordered the bloodlet-

ting: Rodrigo Duterte, the mayor

of Davao City, who later became

Mr. Matobato, now 65, says he

killed more than 50 people for the man he called "Superman,"

pulling in a salary from City Hall

of a little more than \$100 a month

and receiving envelopes of cash

for successful hits. He rarely hid

his identity as he kidnapped and

killed, he said, because working

for the mayor gave him impunity.

ing the omertà of what came to be

known as the Davao Death Squad

made him a marked man. He was

given sanctuary by priests and

Continued on Page A9

Mr. Matobato knew that break-

president of the Philippines.

man he called

ATLANTA — The mythology of Jimmy Carter begins and ends in Plains, the small Georgia town that raised him and kept drawing him back.

Yet roughly 150 miles away is Atlanta, a city just as essential to understanding the life of the 39th president. If Plains was his home, Georgia's capital was his stage. If Plains reflected Mr. Carter's small-town character, Atlanta fit his global ambitions.

Carter's Power Center Mutually Benefited

While it was never a permanent home, Atlanta allowed him to develop policy priorities and kick off a national political career. Then, after leaving Washington, it gave him the space to burnish a humanitarian legacy, housing his efforts to promote equality, peace and democratic ideals

Now, because Mr. Carter and his wife, Rosalynn, chose to place the Carter Center, their presidential library and the crown jewel of their post-presidential work, in the city, it is where hundreds of visitors will shuffle through the cold to pay their respects while he lies in repose through Tuesday.

"It would have been inconceivable to put everything in Atlanta and to move to Atlanta, because that's not where they're from, that's not who they are," Jason

Continued on Page A15

NATIONAL A14-19, 22

New Orleans's Uneasy Street Bourbon revelry is the lifeblood of the

city's tourism. But after an attack, some locals want the party to stop. PAGE A14

Jan. 6 Rioters, 4 Years Later

Hundreds accused of nonviolent crimes in the attack have wrapped up their cases. Here's where some are. PAGE A18

INTERNATIONAL A4-13

Left in the Cold in Moldova

A renegade region once boasted it would become a Russian-speaking Switzerland. Now it is struggling to stay warm without Russian gas.

Hailing a Cab in Hong Kong

A government push to modernize taxi services comes up against the antiquated and gruff habits of drivers. PAGE A4

OBITUARIES B5-6

An Iconoclastic Playwright

Richard Foreman, 87, founded a theater that put on many of his plays, like "My Head Was a Sledgehammer." PAGE B6



ARTS C1-6

Making a Connection

The performer Alaska discusses performing in her Off Broadway musical about warring drag queens.

The Mysterious Donor

Aso O. Tavitian grew up poor but bequeathed a trove of art worth hundreds of millions to an art institute.

BUSINESS B1-4

A Tiny Taipei Rises in Arizona

A Taiwanese tech giant brought thousands of workers from Asia to the Phoenix suburbs for jobs at a new microchip factory that the Biden administration helped fund.

Airline's Problems Mount

Jeiu Air, South Korea's leading low-cost carrier, was already burdened with debt and low share prices. Now it is facing public and government scrutiny after a crash that killed 179 people.

OPINION A20-21

James Carville

PAGE A21



SPORTS D1-8

The Strength of Self-Belief Giannis Antetokounmpo's faith in him-

self doesn't just help the Milwaukee Bucks; it fueled his work to improve his game over the years.

