

“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Today, clouds and sun, cooler, less humid, high 86. **Tonight**, cloudy, a late storm, low 72. **Tomorrow**, cloudy, humid, a few heavy storms, high 82. Weather map, Page A16.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00

Balancing Act For Columbia In Trump Deal

Pressure, Negotiations, Then Breakthrough

By SHARON OTTERMAN

Just after Memorial Day, Claire Shipman, the acting president of Columbia University, went to see Linda E. McMahon, President Trump's education secretary. The institution and the Trump administration were in a standoff over antisemitism on campus, and most of Columbia's \$1.3 billion in federal research funding was in jeopardy.

It was a tough meeting, but there were some surprisingly collaborative moments. Ms. McMahon said she wasn't interested in destroying the university. She empathized with how hard it was to run a large organization. She wanted to talk about issues beyond antisemitism, like the need to tolerate a spectrum of voices on campuses.

Rather than dismiss those concerns out of hand, Ms. Shipman, a former journalist who was co-chair of Columbia's board of trustees before stepping in as acting president, listened.

It was a telling moment that helped produce the seismic events of Wednesday.

On that evening, it was revealed that Columbia and the Trump administration had reached a settlement that allows hundreds of millions of dollars of federal research funding to begin flowing again to Columbia. The deal ends civil rights investigations into antisemitism at the university. In exchange, Columbia will pay a fine of \$200 million to the government, and an additional \$21 million to settle employment discrimination claims. An independent monitor will report to the government about the university's compliance with the deal.

Though there were things on which they did not see eye to eye, Ms. Shipman and other Columbia leaders largely agreed with Washington that an antisemitism problem existed on campus. According to a recent survey commissioned by Columbia, 62 percent of Jewish students last year said that they did not feel accepted for their religious identity at the university. There was also a broader problem of intolerance, some felt, with too many people choosing to shut out, rather than engage with, other points of view.

So Ms. Shipman sought what she called the “seeds” of truth in matters cited by the White House, including what it perceived as an academic orthodoxy on campus

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UNFROZEN The White House will release \$5.5 billion in education funds that it had held up. **PAGE A19**

A Mill Town Lost Its Mill. What Is It Now?

A North Carolina Region Looks to Move On From Its Stinky Pride and Joy

By EMMA GOLDBERG

CANTON, N.C. — The first thing the mill workers noticed on what they later deemed “Black Monday” was the series of dark S.U.V.s pulling up near the paper mill, at the heart of Canton, N.C. The mill's hulking towers and plumes of smoke were visible for miles, rising above the Pigeon River and the trees that stretched like green ribbon across the mountains.

Jody Mathis, who managed the mill's warehouse and coached the high school football team, was called to a meeting just after 5 p.m. When he arrived, men were streaming out of an earlier meeting, their faces twisted in pain.

“We're done,” Mr. Mathis, 52, recalled a friend saying. He replied, “Done? What do you mean?” Then he noticed that all around him were burly men in their overalls weeping.

Like a metronome, Canton's paper mill had set the rhythm of life here for some 115 years. Residents in neighboring communities said they could smell the mill from as far away as Asheville, 20 miles east. It was putrid, like rotten eggs. People in Canton learned not to complain; to them, it was “the smell of money.” Curious children, hearing their parents repeat this, buried their faces in dollar bills to check.

If the odor kept visitors away, nobody minded. The locals were proud of the mill, which employed hundreds in town and allowed its residents to build homes and send their children to college.

But with the announcement in March 2023 that the mill was closing, Canton lost its life source, and with it any sense of certainty about its economic future. It became one of more than 60,000 manufacturing hubs that have been wiped off America's map since the late 1990s. For every 100 factory jobs lost in a community, 744 other jobs disappear, according to the Economic Policy Institute.

For a town like Canton, the loss

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For more than a century, the mill in Canton, N.C., provided good jobs and a strong sense of identity.

Hogan's Cartoon Warrior Embodied 1980s American Masculinity

Terry Gene Bollea, otherwise known as Hulk Hogan, the celebrity wrestler who died on Thursday, was not just, as many of his obituaries have noted, the most famous face of his sport. He was also, for a time in the 1980s, the face of a certain kind of American masculinity — gleefully big-talking, body-slamming, bulging-muscled — that seemed

to literally embody the self-mythologizing spirit of the country. He was a hype-man as much as a he-man.

He may not have worn red, white and blue (though he did try those togs on later in his career), but he burst onto the scene — or, rather, everyone's TV screens — in coordinating red and gold, with a bandanna wrapped around his platinum locks, horseshoe mustache dangling — Superman by way of the Hell's Angels.

An Era of Big Hair, Big Shoulders and Bigger Action Heroes

Ronald Reagan was calling on Russia to tear down the Berlin Wall, the United States was touting its role as a global superpower, and in the ring Mr. Hogan was facing off with the country's foes (opponents created to repre-

sent historical enemies): the Iron Sheik (Iranian), Nikolai Volkoff (Russian) and Yokozuna (Japanese). And winning!

It was a pantomime of national triumph in the form of a cartoon warrior who teetered the line between caricature and camp. Mr. Hogan even inspired an actual cartoon, “Hulk Hogan's Rock 'n' Wrestling,” in which good wrestlers triumphed over evildoers every Saturday morning on CBS (even if his reality

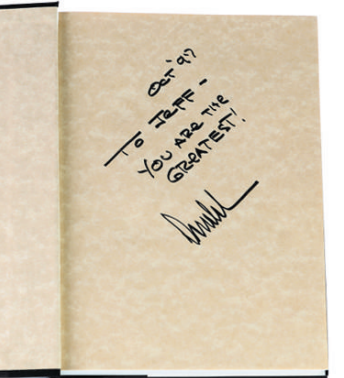
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Trump Listed Among Epstein Book Contributors

This article is by David Enrich, Matthew Goldstein, Jessica Silver-Greenberg and Steve Eder.

President Trump's name appeared on a contributor list for a book celebrating the 50th birthday of the disgraced financier Jeffrey Epstein, evidence that he participated in the collection even as he denied that he signed a sexually suggestive note and drawing.

Mr. Trump's name is listed among dozens of Mr. Epstein's acquaintances who were asked to contribute birthday messages for the leather-bound book in 2003. The list, reviewed by The New York Times, includes well-known Epstein associates like Leslie H. Wexner, then the owner of Victoria's Secret and other retailers; Alan C. Greenberg, who ran the doomed Wall Street firm Bear Stearns; and the physicist Murray Gell-Mann. Mr. Greenberg and Mr. Gell-Mann both have



A separate note from Donald J. Trump, dated six years before Jeffrey Epstein's 50th birthday.

since died.

The Times also reviewed an introductory letter to the book, which was handwritten by Ghislaine Maxwell, Mr. Epstein's longtime associate who is serving a 20-

year prison sentence for conspiring to sexually traffic minors.

It is no secret that Mr. Trump and Mr. Epstein were friendly in the 1990s and early 2000s, before Mr. Epstein was convicted of sex crimes in 2008. But facing intense criticism over his administration's refusal to release files related to government investigations of Mr. Epstein, Mr. Trump recently has sought to play down the extent of their relationship.

The president sued The Wall Street Journal for defamation after it reported on July 17 that he had signed the note and drawing in the book, an album compiled by Ms. Maxwell to mark Mr. Epstein's milestone birthday. The Journal described the drawing as the outline of a naked woman with Mr. Trump's signature below her waist, suggesting pubic hair. It quoted an imagined conversation between Mr. Trump and Mr. Epstein.

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Chaos Along the Thailand-Cambodia Border
Thai residents who had to flee as a feud between two political titans ignited violence. **PAGE A8.**



INTERNATIONAL A4-8

War Amputees Turning to Golf
The sport is helping Ukrainian soldiers who lost limbs in the war to heal and to master their prosthetics. **PAGE A4**

Setting Up a Fake Embassy
For almost eight years, an Indian man hid a range of criminal activities behind fake diplomatic missions. **PAGE A6**

NATIONAL A9-19

After Surge, Homicides Fall
An analysis by the Council on Criminal Justice shows that the majority of crimes the council tracks are continuing to decrease in 42 U.S. cities. **PAGE A9**

‘Alligator Alcatraz’ Flights
Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida said hundreds of immigration detainees had departed a state-run detention center in the Everglades on planes. **PAGE A17**

Rumors Dog Murder Case
The lead prosecutor in the Idaho killings said wild speculations surrounding the case made life “hell” for innocent people. **PAGE A19**

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Diversifying Their Game
The number of real estate projects led by professional sports teams has accelerated in recent years as the price of teams has skyrocketed. **PAGE B1**

Big Challenges at Paramount
In taking over in a merger, David Ellison will face a cratering cable business and a news division in turmoil. **PAGE B1**

OBITUARIES B11-12

A ‘Smooth Jazz’ Hitmaker
Chuck Mangione, with his flugelhorn, gained wide popularity in the 1970s and '80s. He was 84. **PAGE B12**

ARTS C1-6

Layers in a Musical Tapestry
The songs on the London rapper Jim Legxacy's new album hopscotch among genres, from hip-hop to folk. **PAGE C1**

Heavy Metal, Heavy Hearts
Fans of the singer Ozzy Osbourne gathered to mourn in the streets of Birmingham, England, his hometown. **PAGE C1**

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Remember That It's a Game
New Hall of Fame inductees say youth baseball leagues need to have more joy and less intensity. **PAGE B10**

Changes to March Madness?
A survey of coaches finds split opinions on whether to expand the N.C.A.A. basketball tournaments. **PAGE B9**

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Ezra Klein **PAGE A20**

