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CHRISTOPHE PETIT TESSON/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

France Enshrines Abortion Rights

Legislators passed an amendment guaranteeing women the freedom to end a pregnancy. Experts called it a global first. Page A10.

Presidential Rematch Gets a ‘Kickoff’ Moment

By SHANE GOLDMACHER and MAGGIE HABERMAN

President Biden’s advisers are eager for the coming general election fight and counting on voters to start paying more attention to Donald J. Trump, with the president himself even proposing and dashing off videos to ridicule the things his Republican rival says. Mr. Trump is relishing the chance to contrast himself with Mr. Biden, as he did along the Texas-Mexico border last week, and trusting that Mr. Biden has the tougher job: convincing voters that their views of how the country is doing are wrong. With the former president expected to rack up big wins on Super Tuesday and Mr. Biden preparing to deliver his State of the Union address on Thursday, this

Significant Week With Super Tuesday and State of the Union

week is expected to clarify the coming choice for an American public that in many ways remains in disbelief that 2024 is headed toward a 2020 rematch. The Supreme Court’s unanimous ruling on Monday keeping Mr. Trump on the ballot after some states sought to bar him for his role in the Jan. 6, 2021, attack on the Capitol kicked off a critical period that both campaigns see setting the tone and defining the early contours of the presidential campaign. By most accounts, Mr. Biden be-

gins behind. A New York Times/Siena College survey over the weekend showed Mr. Trump ahead 48 percent to 43 percent among registered voters. Mr. Biden is hampered by widespread concerns about his age and his handling of the job, fractures in the Democratic coalition over Israel and a general sourness about the state of the nation. But Mr. Biden also enters the expected general election contest with a number of key structural advantages, including a sizable financial edge and a lack of distractions on the scale of Mr. Trump’s four criminal trials. Quentin Fuls, Mr. Biden’s principal deputy campaign manager, said the campaign had been preparing for a week that will func-

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Gladly Going Against Grain To Love Biden

By REBECCA DAVIS O’BRIEN and KATIE GLUECK

PHILADELPHIA — Andrea Russell is a fixture on Earp Street, the quiet strip of rowhouses in South Philadelphia where she has lived for 45 years. In the afternoons, neighbors come and go from her living room as her 16-year-old cat, George, sits perched above a television that is usually tuned to cable news. Ms. Russell, a 77-year-old retired legal secretary, thinks President Biden would fit right in. “He’d come on by Earp Street,” she said. “I could picture going up to him and saying, ‘Hi, Joe.’ I can see him here.” She identifies with him, she said, and admires his integrity and his record. She also loves his eyes. Her friend, Kathy Staller, also 77, said she was as eager to vote for Mr. Biden as she was for Barack Obama in 2008. “I am excited,” she said. “I hope more people feel the way I do.” Ms. Russell and Ms. Staller are ardent, unreserved supporters of Mr. Biden — part of a small but dedicated group of Democratic voters who think that he is not merely the party’s only option against Donald J. Trump but, in fact, a great, transformative president who clearly deserves another four years in office. They occupy a lonely position in American politics. Mr. Biden, 81, has never inspired the kind of excitement that Mr. Obama did, and he is not a movement candidate, in contrast to his likely 2024 rival, Mr. Trump, who is 77. Historically, Mr. Biden has been far more skilled at con-

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Americans Live Far From Work, Given a Choice

By EMMA GOLDBERG

In 2020, Virginia Martin lived two and a half miles from her office. Today, the distance between her work and home is 156. Ms. Martin, 37, used to live in Durham, N.C., and drove about 10 minutes to her job as a librarian at Duke. After the onset of remote work, Ms. Martin got her boss’s blessing to return to her hometown, Richmond, Va., in March 2022, so she could raise her two young children with help from family. As an ’80s-born “child of AIM,” Ms. Martin said of AOL instant messaging, it hadn’t been hard for her to maintain co-worker friendships online. She drives back to the office several times a year for events, most recently for the December holiday party. Ms. Martin is part of today’s growing ZIP code shift: She is one of the millions of Americans who, thanks to remote and hybrid work, no longer live close to where they work. Many Americans now live roughly twice as far from their offices as they did before the pandemic. That’s according to a new study, set to be released this week, from economists at Stanford and Gusto, a payroll provider, using

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KAITI SULLIVAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Cutbacks for Family Caregivers

Now that federal pandemic funds are shrinking, states like Indiana are curtailing programs that finance home care. Page A12.

U.N. Sees Signs of Sexual Abuse in Hamas Attack

By FARNAZ FASSIHI and ISABEL KERSHNER

UNITED NATIONS — A United Nations report released on Monday found signs that sexual violence was committed in multiple locations during the Hamas-led Oct. 7 attack on Israel and said that some hostages being held in the Gaza Strip had also been subjected to rape and sexual torture. From late January to early Feb-

Team’s Report Analyzes Claims After Oct. 7

ruary, the United Nations deployed a team of experts to Israel and the West Bank led by Pramila Patten, the secretary general’s special representative on sexual violence in conflict. In their report, the experts said

they had found “reasonable grounds” to believe that sexual violence occurred during the Hamas-led incursion into Israel, including rape and gang rape in at least three locations: the Nova music festival site and the area around it, as well as Road 232 and Kibbutz Re’im. “In most of these incidents, victims first subjected to rape were then killed, and at least two inci-

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THE WEATHER

Today, rain and drizzle, cloudy, high 50. Tonight, lingering clouds, drier, low 46. Tomorrow, warmer, a bit of afternoon rain, mostly cloudy, high 58. Weather map is on Page A24.

Messages Trace ‘Fake Electors’ To Their Roots

Files Released as Suit in ‘20 Plot Is Settled

By LUKE BROADWATER and MAGGIE HABERMAN

WASHINGTON — Just five days after Election Day in 2020, a conservative lawyer named Kenneth Chesebro emailed a former judge who was working for the Trump campaign in Wisconsin, James R. Troupis, pitching an idea for how to overturn the results. Through litigation, Mr. Chesebro said, the Trump campaign could allege “various systemic abuses” and, with court proceedings pending, encourage legislatures to appoint “alternative” pro-Trump electors who could be certified instead of the Biden electors chosen by the voters. “At minimum, with such a cloud of confusion, no votes from WI (and perhaps also MI and PA) should be counted, perhaps enough to throw the election to the House,” Mr. Chesebro wrote to Mr. Troupis, referring to the swing states of Wisconsin, Michigan and Pennsylvania. Mr. Troupis quickly brought Mr. Chesebro into the Trump legal team, directed him to lay out the plans in a series of memos now central to the indictment of Donald J. Trump, and a month later — with the help of Reince Priebus, the former White House chief of staff — secured a meeting with Mr. Trump at the White House. The email is the earliest known evidence of Mr. Chesebro’s involvement in what would become known as the false elector plot. It was released Monday along with a trove of more than 1,400 pages of text messages and emails belonging to Mr. Troupis and Mr. Chesebro as they settled a lawsuit against them filed in Wisconsin. Taken together, the documents show in new detail how the Trump campaign’s litigation strategy was not designed to win in court as much as it was designed to give cover for their political efforts. And they underscore the central role that Mr. Troupis — previously a little-known figure in the effort to overturn the election — played

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STATES MUST KEEP TRUMP ON BALLOT, JUSTICES RULE 9-0

COLORADO LOSES CASE

Liberals on Court Concur but Criticize Sweep of Majority Opinion

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court ruled on Monday that states may not bar former President Donald J. Trump from running for another term, rejecting a challenge from Colorado to his eligibility that threatened to upend the presidential race by taking him off ballots around the nation. Though the justices provided different reasons, the decision’s bottom line was unanimous. All the opinions focused on legal issues, and none took a position on whether Mr. Trump had engaged in insurrection, as Colorado courts had found. All the justices agreed that individual states may not bar candidates for the presidency under a constitutional provision, Section 3 of the 14th Amendment, that prohibits insurrectionists from holding office. Four justices would have left it at that, with the court’s three liberal members expressing dismay at what they said was the stunning sweep of the majority’s approach. But the five-justice majority, in an unsigned opinion answering questions not directly before the court, ruled that Congress must act to give Section 3 force. “The Constitution makes Congress, rather than the states, responsible for enforcing Section 3 against federal officeholders and candidates,” the majority wrote, adding that detailed federal legislation was required to determine who was disqualified under the provision. The decision was produced on a rushed schedule, landing the day before the Super Tuesday primaries in Colorado and around the nation. In a series of unusual moves, the court did not announce

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When the Census Doesn’t Reflect You

People of Middle Eastern and North African descent are usually counted as “white” by the U.S. government, though most do not identify that way. Page A18.



“You come to the U.S., and if you’re dark skinned, then you’re Black. But there’s nothing in Somali that’s ‘Black’ or ‘white.’ Sometimes I choose ‘other’ and sometimes I choose ‘African American.’”

Faisal Ali, 29
Identifies as Somali and Arab



“I never check the ‘white’ box. I understand why it exists, historically and logistically, but I have never identified as a white person.”

Martin Zebari, 30
Identifies as Southwest Asian



“The census is the only major set of data that lawmakers and corporations and others use to see who is in this country. To not be represented in something like that, it just feels like we aren’t supposed to care about who we are.”

Gabrielle Barbara Guliana, 26
Identifies as Chaldean

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Guilty Plea to Federal Perjury

Allen H. Weisselberg, the former finance chief of the Trump Organization, has already spent time at Rikers Island jail. The plea will send him back. PAGE A16

U.S. Trial Grips Hondurans

The ex-president of the Central American country is facing drug trafficking charges. Hondurans and expatriates see a rare chance for justice. PAGE A20

A Drug Punishment Reversal

Oregon voted to remove criminal penalties for possessing drugs in 2020. But as overdose deaths soar, lawmakers will bring back some restrictions. PAGE A17

INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Germany Irks Allies on Ukraine

A statement by Chancellor Olaf Scholz drew accusations from ex-officials that he had revealed war secrets. PAGE A10

‘Zombie Fires’ Burn in Canada

The high level of activity this winter is raising governmental concerns of a dire wildfire season to come. PAGE A4



BUSINESS B1-6

E.U. Fines Apple \$2 Billion

The company said it would appeal the penalty, for using the App Store to thwart competition. It was the latest in a series of regulatory setbacks. PAGE B1

Rising Auto Insurance Rates

Costlier vehicles and repairs are pushing premiums higher even as overall inflation in the U.S. has calmed. PAGE B1

SPORTS B7-10

A Trailblazing Legacy

In the 1970s, Pearl Moore set a women’s basketball scoring record that still stands, despite Caitlin Clark. PAGE B7

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Her Bad Marriage Is a Hit

In a 50-part TikTok drama, Reesa Teesa says she was lied to about a new house, a fancy car and a bad knee. PAGE C1

Their Job Is to Yuk It Up

Joke writers for awards shows tell us how they try to make hosts like Jimmy Kimmel, below, even funnier. PAGE C1



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Identifying Alzheimer’s Earlier

New criteria could lead to a dementia diagnosis with a blood test, even with no obvious symptoms appearing. PAGE D3

Easing the Agony of Detox

Ibogaine, a powerful psychedelic drug, is gaining renewed attention as a treatment for opioid addiction. PAGE D1

OPINION A22-23

John McWhorter

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