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The New York Times

THE WEATHER

Today, sunny, very low humidity, high 80. Tonight, mostly clear, low 66. Tomorrow, sunny to partly cloudy, continued rather low humidity, high 83. Weather map, Page B12.

VOL. CLXXIII . . . No. 60,255

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FRIDAY, AUGUST 23, 2024

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ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Kamala Harris defies easy ideological characterization, a trait that has been her biggest political asset and, at times, her chief liability.

Harris Making History While Putting Her Faith In the Art of the Possible

A Focus on Pursuing Change ‘Bit by Bit’

This article is by **Lisa Lerer, Erica L. Green and Zolan Kanno-Youngs.**

In 2005, one year into her job as San Francisco district attorney, Kamala Harris was showing a new hire around the office.

Ms. Harris had recruited Lattefah Simon, a 28-year-old racial justice activist, to lead a new program aimed at keeping first-time drug offenders out of jail. As the two women walked the halls, they stopped in front of a wall lined with photographs of Ms. Harris’s predecessors — all of them white men.

“The expectation of our community is that I’m going to fix all the havoc,” Ms. Harris said, according to Ms. Simon’s recollection. “They’re going to want me to fix all the racism, all the dysfunction, in the next four years.”

But in reality, Ms. Harris said, change will happen “bit by bit.”

The comment underscored the political philosophy that has guided Ms. Harris’s style of governance for decades. It is among the more striking contradictions of Ms. Harris’s candidacy: While she would bring about historic change if elected, as the first woman, the first Asian American and the second Black person to hold the office, she is not offering sweeping change in policy. She is at heart an institutionalist, defined by a deliberate style, focused on granular impacts over broad society shifts.

It’s an approach that diverges from those of previous leaders who have captured the imaginations of the Democratic Party. President Barack Obama presented Americans with a hopeful vision that promised to heal some of the nation’s deepest racial, geographic and partisan divides. Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont electrified Democrats with his populist calls for structural change and major economic reform. And President Biden promised to “restore the soul” of a nation fractured by the chaos of his predecessor’s administration.

Ms. Harris is a leader who re-

jects political labels. She believes in crafting clear rules and in step-by-step change that can add up to durable transformation in American society.

Now, after preparing to formally accept the Democratic nomination on Thursday night, what Ms. Harris may be offering the nation is a future defined by the fine print, focused on accomplishing what can be done now rather than on what could be.

“She’s like, ‘What can we get done in the shortest amount of time for people?’” said Rohini Kosoglu, a former policy director who was a chief of staff to Ms. Harris in the Senate and who left the vice president’s office in 2022. “She’s super pragmatic.”

A biracial female prosecutor from California, Ms. Harris has defied easy ideological characterization — a trait that has been both her biggest political strength and, at times, her greatest liability.

Her supporters see in her a meticulous law enforcement officer, with a style of intense preparation forged during her early years as a prosecutor, first as district attorney and later as California attorney general. Critics have called her a shape-shifter and a flip-flopper who changes her positions based on what’s politically con-

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Democrats Wine, Dine and Try to Align With Social Media Stars

By **KEN BENSINGER**

Last month, Kristin Brey, a podcaster, radio host and newspaper columnist, attended the Republican National Convention in Milwaukee as a credentialed journalist. She set up shop in a dank hockey arena, jostled in scrums with reporters for interviews and often could not get access to the floor of the convention hall because there was not enough space.

This week, she traveled to Chi-

cago for the Democratic National Convention, under a new title. No longer labeled a journalist, Ms. Brey was now a “content creator” — better known as an influencer — and it proved to be a sizable upgrade.

She and other creators got face time with Gwen Walz, the wife of the Minnesota governor Tim Walz, aboard a private boat on Lake Michigan; they were treated to tiki bar parties and catered rooftop luncheons; they had exclusive access to two private

Hoping Younger Voters Will Be Influenced

lounges and a penthouse suite in the United Center that were stocked with free food and alcohol; and many were offered one-on-one interviews with some of the Democratic Party’s biggest names. Some of the influencers, although not Ms. Brey, received free airfare and hotel rooms.

Three of them interviewed Vice President Kamala Harris, who has not sat for a mainstream media interview since becoming her party’s nominee for president.

The two experiences were “wildly different,” noted Ms. Brey as she stood in a special box made for influencers on the convention floor on Tuesday night.

The treatment was part of an elaborate and unprecedented campaign to flood social media with positive messages about Ms.

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Support Parrots Simply Refused To Fly the Co-op

By **LIAM STACK
and NATE SCHWEBER**

For almost 20 years, a group of parrots and their owner lived at the Rutherford, a co-op apartment building in the ritzy Gramercy Park neighborhood of Manhattan.

For almost as many years, the neighbors complained. The parrots shrieked and squawked, they said. The parrots shouted human words, but not clearly enough for the neighbors to follow their conversations. The parrots seemed to generally drive everyone mad.

After years of complaints, the chorus of caws and cries became unbearable. So the building’s co-op board moved to evict the woman who cared for the animals, Meril Lesser.

In response, Ms. Lesser said her parrots — three birds named Ginger, Layla and Curtis — were emotional support animals who also cared for her.

That set off a bitter and complicated legal dispute that ended last week when the federal government announced a settlement that it said imposed the largest ever financial penalty on a building that had denied its residents’ rights to service animals.

According to the settlement, ap-

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BRENDAN HOFFMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

At the funeral of Iryna Tsybukh, who died on May 29, mourners wore traditional vyshyvankas.

Her Last Quest: Humanizing Tributes in Ukraine

By **NATALIA YERMAK**

KYIV, Ukraine — Her funeral would be “awesome,” the young Ukrainian combat medic said, if it went as she had planned.

Mourners should wear a traditional embroidered shirt known as a vyshyvanka, the medic, Iryna Tsybukh, said in a video message

to a friend outlining her wishes for her funeral if she was killed on the front line. Soldiers could come in army fatigues. And everybody should learn 10 “meaningful” Ukrainian songs to sing around her coffin.

“Everyone will sing and learn something,” she said in her message, smiling. “In short, my fu-

neral won’t be in vain.”

Her request proved to be prescient. Ms. Tsybukh was killed on May 29 on the front line near the city of Kharkiv, in northeastern Ukraine, days before her 26th birthday. Her family and her battalion have chosen to withhold the details of how she died. At memo-

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New Covid Shot Gets Approved. Who’ll Take It?

By **BENJAMIN MUELLER
and NOAH WEILAND**

The Food and Drug Administration on Thursday approved the latest slate of annual Covid vaccines, clearing the way for Americans 6 months and older to receive updated shots in the midst of a prolonged summer surge of the virus.

Pfizer and Moderna, the vaccine makers, are expected to begin shipping vaccines to pharmacies and doctors’ offices within days. The shots are tailored to a version of the virus that took off this spring before giving way to closely related variants, all of which appear to spread faster.

For the frailest Americans, who have been dying of Covid in growing numbers this summer, the shots could offer a reprieve from a virus that disproportionately endangers those whose vaccinations are out of date.

But the approval is occurring months after wily new variants began driving up infections, a matter of consternation for some scientists who have urged faster turnarounds for updated shots.

In recent weeks, people have been hospitalized with Covid at a rate nearly twice as high as during

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Yacht’s Sinking Just Off Coast Poses Mystery

By **EMMA BUBOLA
and MICHAEL J. de la MERCED**

PORTICELLO, Italy — Two months after being cleared in a bruising legal battle over fraud charges, the British tech mogul Mike Lynch celebrated his freedom with a cruise. He invited his family, friends and part of his legal team on board his luxury sailing yacht, a majestic 180-foot vessel named Bayesian after the mathematical theorem around which he had built his empire.

On Sunday night, after a tour of the Gulf of Naples, including Capri, and volcanic islands in the Eolian archipelago, the boat anchored half a mile off the Sicilian coast in Porticello, Italy. It chose a stretch of water favored by the Phoenicians thousands of years ago for its protection from the mistral wind and, in more recent times, by the yachts of tech billionaires. The boat was lit “like a Christmas tree,” local residents said, standing out against the full moon.

But about 4 a.m., calamity unfolded. A violent and fast storm hit the area with some of the strongest winds locals said they had ever felt. Fabio Cefali, a fisherman, said he saw a flare pierce the dark-

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INTERNATIONAL A4-9

A 2,492-Carat Stone

The second-largest diamond ever was unearthed in Botswana using advanced X-ray technology. PAGE A9

Maduro Is Ruled the Winner

Venezuela’s Supreme Court did not share data in upholding the president’s disputed election victory. PAGE A7

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Districts Resist Bible Edict

There is little evidence Oklahoma schools have changed their curriculums or teaching after the superintendent required Bible instruction. PAGE A19

OBITUARIES B10-11

Basketball Hall of Famer

Al Attles, known as the Destroyer, coached Golden State to an N.B.A. championship. He was 87. PAGE B10

Oldest Person in the World

Maria Branyas Morera, 117, embraced the digital revolution and cultivated a following on social media. PAGE B11

BUSINESS B1-5

Does Wall St. Care Who Wins?

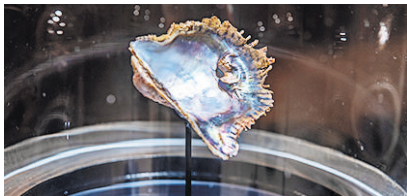
Among analysts and investors, claims that presidents are responsible for the fate of the stock market are largely dismissed as bluster. PAGE B1

Farm Union Battles a Grower

Charges of deception fly as Wonderful Nurseries sues California to overturn a labor organizing law championed by the United Farm Workers. PAGE B1

Powell at Economic Crossroads

The Federal Reserve chair will deliver remarks as growth holds steady, but a weakening job market threatens to interrupt the soft landing. PAGE B1



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Eco Art’s Softer Side

Some sculptors have strayed from the harder-edge approach. Above, “Other of Pearl” by Jenny Kendler. PAGE C8

Changing Drill Rap’s Sound

Cash Cobain’s rhymes and unorthodox samples have made hits for hip-hop’s most lascivious luminaries. PAGE C1

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A Rise That’s No Surprise

For those who saw Brock Purdy at Iowa State, his ascent with the 49ers was not new, but was still impressive. PAGE B6

Battling Through Qualifiers

To make the U.S. Open as a wild card, the math is as brutal as it is simple. Win three matches, and you’re in. PAGE B9

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