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An Overwhelming Loss, 23 Years Later

Among those assembled at ground zero in Lower Manhattan to remember the victims of the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks were family members like Amanda Gregory Carpenter, above, who lost her father; politicians, below left; and firefighters, below right. Page A15.



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BRITTANY NEWMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Playground For Criminals And Extremists

This article is by Paul Mozur, Adam Satariano, Aaron Krolik and Steven Lee Myers.

The social media platform Telegram has become a global sewer of criminal activity, disinformation, child sexual abuse material, terrorism and racist incitement, according to a four-month investigation by The New York Times that analyzed more than 3.2 million Telegram messages from over 16,000 channels. The company, which offers features that enable criminals, terrorists and grifters to organize at scale and to sidestep scrutiny from the authorities, has looked the other way as illegal and extremist activities have flourished openly on the app.

The degree to which Telegram has been inundated by such content has not previously been reported. The Times investigation found 1,500 channels operated by white supremacists who coordinate activities among almost one million people around the world. At least two dozen channels sold weapons. In at least 22 channels with more than 70,000 followers, MDMA, cocaine, heroin and other drugs were advertised for delivery to more than 20 countries.

Hamas, ISIS and other terror groups have thrived on Telegram, often amassing large audiences across dozens of channels. The Times analyzed more than 40

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Rancher's Tree Ambitions Cost Utah Taxpayers

By LEIA LARSEN

CARBON COUNTY, Utah — Mike Siapera, a wealthy software executive, was looking for a change. He found it 10,000 feet above sea level in Utah, buying a ranch that he would turn into a luxury hunting retreat. But there was a problem.

"You couldn't see 10 feet in front of you, the trees were so overgrown," he recalled in an interview for a podcast in 2021. "I wanted to see wildlife."

So he bulldozed swaths of forest on his property and an adjacent state reserve. Then he patented a

Bulldozing Project Gets Republican Support

technique that could strip as much as 100 acres of woodland in a day and tested it at a nearby ranch owned by one of America's wealthiest families. He has since started a tree-removal company, created a charity for veterans and opened a pricey lodge at his ranch, hosting retired Navy SEALs, former football stars and other guests to ride ATVs, shoot firearms, hunt and bond.

Those ambitions have been significantly aided by Utah taxpayers, an investigation by The New York Times and The Salt Lake Tribune has found.

Since 2019, state lawmakers have appropriated more than \$5 million to support Mr. Siapera's forestry work, although less than half of it has been paid out. His proposals have been backed by influential allies, met with little to no competition and relied on unproven or disputed scientific claims.

The funding is part of a pattern of questionable contracts the state — led by a Republican governor

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RICK EGAN/THE SALT LAKE TRIBUNE
Mike Siapera's ranch in Utah. He patented a method that can raze up to 100 acres of forest a day.

NEWS ANALYSIS

To Trump, U.S. Is Failing. To Harris, There's Hope.

Debate Lays Out Rivals' Clashing Visions

By PETER BAKER

Donald J. Trump's America is a grim place, a nation awash in marauding immigrants stealing American jobs and eating American cats and dogs, a country devastated economically, humiliated internationally and perched on the cliff's edge of an apocalyptic World War III.

Kamala Harris's America is a weary but hopeful place, a nation fed up with the chaos of the Trump years and sick of all the drama and divisiveness, a country embarrassed by a crooked stuck-in-the-past former president facing prison time and eager for a new generation of leadership.

These two visions of America on display during the first and possibly only presidential debate between Ms. Harris and Mr. Trump on Tuesday night encapsulated the gambles that each candidate is taking in this hotly contested campaign. Mr. Trump is betting on anger and Ms. Harris on exhaustion. Mr. Trump is trying to repackag and resell his "American carnage" theme eight years later, while Ms. Harris is appealing to those ready to leave that in the past.

The question is who has a better read on the American psyche eight weeks before the final ballots are cast. For the past two decades, most Americans have told pollsters they believe the country is on the wrong track, a prolonged period of national disenchantment that Mr. Trump has successfully channeled throughout his tumultuous political career. But Ms. Harris argues that Mr. Trump is the one who wants to take the nation back down a path to nowhere.

Ms. Harris offers subtlety and

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FACT CHECK The Times went over the debate, double-checking both candidates' statements. PAGE A10

FALSEHOODS The Trump campaign embraced unsubstantiated and often racist claims. PAGE A14

Black Students Enter Harvard At Lower Rate

By ANEMONA HARTOCOLLIS

Derek Antosiek considers himself something of a sleep connoisseur. He has applied tape to his mouth, propped his nostrils open with dilators and sealed his ears with plugs. He has tried out a fan that pumped cool air under his sheets, and positioned separate mattresses for himself and his wife side by side so that her movements wouldn't disturb him. He has tested light therapy lamps and air quality monitors and sleep trackers and blue light glasses.

With each new experiment, the goal was the same: getting closer to a perfect night's sleep.

After decades of Americans abiding by the mantra that they can sleep when they're dead, many have woken up to the importance of a good night's rest. Overall sleep time has increased over the past two decades, and even more over the last few years, according to the federal government's annual survey of how Americans use their time.

"The tide is changing," said Matthew Walker, a professor of neuroscience and psychology at the University of California, Berkeley, and the director of a sleep center at the school. "People — especially Gen Z — have reclaimed their right to a full night of sleep, and they have done that without embarrassment."

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INTERNATIONAL A4-9

Judges Will Soon Be Elected

In Mexico, the Senate approved a sweeping proposal to revamp the judiciary system, the last major obstacle for the legislation.

BUSINESS B1-5

Trapped in the Scam Industry

A Ugandan man named Jalil Muyeye traveled to Thailand for a promised job. He ended up being trafficked into a cybercrime operation.

ARTS C1-6

Era Draws to a Close at MoMA

Glenn Lowry, who has been the director of the Museum of Modern Art in New York since 1995, announced that he would depart next September.

THURSDAY STYLES D1-10

An 8-Year-Old's Atelier

Max Alexander is an aspiring fashion designer who has created clothes for actors like Sharon Stone. He also just started third grade.

OPINION A22-23

Charles M. Blow

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