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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

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What's News

Business & Finance

- ◆ **More than 75,000 nurses, pharmacists and other employees of the Kaiser Permanente health system walked off the job in the largest U.S. healthcare strike on record.** **A1**
- ◆ **The criminal trial of FTX founder Bankman-Fried kicked off with the defense and prosecution clashing over whether the fallen crypto leader was a deeply flawed company manager or the architect of one of the biggest financial frauds in U.S. history.** **A1**
- ◆ **U.S. stocks closed higher as the bond-market rout eased, with the S&P 500, Nasdaq and Dow rising 0.8%, 1.4% and 0.4%, respectively.** **B1**
- ◆ **A record run of downward revisions to the federal government's monthly jobs report is discouraging some Wall Street traders from making big bets on the data.** **B1**
- ◆ **The biggest U.S. airlines are searching for thousands of jet-engine parts with fake safety certificates that were installed on their planes during maintenance work.** **B1**
- ◆ **Ford posted a 7.7% increase in third-quarter unit sales in the U.S., lifted by strong customer demand for its large gas-engine pickup trucks and a surge in hybrid-vehicle sales.** **B3**
- ◆ **GM entered into a new, \$6 billion revolving credit agreement as the automaker grapples with the fallout from the continuing United Auto Workers strike.** **B3**
- ◆ **Shares in SAS fell 82% after the airline presented a recapitalization plan that will leave existing shareholders empty-handed.** **B6**

World-Wide

◆ **Several prominent Republicans jumped into the race for House speaker and pledged to unite their splin-**

Hot-Button Agenda Awaits Bishops at Vatican



IN LINE: Priests and bishops attend a Holy Mass on Wednesday with the new cardinals at the opening of the Synod of Bishops. The gathering is expected to address the inclusion of LGBTQ people, women's ordination and ending priestly celibacy. **A7**

Kaiser Permanente Workers Launch Largest Health Strike

By MELANIE EVANS

More than 75,000 nurses, pharmacists and other employees of the Kaiser Permanente health system walked off the job Wednesday in the largest U.S. healthcare strike on record. The workers struck after contracts expired and their unions couldn't reach an agreement with Kaiser on how much a new deal would increase wages and staffing.

To minimize the impact on patients, Kaiser said it has brought on thousands of temporary workers to fill some vacancies, but would, if needed, postpone some appointments and expand its network to retail pharmacies and, for some people, non-Kaiser hospitals. "Our plans ensure that the urgent needs of our members and patients are the top priority," Kaiser said. After the strike started, the

system notified patients where to expect closures, including pharmacies, ambulatory surgery centers and other services across more than two dozen locations. Roxanne Hawn and her husband canceled his appointment Wednesday at a Kaiser clinic south of Denver to avoid crossing the picket line. "I come from a union family," Hawn said. "It's an insult to the people picketing." Her husband must now wait until

early November, said Hawn, a freelance writer. Edith Hurtado, an obstetric-gynecology medical assistant for Kaiser, joined the picket line in front of Kaiser Permanente San Francisco Medical Center with the goal of addressing staff shortages. "We are all here to send Kaiser a message," Hurtado said. Acting U.S. Secretary of Labor Julie Su has met with both sides to help resolve the

McCarthy Ouster Triggers Successor Scramble

House remains at a standstill as GOP lawmakers try to pick a new leader

By KATY STECH FERREK AND ELIZA COLLINS

WASHINGTON—Several prominent Republicans jumped into the race for House speaker and pledged to unite their splintered party, a day after Rep. Kevin McCarthy was ousted in a dramatic vote orchestrated by hard-line conservatives, setting up a crowded race for the gavel. Majority Leader Steve Scalise of Louisiana, the No. 2 House Republican, announced his candidacy, as did Rep. Jim Jordan of Ohio, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee and a founding member of the conservative House Freedom Caucus. A third member, Rep. Kevin Hern of Oklahoma, told lawmakers that he planned to run as well. The House is effectively paralyzed until it picks a new speaker, raising the stakes for a vote scheduled for next week, with members hoping to avoid a replay of the grueling 15 rounds of ballots in January needed to elect McCarthy. Major legislative fights including Ukraine aid and border security remain unresolved, and the next speaker will need to deal with both those issues as well as the looming spending showdown

◆ **GOP rebellion brewed for more than a decade..... A4**

Math Nerd

INSIDE

How China's BYD Became

U.S. NEWS

San Francisco Mourns Feinstein, Senator, Mayor and Political Pioneer



LIFE OF SERVICE: Sen. Dianne Feinstein's casket was placed in San Francisco City Hall on Wednesday. She was the first woman to be the city's mayor, later serving as senator for over 30 years.

GOP Rebellion Brewed for More Than a Decade

By AARON ZITNER

The vote to oust Kevin McCarthy as House speaker on Tuesday took only about an hour. But it was just the latest act in a rebellion among conservative lawmakers and voters that has been unfolding for 13 years—one that has promoted and then discarded the past three Republican speakers.

The tea party revolt of 2010, which gave Republicans a House majority and set McCarthy on his path to power, was fueled by voter anger at government bailouts after the financial crisis and at then-President Barack Obama's healthcare program. But it also gave early hints of

the populist impulses and eagerness to discard political norms that later gave rise to President Donald Trump.

On Tuesday, it gave a small number of Republicans license to break from most of their GOP colleagues and take the exceptional step of unseating the House speaker, a first in American history.

The tea party movement aimed to bring new accountability to the federal government and its spending habits. But with that has come a question for today's GOP: Can anyone lead this party in Congress?

"Populism has a lot to do with emboldening these members and watching Donald Trump throw away the guard

rails of government to have a devil-may-care approach, to create chaos without a plan," said Ron Bonjean, a former Republican congressional aide who led communications for former House Speaker Dennis Hastert.

McCarthy, in a sober press conference Tuesday night, made a similar argument, saying those who had ousted him hours earlier were poseurs for voting against the budget cuts, border-security measures and other policies that they had said they wanted and that he had brought to them.

"They don't get to say they're conservative because they're angry and they're chaotic. That's not the party I belong to," McCarthy said. "They are not conservatives, and they do not have the right to have the title."

Like the two prior Republican speakers, John Boehner of Ohio and Paul Ryan of Wisconsin, McCarthy was driven from the podium in part by hard-line conservatives who believed that they could demand big spending cuts when they didn't control all the levers of power in Washington.

In 2015, Boehner gave up his gavel under pressure from conservatives just after engineering a deal with the Democratic Obama administration

to raise the nation's borrowing limit and passing a federal budget. It passed in the House with more Democratic than Republican votes, angering the most conservative members.

Three years later, in 2018, Ryan also said he would leave Congress rather than run again. He was acting amid

"The number of times John Boehner referred to the House as one-half of one-third of government—he didn't say it one time, he said it 30 times," said Douglas Heye, a former aide to Republican Rep. Eric Cantor, the House majority leader for much of Boehner's time as speaker. "His point was about not overestimating

the leverage you have."

He added that there was "a strong element in the Freedom Caucus that lives in its own meta-

verse...while the rest of Congress is operating in the reality of

divided government. It's the fantasy world of severe budget cuts, major funding for the border, no funding for Ukraine and the elimination of cabinet departments"—all of which most Democrats oppose.

Today, candidates for the Republican presidential nomination are calling for many of those same things, which become more realistic if the next election brings Republican victories. But Trump has argued against cutting "a single penny" from Social Security and Medicare, and few candi-

dates have put forward proposals to limit the big spending programs—which means that significant budget cuts must come from discretionary programs, many of which Democrats and some Republicans support.

Tuesday's vote marked the end not just of McCarthy's career as a power broker but of a wider set of GOP lawmakers who were once considered its future. Together, McCarthy, Ryan and Cantor were dubbed the "Young Guns" and were united by their push for fiscal restraint, among other stances.

McCarthy recruited many of the GOP candidates who won House seats in 2010. Ryan was the policy architect, and Cantor the inside-the-House strategist.

In a stunning fall from power, Cantor was unexpectedly defeated by a tea party-aligned candidate in his 2014 Republican primary. Ryan later gave up his House seat, and McCarthy has been stripped of the speaker's post by some in his own party.

Asked to reflect on why the "Young Guns" have been pushed aside, McCarthy on Tuesday said his opponents within the party weren't true conservatives. He also noted: "We're not so young any more."

A question for today's GOP: Can anyone lead this party in Congress?

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Race Forms To Be Next Speaker

Continued from Page One in November.

“All of it is on hold until we get this done,” said Sen. Markwayne Mullin (R., Okla.), referring to the speaker vote. “Nothing moves forward.”

Candidates moved quickly to enter the race, lining up endorsements and issuing statements Wednesday, after McCarthy said late Tuesday that he wouldn't try to reclaim the gavel.

In a letter to colleagues asking for support, Scalise said he has brought together different viewpoints to “build consensus where others thought it impossible.” Scalise enjoys relationships across the conference but wasn't close with McCarthy, who leaned on other members in fights over the debt ceiling and spending.

Scalise is currently being treated for blood cancer but has said he feels healthy. Majority Whip Tom Emmer (R., Minn.), who had been seen as another potential candidate, said he would back Scalise.

Jordan runs in a different lane. A close ally of former President Donald Trump, he could win the support of many conservatives, but it isn't clear that he could get the backing of the more moderate Republicans. Jordan secured some early endorsements from colleagues including Reps. Darrell Issa of California, Thomas Massie of Kentucky and Jim Banks of Indiana.

In a letter to GOP colleagues, Jordan touted helping the House pass a strict border-security bill, scrutinizing the Biden administration through



Rep. Kevin McCarthy leaving the House floor after his ouster on Tuesday.

his Judiciary Committee work and calling for fiscal discipline.

A spokeswoman for Hern, the chair of the conservative Republican Study Committee, said Wednesday evening that he and his staff had “not made any official announcement yet.” Other lawmakers who could get in the race include Rep. Chip Roy of Texas, who voted to save McCarthy.

Republicans have said they plan to hold a vote for their next speaker nominee as soon as next Wednesday.

The fallout extended to Democrats, with former House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D., Calif.) saying she was evicted from her hideaway office in the Capitol by Republican leadership. She missed the vote that ousted McCarthy, as she was in California attending tributes to the late Sen. Dianne Feinstein. She said she hasn't been able to retrieve her things.

Rep. Patrick McHenry (R., N.C.), who stepped in Tuesday as speaker pro tempore of the House, didn't respond to a request for comment.

McCarthy was removed in a 216-210 vote from his post Tuesday after nine months of fighting with hard-right conservatives, just days after he

engineered legislation to avert a government shutdown. Because of his narrow majority and a procedure that allows one member to force a vote on removing a speaker, the eight Republicans who voted alongside all Democrats were enough to oust him.

Asked what his advice to the next speaker would be, McCarthy responded: “Change the rules.”

The motion to vacate the chair used against McCarthy will hang over the head of the next speaker.

“Whoever gets 218, if they can get 218 with those eight ungovernable people they'll always hold this over their head and will demand what they just did to Kevin,” McCarthy ally Rep. Don Bacon (R., Neb.) said.

Others said changing the rule will be a condition for their support. “The person who wants my vote for Speaker must commit to reforming the motion to vacate,” said Rep. Carlos Gimenez (R., Fla.) on social media.

In comments Wednesday, President Biden didn't weigh in specifically on his relationship with McCarthy but urged members of Congress to work together to keep the govern-

ment funded.

The next speaker will have to navigate pressure from the Biden administration and Senate leadership to send more aid to Ukraine. In a vote last week, less than half of House Republicans supported restoring Ukraine-related funding to an annual defense bill.

McCarthy voted in favor of the measure, as did Scalise. Other possible future speakers, Jordan and Hern, both voted against the aid.

“Kevin supports Ukraine; I'm not sure where the next speaker will be,” Rep. Michael McCaul (R., Texas), the chair of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, said Tuesday. On Wednesday, after Jordan had made a pitch to the Texas delegation, McCaul said the Ohio Republican had said he would support Ukraine aid paired with border security.

Some House conservatives floated the idea of nominating Trump for speaker. The speaker doesn't have to be an elected member of the House, though current rules could bar Trump from serving due to his recent criminal indictments.

—Alex Leary, Lindsay Wise and Sabrina Siddiqui contributed to this article.

A Sellout for Nothing



**WONDER
LAND**
By Daniel
Henninger

The spectacle of Rep. Matt Gaetz and his rebel mini-band of seven other Republicans driving Kevin McCarthy from the House speakership calls to mind a long-ago, politically incorrect commercial for a nature documentary miniseries. The screen filled with images of beasts in battle, violently tearing at each other. The tagline: "Find out why we call them animals."

House Democrats voted unanimously for the first overthrow of a House speaker in U.S. history. And why not? No one interrupts a wolf pack in the middle of a meal.

Readers with long memories—a week—will recall this battle began in the dispute with the Gaetz tong over letting the government shut down. Instead of treating that open wound before next month, House Republicans are having a civil war. Can any good come of this? No. None.

Consider the political status quo before this spectacle. The public is disgusted. Most people don't even want to vote for the two major parties' presumed presidential candidates.

Republicans were facing in Joe Biden the weakest presidential incumbent in memory. Mr. Biden's general approval rating is in the low 40s. His approval on the economy, the public's No. 1 concern, is in the 30s, a figure achievable only if Democrats are also down on the president.

Possible independent or third-party challengers are

proliferating—Robert F. Kennedy Jr., Sen. Joe Manchin, No Labels. Talk-show host Bill Maher keeps calling on Mr. Biden to get out because, euphemistically, he's "too old." California Gov. Gavin Newsom is ready to jump over the presidential carcass at the first opportunity.

The United Auto Workers are withholding their endorsement from Mr. Biden, the self-proclaimed "most pro-union president in American history."

The latest NBC News poll says only 28% of voters favor the Democrats to deal with the economy, giving Republicans a rare 21-point advantage.

One could not script a better path to victory for the party out of power. After this week, that party is likely to remain out of power.

The Gaetz crew has submerged the Democrats' growing political liabilities.

The public is increasingly disaffected with Mr. Biden's green agenda, which of course is the source of some \$400 billion of spending in the Inflation Reduction Act. Not one Republican in the McCarthy House voted for it. The auto workers are striking over the inevitable displacement of jobs by the Biden forced march to expensive electric vehicles. Towns all over the country are organizing to oppose expensive, disruptive solar and wind projects enabled by Bidenomics.

The Republican presidential candidates? Buried, except for Donald Trump's myriad legal problems. The Democrats' Sen. Bob Menendez embarrassment has faded. The Biden blue-collar-worker problem? Also buried.

Democrats must be giddy in disbelief.

Mr. Biden, House Minority Leader Hakeem Jeffries and Senate Majority Leader Chuck Schumer constantly intone "extreme MAGA Republicans," a pathetic, obvious overstatement. That calculation looks more sellable as the public tries to comprehend the House chaos.

The Gaetz Eight make it likely conservatives are going to hit a wall in next year's election.

The House rebels' rage is supposed to be about spending. All of them refer constantly to the \$33 trillion in U.S. debt, as if Mr. McCarthy's slender majority could have made a dent. Instead, they have insisted on increased funding to secure the border (it won't) and on defunding U.S. support for Ukraine's war with Vladimir Putin.

If the Republican House is divided, that means the Republican electorate across the country is divided. Which in turn means a significant number of GOP voters are becoming so beaten down by these internecine conflicts—yesterday the Trumpians, today the Gaetzians—that turnout next November could be depressed.

Traditional Republican donors still matter, and they likely will reduce spending on the party's candidates. While Nancy Pelosi was speaker, she was the Democrats' most potent fundraiser. Speaker McCarthy's fundraising was doing that for Republicans.

The House GOP's 2024 fundraising goals are now melting.

When there's Republican blood in the water, we know the one sure thing that happens: Democratic turnout goes up and donations pour in. The Republican division that produced midterm losses in Georgia, Arizona, Michigan and Pennsylvania is happening again.

The big spending reductions demanded by these nominal conservatives can occur only if Republicans win control of Congress next year and ideally the White House. After this week, the opposite result looks more likely.

Many of the 18 incumbent House Republicans running in districts Joe Biden won could lose. Instead of increasing the Republican House majority in 2024, the Gaetz super-minority will probably cost their party control of the House. A dispirited GOP would also make winning control of the Senate less likely.

If that happens, most of these "insurgents" won't stick around, unless their only income prospect is to beat money out of online donors. Mr. Gaetz is expected run for governor of Florida in 2026. His endorsement of Steve Scalise or Tom Emmer for speaker looks like a mafia don's kiss.

Here's the hard part. Across the country, traditional conservative ideas have been succeeding as economic policy and as a challenge to the progressives' lack of restraint on the culture. If control of Washington returns next year to the Democratic left, these eight will be remembered for a historic sellout of conservatism. For nothing.

Write henninger@wsj.com.

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Jordan, Scalise in speaker race

House Judiciary Committee Chairman Jim Jordan and Majority Leader Steve Scalise announced Wednesday that they will run to be the next speaker, hoping to unite warring GOP conference factions.

Jordan (R-Ohio), a founding member of the House Freedom Caucus who became an ally of now-ousted Speaker Kevin McCarthy (R-Calif.), told reporters Wednesday morning that he is seeking the leadership role.

In a subsequent letter to the GOP majority, Jordan praised the "success" his caucus has had over the past nine months, while adding that its "work is not done."

"We are at a critical crossroad in our nation's history. Now is the time for our Republican conference to come together to keep our promises to Americans," Jordan wrote. "I respectfully ask for your support for Speaker of the House of Representatives."

If elected speaker, Jordan, 59, would have to step down as chairman of the Judiciary Com-

mittee, which has led efforts to investigate President Biden's alleged involvement in his son Hunter's shady business dealings abroad.

Scalise (R-La.), 57, cited as a natural successor to McCarthy Tuesday, made his own intention public hours later.

"God already gave me another chance at life," he wrote, referring to his near-death in a 2017 assassination attempt.

"I believe we were all put here for a purpose. This next chapter won't be easy, but I know what it takes to fight and I am prepared for the battles that lie ahead."

Scalise will try to succeed where McCarthy failed after the resignation of then-Speaker John Boehner (R-Ohio) in 2015. McCarthy, majority leader at the time, vied unsuccessfully for the gavel that went to Rep. Paul Ryan (R-Wis.).

One major wrinkle in the race is Scalise's recent multiple myeloma diagnosis.

Josh Christenson, Ryan King and Caitlin Doornbos

GOP rule could rule out Don

Former President Donald Trump revealed Wednesday that he has been fielding calls about possibly becoming the next speaker of the House of Representatives, but the legal battles weighing over the GOP juggernaut might keep him on the campaign trail instead.

While Trump, 77, has been deemed the preferred choice for at least two House Republicans, a House GOP rule restricting those with felony indictments from serving in the role could make him ineligible.

"A member of the Republican Leadership shall step aside if indicted for a felony for which a sentence of two or more years' imprisonment may be imposed," the Republican Conference Rules of the 118th Congress state.

Victor Nava

Impeach push in doubt

Kevin McCarthy's removal as House speaker introduced new uncertainty into the impeachment inquiry into President Biden's alleged involvement in his son and brother's foreign business dealings.

The shake-up threatens to undermine the probe's short-term legal standing as Rep. Patrick McHenry (R-NC) serves as acting speaker indefinitely.

But if Judiciary Committee chairman Jim Jordan (R-Ohio) wins his bid for the gavel, the inquiry will proceed "full speed ahead," a source close to Jordan told The Post.

Other contenders, including Majority Leader Steve Scalise (R-La.), have been less focused on impeachment, sources noted.

In the meantime, a second source told The Post that staff in the speaker's office have "discussed the fact that Speaker Pro Tempore McHenry's unprecedented position as interim speaker could open his every decision to legal scrutiny, meaning the institution of the House could face litigation."

McCarthy (R-Calif.) announced the impeachment inquiry Sept. 12. But he didn't hold a floor vote to affirm the inquiry, putting it on potentially shaky legal ground.

Steven Nelson

FEDS HAVE

\$3.3B in furniture spending amid COV

By JOSH CHRISTENSON

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention spent \$237,960 on roughly 30 solar-powered picnic tables while the majority of its workforce stayed home during the pandemic.

The State Department paid more than \$117,250 for as many as 40 luxurious Ethan Allen leather recliners to fill its embassy building in Islamabad, Pakistan.

And the Federal Emergency Management Agency and Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency spent \$284,000 and \$213,828, respectively, to spruce up their mostly empty conference rooms.

The extravagant purchases were all part of an eye-popping \$3.3 billion federal agencies spent on new office furniture between 2020 and 2022, a watchdog report exclusively obtained by The Post shows.

The taxpayer watchdog OpenTheBooks.com revealed the furniture splurge in a study published Tuesday, which also cited a Government Accountability Office report that found 17 of the 24 federal agencies are using as little as 9% and as much as 49% of their building capacities well into the fourth year of the pandemic.

In total, the agencies spent more than \$1 billion per year on the plush decor — a rate consistent with pre-pandemic levels despite departments filling just a quarter of their available space on average.

In one particularly "egregious example," the group said the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation spent nearly \$15 million on new furniture — or \$14,400 for each of its 1,000 employees.

The Environmental Protection Agency also shelled out \$6.5 million for trendy furniture even as it downsized to move into a 300,000-square-foot office space in Philadelphia.

All agencies forked over a combined \$26 million to furnish their

About 40 leather recliners for the US Embassy in Islamabad, Pakistan (below):



conference rooms as most federal employees resorted to virtual telecommunications meetings.

OpenTheBooks founder and CEO Adam Andrzejewski said the audit highlights the need for closer scrutiny of federal spending as Congress considers further government funding in the coming weeks.

"As Congress continues to fight over spending, we want to make it clear that there are massive amounts of money being appropriated, spent, wasted and sometimes hidden from the taxpayer," Andrzejewski told The Post.

The House and Senate passed

appropriations bills to fund the government at current levels until Nov. 17 before long-term spending legislation must be considered.

'Culture of waste'

House Budget Committee Chairman Jodey Arrington (R-Texas) told The Post: "Excessive spending on luxurious furniture when more than half the federal workforce was teleworking is just symptomatic of a culture of wasteful spending that has plagued Washington, DC, for decades."

The Pentagon spent the most.

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The New York Times

LATE EDITION
Today, partly sunny, dry weather,
high 76. Tonight, increasing clouds,
dry weather, low 64. Tomorrow,
cloudy with a shower, breezy, high
70. Weather map is on Page B6.

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Milagros Perdomo, with one of her daughters, selling candy on Roosevelt Avenue in Queens. They are migrants from Venezuela.

Street Vending Lures Migrants On the Margins

By NICOLE HONG
and ANA LEY

Standing on a subway platform deep below Times Square, Natali Tualombo, a newly arrived migrant from Ecuador, sold water bottles and sodas from a cooler, her 4-year-old son sitting at her feet.

It has become an increasingly familiar sight in New York City, where nearly 120,000 migrants have arrived since spring 2022. Ms. Tualombo said she decided to make money this way after struggling to find a cleaning job.

She frequently dodges not only the police, but also other vendors inside the 42nd Street station. She moved to this platform after a longtime fruit seller on a nearby platform accused her of encroaching on pre-existing turf, threatened to call the police to take her son away and began selling water bottles to compete directly with her, Ms. Tualombo said.

Ms. Tualombo, 23, is scared to keep vending but has limited options. Her husband often comes home empty-handed after searching for day laborer jobs. She brings an apple for her son to eat while she works, sometimes until 10 p.m., to try and make at least \$60 for the day.

"I can't get ahead," Ms. Tualombo said in Spanish as a subway train screeched by every few minutes. "I look for work, I can't find any. That's why I come and sell water."

Giuliani's Drinking Is Subplot in Trump Inquiry

By MATT FLEGENHEIMER
and MAGGIE HABERMAN

Rudolph W. Giuliani had always been hard to miss at the Grand Havana Room, a magnet for well-wishers and hangers-on at the Midtown cigar club that still treated him like the king of New York.

In recent years, many close to him feared, he was becoming even harder to miss.

For more than a decade, friends conceded grimly, Mr. Giuliani's drinking had been a problem. And as he surged back to prominence during the presidency of Donald J. Trump, it was getting more difficult to hide it.

On some nights when Mr. Giuliani was overserved, an associate discreetly signaled the rest of the club, tipping back his empty hand in a drinking motion, out of the for-

Behavior That Worried Friends Poses Risk to Ex-President

mer mayor's line of sight, in case others preferred to keep their distance. Some allies, watching Mr. Giuliani down Scotch before leaving for Fox News interviews, would slip away to find a television, clenching through his rickety defenses of Mr. Trump.

Even at less rollicking venues — a book party, a Sept. 11 anniversary dinner, an intimate gathering at Mr. Giuliani's own apartment — his consistent, conspicuous intoxication often startled his company.

"It's no secret, nor do I do him any favors if I don't mention that problem, because he has it," said

Andrew Stein, a former New York City Council president who has known Mr. Giuliani for decades. "It's actually one of the saddest things I can think about in politics."

No one close to Mr. Giuliani, 79, has suggested that drinking could excuse or explain away his present legal and personal disrepair. He arrived for a mug shot in Georgia in August not over rowdy nightlife behavior or reckless cable interviews but for allegedly abusing the laws he defended aggressively as a federal prosecutor, subverting the democracy of a nation that once lionized him.

Yet to almost anyone in proximity, friends say, Mr. Giuliani's drinking has been the pulsing drumbeat punctuating his descent — not the cause of his reputational collapse but the byproduct.

Continued on Page A15

HOUSE IS AT A HALT AS CONTENDERS VIE TO BE THE SPEAKER

NEWS ANALYSIS

McCarthy Was Undone by the Ungovernable

By CARL HULSE

WASHINGTON — Kevin McCarthy did two things right, but too many other things wrong. His extraordinary ouster that unsettled Washington on Tuesday and left the House in chaos was the culmination of a tumultuous nine months that began in January with 15 roll call votes to claim his gavel and ended in unprecedented fashion with a single one to vacate the speaker's chair.

In between, the gregarious California, previously known more as a backslapper and prolific fund-raiser than a legislative wizard, narrowly pulled the country back from the brink of crisis — twice. But he took many other actions, and said many things, that antagonized hard-line Republicans, Democrats and the White House. When the critical moment came, no one was willing to race to his rescue. And he failed to master the art of corralling a deeply divided Republican majority that could never quite bring itself to rally behind him when it came time to choose normalcy over chaos.

With the G.O.P. base increasingly hungry for insurgency and confrontation, Mr. McCarthy found himself out of step, a problem that is likely to plague any candidate who tries to succeed him. "They don't get to say they're conservative because they're angry and they're chaotic," Mr. McCarthy said on Tuesday night of the eight Republicans who voted to oust him. He added, "They are not conservatives and they do not have the right to have the title."

Still, Mr. McCarthy practiced almost abject obedience to the far right — right up to the moment they decided to take him down. He gave them concession after concession to win their votes to become speaker, then went back on some of the ones they cared about most, on spending, when they proved impossible to accomplish in a divided government.

Along the way, he also deeply alienated Democrats, even though he was forced to turn to them at key moments, both to avoid a calamitous federal default in May and a government shutdown last weekend.

Continued on Page A19

Worries Increase About November Deadline on Spending Bills

By CARL HULSE
and LUKE BROADWATER

WASHINGTON — The second-ranking House Republican and the chairman of the Judiciary Committee on Wednesday both announced their campaigns for speaker, setting the stage for a bruising struggle pitting some of the most conservative G.O.P. leaders against one another.

One day after the ouster of Kevin McCarthy as the House's leader threw the chamber into a state of paralysis, Representative Jim Jordan, Republican of Ohio and a close ally of former President Donald J. Trump, said he would try to become speaker. Mr. Jordan's bid sets up a challenge with Representative Steve Scalise of Louisiana, currently the No. 2 House Republican, who also announced he would run, and potentially others.

The contenders were all sounding out potential supporters, but no real deliberations were to occur before next Tuesday.

The vacancy at the top of the House was creating mounting concerns at the Capitol and the



Steve Scalise and Jim Jordan have put in bids to be speaker.

White House about the fate of spending legislation — including hoped-for funding for Ukraine — due in 40 days.

At the White House, President Biden began an announcement on student loan debt relief on Wednesday by addressing chaos in the House and calling on lawmakers to change the "poisonous atmosphere in Washington."

"We cannot and should not again be faced with an 11th-hour decision of brinkmanship that threatens to shut down the government," he said. "And we know what we have to do, and we gotta — we have to get it done in a timely fashion."

On Capitol Hill, lawmakers also

Continued on Page A18



The Rescue of a 9-Year-Old Girl Begins With a Ransom Demand

House Is at a Halt as Contenders Line Up for the Speaker's Seat

Worries Increase About Deadline In November for Spending Bills

From Page A1

raised alarm about the predicament Congress found itself in.

"I want my country to be at work," said Senator Patty Murray, Democrat of Washington and chair of the Appropriations Committee. "We have a job to do."

After a historic vote to remove Mr. McCarthy from the speakership on Tuesday, lawmakers quickly departed Washington and scattered to their districts around the country, abandoning the Capitol as Republicans remained deeply divided over who could lead their fractious majority. The sudden departure and the stasis in the House meant that little could be done in Washington even as Congress faced a mid-November deadline to keep the government funded.

Even if the House were able to select its new speaker sometime next week, it would take time for that person to get up to speed.

"It is going to take a while to get the train back on the tracks,"

'We cannot and should not again be faced with an 11th-hour decision or brinkmanship.'

PRESIDENT BIDEN, addressing the chaos in the House and the risk to a government shutdown.

said Senator Markwayne Mullin, Republican of Oklahoma and a former House member who has close ties to his G.O.P. colleagues in that chamber.

The comments underscored the disarray now gripping the chamber, without the ability to conduct legislative business until a successor to Mr. McCarthy is chosen. The decision by Mr. McCarthy to not seek the post again after being unceremoniously deposed at the hands of the far right touched off a competitive race to succeed him.

Discussions on the future of the conference were being led by Representative Patrick T. McHenry of North Carolina. Mr. McCarthy, a California Republican, had named Mr. McHenry first on a list of potential interim speakers in the event of a calamity or vacancy, but his primary task is to preside over the election of a new speaker. Mr. McHenry has long dismissed the prospect of seeking the top post himself, though he could face a push to draft him if the party is unable to coalesce around another choice.

Mr. Jordan, the combative chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, made clear his intentions Wednesday morning as he headed into a meeting of Texas Republicans who were conducting interviews with contenders. Twenty-five Republicans from the state sit in the House, out of 221 total, making their votes crucial in the speaker's race.

"I think I can unite the conservative base and the party and the conference; that's why I'm running," Mr. Jordan said on his way into lunch with the Texans.

In the past, Mr. Jordan was often at odds with his own party's leadership, but he built an alliance with Mr. McCarthy. When Republicans won the House majority last year, he worked more in concert with the leadership as head of the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. Scalise sent a letter to his colleagues on Wednesday laying out his candidacy and emphasizing his experience as the second

in command under Mr. McCarthy.

"I have a proven track record of bringing together the diverse array of viewpoints within our conference to build consensus where others thought it impossible," Mr. Scalise said. The Louisiana was badly wounded in a 2017 shooting at a baseball practice of congressional Republicans but has steadily recovered. He recently disclosed he was being treated for blood cancer.

Other names that have surfaced as potential contenders include Representative Tom Cole, the Oklahoma Republican and Rules Committee chairman, as well as the No. 3 House Republican, Tom Emmer of Minnesota, who, according to people who have talked with him, is backing Mr. Scalise and angling to take over the No. 2 post of majority leader.

If it does come down to Mr. Scalise versus Mr. Jordan, the race will be a contest of two men further to the right than Mr. McCarthy. Both men voted to object to the certification of Joseph R. Biden Jr.'s 2020 victory as President Donald J. Trump peddled lies about widespread election fraud, and both have been chairmen of the conservative Republican Study Committee. Mr. Jordan is also the co-founder of the ultraconservative House Freedom Caucus, which has antagonized a succession of House speakers.

Both men also have faced scrutiny of their past. Mr. Scalise apologized in 2014 for having spoken in 2002 at a gathering of white nationalists, and a political journalist said that he had once described himself to her as "David Duke without the baggage," an apparent reference to the former Ku Klux Klan leader. Mr. Jordan has denied accusations that he turned a blind eye to complaints of sexual abuse committed by a doctor at Ohio State University decades ago when he was an assistant wrestling coach there.

Under the current tentative schedule, Republicans intend to hold a party meeting on Tuesday at which the contenders will be able to make their case before their colleagues, with the possibility of picking their choice for speaker for a floor vote on Wednesday.

The nominee would have to win a majority of the House, a tall order given Republicans' slim majority and the rift among them that made it so difficult for Mr. McCarthy to win the post and do the job for the nine months that he held it. Right-wing Republicans have made clear that they will not support a speaker without assurances that they will see their priorities, including enacting deep spending cuts and severe immigration restrictions, met.

That is nearly impossible to promise given that Democrats control the Senate and the White House. And the situation could be a recipe for further dysfunction on Capitol Hill, most immediately in negotiations on federal spending. The House and Senate must agree by mid-November on the 12 annual appropriations bills to fund the government in the fiscal year that began on Sunday, something that cannot be done without a speaker in place.

Should a new Republican speaker be chosen, the pressure would be immense for that person to push for spending levels far below what Mr. McCarthy had agreed to in a debt deal with President Biden in the spring. Changing the terms of that deal would prompt a clash with the Senate, which is adhering to the agreement.



Representative Kevin McCarthy, second from left, left the U.S. Capitol on Tuesday, after the vote to remove him as the House's leader.

Who Wants To Be Next As Speaker?

By LUKE BROADWATER and KAROUN DEMIRJIAN

WASHINGTON — Within hours of Representative Kevin McCarthy's removal as speaker of the House, the race among Republicans to succeed him was on.

The No. 2 House Republican, Representative Steve Scalise of Louisiana, has begun working the phones to shore up support for the job, as has a well-known conservative, Representative Jim Jordan of Ohio, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee.

Representative Kevin Hern of Oklahoma, the chairman of the Republican Study Committee, has also been making calls expressing interest in the post.

There are several other names in the mix, including Representative Patrick T. McHenry, the bowtie-wearing policy wonk from North Carolina who is serving as the interim speaker, whom some Republicans are trying to draft. And some far-right lawmakers have promised to nominate former President Donald J. Trump, as a speaker does not have to be a member of the House of Representatives.

Here's a look at the current top contenders:

Representative Steve Scalise

Louisiana

As the House majority leader, Mr. Scalise, 57, is the favorite among many House Republicans to succeed Mr. McCarthy.

Mr. Scalise, the former leader of the Republican Study Committee, is considered more

conservative than Mr. McCarthy, with whom he had a somewhat icy relationship. And he is already lining up some

powerful support. Representative Tom Emmer of Minnesota, the Republican whip, has thrown his backing behind Mr. Scalise, according to people familiar with the matter, and is hoping to take the No. 2 spot himself.

But Mr. Scalise, who has served in Congress since 2008, faces some challenges. He was diagnosed with blood cancer over the summer and is now undergoing intense treatment, which has prompted him to wear a mask to vote on the House floor and attend news conferences. And in 2017, during a practice for a congressional baseball game, an anti-Trump extremist shot and seriously wounded Mr. Scalise. He still walks with a limp from the incident.

He also apologized in 2014 for having spoken in 2002 at a gathering of white nationalists, saying he would not have attended had he been better informed about the group. A Louisiana-based political reporter later said Mr. Scalise had once described himself to her as "like David Duke without the baggage," referring to the former Klansman and white supremacist who was also a Louisiana politician.

Still, Mr. Scalise has support from some mainstream Republicans. Hours after Mr. McCarthy's ouster, Representative Tony Gonzales of Texas posted a statement on social media in favor of Mr. Scalise.

"For a time such as this... Steve is the right man to lead our country," he wrote.

Representative Kevin Hern

Oklahoma

Mr. Hern, 61, has been in Congress since 2018 and is the chairman of the conservative Republican Study Committee.

A wealthy businessman, he started his career by running several McDonald's franchises.

He quickly began making calls to gauge support for his candidacy after Mr. McCarthy's ouster and made a case

for himself on Newsmax. He said the American people "want real results, and I believe I could deliver those if the people up here want to put me in that place."

He could face an uphill race, however, against better-known contenders such as Mr. Scalise and Mr. Jordan.

Mr. Hern would not definitively confirm that he was running on Wednesday, but he said that "people have been asking me about a different face, somebody that's got a different set of experiences" than the others who have already thrown themselves into the race.

"So we're going to speak to that and see how that resonates," he said.

Representative Jim Jordan

Ohio

Mr. Jordan, 59, is considered one of the original hard-line conservative members of Congress. A thorn in the side of previous speakers, Mr. Jordan is a co-founder of the ultraconservative House Freedom Caucus and mentored many of its younger, rowdier members.

But Mr. Jordan, who has been in Congress since

2007, has also risen in the leadership ranks in recent years, becoming allies with Mr. McCarthy and being named the chairman of the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. Jordan is a close ally of Mr. Trump with whom he speaks frequently. He has been Mr. Trump's leading defender on Capitol Hill, using his committee to attempt to intervene in the various legal cases against the former president.

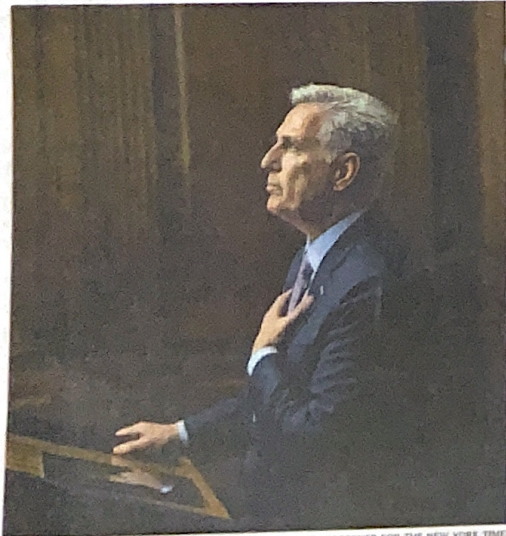
A wrestling champion in his younger days, Mr. Jordan has also been dogged by accusations he turned a blind eye to complaints of sexual abuse committed by a doctor at Ohio State University decades ago. Mr. Jordan has denied those accusations.

Right-wing members of Congress quickly announced their support for Mr. Jordan.

Representative Thomas Massie, a Kentucky Republican with a libertarian streak, called Mr. Jordan his "first choice." Representative Matt Gaetz of Florida, who led the campaign to oust Mr. McCarthy, wrote on the social media platform X, formerly Twitter, "My mentor Jim Jordan would be great!"

Mr. Jordan attended a lunch with several members of the Texas G.O.P. delegation on Wednesday morning, where he pitched them on his candidacy.

"I think I can unite the conservative base and the party and the conference," he said. "That's why I'm running."



Mr. McCarthy on Tuesday. Discussions on his successor were led by the interim speaker, Representative Patrick T. McHenry.



NEWS ANALYSIS

McCarthy Undone By a House G.O.P. That's Ungovernable

From Page A1

Mr. McCarthy had promised Democrats fair treatment and a role in governing, but then pushed intensely partisan legislation that they found detestable. He cavalierly launched an impeachment inquiry into the Democratic president when he found himself on shaky ground with his right-wing troops. He cut a spending deal with the White House, then reneged on it — all the while saying he was doing what he thought was right for the nation.

Mr. McCarthy, always facile, pretty much talked himself out of his job. His trust deficit was deep all around.

“This is someone who betrays his word on pretty much a daily basis,” said Representative Adam Schiff, Democrat of California and a favorite target of Mr. McCarthy.

Some Democrats seemed legitimately torn over what to do about the push to remove Mr. McCarthy, worried about who would come after him and the likely damage to the institution if speakers can now be discarded so easily. And they certainly weren't happy about aligning themselves with Representative Matt Gaetz, the



Representative Matt Gaetz found himself in rare alignment with Democrats.

to the debt limit deal and the stopgap spending legislation passed with more Democratic than Republican votes that made him the target of Mr. Gaetz, his supporters said that he did what an American leader should do in that situation: protect the nation.

“He did what speakers are supposed to do,” said Representative Tom Cole, Republican of Oklahoma and a staunch McCarthy ally. “He did the right thing. He did the right thing, I think, for this institution. He showed it could function in a time of crisis. And finally, I think he did the right thing for our party.”

But in today's Republican Party, doing the right thing is considered a transgression, not a virtue — a sign of unfor-givable allegiance to the political establishment. That was the central problem for Mr. McCarthy, and for his eventual successor. House Republicans, beholden to a base that reveres former President Donald J. Trump and detests compromise, have become ungovernable. And it is doubtful that his precipitous downfall will break the fever.

There is a bloc of House Republicans who will brook no compromise even if it means shutting down the government and stirring chaos, as they wanted to do last weekend rather than accepting a spending compromise that kept the government open but excluded their priorities on border security and deep spending cuts.

The eight who brought down Mr. McCarthy are just a small fraction of the 221 Republicans who serve in the House, but they represent a broad and influential strain in the contemporary Republican Party, one that rewards lawmakers willing to confront Mr. Biden and Democrats and isn't concerned with the consequences. Shutdown votes are good votes with that electorate.

When the next speaker defies them to strike a necessary deal with the Senate and White House, they could quickly turn on that person as well. And that is the worry on Capitol Hill, even for Democrats like Representative Steny H. Hoyer, the longtime moderate Marylander and former party leader.

“This day,” he said, “was, in part, a result of Republicans trying to accommodate a small, willful group of extreme MAGA Republican members who will not be satisfied with any compromise that can be enacted in the political context that currently exists.”

A speaker who did and said whatever was necessary to get through each day.

Florida Republican who led the effort to depose the speaker and a man most Democrats — and many Republicans — can't stomach.

But as they gathered in the Capitol Visitor Center to decide whether to overlook Mr. McCarthy's political sins and back him, they instead ended up reciting a litany of his offenses, an indictment that could have been nailed to the House chamber door. Without Democrat support and with eight hardcore right-wing Republicans willing to vote against him, Mr. McCarthy stood no chance given the slim Republican majority that has haunted his tenure.

For Mr. McCarthy, who practiced a management style of doing and saying pretty much whatever it would take to get through the day, tomorrow finally arrived.

“This is a somber day for America as the chickens come home to roost for Kevin McCarthy,” said Representative Jamie Raskin, Democrat of Maryland.

The outcome left most of the Republican rank and file furious. Their leader had been toppled from within by a group most fellow House Republicans saw as unreasonable if not downright delusional about what Republicans could hope to accomplish in a divided government when Democrats control the Senate and the White House.

They credited Mr. McCarthy with trying to restore “regular order” in the usual slam-jam appropriations process, slowly producing a series of very conservative spending bills and a tough border security measure while celebrating births and mourning lost loved ones with them. When it came

What Can the Interim Speaker Do? It's Not Clear.

By KAYLA GUO

Moments after the House voted to boot Representative Kevin McCarthy, Republican of California, as the speaker, one of his closest confidants, Representative Patrick T. McHenry of North Carolina, stepped up to the dais to take the gavel as the interim speaker.

Mr. McHenry, who is now serving in the role of speaker pro tempore — “speaker for the time being” in Latin — is in uncharted territory. The vote on Tuesday to topple Mr. McCarthy was the first time in history that the House had fired its speaker.

It was also the first time that a law enacted after the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks came into force in the House, where each speaker must submit a secret list of people who could step into the post temporarily in the event of a cataclysmic event or other unforeseen vacancy.

Mr. McHenry's name was first on Mr. McCarthy's list of names. Under House rules, Mr. McHenry “shall act as speaker pro tempore until the election of a speaker or a speaker pro tempore” and is responsible for overseeing the elec-



Patrick T. McHenry

tion of a replacement.

The rules do not stipulate how quickly the House must move. Mr. McHenry intends to hold a speaker candidate forum on Tuesday, one week after Mr. McCarthy was deposed, meaning a new speaker will not be elected until that day at the earliest.

In the meantime, other action on the House floor, including any legislative business, is likely to be halted. House staff aides believe

the acting speaker may wield the gavel only to administer the election of a new speaker.

But others argue that as acting speaker, Mr. McHenry can exercise powers beyond overseeing a speaker's race, as long as a majority tolerates it.

“From an institutional House rules perspective, Speaker McHenry has the powers of the speakership, and he will continue to exercise those powers to the extent and degree that the majority party is willing to tolerate,” said Josh C. Huder, a senior fellow at the Government Affairs Institute at Georgetown University. “If he does something too harsh or too bold, they will rein him in. And that's really the only thing that's governing his authority.”

House rules do not explicitly prohibit the interim speaker from adopting the powers of an elected speaker. But the rule that led to Mr. McHenry's ascent was developed with only temporary absences in mind, not a vacant chair, according to Stan M. Brand, the former general counsel to the House. That leaves legal room for Mr. McHenry to exercise broader powers, such as conducting legis-

lative business, if he chooses.

It is also not clear whether Mr. McHenry would be considered second in the presidential line of succession — behind the vice president — as the elected speaker of the House is. Experts said they did not believe that applied to an acting speaker.

Mr. McHenry, 47, was elected to Congress in 2004 and served as the chief deputy whip to Speaker John A. Boehner of Ohio. He worked behind the scenes to help negotiate the deal to avoid a default on the national debt in May, and he supported the stopgap spending bill on Saturday to keep the government open — deals that infuriated the Republican hardliners who ultimately ousted Mr. McCarthy.

Mr. McHenry's name has been floated as a permanent replacement for Mr. McCarthy, but he is not thought to be interested in the post. Still, even as a caretaker for the job, he has made his presence felt.

One of Mr. McHenry's first moves as speaker was to evict former Speaker Nancy Pelosi from her special private quarters in the Capitol known as her hideaway.

A Final Payback From McCarthy: 2 Democrats Are Evicted From 'Hideaway' Rooms

By ROBERT DRAPER

WASHINGTON — The seething anger from the ouster of Speaker Kevin McCarthy has now spread to highly coveted congressional real estate. Former Speaker Nancy Pelosi has been evicted from her hideaway office in the Capitol by the Republican-controlled House Administration Committee and was ordered to vacate by the close of business on Wednesday.

Mr. McCarthy plans to take over Ms. Pelosi's hideaway next week, a person familiar with the machinations said. Hideaways are small suites conveniently located in the Capitol itself, close to votes on the House floor and all of the action.

Representative Steny H. Hoyer, another former Democratic leader, has been evicted from his hideaway as well.

Ms. Pelosi said late Tuesday that she had been kicked out of the space by Representative Patrick T. McHenry, Republican of North Carolina and the speaker pro tempore, who is a close ally of Mr. McCarthy. But according to the person familiar with the situation, the decision to evict Ms. Pelosi had in fact been made by Mr. McCarthy on his way out of the door.

Mainstream Republicans are furious that Democrats did not help rescue Mr. McCarthy by casting a handful of votes that might have saved his job. Democrats say they did not trust Mr. McCarthy and that saving him was not their responsibility. They also say that Republicans should focus their fury on their defectors.

Either way, the offices in question, known as hideaways, are prized real estate in the Capitol. (Ms. Pelosi will keep her official

office in the Cannon House Office Building and Mr. Hoyer will keep his in the Longworth building.)

The hideaways are places for respite between floor votes or for having after-hours drinks with colleagues. A Capitol hideaway is a perk mostly reserved for U.S. senators and for House leaders, though speakers have at their disposal a few spaces to dole out at their whim. In 2021, Ms. Pelosi assigned a hideaway to Representative Liz Cheney, the No. 3 Republican who became vice chairwoman of the House Jan. 6 committee and was receiving death threats.

More commonly, speakers offer hideaways to their predecessors. Ms. Pelosi did so in late 2006 for the outgoing speaker, Dennis Hastert, a Republican. Mr. McCarthy extended the same courtesy earlier this year to Ms. Pelosi. He then offered an additional hide-

away to Mr. Hoyer, who as majority leader had been Mr. McCarthy's frequent negotiating partner.

The eviction notices issued Tuesday, first reported by Politico, are widely seen as payback by Mr. McCarthy, although the act of retribution is one that Mr. McHenry could have reversed.

“With all of the important decisions that the new Republican leadership must address, which we are all eagerly awaiting, one of the first actions taken by the new speaker pro tempore was to order me to immediately vacate my office in the Capitol,” Ms. Pelosi said in a statement on Tuesday night. “Sadly, because I am in California to mourn the loss of and pay tribute to my dear friend Dianne Feinstein, I am unable to retrieve my belongings at this time.” Ms. Feinstein, the longtime senator from

California, died last week.

As speaker, Mr. McCarthy had teamed with Democrats to raise the debt ceiling and pass a short-term spending bill despite opposition by the far right. The fact that Democrats overlooked those efforts and instead joined eight rebel Republicans in ousting Mr. McCarthy struck Mr. McHenry, a person close to him said, as a case of no good deed going unpunished, arguably warranting punishment of its own.

Known as a subdued and non-confrontational conservative legislator, Mr. McHenry's dyspeptic mood was evident on Tuesday afternoon when he adjourned the House by rapping the speaker's gavel with startling force, as if trying to crush a poisonous spider.

Mr. McCarthy said on Tuesday that Ms. Pelosi had months ago vowed to him, “I'll always back

you up” if there was ever an effort to oust him. Mr. McHenry had received similar assurances from Mr. Hoyer, the person familiar with the situation said, which a representative for Mr. Hoyer did not dispute when asked to comment. In the end, Mr. Hoyer sided with his fellow Democrats, while Ms. Pelosi skipped the vote to return to California for Ms. Feinstein's funeral.

Ms. Pelosi has not disputed Mr. McCarthy's account of her earlier pledge to back him, but it is not surprising that she left him to twist in the wind. She has openly disdained Mr. McCarthy, and she and other prominent Democrats, including Representative Hakeem Jeffries of New York, the minority leader, have frequently criticized what they call Mr. McCarthy's coddling of former President Donald J. Trump.