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What's News

Business & Finance

◆ **The UAW** secured a tentative labor deal with Ford Motor, potentially ending a six-week strike at one automaker while negotiations continue at General Motors and Chrysler-parent Stellantis. The pact contains a 25% wage increase during the span of the four-year contract, including an 11% bump in the first year. **A1**

◆ **A steep drop** in shares of Alphabet, Amazon.com and other technology companies dragged the Nasdaq into correction territory. The tech-heavy index slid 2.4% while the S&P 500 and the Dow fell 1.4% and 0.3%, respectively. **A1**

◆ **The banks** that financed Musk's \$44 billion purchase of Twitter are still struggling a year later to contain the damage to their balance sheets and expect to take a hit of at least roughly \$2 billion, when they sell the debt, people familiar with the matter said. **B1**

◆ **Meta Platforms** reported its largest quarterly revenue since going public more than a decade ago as demand for advertising picked up and as it continued to reap the benefits of cutting costs and developing new AI technology. **B1**

◆ **Morgan Stanley** said it named Ted Pick as its next chief executive to succeed longtime CEO James Gorman, ushering in a new era for the Wall Street powerhouse. **B1**

◆ **The Fed** proposed lowering by about 30% fees merchants pay to many banks when consumers shop with debit cards, setting off a fight with banks that oppose the changes. **B1**

◆ **Boeing** booked a \$1.64 bil-



Louisiana Republican Mike Johnson speaks to House members after winning a 220-209 vote.

House Elects Speaker, Ends GOP Impasse

Johnson, a staunch conservative, wins on first ballot after three other nominees failed

WASHINGTON—The House elected Rep. Mike Johnson of Louisiana as speaker on Wednesday, with the staunch conservative overcoming the divisions that had paralyzed

By Lindsay Wise, Siobhan Hughes, Kristina Peterson and Katy Stech Ferek

the chamber after a band of Republican hard-liners ousted Kevin McCarthy three weeks ago.

The choice of Johnson, who led an effort to help former President Donald Trump try to overturn the 2020 election results, came after the House GOP nominated and then dumped a series of leadership candidates. With a speaker now in place, lawmakers can finally return to work, with

many eager to pass aid for Israel and address a looming government-funding deadline next month.

"The people's House is back in business," said Johnson in a speech after he accepted the gavel from Democratic leader Hakeem Jeffries of New York. The new speaker said Republicans would "fight vigorously" with Democrats but would also seek common ground.

Johnson's victory brought to a close weeks of intraparty fighting that had prompted some members to wonder whether any colleague could thread the needle in the divided conference, or whether some sort of deal with Democrats would be needed.

Known for conservative stances on cultural issues and spending, Johnson breezed to victory in one round—unlike McCarthy, who required 15 ballots back in January—bringing a measure of calm

Please turn to page A4

◆ **Social conservative, a Trump ally, takes helm...** A4

UAW, Ford Reach Tentative Labor Pact

BY NORA ECKERT

The United Auto Workers secured a tentative labor deal with Ford Motor Wednesday

overall increase, which will be spread out over four years, would put the top wage for assembly workers at around \$40 an hour

Hamas Fighters Had Trained In Iran Before Israel Attack

TEL AVIV—In the weeks leading up to Hamas's Oct. 7 attack on Israel, hundreds of the Palestinian Islamist mili-

September, which were led by officers of the Quds Force, the foreign-operations arm of Iran's Islamic Revolutionary

ial drones to disable Israeli observation posts and high-tech surveillance equipment. Some used parasitoids to fly

U.S. NEWS

Social Conservative, a Trump Ally, Takes Helm

Johnson opposed same-sex marriage, abortion, aided legal effort to void election

WASHINGTON—In choosing Mike Johnson as the new House speaker, Republicans have cast their lot with a little-known congressman from Louisiana who made his name pushing conservative positions on cultural issues and played a key role in unsuccessful legal efforts to overturn the results of the 2020 election.

By Eliza Collins,
Stobhan Hughes and
Katy Stech Ferek

After 22 days without a speaker, House Republicans came together to elect Johnson for the post Wednesday after three better-known nominees failed to unite the conference.

Johnson, 51 years old, represents Louisiana's deep-red Fourth District in the state's northwest that includes Shreveport, where he grew up. Johnson is the son of a firefighter who was critically burned and disabled in the line of duty. He is the father of four children of his own.

Johnson was elected to Congress in 2016 after serving in the Louisiana Legislature. He has been an attorney with a focus on social conservative issues, including defending the state's same-sex marriage ban before the Louisiana Supreme Court. His opposition to same-sex marriage and abortion, along with support for religious freedoms, has continued to guide him as a legislator.

Got GOP moderates

As vice chairman of the House Republican Conference, Johnson was one of seven elected leaders for the party. However, he was seen as far enough removed from the top positions that members looking for new leadership—even more moderate lawmakers who might differ with him on some issues—were supportive of him taking over.

"Mike Johnson is a person who I think everybody respects, he's a very principled human being," said Rep. Mario



Rep. Mike Johnson of Louisiana, center, was applauded by fellow Republicans Wednesday as they elected him House speaker.

Diaz Balart (R., Fla.).

Rep. Matt Gaetz (R., Fla.) has been seatmates with Johnson since the two were both elected in 2016 and has served with him on the oversight and armed services committees. "He is not swampy," said Gaetz, who launched the vote that first ousted former House Speaker Kevin McCarthy (R., Calif.). "He is not beholden to the lobbyists and special interests."

Democrats called Johnson an extremist. They said his opposition to abortion and efforts to overturn the 2020 election results had been losing issues for Republicans in the 2022 election. When at least one Republican who will have a tough election next year voted for Johnson, a Democratic voice could be heard shouting "bye! bye!"

Rep. Pete Aguilar (Calif.), the chair of the House Democratic Caucus, said on the House floor Wednesday that Republicans were choosing a

person who "can pass their extreme litmus test to oppose marriage equality, enact a nationwide abortion ban without exceptions, gut Social Security and Medicare, support overturning a free and fair election."

Aguilar said Johnson had been called "the most important architect of the electoral college objections," and a Republican member shouted "damn right."

Opposed Ukraine aid

On paper, Johnson will mark a break from the prior House Republican leadership team. McCarthy along with House Majority Leader Steve Scalise (R., La.) and House Majority Whip Tom Emmer (R., Minn.) all voted for the stopgap measure that is keeping the government funded through Nov. 17. All three also voted for \$40 billion in aid to Ukraine in 2022, and again this year for about \$300 million toward the

Ukraine Security Assistance Initiative. Johnson voted against those measures.

Now that Johnson is speaker, the question is how firmly rooted Johnson's beliefs are about those funds, or whether he is part of a perennial "vote no, hope yes" caucus.

In a letter to his colleagues, Johnson proposed advancing a temporary spending measure until either Jan. 15 or April 15—depending on what the conference would support, while working to advance the eight individual appropriations bills that haven't yet cleared the House. Without a stopgap measure, the government is set to run out of money next month.

For next year, he proposed passing a fiscal 2025 budget resolution by April and keeping the House in session during August if the House hadn't passed all of its fiscal 2025 appropriations bills by that time.

When he served as head of the Republican Study Commit-

tee, which represents a spectrum of House conservatives, Johnson presided over a budget blueprint designed to balance the federal budget in 10 years. Among other things, it pushed an idea long associated with former Republican House Speaker Paul Ryan to turn Medicare into a "premium support" system in which beneficiaries would receive financial assistance to buy health insurance through a regulated Medicare exchange. The plan also proposed raising the retirement age to 69. For people born in 1960 and later, the current retirement age is 67.

Pushed false claims

Johnson has been a strong supporter of former President Donald Trump, who on Wednesday morning urged Republicans to support Johnson.

Johnson has played a key role pushing Trump's false claims of election fraud. In 2020, Johnson organized an

amicus brief signed by 126 House Republicans supporting a lawsuit filed by Texas' attorney general arguing that Texas could challenge the election results in four swing states won by President Biden. The conservative Supreme Court rejected the lawsuit.

At the time, Johnson heavily lobbied fellow Republicans to sign onto the letter, suggesting that Trump would be watching to see who signed, which some members took as a threat. At the time, Democrats were so upset that one member, Rep. Bill Pascrell (D., N.J.), argued that then-House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D., Calif.) should bar the GOP signatories from taking their seats, saying that they were attempting to "obliterate public confidence in our democratic system" by installing an "unelected dictator."

Johnson also joined with 146 other Republicans in voting against certification of the 2020 election results.

Johnson's selection as the party nominee took place the same day that one of Trump's lawyers, Jenna Ellis, became the third legal adviser to plead guilty in the Georgia racketeering case involving Trump's 2020 efforts.

When a reporter asked Johnson at a press conference Tuesday night about his effort to overturn the election, she was shouted down by some of Johnson's colleagues, with Rep. Virginia Foxx (R., N.C.) telling the reporter: "Shut up! Shut up!"

In the lead-up to Johnson's election, Republicans had rallied around three other speaker nominees who all ultimately dropped out of the running after it became clear there wasn't enough support to be elected on the House floor.

Johnson isn't known for bipartisanship. He was ranked 429th out of 435 lawmakers in the 2021 bipartisan index kept by the Lugar Center and the McCourt School of Public Policy at Georgetown University, situated among members of the staunchly conservative House Freedom Caucus. The measure scores how well members of opposite parties work together using bill sponsorship data.

—Jack Gillum, Kristina Peterson and Molly Ball contributed to this article.

WIN McCRACKEN/GETTY IMAGES



House Gets Speaker as GOP Unites

Continued from Page One

and unity in the party not seen since Republicans took over the House in the 2022 elections.

Rep. Blaine Luetkemeyer (R., Mo.) said Johnson “represents all of us, not just a particular group within the conference” and called him a “really good manager.”

Democrats cast Johnson as too conservative to lead the chamber and said Republicans had squandered three weeks in their intraparty fighting. Rep. Pete Aguilar (D., Calif.) said Republicans were choosing in Johnson a person who “can pass their extreme litmus test” on issues such as same-sex marriage and abortion.

Johnson was House Republicans’ fourth nominee for the post this month, chosen late Tuesday just hours after opposition by Trump helped sink a bid by Republican Whip Tom Emmer of Minnesota. Intraparty feuds also blocked previous picks Steve Scalise of Lou-

isiana and Jim Jordan of Ohio. Trump threw his support behind Johnson early Wednesday, encouraging lawmakers to “GET IT DONE, FAST!” Jordan, McCarthy, Scalise and Emmer also rallied around Johnson.

“Mike has the least enemies in this conference,” said Rep. Ken Buck (R., Colo.) when asked how Johnson managed to secure the speakership.

In contrast with previous votes, Wednesday’s was drama-free. Earlier speaker nominees had watched closely as members’ names were called alphabetically and defections racked up, but Republicans all stuck together this time. In the tally on the House floor, Johnson received 220 votes, to 209 for Jeffries.

The new speaker faces a series of pressing legislative issues while managing the Republicans’ narrow 221-212 majority, in which any single member can still force a vote to try to remove the speaker. Congress has a mid-November deadline to keep the government funded. In a letter to his colleagues, Johnson proposed advancing a temporary spending measure until either Jan. 15 or April 15, while working to advance the eight of 12 individual annual appropriations bills that haven’t yet cleared



A sign with the name of Mike Johnson was installed over the entrance to the speaker’s office soon after the vote.

the House.

Lawmakers will also have to grapple with the Biden administration’s \$106 billion request to fund aid for Ukraine, Israel, Taiwan and manage the flow of migrants at the U.S. border. Last month, 117 House GOP lawmakers, including Johnson, voted against \$300 million in security assistance for Ukraine.

Senate Majority Leader Chuck Schumer (D., N.Y.) said he looked forward to talking to Johnson about avoiding a government shutdown. President Biden called Johnson to congratulate him and said he looks forward to “working to-

gether to find common ground,” a White House official said.

Johnson, a constitutional lawyer, has a more stridently conservative record than McCarthy. The new speaker served on Trump’s defense team in his first impeachment and led an effort to collect signatures for an amicus brief in support of a Texas lawsuit that sought unsuccessfully to overturn the 2020 presidential election results by voiding 20 million votes in four other states.

When a reporter asked Johnson late Tuesday whether he stands by his efforts to try to overturn the 2020 election,

Johnson smiled and shook his head while House Republicans flanking him booed and jeered.

Johnson, 51 years old, was first elected to Congress in 2016. A religious man, Johnson drew on Scripture in his floor remarks, telling lawmakers that “God is the one that raises up those in authority—he raised up each of you.”

In a nod to his sudden rise from relative obscurity, Johnson said in his speech that his wife, Kelly, hadn’t been able to make it to Washington. “We couldn’t get a flight in time,” he said.

Johnson served in House Republican leadership as a deputy whip and vice chairman of the House Republican Conference. But lawmakers said Johnson benefited from not being considered part of the core leadership team, whose decisions about policy issues—including the debt limit and spending levels—have divided the party. Those disagreements culminated in McCarthy’s removal and have hobbled efforts to find a replacement.

Johnson previously led the Republican Study Committee, a broad group of conservative members, and serves on the House Judiciary Committee, but has less experience in leadership than the previous

three speaker picks.

As an attorney, he defended Louisiana’s same-sex marriage ban to the Louisiana Supreme Court. In Congress, he has continued to oppose same-sex marriage. Johnson is also strongly opposed to abortion access and has proposed legislation that would make it a federal crime to transport a minor across state lines for an abortion.

Republicans who had engineered the ouster of McCarthy over what they called broken promises on spending and other issues threw their support behind Johnson and said his election vindicated their effort. Many colleagues had called the move led by Rep. Matt Gaetz (R., Fla.) to vacate the chair damaging to the party and the House.

Rep. Don Bacon (R., Neb.) said he received death threats after voting repeatedly last week to block Jordan’s speakership bid. After Johnson’s election Wednesday, he said the ordeal was worth it, to get past Jordan to Johnson.

Watch a Video



Scan this code for a video on Johnson’s election as House speaker.

JUSTIN SULLIVAN/GETTY IMAGES


**JOHN
FUND**

Goldilocks Johnson is 'just right'

MIKE Johnson of Louisiana, the new House speaker, has pulled off what no one thought possible: He swept past the bad blood, the ego-driven personalities and ideological divisions among House Republicans and won a unanimous vote of his conference.

The Goldilocks candidate even surprised Donald Trump — who had predicted Monday, “There’s only one person” who could unite the party: Jesus Christ. “If Jesus came down and said, ‘I want to be speaker,’ he would do it. Other than that, I haven’t seen anybody that can guarantee it.”

There are famously “Five Families” warring inside the House Republican tent: the Tea Party-influenced House Freedom Caucus, the conservative Republican Study Committee, business-oriented Chamber of Commerce types, the moderate Republican Governance Group and the bipartisan Problem Solvers Caucus.

So how did Johnson get them temporarily to agree on electing him?

He belongs to the Freedom Caucus and used to chair the Republican Study Committee, nailing down his right flank.

His leadership position as House Republican Conference vice chairman meant he had personal relationships with many moderate members, who liked his low-key style and his willingness to listen to them. And he has demonstrated an interest in the details of legislation, impressing other members expert in tax, budget and defense issues.

Happy MAGA Warrior

It also didn’t escape the notice of MAGA members that he had served on the defense team in Donald Trump’s first impeachment trial in 2020.

New York House Republicans, several of whom blocked Jim Jordan’s speaker bid, all voted for Johnson so we can “get back to work.”

Rep. John Moolenaar, a Michigan Republican, told Newsmax that Johnson “works well with all segments of our conference. I never heard a bad word about him.”

Other members called him a “Happy Warrior” out of the same mold as the late Jack Kemp, who could disagree with someone without being disagreeable.

Finally, Johnson has formidable communication skills. A constitutional lawyer for the Alliance Defending Freedom, he has years of experience arguing cases in federal court. He was also a college professor and conservative talk-show host.

Gary Palmer, an Alabama member who ran against Johnson for the speakership, told me Johnson’s Tuesday night speech asking for votes “was one of the finest I have ever heard in politics”; he was instantly enthusiastic to support him.

5 commonsense rules

Having won such a miraculous victory, Johnson will immediately be tested in the boiling hot cauldron of the House. He will have to work with Democrats, the White House and fellow Republicans to avoid a government-funding shutdown that looms Nov. 18. Punchbowl News calls that “like advancing straight from tee-ball to the majors.”

Palmer says he’s pleased Johnson embraced the same five commonsense principles to reform the budget process he touted when running for speaker. They are:

1. Fund the government on time with all single subject appropriations bills passing the House by June 30 — or no recess til it’s done.
2. Pass real spending cuts, NOT budget gimmicks.
3. No short term, stop-gap funding of the government.
4. Enforce a true 72-hour rule allowing members and voters time to review legislation.
5. Make sure power is decentralized enough that almost all members feel they have a stake in bills passing on the House floor.

Those are tall orders, and if Johnson doesn’t measure up he

will lose his job one of two ways in a year — either Democrats take back control or Republicans will turn him out of office like they did Kevin McCarthy.

But I’ve spoken to both friends and skeptics of Johnson who say they won’t bet against him.

One lesson of politics is that everyone who gets to the top has usually traveled there by one of two roads — one labeled talent and one labeled luck. The secret to success, the late Rep. Edward Pattison of New York told me, is: “Never let anyone know which one of those roads you took to where you are now.”

The truth is, of course, most successful politicians combine real talent with great luck. Speaker Mike Johnson is no exception. Fewer than nine years ago, he was a mere lawyer in Shreveport, La., when his local state legislator resigned to become a judge.

Shrewd awakening

Johnson filed for the seat, and to his astonishment, he drew no opponents and was automatically elected.

When his local congressman gave up his seat in 2016, Johnson was perfectly positioned to run and wound up beating a Democrat with 65% of the vote, four points higher than Donald Trump’s showing. He shrewdly stayed out of the speaker battle until his low-key, Happy Warrior approach was exactly what desperate members were looking for.

Mike Johnson, at 51 the youngest House speaker save for Paul Ryan in 150 years, has demonstrated both talent and luck are on his side.

John Fund is a National Review columnist and a fellow at The Committee To Unleash Prosperity.

HOUSE



IT’S OFFICIAL: Workers in the House quickly install a sign Tuesday over the speaker’s office after over three weeks without a House leader.

Chaos finally ends with new speaker

By JOSH CHRISTENSON

House Republicans put their differences aside Wednesday to elect Rep. Mike Johnson (R-La.) the chamber’s 56th speaker, ending more than three weeks of infighting that has dominated the conference since the Oct. 3 ouster of Speaker Kevin McCarthy (R-Calif.).

Johnson, the first House speaker from Louisiana, received the backing of all 220 Republican members present for the first and only ballot. Rep. Derrick Van Orden (R-Wis.) was the only House GOP lawmaker to miss the vote after he flew to Israel amid the Jewish state’s ongoing war with Hamas.

Minority Leader Hakeem Jeffries (D-NY) received 209 votes from House Democrats, with three conference members absent: Reps. Vicente Gonzalez (D-Texas), Lou Correa (D-Calif.) and Brendan Boyle (D-Pa.).

Johnson, 51, was the fourth candidate to be nominated in the 22 days following McCarthy’s departure, as Majority Leader Steve Scalise (R-La.), Judiciary Committee Chairman Jim Jordan (R-Ohio) and Majority Whip Tom Emmer (R-Minn.) each won conference votes but failed to secure the gavel.

Jordan failed in three successive speakership ballots last week, while Scalise and Emmer both withdrew before putting their candidacies up for a House floor vote.

Johnson called for Republicans and Democrats “to find common ground” in his opening speech to the lower chamber and extended thanks to McCarthy for his previous nine months of service.

“My office is going to be known for trust, transparency and accountability, for good stewardship,” Johnson told members in his first remarks from the speaker’s chair, pledging to unite the warring factions of the GOP caucus.

“At one time, [Americans] had great pride in this institution, but that now is in jeopardy,” he said, noting conflicts abroad, a “broken” southern border and runaway federal spending.

‘Back in business’

In its first order of business with Johnson as speaker, the House passed a resolution affirming Israel’s right to self-defense by a vote of 412-10.

“Let the enemies of freedom around the world hear us loud and clear: The People’s House is back in business,” Johnson declared.

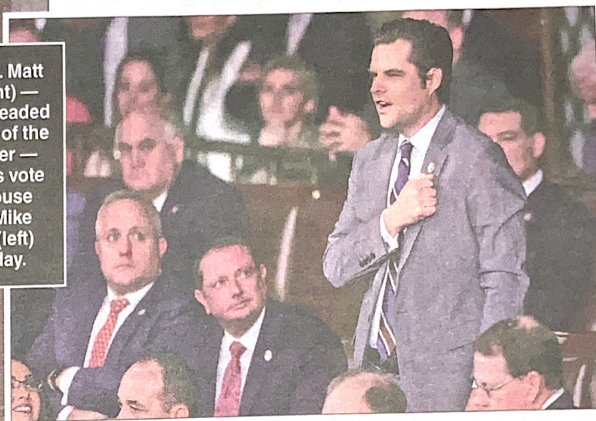
In a press conference following Johnson’s swearing-in, Scalise recounted of his fellow Louisianan: “I have seen this man in action since I was a state representative.

“For those people that don’t know Mike Johnson — maybe they’re looking to Google, maybe they’re looking to other places — but those of us who have known

GOP LIKES MIKE



ALLY: Rep. Matt Gaetz (right) — who spearheaded the ousting of the last speaker — pledges his vote to new House Speaker Mike Johnson (left) Wednesday.



From bayou but no swamp thing

Rep. Mike Johnson pulled off a feat few believed possible Wednesday by becoming the 56th House speaker — with the full support of his GOP colleagues.

Barely known outside the Beltway, Johnson (R-La.), 51, was first elected to Congress in 2016 after less than two years in the Pelican State's Legislature.

Even some prominent Republican senators didn't seem to know much about him, with Susan Collins of Maine telling reporters Wednesday morning that she planned to Google him.

But among House Republicans, Johnson is no unknown quantity. He served as vice chair of the House Republican Conference, making him the No. 5-ranked GOPer in the lower chamber, and previously chaired the Republican Study Committee.

Before his rise in politics, he worked as a partner in North Louisiana's prominent Kitchens Law Firm and served as a spokesman for the pro-religious liberty Alliance Defense Fund, now called the Alliance for Defending Freedom.

In 2004, he publicly sup-

ported an amendment to ban gay marriage in the Louisiana Constitution.

In 2015, Johnson ran unopposed for a vacant seat in the Louisiana House of Representatives. The following year, he sought and won Louisiana's 4th Congressional District seat, which had been held by GOP Rep. John Fleming before he gave it up to pursue an unsuccessful Senate run.

Johnson has been compared to former Vice President Mike Pence for his staunch Christian faith and cool demeanor.

In Congress, Johnson has championed anti-abortion legislation, including a ban after 20 weeks of pregnancy; proposed legislation restricting federal funds from sex education courses for children under 10 that discuss LGBTQ issues; and opposed a bill to codify same-sex marriage nationally.

A key grievance for many Democrats is Johnson's role in efforts to overturn the 2020 election result. He voted on Jan. 6, 2021, against accepting Joe Biden's victory and earlier, in December 2020, helped gather signatures to back a legal brief challenging the results in Texas.

Ryan King

Mike Johnson for a long time," Scalise said, "I've seen a commitment, a self-service commitment to things bigger than himself."

"Mike is a strong man of faith, a constitutional conservative and a fierce fighter for a Republican common sense agenda," added Emmer, calling on Johnson to take the lead in congressional negotiations and to "force the Biden White House and Schumer Senate along with us as we govern."

"He has been an important leader in our conference for nearly three years as vice chairman, and as speaker I know Mike will keep our majority united as we continue to deliver on the commitments we've made to our constituents," Emmer said.

Johnson said that he was "hum-

bled" by the show of support from his Republican colleagues and, in keeping with his Southern Baptist roots, quoted a verse from the Bible.

President Biden called on the House to get back to work.

'This is a time to act'

"While House Republicans spent the last 22 days determining who would lead their conference," Biden said in a statement, "I have worked on those pressing issues, proposing a historic supplemental funding package that advances our bipartisan national security interests in Israel and Ukraine, secures our border, and invests in the American people.

"This is a time for all of us to act

responsibly, and to put the good of the American people and the everyday priorities of American families above any partisanship."

Senate Majority Leader Chuck Schumer (D-NY) said in a statement that "I look forward to meeting with Speaker Johnson soon to discuss the path forward to avoid a government shutdown."

Ahead of the vote, Johnson rolled out an "ambitious schedule" to avert a partial shutdown on Nov. 17 by passing a series of appropriations bills for fiscal year 2024, according to a copy shared by CNN.

If the legislating proves too difficult, he pledged to support a stop-gap measure to fund the government at current levels until Jan. 15 or April 15, if that is the consensus of the Republican conference.

10/26

"All the News
That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

THE WEATHER

Today, partly sunny, dry and warmer, high 77. Tonight, partly cloudy and dry, low 60. Tomorrow, warm with dry conditions, high 77. Weather map appears on Page B12.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00

G.O.P. ELECTS SPEAKER, ENDING BITTER FEUD



KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Representative Mike Johnson of Louisiana, right, receiving the House gavel on Wednesday from Representative Hakeem Jeffries.

Party Rallies Around Johnson, A Little-Known Louisianian, After 3 Weeks of Turmoil

By CATIE EDMONDSON

WASHINGTON — Representative Mike Johnson of Louisiana won election on Wednesday to become the 56th speaker of the House of Representatives, as Republicans worn down by three weeks of infighting and dysfunction turned to a little-known conservative hard-liner beloved by the far right to end their paralysis.

The elevation of Mr. Johnson, 51, an architect of the effort to overturn the 2020 election and a religious conservative opposed to abortion rights, homosexuality and gay marriage, further cemented the Republican Party's lurch to the right. It came after a historic fight that began when the hard right ousted Speaker Kevin McCarthy on Oct. 3, and raged on as the divided House G.O.P. nominated and then quickly discarded three other candidates to succeed him.

Exhausted from the feuding, which unleashed a barrage of recriminations and violent threats against lawmakers, both the right wing and mainstream Republicans finally united to elect Mr. Johnson, 51, in a 220-to-209 vote.

The vote put him second in line to the presidency, capping an extraordinary period of twists and turns on Capitol Hill. It marked a victory for the far right that has become a dominant force in the Republican Party, which rose up this month to effectively dictate the removal of an establishment speaker and the installation of an arch-conservative replacement.

Republicans jumped to their feet and applauded on Wednesday after Representative Patrick T. McHenry of North Carolina, the interim speaker, declared that Mr. Johnson was the "duly elected speaker of the House of Representatives."

In a speech that traced his ascent up the political ladder in Louisiana to Congress, Mr. Johnson pledged to try to "restore the people's faith in this House." He cited sending aid to Israel, fixing a "broken" southern border, and reining in federal spending as his top legislative priorities.

"The challenge before us is great, but the time for action is now," Mr. Johnson said shortly after he was elected. "And I will not let you down."

Evoking his evangelical Christian faith, Mr. Johnson repeatedly referred to scripture in his speech from the House floor.

"The Bible is very clear that God is the one that raises up those in authority," he said. "He raised up each of you, all of us. And I believe that God has ordained and allowed each one of us to be brought here for this specific moment."

In a nod to the simmering frustrations among the hard-right flank of the party that ultimately deposed Mr. McCarthy, the California Republican, Mr. Johnson pledged that his office "is going to be known for decentralizing power."

Elected to Congress in 2016, Mr.

Continued on Page A19

As Bombs Fall, History Hangs Over Gaza Family

By DECLAN WALSH

Mohammed Abujayyab was at his wits' end.

For six days he had been stuck inside his Los Angeles apartment, sleep-deprived and anxious, glued to the television and jabbing messages into his phone. The 39-year-old software engineer was trying to save his grandmother, who was thousands of miles away in Gaza.

Reluctant to Relive Yet Again the Trauma of Displacement

toll was rising by the hundreds every day.

Israel had just ordered more than a million residents to im-

had died in blasts along the route. (Hamas blamed Israel, which denied responsibility.) But she refused to go.

His grandmother had already fled once, he explained, in 1948, as one of 700,000 Palestinians who fled or were expelled from their homes during the war that followed the creation of Israel. She ended up in Gaza, the crowded coastal strip, where she spent most of her life under Israeli occu-

How Israelis Justify Scale Of Airstrikes

By PATRICK KINGSLEY

JERUSALEM — Israel's 19-day bombing campaign in Gaza has become one of the most intense of the 21st century, prompting growing global scru-

Republicans Elect House Speaker, Ending a B



Mainstream Republicans who voted for Representative Mike Johnson, center, said they were eager to get the House running again.

HAIYUN JIANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Hard-Liners and Moderates Back a Deeply Religious Junior Lawmaker

From Page A1

Johnson is the most junior lawmaker in decades to become speaker.

He may also be the most conservative. Mr. Johnson, a lawyer, is the former chairman of the Republican Study Committee and sponsored legislation that would effectively bar the discussion of sexual orientation or gender identity at any institution serving children younger than 10 that receives federal funds. He supports a national abortion ban and has co-sponsored a 20-week abortion ban.

Mr. Johnson served on former President Donald J. Trump's impeachment defense team, playing a leading role in recruiting House Republicans to sign a legal brief supporting a lawsuit seeking to overturn the 2020 election results. He was also an architect of Mr. Trump's bid to object to certifying them in Congress on Jan. 6, 2021. Mr. Trump praised him on Wednesday after his election, calling the Louisiana Republican "a fantastic gentleman."

"He's going to do a great job," Mr. Trump said.

Democrats were scathing in their assessment of Mr. Johnson's ascent to the speakership. Repre-

sentative Pete Aguilar of California, the Democratic conference chairman, said that the speaker fight had devolved into a contest over "who can appease Donald Trump." A handful of hard-right Republicans applauded.

They heckled mainstream Republicans facing tough re-election contests next year in swing districts as they rose to vote for Mr. Johnson. After Representatives Mike Lawler and Marc Molinaro, both of New York, each voted for the Louisiana Republican, a Democrat could be heard yelling out: "Bye-bye!"

Mr. Johnson immediately faces a host of challenges that dogged his predecessor, Mr. McCarthy. He is confronting a mid-November deadline to pass a measure to fund the government to avert a shutdown. And he will need to lead a conference deeply divided over foreign policy as Congress considers the Biden administration's \$105 billion funding request for Israel, Ukraine and the southern border.

Mr. Johnson has opposed continued funding for the war in Ukraine, which has emerged as a bitter fault line in the G.O.P. and in the spending battles that he will have to navigate.

After President Biden was told during a White House news conference that a new speaker had been elected, Mr. Biden said: "I hope that's true. Because we have to get moving."

Asked whether he was con-

cerned, given the Republican speaker's history, that he would try again to overturn the election in 2024, Mr. Biden answered flatly: "No. Just like I was not worried the last campaign would overturn the election."

In a statement later on Wednesday, Mr. Biden said: "We need to move swiftly to address our national security needs and to avoid a shutdown in 22 days. Even though we have real disagreements about important issues, there should be mutual effort to find common ground wherever we can."

In the end, it was Mr. Johnson who was able to bring together both the party's hard-right and mainstream flanks that had taken turns sinking speaker candidates. But the unity was in part a product of burnout among House Republicans, who in spite of their differences grew eager to put an end to the weekslong spectacle of mass dysfunction and paralysis that many said had left their constituents distraught.

"From an outside point of view these last few weeks probably look like total chaos, confusion, no end in sight," said Representative Tom Emmer of Minnesota, the No. 3 Republican who within hours of being nominated for speaker on Tuesday was dumped by his party's hard-right flank. "But from my perspective, this is one of the greatest experiences in the recent history of our republic."

Mainstream conservatives who

backed Mr. Johnson said they hoped to quickly move to pull the House out of its funk. Almost immediately after Mr. Johnson was elected, lawmakers began debating a resolution expressing solidarity with Israel and condemning Hamas.

"While there are issues where we differ, we must get back to governing for the good of the country," Mr. Lawler wrote on social media, posting a photo of himself and Mr. Johnson shaking hands.

A bloc of Republicans had objected to the speaker bid of Representative Jim Jordan of Ohio, the hard-right co-founder of the Freedom Caucus, because of his role in helping lead Mr. Trump's efforts to overturn the election. But some said they did not have the same concerns about Mr. Johnson.

Representative Ken Buck of Colorado said that Mr. Johnson was not involved in postelection efforts to invalidate the results, even though Mr. Johnson was a critical player in those activities. "People can make mistakes and still be really good speakers," Mr. Buck said.

And the hard-right Republicans who voted to oust Mr. McCarthy, setting into motion the three-week stretch of chaos that left the House without a leader, said Mr. Johnson's ascension to the top job made their decision to depose the California Republican worth it.

"This affirms the path that we took," Representative Bob Good of Virginia said.

Reporting was contributed by Luke Broadwater, Robert Jimison, Kayla Guo, Michael D. Shear and Erica L. Green.

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