



CALLAGHAN O'HARE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Was This the Final Blow?

After being ravaged by two hurricanes, residents in Bradenton Beach, Fla., are questioning the future of life in coastal areas. Page 20.

Ties to Beijing
Didn’t Impede
Aide to Adams

This article is by Jay Root, Bianca Pallaro, Emma G. Fitzsimmons, Michael Forsythe and Karina Tsui.

Mayor Eric Adams was riding high in the fall of 2022 when Winnie Greco, one of his best fundraisers and a top adviser, led him into a glittering ballroom in Flushing, Queens, the heart of the Chinese diaspora in New York City. She and Mr. Adams took their seats at the head table of the event, an anniversary celebration for a nonprofit with close ties to the Chinese Communist Party, and watched as the host, Jimmy Lu, rose to address the crowd.



In Mandarin, Mr. Lu bragged about opening a Chinese government police station in the offices of the nonprofit in Lower Manhattan — an illegal outpost that federal authorities would later say was used in a sprawling transnational repression scheme. The police station, Mr. Lu said, his remarks being translated into English, would help “implement the motherland government’s policy of benefiting the overseas Chinese.”

Then it was Mr. Adams’s turn. Taking the same stage, he began to praise Mr. Lu’s group. “This is such an important organization,” the mayor said, “to empower our Chinese American community.”

Later, after Mr. Lu’s brother Harry was arrested in connection with the police station and charged with acting as an unregistered agent of the Chinese government, Mr. Adams’s aides would not respond to questions from reporters about whether he heard Mr. Lu talking about the police station, or knew of its alleged role in spying on Chinese dissidents.

The episode underscores Ms. Greco’s close and abiding ties to the People’s Republic of China, Continued on Page 24

Hamas Documents Show Search for Oct. 7 Allies

This article is by Ronen Bergman, Adam Rasgon and Patrick Kingsley.

JERUSALEM — For more than two years, Yahya Sinwar huddled with his top Hamas commanders and plotted what they hoped would be the most devastating and destabilizing attack on Israel in the militant group’s four-decade history.

Minutes of Hamas’s secret meetings, seized by the Israeli military and obtained by The New York Times, provide a detailed record of the planning for the Oct. 7 terrorist attack, as well as Mr. Sinwar’s determination to persuade Hamas’s allies, Iran and Hezbollah, to join the assault or at least commit to a broader fight with Israel if Hamas staged a surprise cross-border raid.

The documents, which represent a breakthrough in understanding Hamas, also show extensive efforts to deceive Israel about its intentions as the group laid the groundwork for a bold assault and a regional conflagration that Mr. Sinwar hoped would cause Israel to “collapse.”

The documents consist of minutes from 10 secret planning meetings of a small group of Hamas political and military leaders in the run-up to the attack, on Oct. 7, 2023. The minutes include 30 pages of previously undisclosed details about the way Hamas’s leadership works and the preparations that went into its attack.

The documents, which were verified by The Times, lay out the main strategies and assessments of the leadership group:

Extensive Planning to
Deceive Israel and
Recruit Iran

■ Hamas initially planned to carry out the attack, which it code-named “the big project,” in the fall of 2022. But the group delayed executing the plan as it tried to persuade Iran and Hezbollah to participate.

■ As they prepared arguments aimed at Hezbollah, the Hamas leaders said that Israel’s “internal situation” — an apparent reference to turmoil over Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu’s contentious plans to overhaul the judiciary — was among the reasons they were “compelled to move toward a strategic battle.”

■ In July 2023, Hamas dispatched a top official to Lebanon, where he met with a senior Iranian commander and requested help with striking sensitive sites at the start of the assault.

■ The senior Iranian commander told Hamas that Iran and Hezbollah Continued on Page 10

Frenzied Musk
Is Going All In
To Elect Trump

Determined to Deliver
Crucial Swing State

This article is by Theodore Schleifer, Maggie Haberman, Ryan Mac and Jonathan Swan.

In the final weeks of the presidential campaign, the richest man in the world has involved himself in the U.S. election in a manner unparalleled in modern history.

Elon Musk, seen last weekend jumping for joy alongside former President Donald J. Trump at a rally in Butler, Pa., is now talking to the Republican candidate multiple times a week.

He has effectively moved his base of operations to Pennsylvania, the place that he has recently told confidants he believes is the linchpin to Mr. Trump’s re-election.

He has relentlessly promoted Mr. Trump’s candidacy to his 201 million followers on X, the social platform formerly known as Twitter that he bought for \$44 billion and has used to spread conspiracy theories about the Democratic Party and to insult its candidate, Vice President Kamala Harris.

Above all, he is personally steering the actions of a super PAC that he has funded with tens of millions of dollars to turn out the vote for Mr. Trump, not just in Pennsylvania but across the country. He has even proposed taking a campaign bus tour across Pennsylvania and knocking on doors himself, in part to see how his money is being used.

Taken together, a clear picture has emerged of Mr. Musk’s battle plan as he directs his efforts to elect Mr. Trump with the same frenetic energy and exacting demands that he has honed at his companies SpaceX, Tesla and X.

As early as February, Mr. Musk was speaking apocalyptically, in private, about what he considered the crucial need to defeat President Biden. But even as he was meeting with advisers in Austin, Texas, in April to plot his super PAC, Mr. Musk sounded as if he considered Mr. Trump merely the lesser of two evils. He told friends in the spring that he wasn’t sure he even wanted to explicitly endorse Mr. Trump.

These days, in private conversations, Mr. Musk is obsessive, almost manic, about the stakes of the election and the need for Mr. Continued on Page 25

DEMOCRATS FACE
SIGNIFICANT DROP
IN BLACK VOTERS

2020 NUMBERS DOWN

Trump Chips at Support
Among Black Men,
New Poll Shows

This article is by Maya King, Jonathan Weisman and Ruth Igielnik.

Vice President Kamala Harris has improved her party’s standing among Black voters since President Biden left the presidential race, but she still significantly trails Mr. Biden’s 2020 share of that vital Democratic constituency, according to a New York Times/Siena College poll of Black likely voters.

Nearly eight out of 10 Black voters nationwide said they would vote for Ms. Harris, the poll found, a marked increase from the 74 percent of Black voters who said they would support Mr. Biden before he dropped out of the race in July. But Mr. Biden won 90 percent of Black voters to capture the White House by narrow margins in 2020, and the drop-off for Ms. Harris, if it holds, is large enough to imperil her chances of winning key battleground states.

Democrats have been banking on a tidal wave of support from Black voters, drawn by the chance to elect the first Black female president and by revulsion toward former President Donald J. Trump, whose questioning of Ms. Harris’s racial identity, comments on “Black jobs” and demonizing of Haitian immigrants pushed his long history of racist attacks to the forefront of the campaign.

Ms. Harris is no doubt on track to win an overwhelming majority of Black voters, but Mr. Trump appears to be chipping away broadly at a longstanding Democratic advantage. His campaign has relied on targeted advertising and sporadic outreach events to court African American voters — especially Black men — and has seen an uptick in support. About 15 percent of Black likely voters said they planned to vote for the former president, according to the new poll, a six-point increase from four years ago.

Much of the erosion in support for Ms. Harris is driven by a growing belief that Democrats, who Continued on Page 27

A Nation of Small Households
Treats Its Dogs Just Like Family

By CHOE SANG-HUN

SEOUL — The deceased lay wrapped in a cotton blanket, surrounded by white roses and hydrangea, angelic figurines and lit candles and incense. A wall-mounted screen displayed photographs of him. His 71-year-old companion, Kim Seon-ae, convulsed with tears as she bid farewell, caressing his head and face. Next door, young uniformed morticians prepared for his cremation.

The elaborate and emotional ritual was for a white poodle named Dalkong, who was nestled in a willow basket with his eyes still open.

“He was like a virus that infected me with happiness,” said Ms. Kim, who had lived with Dalkong for 13 years until he succumbed to heart disease. “We were family.”

Not long ago, South Korea often made global headlines — and raised the ire of animal rights groups — for its tradition of breeding dogs for meat. But in recent years, people here have gravitated toward pets, especially dogs. They are looking for companionship at a time when more South Koreans are choosing to stay single, childless or both. More than two-fifths of all households in the nation now consist of only one person.

The pandemic also did much to bring pets into homes, as people cooped up indoors adopted dogs and cats from shelters and the streets. Now, one out of every four families in South Korea has a pet, up from 17.4 percent in 2010, according to government estimates. Most of them are dogs. (The Korean numbers are still low compared with the United States, where about 62 percent of homes Continued on Page 6



CHANG W. LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Park Young-seon, left, her daughter, Sim Na-jeong, and “grandson,” Liam, at tea in South Korea.

METROPOLITAN

Artists and Anarchists at Home

ABC No Rio was a vital, dangerous and confrontational art space on the Lower East Side. It recently made a deal with the city for a new building. PAGE 1

NYT COOKING

A Decade of Good Eats

For the 10th anniversary of The Times’s Cooking app, we present 25 favorite recipes along with some memorable user comments. Special Section.

SUNDAY BUSINESS

The \$20 Billion Man

With a series of aggressive moves over the past 18 years, Commissioner Roger Goodell has made the N.F.L. — and himself — richer and richer. PAGE 6

ARTS & LEISURE

The Power of Aubrey Plaza

In projects like “Emily the Criminal” and Francis Ford Coppola’s “Megalopolis,” the actress is eager to put everything she has on the line. PAGE 10

SUNDAY OPINION

Ross Douthat

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