



OMAR AL-QATTAA/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Prayers for Victims of Israeli Strike
The military bombed a house early Sunday in Jabaliya, a city in northern Gaza that has repeatedly come under attack. Page A6.

A Consensus:
Beat Adams
And Cuomo

By EMMA G. FITZSIMMONS
SAN JUAN, P.R. — At beach-front hotel bars, tropical pool parties and crowded ballroom dance floors, a pressing matter closer to home inevitably arose: How would New York City navigate four years of Donald J. Trump as president, and who might be the best mayor to lead that effort? At the political conclave known as Somos, the need to battle a Trump administration offered some room for consensus for the five Democrats running to unseat Mayor Eric Adams in next June’s primary.

So did another shared view: Neither Mr. Adams nor another rumored candidate, the former Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo, deserved the support of voters.

“One of the things that absolutely unites us is a clear opposition to disgraced New York executives, whether that is Adams or Cuomo,” said Zohran Mamdani, a state assemblyman from Queens and mayoral candidate.

Mr. Adams and Mr. Cuomo were not in attendance. Mr. Adams, a Democrat, had planned to go but canceled his trip late in the week. Three years ago, he relished a rock-star presence at Somos; now the mayor, who was indicted on federal corruption charges in September, has seen his poll numbers sink to record lows.

Critics of Mr. Cuomo are mobilizing to torpedo his potential candidacy after polls showed that he could be a top contender. A group that opposes him released a digital ad targeted to Somos attendees about the sexual harassment

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Threat of U.S. Reversal Muddies Climate Talks

By LISA FRIEDMAN

World leaders gathering in Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, on Monday for a global climate summit face a bleak reality: The United States, the country responsible for pumping the most greenhouse gases into the atmosphere, is expected to soon drop out of the fight against climate change.

The climate talks are the first significant United Nations gathering since Donald J. Trump won last week’s American presidential election, and foreign diplomats are looking for any signals about how Mr. Trump might approach multilateral negotiations.

After his victory, American priorities are expected to quickly

Trump Aiming to Draw
Back on Measures,
as He Did Before

shift. As he did in his first term, Mr. Trump, who mocks climate change, has said he intends to remove the United States from the Paris Agreement, a 2015 international pact to protect the planet that he has called “horrendous.”

That would mean the United States would renege on its commitment to reducing greenhouse gases at precisely the moment that scientists say nations must sharply and rapidly cut the heat-

trapping pollution to avoid the worst consequences of an overheated planet.

It also would mean that the country, the wealthiest in the world, is likely to abandon plans to give financial aid to poor countries, which have done little to cause global warming but are unable to cope with climate disasters that are growing more severe. Financial aid for developing nations is a focus of the U.N. talks, which are known as COP29 and are scheduled to last two weeks.

Instead of transitioning away from fossil fuels, as the United States and nearly every other country pledged last year, the incoming Trump administration is

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ANATOLY MALTSEV/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

Outside the venue for the COP29 meeting, scheduled for the next two weeks in Baku, Azerbaijan.

How the Tech That Connects Us Has Set the Stage for Isolation

Over the summer, Laura Marciano, a researcher at Harvard, interviewed 500 teenagers for a continuing study investigating the link between technology and loneliness.

BRIAN X. CHEN

TECH FIX

The results were striking. For several weeks, the teenagers, who were recruited with the help of Instagram influencers, answered a questionnaire three times a day about their

social interactions. Each time, more than 50 percent said they had not spoken to anyone in the last hour, either in person or online.

To put it another way, even though the teenagers were on break from school and spending plenty of time on social media apps, most of them were not socializing at all.

Americans now spend more time alone, have fewer close friendships and feel more socially detached from their com-

Richer Communication
and Pauses Help

munities than they did 20 years ago. One in two adults reports experiencing loneliness, the physiological distress that people endure from social isolation. The nation’s surgeon general, Dr. Vivek Murthy, declared loneliness an epidemic late last year. Ever since, scholars and psy-

chologists have accelerated research into whether technology is contributing.

The rise of smartphones and social networking apps has forever changed social norms around how we communicate. More personable interactions like phone calls have been superseded by text messages. When people broadcast their lives on TikTok and Instagram, they may not be representing themselves in a genuine way.

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Unions Girding
For Blowback
Of Harris Loss

In Public Sector, Worry
of Being Eliminated

By JONATHAN WEISMAN
and BENJAMIN ORESKES

Besides the Harris campaign and its affiliated political action committees, few economic or political sectors placed larger bets than organized labor on Vice President Kamala Harris’s winning the presidency.

And few might reap more consequences from the incoming Trump administration. For public-sector unions that represent government workers, the threat is institutional and existential: Top advisers to President-elect Donald J. Trump want to eliminate them outright.

For service industry unions that represent hotel and restaurant workers, the threats may be to the members themselves: vulnerable and low-paid workers, often immigrants, who could be swept up in Mr. Trump’s promised mass deportations.

And for the leadership of the old-line industrial unions, the threat is from their members, many of whom ignored the pleadings of their leadership and voted for Mr. Trump.

“We do understand we have issues that are confronting us, major issues,” said Lee Saunders, chairman of the A.F.L.-C.I.O.’s political committee and president of the 1.6-million-strong American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. “This is going to impact the entire labor movement.”

Unions poured nearly \$43 million into the Harris campaign, according to Open Secrets, but that understates the resources they put into phone banks, canvassing operations, education and persuasion efforts with their members and outreach to nonunion working-class households.

Union leaders insisted in the wake of Mr. Trump’s victory that they had done their job: Initial exit polls showed that Ms. Harris

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SHEDDING UNION LABEL A new Trump administration is likely to roll back gains for labor. PAGE B1

LATINOS SHIFT RIGHT The election result is forcing a civil rights group to recalibrate. PAGE A18

TRUMP IS PULLED
TOWARD 2 PATHS
ON RETRIBUTION

REVENGE VERSUS UNITY

Pick for Attorney General
May Indicate Stance
on Adversaries

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — On the night he recaptured the presidency, Donald J. Trump declared that “it’s time to unite” and “put the divisions of the past four years behind us.” That was then. It took only 55 hours for him to begin threatening again to use his newly reclaimed power to investigate those who anger him.

Peevied at what he called “fake, untrue, and probably illegal rumors” that he might sell shares of the social media platform that has become a prime source of his wealth, Mr. Trump went online to deny such plans and demanded that those spreading such speculation “be immediately investigated by the appropriate authorities.”

Whether he will ever carry out that or his many other threats to prosecute antagonists is still unclear. Mr. Trump sometimes lashes out without follow-through. But not always. And he spent much of the campaign focused on exacting “retribution” for all the ways he believed he had been wronged, leaving allies and adversaries alike anticipating a wave of payback after he takes office again in January.

Eight years after his initial victory, Mr. Trump returns to the White House angrier, more embittered, more aggrieved and more overtly talking about revenge than the last time. His momentary nod to unity on election night led to some predictions that he might ease off the menacing threats. After all, he has essentially gotten everything he wants — vindication by the voters, an election sweep more convincing than his first and the almost certain end to any risk of going to prison himself, especially after the Supreme Court granted presidents broad immunity from prosecution for acts taken in office.

But that may underestimate the depth of his resentment and desire for retaliation after the multi-

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JUDITH JAMISON, 1943-2024

Radiant Dancer for Alvin Ailey
Who Leapt to Troupe Director

By BRIAN SEIBERT

Judith Jamison, who became an international star with Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater, first as a majestic dancer and then as the troupe’s director, building it into the most successful modern dance company in the country, died on Saturday in Manhattan. She was 81.

Her death, at New York-Presbyterian Weill Cornell Medical Center, was announced by Christopher Zunner, a spokesman for the Ailey company, who said she died “after a brief illness.”

At 5-foot-10, Ms. Jamison was unusually tall for a woman in her profession. “But anyone who’s seen her onstage is convinced she’s six feet five,” the critic Deborah Jowitt wrote in The New York Times in 1976.

Ms. Jamison (pronounced JAM-ih-son) acknowledged in her 1993 autobiography, “Dancing Spirit,” that “I was the antithesis of the small-boned, demure dancer with a classically feminine shape.”

But it wasn’t just her physical



CHESTER HIGGINS JR./THE NEW YORK TIMES

Judith Jamison, in 2006, projected “superhuman power.”

presence that was distinctive; she was a performer of great intelligence, warmth and wit.

“Jamison doesn’t show you steps, she uses them to show you a woman dancing,” Ms. Jowitt wrote. “This ability to maintain a human dimension and to project superhuman power and radiance is perhaps one of her most impressive skills.”

A ballet-trained dancer who wore her hair closely cropped, Ms. Jamison often inspired comparisons with the divine. “The proto-

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INTERNATIONAL A4-11

An Unlikely Day at the Beach

After a journey of more than 2,000 miles, an emperor penguin found itself in Western Australia. PAGE A8

Activist Refuses to Back Down

Neither jail nor exile has stopped Han Dongfang from championing workers’ rights. The Global Profile. PAGE A4

NATIONAL A12-20

Diving for Shipwreck-Aged Sip

A team went to the bottom of Lake Huron hoping to harvest grain from the hull of a schooner that sank in 1878 and distill it into whiskey. PAGE A12

193 Parking Spots Required

Yes, exactly 193. New York and cities across the country reconsider decades-old parking rules. PAGE A20

OBITUARIES A21, 24

Hall of Fame NASCAR Driver

Bobby Allison, a popular figure with 84 victories who won the Daytona 500 three times, was 86. PAGE A24



BUSINESS B1-6

Return to Three Mile Island

The site of the worst U.S. nuclear energy accident is at the forefront of efforts to expand nuclear capacity. PAGE B1

Dreaming From Cuba to China

For some living under autocratic rule, the allure of U.S.-style democracy has suddenly become complicated. PAGE B1

SPORTS D1-8

A Test of Independence

An ultramarathoner with autism, his devoted mother and the struggle of a seemingly endless race that punishes with the stress of running on a rugged trail day and night. PAGE D1

They Have Something to Prove

The expectations to produce wins and exciting women’s basketball have never been higher. With that comes additional scrutiny on the sidelines for the coaches at several schools. PAGE D7

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Josh Barro

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Recreating a City Under Attack

“Blitz,” the new film set in 1940 during Germany’s bombardment of London, draws extensively from wartime photos, like the one above. PAGE C7

