

“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Today, a mixture of clouds and sun-
shine, high 71. **Tonight**, becoming
mostly cloudy, low 57. **Tomorrow**,
mainly cloudy, cool, breezy, high 67.
Weather map appears on Page B6.

VOL. CLXXIV . . . No. 60,286 © 2024 The New York Times Company MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 2024 Prices in Canada may be higher \$4.00



A CarbonRun silo in Nova Scotia that will release limestone powder into the nearby West River Pictou, capturing carbon dioxide.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY GRETA RYBUS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Bold Plan Would Turn the World’s Oceans Into Carbon Busters

By BRAD PLUMER and RAYMOND ZHONG

PICTOU COUNTY, Nova Scotia — In a quiet patch of forest in Nova Scotia, a company is building a machine designed to help slow global warming by transforming Earth’s rivers and oceans into giant sponges that absorb carbon dioxide from the air.

When switched on later this year, the machine will grind up limestone inside a tall green silo and release the powder into the nearby West River Pictou, creating a chalky plume that should dissolve within minutes.

The effect could be potent, scientists say. Rivers contain carbon

BUYING TIME
Slowing Down Climate Change

dioxide that is constantly escaping into the air, where it traps heat and warms the planet. But adding limestone converts some of that carbon dioxide into a stable molecule that instead stays underwater and washes into the sea, where it should remain trapped for thousands of years.

“The beauty of it is how simple the technology is,” said Eddie Halfyard, a freshwater ecologist and co-founder of CarbonRun, the start-up building the \$400,000 limestone machine, with plans for

many more. “We let the water do most of the work.”

With the dangers of climate change growing and greenhouse gas emissions soaring, scientists and entrepreneurs are increasingly exploring ways to deliberately intervene in climate systems to cool the Earth. Overwhelmingly, scientists say nations must sharply cut the pollution from burning fossil fuels that is driving up global temperatures. But many also believe that some of the excess carbon in the atmosphere must also be pulled out in order to preserve a livable planet.

“The potential for ocean-based carbon removal is huge, and it’s

Continued on Page A12



Demonstrating how limestone powder interacts with water.

Sex ‘Freak-Offs’ At Core of Case Against Combs

By BEN SISARIO and JULIA JACOBS

A woman and a male prostitute gather for sex in a luxury hotel suite that, in the government’s telling, has been lit for filming and stocked with baby oil and drugs. Another man watches and sometimes captures the events on video. These sexual marathons, complete with a cleanup staff, sometimes went on for days.

To the people involved, they were known as “freak-offs.”

The 14-page federal criminal indictment of Sean Combs, the music mogul known as Diddy and Puff Daddy, accuses him of participating in many crimes including arson, bribery, kidnapping and obstruction of justice. But the heart of the government’s case is the premise that the criminal “enterprise” he ran as an alleged racketeer was responsible for coordinating these “freak-offs,” and then covering up any damage to hotel rooms, or people, when they were over.

In the government’s portrayal, they were horror shows — “elaborate and produced sex performances,” according to the indictment — that involved copious drug use and coerced sex, leaving participants so exhausted and drained that they were given fluids intravenously to recover. Then, the government said, Mr. Combs weaponized the videos he had shot to keep any participants from complaining.

“Freak-off activity is the core of this case, and freak-offs are inher-

Continued on Page A17

Scrambling to Stanch Venezuelan Gang in U.S.

By LUIS FERRÉ-SADURNÍ and CHELSIA ROSE MARCIUS

At the country’s southern border, U.S. Border Patrol agents have been on the lookout for members of a notorious Venezuelan gang. In the nation’s heartland, police officers from Denver to Chicago have made dozens of arrests for alleged crimes linked to the group, from retail theft to murder and prostitution.

And in New York City, police detectives have spent months interviewing informants — including confessed gang members — to

Evolution Fuels Crime and Border Politics

identify gang leaders and gather information on robbery patterns and recruitment efforts.

The gang in question is Tren de Aragua, which sprang from a Venezuelan prison and developed into a feared criminal organization focused on sex trafficking, human smuggling and the drug trade.

Its widening presence in the United States has become a politi-

cal lightning rod for Republicans, especially former President Donald J. Trump, as they seek to blame the Biden administration’s border policy for allowing criminals into the country.

Mr. Trump’s accusations about the effects of migrant-fueled crime, amplified in right-wing media, are often overstated or incorrect. Yet the gang has nonetheless emerged as a growing source of concern for law enforcement officials, who have been scrambling to study its inner workings and track its members’ movement

Continued on Page A15



YE FAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

They Devour Show Tunes
Nathaniel Lopez had a “Little Shop of Horrors” vibe at Broadway Rave, on Long Island. Page C5.

Harris Ruthless On Hard Crime As a Prosecutor

She Granted Leniency in Less Serious Cases

By ROBERT DRAPER

SAN FRANCISCO — From the moment that Kamala Harris took her place among 57 counterparts at the 2004 California District Attorneys Association annual conference, it was an open question how, if at all, the first Black, Asian American and female D.A. in the state’s history would fit in.

Ms. Harris, whose mother was Indian and whose father is Jamaican American, did not even blend in back home in liberal San Francisco County’s law enforcement circles. The county had never before elected a woman, a Black person or an Asian American as its district attorney, much less all three at the same time. She was equally rare nationwide: When Ms. Harris won in December 2003, she became one of only three elected Black district attorneys in the entire country.

“They looked at her like she had four heads,” said Debbie Mesloh, Ms. Harris’s communications director at the time, about her appearance a month later at the district attorneys’ conference in Santa Barbara, a conclave of conservative, throw-the-book-at-them prosecutors.

“It was an organization of mostly older Caucasian Republican men,” said Gilbert Otero, the former district attorney of Imperial County, who was there. Ms. Harris, he said, had “these beliefs that didn’t normally jibe with our crowd. She and I had a little spat at one roundtable over the death penalty and the three-strikes-and-you’re-out policy — me for both and her against.”

But over time Mr. Otero came to view Ms. Harris as a law enforcement ally. He endorsed her as the Democratic candidate for state attorney general in 2010. One of her first trips after she won was to tour a tunnel dug by Mexican traffickers to transport drugs into Mr. Otero’s county.

“She kept her promise that she would show up,” Mr. Otero said. “It meant a lot to law enforcement down there.”

Vice President Kamala Harris’s rise from strong-willed law enforcement official to standard-bearer in liberal Democratic politics is unusual and, some might conjecture, mutually incompatible. Navigating both paths has left her open to criticism as the Demo-

Continued on Page A18

MIDEAST TENSION CLIMBS AS RIVALS STEP UP ATTACKS

FEARS OF ALL-OUT WAR

Israel Says It Intercepted Most of the Rockets Hezbollah Fired

This article is by Adam Rasgon, Euan Ward, Hwaida Saad and Ken Belson.

JERUSALEM — Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel and a top Hezbollah leader vowed on Sunday to increase the intensity of their cross-border attacks, raising fears that the renewed conflict could escalate into all-out war.

The Hezbollah official, the deputy secretary-general Naim Qassem, said the Lebanese militia had entered “a new stage” of open warfare against Israel, while Mr. Netanyahu said his nation would take “whatever action is necessary” to diminish the threat posed by its adversary.

The statements came after a tumultuous week of hostilities.

Early on Sunday, Hezbollah launched about 150 rockets, cruise missiles and drones, according to the Israeli military, targeting what appeared to be the deepest areas it has hit in Israel since the group began firing on it in October, a day after Hamas-led forces attacked southern Israel. Since then, Israel and Hezbollah have been engaging in tit-for-tat attacks.

Israel’s military said that its air defenses had intercepted most of the projectiles fired from Lebanon. One hit Kiryat Bialik, a town of 45,000 just north of Haifa. At least four people were wounded by shrapnel in northern Israel on Sunday, according to Magen David Adom, an Israeli emergency rescue service.

Referring to the strikes, Mr. Qassem said that “what happened last night is just the beginning.”

“We will kill them and fight them from where they expect and from where they do not expect,” the militant leader told thousands of people gathered in Dahiya, the Hezbollah-dominated neighborhood in southern Beirut, for the funeral of two Hezbollah commanders killed in an Israeli airstrike on Friday.

Israel fired airstrikes into southern Lebanon on Sunday that killed at least three people and wounded four others, according to

Continued on Page A8

How Motherhood Has Become A Dividing Line in the Election

By KATIE ROGERS

WASHINGTON — She is not humble. She has no stake in the future of the country. She and other childless women are looking down on Americans who have chosen to reproduce.

NEWS ANALYSIS These are a few of the broadsides Republicans have lobbed against Vice President Kamala Harris, who has come under attack not for something she has done or said but for something she doesn’t have: biological children.

The latest jab came from Gov. Sarah Huckabee Sanders of Arkansas. This past week, she took the stage at a campaign event for former President Donald J. Trump and declared that her three children had given her the sort of humility that is important to maintain in national politics.

“My kids keep me humble,” she said to the crowd. “Unfortunately, Kamala Harris doesn’t have anything keeping her humble.”

G.O.P. Risks Alienating Childless Voters

Call it the motherhood divide. The presidential race has exposed a fault line in American culture — or at least among today’s most prominent politicians — over the deeply personal (and usually private) decision to have children. With an election likely to be decided by razor-thin margins, perhaps by women whose votes could tip the scale either way, motherhood itself has become a campaign-trail cudgel.

Conservatives are trying to appeal to voters who may see an existential value in motherhood. Prominent Republicans, including Senator JD Vance of Ohio, Mr. Trump’s running mate, have tied their concerns about reproduction to the declining birthrate in the United States, disparaging childless women like Ms. Harris in the process.

“This is not about criticizing

Continued on Page A20

INTERNATIONAL A4-13

Sri Lanka Elects a Leftist
Anura Kumara Disanayake’s presidential win reflected weariness with leadership amid an economic crisis. PAGE A6

A True Communist ‘Party’
The Fête de l’Humanité festival celebrates French leftists, blending Burning Man and a political convention. PAGE A4



NATIONAL A14-20

A Last Stand in Montana
Republicans are trying to control the U.S. Senate by ousting Jon Tester, the last Democrat holding statewide office in a place that once had many. PAGE A14

A Short-Term Spending Deal
With Speaker Mike Johnson dropping a divisive voter registration proposal, Congress agreed to fund the government through Dec. 20. PAGE A16

Scrutiny for New N.Y.P.D. Boss
The city’s interim police commissioner, Thomas G. Donlon, said federal agents searched his homes and seized material unrelated to the department. PAGE A17

BUSINESS B1-4

Economic Wild Card in Race
Nevada is among a handful of states that will decide the presidential contest, and grocery and gas prices have climbed for workers there. PAGE B1

Anti-Deforestation Backlash
World leaders want the European Union to delay rules requiring companies to police global supply chains. PAGE B1

OBITUARIES A21, 24

Star for Undefeated Dolphins
Mercury Morris was part of two Super Bowl victories, including one by the perfect 1972 team. He was 77. PAGE A21

SPORTS D1-7

Under-the-Radar Storylines
As the M.L.B. regular season winds down, there are many subjects that are worthy of more attention. PAGE D7

Still a Scrambler at Heart
The Hall of Fame quarterback Fran Tarkenton, 84, thinks his style of play would succeed in today’s N.F.L. PAGE D1



ARTS C1-6

Tying It All Together
A show based on a myth about a net stretching across the universe shows off Meredith Monk’s artistry. PAGE C1

Never Too Much Frasier
Kelsey Grammer has been playing the snobby psychiatrist off and on since 1984. He has no plans to stop. PAGE C1

OPINION A22-23

Padma Lakshmi PAGE A23

