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The Diplomatic Path Forward in Gaza

REVIEW



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What's News

Business & Finance

◆ **A weight-loss drug** with blockbuster potential that is still years away from U.S. regulatory approval is already being sold online. **A1**

◆ **Stocks fell Friday**, capping a week of losses for U.S. markets. The S&P 500, Nasdaq and Dow fell 1.3%, 1.5% and 0.9%, respectively. **B11**

◆ **UAW leader Fain** said negotiations for a new labor contract with Detroit's three car companies have been progressing, but he threatened to expand the union's now six-week-long strike if they don't move more. **B1**

◆ **The U.S. and Europe** failed to agree on a path for eliminating steel and aluminum tariffs ahead of a summit in Washington. **A2**

◆ **Private-equity firms** are being forced to spend more money to keep the companies they own alive. **B9**

◆ **Households' average** spending on heating oil this winter is slated to rise about 8% annually. **B9**

◆ **A pipeline company** dropped plans to build a network of carbon-dioxide pipelines across the Midwest. **A2**

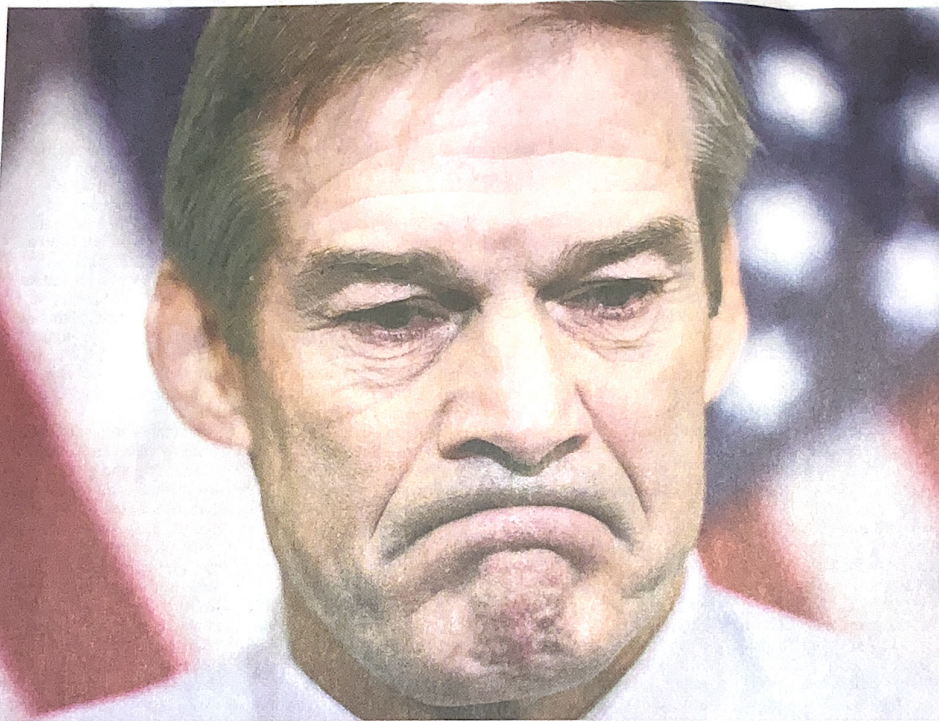
◆ **Rodolphe Saadé**, CEO of French container line CMA CGM, says the shipping industry shouldn't panic over a sharp retreat in earnings. **B9**

World-Wide

◆ **Hamas released** two U.S. citizens held hostage in the Gaza Strip, amid pressure on Israel to put off a planned invasion of the enclave to allow time for diplomacy. **A1**

◆ **Jim Jordan withdrew** his bid to become House speaker after he lost both a public and a private vote, sending

In Speaker's Race, Three Strikes and Jordan's Out



BENCHED: Rep. Jim Jordan ended his bid to become House speaker Friday after he failed for a third time to win the gavel, and frustrated GOP colleagues decided to move on. Divided Republicans are back at square one in their quest to elect a leader. **A4**

Gaetz Says He Has No Regrets For Triggering GOP Meltdown

BY MOLLY BALL

WASHINGTON—With the Capitol in chaos and the speaker's position going on its third week of vacancy, Rep. Matt Gaetz surveyed the consequences of his actions and declared he had no regrets. "I have extreme confidence," the Florida Republican said in an interview from his Capitol Hill office, "that we will have an upgrade at the

position." The House has had no speaker since Gaetz made a motion to vacate the position, then joined on Oct. 3 with seven other Republicans and 208 Democrats to oust Rep. Kevin McCarthy from it. Rep. Jim Jordan, the archconservative Ohio Republican whom Gaetz calls a mentor, this week failed on three ballots to secure the majority of the body's votes, losing support

on each roll call and then bowing out of the race Friday afternoon. No one else seems to have a clear path to 217 GOP votes for the position. Many of his colleagues blame Gaetz for the paralysis and acrimony that have ensued. When Gaetz rose to speak in a closed-door party meeting on Thursday, McCarthy told him to "sit your ass down," and another Republican, Rep. Mike Bost of Illinois,

cursed and lunged at Gaetz.) Asked about the encounter afterward, McCarthy told reporters, "Listen, the whole country, I think, would scream at Matt Gaetz right now."

Any majority party is bound to have divisions. But the upheavals that have racked the House GOP since January are less a reflection of any coherent faction than one man's singular will. It was Please turn to page A4

Hamas Releases Two U.S. Hostages

Calls mount for Israel to postpone ground invasion to allow for diplomacy

TEL AVIV—Hamas released two U.S. citizens held hostage in the Gaza Strip, amid rising pressure on Israel to put off a planned invasion of the enclave to allow time for diplomacy.

By Jared Malsin, Summer Said, Gordon Lubold and Vivian Salama

The release was the first time Hamas, the Islamist group that controls the enclave, set free any of the roughly 200 hostages taken by militants during an Oct. 7 raid that killed more than 1,400 Israelis. Citizens of 41 countries were killed and went missing during the attack. The United Nations said Friday that 4,137 Palestinians have been killed.

Israel identified the freed hostages as Judith Raanan and her daughter Natalie, who had been visiting family in Nahal Oz, a kibbutz, at the time of the attack. The women are from Evanston, Ill., a suburb of Chicago.

Rabbi Dov Hillel Klein of Chabad of Evanston called their release "a miracle."

Qatar helped broker their release. The country's foreign minister, Majid al-Ansari, said Qatar would continue dialogue with Israel and Hamas. "We Please turn to page A10

◆ **Israelis warm to 'protector' Biden..... A10**
◆ **President's foreign policy is challenged by wars..... A10**
◆ **Conflict risks reprise of terrorist attacks..... A11**

U.S. NEWS

GOP Starts Anew After Jordan Bid Fails

WASHINGTON—Rep. Jim Jordan withdrew his bid to become House speaker after the fiery conservative lost both a public and private vote

By Kristina Peterson,
Katy Stech Ferek and
Gabriel T. Rubin

Friday, sending divided House Republicans back to the starting line in their weeklong quest to elect a leader and pass urgent legislation.

Jordan's defeat marked the latest fallout from the ouster earlier this month of Speaker Kevin McCarthy (R., Calif.), with House Majority Leader Steve Scalise (R., La.) and now Jordan winning the party's nod only to fall short of the gavel because of internal GOP opposition.

The impasse has left the House frozen and unable to consider legislative initiatives, including the expiration of the government's current funding

next month and assistance for Israel or Ukraine.

Republicans "need to come together and figure out who our speaker is going to be," Jordan said after he ended his bid. "Let's figure out who that individual is, get behind them and get to work for the American people."

The day started with the Ohio Republican imploring colleagues to unite behind him, only to see further defections in a third straight loss for him on the House floor. In all, 25 Republicans joined with all Democrats to oppose him—up from 22 on Wednesday and 20 on Tuesday. Hours later, in a closed-door GOP conference meeting, frustrated colleagues threw in the towel on his candidacy, with more than 100 rejecting him in a secret ballot.

Republicans will now restart their search for a speaker with a candidate forum set for Monday evening and an internal vote Tuesday.

"The space and time for a reset is an important thing for House Republicans," Speaker Pro Tempore Patrick McHenry (R., N.C.) said Friday.

Jordan's departure from the race has swung the door open for broader competition. Republican Study Committee Chairman Kevin Hern (R., Okla.) and Rep. Pete Sessions (R., Texas) have announced interest in the job, while House Majority Whip Tom Emmer (R., Minn.) was quickly endorsed by McCarthy. A handful of others were considering bids.

GOP lawmakers said they hoped to finally move beyond the tensions that had built up for months over the role of the GOP hard-liners who had complicated McCarthy's path to

power, blocked legislation and ultimately engineered his ouster. They later helped defeat Scalise's bid to succeed him. The bad feelings then served to sink Jordan, with many lawmakers loath to promote him, which they worried would reward the behavior of the hard right wing.

Lawmakers wanted to avoid rewarding the behavior of the hard right wing.

Lawmakers said the internal vote Friday helped underscore that there was no path forward or internal GOP support for Jordan to continue to hold votes on the House floor. With a slim 221-212 majority, Republicans can't afford to lose more than a few GOP votes for their nominee.

The end of Jordan's speaker bid marked a rare assertion of power by the House GOP's

more centrist lawmakers and those who want to see the chamber operate, following nine months of intraparty fighting in which small groups of lawmakers often drove the party's agenda.

Jordan is a close ally of former President Donald Trump, and conservative activists strongly backed his candidacy. The head of the House Judiciary Committee and co-founder of the ultraconservative House Freedom Caucus was in close contact with Trump during the former president's efforts to overturn his 2020 election loss. In past years, he was a regular thorn in the side of party leaders, leaving some pro-governance Republicans wary of his ability to lead the chamber.

On Friday, he again declined to say whether he thought Trump lost the election, a position that has fueled Democratic charges that he is a far-right election denier

while also angering some Republicans, including Rep. Ken Buck of Colorado, who had voted to oust McCarthy but declined to back Jordan.

Jordan had faced opposition from GOP colleagues worried about how he would manage spending talks and avoid a government shutdown; allies of other party leaders who were pushed aside in favor of Jordan; and moderates from Democratic-leaning regions who see him as too stridently conservative.

"We had to stand on principle here," said Rep. Don Bacon (R., Neb.), who had opposed Jordan.

—Lindsay Wise
contributed to this article.

Watch a Video



Scan this code for a video on Jordan's failure to win the House speaker's gavel.

Gaetz Has No Regrets Over Chaos

Continued from Page One

Gaetz who took it upon himself to block McCarthy from the speakership in January, joining with 19 others to deny him a majority until he agreed to crippling concessions. One of those was the ability for a single member to bring the motion to vacate, which Gaetz then deployed.

Shifting band

Gaetz doesn't have a posse: He isn't a member of the rabble-rousing Freedom Caucus, and his anti-McCarthy crusades haven't been joined by his fellow far-right provocateur Marjorie Taylor Greene. Only half the members who joined him in forcing out McCarthy this month were members of the group he assembled to block McCarthy nine months ago. Instead, Gaetz, a canny student of procedure with a knack for tapping the conservative zeitgeist, has taken it upon himself to assemble a shifting band of dissidents. And up to now, he has been dramatically successful.

To many Republicans, the hair-gelled Gaetz is personally responsible for not only sparking the current chaos but setting a destructive precedent that continues to hobble the body, as small minorities assemble to block any speaker from being elected. Colleagues have called him a "charlatan," a "vile person" and a "Republican running with scissors."



Rep. Matt Gaetz of Florida, center, spoke with fellow House Republicans at the Capitol earlier this week.

Former speaker Paul Ryan said on CNBC, "What Matt Gaetz did is a disgrace." Rep. John Rutherford, one of 20 Republicans who consistently didn't support Jordan for speaker, explained his opposition: "I'm a no on allowing Matt Gaetz and the other seven to win by putting their individual in as speaker."

While critics accuse Gaetz of attention-mongering, he insists he is about outcomes, not headlines. He says he has received approving feedback from conservatives across the U.S. "Chaos doesn't scare me! American decline does," he wrote on social media late

Thursday. Gaetz accuses McCarthy of breaking promises for how he would handle spending bills, which McCarthy allies deny.

In the interview, Gaetz argued that McCarthy left him no choice: "The motion to vacate occurred because those of us who fought for a better way back in January were losing credibility with our own voters," he said. "Things we told them were going to happen hadn't happened, and it became increasingly clear that McCarthy had no plan to make them happen."

Family business

Politics is the family business for Gaetz, 41, whose grandfather was a Republican legislator in North Dakota and whose father, Don Gaetz, served as president of the Florida Senate. (Forced out by term limits in 2016, Don Gaetz this month said he is running to retake his old seat.) The younger Gaetz grew up in Seaside, west of Tallahassee, in the house where the movie "The Truman Show" was filmed. In three terms in the Florida House, he relished sparring with Democrats but also prided himself on unconventional stances, passing legislation legalizing gay adoption and medical marijuana. In 2016, Gaetz was elected to represent a safe Republican congressional seat in the Panhandle.

"He was the privileged son of one of the most powerful politicians in Florida, and he walked into a congressional seat without much effort, so there were very low expecta-

tions for him" in Washington, said David Jolly, a former Republican congressman from Florida. "The harder road was to develop the legislative and political acumen sufficient to take down a speaker of the House, and he did that in just six years—credit where credit is due." Gaetz, Jolly said, has successfully positioned himself as a hero to Donald Trump's movement and the front-runner for the 2026 GOP gubernatorial nomination should he choose to seek it. "He's a perfect reflection of Trumpism and what the Republican base wants today."

Gaetz has publicly denied he's considering a gubernatorial bid despite widespread reports he is sounding out allies in private. Should he become the favorite for the GOP nomination, Jolly says he'd consider getting

in the race as a Democrat. In Congress Gaetz styled himself a pro-Trump populist. He also faced lurid accusations and was investigated by the Justice Department for allegations of sex trafficking, which he denied. The investigation was closed without charges this year, but the House Ethics Committee continues to probe Gaetz. An enthusiastic exponent of Trump's false claims that the 2020 election was stolen, Gaetz continues to champion those imprisoned for their role in the Jan. 6, 2021, Capitol riot as "political prisoners."

During his years in the minority, Gaetz studied the tactics of the left-wing Squad, viewing them as role models in asymmetric power. In last year's midterm elections, he recruited like-minded candidates to increase his clout, most of whom lost when the predicted "red wave" failed to materialize. But Gaetz recognized that the thin GOP majority that resulted worked to his advantage, reducing to single digits the number of votes any leader could afford to lose on party-line legislation—or a vote to become speaker. The result was January's messy, dayslong, 15-ballot ordeal. During one late-night

floor session, Rep. Richard Hudson (R., N.C.) physically restrained Rep. Mike Rogers (R., Ala.), as Rogers lunged toward Gaetz. Gaetz and his allies finally voted "present" in the 15th round, allowing McCarthy to take up the gavel in exchange for changes to the House's function, including the single-member motion to vacate.

Biding time

In the months since, Gaetz bided his time, scrutinizing McCarthy's leadership, waiting to make his move. It wasn't something he did on the spur of the moment. Rather, he said, he made up his mind while the House was on vacation in August.

Touring the country, Gaetz

says he felt a weighty obligation to the millions of Americans whose awareness—and expectations—he had raised with his actions during the speaker fight. "I heard the same message from people: 'Why have you guys not done more?'" he said. "Why does the House Republican conference look like the surrender brigade? Didn't you have a motion to vacate in the event of noncompliance with your January agreement?"

In the speakerless weeks since he pulled the trigger, Gaetz has tried to be strategic, fading into the background at times and speaking little in the conference meetings he terms "struggle sessions." Recognizing that he might hurt more than help his cause of electing a new, more conservative speaker, he has sought to avoid further inflaming his colleagues. On Tuesday, he apologized for a fundraising email that called the Jordan holdouts "RINOS"—Republicans in Name Only—saying it was sent by his campaign without his approval. McCarthy on Wednesday suggested the email was responsible for losing Jordan votes.

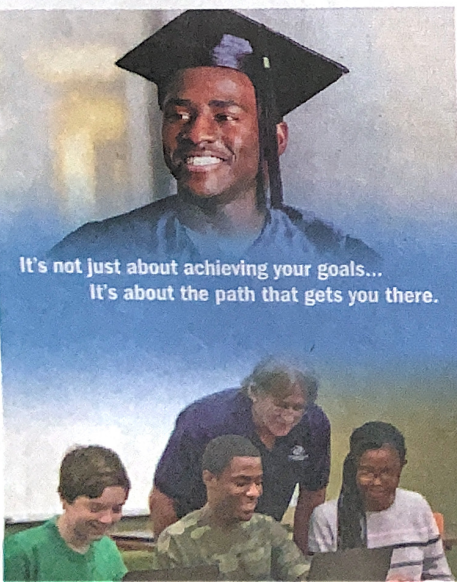
As the House veered last week, Gaetz jetted to Florida to co-headline an event with Trump, who shouted him out as "a big celebrity." Asked on Fox News Radio whether Gaetz's actions had hurt the party, Trump said it depended. "Maybe we'll end up with one of the great speakers of all time, in which case Matt Gaetz did a tremendous favor," the former president mused. On a recent episode of his "Firebrand" podcast, Gaetz touted "the America First vision for public policy—that's what I represent, that's what President Trump represents, and undeniably it is what Jim Jordan represents."

On Friday, Gaetz failed in a last-ditch effort to boost Jordan. He and a few others who voted against McCarthy offered to be censured or kicked out of the party, if in exchange Jordan foes dropped their opposition to his speaker bid. Colleagues dismissed the offer as a stunt, and a majority of Republicans voted behind closed doors for Jordan to end his quest.

Whether McCarthy is replaced by a similar figure or a more conservative one, Gaetz wins either way, says Liam Donovan, a Republican lobbyist. If a conservative wins it would make Gaetz a hero to the right; otherwise it would further his argument that the D.C. "cartel" is conspiring to frustrate conservatives' aims.

"It just sets up the grievance-based grift that powered him to this point," Donovan said. "Matt Gaetz can't do anything but win in this situation."

TOM WILHELMSSO/ROLL CALZADINA/REUTERS



It's not just about achieving your goals...
It's about the path that gets you there.

Jordan's Bid Ends in Secret Vote

As the G.O.P.'s Divisions Deepen

By LUKE BROADWATER

WASHINGTON — Republicans cast aside their latest nominee for House speaker on Friday, rejecting Representative Jim Jordan of Ohio during a secret ballot vote, leaving them once again to search for a new leader amid raging personal and political recriminations.

The rejection came hours after Mr. Jordan, his support ebbing, failed on a third floor vote to win the speakership. His defeat left the party with no consensus on a way forward and the chamber paralyzed in the face of growing pressure to get back to business as war raged overseas and a government shutdown grew nearer.

After his colleagues then voted

New Hopefuls Emerge

— Far Right Seethes

to withdraw Mr. Jordan's nomination, about a dozen House Republicans, few of them household names, quickly began making calls and exploring bids for speaker.

"We need to come together and figure out who our speaker is going to be," Mr. Jordan said, acknowledging his defeat. He said he would turn his focus back to the investigations he is leading into the Biden administration as chairman of the Judiciary Committee.

Continued on Page A16

Jordan Loses Third Bid for Speaker as the G.O.P.'s Divisions Deepen



From Page A1

Republicans planned to meet Monday to figure out their next steps and hear from new candidates. But the party ended the week with no signs of having healed any of the deep divisions that have left it essentially dysfunctional.

Representative Matt Gaetz of Florida said Mr. Jordan was “knifed by secret ballot, anonymously, in a closed-door meeting in the bowels of the Capitol.”

He added, “This was truly swamp tactics on display.”

A favorite of former President Donald J. Trump, Mr. Jordan’s rise and fall capped an extraordinary 18 days of paralysis and chaos in the House, after hard-right rebels loyal to Mr. Jordan — and led by Mr. Gaetz — deposed former Speaker Kevin McCarthy and then a wider group blocked Representative Steve Scalise of Louisiana, the No. 2 Republican.

“Unfortunately, Jim is no longer going to be the nominee,” Mr. McCarthy said. “We will have to go back to the drawing board.”

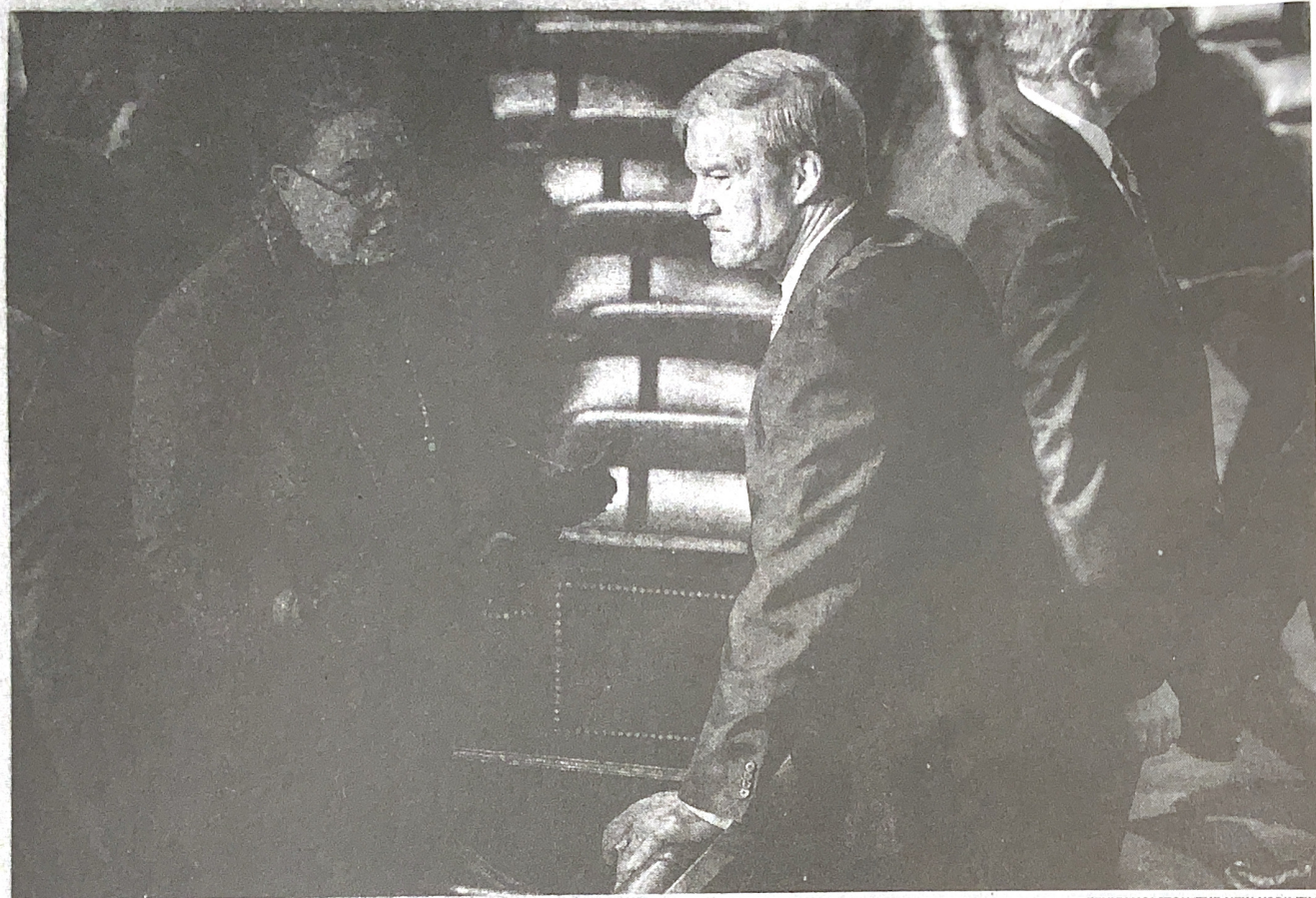
“I’m concerned about where we go from here,” he added.

In an unusual twist, it was a group of 25 mainstream Republicans who stood in opposition to Mr. Jordan’s speaker bid on Friday, showing that they could operate as a bloc to influence the course of a party that has moved increasingly rightward and takes its cues from Mr. Trump and his followers.

There is no consensus among Republicans about an alternative to Mr. Jordan. Republicans have already shown resistance to a temporary solution that would give Representative Patrick T. McHenry of North Carolina, who is acting as speaker pro tempore, the authority to run the House for a few months.

Representative Tom Emmer of Minnesota, the Republican whip, began making calls about his bid

Catie Edmondson, Kayla Guo and Robert Jimison contributed reporting.



KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Representative Jim Jordan of Ohio received only 194 of the required 215 votes to win, with several supporters abandoning ship.

Still no consensus or clear way forward for House Republicans.

for speaker, according to a person familiar with his activities. A spokesman for Mr. McCarthy said Mr. Emmer had the backing of the former speaker.

Representative Kevin Hern of Oklahoma, the chairman of the conservative Republican Study Committee, Representative Byron Donalds of Florida, Representative Jack Bergman of Michigan and Representative Austin Scott of Georgia also announced

their candidacies.

“We just had two speaker-designates go down,” Mr. Hern said. “We must unify and do it fast.”

Mr. Scott had run previously against Mr. Jordan, but fell short.

“If we are going to be the majority we need to act like the majority, and that means we have to do the right things the right way,” Mr. Scott wrote on X, the social media site formerly known as Twitter. “I supported and voted for Rep. Jim Jordan to be the Speaker of the House. Now that he has withdrawn I am running again to be the Speaker of the House.”

Republicans immediately began suggesting other possibilities as well, including Mr. McHenry,

Mr. McCarthy and Mr. Scalise. Other names included Representative Tom Cole of Oklahoma, the Rules Committee chairman, and Representative Jodey C. Arrington of Texas, the Budget Committee chairman, who said he was considering a run.

The unending discord among the chamber’s Republicans only appeared more consequential as President Biden asked Congress to take up a \$105 billion package that would provide security assistance to Ukraine and Israel in the midst of wars there while also giving more money to Taiwan and an infusion of funds to help deter migration across the border with Mexico.

Mr. Jordan, a co-founder of the

ultraconservative House Freedom Caucus, began Friday by pushing ahead with the vote despite clear signs that he would fall short. The outcome showed that he had actually lost ground, with 25 Republicans opposing him, compared with the 22 who voted against him on his last try on Wednesday. Needing 215 votes to win, he received 194.

Three Republicans from swing districts won by Mr. Biden in 2020 — Representatives Marc Molinaro of New York, Brian Fitzpatrick of Pennsylvania and Thomas H. Kean Jr. of New Jersey — abandoned Mr. Jordan after supporting him earlier.

In a secret ballot after the floor vote, the opposition to Mr. Jordan

Vote Results

Ballot Round	Total	Jim Jordan	Hakeem Jeffries	Other
1	432	200	212	20
2	433	199	212	22
3	429	194	210	25

Third Ballot Round

Candidate	Total	Dem.	Rep.
Jim Jordan Ohio	194	0	194
Steve Scalise Louisiana	8	0	8
Patrick McHenry North Carolina	6	0	6
Lee Zeldin Former Representative	4	0	4
Byron Donalds Florida	2	0	2
Kevin McCarthy California	2	0	2
Tom Emmer Minnesota	1	0	1
Mike Garcia California	1	0	1
Bruce Westerman Arkansas	1	0	1
Hakeem Jeffries New York	210	210	0

Note: To win, a member must receive a majority of all votes cast, not counting “present” votes. The Constitution specifies that House members choose the speaker, but the speaker does not have to be a current or even a former representative. THE NEW YORK TIMES

grew, and 112 Republicans voted to reject him as their party’s candidates for speaker.

Many of those opposed to Mr. Jordan were angry at the way some of his allies treated Mr. McCarthy and Mr. Scalise. Backers of Mr. Jordan failed to rally around Mr. Scalise for speaker after he drew support from a majority of Republicans in a conference vote.

Representative Andy Ogles of Tennessee said on Friday that it was “absurd” that Republicans were going home for the weekend instead of restarting the process immediately. He added that a majority of the members in the conference shouted “No!” when the schedule was announced.

“We’re not done, and we shouldn’t be leaving,” he said.