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# The New York Times



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The East Wing of the White House on Tuesday, a day after demolition began on a \$200 million ballroom and modernization project.

## TRUMP DEMANDS INQUIRY DAMAGES

Said to Seek \$230 Million  
From Justice Dept.

By **DEVLIN BARRETT**  
and **TYLER PAGER**

WASHINGTON — President Trump is demanding that the Justice Department pay him about \$230 million in compensation for the federal investigations into him, according to people familiar with the matter, who added that any settlement might ultimately be approved by senior department officials who defended him or those in his orbit.

The situation has no parallel in American history, as Mr. Trump, a presidential candidate, was pursued by federal law enforcement and eventually won the election, taking over the very government that must now review his claims. It is also the starkest example yet of potential ethical conflicts created by installing the president’s former lawyers atop the Justice Department.

Mr. Trump submitted complaints through an administrative claim process that often is the precursor to lawsuits. The first claim, lodged in late 2023, seeks damages for a number of purported violations of his rights, including the F.B.I. and special counsel investigation into Russian election tampering and possible connections to the 2016 Trump campaign, according to people familiar with the matter. They spoke on the condition of anonymity because the claim has not been made public.

The second complaint, filed in summer 2024, accuses the F.B.I. of violating Mr. Trump’s privacy by searching Mar-a-Lago, his club and residence in Florida, in 2022 for classified documents. It also accuses the Justice Department of malicious prosecution in charging him with mishandling sensitive records after he left office.

Asked about the issue at the White House after this article first published, the president said, “I was damaged very greatly and any money I would get, I would give to charity.”

He added, “I’m the one that makes the decision and that decision would have to go across my desk and it’s awfully strange to make a decision where I’m paying myself.”

Lawyers said the nature of the president’s legal claims poses undeniable ethics challenges.

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## Rubble? It’s a Presidential Dream Being Realized.

By **SHAWN MCCREESH**

WASHINGTON — The facade of the East Wing of the White House came crumbling down on Monday as construction began on President Trump’s 90,000-square-foot ballroom, a project that will transform one of the most recognizable buildings in the world.

Having already changed so much about the way Washington works, he is increasingly changing the way Washington looks. The East Wing was one of the

### Trump Resumes Major Makeover of Capital With Big Ballroom

last pieces of the White House complex he hadn’t yet started to make over in his own image. The Oval Office is dripping in gold and so is the Cabinet Room. The Rose Garden looks like Mar-a-Lago. There are massive flag poles in the backyard and in the front. He’s been tweaking the White House residence upstairs,

too. He’s directing renovations at the Kennedy Center, and now he wants an Arc de Triomphe-style arch built on the other side of the Potomac.

There’s no telling just what this town might look like by the end of this term. But there will sure be a lot more to look at.

By late afternoon, reporters hanging out in a park near the Treasury Department could see a glimpse of this latest renovation in progress as the long arm of a track excavator reached up and tore the walls clean off the building. Crews of workmen wan-

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### Lederhosen Without Limits

Many of the revelers who flocked to Munich for Oktoberfest added twists to traditional fashion, with vibrant pants, dresses and vests that blended cultures and pushed boundaries. Pages A6-7.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY LAETTITIA VANCAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

## A Trek to a Shrine and a Swerve to a Dark Path

This article is by **Hurubie Meko, Katie J.M. Baker, Nicholas Bogel-Burroughs and Hisako Ueno.**

TENKAWA, Japan — Deep within the lush mountains of Japan, among the thousands of peaks that form a sprawling peninsula on the country’s main island, stands a sacred mountain that has been a sanctuary for spiritual pilgrims for over a thousand years.

Since the seventh century,

### Inside Missing Months of Luigi Mangione

Mount Omine’s towering trees and burbling streams have greeted Japanese men on spiritual pilgrimage. Devoted practitioners of Shugendo, a fusion of Buddhism and mountain worship, go there to climb a treacherous ridge, an endeavor they believe can help

them attain supernatural powers.

In pre-modern Japan, lore has it, ninja assassins disguised themselves as Shugendo practitioners to evade the shogun’s restrictions — and there is still a belief that approaching the mountain in search of spiritual direction without proper training can make a person susceptible to manipulation by dark forces. The video game Assassin’s Creed Shadows follows a samurai as he travels to Mount

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## This Shutdown May Cut Deep Into Economy

### Ripple Effects Beyond Lost Jobs and Wages

By **LYDIA DePILLIS**

The economic effect of past government shutdowns has been straightforward. The economy loses some activity for a few weeks, then gains it back after the government reopens. The net cost is basically zero.

This time, the math may not be so benign.

As Washington’s stalemate continues into its fourth week with no end in sight, it’s looking as if this could become one of America’s longest funding lapses. During the previous record-holder, a 34-day closure in 2018, Congress passed enough appropriations bills to keep more of the government funded. This time, none have been passed.

And the White House is trying to lay off thousands of people and threatening to withhold back pay for furloughed workers, despite a 2019 law requiring that they be paid. “That would obviously make it a larger macroeconomic impact,” said Michael Zdinak, a director on the United States economics team at S&P Global Market Intelligence.

Then there are the services those workers aren’t providing, including national park tours and new drug reviews, that support commerce. For many businesses, the timing couldn’t be worse, with the holiday season approaching and economic uncertainty already high.

“If you’re worried about the potential for those indirect impacts, those only increase the longer the shutdown goes on,” Mr. Zdinak said.

Economists estimate that the shutdown will trim between 0.1 and 0.2 percentage points off annual growth in economic output for each week it drags on. That amounts to between \$7.6 billion and \$15.2 billion a week based on hours that government employees aren’t working, according to Oxford Economics. The 2018 shutdown trimmed slightly less than 0.1 percentage points off annual growth per week, according to the Bureau of Economic Analysis.

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**‘BUDGETARY TWISTER’** To pay troops and law enforcement, the president stretched the limits of his spending powers. PAGE B1

## Pulled Off Their Old Pedestals, Confederate Pieces Are Recast

LOS ANGELES — A centaur is an uncanny thing, part-man, part-horse, that lives in a cave but trots through the city. In classical Athens — at the

### JASON FARAGO

#### ART REVIEW

Parthenon, say — you often saw centaurs at war, their human arms entangled with their equine legs. They bellowed, they galloped, they carried off their victims. The centaurs were a half-civilized breed.

The artist Kara Walker has sculpted a disordered new centaur: an American centaur, American in its bones and in its burdens. Hers is a 13-foot-tall tumbledown bronze, with a man’s limbs and a horse’s haunches. One limb, clad in a Southern officer’s sleeve, droops alongside its four hooves and lets a sword clatter to the battlefield. Inch by soldered inch, from shoulder to hind shank, Walker’s horse and rider fuse from two beasts into one. Her centaur is tall, midstride but weary. It rattles its metal parts through American purgatory.

### THE WEATHER

Today, breezy, a mix of clouds and sunshine, high 64. Tonight, mostly clear, cool, low 49. Tomorrow, partly sunny, a cool breeze, high 59. Weather map appears on Page B12.

## VANCE, IN ISRAEL, STANDS BY TRUCE AFTER FLARE-UPS

### BUT GIVES FEW DETAILS

### Despite His Optimism on Gaza, No Deadline for Hamas to Disarm

This article is by **Aaron Boxerman, Tyler Pager and Liam Stack.**

JERUSALEM — Vice President JD Vance visited Israel on Tuesday amid U.S. efforts to shore up the fragile cease-fire deal in Gaza, but he did not give a deadline for Hamas to disarm or say how officials would ensure the militant group agrees to that key part of the accord.

Israel and Hamas agreed this month to a truce in their two-year war, a deal based on parts of a plan outlined by President Trump. The deal has come under increasing strain amid repeated flare-ups of violence in Gaza in recent days.

But Mr. Vance, on the first day of his trip to Israel, expressed optimism that the deal would hold.

“Things are going, frankly, better than I expected,” he said during a news conference in southern Israel.

“My visit had nothing to do with the events of the past 48 hours,” Mr. Vance added, referring to the recent violence.

Still, the disarmament of Hamas remains a key hurdle to securing a long-term end to the conflict. Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel has consistently said Hamas must be disarmed before the Gaza war can permanently end. But Hamas has long regarded disarmament as tantamount to surrender, with armed struggle against Israel a crucial part of the group’s ideology.

“I don’t think it’s actually advisable for us to say this has to be done in a week,” Mr. Vance told the news conference, which took place in southern Israel at a civil-military coordination center hosting U.S. personnel monitoring the implementation of the cease-fire.

There, Mr. Vance attended security briefings alongside the Trump administration’s Mideast envoy, Steve Witkoff, and Jared Kushner, the U.S. president’s son-in-law. Both men were instrumental in brokering the cease-fire deal, alongside Egyptian, Qatari and Turkish mediators.

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### A Leader’s Hard-Right Mettle

Sanae Takaichi, a fan of Iron Maiden and Britain’s “iron lady,” had an improbable rise to power in Japan. PAGE A4

### No Trump-Putin Meeting Soon

“I don’t want to have a wasted time,” the president said, days after saying otherwise of Russia’s leader. PAGE A9

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### From Industry to E.P.A.

A lobbyist for a weed killer that harms plants and wildlife when it drifts to nearby land is now the regulator lifting restrictions. PAGE A15

### Deploying an Obscure Ruling

The White House is citing an 1827 ruling over a horse to justify the president’s use of the National Guard. PAGE A16

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### Photographer of Drag Culture

Gilles Larrain was best known for an intimate look at a 1970s New York demimonde. He was 86. PAGE B11

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### Hyundai Still Betting on U.S.

The revival of America’s industrial base is happening amid pine forests and peanut farms. And it’s being led by a South Korean company. PAGE B1

### A Vanderbilt Campus in Florida

Despite a time of financial and enrollment uncertainty in higher education, the university is expanding. PAGE B1

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### Championship or Bust

Mike Brown, the new coach of the Knicks, knows what is expected of him, and has reshaped the team. PAGE B6



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### A Restaurant in Eight Months

From picking a name to hiring help, how two women opened a Brooklyn eatery, step by step. PAGE D3

### Bonbon of a Candy Store

The internet-famous pastry chef Cedric Grolet draws crowds and controversy at his first chocolate shop. PAGE D7

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### Springsteen’s Big Risk Pays Off

A new 37-track boxed set of the low-fi 1982 “Nebraska” album proves he made the right choice. PAGE C1

### Can’t Believe the Louvre Heist?

If you thought the robbery in Paris sounded like something out of a movie, these films might be for you. PAGE C4

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### Bret Stephens

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