



LYNSEY ADDARIO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Iraida Kurylo, 83, had remained in her home in the Kharkiv region until she broke her hip. “I’ve lived through two wars,” she said.

Latest Battles
Strike at Soul
Of Academia

By ANEMONA HARTOCOLLIS
Marc Tessier-Lavigne, president of Stanford, resigned in August after an investigation found serious flaws in studies he had supervised going back decades. Claudine Gay, president of Harvard, resigned as the new year dawned, under mounting accusations of plagiarizing from Wikipedia, among other sources, in her dissertation. Her husband, the hedge-fund billionaire Bill Ackman, was one of Dr. Gay’s most dogged critics. And he has vowed to scour the records of M.I.T.’s faculty, and its president, Sally Kornbluth, for plagiarism.

The attacks on the integrity of higher education have come fast and furious over the last few years. The federal Varsity Blues investigation, in which wealthy parents were accused of using bribery and fraud to secure spots for their children in résumé-building colleges, launched a debate over merit and the admissions game. The affirmative action lawsuit against Harvard exposed how Asian American students must perform at a higher standard to win entry. And the protests over the Israel-Hamas war opened administrators to charges that they tolerated antisemitism on their campuses.

Now the focus has moved into what may be the very soul of higher education: scholarship. There are differences among the cases — Dr. Tessier-Lavigne and Dr. Gay were the faces of their institutions, while Dr. Oxman is a former faculty member, who was well known in her field of computational design. Defenders of Dr. Gay and Dr. Oxman say that their lifting of words is minor, and that they were not accused of stealing ideas. And unlike Dr. Tessier-Lavigne, they have not had to retract any papers. But the recent controversies have helped fuel the skepticism that some scholarship is not as rigorous as it purports to be. “It does strike me that this is a problem of the universities’ own making,” said Ivan Oransky, co-founder of Retraction Watch, which keeps a database of retracted papers now numbering more than 46,000. “They have tried every which

Continued on Page A14

Holding On to Home, Older Ukrainians Stay Put

By LYNSEY ADDARIO and MEGAN SPECIA
KUPIANSK-VUZLOVYI, Ukraine — They sit in ones and twos in half-destroyed homes. They shelter in musty basements marked in chalk with “people underground” — a message to whichever troops happen to be fighting that day. They venture out to visit cemeteries and reminisce about any time other than now. Ukraine’s elderly are often the only people who remain along the country’s hundreds of miles of front line. Some waited their entire lives to enjoy their twilight years, only to have been left in a

By Choice or by Fate,
Living in Loneliness
Along the Front

purgatory of loneliness. Homes built with their own hands are now crumbling walls and blown-out windows, with framed photographs of loved ones living far away. Some people have already buried their children, and their only wish is to stay close so they can be buried next to them. But it does not always work out that way. “I’ve lived through two wars,”

said Iraida Kurylo, 83, whose hands shook as she recalled her mother screaming when her father was killed in World War II. She was lying on a stretcher in the village of Kupiansk-Vuzlovyi, her hip broken from a fall. The Red Cross had come. Ms. Kurylo was leaving home. Almost two years into Russia’s full-scale invasion of Ukraine, with war at their doorsteps, older people who have stayed behind offer varying reasons for their decisions. Some simply prefer to be at home, whatever the dangers, rather than to struggle in an unfamiliar place among strangers. Others do not have the financial

Continued on Page A6



AMIR COHEN/REUTERS

Gaza seen from the Israeli border. “We are continuing the war until the end,” Israel’s leader said.

Netanyahu Is Defiant as War Enters 100th Day

By ISABEL KERSHNER and ADAM RASGON
JERUSALEM — Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel struck a defiant tone in marking 100 days of war against Hamas in Gaza, vowing to keep fighting despite growing uncertainty over the outcome, international alarm over the mounting loss of life in the enclave and fears of a broader regional conflagration. His pledge to continue until “total victory” came even as Israel awaited a decision from the world’s top court on a possible in-

Brushes Off Hague Trial
and Iranian Proxies

junction against its military’s devastating offensive in Gaza. Launched in retaliation for the deadly Hamas-led Oct. 7 assault, the Israeli military’s war against Hamas has killed more than 23,000 Palestinians, a majority of them women and children, according to Gaza health officials, and displaced most of the enclave’s population.

Warning of a long conflict, the remarks from Mr. Netanyahu and comments from the Israeli military over the weekend exposed a growing dissonance between the domestic perception of the timing and goals of the war and increasing international impatience in the face of a deepening humanitarian crisis in Gaza. The United States, Israel’s most important ally, has urged Israel to scale down its campaign, while many other countries have called for an immediate cease-fire. “We are continuing the war un-

Continued on Page A8

Among Those
Lifting Trump:
College Grads

Blue-Collar Base Gets
Company in 2024

By MICHAEL C. BENDER
DES MOINES — Working-class voters delivered the Republican Party to Donald J. Trump. College-educated conservatives may ensure that he keeps it. Often overlooked in an increasingly blue-collar party, voters with a college degree remain at the heart of the lingering Republican cold war over abortion, foreign policy and cultural issues. These voters, who have long been more skeptical of Mr. Trump, have quietly powered his remarkable political recovery inside the party — a turnaround over the past year that has notably coincided with a cascade of 91 felony charges in four criminal cases. Even as Mr. Trump dominates Republican primary polls ahead of the Iowa caucuses on Monday, it was only a year ago that he trailed Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida in some surveys — a deficit due largely to the former president’s weakness among college-educated voters. Mr. DeSantis’s advisers viewed the party’s educational divide as a potential launching point to overtake Mr. Trump for the nomination.

Then came Mr. Trump’s resurgence, in which he rallied every corner of the party, including the white working class. But few cross-sections of Republicans rebounded as much as college-educated conservatives, a review of state and national polls during the past 14 months shows. This phenomenon cuts against years of wariness toward Mr. Trump by college-educated Republicans, unnerved by his 2020 election lies and his seemingly endless craving for controversy. Their surge toward the former president appears to stem largely from a reaction to the current political climate rather than a sudden clamoring to join the red-capped citizenry of MAGA nation, according to interviews with nearly two dozen college-educated Republican voters. Many were incredulous over what they described as excessive and unfair legal investigations targeting the former president. Others said they were overwhelmed by Mr. DeSantis and viewed Mr. Trump as more likely to win than former Gov. Nikki Haley of South Carolina. Several saw Mr. Trump as a more palatable option because they wanted to prioritize domestic problems over foreign relations and were frustrated with high interest rates. “These are Fox News viewers who are coming back around to him,” said David Kochel, a Republican operative in Iowa with three decades of experience in campaign politics. “These voters are

Continued on Page A11

CANDIDATES URGE
VOTERS TO BRAVE
BITTER IOWA COLD

G.O.P. CAUCUSES ARRIVE

Trump Keeps Big Lead as
Haley and DeSantis
Vie for Foothold

This article is by Lisa Lerer, Michael Gold and Jonathan Swan.
DES MOINES — Candidates for the Republican presidential nomination crisscrossed the frigid fields and icy roads of Iowa on Sunday, pleading with would-be supporters to cast votes in the nation’s first nominating contest on Monday night despite bone-chilling temperatures. After a yearlong marathon of campaign events and tens of millions of dollars spent on television ads and mailers, the race is closing in much the way it started: Former President Donald J. Trump is the odds-on favorite to win in Iowa, most likely by a significant margin.



RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Supporters of Nikki Haley on Sunday in Ames, Iowa.

In the final day before the state’s caucuses, the most unpredictable element of the contest remained the weather. Life-threatening cold — with wind chills as low as minus 40 degrees — scrambled the turnout calculations that campaigns are making about the fortitude of their coalitions. Typically, presidential candidates in Iowa boast about the enthusiasm of their supporters; in this race, caucusing could be a feat of physical endurance. “You’re hardy people. We like hardy people,” Mr. Trump told a crowd of hundreds at a student center in Indianola for his only in-person event the final weekend before the caucuses. Even with subzero temperatures, dozens of Iowans lined up to see the former president, bundled up heavily to protect from stinging gusts. His campaign provided

Continued on Page A12

CROSSING THE AISLE Nikki Haley has attracted the interest of non-Republicans in Iowa. PAGE A10

Some Backers of Biden Push
For Campaign to Hit the Gas

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR and KATIE ROGERS
WASHINGTON — With less than 10 months to go until the 2024 election, the nerve center of President Biden’s bid for a second term is stationed not at his campaign’s headquarters in Delaware but within feet of the Oval Office. The president and his chief strategist, Mike Donilon, have repeatedly discussed when to move him over to the campaign — perhaps after the 2022 midterm elections, then after the 2023 off-year elections and again at the end of 2023. Each time, no move happened after the president told aides he wanted to keep Mr. Donilon within walking distance. Anita Dunn, the longtime Democratic operative who stepped in to help revive Mr. Biden’s fledgling

operation four years ago, is devising the re-election message again, even as she oversees communications at the White House. Jen O’Malley Dillon, Mr. Biden’s deputy White House chief of staff and former campaign manager, is also splitting her day job with her role as one of the most powerful voices in the campaign. So far, almost none of the people in the president’s inner circle have left for campaign headquarters in Wilmington, Del., prompting some donors and strategists to worry that too much of Mr. Biden’s team remains cloistered inside the White House. Less than a year before Election Day, the president has a campaign with two distinct

Continued on Page A13



NATIONAL A10-17
Subzero Weather Across U.S.
Over 100 million people were under a wind chill warning or advisory during an “Arctic blast” on Sunday. PAGE A16

Jewishness Beyond Israel
Some are embracing “diasporism” — viewing their faith as one that blesses life in America and elsewhere. PAGE A15

INTERNATIONAL A4-9
Turmoil in Guatemala
Lawmakers opposed to Bernardo Arévalo, the antigraft crusader who won the presidency in a landslide, held up his swearing-in. PAGE A8

A Nosh Before the Game
As Premier League soccer teams in England create fan zones, food trucks hold their ground. PAGE A4

OBITUARIES B5-6
Defender of John Lennon
Leon Wildes won a three-year battle to keep the former Beatle from being deported. He was 90. PAGE B5



ARTS C1-6
The Language of Friendship
Hisham Matar discusses his new novel, which traces the fates of three Libyan exiles living in London. PAGE C1

Fallout From Fake Basquiats
An Orlando museum that displayed works later exposed as forgeries is facing a “severe financial crisis.” PAGE C1

BUSINESS B1-4
Questioning a Degree
Because of high costs, some high school graduates have opted to delay, drop out of or forgo attending college altogether to avoid student debt that could hang over them for decades. PAGE B1

‘Mean Girls’ Gets Some Help
The musical rendition of the 2004 original took first place over the holiday weekend, after Paramount used TikTok to introduce young audiences to the cult classic. PAGE B1

OPINION A18-19
Joy-Ann Reid PAGE A19



SPORTS D1-6
Rising to the Top, Somehow
In starting at quarterback for the Steelers against the Bills in the N.F.L. wildcard round, Mason Rudolph again steps up to a challenge. PAGE D1

