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Protests Built A Generation Of Leadership

Ferguson’s Fury Laid a Pathway for Change

By AUDRA D. S. BURCH

FERGUSON, Mo. — When Michael Brown Jr., an unarmed Black teenager, was fatally shot in 2014 by a white police officer and his body left in the street under the August sun, the small St. Louis suburb of Ferguson roiled and plunged into crisis.

Community grief, long-simmering fury and distrust of government gave way to waves of protests that continued for months. There were violent confrontations between protesters and heavily armed law enforcement officers. A neighborhood convenience store was looted and burned to the ground. The protests drew activists from across the nation, amplified the national Black Lives Matter movement and fueled larger questions about race in America.

And at a more grass-roots level, it created a political incubator of emerging local leaders: A new generation of young protesters who came of age during the Ferguson uprising have found ways to chip away at the racial disparities in Ferguson and nearby St. Louis, shifting from protests to politics and policies.

Since Mr. Brown’s death, Ferguson elected its first Black mayor. The police chief and more than half of the police officers are Black. And St. Louis County elected its first Black prosecutor.

“Ferguson gave birth to all kinds of young people who were committed to civil rights and social justice and representation,” said Kimberly Norwood, a Washington University law professor and editor of “Ferguson’s Fault Lines: The Race Quake That Rocked a Nation.”

Mr. Brown’s death was part of a series of high-profile police killings over a decade, from Eric Garner to Sonya Massey. Two years before Mr. Brown died, Trayvon Martin had been killed by a neighborhood watch volunteer, drawing protests across the nation. Taken collectively, the violence against African Americans catalyzed the national Black Lives Matter movement.

Residents say there is more work to be done to rebuild trust in the community, but there have been some changes over the decade.

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Russian Troops Strain to Check Ukraine Attack

By CONSTANT MÉHEUT

KYIV, Ukraine — Ukrainian forces pressed deeper into Russia on Friday, trying to capitalize on their surprise cross-border offensive, as Moscow moved quickly to shore up its defenses against the largest assault on Russian soil since the war began.

After capturing several small settlements the last few days, Ukraine was battling to take full control of a town near the border and sending small units to conduct raids farther into the southwestern Russian region of Kursk.

At the same time, the Russian military announced it was sending more troops and armored vehicles to try to repel the attack. Russian television released videos of columns of military trucks carrying artillery pieces, heavy machine guns and tanks.

Perhaps preparing for retaliation, Ukrainian authorities on Friday said they were evacuating 20,000 people from the Sumy region, which sits across the border from Kursk.

The flurry of movement under-

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BUSINESS B1-5

Wall Street’s Wild Week

Investors are wondering if the next sign of sputtering economic growth could send stocks into a tailspin. PAGE B1

Stumble for Chipmaker

TSMC modeled its facility in Phoenix on one at home. But it has been a bigger challenge than it expected. PAGE B1



INTERNATIONAL A4-8

Toll on Israel-Lebanon Border

Over the past 10 months, fighting between Israel and Hezbollah has forced thousands out of their homes. PAGE A7

Win for Philippine News Site

A court ruled that Rappler, led by the Nobel laureate Maria Ressa, could regain its business license. PAGE A5

OBITUARIES D11-12

Golf’s Swashbuckling Champ

Chi Chi Rodriguez won eight PGA Tour tournaments and two senior majors, but it was his flair on the greens that made him so popular. He was 88. PAGE D11

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New Orleans Insurance Soars

Low-income homeowners are at risk of losing their houses built by volunteers at Habitat for Humanity as more devastating storms hit the city and property insurance prices climb. PAGE A10

Three Columbia Deans Resign

The nontenured officials were put on leave earlier in the summer after sending messages that disparaged Jewish panelists. A fourth dean, with tenure, will remain at the university. PAGE A17

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Jeff Chang

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Celebration at Lincoln Center

The singer and songwriter Francisca Valenzuela brings a free festival of Latina musicians to New York. PAGE C1

Musical Break From Turmoil

Hundreds of students from Venezuela, Afghanistan, Israel and other countries performed at Carnegie Hall. PAGE C1



THE WEATHER

Today, a few clouds early, then sunny, breezy, less humid, high 85. Tonight, mainly clear, low 67. Tomorrow, partly sunny, less humid, high 81. Weather map is on Page B6.

TRUMP TAX PLAN COULD ADD DEBT BY THE TRILLIONS

HARRIS FOLLOWS BIDEN

Even Under Strict Fiscal Policy, Deficit Will Be Tough to Tame

By JIM TANKERSLEY

WASHINGTON — Former President Donald J. Trump keeps adding new tax cuts to his list of campaign promises, and their projected costs keep piling up.

Independent analyses suggest Mr. Trump’s plans could add close to \$4 trillion over the next decade to America’s already fast-growing national debt, even after factoring in additional revenues from new taxes he wants to impose on imports.

It is impossible to make a similarly precise estimate for Vice President Kamala Harris, Mr. Trump’s Democratic opponent this fall. She has not laid out any tax or spending plans, or other economic policy proposals, with enough detail to estimate whether they would add to deficits or reduce them.

But late Friday afternoon, Harris campaign officials said they would point to President Biden’s most recent budget proposal as an indicator of Ms. Harris’s future fiscal policy plans. That budget, released in March, calls for about \$3 trillion in deficit reduction over the next decade, largely by raising taxes on corporations and high earners.

Total federal debt is now about \$35 trillion, up from about \$20 trillion when Mr. Trump took office in 2017, Treasury Department data shows. It grew by about \$7.8 trillion on Mr. Trump’s watch and has increased by about \$7.3 trillion on Mr. Biden’s watch thus far.

Deficit hawks in Washington warn that a further acceleration would elevate risks of an economically debilitating spiral, where rising debt pushes up borrowing costs in financial markets. That would then cause the debt to further balloon.

“It’s a lot more troubling now, because the overall fiscal and economic environment is a lot worse” than it was before Mr. Trump and Mr. Biden took office, said Marc Goldwein, the senior vice president for the nonpartisan Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget in Washington.

The next president will already be facing what the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office predicts will be growing deficits,

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TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

More Migrants Choosing the Street

New York City is facing a collision of its biggest challenges, an influx of migrants and the enduring issue of homelessness. Page A9.

The Barber Will See You Now. The World Will See You Next.

By ANDREW KEH

They are one of the most popular teams at the Olympics. Their hand-eye coordination is off the charts. Their uniforms? Head-to-toe black and très chic.

They are the hairstylists of the Summer Games, at the service of any Olympian in the athletes’ village in need of grooming and on a mission to substantiate that old sports mantra: look good, feel good, play good.

“I’m not going out there looking scrappy,” Aphiwe Dimba, 23, a goalkeeper for South Africa’s field hockey team, said as she settled into a stylist’s chair last week. “It gives me more confidence after I get a cut. You never know who is taking your picture.”

If the Olympic Village cafeteria is a space for spontaneous social interaction, its serene salon in the main plaza is a refuge of self-care: kicking back, primping and optimizing one’s aura before it’s time to compete. The hair salon, a fixture at every Olympics, has been open this summer from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. each day.

On one recent morning, a race walker from Britain was having his hair trimmed, a boxer from Uz-

bekistan was getting her long blond hair braided and a BMX racer from Colombia was having her nails painted in the colors of her national flag.

Some days there are up to 10 hairdressers arrayed in the space, all of them from top salons around France and equipped to help replicate an authentic beauty parlor and barbershop.

The only difference is the price: For Olympians, the haircuts are free.

“It’s a moment for them to relax and forget the competition,” said Darygue Cordinier, who stepped away from Chopperhead, his barbershop in Paris, to work this month at the Olympics. “We’re here to take care of them.”

But looking good, according to athletes, is not purely a superficial pursuit.

Zigmars Raimo, a three-on-three basketball player from Latvia, said good grooming was

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RESPECT Artistic swimming is a crowd-pleaser, but it’s still fighting for appreciation. PAGE D6



PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHANG W. LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

GOLDEN FIRST Ami Yuasa of Japan, top, defeated Dominika Banevic of Lithuania to win the inaugural breaking event. Liu Qingyi, also known as B-girl 671, of China won bronze. Page D1.



HIROKO MASUIKE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Great Goldfish Caper

In Bedford-Stuyvesant, an animal lover thought she was doing the right thing by freeing several goldfish that were in a sidewalk pit. But the man who created the pond saw it differently. Page A20.

Pep Talks and Ease as a No. 2 Defined Walz’s Coaching Years

By ALAN BLINDER and ELI TAN

The Metrodome in Minneapolis hummed, its sidelines jammed on a fall Friday night. The Mankato West Scarlets, who had started the 1999 high school football season with a miserable record of 2-4, had improbably swaggered into a state championship game. Now, less than three minutes stood between them and a title.

Their defense, though, would first have to repel the Cambridge-Isanti Bluejackets, who were from north of Minneapolis and trailed by a single touchdown. The quarterback hurled a desperate pass toward the end zone. But inside the 10-yard line, a Scarlet defender intercepted the ball, effectively clinching a 35-28 victory and Mankato West’s first championship.

A coach lifted Tim Walz, then the defensive coordinator and now the Democratic candidate for

vice president, skyward. In Mr. Walz’s telling, the victory also eventually proved to be a launchpad for politics.

Vice President Kamala Harris and her campaign are touting Mr. Walz’s coaching to broaden the ticket’s appeal, a time-tested strategy that Mr. Walz himself has long used.

His time as a coach serves as a glimpse into the personality he is bringing to the playing field of politics, with friendliness and warmth masking a contagious competitiveness. And Mr. Walz’s years in coaching show a ruthless willingness to change tactics as necessary.

As a high school coach in Minnesota and Nebraska, Mr. Walz was not a master tactician, interviews with more than a dozen players and coaches suggest, nor

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TRAVEL C7-8

Havens in the Mountains

Adirondack Park, in New York, draws more than 12 million visitors each year, but most don’t venture far from the park’s population centers. Here’s where to go to avoid the crowds. PAGE C7

36 Hours in Salzburg

In this picturesque Austrian city, a century-old celebration of classical music, opera and theater that lasts six weeks is now in full swing. PAGE C8

