

Primary Order Creating a Rift For Democrats

**S. Carolina and Nevada
Vie to Be First in 2028**

By SHANE GOLDMACHER

South Carolina and Nevada have emerged as the two front-runners to begin the 2028 Democratic presidential nominating calendar, but their jockeying has grown acrimonious and pitted Black and Latino party leaders against each other, according to interviews with more than a dozen party officials involved in the discussions.

A powerful panel of 49 insiders of the Democratic National Committee is set to meet this week in Washington to sketch out the order of the early-state calendar. The full party body would then vote next month to finalize the choices.

The order of primary states is deeply consequential. Different states have different upsets and downfalls for the party's potential 2028 contenders — and require the constructing of different political coalitions. The calendar is likely to play a significant role in deciding who ultimately emerges as the next Democratic presidential nominee. And months of private lobbying, backroom discussions and brass-knuckle racial politics are bursting into the open on the eve of the gathering.

"It's almost like we're running against Nevada," Chrystal Spain, the chair of the South Carolina Democratic Party, said in an interview. "That's what it feels like."

"If Nevada gets elevated over South Carolina, it would be because of their Latino vote," added Ms. Spain, who is Black. "So you would then be telling Black voters that you matter less than brown voters. And I refuse to believe that our party wants to send any type of message like that."

Other new states are jockeying to jump into the influential early window, including Virginia, which also has a sizable Black population.

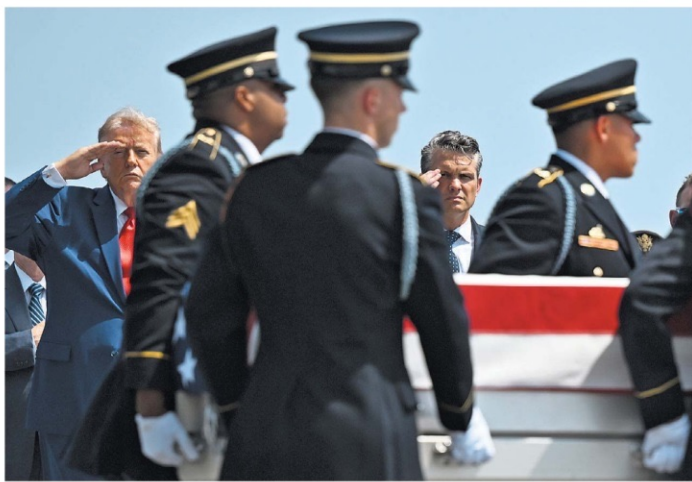
"If you have the right calendar, you can have the right nominee to prepare you for the general election," said Terry McAuliffe, a former Virginia governor and D.N.C. chair.

For decades, the nominating calendar for both Democrats and Republicans had begun in Iowa and New Hampshire, two overwhelmingly white states. But former President Joseph R. Biden Jr. put South Carolina — whose many Black voters helped make him the nominee in 2020 — first in 2024.

Now South Carolina is fighting to keep its premier slot. At the same time, Nevada argues that its status as a diverse and growing battleground state — with a large Latino population and a strong tradition of organized labor — would better position Democrats to win the general election. Nevada is a swing state that Democrats have won in recent years — they currently hold both of its Senate seats — while South Carolina is reliably Republican both in presidential years and at the state level.

Prominent Latino leaders and groups have been instrumental in

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'Unimaginable Loss'

Sgt. Angel Rampersad of Queens was honored in Delaware, along with three other U.S. soldiers killed in the war with Iran. Page A7.

Fight to Rid South Africa of African Immigrants

By JOHN ELIGON
and JEMASA MATIWANE

JOHANNESBURG — On a clear morning last October, Nozie Khoza and her brigade of self-proclaimed patriots stood at the entrance of a public health clinic in Johannesburg on a quest to shape South Africa in their image.

When the gate opened at 7:30, the group demanded to see IDs from everyone seeking to enter, saying that only South Africans would be allowed inside.

"You belong to Nigeria, sweetheart," Bongani Nomnganga, one of Ms. Khoza's allies, told a young woman, turning her away because, even though she had a South African ID, her last name was Nigerian.

Activists Take the Law Into Own Hands as Migration Rises

"It smells like fraud," another one of Ms. Khoza's associates said of a young woman's South African ID, after the woman told them her parents were from Mozambique.

Ms. Khoza, a 39-year-old mother of two, had no authority to determine who could enter the public clinic.

Rather, she is a foot soldier in a highly organized network of activists going to extreme lengths to harass immigrants in South Africa, most of whom come from other

African nations in search of opportunity in the continent's largest economy.

Polls show a growing number of South Africans share hostility toward immigrants and want the government to do more to thwart the heavy flow of migrants entering the country. There have been nationwide protests and violence. Immigrants have been attacked and even killed, chased from their homes and businesses.

Despite a lack of evidence, many South Africans blame immigrants for crime, for stealing jobs and for taking up valuable public resources in a nation with high unemployment and growing inequality. They say they have lost faith in the government and have

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Sandra, a legal resident from the Democratic Republic of Congo, was forced from her home.

Big Businesses Quietly Desert Climate Goals

By DAVID GELLES

Not so long ago, many of America's biggest companies were making bold promises about saving the planet.

They pledged to stop polluting, get off fossil fuels and use recyclable materials. Some even promised to reinvent their core business practices, speaking aspirationally about a new, more sustainable economy.

These goals were set, and trumpeted, by the companies making the phone in your pocket, the shoes on your feet and the food in your fridge — and others. Coca-Cola, a company that produces as much plastic trash as any in the world, even began talking about "a world without waste."

Over the past few years, however, many of these environmental commitments have evaporated. Some companies have changed the way they measure progress. Others postponed their deadlines for making change. One company said its customers simply didn't care about the issue anymore.

Under President Biden, there was extraordinary pressure for big business to address climate change. The Trump administration is now pushing companies to abandon climate goals and encouraging the use of more oil, gas and coal, claiming that environmental initiatives are "woke" distractions that hamper economic growth.

But the waning climate ambition across corporate America often has an even simpler explanation: Many companies have concluded it is simply too difficult and

U.S. EASES RULES IN NUCLEAR DEAL FOR SAUDI ARABIA

MAY ENRICH OWN FUEL

**Lawmakers and Israelis
Worry Pact Enables
Jump to Weapons**

By DAVID E. SANGER
and WILLIAM J. BROAD

President Trump went to war with Iran in part to force compliance with two longstanding American demands: Tehran must stop enriching nuclear fuel for at least two decades, and it must allow international inspectors to go anywhere and see anything to verify the country is not producing a bomb.

On Wednesday, Mr. Trump took the reverse approach to Saudi Arabia, its close ally in the region. To seal a deal for Westinghouse and other American companies to build two nuclear reactors on Saudi territory — and more to come — it opened the door to allowing the kingdom to begin enriching its own nuclear fuel after two years.

And it gave in to the kingdom's demand that it not have to abide by an inspection agreement that applies to more than 140 other countries. Those rules, the Saudis said, are just too intrusive.

Now Mr. Trump will have to make the case to Congress, and to allies throughout the Middle East, that in loosening the nuclear standards for one close ally, he is not ushering in a new age of proliferation, especially in a region of the world already on fire.

If the daily missile exchanges with Iran finally give way to resumption of negotiations, there is no question Iran will seize on the concessions made to Riyadh and insist on the same.

Already on Wednesday, administration officials were arguing that there was nothing to worry about, and that the United States will be so engaged in Saudi Arabia's nuclear future that there is no way the kingdom could divert its nuclear fuel and know-how to a secret bomb program.

They may prove right. But nuclear history is littered with examples of countries that pledged to obey the rules, and surreptitiously raced for a bomb.

Iran's first research reactor was provided by the United States to the shah of Iran, complete with weapons-grade uranium — technology that fell into the hands of

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A deal with the Saudi crown prince may limit inspectors.

Teen Pregnancy Program Loses Millions in Funds

By JAN HOFFMAN

A few weeks ago, Rena Dixon, the head of Fact Forward, a South Carolina nonprofit that offers adolescent health and sex education classes, got a letter from the Trump administration with crushing news. The government was terminating the organization's \$16 million grant from a federal program to reduce teen pregnancies, effective immediately.

The administration's priorities,

U.S. Pushes Agencies to Promote Abstinence

It said, do not align with "content that encourages, normalizes or promotes sexual activity for minors."

The move is the latest in a campaign that began in the first Trump administration to defund or overhaul the 16-year-old, \$100

million initiative. Courts blocked the effort in 2018, but this time the administration, which abruptly canceled 53 of the program's 67 grants last month, has been taking steps to be on firmer legal ground.

The letter from the assistant secretary for health accused Fact Forward of including lessons with "advice on making condom use more pleasurable" and discussions that "normalize" use of

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Stymied on Netanyahu, Mamdani Takes to Video

This article is by Sally Kohn, author, Dana Rubenstein and Liam Stack.

Mayor Zohran Mamdani recently disclosed that he was in "active conversation" with his legal team about whether he could make good on a campaign vow to arrest Benjamin Netanyahu, Israel's prime minister, should he set foot in New York City.

What the mayor neglected to say, in a wide-ranging interview

Steering Clear of Tish on Power to Arrest

with The New York Times last week, was that he had already been advised by lawyers that he had no authority to do so.

His declaration risked a rare public clash with his police commissioner, Jessica Tisch, whose pro-Israelist stance runs counter to

the mayor's longstanding position.

Ms. Tisch had no intention of arresting Mr. Netanyahu, and the Police Department was ready to make that clear with a formal statement declaring that it lacked the authority to take such action. Lawyers agreed that such an arrest was not within the scope of the Police Department.

"N.Y.P.D.'s position is entirely rooted in the law," an agency

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Strict Trans Bathroom Law
Lawmakers in Sandpoint, Idaho, used an encounter in a Y.M.C.A. locker room to rush through a law change. PAGE A12

Defense Bill Passes Despite Split
A \$115 trillion measure overcame House Democrats' opposition to the Iran war, but its Senate path is murky. PAGE A14

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A Lettuce Capital Is on Edge

In a region in central Mexico potentially linked to a cyclospora outbreak in the U.S. that has sickened thousands, people's livelihoods are at stake. PAGE A5

New Military Chief Faces Test

Maj. Gen. Mykhailo Drapatsky, commander of Ukraine's armed forces, needs to balance a mandate for change with political input on strategy. PAGE A8

Louvre Gallery Repens

Thieves stole crown jewels from the Apollo Gallery at the Paris museum in October, forcing its closure. Tourists finally returned on Wednesday. PAGE A9



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Her Own Way to Go Natural
Olivia Joan Galli, descended from pioneers in the field of Black hair care, has become a top fashion influencer. PAGE D6

Seattle Raccoon Is Online Hit

The unusual-looking animal reminds us, as one politician put it, "that you don't have to be perfect to be loved." PAGE D2

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An Economy Afloat on A.I.

Financial investment in artificial intelligence and its related companies is singlehandedly lifting the tech market and driving a surge of spending across the United States. PAGE B1

'Vibecoding' Floods App Store

Mobile apps are increasingly easy to make with the help of artificial intelligence, even by creators without technical knowledge. That doesn't mean people are excited to use them. PAGE B1

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Thomas L. Friedman PAGE A20



SPORTS B6-10

Snap Decision at Finish Line
In each stage of the Tour de France, timekeepers in a tiny cabin packed with computers confirm the result almost instantly, even when it's close. PAGE B8



People Places Things

HIGHLIGHTS FROM TMAGAZINE.COM

THE T LIST

Kick Back Where the Hapsburgs Used to Unwind

Open up a house account at a Manhattan tavern, relax at a revamped hotel in a medieval village and more.

STAY HERE

A Renewed 17th-Century Farmhouse in Normandy

Ever since the train line from Paris to the seaside town of Deauville, France, was established, in 1863, wealthy Parisians have been besotted by Normandy's verdant Pays d'Auge area. Today, instead of heading all the way to the coast, many of them are choosing inland villages like Cormelles. That's where, this month, Aurélie Debève, who previously worked in marketing for LVMH, and the chef Bastien de Changy opened La Rogerie, a seven-bedroom lodge and vacation rental in a meticulously restored brick-and-half-timbered 17th-century cider press. Debève determined the décor, which riffs on a style the French call Anglo-Normand, a reference to the Anglophilia of the French bourgeoisie, with their love of tartans, mounted stags and afternoon tea. Here, that means chintz fabrics, floral wallpaper and antiques mixed with plump canapés and armchairs. In one room, rubber boots are an invitation to go for walks in the surrounding woods and



PHOTOGRAPHY BY BARBIE

fields, circle the duck pond and visit the farm's two-acre garden, which is where de Changy sources ingredients for his daily menu. On a rainy day, the huge fire in the main lounge beckons. "This is the perfect place to do nothing," Debève says. De Changy cooks in consultation with his guests but often makes dishes like roasted Camembert from a neighboring farm, beet carpaccio and a trout landed from a nearby brook a few hours

earlier. The well-equipped kitchen is also available for guests who want to do the cooking themselves after a visit to one of many local markets; Debève and de Changy like those in Biangy-le-Château and Cormelles. From about \$270 a night with a two-night minimum for individual rooms; from about \$8,000 for the entire house for one week; airbnb.com. ALEXANDER LOBRANO

TRY THIS

New York Restaurants With Tabs for Regulars

When Jay Wainwright opened Wainwright's Tavern (far right) on the Upper East Side of Manhattan in April, one of the perks for would-be regulars, besides reliable renditions of shrimp cocktail and an herb-roasted half chicken, was the ability to open a house account. He got the idea from Red Horse Market in East Hampton, where shoppers with house accounts settle up with a monthly bill instead of paying at each visit — a level of ease he wanted to replicate for guests at Wainwright's. "It makes it feel that much more like a neighborhood place," Wainwright says. House accounts have historically been tied to country clubs and grocery stores, but they're increasingly showing up at new restaurants in New York, with the aim of fostering a sense of community. At Montague Diner in Brooklyn Heights (near right), nearly 250 people have signed up for house accounts that offer 5 percent off, with a 20 percent gratuity built in. Each account comes with a keychain that's been hand-hammered with a



LEFT: JACOB CALIFANO; RIGHT: JONCE CHENG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

unique four-digit code. "A lot of families get them so their kids can come after school," says the restaurant's general manager, Nicole Chalk. (The system was inspired by the Upper West Side deli Barney Greengrass, where the Montague Diner co-owner Gabriel Nussbaum's great-grandmother opened a house account more than 70 years ago.) Cedric Nicaise, an owner of the six-week-old live-fire restaurant Oriana in Chinatown, says the



real appeal is that customers can make a swift exit: "There's no worse time to be in a restaurant than when you're ready to go," he says. At Oriana, house accounts are offered to regulars by request, which also, Nicaise adds, creates ease for whoever's playing host: "no more pounding for the check the second it hits the table or slipping a credit card to the server midmeal." EMILY WILSON

EAT THIS

The Lemony Leaf That's on the Menu in Istanbul

Sorrel, known in Turkey as kuzukulagi ("sheep's ear"), is a leafy perennial prized for its bright, lemony acidity. Each spring, cooks across Turkey gather it from fields and hillsides for salads, soups and the vegetable stews known as zeytinyagli. The herb has been a humble staple of seasonal home cooking for generations, though it's now finding new life in restaurants and bars across Istanbul. "Sorrel has a flavor that's both nostalgic and surprising," says Ozan Türkeli, the owner of Wizard of Oz Gelato, which serves a sorrel sorbet with a dash of lime and pink Himalayan salt. The chef Çihan Cetinkaya has fond childhood memories of foraging for



LEFT: BARBARA LINDENBERG/GETTY IMAGES; RIGHT: YIA MIKA

sorrel in his hometown, Mengen, in the northwestern part of the country. At Mikla, in Istanbul's Beşiktaş district, he now creates a pesto-like paste from the herb and pairs it with Chios artichokes and artichoke vinegar on the restaurant's seasonal tasting menu. "Sorrel's freshness and acidity enhance the vegetable's flavor," he says. At the restaurant and bar the Townhouse, fresh

sorrel is blended with vodka and elderflower for the Special K cocktail. "It's remarkable how much flavor a single leaf can hold," says the co-owner Eren Canatlar, adding that sorrel's smooth texture and versatility make it particularly well suited to experimentation. DIDEM TALİ

THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE

STAY HERE

In an Italian Mountain Town, a Hotel With a Modernist Edge

When the architect Hannes Peer was growing up in South Tyrol, a province in the Italian Dolomites, the nearby Hotel Aurora loomed large. "It's one of the most important hotels in the region," Peer says, citing its reputation as a celebrity haunt in the 1970s and '80s. Founded in 1964, it sits at the riverside entrance to the medieval village of Merano, a spa town favored by the Austrian royal dynasty the Hapsburgs in the mid-19th century. Its third-generation owners, the siblings Melanie and Philipp Aukenthaler, asked Peer to oversee the 59-room property's recent renovation alongside the firm Feld72. They left some decorative elements intact, like the stepped base-reid in the dining room by the local craftsman Herbert Kinkelin. But for the most part, Peer redesigned the space, channeling Californian mid-century modernism with built-in concrete benches in the



PHOTOGRAPHS BY GREGORY GONZALES

lobby (inspired by John Lautner's Sheats Goldstein residence) and cherrywood-and-mirror walls in the Listening Bar, where guests can play records and unwind with a cocktail after a day of hiking or skiing in the mountains. Peer commissioned his mother, the artist Ursula Huber, to create an abstract concrete wall panel for the hotel's entryway. "My mother was

born in Merano, so it was a homecoming for her," Peer says. The renovation is the first phase of a multiyear project. Peer plans to redesign menu guest rooms and add a rooftop pool in 2027. Rooms from about \$285 a night, hotel-aurora-merano.com. LAURA MAY TODD

CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK | VANESSA FRIEDMAN

Their Goal? Make a World Cup Fashion Statement.

Most of the finale's halftime entertainment dressed for the occasion but missed the mark.

THESE DAYS IT SEEMS every major sporting event is an opportunity for a red carpet, so it's not surprising that Sunday's World Cup final was the same.

Be it the Thom Browne white skirt suit laced up the back in red-white-and-blue grosgrain ribbon worn by Jennifer Hudson to sing the national anthem (or for that matter the khaki Thom Browne jacket with red-white-and-blue grosgrain ribbon worn by Melania Trump); the Gucci leather jacket and matching bag worn by Shai Gilgeous-Alexander in the stands; or the Louis Vuitton trunk worn by the trophy to make its entrance into the stadium, brands were set to have a well, well, day.

Except then they dropped the ball. The first World Cup halftime show, potentially the most style-conscious (if hotly debated) moment of the match, featuring multiple major global stars, turned out to be its least fashionable moment. In part because almost all the participants seemed to have the same idea when it came to their clothes: It's the jersey, baby.

Madonna set the tone when she arrived writhing out of a tunnel in a pair of mauve silk Saint Laurent shorts that looked a lot like Adidas running shorts (Adidas being the official outfitter of the World Cup) along with a matching personalized warm-up jacket. And corset and lace thigh-highs. Next up: Gustavo Dudamel, conducting the New York Philharmonic while wearing a blue pinstriped suit with the jacket customized on the back with his name and the No. 1 inspired by a soccer jersey.

That was a witty take, in part because of



CARL REICHERT/GETTY IMAGES

Clockwise, from left: Justin Bieber, Madonna, Jennifer Hudson and Shakira dressed for the occasion, the biggest sporting event of 2026.



AL HELLVIG/GETTY IMAGES



A Gucci leather jacket here, customized soccer jerseys there.

VINCENT ALABO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



LARS BARKIN/GETTY IMAGES

the bizarre juxtaposition, but then things got a little more predictable.

The members of BTS made their appearance in red, white and black tracksuits, leathers as well as various customized, you guessed it, soccer-like jerseys. Even Miss Piggy wore a bedazzled pink jersey-adjacent top with her pink frock.

There were exceptions, of course. Shakira, in a cut-out tegula-sunset-toned number by Fausto Puglisi for Roberto Cavalli complete with carwash skirt, for one; Justin Bieber in a cut-up oversize T-shirt atop a baggy polo and baggy denim shorts from his own brand, Skyr (might as well seize the moment for some promotion). But the jerseys were the unofficial trend.

It's understandable. After all, jerseys may be the most collectible, customizable, recognizable symbol of the beautiful game, and the World Cup. They were the dominant outfit in the stands. Little wonder the entertainers and those who style them wanted to show some buy-in.

And it's possible the idea behind the various halftime jersey-adjacent outfits was to suggest everyone was a soccer fan now. But jerseys derive their power from the teams and people they represent; they are a way for fans to signal membership in a community, like a not-so-secret handshake.

By appropriating the form of something already replete with resonance but emptying it of that point, Dudamel, or jersey-adjacent looks, of meaning, and turned them into kitsch, rather than relevant costume.

Which may be why the most memorable halftime jerseys were the rainbow-colored ones worn by the members of the P.S. 22 children's choir to sing "We Dance" with Chris Martin, with their school as their team. They, at least, represented something greater than themselves.

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