

## NEW POLL SHOWS G.O.P. WITH EDGE TO SEIZE SENATE

### A BIG LEAD IN MONTANA

With a Slim Majority at Risk, Democrats Face Eight Tight Races

By SHANE GOLDMACHER

Control of the Senate appears likely to flip from the Democratic Party to the Republican Party this fall, as one of the nation's most endangered Democrats, Senator Jon Tester of Montana, trails his Republican challenger in his bid for re-election, according to a new poll from The New York Times and Siena College.

Mr. Tester, who first won election to the Senate in 2006, is winning over moderate and independent voters and running far ahead of the Democrat at the top of the ticket, Vice President Kamala Harris. But as of now, that does not appear to be enough to survive in Montana, a conservative state where former President Donald J. Trump is ahead by 17 percentage points and where control of the Senate hangs in the balance.

Tim Sheehy, a wealthy Republican businessman and a former Navy SEAL who has never held public office, leads Mr. Tester 52 percent to 44 percent, the poll shows. Mr. Sheehy's lead is a seven-point advantage without rounding.

Democrats currently hold a 51-seat Senate majority. But with Republicans already set to pick up a seat after the retirement of Senator Joe Manchin III, an independent from West Virginia who caucuses with Democrats, the party cannot afford to lose additional seats.

In fact, the party's only hope is to secure a 50-50 split and to have Ms. Harris win the White House, allowing her running mate, Tim Walz, to provide the crucial tiebreaking vote as vice president.

At least seven other Democratic-held Senate seats are competitive this fall, including in the presidential battlegrounds of Arizona, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Nevada and Wisconsin. In late September, a series of Times/Siena surveys in four of those races, as well as in

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Residents of an apartment complex in Clearwater, Fla., a city on the Gulf Coast, awaited rescue from floodwaters on Thursday.

ZACK WITTMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Trump's Lamenting Appeal to Nonwhite Voters

By LISA LERER  
and MICHAEL GOLD

For more than a decade, former President Donald J. Trump fueled his political rise with dark appeals to white Christian voters, warning of immigrants coming for their jobs and nefarious efforts to undermine what he describes as the country's true heritage.

Now, facing a neck-and-neck race against the first Black woman to win her party's nomination, Mr. Trump is branching out.

He has repeatedly accused migrants of poaching "Black jobs" and "Hispanic jobs," which is inaccurate, according to labor statistics. He told Latino voters in Las Vegas that illegal immigrants were "totally destroying our Hispanic population." He promised women in Pennsylvania he would "be their protector" and that they

would no longer be "abandoned,

### Blame and Grievances in a Discordant Play of Identity Politics

lonely or scared" — a vow based on the hyperbolic premise that criminals who also happen to be immigrants are lurking around every corner.

For all the frequent laments about how left-leaning politicians divide the country through "identity politics," it appears to be Mr. Trump in this race who is making the most explicit identity-based arguments for voters to support his policies.

"He's way more explicit than most prior candidates with these explicit appeals to Black voters and Latino voters that pit their various identity groups against

each other," said Michael Tesler, a professor of political science at the University of California, Irvine, who co-wrote a book about how Mr. Trump wields white identity politics. "There's a unified grievance in terms of 'I'm not getting my fair share.'"

Many of Mr. Trump's blunt and dire entreaties have been greeted with condemnation, even mockery, for their clumsy invocation of race, gender and religion. Yet, in this final, frenetic stretch of the contest, they also represent a striking effort to expand the tent of economic, racial and cultural grievances that propelled him to the White House eight years ago.

Mr. Trump is seeking to win over Black and Latino voters by pitting them against undocumented immigrants, whom he has long blamed for a litany of public safety, national security and social problems. He has also blamed an

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## At Least 22 Die As Israelis Hit Central Beirut

This article is by Euan Ward, Liam Stack, Aric Toler and Michael Levien.

BEIRUT, Lebanon — Israeli airstrikes hit two buildings in a densely populated area of central Beirut on Thursday, Lebanon said, in what appeared to be the deadliest attack in the Lebanese capital in more than a year of fighting between Israel and Hezbollah.

The strikes killed at least at least 22 people and wounded at least 117 others, Lebanese officials said.

Lebanon's state-run news agency reported that one of the strikes had targeted the middle of an eight-story building in the Ras el-Nabaa neighborhood, while the other had leveled a four-story building in the Basta neighborhood. Videos verified by The New York Times showed that the building in Basta had been destroyed and adjacent buildings had been damaged. Two plumes of thick, acrid smoke could be seen rising above the city skyline.

The Israeli military did not immediately respond to a request for comment on the strikes. But it has been systematically targeting Hezbollah leaders and sites in a heavy bombing campaign in areas in and around Beirut and in a ground invasion in southern Lebanon.

The strikes came hours after United Nations officials said that Israeli forces had fired on U.N. peacekeepers in southern Lebanon, wounding two and touching off international criticism of the Israeli military's offensive against Hezbollah, the Iranian-backed militant group.

The U.N. peacekeeping force in Lebanon, known by its acronym, UNIFIL, said the two soldiers, from Indonesia, had been injured when an Israeli tank fired toward and directly hit an observation tower at the force's headquarters in Naqoura, Lebanon.

At a separate base nearby, the U.N. force said, Israeli soldiers

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## HURRICANE CUTS A PATH OF DEATH AND DEVASTATION

### 3 MILLION LOSE POWER

Milton Fuels Tornadoes in Florida but Largely Spares Big Cities

This article is by Patricia Mazzei, Audra D. S. Burch and Jenna Russel.

SIESTA KEY, Fla. — Hurricane Milton cut an uneven path of destruction as it tore across Florida from the Gulf of Mexico late Wednesday and entered the Atlantic Ocean on Thursday, largely sparing the densely populated cities around Tampa Bay but spawning deadly tornadoes far from its center.

The storm whipped barrier islands that were still recovering from Hurricane Helene two weeks ago and swamped inland communities with surge from rivers and creeks and copious rainfall. But its landfall just south of the booming Tampa-St. Petersburg region kept Tampa Bay from surging, a worst-case possibility.

In the Sarasota region, where Milton came ashore, the damage seemed largely caused by wind and not ruinous.

But on the state's Atlantic coast, which also experienced hurricane-force winds, tornadoes that sprang from Milton's outer edges were catastrophic. At least five people died when a tornado hit a retirement community in Fort Pierce, Gov. Ron DeSantis said. They were among a total of at least 11 deaths reported by officials in Citrus, St. Lucie and Volusia Counties.

Still, emergency workers had conducted hundreds of rescues by Thursday afternoon, compared with thousands two weeks ago after Helene, which brought far worse storm surge to Tampa, St. Petersburg and nearby barrier islands, according to Kevin Guthrie, the director of the Florida Division of Emergency Management.

Mr. DeSantis, who was traveling the state to survey the damage, dismissed the idea that two powerful hurricanes hitting the state within two weeks was unusual.

"There's precedence for all this in history," he said on Thursday afternoon in Fort Pierce. "We will deal with tropical weather for as long as we're Floridians."

The aftermath of Milton, a Category 3 storm that followed a direct west-to-east track, underscored several truths about how Florida is experiencing hurricanes made increasingly frequent and powerful by climate change.

On one hand, the storms pose a dangerous, often deadly threat and can cause widespread misery, leaving millions of people without power and in need of repeated home repairs and unaffordable insurance.

On the other, Florida has learned to prepare for much of the damage that hurricanes can do. The state's strong building code, which has made newer construction remarkably resistant to even fierce storms, most likely had a

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## Passionate and Energetic Advocate for Political Dynasty's Legacy

By DOUGLAS MARTIN

Ethel Kennedy, the widow of Senator Robert F. Kennedy and a popular and vital force in the Kennedy political dynasty, died on Thursday. She was 96.

Her grandson Joseph P. Kennedy III announced the death on the social media site X, giving the cause as complications of a stroke she had last week. He did not say where she died.

Her death came a little more than six weeks after her third eldest child, Robert F. Kennedy Jr., ended his long-shot independent presidential campaign and endorsed former President Donald J. Trump in his bid for re-election.

Mr. Kennedy's decision to support the Republican nominee and his earlier choice to challenge Mr. Trump's Democratic rivals, initially President Biden and then Vice President Kamala Harris, caused a painful breach in the Kennedy family, compelling some

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Ethel Kennedy campaigning with her husband, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, in 1968.

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### Nobel Prize in Literature

Han Kang, a South Korean author best known for "The Vegetarian," is the first writer from her country to receive the prestigious award.

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### A Match Made in Crypto

An FTX executive and an advocate for crypto-friendly policies were once a Washington power couple. Now they're both facing prison time.

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### The Sweetest Slam

Francisco Lindor's series-clinching homer against the Phillies was one of those rare sporting moments that you didn't just watch. You felt it.

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### An 'Our Town' for All of Us

A shrewd Jim Parsons leads a Broadway revival of the Thornton Wilder classic in a timeless rendering that touches what makes us human.

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### Peter Beinart

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