

All the News
That's Fit to Print

The New York Times



ALBERTO SAIZ/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Sudden Deluge Kills Scores in Spain
Flash flooding from a devastating storm across Spain's east and south left vehicles clogging a Valencia street Wednesday. Page A11.

Russia Installs Regime of Fear In Seized Areas

By CARLOTTA GALL and OLEKSANDR CHUBKO
SUMY, Ukraine — For months after the Russian military occupied his hometown in southern Ukraine, Yevheny made plans to leave. But each time, the 48-year-old lawyer said, he was thwarted, by warnings of gunfire on the roads and, once, when a hired driver disappeared.

Then came the Russian soldiers who searched his house, hauled him off to a nearby village and cast him into a dark cellar where he would undergo a violent, week-long interrogation.

Yevheny's harsh treatment is just one example of a colonialist repression Russia is enforcing across the Ukrainian territory it controls, a system comprising a gulag of more than 100 prisons, detention facilities, informal camps and basements that is reminiscent of the worst Soviet excesses.

Research by a team of reporters involving dozens of interviews with former detainees, human rights organizations and Ukrainian officials from the Office of the General Prosecutor, the intelligence service and ombudsmen reveals a highly institutionalized, bureaucratic and frequently brutal system of repression run by Moscow to pacify an area of 40,000 square miles in Ukraine, roughly the size of Ohio.

The abuses almost always occur unseen and unheard by the outside world, as Russia-controlled areas are largely inaccessible to independent journalists and human rights investigators. But human rights organizations and Ukrainian prosecutors and government officials have managed to monitor the situation closely, drawing on accounts from civilians who either are still living there or have found a way to leave.

The ultimate aim of Moscow's efforts, rights advocates said, is to extinguish Ukrainian identity through such tactics as propaganda, re-education, torture, forced Russian citizenship and removal of children to Russia.

Russia occupies roughly a fifth of Ukraine's territory, home to more than four million people, the United Nations says. The occupied territories include Crimea, forcibly annexed by Russia in 2014; parts of eastern Ukraine

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INTERNATIONAL A4-11
Preparing for War With China
The U.S. Army conducted exercises in Hawaii to practice for a potential Chinese invasion of Taiwan. *PAGE A6*

Wider Strikes on Hezbollah
Israel's military warned civilians to leave Baalbek as it broadened attacks beyond Lebanon's border. *PAGE A10*

NEWS ANALYSIS

Trump Widens the Us-vs.-Them Target Audience

By JENNIFER MEDINA

In the Democratic imagination, "people of color" is a unifying term, a label for a durable coalition of Black and Latino voters, as well as Asian Americans, Arab Americans and Native Americans.

Donald J. Trump is showing just how imaginary that unity might be.

For months, the Trump campaign and its allies have effectively exploited divisions and bigotry within minority communities, pitting them against immigrants and one another.

Anti-Immigrant Refrain Divides Latino and Black Voters

Mr. Trump's social media posts warn Black and Latino voters that immigrants are coming for their jobs. His promises to save cities that have been "invaded and conquered" are a feature of his rallies, including Sunday's in New York, a city where politicians have long stoked racial divisions to win elections.

In many ways, these appeals to Black and Latino voters are not markedly different than those aimed at white voters: Your problems can be blamed on illegal immigration. Lack of affordable housing? Stagnant wages? Struggling schools? Urban crime? Mass deportation is a single, seemingly simple, solution, the argument goes.

The us-versus-them framing has long characterized political alliances, across the ideological spectrum. But Mr. Trump has been far more direct than any recent presidential candidate in inviting Black and Latino voters

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MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Kamala Harris, above during her run for president in 2019, has emphasized her middle-class roots.

One Final Barrier in a Distinctly American Rise

By ROBERT DRAPER

In Kamala Harris's closing argument at the Ellipse in Washington on Tuesday, she sought to cast herself in thoroughly relatable terms. "I've lived the promise of America," she said near the end of her speech, repeating the sentence twice more, as if trying to weave herself into the fiber of an electorate that has yet to understand her.

The candidate's self-description

A High Achiever Who Keeps Her Armor Up

was factually accurate, but what it left out was far more revealing. From interviews with about 100 people currently or formerly associated with Ms. Harris, understanding the Democratic nominee for president requires taking her assertion "I've lived the promise

of America" and breaking it into three parts.

First, she is the tenacious eldest child of supremely motivated, risk-taking immigrants: a mother who came from India with the ambition of curing breast cancer, and a Jamaican father who set his sights on shaping his country's modern economy.

Second, she is the offspring of scientists whose devotion to reason and methodology would guide

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Biden Misstep Delivers Grist To Harris Foes

Trump Goes on Attack as She Stresses Unity

This article is by Nicholas Negamas, Reid J. Epstein, Jonathan Swan and Eduardo Medina.

MADISON, Wis. — With six days left in the 2024 presidential race, Vice President Kamala Harris and former President Donald J. Trump hopped the battleground states on Wednesday as they sought to wring support from an electorate already in the full throes of early voting.

Both candidates began their day with rallies in North Carolina and plan to end it with events in Wisconsin, with Ms. Harris adding a stop in between in Pennsylvania, a signal about which states remain most competitive as Election Day nears.

While Ms. Harris offered a message of unity and pledged to be "a president for all Americans," Mr. Trump sought to amplify a muddled remark from President Biden in which he appeared to call Mr. Trump's supporters "garbage."

Before a crowd of thousands packed into a rather pungent agricultural exposition center in Harrisburg, Pa., Ms. Harris offered herself as a president who would recruit competing voices into her White House and not, as Mr. Trump has done, cast them as the nation's enemies.

"Unlike Donald Trump, I don't believe people who disagree with me are the enemy from within," she said. "He wants to put them in jail. I'll give them a seat at the table."

White House aides suggested Mr. Biden's remark was a verbal slip from the octogenarian president. Mr. Trump and his allies pounced, seeing an opening to capitalize on their supporters' outrage and to tie Ms. Harris with Mr. Biden.

In Rocky Mount, N.C., Mr. Trump said Mr. Biden, Ms. Harris and her running mate, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, had demeaned his supporters, telling a rally crowd that "you can't be president if you hate the American people, and there's a lot of hatred there."

By then, Ms. Harris had already sought to separate herself from Mr. Biden.

"Let me be clear: I strongly disagree with any criticism of people based on who they vote for," she told reporters as she prepared to board Air Force Two outside Washington, although she pointed out that Mr. Biden had "clarified his comments."

The vice president made no reference to Mr. Biden's remarks at

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THE WEATHER
Today, sunny, breezy, very warm, high 79. Tonight, warm, a shower toward dawn, low 66. Tomorrow, breezy, warm, a brief shower or two, high 75. Weather map, Page A24.

MUSK EXPANDING SPACEX INTO ROLE FOR THE MILITARY

SPY SATELLITE DEALS

U.S. Relying on Him as It Pours Billions Into a Race With China

By ERIC LIPTON

WASHINGTON — The breakthrough came last month, about 600 miles above Earth.

For the first time, the Pentagon's Space Development Agency used lasers to more securely transmit data at light speed between military satellites, making it easier to track enemy missiles and if necessary shoot them down.

It was a milestone not only for the Pentagon. This was a defining moment for a certain up-and-coming military contractor that had built key parts of this new system: Elon Musk's SpaceX.

SpaceX over the last year started to move in a big way into the business of building military and spy satellites, an industry that has long been dominated by major contractors like Raytheon and Northrop Grumman as well as smaller players like York Space Systems.

This shift comes as the Pentagon and U.S. spy agencies are preparing to spend billions of dollars to build a series of new constellations of low-earth-orbit satellites, much of it in response to recent moves by China to build its own space-based military systems.

SpaceX is poised to capitalize on that, generating a new wave of questions inside the federal government about the company's growing dominance as a military space contractor and Mr. Musk's extensive business operations in China and his relations with foreign government leaders, possibly including President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia.

Mr. Musk is also unpredictable in a sector in which security is often perceived to be synonymous with predictability. He chafes at many of the processes and rules of government, saying they hold back progress, and wants to make his own calls.

"The complication is that you're incredibly dependent on a company that is privately held, meaning we have very little visibility into their finances," said Todd Harrison, a former space industry executive who is now a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute. "And it is controlled by the richest man in the world, who has gotten heavily involved in the

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THE GLOBAL PROFILE BA NONG

A Rocker on the Rise in China Keeps His Roots in the Ground

By VIVIAN WANG

GUILIN, China — Before setting out on his band's first national tour, before recording another album and before appearing on a major television network, Ba Nong had one task: finishing the summer harvest.

Standing in a field edged by rolling hills, two days before the first tour date in late September, Ba Nong, the frontman of the Chinese band Varihnaz, looked over the yellowed remnants of the rice stalks he had spent the past few months tending.

"The land gets to rest, and I get to go play," he said.

Planning around the harvest may be an unconventional way to manage an ascendant music career, but Varihnaz is an unconventional band.

For its members — two farmers and a former bricklayer from



GILLES SABRIÉ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ba Nong, frontman of the band Varihnaz, is also a farmer.

Guangxi, a rural region in southwestern China — the land and their music are inseparable. Rather than the usual staples of love and longing, their lyrics dwell on pesticides and poultry rearing.

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BUSINESS B1-6

California Casino Battle
A new state law allows tribes to sue gambling venues they don't operate, potentially shuttering them. *PAGE B1*

Economy Is Humming Along
In a key report released days before the election, gross domestic product showed solid quarterly growth. *PAGE B1*

THURSDAY STYLES D1-8
As the Camera Turns
Images made with whirling 360-degree photo booths, often set to lively music, have gone beyond the red carpet to a whole host of tourist sites. *PAGE D7*



SPORTS B7-10
A Locker Room Favorite
N.F.L. players consume mass quantities of Uncrustables, the premade peanut butter and jelly sandwiches. *PAGE B7*

Mr. October 31st
C.C. Sabathia, the former Yankees lefty, has turned his house in Alpine, N.J., into a Halloween destination. *PAGE B10*

ARTS C1-6

Playing 'Ragtime' Again
Years after he was let go from a production of the show as a boy, Brandon Uranowitz stars in a revival. *PAGE C1*

Martha Pans 'Martha'
When a reporter called Martha Stewart to talk about the new Netflix documentary, she did not hold back. *PAGE C4*

OPINION A26-27
Lydia Polgreen *PAGE A27*

