

“All the News  
That’s Fit to Print”

# The New York Times

**THE WEATHER**  
Today, cloudy, 1-3 inches of snow, high 31. **Tonight**, snow tapers off, remaining cloudy, cold, icy spots, low 17. **Tomorrow**, partly sunny, windy, high 24. Weather map on Page B11.

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JOHN TULLY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Haley Bets on Independents

Nikki Haley’s chance at success in New Hampshire hinges on a large, iconoclastic bloc. Above, a DeSantis rally in Derry. Page A9.

## West Worries As Iran Wields Potent Missiles

**By LARA JAKES  
and DAVID E. SANGER**

When Iran launched a barrage of airstrikes this week into Iraq, Syria and Pakistan, it was not just showing off the reach and sophistication of some of its newest missiles but also staking a claim: This is a new era in which Iran can flex its muscles at will and, as an added benefit, bolster its credentials as an important arms supplier.

In at least one of the attacks — a strike that Tehran claimed targeted the Islamic State terrorist group in Idlib, Syria — Iran appeared to make use of one of its longest-range and most advanced missiles, the Kheibar Shekan. The range and the apparent accuracy seized the attention of national security officials in Europe and Israel, as well as outside experts who track Iran’s technological advances.

The combination of its newest missiles and its fleet of drones, which Russia has been buying by the thousands for use in Ukraine, has helped Iran become the producer of some of the most sophisticated weaponry in the Middle East.

And Tehran’s willingness to intervene — as a supplier to its proxy forces in the region and to Moscow — may well complicate American calculations as the Pentagon considers the question looming over the widening Middle East conflict: Could it lead to a direct conflict with Iran?

American plans to counter Iran were long built on the assumption that Tehran’s ability to inflict pain beyond its borders had its limits.

Its missiles were of dubious accuracy, and its drone program was still new. Its most potent weapons against the United States and its Western allies were largely cyberweapons. Even then, while it had landed some blows — crippling, for example, the Sands Casino — the global threat posed by Iran took a back seat to China and Russia.

But Iran’s ability to churn out drones by the thousands took a lot of officials by surprise. Now its missile capability is forcing the West to think about defenses and

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**RETALIATION** Pakistan hit back with airstrikes on Iran as tensions in the Middle East boiled. PAGE A5

## Secret Wrapped in a Secret: A Bomb’s Funding

**By CATIE EDMONDSON**

As I sat in a dark, cavernous movie theater in Berlin watching the film “Oppenheimer,” my mind was thousands of miles away.

Like many other people who turned out to see the biopic, I was captivated by Christopher Nolan’s portrayal of the Trinity

**REPORTER’S NOTEBOOK**

test and Cillian Murphy’s performance as J. Robert Oppenheimer, the singularly ambitious, then morally conflicted father of the atomic bomb.

But as I watched images of the sprawling nuclear laboratory at

Los Alamos flash across the screen, I couldn’t stop wondering: How did the U.S. government pay for the \$2 billion project? Did Congress approve the money? And if so, how did lawmakers keep it a secret?

These arguably hairsplitting thoughts nagged at me thanks to my job as a congressional correspondent focused on federal spending. (I was in Berlin for a brief break — so much for that.)

The assignment requires me to wade through dense legislative documents — sometimes on the order of thousands of pages — in search of projects and earmarks that lawmakers would rather taxpayers not know they are paying for.

But this was secrecy on a whole other scale.

I went home and Googled, expecting to find a lengthy Wikipedia entry or an article in a history magazine. But all I found was a snippet from a textbook published by the National Council

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ASSOCIATED PRESS

J. Robert Oppenheimer, left, with Gen. Leslie Groves in 1945.

## How Hawaii’s Coffee Farmers Fight Counterfeit Kona Beans

**By VIRGINIA HUGHES**

On the volcanic slopes of Hawaii’s Big Island, hundreds of farmers in the Kona region produce one of the most expensive coffees in the world.

Those farmers recently won a series of settlements — totaling more than \$41 million — after a nearly five-year legal battle with distributors and retailers that were accused of using the Kona name in a misleading way.

The class-action lawsuit, aided by a novel chemical analysis of coffee from Hawaii and around the world, prompted some companies to include the percentage of



MICHELLE MISHINA-KUNZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Kona farmers won more than \$41 million in a legal battle.

### Using Science to Shield a Lucrative Crop

authentic Kona beans on product labels. The plaintiffs said they hoped the hefty settlements, the last of which will most likely be paid this spring, would deter others from selling fake Kona.

“There are probably many, many more marketers of coffee who have misused geographic names in marketing, and this will be a disincentive,” said Bruce Corker, who owns the Rancho Aloha coffee farm in the Kona district.

Mr. Corker practiced law in Seattle until 2001, when he and his wife moved to Hawaii. He had learned to grow coffee three decades earlier while in the Peace Corps in Colombia.

Kona coffee, known for its mellow and sweet notes, thrives in the mineral-rich soil. The plants receive lots of rain, and the land’s incline provides excellent drainage. Red cherries are picked by hand and “pulped” to separate the seeds, which are dried in the sun.

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## Impish King of Symphonic Satire as ‘P.D.Q. Bach’

**By MARGALIT FOX**

Peter Schickele, an American composer whose career as a writer of serious concert music was often eclipsed by that of his antic alter ego, the thoroughly debauched, terrifyingly prolific and mercifully fictional P.D.Q. Bach, died on Tuesday at his home in Bearsville, a hamlet outside Woodstock, N.Y. He was 88.

His death was confirmed by his daughter, Karla Schickele, who said his health had declined after a series of infections last fall.

Under his own name, Mr. Schickele (pronounced SHICK-uh-lee) composed more than 100 symphonic, choral, solo instrumental and chamber works, first heard on concert stages in the 1950s and later commissioned by some of the world’s leading orchestras, soloists and chamber ensembles. He also wrote film scores and musical numbers for Broadway.

His music was performed by the New York Philharmonic, the Cleveland Orchestra, the Lark Quartet, the Minnesota Opera and other notable ensembles, as well as by the folk singers Joan Baez

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PETER SCHICKELE, 1935-2024



PETER SCHAAF

Peter Schickele won five Grammy Awards — four as his alter ego.

## TRUMP IS EAGER TO END THE RACE IN SHORT ORDER

### EYEING SUPER TUESDAY

An Effort to Avoid a Long  
and Expensive Battle  
for Delegates

This article is by *Maggie Haberman, Jonathan Swan and Shane Goldmacher.*

With less than a week until the New Hampshire primary, Donald J. Trump and his allies are stepping up their efforts to muscle Nikki Haley and Ron DeSantis out of the Republican presidential race by casting Mr. Trump’s nomination as inevitable.

The strategy reflects an urgent desire to end the race quickly and avoid an extended and expensive battle for delegates heading into Super Tuesday on March 5.

Mr. Trump is facing 91 criminal charges in four jurisdictions, as well as two costly civil trials, where he has used voluntary appearances at New York courthouses this month as public relations and fund-raising vehicles. But February offers him few such opportunities, meaning he would need to rely on his political strength alone to generate momentum for Super Tuesday, when voters in 16 states and territories will cast ballots for the nomination.

In New Hampshire, Mr. Trump began attacking Ms. Haley with paid advertising weeks ago, and intensified the onslaught more recently with sharper personal criticisms and campaign statements portraying her as a China-loving globalist. On Tuesday, he went after Ms. Haley, the daughter of immigrants from India, on his social media website, using her birth name — Nimarata, which he misspelled as “Nimrada” — as a dog whistle, much like his exaggerated enunciation of former President Barack Obama’s middle name, “Hussein.”

And he has grown more aggressive on the campaign trail. In Portsmouth, N.H., on Wednesday night, he said of Ms. Haley, “I don’t know that she’s a Democrat, but she’s very close. She’s far too close for you.”

But his team is looking ahead to the South Carolina primary on

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### Going for 2: A Primer

A look at trends, data and strategy to help you sound like an analyst when you watch the N.F.L. playoffs. PAGE B9

### America’s Soccer Hero

Christian Pulisic discusses his new life in Milan, and why the U.S. men’s team can win the Copa América. PAGE B6



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### A Chaotic Haven

The development of Cayalá in Guatemala City is utopian. As an elite enclave in one of Latin America’s most unequal nations, it is also divisive. PAGE A4

### Singapore Corruption Charge

Accused of accepting tickets to “Hamilton” and air travel, the country’s transport minister resigned before he pleaded not guilty in court. PAGE A7

### Seeking Shelter in Iceland

In a country of fewer than 400,000, finding places for 3,700 residents after a volcanic eruption is complicated by a tough housing market. PAGE A8

NATIONAL A9-17

### Bid to Avoid Testimony

Fani T. Willis, the district attorney prosecuting the Georgia election case, is trying to avoid testifying in a colleague’s divorce case. PAGE A17

### A Sprint to Avert a Shutdown

A day before funding for some government agencies was set to lapse, Congress cleared a stopgap spending bill for President Biden. PAGE A12

### Harsh Words for Uvalde Police

In a report, the Justice Department cited “cascading failures” in the response to the Texas school shooting that left 21 people dead. PAGE A13

WEEKEND ARTS C1-12

### What to See on Broadway

We have a guide to the plays and musicals currently onstage as well as those arriving this winter and spring. PAGE C1

### True Horrors in Irish History

Ruth Wilson’s character in a new show is fictional, but Ireland’s “Magdalene laundries” were all too real. PAGE C1



BUSINESS B1-5

### Trying to Sway ‘Super Drivers’

A small share of motorists burns about a third of America’s gas. Some states want them to switch to E.V.s. PAGE B1

### Billionaires to the Rescue?

The wealthy owners of Time magazine, The Washington Post and The Los Angeles Times are losing money. PAGE B1

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### David Brooks

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