

U.S. MISSILES HIT HOUTHJI TARGETS IN YEMEN



Supporters of the Iranian-backed Houthi militia on Thursday in Sana, Yemen. It had defied warnings from the Biden administration.

5 Allies Join Response to Attacks in Red Sea as War in Mideast Grows

By ERIC SCHMITT and HELENE COOPER

WASHINGTON — The United States and five of its allies on Thursday carried out military strikes against more than a dozen targets in Yemen controlled by the Iranian-backed Houthi militia, in an expansion of the war in the Middle East that the Biden administration had sought to avoid for the past three months.

The American-led air and naval strikes came in response to more than two dozen Houthi drone and missile attacks against commercial shipping in the Red Sea since November, and after warnings to the Houthis in the past week from the Biden administration and several international allies of serious consequences if the salvos did not stop.

On Thursday night, President Biden called the strikes a "clear message that the United States and our partners will not tolerate attacks on our personnel or allow hostile actors to imperil freedom of navigation in one of the world's most critical commercial routes."

In a statement, he warned: "I will not hesitate to direct further measures to protect our people and the free flow of international commerce as necessary."

But the Houthis have defied earlier American ultimatums, vowing to continue their attacks in what they say is a protest against Israel's military campaign in Gaza.

More than 2,000 ships have been forced to divert thousands of miles to avoid the Red Sea, causing weeks of delays, Mr. Biden said. On Tuesday, American and

British warships intercepted one of the largest barrages of Houthi drone and missile strikes yet, an assault that U.S. and other Western military officials said was the last straw.

Biden officials said they had telegraphed what was coming for weeks. But the strikes, they said, were meant more to damage Houthi capability and to hinder the group's ability to strike Red Sea targets, rather than to kill leaders and Iranian trainers, which could be viewed as more escalatory.

The strikes hit radars, missile and drone launch sites, and weapons storage areas, Defense Secretary Lloyd J. Austin III said in a statement. Pentagon officials said late Thursday they were still assessing whether the strikes were successful, and emphasized that they had sought to avoid any civilian casualties.

Thursday's attack drew the United States more deeply into a conflict that ignited after Hamas attacked Israel on Oct. 7 and killed 1,200 people, according to Israeli officials. The Israeli response has so far killed more than 23,000 people in Gaza, according to health authorities there.

Some American allies in the Middle East, including the Gulf nations of Qatar and Oman, had raised concerns that strikes against the Houthis could spiral out of control and drag the region into a wider war with other Iranian proxies, such as Hezbollah in Lebanon and Tehran-backed mili-

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NEWS ANALYSIS

Colleges Fled SAT in Spite Of Its Utility

By DAVID LEONHARDT

After the Covid pandemic made it difficult for high school students to take the SAT and ACT, dozens of selective colleges dropped their requirement that applicants do so. Colleges described the move as temporary, but nearly all have since stuck to a test-optional policy. It reflects a backlash against standardized tests that began long before the pandemic, and many people have hailed the change as a victory for equity in higher education.

Now, though, a growing number of experts and university administrators wonder whether the switch has been a mistake. Research has increasingly shown that standardized test scores contain real information, helping to predict college grades, chances of graduation and post-college success. Test scores are more reliable than high school grades, partly because of grade inflation in recent years.

Without test scores, admissions officers sometimes have a hard time distinguishing between applicants who are likely to do well at elite colleges and those who are likely to struggle. Researchers who have studied the issue say that test scores can be particularly helpful in identifying lower-income students and underrepresented minorities who will thrive. These students do not score as high on average as students from affluent communities or white and Asian students. But a solid score for a student from a less privileged background is often a sign of enormous potential.

"Standardized test scores are a much better predictor of academic success than high school grades," Christina Paxson, the president of Brown University, recently wrote. Stuart Schmill — the dean of admissions at M.I.T., one of the few schools to have reinstated its test requirement — told me, "Just getting straight A's is not enough information for us to know whether the students are going to succeed or not."

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TAIWAN DISPATCH

Democracy Takes the Stage Loudly and Proudly

By CHRIS BUCKLEY and AMY CHANG CHIEN

CHIAYI, Taiwan — Huang Chen-yu strode onto an outdoor stage in a southern Taiwanese county, whooping and hollering as she roused the crowd of 20,000 into a joyous frenzy — to welcome a succession of politicians in matching jackets.

Taiwan is in the final days of its presidential election contest, and the big campaign rallies, with M.C.s like Ms. Huang, are boisterous, flashy spectacles — as if a variety show and a disco

At Campaign Events, M.C.s Work to 'Light a Fire' in Voters

crashed into a candidate's town hall meeting.

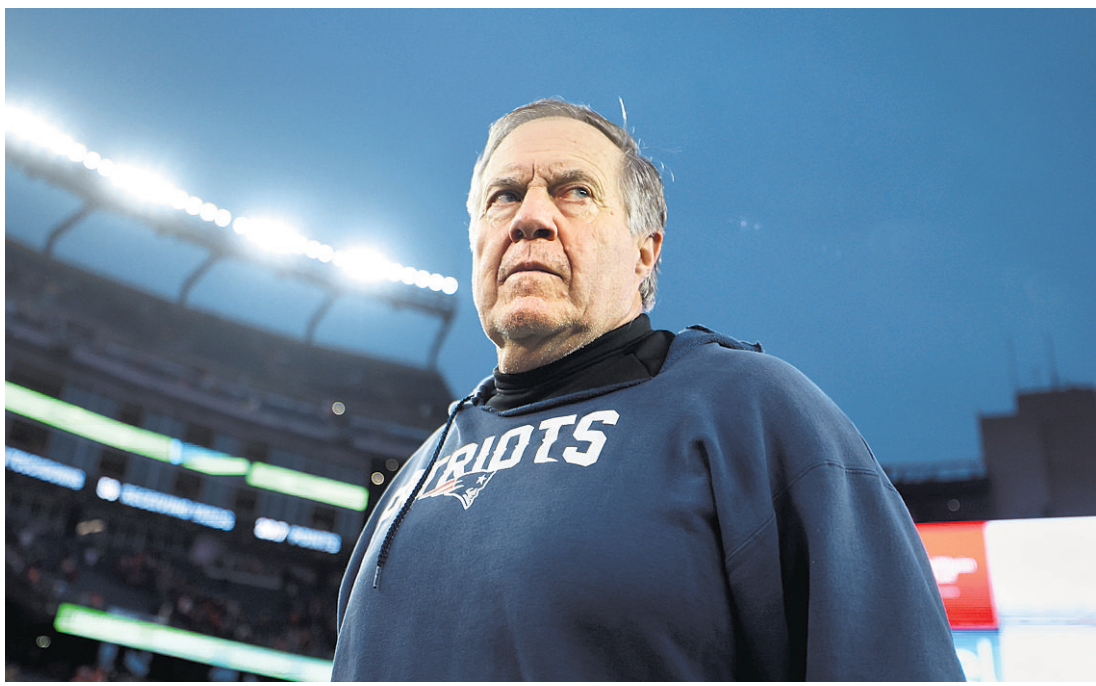
At the high point of the rally, the Democratic Progressive Party's presidential candidate, Lai Ching-te, was introduced to the crowd in Chiayi, a county in southern Taiwan. Ms. Huang roared in Taiwanese, "Frozen

garlic!"

The phrase "dongsuan" sounds like "get elected" and, yes, also like "frozen garlic." Ms. Huang and another M.C. led the crowd of supporters, now on their feet, in a rapid-fire, call-and-response chant: "Lai Ching-te! Frozen garlic! Lai Ching-te! Frozen garlic!" Then they sped up: "Lai Ching-te! Lai Ching-te! Lai Ching-te! Frozen garlic! Frozen garlic! Frozen garlic!"

For Ms. Huang, the event, days before Taiwan's election on Saturday, was one of at least 15

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Before his departure on Thursday, Patriots Coach Bill Belichick was celebrated as savior and sage.

The Glowering Man Behind New England's Joy

By BILL PENNINGTON

It is hard to make an impression, and even harder to make history in a place as old and momentous as New England. The measuring stick is so high.

But Bill Belichick, who departed Thursday as the head coach of the New England Patriots after 24 years of unmatched dominance in America's most popular sport, will be remem-

24 Years and 6 Trophies Later, Belichick Exits

bered alongside New England legends like Ted Williams, Bill Russell and Paul Revere.

OK, Paul Revere is a stretch. Only Tom Brady will exist in perpetuity alongside Paul Revere. Nevertheless, Belichick, whose

teams won six Super Bowls with Brady as quarterback, is big enough in the Boston area that he could qualify as an honorary Kennedy.

Belichick's exit as the Patriots coach, after consecutive losing years that included this season's 4-13 record, is an end of an era in a place where sports heroes can outshine almost any senator, civic leader or artist. Belichick, known

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Faking Names, ESPN Handed Its Stars Emmys

By KATIE STRANG
The Athletic

Last March, Shelley Smith, who worked for 26 years as an on-air reporter for ESPN, received a call from Stephanie Druley, then the network's head of studio and event production. Druley said she wanted to talk about something "serious" that needed to stay between the two of them, Smith recalled. She then told Smith that Smith needed to return two sports Emmy statuettes that she had been given more than a decade earlier.

That request was one of many ESPN made of some of its biggest stars last year after the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, the organization that presents the Sports Emmy Awards, uncovered a scheme that the network used to acquire more than 30 of the coveted statuettes for on-air talent ineligible to receive them. Since at least 2010, ESPN inserted fake names in Emmy entries, then took the awards won by some of those imaginary individuals, had them re-engraved and gave them to on-air personalities.

Kirk Herbstreit, Lee Corso, Chris Fowler, Desmond Howard and Samantha Ponder, among others, were given the ill-gotten Emmys, according to a person briefed on the matter who was granted anonymity because the individual was not authorized to discuss it publicly. There is no evidence that the on-air individuals were aware the Emmys given to them were improperly obtained.

"I think it was really crummy what they did to me and others," said Smith, who worked at ESPN from 1997 until her contract expired last July.

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Limited amounts of food and other aid are entering Gaza.

U.N. Says Gaza Is Approaching Famine's Brink

By STEPHANIE NOLEN

The number of people facing possible starvation in the Gaza Strip in the coming weeks is the largest share of a population at risk of famine identified anywhere since a United Nations-affiliated panel created the current global food-insecurity assessment 20 years ago.

After Hamas's surprise attack on Israel on Oct. 7, Israel responded with air and ground assaults and a sealing of the territory, which have left the 2.2 million people who live there deprived of sufficient food, water and supplies. The United Nations has concluded that without significant intervention, Gaza could reach the level of famine as soon as early February.

Limited amounts of food and other aid are entering Gaza from Israel and Egypt at border points with rigorous inspections; the ongoing bombardment and ground fighting make distribution of that aid extremely difficult.

Scholars of famine say it has been generations since the world has seen this degree of food deprivation in warfare.

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INTERNATIONAL A4-10

In Camellia Country

Verbania in Italy's Piedmont seeks to attract flower lovers with its mild climate and spectacular gardens. PAGE A8

Iran Says It Seized Oil Tanker

The vessel was involved last year in the U.S. seizure of oil being transported in violation of U.S. sanctions. PAGE A7

NATIONAL A11-20

Food Aid Faces a Shortfall

The Agriculture Department says millions of women and children could miss out on nutrition assistance if Congress does not increase funding. PAGE A13

Newark Lowers Voting Age

New Jersey's largest city will allow 16- and 17-year-olds to vote in school board elections. Supporters hope that it's the start of a national movement. PAGE A11

Race for Deal on River's Water

The Western states that rely on the Colorado River worry that a change in administrations after the election could set back negotiations. PAGE A14



SPORTS B6-10

College Football's King Retires

Nick Saban won more national championships than any college football coach, when it was harder than ever. PAGE B7

Unbreakable Spirit in Tennis

Elina Svitolina, the comeback player of 2023, is resolved to aid Ukraine while continuing her rise. PAGE B10

BUSINESS B1-5

F.A.A. to Review Max 9 Design

Federal regulators notified Boeing that they would investigate whether the aerospace giant followed safety rules on a plane that lost a fuselage panel while in flight last week. PAGE B1

Next Front in Chips Battle

A U.S.-born chip technology called RISC-V has become critical to China's ambitions. Washington is debating the question of whether it's advisable, or even possible, to limit it. PAGE B1

OPINION A22-23

David Wallace-Wells

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WEEKEND ARTS C1-16

Even More 'Mean Girls'

A film version of a stage musical based on a film comedy has its charms. Above, Renee Rapp and Avantika. PAGE C1



U.S. EXPERTS SAY MARIJUANA LIMITS SHOULD BE EASED

FIGHT LINGERS AT D.E.A.

Analysis Finds Drug May Have Medical Use and Has Fewer Risks

By CHRISTINA JEWETT and NOAH WEILAND

Marijuana is neither as risky nor as prone to abuse as other tightly controlled substances and has potential medical benefits, and therefore should be removed from the nation's most restrictive category of drugs, federal scientists have concluded.

The recommendations are contained in a 250-page scientific review provided to Matthew Zorn, a Texas lawyer who sued Health and Human Services officials for its release and published it online on Friday night. An H.H.S. official confirmed the authenticity of the document.

The records shed light for the first time on the thinking of federal health officials who are pondering a momentous change. The agencies involved have not publicly commented on their debates over what amounts to a reconsideration of marijuana at the federal level.

Since 1970, marijuana has been considered a so-called Schedule I drug, a category that also includes heroin. Schedule I drugs have no medical use and a high potential for abuse, and they carry severe criminal penalties under federal trafficking laws.

The documents show that scientists at the Food and Drug Administration and the National Institute on Drug Abuse have recommended that the Drug Enforcement Administration make marijuana a Schedule III drug, alongside the likes of ketamine and testosterone, which are available by prescription.

The review by federal scientists found that even though marijuana is the most frequently abused illicit drug, "it does not produce serious outcomes compared to drugs

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For DeSantis, The Personal Stays Private

Reserve Allows Others to Define Him

By NICHOLAS NEHAMAS

DES MOINES — Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida has a classic American dream story.

He hardly ever tells it. A middle-class kid, his baseball skills helped take his team to the Little League World Series — not that many Iowans would know it, despite his visits to all 99 of the state's counties throughout his campaign for the Republican nomination. After graduating from Harvard Law School, he chose to join the Navy and deployed to Iraq, which he usually mentions only in passing. His wife, Casey DeSantis, was diagnosed with breast cancer early in his governorship, but he almost never talks about what it took to support her through it — while raising three young children — or what he learned.

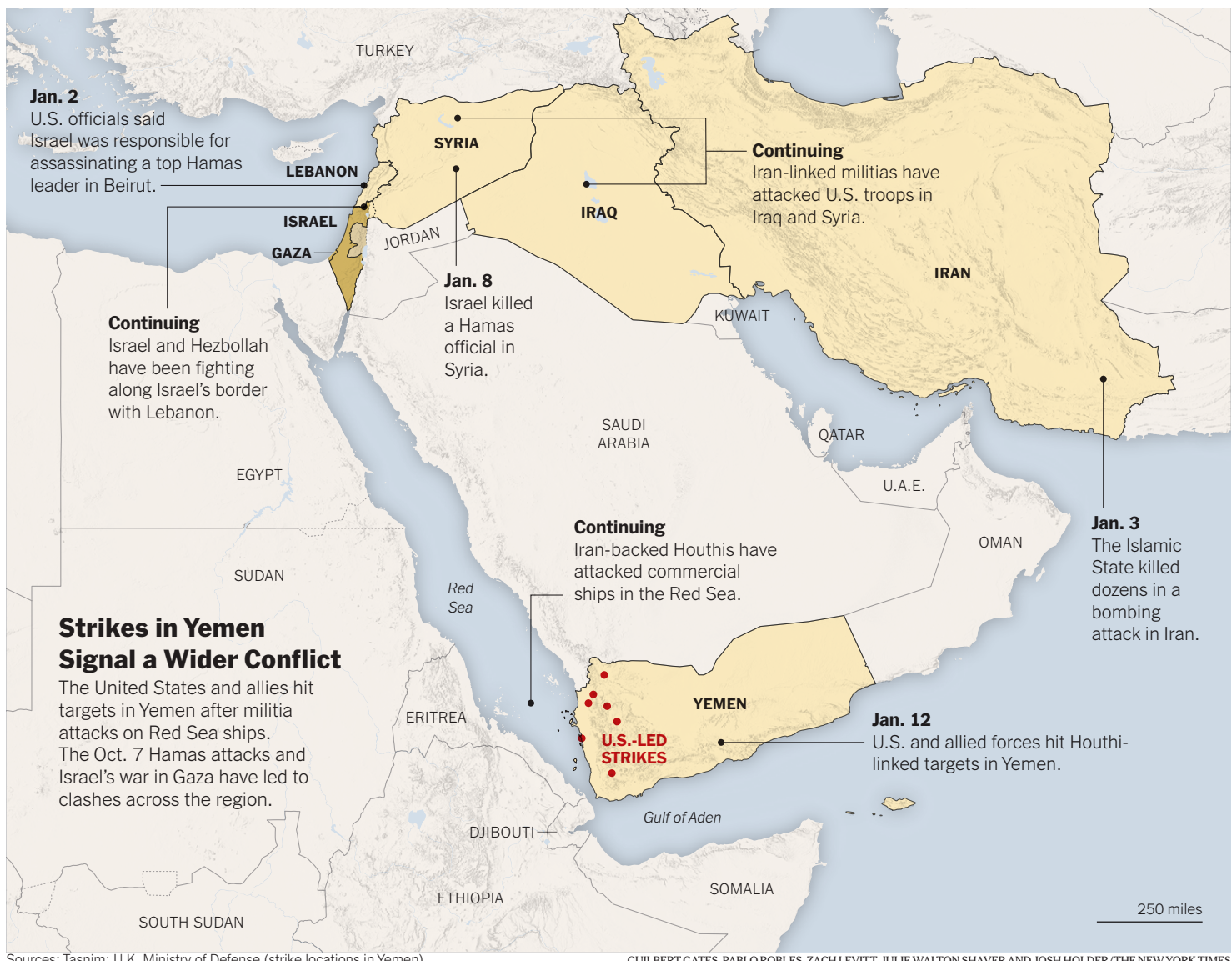
And although Mr. DeSantis frequently appears with his children on the trail, he is more likely to describe them by their ages (7, 5 and 3) than their names (Madison, Mason and Mamie). Even Ms. DeSantis, a former newscaster who is seen as providing a human touch, tends to call him "the governor" instead of "Ron" at his rallies.

If there were ever a time for Mr. DeSantis to tell more of his bootstrap biography it would be now, as his hopes of a strong finish in the Iowa caucuses, and perhaps his entire presidential campaign, seem to be ebbing away. He trails former President Donald J. Trump by more than 35 points in Iowa and will almost certainly fare worse in New Hampshire on Jan. 23. Former Gov. Nikki Haley of South Carolina has overtaken him in most polls.

But in a speech outside Des Moines on Thursday, just four days before the Iowa caucuses, when Mr. DeSantis invoked Benjamin Franklin and the sacrifices needed to preserve the republic, which included needing to "sometimes put on a uniform," he didn't take the opportunity to mention his own service or the fact that he

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U.S. STRIKES ANEW; HOUTHIS VOW ATTACK



Sources: Tasnim; U.K. Ministry of Defense (strike locations in Yemen)

GUILBERT GATES, PABLO ROBLES, ZACH LEVITT, JULIE WALTON SHAVER AND JOSH HOLDER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Strikes in Yemen Signal a Wider Conflict

The United States and allies hit targets in Yemen after militia attacks on Red Sea ships. The Oct. 7 Hamas attacks and Israel's war in Gaza have led to clashes across the region.

In Russia, Even the Smallest Dissent Is Silenced

This article is by Anton Troianovski, Yuliya Parshina-Kotlas, Oleg Matsnev, Alina Lobzina, Valerie Hopkins and Aaron Krolik.

An antiwar scribble on a bathroom wall.

A request to a D.J. for a Ukrainian song.

A photo with a blue and yellow scarf.

Or a conversation at school, recorded by a classmate.

In Russia, those have all been grounds for prosecution.

Thousands of court documents tell the story of Russia's totalitarian crackdown on antiwar speech. Just days after invading

Kremlin Cracks Down on Criticism of War Uttered Privately

Ukraine, President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia signed a censorship law that made it illegal to "discredit" the army. The legislation was so sweeping that even his spokesman acknowledged it was easy to cross the line into prohibited speech. In the first 18 months of the war, the law scooped up a vast array of ordinary Russians — schoolteachers, pensioners,

groundskeepers, a carwash owner — for punishment.

The law has led to more than 6,500 cases of people being arrested or fined, more than 350 a month on average, according to a New York Times analysis of Russian court records through last August. That's a small percentage of Russia's population of 146 million, but The Times analyzed the details of every case, revealing the extraordinary reach and invasiveness of the Kremlin's crackdown; anyone questioning the war or revealing sympathy with Ukraine — even in a private conversation — is now liable to prosecution.

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Regional Nations Urge Restraint as Mideast Conflicts Widen

This article is by Vivian Nereim, Helene Cooper and Thomas Fuller.

RIYADH, Saudi Arabia — The United States led another strike against the Houthi militia in Yemen, two U.S. officials said on Friday night, bombing a radar facility as part of an effort to further degrade the Iran-backed group's ability to attack ships transiting the Red Sea.

It was the second straight day that the U.S. military fired on a Houthi target, after an American-led barrage of military strikes early Friday local time that was aimed at securing critical shipping routes between Europe and Asia. The strikes come amid fears of a wider escalation of the conflict in the Middle East.

Houthi forces in Yemen vowed earlier on Friday to retaliate for the previous strikes, which involved missiles and warplanes launched by the United States and Britain, and came in response to intensifying attacks on commercial vessels and warships in the Red Sea by the Iran-backed Houthi militia, which has said it was acting in solidarity with Palestinians in the war between Israel and Hamas.

Lt. Gen. Douglas Sims, director of the U.S. military's Joint Staff, told reporters on a conference call before the new strike that the Pentagon was more than ready for a response from the Houthis.

"I would expect that they will attempt some sort of retaliation," said General Sims, adding that doing so would be a mistake. "We simply are not going to be messed with here."

A military spokesman for the

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Taiwan Party, Reviled by China, Fights to Prove Its Staying Power

This article is by Chris Buckley, Amy Chang Chien and Lam Yik Fei.

TAIPEI, Taiwan — Nearly four decades ago, a group of lawyers, intellectuals and activists assembled in a hotel ballroom in Taipei to found an illegal political party dedicated to ending authoritarian rule in Taiwan.

No longer a scrappy upstart, the Democratic Progressive Party, born in that ballroom, is now seeking an unprecedented third consecutive term. It needs to persuade voters that after eight years in power, the party can renew itself while also protecting Taiwan from mounting pressures imposed by Beijing, which claims the island as its territory.

Led by Vice President Lai Ching-te, the presidential candidate, the D.P.P. faces a stiff challenge in an election on Saturday from its chief rival, the Nationalist Party, which favors expanded ties with China. Polls have indicated that the Nationalists, led by Hou Yu-ih, a former policeman and the mayor of New Taipei City, may have a fighting chance of returning to power for the first time since 2016, an outcome that could reshape the region's geopolitical landscape. Election results are expected by Saturday night.

For Su Chiao-hui, a lawmaker with the Democratic Progressive Party, the stakes of the vote are es-

Election That Beijing and Washington Are Watching Closely

pecially personal. Her father, Su Tseng-chang, helped found the party when Taiwan was under martial law and later served as a premier in both the party's two phases in power, including under the current president, Tsai Ing-wen.

"I'm a child of the D.P.P.," Ms. Su, a lawyer, said in an interview, recalling seeing her father take part in democracy demonstrations. "Those are the memories in my bones, my daily life, so I didn't need to march on the streets to know that politics can have a big impact."

The challenge for Ms. Su and her generation of Democratic Progressive Party politicians is to persuade voters that the party can deliver the right mix of change and continuity: Change in response to concerns about slowing growth, rising housing prices and other livelihood issues.

Yet also continuity: assurance that a new Democratic Progressive Party administration would not rock Ms. Tsai's measured approach to China and that it is best

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HILARY SWIFT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Winter Arrives in Full Force

Snow covered parts of the Midwest and Plains as temperatures fell below zero. Above, central Iowa.

Get In, Loser, We're Going to Watch a Movie. I Mean, a Musical.

By ALEXIS SOLOSKI

Regina George has a secret. She sings.

Despite what its marketing might suggest, "Mean Girls" (in theaters), the latest in a set of pink-accented nesting dolls, is irrefutably a movie musical. Adapted from the 2018 Broadway

REPORTER'S NOTEBOOK

musical, which was itself based on the 2004 film, which was in turn inspired by the 2002 nonfiction book "Queen Bees and Wannabes," this new version has singing. It has dancing. It has one delectable moment in which

the members of the school marching band raise their saxophones and tubas high.

Barring a split-second shot of the band, you wouldn't know that from the film's trailers. The first trailer, from November — set to Olivia Rodrigo's "Get Him Back!" — included no original music. It was made to look in-

stead like a vaguely edgier remix of the 2004 film.

The second trailer, which arrived on Jan. 3, offers a line or two of "Meet the Plastics," then cedes the soundtrack to a new song, a collaboration between Megan Thee Stallion and Renée Rapp, who plays Regina, the

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NATIONAL A12-17, 20

The High Cost of Delivery

A Facebook page chronicles the deaths of dozens of workers who delivered food in New York City. PAGE A12

U.S. to Seek Death Penalty

The Justice Department called for the execution of the man who killed 10 Black people in Buffalo. PAGE A17

INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Seeking Redemption in Hague

As Israel stands accused of committing genocide in Gaza, Israelis call the charge a perversion of history. Palestinians, however, call it justice. PAGE A4

U.K. Pledges \$3 Billion to Kyiv

Britain will raise its annual gift to Ukraine by about \$255 million as Western support slows. PAGE A10

SPORTS B6-9

Changes for the Better

Novak Djokovic, the top men's seed at the Australian Open, has adjusted his serve and return. PAGE B7



BUSINESS B1-5

A Big Test for Streaming

The N.F.L. playoff game between Kansas City and Miami on Saturday night will be telecast on Peacock. PAGE B1

Microsoft Dethrones Apple

The shift in the most valuable public company is indicative of the importance of new A.I. technology. PAGE B1

ARTS C1-6

You've Got to Be in It to Win It

The actress Alauqa Cox, who had never acted onscreen, almost didn't audition for the Marvel superhero role that now has her playing the lead of "Echo," a new Disney+ miniseries. PAGE C1

Black Voices From the Past

In a new Off Broadway show he stars in and created in collaboration with the Wooster Group, Eric Berryman explores African-American folk traditions via a 1970s album of poetry. PAGE C1

OPINION A18-19

Michelle Goldberg

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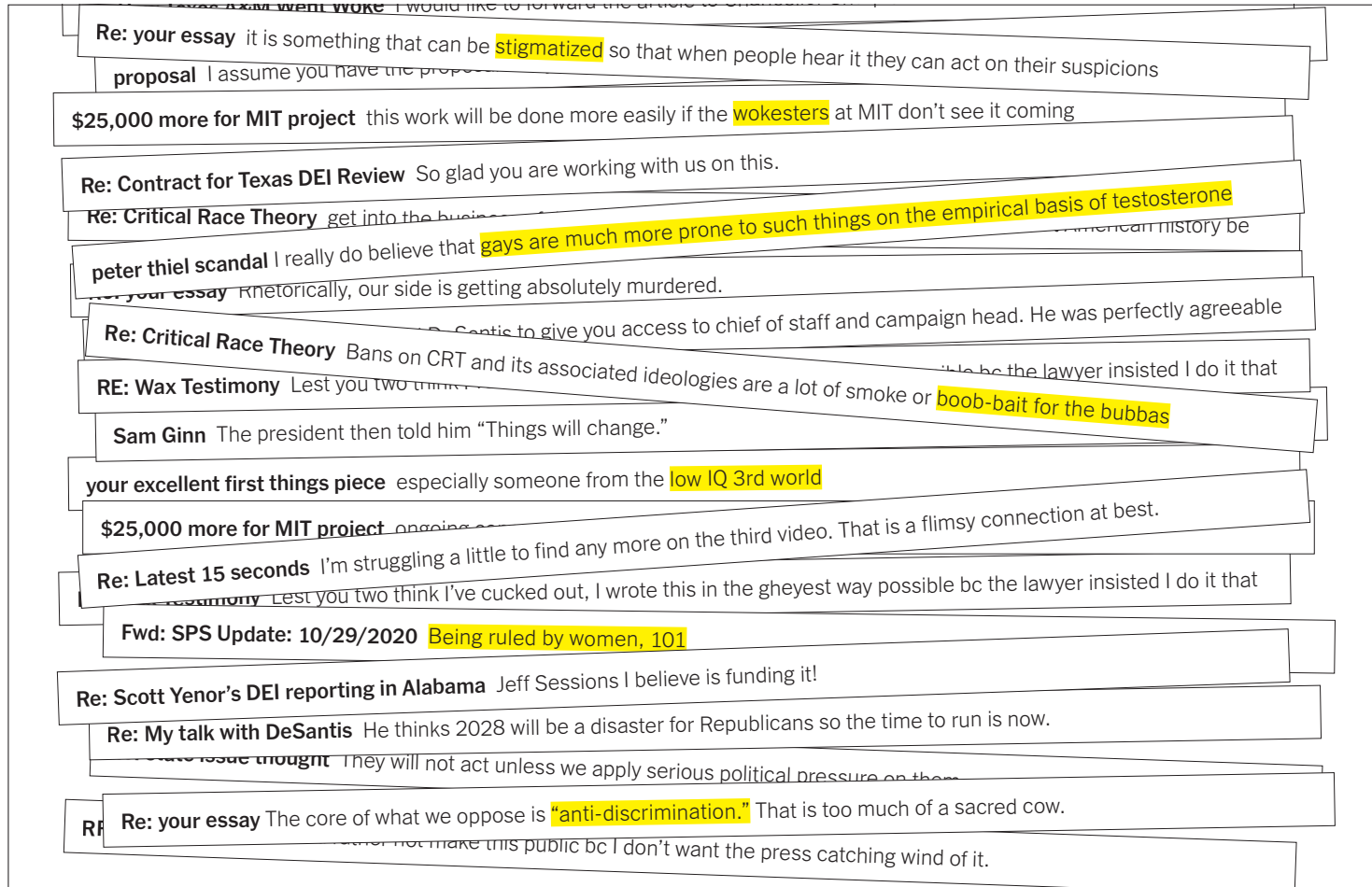


TRAVEL C7-8

36 Hours in Zurich

Switzerland's largest city offers a magnificent 1920s fresco inside Police Headquarters and a food scene that goes far beyond Alpine fare. PAGE C8





Thousands of documents obtained through public-records requests offer a glimpse at the views and motives of opponents of diversity, equity and inclusion programs.

Inside the Crusade Against D.E.I.

'America Is Under Attack': How Conservative Activists Took Aim at 'Woke'

By NICHOLAS CONFESSORE

In late 2022, a group of conservative activists and academics set out to abolish the diversity, equity and inclusion programs at Texas' public universities. They linked up with a former aide to the state's powerful lieutenant governor, Dan Patrick, who made banning D.E.I. initiatives one of his top priorities. Setting their sights on well-known schools like Texas A&M, they researched which offices and employees should be expunged. A well-connected alumnus conveyed their findings to the A&M chancellor; the former Patrick aide cited them before a State Senate committee. The campaign quickly yielded results: In May, Texas approved legislation banishing all such programs from public institutions of higher learning. Long before Claudine Gay resigned Harvard's presidency this month under intense

criticism of her academic record, her congressional testimony about campus anti-semitism and her efforts to promote racial justice, conservative academics and politicians had begun making the case that the decades-long drive to increase racial diversity in America's universities had corrupted higher education. Gathering strength from a backlash against Black Lives Matter, and fueled by criticism that doctrines such as critical race theory had made colleges engines of progressive indoctrination, the eradication of D.E.I. programs has become both a cause and a message suffusing the American right. In 2023, more than 20 states considered or approved new laws taking aim at D.E.I., even as polling has shown that diversity initiatives remain popular. Thousands of documents obtained by The New York Times cast light on the playbook and the thinking underpinning one nexus of the anti-D.E.I. movement — the activists

and intellectuals who helped shape Texas' new law, along with measures in at least three other states. The material, which includes casual correspondence with like-minded allies around the country, also reveals unvarnished views on race, sexuality and gender roles. And despite the movement's marked success in some Republican-dominated states, the documents chart the activists' struggle to gain traction with broader swaths of voters and officials. Centered at the Claremont Institute, a California-based think tank with close ties to the Trump movement and to Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida, the group coalesced roughly three years ago around a sweeping ambition: to strike a killing blow against "the leftist social justice revolution" by eliminating "social justice education" from American schools. The documents — grant proposals, bud-

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To Town Elders, A Gift of a Cane Steeped in Lore

By JENNA RUSSELL

RYE, N.H. — For more than a century, when selectmen in Rye, N.H., honored the town's oldest resident, the title came with a distinctive trophy: a gold-topped, ebony walking cane, engraved with the town's name, that was theirs to keep for as long as they might live. But when the town feted its latest honorees in November — Marion Cronin and Barbara Long, born on the same day in 1921 — that cane was nowhere in sight. Instead, town officials presented a less fancy replica; the original was safely locked up in the town museum. There was good reason for that. Across New England, 700 towns once handed out canes just like the one in Rye's museum, a practice that began in 1909 when a Boston newspaper publisher, Edwin Grozier, started a brilliant regional marketing scheme. Determined to revive his failing Boston Post, he gave the sleek canes to towns across Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Rhode Island — puzzlingly, Connecticut and Vermont were overlooked — and requested that they "be

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Students studying at a subterranean school that opened in a subway station in Kharkiv, Ukraine.

Radio Outlet Broadcasts Rage of a Battered City

By ANDREW E. KRAMER and MARIA VARENIKOVA

KHARKIV, Ukraine — It was the middle of the night in early January when a Russian missile streaked in and exploded in the center of Kharkiv, blasting down walls and shattering windows. The next day, people went shopping and to work, ate out in restaurants and clogged the

streets with traffic jams, almost as if nothing had happened. But behind the business-as-usual veneer, residents of Kharkiv have been seething. Over the past month, Ukraine's second-largest city has taken the brunt of Russia's missile campaign, which has killed and wounded dozens of people, blown up buildings and unnerved everyone. It's an almost daily torment. To vent, Kharkiv's residents have a dedicated outlet: Radio Boiling

Over, a new FM station. "This is Boiling Over in the Morning," Volodymyr Noskov, the host of the morning call-in show, said on a recent broadcast. "What are you boiling over about today?" In Kharkiv, a sprawling city of universities and factories, coping has taken many forms. Nearly two years into the war, the city is opening schools underground. Psychologists visit strike

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In the G.O.P., Anti-Trumpers See a Last Shot

Face Long Odds in Vote in New Hampshire

This article is by Lisa Lerer, Michael C. Bender and Jazmine Ulloa. MANCHESTER, N.H. — The first-in-the-nation primary could be the last stand for the anti-Trump Republican.

Since 2016, a shrinking band of Republican strategists, retired lawmakers and donors has tried to oust Donald J. Trump from his commanding position in the party. And again and again, through one Capitol riot, two impeachments, three presidential elections and four criminal indictments, they have failed to gain traction with its voters.

Now, after years of legal, cultural and political crises that upended American norms and expectations, what could be the final battle of the anti-Trump Republicans won't be waged in Congress or the courts, but in the packed ski lodges and snowy town halls of a state of 1.4 million residents.

Ahead of New Hampshire's primary on Tuesday, the old guard of the G.O.P. has rallied around Nikki Haley, viewing her bid as its last, best chance to finally pry the former president from atop its party. Anything but a very close finish for her in the state, where moderate, independent voters make up 40 percent of the electorate, would send Mr. Trump on an all-but-unstoppable march to the nomination.

The Trump opposition is outnumbered and underemployed. The former president's polarizing style and hard-nosed tactics have pushed many Republicans who oppose him into early retirement and humiliating defeats, or out of the party completely. Yet, their long-running war against him has helped to frame the nominating contest around a central, and deeply tribal, litmus test: loyalty to Mr. Trump.

Gordon J. Humphrey, a former New Hampshire senator, was a conservative power broker during the Reagan era but left the party after Mr. Trump won the presidential nomination in 2016. This year, he has produced anti-Trump Facebook videos aimed at encouraging college students and independent voters who, polls show, are more likely to support Ms. Haley over Mr. Trump.

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DOUBTS IN ISRAEL ABOUT FULFILLING DUAL WAR GOALS

PROGRESS HAS SLOWED

Dilemma Over Priority: Destroying Hamas or Freeing Hostages

By RONEN BERGMAN and PATRICK KINGSLEY

TEL AVIV — After more than 100 days of war, Israel's limited progress in dismantling Hamas has raised doubts within the military's high command about the near-term feasibility of achieving the country's principal wartime objectives: eradicating Hamas and also liberating the Israeli hostages still in Gaza.

Israel has established control over a smaller part of Gaza at this point in the war than it originally envisaged in battle plans from the start of the invasion, which were reviewed by The New York Times. That slower than expected pace has led some commanders to privately express their frustrations over the civilian government's strategy for Gaza, and led them to conclude that the freedom of more than 100 Israeli hostages still in Gaza can be secured only through diplomatic rather than military means.

The dual objectives of freeing the hostages and destroying Hamas are now mutually incompatible, according to interviews with four senior military leaders, speaking on the condition of anonymity because they were not permitted to speak publicly about their personal opinions.

There is also a clash between how long Israel would need to fully eradicate Hamas — a time-consuming slog fought in the group's warren of underground tunnels — and the pressure, applied by Israel's allies, to wrap up the war quickly amid a spiraling civilian death toll.

The generals further said that a drawn-out battle intended to fully dismantle Hamas would most likely cost the lives of the Israeli hostages held in Gaza since Oct. 7, when Hamas militants invaded Israel, killed roughly 1,200 people and took some 240 captives, according to Israeli estimates.

Hamas freed more than 100 hostages in November, but has said it

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Allegations of Office Romance Snarl the Trump Case in Georgia

By SERGE F. KOVALESKI and RICHARD FAUSSET

Fani T. Willis ran for district attorney in Georgia's Fulton County in 2020 with the slogan "Integrity matters!" and frequently pummeled the incumbent, her former boss, with accusations of ethical lapses. Soon after her victory, she set up a group to interview job candidates called the Integrity Transition Hiring Committee.

One of its members was Nathan J. Wade, a lawyer and municipal court judge from the Atlanta suburbs whom she counted as a longtime friend and mentor. Indeed, it was the personal bond they shared that Ms. Willis has described as a key to her decision to hire him to lead the criminal case of a lifetime: her office's prosecution of former President Donald J. Trump for his efforts to overturn his 2020 election loss.

"I need someone I can trust," she said in a 2022 interview.

But in recent days, allegations have surfaced that Mr. Wade was not only a mentor to Ms. Willis, but also a romantic partner.

The allegations first appeared publicly in a court motion filed this month by Michael Roman, one of



Fani T. Willis and Nathan J. Wade at a news conference.

Mr. Trump's 14 co-defendants in the Georgia case. That same day, according to court documents, Ms. Willis received a subpoena to testify from Mr. Wade's wife in their divorce case. In an interview with The New York Times, a person familiar with the situation said Ms. Willis and Mr. Wade had grown close after meeting in a legal education course for judges in 2019 — some two years before she hired him as special prosecutor in the Trump case.

The two lawyers had at times been affectionate with each other in public settings, the person said.

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INTERNATIONAL 4-10

Taiwan's Trust Issue With U.S.

As China more aggressively asserts its claim to the island, residents' skepticism about Washington's support has only deepened. PAGE 4

NATIONAL 11-20

The Failures in Uvalde

A Justice Dept. report on the shooting criticized the response and pointed to a need to better train officers on when to rush in and when to de-escalate. PAGE 20

SUNDAY OPINION

Jamelle Bouie

PAGE 3



SPECIAL SECTION

How Do I Pay for College?

Don't worry, we've got you covered. No, not with the bill. With the process. From the basics to the special circumstances.

METROPOLITAN

Harnessing a Mighty Wind

A turbine with blades as long as a football field is now spinning off Long Island's coast, the first of 12 to provide electricity to the area. PAGE 6

Products That Pack a Punch

The most visible newcomer in the state's cannabis industry is the decidedly mellowed Mike Tyson. PAGE 1

SUNDAY STYLES

Ready for Anything

More people are prepping for a worrisome future by learning military tactics and survival skills. PAGE 8



ARTS & LEISURE

50 Years of 'Happy Days'

Discussing the sitcom's enduring influence in interviews with members of the original cast. PAGE 14

Can We Get a Royal Recess?

Fictionalized dramas about Princess Diana still seem to be everywhere, and they often reek of exploitation. PAGE 6

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Economic Risks Are Still There

Big banks have lately been predicting a soft landing for the economy. But a recession is still possible, and economists say there are three main ways it could happen. PAGE 1

The Best-Paid Plans

In Solano County, Calif., a group of tech billionaires is looking to build a city, and has sued some farmland owners who don't want to sell. PAGE 4



Supreme Court Agrees to Hear Immunity Case

Decision Helps Trump by Delaying a Trial

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court on Wednesday agreed to decide whether former President Donald J. Trump is immune from prosecution on charges of plotting to overturn the 2020 election, further delaying his criminal trial as it considers the matter.

The justices scheduled arguments for the week of April 22 and said proceedings in the trial court would remain frozen, handing at least an interim victory to Mr. Trump. His litigation strategy in all of the criminal prosecutions against him has consisted, in large part, of trying to slow things down.

The Supreme Court's response to Mr. Trump put the justices in the unusual position of deciding another aspect of the former president's fate: whether and how quickly Mr. Trump could go to trial. That, in turn, could affect his election prospects and, should he be re-elected, his ability to scuttle the prosecution.

The timing of the argument was a sort of compromise. Jack Smith, the special counsel overseeing the federal prosecutions of Mr. Trump, had asked the court to move more quickly, requesting that the justices hear the case in March.

Mr. Trump, by contrast, had asked the court to proceed at its usual deliberate pace and to consider the case only after he asked the full U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit to review the decision of a unanimous three-judge panel, which had rejected his claim of absolute immunity.

In settling on the week of April 22, the court picked the last three scheduled argument sessions of its current term and seemed to indicate that its decision would follow before the end of its current term, in late June.

That does not mean the trial would start right away if Mr. Trump lost. Pretrial proceedings, currently paused, must first be completed. By some rough calculations, the trial could be delayed until late September or October, plunging the proceedings into the heart of the election.

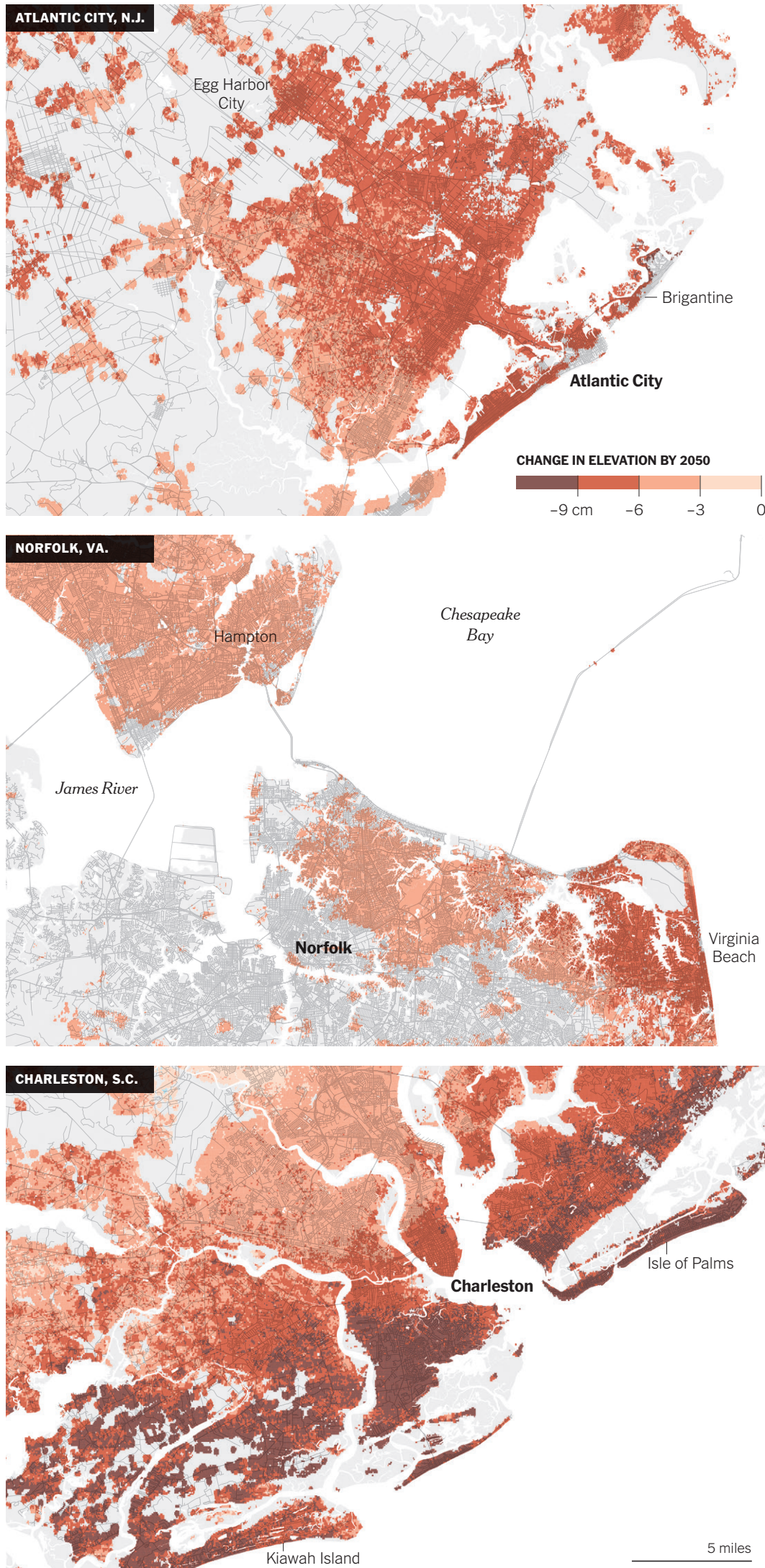
Mr. Trump's emergency application asking the Supreme Court to intervene had been fully briefed since Feb. 15, and the court's delay in addressing it suggested that the justices differed about how to proceed.

Continued on Page A18

BUMP STOCKS The court seemed split over whether the government should have been able to ban the gun accessory. PAGE A14

The East Coast Is Sinking

Land is slumping into the ocean, compounding the dangers from a rise in sea levels. A major culprit is the overpumping of groundwater. Page A12.



Hope for Biden And a Warning From Michigan

Primary Test Is Passed; Gaza Is Still a Thorn

This article is by Reid J. Epstein, Jonathan Weisman and Nicholas Nehamas.

WASHINGTON — President Biden and his allies had reasons for both hope and concern after a Michigan primary election that revealed the party's painful divisions over the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and confronted him with his largest measure of Democratic opposition to date.

He avoided his anxious supporters' darkest predictions by winning the Tuesday primary, 81 percent to 13 percent, over an "uncommitted" movement that sprang up to protest his backing of Israel. Yet more than 100,000 voters registered their disapproval of him, signaling serious discontent among Arab Americans, young voters and progressives as he tries to stitch back together his winning 2020 coalition.

Democratic unease with Mr. Biden's handling of the Mideast war will not go away as the presidential primary calendar moves on to more than a dozen Super Tuesday states next week, but his allies are optimistic that Michigan will serve as the high-water mark for resistance to the president within his party.

Though many states have the option for Democrats to cast protest votes against Mr. Biden, they are not nearly as likely as Michigan was to become a national litmus test for his popularity or his handling of the war in Gaza.

No other place will have the combination of a large and politically active Arab American community, a battleground-state spotlight with heightened stakes for November, and a weeklong run-way in which Michigan hosted the country's only Democratic primary action.

But if Mr. Biden's immediate electoral worries have receded after Michigan, the political pressure over his position on Israel threatens to linger through the summer and fall barring a major shift in policy or progress to end the bloodshed in Gaza.

Opposition to American political, military and financial support for Israel has dogged Mr. Biden and other prominent Democrats at public events around the country, with frustration spreading beyond Arab American and Muslim communities to college campuses and other progressive areas.

An apparent desire to avoid confrontations with antiwar demonstrators has led Mr. Biden's campaign to encase him and Vice President Kamala Harris in political Bubble Wrap, taking unusual steps to maintain a focus on more politically friendly topics. When Ms. Harris visited Michigan last

Continued on Page A17

McCONNELL TELLS SENATE IT'S TIME HE STEPPED ASIDE

GIVING UP LEADER POST

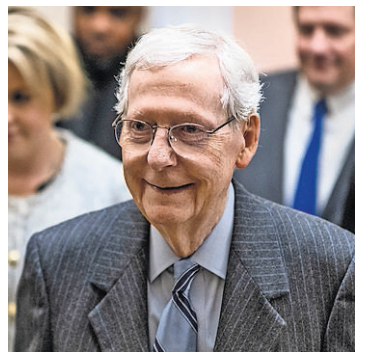
Says His Views Have Left Him Out of Sync With Trump-Led G.O.P.

By CARL HULSE

WASHINGTON — Senator Mitch McConnell, the longtime top Senate Republican, said on Wednesday that he would give up his spot as the party's leader following the November elections, acknowledging that his Reaganite national security views had put him out of step with a party now headed by former President Donald J. Trump.

"Believe me, I know the politics within my party at this particular time," Mr. McConnell, who turned 82 last week, said in a speech on the Senate floor announcing his intentions. "I have many faults. Misunderstanding politics is not one of them."

His decision, reported earlier by The Associated Press, was not



KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES
Senator Mitch McConnell said he will cede his role in the fall.

a surprise. Mr. McConnell suffered a serious fall last year and experienced some episodes where he momentarily froze in front of the media. He has also faced rising resistance within his ranks for his push to provide continued military assistance to Ukraine as well as his close-to-the-vest leadership style. And his toxic relationship with Mr. Trump, whom he blamed for the Jan. 6, 2021, attack on the Capitol — after orchestrating his acquittal in an impeachment trial on charges of inciting an insurrection — put him profoundly at odds with the rest of his party.

Mr. McConnell had said that he would serve out his full Senate term ending in 2027, but had been more opaque about whether he would try to remain leader after November.

His announcement placed an end date on an extraordinary run for a congressional leader known for his legislative prowess and talent for obstructing major Demo-

Continued on Page A15

Tired of Israeli Political Strife, These Soldiers Have a New Mission

By ISABEL KERSHNER

JERUSALEM — Gathered this month around a campfire on the edge of a forest in central Israel, the soldiers planned their next mission: saving their deeply divided country from itself.

Like many of the thousands of Israeli reservists called to fight in Gaza, the soldiers left for war amid a sudden surge of national unity after the Oct. 7 Hamas-led attacks on Israel.

But as the military has withdrawn soldiers from Gaza in recent weeks and the troops have returned home, they have found their country less like it was after Oct. 7 and more like it was before: torn by divisive politics and culture clashes.

Now, as these bitter divisions re-emerge, disillusioned reserv-

ists are at the vanguard of movements demanding a political reset, seeking unity and repudiating what many view as extreme polarization.

"I first came out in December and was shocked to see that nothing had changed," said David Sherez, a special forces commander and start-up entrepreneur, on leaving his base near Gaza.

Mr. Sherez, one of the soldiers who gathered around the campfire in the woods, is a founding member of Tikon 2024, a new non-partisan organization led by reservists intent on preserving the spirit of cooperation brought on by the war.

"You put on the news and look at social media, and it's as if Oct. 7 didn't happen," Mr. Sherez said. "Everyone needs to do some soul-searching."

Members of the small but rapidly growing movement cited contentious government moves that have divided the country, including a proposed overhaul of the judiciary, talk of resettling Gaza, criticism of the families of hos-

tages who have called for a ceasefire and a proposed budget that benefits the far-right and ultra-Orthodox fringes at the expense of the national economy.

Israel's military, in which serv-

Continued on Page A9



SERGEY PONOMAREV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Members of Tikon 2024, a movement of Israeli reservists.

He Rescued 1.5 Million Books In Yiddish. That's Chutzpah!

By JOSEPH BERGER

Aaron Lansky was a young graduate student in Montreal in the late 1970s when he had an epiphany that changed the course of his life.

He had been taking courses in Yiddish literature at McGill University, but was finding it hard to find the books he needed. At times, he relied on older neighbors in Montreal's vibrant Jewish community who would welcome the opportunity to chat with a young visitor over a cup of tea or a plate of noodle kugel before surrendering their books.

He came to realize that such home libraries were endangered resources: The generations of Yiddish-speaking immigrants

who flocked to the United States and Canada beginning in the 1880s to escape pogroms and poverty were dying out, and most of their assimilated children and grandchildren did not speak or read Yiddish well. As a result, whole libraries filled with works of writers like Sholem Aleichem, I.L. Peretz and Sholem Asch — as well as science and history texts, translations of classics like Shakespeare and Guy de Maupassant, even cookbooks and sex manuals — were being consigned to dumpsters, attics and cellars.

That wintry day, Mr. Lansky, then 24 years old, decided on a seemingly quixotic quest: "To

Continued on Page A11

SPORTS B7-10

Learning and Making History

A candidate for enshrinement himself, Ichiro Suzuki has made several trips to the Baseball Hall of Fame. PAGE B10

New on Netflix: Rafael Nadal

He will return from injury on hardcourts, first in an exhibition, instead of on clay as many had expected. PAGE B8



INTERNATIONAL A4-9

Macron Rattles NATO Allies

The French leader's remarks on sending troops into Ukraine were aimed at Russia, but alarmed the West. PAGE A6

BUSINESS B1-6

Levi's for the Whole Wardrobe

Under a new chief executive, the brand, known for jeans, is aiming to be a full outfitter. PAGE B1

OBITUARIES B11-12

Leading Man of Antiques

Bruce Newman helped stage Broadway and Hollywood. He was 94. PAGE B12

NATIONAL A10-21

I.V.F. Protection Bill Blocked

A Republican senator blocked quick passage of a measure that would establish federal protections for I.V.F. and other fertility treatments. PAGE A16

President's Son Testifies

Hunter Biden used his opening statement to condemn Republicans' efforts to impeach his father, saying their inquiry was fueled by lies. PAGE A15

Court Rejects Trump's Bond

The former president, who is appealing the penalty in his civil fraud case, had offered a bond of only \$100 million to pause the judgment. PAGE A18

THURSDAY STYLES D1-6

Gutsy Fashion Choices

At the first stop on Olivia Rodrigo's world tour, fans added punk accents to feminine butterflies and bows. PAGE D1

Adjusting the Look

In Milan, Gucci, Marni and Bottega Veneta are signaling a shift in fashion. Below, from Marni, fall 2024. PAGE D2



ARTS C1-6

Putting Diversity on Display

Asian artists are receiving more recognition from museums and galleries in California and beyond. PAGE C1

Catching Abe Lincoln's Ear

A play featuring Mary Todd Lincoln as a frustrated cabaret singer may seem like a real stretch. But maybe not. PAGE C4

OPINION A22-23

Pamela Paul

PAGE A22





ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

A cargo vessel bound for Sri Lanka caused the Francis Scott Key Bridge in Baltimore to fall on Tuesday, sending construction workers into the water. Two were rescued.

Major Baltimore Bridge Collapses, Struck by Ship

6 Believed Dead as Search Is Called Off; Officials Cite an Accident

By THOMAS FULLER

As a spring tide rushed out of Baltimore harbor just after midnight on Tuesday, the hulking outlines of a cargo ship nearly three football fields long and stacked high with thousands of containers sliced through frigid waters toward the Francis Scott Key Bridge.

The vessel, the Dali, was a half-hour into its 27-day journey from Baltimore to Colombo, Sri Lanka.

Then the lights on the Dali went dark. The crew urgently reported to local authorities that the vessel had lost power and propulsion. The ship bore down on the bridge.

In a scene captured from a live-streaming camera, the ship smashed into a pillar of the bridge with so much force that the massive southern and central spans of the bridge collapsed within seconds.

A highway repair crew was on the structure, working the night shift, filling potholes. At least eight members of the construction crew plunged into the 50-foot-deep Patapsco River below.

Six people were presumed dead as officials suspended the search-and-rescue effort on Tuesday night.

"Based on the length of time we've gone in this search, the extensive search efforts that we've put into it, the water temperature, that at this point we do not believe we are going to find any of these individuals still alive," Coast Guard Rear Adm. Shannon Gilreath said.

Two construction workers were rescued from the water; one went to the hospital and was later released.

The shocking collapse of the 1.6-mile bridge, seared into the memories of the countless people who viewed video of the ship bearing down on the bridge, was described by officials as an accident.

"We haven't seen any credible evidence of a terrorist attack," said Gov. Wes Moore of Maryland,

Continued on Page A18

VITAL HUB Supply disruptions caused by the port's closure will be felt for weeks. PAGE A19

1:25 A.M. Dali, a huge cargo ship, approached from the Port of Baltimore.



1:27 A.M. The ship changed direction as it neared one of the bridge's piers.



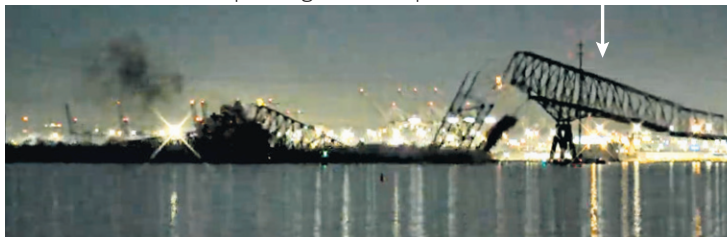
1:28 A.M. The ship hit one of the bridge's two main piers.



1:28 A.M. Southern and central spans collapsed within seconds of impact.



1:28 A.M. The northern span began to collapse seconds later.



1:29 A.M. Within 30 seconds of impact, the main spans had fully collapsed.



Source: StreamTime Live via YouTube | Note: Time stamps are from StreamTime Live video. THE NEW YORK TIMES

Judge's Order Aims to Mute Trump's Rage

By BEN PROTESS and WILLIAM K. RASHBAUM

The New York judge presiding over one of Donald J. Trump's criminal trials imposed a gag order on Tuesday that prohibits him from attacking witnesses, prosecutors and jurors, the latest effort to rein in the former president's wrathful rhetoric about his legal opponents.

The judge, Juan M. Merchan, imposed the order at the request of the Manhattan district attorney's office, which brought the case against Mr. Trump. The district attorney, Alvin L. Bragg, has accused Mr. Trump of covering up a potential sex scandal during and after his 2016 campaign.

The ruling comes on the heels of Justice Merchan's setting an April 15 trial date, rejecting Mr. Trump's latest effort to delay the proceeding while he seeks to reclaim the

Continued on Page A21

Using TikTok, Biden Courts Tough Crowd

By ANJALI HUYNH

President Biden's campaign is working to reach across the generation gap to the tens of millions of predominantly younger voters on TikTok, where the challenges are daunting and the rewards difficult to track.

The obstacles range from anger over the war in Gaza to what social media experts describe as the unavoidably uncool nature of supporting the administration in power.

Mr. Biden, 81, joined the app owned by a Chinese company last month, in what was widely seen as an effort to communicate with voters under 30, among whom he has polled poorly for months. In interviews and surveys, those voters indicated an unawareness about his administration's accomplishments, something a word-of-mouth campaign on TikTok could

Continued on Page A16

Israeli Hostage Tells of Sexual Assault in Gaza

By PATRICK KINGSLEY and RONEN BERGMAN

TEL AVIV — Amit Soussana, an Israeli lawyer, was abducted from her home on Oct. 7, beaten and dragged into Gaza by at least 10 men, some armed. Several days into her captivity, she said, her guard began asking about her sex life.

Ms. Soussana said she was held alone in a child's bedroom, chained by her left ankle. Sometimes, the guard would enter, sit beside her on the bed, lift her shirt and touch her, she said.

He also repeatedly asked when her period was due. When her period ended, around Oct. 18, she tried to put him off by pretending that she was bleeding for nearly a week, she recalled.

Around Oct. 24, the guard, who called himself Muhammad, attacked her, she said.

Early that morning, she said, Muhammad unlocked her chain and left her in the bathroom. After



AVISHAG SHAAR-YASHUV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Amit Soussana was taken captive in the Oct. 7 attacks by Hamas.

she undressed and began washing herself in the bathtub, Muhammad returned and stood in the doorway, holding a pistol.

"He came towards me and shoved the gun at my forehead," Ms. Soussana recalled during eight hours of interviews with The New York Times in mid-March.

After hitting Ms. Soussana and forcing her to remove her towel, Muhammad groped her, sat her on the edge of the bathtub and hit her again, she said.

He dragged her at gunpoint back to the child's bedroom, a room covered in images of the car. Continued on Page A6

INTERNATIONAL A4-12

Millions Watch Seal Rescues

A team is taking videos as it disentangles seals in Namibia, drawing attention to the perils of marine debris. PAGE A10

Unplugged for a School Year

Letter writing opened up a new world to a 13-year-old in the Australian wilderness and her parents. PAGE A4



NATIONAL A13-21

What's Next for Coronavirus?

Scientists studying the virus's evolution, and the body's immune responses, hope to head off a resurgence and to better understand long Covid. PAGE A13

It's Not Rodgers or Ventura

Robert F. Kennedy Jr. named as his running mate the Silicon Valley lawyer and investor Nicole Shanahan, a political neophyte. PAGE A16

Two Shocking Acts of Violence

The killing of a police officer and a fatal subway shove underscore the challenge that New York's mayor faces as he tries to improve public safety. PAGE A21

BUSINESS B1-6

'DJT' Soars on Its First Day

Trump Media & Technology Group, fresh from a merger with a cash-rich shell company, started trading on the Nasdaq. PAGE B1

McDaniel Loses Her New Job

NBC News cut ties with the former Republican Party official, whose hiring was attacked by its top stars. PAGE B1

SPORTS B7-10

Tailored to Their Giant Needs

Basketball players who tower over the competition face a challenge off the court: finding clothes that fit. PAGE B7

FOOD D1-8

A Simple Easter Brunch

A show-stopping frittata, a snappy salad and a chewy cookie from a celebrated chef aren't hard. PAGE D3

Appetizing Fake Flowers

Why are restaurants filling up with artificial floral arrangements? One man has an awful lot to do with it. PAGE D1



ARTS C1-6

Taking a Different Path

Kelly Moran helped bring the "prepared" piano to new audiences, but now she has found a new voice. PAGE C1

The Original Impressionists

The Musée d'Orsay has mounted an exhibition refining the mythology of the movement's beginnings. PAGE C1

OPINION A22-23

Bret Stephens

PAGE A22



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New Biden Bid To Help Pay Off Student Loans

President Unveils Plan in a Key Swing State

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR

MADISON, Wis. — President Biden on Monday announced a large-scale effort to help pay off federal student loans for tens of millions of American borrowers, seeking an election-year boost by returning to a 2020 campaign promise that was blocked by the Supreme Court last year.

Mr. Biden's new plan would reduce the amount that 25 million borrowers still owe on their undergraduate and graduate loans. It would wipe away the entire amount for more than four million Americans. Altogether, White House officials said, 10 million borrowers would see debt relief of \$5,000 or more.

"While a college degree still is a ticket to the middle class, that ticket is becoming much too expensive," Mr. Biden said during a speech to a small but enthusiastic audience filled with supporters. "Today, too many Americans, especially young people, are saddled with too much debt."

Mr. Biden announced the plan in Madison, Wis., the capital of a critical swing state and a college town that symbolizes the president's promise to make higher-education affordability a cornerstone of his economic agenda.

But it is a promise he has so far failed to achieve, largely because of legal challenges from Republicans and other critics. They accuse Mr. Biden of unlawfully using his executive authority to enact a costly transfer of wealth from taxpayers who have not taken out federal student loans to those who have.

Officials did not say how much the new plan would cost in coming years, but critics have said it could increase inflation and add to the federal debt by billions of dollars.

Mr. Biden said his new effort would help the economy by removing the drag of enormous debt from people who would otherwise not be able to buy a home or pursue a more economically sound future.

"We're giving people a chance to make it," Mr. Biden said. "Not a guarantee. Just a chance to make it."

Mr. Biden's announcement was a presidential do-over. In the summer of 2022, he put in motion a plan to wipe out \$400 billion in student debt for about 43 million borrowers. That was blocked by the Supreme Court, which said he exceeded his authority. In the months since, Mr. Biden has waived small amounts of debt using existing programs. But now he is attempting a larger effort closer to the scale of his first try.

The original plan relied on a law called the HEROES Act, which the administration argued allowed the government to waive student debt during a national emergency like the Covid pandemic. The justices disagreed after Republican attorneys general and others challenged the debt waiver plan.

Continued on Page A14

Day and Night and Day

Millions turned out on Monday to witness North America's last total solar eclipse until 2044. Some shared what the moment meant to them. Pages A9-11.



RENAUD PHILIPPE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

MONTREAL With school closed for the spectacle, children at Parc Jean-Drapeau gazed skyward.



ANDREA MORALES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

MURPHYSBORO, ILL. A viewing party outside a brewery. Parts of the Midwest were prime locations.



CASSANDRA KLOS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

BURLINGTON, VT. Crowds thronged Lake Champlain as the time for the eclipse approached.

Israel's Review Of Aid Attack Raises Doubts

Analyzing Safeguards And Broken Protocols

LONDON — Israel's account of its attack on a World Central Kitchen convoy raises significant legal questions even if the strike was the result of a series of mistakes, experts say.

AMANDA TAUB

THE INTERPRETER

The Israeli military announced on Friday that its preliminary investigation had revealed a string of errors that led to the deaths of seven aid workers. It took responsibility for the failure, saying that there were "no excuses" and citing "a mistaken identification, errors in decision-making and an attack contrary to the standard operating procedures."

But the description of events that has emerged raises broader questions about the military's ability to identify civilians and its procedures for protecting them, legal experts told The New York Times — including new concerns about whether Israel has been complying with international law in its conduct of the war in Gaza more generally.

The first, most basic principle of international humanitarian law is that civilians cannot be targets of a military attack. Militaries must have procedures in place to distinguish between civilians and legitimate military targets.

"In the case of doubt as to a convoy or person's status, one is to presume civilian status," said Tom Dannenbaum, a professor at the Fletcher School at Tufts University who is an expert on humanitarian law. "And so, attacking in the context of doubt is itself a violation of international humanitarian law."

Humanitarian aid workers and aid facilities are entitled to heightened protections because they deliver relief to endangered civilians, said Janina Dill, a co-director of the Oxford Institute for Ethics, Law and Armed Conflict.

"These are civilian vehicles, first and foremost," she said, referring to the World Central Kitchen convoy. "They're also vehicles involved in humanitarian assistance missions, which are specifically protected. The people on these trucks should be presumed to be individuals involved in humanitarian assistance missions, which means they are protected persons."

Israeli soldiers presumed that some of the World Central Kitchen vehicles were carrying militants, according to the Israeli military's explanation, even though they had been observed joining an aid convoy and later departing from a food warehouse.

Some officers did not review the military's own documentation about the convoy to confirm that it included cars in addition to the trucks. If they had, they would have discovered that the

Continued on Page A6

ACTIVE FIGHTING SUBSIDES IN GAZA, BUT WAR GOES ON

ENTERING NEW PHASE

Analysts Expect Smaller Israel Raids in Effort to Stem Hamas

By PATRICK KINGSLEY

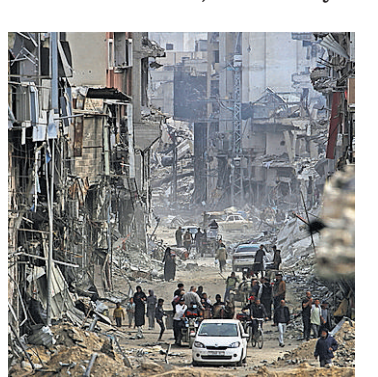
JERUSALEM — The Israeli military's departure from southern Gaza over the weekend has left the devastated territory in a state of suspense as active fighting there receded on Monday to its lowest ebb since a brief truce with Hamas in November.

But even as some observers hoped Israel's withdrawal from the area might portend a new cease-fire, both Hamas and Israeli officials suggested the war was not yet over.

Analysts said the withdrawal of Israeli troops suggested only that the war had entered a new phase, one in which Israel would continue to mount small-scale operations across Gaza to prevent Hamas's resurgence. That strategy, they said, could occupy a middle ground between reaching a lasting truce with Hamas and ordering a major ground assault into Rafah, Hamas's last stronghold in southern Gaza where more than one million Palestinians have taken refuge.

In a statement on Monday, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel said that while Israel was still pursuing a deal to secure the release of its hostages in Gaza, it was also seeking "total victory over Hamas."

"This victory requires entering Rafah and eliminating the terrorist battalions there," Mr. Netanyahu said.



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Southern Gaza on Monday after Israeli forces retreated.

hu said. "This will happen; there is a date." He did not specify the date.

By withdrawing now without having fulfilled its stated mission of eliminating Hamas and without empowering an alternative Palestinian leadership, Israel has left behind a power vacuum in Gaza, in which Hamas could regroup and re-emerge as a military force across much of the territory.

The Israeli military said on Sunday that its 98th Division had left Khan Younis in southern Gaza in order "to recuperate and prepare for future operations." That leaves

Continued on Page A7

Abortion Should Be Left to States, Trump Says

This article is by Maggie Haberman, Jonathan Swan and Michael Gold.

Former President Donald J. Trump said in a video statement on Monday that abortion rights should be left up to the states, remarks that came after months of mixed signals on an issue that he and his advisers have worried could cost him dearly in the election.

Mr. Trump said his view was that the states should decide through legislation, and that "whatever they decide must be

Stance Draws Criticism From Conservatives

the law of the land, and in this case, the law of the state." But he added that he was "strongly in favor of exceptions for rape, incest and life of the mother."

"Many states will be different, many will have a different number of weeks or some will have more conservative than others, and that's what they will be," Mr. Trump said in the video, which he

posted on his Truth Social website.

"At the end of the day, it's all about will of the people," he added. "That's where we are right now and that's what we want — the will of the people."

Mr. Trump's comments came as Democrats, who saw their voting base energized against Republicans in 2022 after the repeal of Roe v. Wade, have attacked the former president at every turn on the issue of abortion.

Mr. Trump, who has been trying to balance his desire to please the

Continued on Page A13

When War Comes Home, and Does Not Leave

This article is by Emile Ducek, Oleksandr Naselenko and Thomas Gibbons-Neff.

Two years after Russia began its full-scale invasion of Ukraine, the hourly artillery duels, airstrikes and pitched fighting in the country's east and south have turned the more than 600-mile front line into a scarred frontier. Parts of it may be uninhabitable for years, if not decades. Villages and towns are destroyed. Fields are mined. Roads are barely recognizable.

But clinging to the wreckage of

Surviving in Ukraine's Front-Line Villages

their homes, and hometowns, are residents who refuse to leave. Buoyed by volunteers who deliver aid and their own battle-hardened survival instincts, they carry on with their lives in an unending test of endurance. The reasons they stay are many: to care for disabled family members, to look after pets or livestock or, plainly, their love of home.

But in enclaves where the thuds of artillery serve as white noise, war is never far away.

In the southern port city of Kherson and the villages around it, residents have endured months of Russian occupation, a cold winter without electricity and an unending barrage of artillery shells.

Some left after the initial Russian occupation and returned in November 2022, after Ukraine's military retook the city, but weekly evacuations continue. Kherson's current population is around 60,000. Before the war, al-

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INTERNATIONAL A4-8

Vatican Statement on Gender

Pope Francis approved a document that called gender fluidity and transition surgery threats to dignity. PAGE A4

In Space, and Then in Hiding

Rising temperatures in Antarctica are putting meteorites out of view before researchers can collect them. PAGE A5

NATIONAL A9-17, 20

A Princess in Washington

Saudi Arabia's ambassador to the United States, who is following in her father's footsteps, is trying to steer relations at a difficult time. PAGE A20

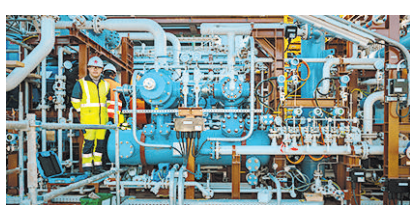
A Blueprint for Flipping a Seat

A special election victory in Alabama cheered Democrats eager to put reproductive rights on the ballot. PAGE A12

SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

Patients Staying the Course

The new obesity drug might be the exception to a chronic problem: the failure to stick with medication. PAGE D1



BUSINESS B1-5

Plans to Bury CO2 Under Sea

The Italian energy giant Eni sees future profits in pumping carbon dioxide waste into depleted gas fields. PAGE B1

Big Lift for U.S. Chip Making

With up to \$6.6 billion in grants, TSMC expects to build a factory and upgrade a planned facility in Phoenix. PAGE B1

ARTS C1-6

Comedy and Vulnerability

In a memoir, the actress Rebel Wilson, known for roles in the "Pitch Perfect" movies, speaks frankly about money, her sexuality and her fear that losing weight would hurt her career. PAGE C1

Oklahoma's Movie Boom

To attract film and television production, states have to try to offer the best incentives. The competition is pushing their spending on Hollywood subsidies ever higher. PAGE C1

OPINION A18-19

Lydia Polgreen

PAGE A19



SPORTS B6-9, 12

After a Loss, Perfection

South Carolina's victory against Iowa in the N.C.A.A. women's basketball tournament final capped a rebound from last season's letdown. PAGE B6



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Chinese E.V.s Face Increase In U.S. Tariffs

Biden Considers a Tax as High as 100%

By ALAN RAPPEPORT and JIM TANKERSLEY

The Biden administration is set to announce new tariffs as high as 100 percent on Chinese electric vehicles and additional import taxes on other Chinese goods, including semiconductors, as early as next week, according to people familiar with the matter.

The move comes amid growing concern within the administration that Mr. Biden's efforts to jumpstart domestic manufacturing of clean energy products could be undercut by China, which has been flooding global markets with cheap solar panels, batteries, electric vehicles and other products.

The long-awaited tariffs are the result of a four-year review of the levies that former President Donald J. Trump imposed on more than \$300 billion of Chinese imports in 2018. Most of the Trump tariffs are expected to remain in place, but Mr. Biden plans to go beyond those by raising levies in areas that the president showered with subsidies in the 2022 Inflation Reduction Act.

That includes Chinese electric vehicles, which currently face a 25 percent tariff. The administration is expected to raise that to as much as 100 percent in order to make it prohibitively expensive to buy a Chinese E.V.

Mr. Biden has previously raised concerns about Chinese electric vehicles, saying that internet-connected Chinese cars and trucks posed risks to national security because their operating systems could send sensitive information to Beijing. He took steps earlier this year to try and block those vehicles from entering the United States.

The president is looking to ratchet up pressure on China and demonstrate his willingness to protect American manufacturing ahead of his face-off against Mr. Trump in the November presidential election.

The fate of the China tariffs has been the subject of intense debate within the White House since Mr. Biden took office, with economic and political advisers often clashing over how to proceed. But this year China has begun ramping up production of the same products — electric vehicles, lithium batteries and solar panels — that the Biden administration has been investing billions of dollars to start producing in the United States. Beijing's move has re-inflamed trade tensions between the two countries, compelling Mr. Biden to press ahead with more aggressive

Continued on Page A9

U.S. Builds Web of Arms, Ships and Bases to Deter China

The Biden administration has strengthened military cooperation with Japan, the Philippines and Australia to try to create a Pacific presence that intimidates Chinese commanders. Pages A12-13.



Sources: Congressional Research Service; United States Department of Defense PABLO ROBLES/THE NEW YORK TIMES

WHITE HOUSE MEMO

Withholding U.S. Weapons Has Precedent

Reagan Used Arms to Influence Israeli Policy

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — The president was livid. He had just been shown pictures of civilians killed by Israeli shelling, including a small baby with an arm blown off. He ordered aides to get the Israeli prime minister on the phone and then dressed him down sharply.

The president was Ronald Reagan, the year was 1982, and the battlefield was Lebanon, where Israelis were attacking Palestinian fighters. The conversation Mr. Reagan had with Prime Minister Menachem Begin that day, Aug. 12, would be one of the few times aides ever heard the usually mild-mannered president so exercised.

"It is a holocaust," Mr. Reagan told Mr. Begin angrily.

Mr. Begin, whose parents and brother were killed by the Nazis, snapped back, "Mr. President, I know all about a holocaust."

Nonetheless, Mr. Reagan retorted, it had to stop. Mr. Begin heeded the demand. Twenty minutes later, he called back and told the president that he had ordered a halt to the shelling. "I didn't know I had that kind of power," Mr. Reagan marveled to aides afterward.

It would not be the only time he would use it to rein in Israel. In fact, Mr. Reagan used the power of American arms several times to influence Israeli war policy, at different points ordering warplanes and cluster munitions to be delayed or withheld. His actions take on new meaning four decades later, as President Biden delays a shipment of bombs and threatens to withhold other offensive weapons from Israel if it attacks Rafah, in southern Gaza.

Even as Republicans rail against Mr. Biden, accusing him of abandoning an ally in the middle of a war, supporters of the president's decision pointed to the Reagan precedent. If it was reasonable for the Republican presidential icon to limit arms to impose his will on Israel, they argue, it should be acceptable for the current Democratic president to do the same.

Continued on Page A11

NOT ENOUGH? As President Biden piles new pressure on Israel, some Arab American leaders say it is too little, too late. PAGE A16

AID BLOCKED After Israel's incursion into Rafah this week, the flow of humanitarian relief into Gaza has come to a near-total stop. PAGE A10

U.S. FAULTS ISRAEL IN NOT SHIELDING GAZA'S CIVILIANS

SEES LIKELY VIOLATIONS

But State Dept. Finds No Hard Proof of Human Rights Breaches

By MICHAEL CROWLEY

WASHINGTON — The Biden administration believes that Israel has most likely violated international standards in failing to protect civilians in Gaza but has not found specific instances that would justify the withholding of military aid, the State Department told Congress on Friday.

In the administration's most detailed assessment of Israel's conduct in Gaza, the State Department said in a written report that Israel "has the knowledge, experience and tools to implement best practices for mitigating civilian harm in its military operations."

But it added that "the results on the ground, including high levels of civilian casualties, raise substantial questions" as to whether



HATEM KHALED/REUTERS

President Biden ordered the report on Israel's conduct.

the Israel Defense Forces are making sufficient use of those tools.

Even so, the report — which seemed at odds with itself in places — said the U.S. had no hard proof of Israeli violations. It noted the difficulty of collecting reliable information from Gaza, Hamas's tactic of operating in civilian areas, and the fact that "Israel has not shared complete information to verify" whether U.S. weapons have been used in specific incidents alleged to have involved human rights law violations.

The report, mandated by Presi-

Continued on Page A9

Russia Mounts Fresh Offensive, Further Taxing Ukrainian Forces

This article is by Marc Santora, Maria Varenikova and Eric Schmitt.

KYIV, Ukraine — Ukraine rushed reinforcements to its northern border on Friday after Russian forces attempted to break through Ukrainian lines along several sections, applying new pressure on forces already stretched thin along a 600-mile front.

The Russian assaults began around 5 a.m. Friday with massive shelling and aerial bombardments of Ukrainian positions followed by armored columns trying to punch through at several points along the border, according to a statement from Ukraine's Ministry of Defense.

"As of now, these attacks have been repelled, and battles of varying intensity are ongoing," the ministry said. "To strengthen the

defense in this sector of the front, reserve units have been deployed."

The breadth and intent of the Russian border incursions remained unclear. Military analysts have said Russia may be trying to force Ukraine to expend valuable resources in defending the region just as Russian assaults in eastern Ukraine are intensifying.

But a senior Ukrainian commander, speaking on the condition of anonymity to discuss the current state of fighting, said on Friday that the Russian attacks went beyond probing or intelligence gathering. The commander said the Kremlin's immediate goal appeared to be to create a buffer

Continued on Page A7

INVESTIGATION A Times analysis shows Russia upgrading a Cold War-era site in Belarus. PAGE A6

JIM SIMONS, 1938-2024

Mathematician Who Applied His Genius in Beating Wall St.

By JONATHAN KANDELL

Jim Simons, the prizewinning mathematician who abandoned a stellar academic career, then plunged into finance — a world he knew nothing about — and became one of the most successful Wall Street investors ever, died on Friday in his home in Manhattan. He was 86.

His death was confirmed by his spokesman, Jonathan Gasthalter, who did not specify a cause.

After publishing breakthrough studies in mathematics that would play a seminal role in quantum field theory, string theory and condensed matter physics, Mr. Simons decided to apply his genius to a more prosaic subject — making as much money as he could in as short a time as possible.

So at age 40 he opened a store-

front office in a Long Island strip mall and set about proving that trading commodities, currencies, stocks and bonds could be nearly as predictable as calculus and partial differential equations. Spurning financial analysts and business school graduates, he hired like-minded mathematicians and scientists.

Mr. Simons equipped his colleagues with advanced computers to process torrents of data filtered through mathematical models, and turned the four investment funds in his new firm, Renaissance Technologies, into virtual money printing machines.

Medallion, the largest of these funds, earned more than \$100 billion in trading profits in the 30

Continued on Page A21

Columbia's Protests Also Bring Pressure From a Private Donor

By ALAN BLINDER

On Jan. 19, Angelica Berrie sent an email to Nemat Shafik, the president of Columbia University. Ms. Berrie reported that the Russell Berrie Foundation, named for her late husband, had scheduled three grant payments to Columbia.

But after months of campus protests around the Israel-Hamas war, Ms. Berrie also delivered a warning.

As the foundation prepared to transfer almost \$613,000, Ms. Berrie told Dr. Shafik that future giving would partly hinge on "evidence that you and leaders across the university are taking appropriate steps to create a tolerant and secure environment for Jewish members of the Columbia community."

Months passed, and the foundation, which has donated about \$86

million to Columbia over the years, did not like what it saw. Frustrated and flummoxed by the sustained tumult at Columbia, the foundation suspended its giving to the university late last month.

Columbia has spent months under siege, bombarded by public demands from protesters, faculty members, alumni, members of Congress and religious groups since the Hamas attack on Oct. 7 that precipitated the war. But the foundation's admonition, included in correspondence that it shared with The New York Times, illustrates the pressures that Columbia administrators have also had to confront in private with donors, with longstanding relationships and enormous sums at stake.

The Berrie Foundation's pause threatens to cost Columbia tens of

Continued on Page A18



SPORTS B7-10

Ranger Overcomes Injury After a six-month layoff, Filip Chytil took the ice, absorbed a hit and a stick to the face, and felt at home. PAGE B9

Forever an Oregon Duck Coach Dan Lanning plans to stay in Eugene and win a national title. He's got the ink to back it up. PAGE B7

NATIONAL A14-20

A Rebuke for Taunting Trump The judge in Donald J. Trump's criminal case asked that Michael D. Cohen, a key witness expected to testify next week, tone it down. PAGE A15

Confederate Names Restored A board in rural Virginia reversed a decision it made after George Floyd's murder to rename its schools. PAGE A19

INTERNATIONAL A4-13

Fighting Child Marriage Memory Banda, who watched her sister marry at 11, has been a rights activist ever since. The Global Profile. PAGE A8



ARTS C1-6

Reclaiming a Voice of the '60s The singer Cass Elliot died in 1974. A rumor about the cause of her death has only recently been dispelled. PAGE C1

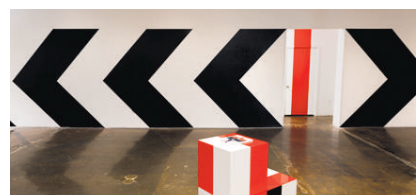
On a Different Wavelength Steve McQueen, the artist turned film director, reveals an immersive environment of color and sound. PAGE C1

BUSINESS B1-6

Siri Enters the A.I. Age With new technology leapfrogging over the original virtual assistant, Apple says it will bring generative A.I. to iPhones as it tries to catch up with competitors like ChatGPT. PAGE B1

The Cocoa Speculators After a production shortfall in West Africa, where about two-third's of the world's cocoa is produced, prices rose to \$4,000 a metric ton from \$2,500. Then they really went nuts. PAGE B1

OPINION A22-23
Bret Stephens PAGE A22



OBITUARIES A21, 24

Pioneer of Supergraphics Barbara Stauffacher Solomon was at the forefront of a movement that up-ended design and architecture with bold graphics. She was 95. PAGE A24



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GUILTY

JURY CONVICTS TRUMP ON ALL 34 COUNTS



Donald J. Trump could receive probation or up to four years in prison for falsifying records. His sentencing is scheduled for July 11.

First Ex-President to Become a Felon Plans to Appeal

This article is by Ben Protess, Jonah E. Bromwich, Maggie Haberman, Kate Christobek, Jesse McKinley and William K. Rashbaum.

Donald J. Trump was convicted on Thursday of falsifying records to cover up a sex scandal that threatened to derail his 2016 presidential campaign, capping an extraordinary trial that tested the resilience of the American justice system and transformed the former commander in chief into a felon.

The guilty verdict in Manhattan — across the board, on all 34 counts — will reverberate throughout the nation and the world as it ushers in a new era of presidential politics. Mr. Trump will carry the stain of the verdict during his third run for the White House as voters now choose between an unpopular incumbent and a convicted criminal.

While it was once unthinkable that Americans would elect a felon as their leader, Mr. Trump's insurgent behavior delights his supporters as he bulldozes the country's norms. Now, the man who refused to accept his 2020 election loss is already seeking to delegitimize his conviction, attempting to assert the primacy of his raw political power over the nation's rule of law.

As Mr. Trump learned his fate on Thursday, he showed little emotion, shutting his eyes and slowly shaking his head while a hush descended over the courtroom. But when he emerged, holding his jaw tense, the former president spoke to the assembled television cameras. He declared that the verdict was "a disgrace" and,

with a somber expression, proclaimed: "The real verdict is going to be Nov. 5, by the people," referring to Election Day.

The judge overseeing the case, Juan M. Merchan, released Mr. Trump on his own recognizance and set his sentencing for July 11, just days before the Republican National Convention convenes and anoints him as the presidential nominee.

Alvin L. Bragg, the prosecutor who brought the case, declined to reveal Thursday whether he would seek a prison term. The judge could put Mr. Trump behind bars for up to four years, but the former president could receive probation instead, and may never see the inside of a prison cell. He has vowed to appeal, and will remain free to campaign for the presidency while he awaits his punishment.

The 12 New Yorkers who composed the jury needed nearly 10 hours to decide a case stemming

Continued on Page A15



Alvin L. Bragg, the district attorney, after Thursday's verdict.

Run of Luck in Criminal Court Was Ended by a 'Zombie Case'

By MAGGIE HABERMAN and JONATHAN SWAN

Donald J. Trump's run of luck in his criminal cases has expired.

Before the conviction on Thursday in Manhattan, the former president

POLITICAL MEMO had drawn what some of his closest advisers regarded

as a defense lawyer's equivalent of an inside straight: something close to perfection. Mr. Trump had lost civil cases with costly damages, but the four criminal cases that threatened his freedom were stumbling along so badly that his advisers were often incredulous at his good fortune.

In the Florida case in which he

was charged with obstruction of justice and unlawfully holding onto classified documents, a Trump-nominated judge had spent so much time puzzling over minor issues that the trial would almost certainly be delayed beyond the presidential election in November.

In the Georgia case, the prosecutor who had charged Mr. Trump as part of a conspiracy to overturn the 2020 election was caught in a romantic affair with the man she had hired to help her prosecute Mr. Trump.

And with the federal charges over his efforts to disrupt the

Continued on Page A16

Shifting the Blame to His Wife Is a Risky Tactic for Menendez

By BENJAMIN WEISER

Prosecutors had called their first witness, and Senator Robert Menendez's blame-my-wife strategy in his federal bribery trial already appeared vulnerable.

An F.B.I. agent was testifying about a search of the New Jersey home that Mr. Menendez, 70, shares with his wife and the gold bars that were found inside a locked bedroom closet — bribes prosecutors say were paid to the couple in exchange for political favors by the senator.

Although the closet held women's clothing, the agent said, a man's blue blazer was also found hanging inside, seemingly tying Mr. Menendez to the gold and other alleged bribes. The agent stuck by his account even after Mr. Menendez's lawyer, during cross-examination, pressed him

Defense With Potential to Turn Off Jurors

and displayed a photograph showing the blazer hanging outside the closet.

But the next morning, the agent asked to clarify his testimony. After reviewing photographs of the search, he said, he agreed the blazer was hanging outside the closet.

Was his previous day's testimony no longer accurate? Mr. Menendez's lawyer asked.

"That is correct," the agent said. The moment passed quickly, but the exchange illustrated what has become a central pillar of Mr. Menendez's defense: shifting blame to his 57-year-old spouse,

Continued on Page A20

Front-Runner to Lead Mexico Is Also Facing an Uphill Battle

By NATALIE KITROEFF

MEXICO CITY — Claudia Sheinbaum's list of accolades is long: She has a Ph.D. and a shared Nobel Peace Prize and was the first woman elected to lead Mexico City, her nation's capital and one of the largest cities in the Western Hemisphere.

Now she has another chance to make history. Ms. Sheinbaum, 61, is the clear front-runner in the Mexican election on Sunday, putting her in position to become the country's first female president.

But she has an image problem, and she knows it.

Many Mexicans are wondering: Can she be her own leader? Or is she a pawn of the current president?

"There's this idea, because a lot of columnists say it, that I don't

Mentor Casts Shadow Over Female Hopeful

have a personality," Ms. Sheinbaum complained to reporters this year. "That President Andrés Manuel López Obrador tells me what to do, that when I get to the presidency, he's going to be calling me on the phone every day."

With the Mexican election just days away, Ms. Sheinbaum is facing a fundamental dilemma.

She insists she will govern independently from her mentor, Mr. López Obrador, and has some different priorities. But veering too far from his agenda could be risky.

She and Mr. López Obrador are "different people," she said in an interview. He's an oilman who in-

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Biden Allows Ukraine to Use U.S. Arms to Strike in Russia

By DAVID E. SANGER and EDWARD WONG

WASHINGTON — President Biden, in a major shift pressed by his advisers and key allies, has authorized Ukraine to conduct limited strikes inside Russia with American-made weapons, opening what could well be a new chapter in the war for Ukraine, U.S. officials said on Thursday.

Mr. Biden's decision appears to mark the first time that an American president has allowed limited military responses on artillery, missile bases and command centers inside the borders of a nuclear-armed adversary. White House officials insisted, however, that the authorization extended only to what they characterized as acts of self-defense, so that Ukraine could protect Kharkiv, its second-largest city, and the surrounding

Only for Self-Defense, White House Says

areas from missiles, glide bombs and artillery shells from just over the border.

"The president recently directed his team to ensure that Ukraine is able to use U.S.-supplied weapons for counter-fire purposes in the Kharkiv region so Ukraine can hit back against Russian forces that are attacking them or preparing to attack them," a U.S. official said in a statement issued by the administration. "Our policy with respect to prohibiting the use of ATACMS or long-range strikes inside of Russia has not changed," the statement continued, referring to an

Continued on Page A5





SAUL MARTINEZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Storms Soak Southern Florida

Storms deluged part of the state, including Hallandale Beach, above, as a rainy season has become more unpredictable. Page A16.

At Miss USA, Tensions Dim Crown's Lure

By MADISON MALONE KIRCHER and CALLIE HOLTERMANN

Laylah Rose says she won her first pageant at the age of 2. With dark, glossy hair and a measured smile, she went on to enter many more. Yet, even as a girl, she dreamed of something bigger. Ms. Rose didn't only want to wear a sash, as her mother and grandmother had done before her: She wanted to run Miss USA.

Last summer Ms. Rose, 45, whose legal name is Laylah Loiczly, finally achieved that goal. In an email, she said she saw "opportunities to improve, enhance and in many ways repair the iconic brand."



CHELSEA LAUREN/SHUTTERSTOCK FOR MISS USA

Laylah Rose, the head of Miss USA, between Noelia Voigt, left, and UmaSofia Srivastava, who both quit after their wins.

Those repairs were sorely needed. In recent years, Miss USA has weathered allegations of racism and sexual harassment, and has passed from owner to owner — one of them being Donald J. Trump. The 2022 suicide of Miss USA 2019 sent the organization reeling. In 2023, Ms. Rose's predecessor was suspended after accusations of pageant rigging.

In her first months in charge of the pageant, Ms. Rose got to work. (She bought the rights to manage Miss USA for an initial payment of \$1.5 million, according to a preliminary report.)

Continued on Page A11

Maximalist Demands Make Gaza Peace Elusive

By ISABEL KERSHNER

JERUSALEM — Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel called Hamas's response to the latest peace proposal for Gaza "negative." Hamas insisted it was dealing with it "positively." Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken, speaking in Qatar, said Hamas had demanded changes, some of which were "workable" and some not. A Hamas official told an Arabic television channel that the group had not raised any new ideas and that Mr. Blinken saw things through an Israeli lens and "speaks Hebrew."

NEWS ANALYSIS

Gaps Seem as Wide as Ever After Months of Negotiations

The Biden administration has pledged to keep working with the Qatari and Egyptian mediators to bridge the gaps. But after days of intensive diplomacy in the region, a monthslong effort to end the war in Gaza seems as stuck as ever, as each side clings stubbornly to maximalist demands unacceptable to the other. Asked at the Group of 7 summit meeting in Italy if he still

thought a deal could be reached, President Biden said, "I haven't lost hope, but it's going to be tough."

At the crux of the disagreement over the three-phase deal, according to officials and experts, is Hamas's goal of essentially securing a permanent cease-fire from the outset and a withdrawal of all Israeli troops from Gaza before handing over most of the hostages.

Israel says it is willing to negotiate a permanent cessation of the war, now in its ninth month, but only after dismantling Hamas's military and governing capabilities. That clashes with

Continued on Page A7

With New Powers, City Cracks Down on Rogue Cannabis Shops

By ASHLEY SOUTHALL

Gold balloons announcing the "GRAND OPENING" of Zaza City Convenience in southeast Queens were still floating in the shop last month when the authorities cleared its shelves of cannabis and tobacco products that were illegal to sell in New York. After the police officers had bagged and weighed the contraband and sent it off in an evidence van, a sheriff's sergeant sealed the entrances to the store with padlocks.

Similar scenes have played out across New York City as a task force led by the Sheriff's Office has flexed its new emergency powers to lock down unlicensed cannabis shops, which officials recently estimated outnumbered licensed retailers in the city by about 2,900 to 62. From May 7 to June 3, inspection teams closed 311 stores, seized \$10.4 million worth of products and issued \$23.4 million in fines, according to the mayor's office. An additional 325 shops were put on notice.

Previously, shuttered stores could reopen within hours of inspections while officials sought court orders to shut them down permanently. But changes enacted in this year's state budget and the city code have given the Sheriff's Office the power to declare the shops an imminent threat to the public and close them



ANDRES KUDACKI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A special task force has shut down 311 unlicensed cannabis shops in the city since early May.

immediately for up to a year.

Sheriff Anthony Miranda, in an interview at his office in Queens, said that the padlocks cut off income that the shops relied on to absorb the cost of violations. While some stores continue to evade enforcement by warning

each other when inspectors are nearby or shifting to delivery services — even reviving weed trucks — others have stopped selling cannabis or shut down completely, he said.

"It's not just the cost of doing business anymore," he said.

"They're going to feel this."

Following the state's legalization of cannabis for recreational use in 2021, rogue smoke shops multiplied like an invasive species. Convenience store owners seized an opportunity to shore

Continued on Page A19

Secret Weapon Of Biden Camp Is Movie Mogul

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — When President Biden made clear last year that he was planning to run for another term, some important Democratic contributors expressed doubt. He was too old, they feared. He was not up to another four years.

It fell to Jeffrey Katzenberg to tell them they were wrong. When some still did not believe him, Mr. Katzenberg challenged them to come to Washington and find out for themselves — then arranged to bring the dubious donors to the White House to sit down with the octogenarian president to convince them he was still sharp enough.

"He was like, 'Trust me. And if you don't trust me, trust, but verify. Come with me and see for yourself and engage with the president,'" Gov. Gavin Newsom of California, a longtime ally of Mr. Katzenberg, recounted in an interview. "And he started doing that in a consistent way." In the end, Mr. Newsom added, "He really was instrumental in getting people off the sidelines and getting them to dive headfirst in this campaign."

Few have dived headfirst into

Continued on Page A15

INTERNATIONAL A4-9

A Key City for Halting Russia

Faced with an assault from the northeast, Ukrainian forces made their stand in Vovchansk. The front line is still there, but little else is.

PAGE A4

NATIONAL A10-19

A Rare Plant Re-emerges

A Vermont biologist studying turtles came upon an herb that the state botanist identified as one not seen there in more than a century.

PAGE A10

BUSINESS B1-6

Splash Mountain Overhaul

The ride was closed because of its tie to a racist film. Disney changed it to focus on Tiana, its first Black princess, drawing praise and backlash.

PAGE B1

SPORTS B7-10

Lord of the Rings

Jason Arasheben, a Beverly Hills jeweler, is wowing champion sports teams with reversible faces and detachable compartments.

PAGE B7

OPINION A20-21

Jesse Wegman

PAGE A20



NBA Finals advertisement for Game 4 between the Boston Celtics and Dallas Mavericks. Features Jayson Tatum and Luka Dončić. Text: "Finals Presented by YouTube TV CELTICS VS MAVERICKS GAME 4 TONIGHT 8:30PM ET abc".

TOP COURT SAYS U.S. OVERSTEPS ON JAN. 6 CHARGE

CAPITOL RIOTER'S CASE

Could Affect Obstruction Rulings for Others, Including Trump

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court ruled on Friday that federal prosecutors had improperly used an obstruction law to prosecute some members of the pro-Trump mob that stormed the Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021.

The ruling could affect the prosecutions of hundreds of rioters out of the more than 1,400 who have been charged with an array of offenses for taking part in the effort to block certification of the 2020 election results.

It could also have an effect on part of the federal case against former President Donald J. Trump accusing him of plotting to overturn his 2020 loss at the polls. But the precise impact on those cases will not become clear until trial courts review them in light of the Supreme Court's ruling.

Prosecutors had argued that the law applied to efforts to obstruct an "official proceeding" — the joint session of Congress that took place on Jan. 6, 2021, to certify the Electoral College results.

But Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr., writing for the majority, read the law narrowly, saying it applied only when the defendant's actions impaired the integrity of physical evidence.

Lower courts will now apply that strict standard, and it may lead them to dismiss charges against some defendants, although most of those charged or convicted under the obstruction law also face other charges.

The vote was 6 to 3, but it featured unusual alliances. Justice Ketanji Brown Jackson, a liberal, voted with the majority and filed a concurring opinion. Justice Amy Coney Barrett, a conservative, wrote the dissent.

None of the opinions in the case discussed the charges against Mr. Trump, which rely only in part on the obstruction law.

Justice Jackson said the Jan. 6 attack was an assault on democracy. But that was not, she wrote, the question before the court.

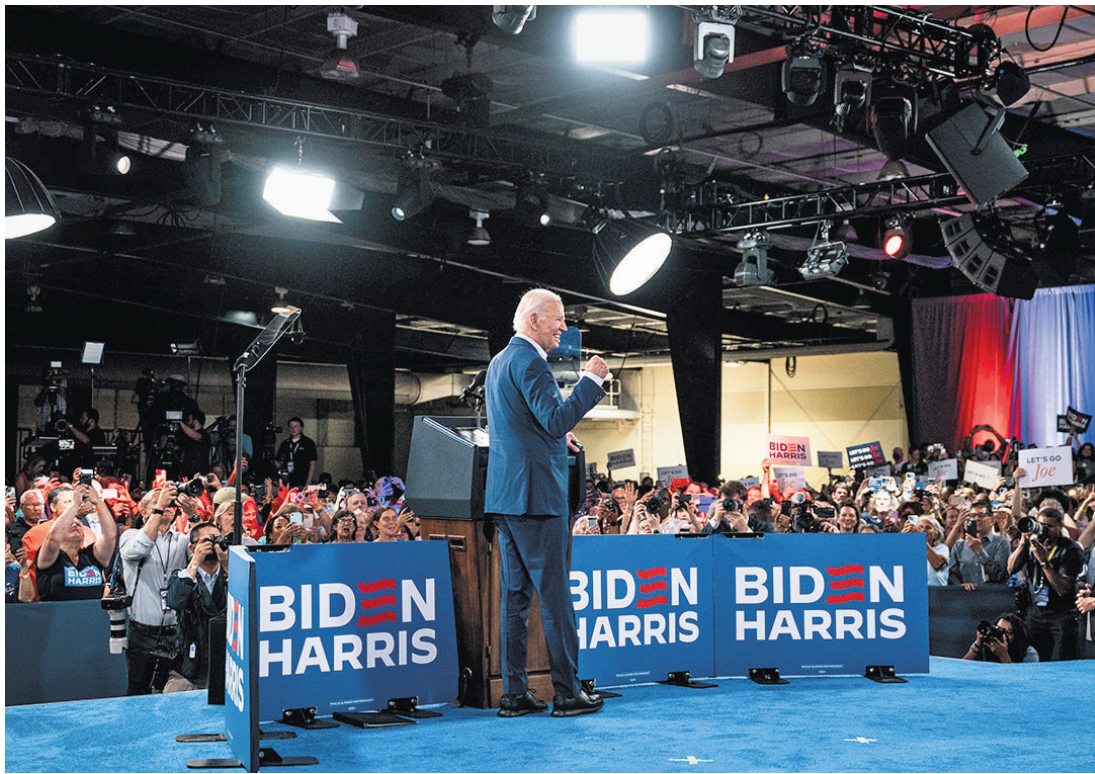
"On Jan. 6, 2021, an angry mob stormed the United States Capitol

Continued on Page A17

HOMELESSNESS The justices uphold an Oregon city's ban on sleeping outdoors. PAGE A18



CHESAPEAKE, VA. Former President Donald J. Trump on the campaign trail a day after the debate.



RALEIGH, N.C. "I know I'm not a young man, to state the obvious," President Biden said on Friday.

Justices Curb Federal Agencies' Regulatory Clout

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court on Friday reduced the power of executive agencies by sweeping aside a longstanding legal precedent, endangering countless regulations and transferring power from the executive branch to Congress and the courts.

The precedent, *Chevron v. Natural Resources Defense Council*, one of the most cited in American law, requires courts to defer to agencies' reasonable interpreta-

Decision Endangers an Array of Protections

tions of ambiguous statutes. There have been 70 Supreme Court decisions relying on *Chevron*, along with 17,000 in the lower courts.

The decision is all but certain to prompt challenges to the actions of an array of federal agencies, including those regulating the environment, health care and con-

sumer safety.

The vote was 6 to 3, dividing along ideological lines.

"*Chevron* is overruled," Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. wrote for the majority. "Courts must exercise their independent judgment in deciding whether an agency has acted within its statutory authority."

In dissent, Justice Elena Kagan said the ruling amounted to a judicial power grab. "A rule of judicial humility," she wrote, "gives way to a rule of judicial hubris."

Continued on Page A16

Biden's Unsteady Debate Kindles Anxiety in Party

With Silenced Mics, President's Lapses Are Deafening

With the plans for the 2024 presidential debates, President Biden's campaign appeared to get much of what it wanted. It got its preferred timeline, with

JAMES PONIEWOZIK
CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

Thursday night's debate in Atlanta far earlier on the calendar than usual. It got the live audience removed. It got, above all, an agreement to mute the microphone on the candidate who wasn't speaking, to avoid the cross-talk that made his first 2020 debate with Donald J. Trump a cacophonous mess.

After Thursday night, Mr. Biden — and his party — might have wanted the cross-talk back.

The changes that CNN instituted staved off the shouting matches and the competitive cheering that have marked past debates. But they could not prevent Mr. Biden from starting his rushed opening remarks in a papery rasp that, before the debate was over, his campaign was stressing to reporters was the result of a cold. It did not keep him from getting lost in the corn maze of his sentences, answer after answer.

And it did not keep him from finishing an argument on tax reform and health care with a spiral that was surely saved instantly to the hard drives of Republican campaign operatives: "Making sure that we're able to make every single solitary person eligible for what I've been able to do with, the, uh, with the Covid, excuse me, with, um, dealing with, everything we had to do with, uh . . . look . . . if — we finally beat Medicare."

There was no interruption. Mr. Biden came across loud and unclear.

You can at least credit Mr. Biden for one accomplishment: For perhaps the first time since Mr. Trump announced for president nine years ago, he managed to hold a debate in which Mr. Trump's performance was not the biggest news afterward.

The former president and challenger had his own issues. He blustered, dodged, made false statements and repeated his denials of his 2020 election loss. He cited his golf game as proof of his acuity and uttered the line, "I didn't have sex with a porn star." But Mr. Trump, kept to glowering between answers by the mute button, was outrageous and

Continued on Page A12

This article is by Katie Glueck, Jennifer Medina, Lisa Lerer and Annie Karni.

The Democratic Party faced a brewing crisis on Friday as a wide range of lawmakers, party officials and activists began to actively consider what had previously been a pipe dream for pundits and worried voters: the prospect of replacing President Biden on the ticket roughly four months before Election Day.

For two years, leading Democrats limited their concerns about Mr. Biden's performance and age to private meetings and off-the-record conversations, leery of undermining an incumbent president in a rematch against former President Donald J. Trump.

But with Mr. Biden's debate performance on Thursday — uneven and at times incoherent, halting even on politically advantageous subjects like abortion rights — that conversation has exploded into the public domain.

"Biden did not rise to the occasion and is going to cause a serious reassessment among his party: Are they going to say, Is he just having a bad night, or is he prepared to go forward?" the Rev. Al Sharpton, a civil rights leader who has had a warm relationship with Mr. Biden for years, said in an interview hours after the debate.

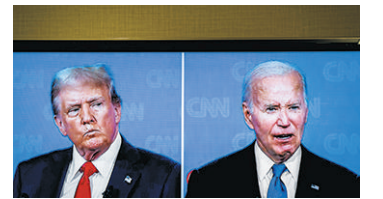
Asked for his own assessment, Mr. Sharpton replied that he hoped that it had been merely a "bad night."

"But to not be able to rise to the occasion," he added, "is not going to be easily forgotten."

On Capitol Hill, some Democratic lawmakers openly acknowledged that Mr. Biden's performance was a disaster, while other leaders offered only terse signs of

Continued on Page A14

MORE ON THE DEBATE



FACT-CHECK Scrutinizing claims made about abortion, immigration and other key issues. PAGE A14

WORRIES ABROAD Donald J. Trump's unwillingness to commit to NATO stokes unease. PAGE A13



JASON GULLEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Islands That Were Supposed to Vanish

Low-lying islands, like many in the Maldives, were expected to be victims of rising seas. But research tells a surprising story. Page A6.

U.S. Presses to Avert Wider War Between Israel and Hezbollah

This article is by Michael Crowley, Julian E. Barnes and Aaron Boxerman.

WASHINGTON — The United States is in the midst of an intense diplomatic push to prevent full-on war between Israel and Hezbollah forces in Lebanon, as the risks rise that either side could initiate a broader regional fight.

In recent days, U.S. officials have pressed their Israeli counterparts and passed messages to Hezbollah's leaders with the goal of averting a wider regional conflict that they fear could draw in both Iran and the United States.

Israel's defense minister, Yoav Gallant, met with several Biden administration officials in Washington this week, in large measure to discuss the escalating tensions along Israel's northern border with Lebanon. That visit followed one last week by Israel's national

With Tehran, a 4-Way 'Game of Chicken'

security adviser, Tzachi Hanegbi, and its minister of strategic affairs, Ron Dermer.

Also last week, a senior White House official, Amos Hochstein, who has assumed an informal diplomatic role mediating between the two sides, visited Israel and Lebanon. Mr. Hochstein warned Hezbollah, which is supported by Iran, that the United States would not be able to restrain Israel should it commit to an all-out war with the militia group.

Archrivals for decades, Israel and Hezbollah have frequently exchanged fire along Israel's northern border. After the Hamas-led attacks on Oct. 7 ignited a blister-

Continued on Page A9

NATIONAL A11-20

The Prosecution Rests

After seven weeks of trial, lawyers for Senator Robert Menendez are expected to begin calling witnesses on Monday to rebut the government's case. PAGE A19

Sunday Library Hours Added

Mayor Eric Adams and the New York City Council reached a \$112 billion budget deal that restored some unpopular cuts to key programs. PAGE A19

Gender Ruling in Texas

The state's all-Republican Supreme Court voted 8 to 1 to leave in effect a law enacted last year banning gender transition care for minors. PAGE A20

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Slurs in British Election

Backlash over racist comments by members of Reform U.K., could hurt the party leader Nigel Farage. PAGE A10

Iran's Presidential Candidates

Voters on Friday chose from three conservatives and one moderate vying to succeed Ebrahim Raisi. PAGE A4



BUSINESS B1-5

All Is Not Calm on Wall Street

The S&P 500 has climbed sharply this year, with few big swings. But below the surface, there is turmoil. PAGE B1

Reining In Facial Recognition

Detroit police arrested three people after bad matches, so changes were made in how the technology is used. PAGE B1

TRAVEL C7-9

36 Hours in Portland

Maine's largest city, long known nationally as a major food destination, offers a dynamic juxtaposition of New England's past and present. PAGE C9

ARTS C1-6

Museums Feeling the Strain

In New York City, several small museums have recently shuttered, or intend to. Nationwide, a quarter of all cultural institutions are struggling. PAGE C1

Leaving His Country Behind

Fifty years ago, Mikhail Baryshnikov defected from the Soviet Union and became the pre-eminent male dancer of his era. At 76, he looks back. PAGE C1



SPORTS B6-9

Picking Biles's Teammates

Two Olympic medalists have one of the toughest jobs in gymnastics: building a roster around a superstar. PAGE B6

Early Test for Swiatek

In her first match at Wimbledon, the world No. 1 will face Sofia Kenin, the 2020 Australian Open winner. PAGE B8

OPINION A22-23

Elamin Abdelmahmoud PAGE A23



Donors Devise Push for Biden To Leave Race

Vowing to Steer Cash to Others as Rift Grows

This article is by **Kenneth P. Vogel, Theodore Schleifer and Lauren Hirsch.**

After several days of quiet griping and hoping that President Biden would abandon his re-election campaign on his own, many wealthy Democratic donors are trying to take matters into their own hands.

Wielding their fortunes as both carrot and stick, donors have undertaken a number of initiatives to pressure Mr. Biden to step down from the top of the ticket and help lay the groundwork for an alternate candidate.

The efforts — some coordinated, some conflicting and others still nascent — expose a remarkable and growing rift between the party's contributor class and its standard-bearer that could have an impact on down-ballot races, whether or not the donors influence Mr. Biden's decision.

The president on Wednesday reaffirmed his commitment to stay in the race amid criticism of his weak debate performance last week. But that has not placated donors or strategists who worry that he cannot win in November.

A group of them is working to raise as much as \$100 million for a sort of escrow fund, called the Next Generation PAC, that would be used to support a replacement candidate. If Mr. Biden does not step aside, the money could be used to help down-ballot candidates, according to people close to the effort.

Supporters of potential replacement.
Continued on Page A14

GOVERNORS The president reassured leaders of his fitness, despite a tiring schedule. **PAGE A13**



The reaction at a bar in Walthamstow, England, to exit poll results on Thursday. The outcome could signal a new era in British politics.

MARY TURNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

LABOUR IS POISED TO END 14 YEARS OF TORY CONTROL

LANDSLIDE IN BRITAIN

Vote Reflects Anger With Economy, Health Care and Immigration

By **MARK LANDLER**

LONDON — The Labour Party was projected to win a landslide election victory in Britain on Thursday, sweeping the Conservative Party out of power after 14 years in a thundering anti-incumbent revolt that heralded a new era in British politics.

A nationwide exit poll conducted for the BBC and two other broadcasters indicated that Labour was on course to win around 410 of the 650 seats in the British House of Commons, versus 131 for the Conservatives.

That would give Labour almost as many seats as the record 418 it amassed in 1997, when Tony Blair's runaway victory inaugurated the last era of Labour government.

If the projections are confirmed, it would be the worst defeat for the Conservatives in the nearly 200-year history of the party, one that would raise searching questions about its future — and perhaps even its very survival.

The exit poll, which has accurately predicted the winner of the past five British general elections, confirmed a mutinous electorate, thoroughly fed up with the Conservatives after a turbulent era that spanned austerity, Brexit, the Covid pandemic, the serial scandals of Prime Minister Boris Johnson and the ill-fated tax-cutting proposals of his successor, Liz Truss.

Voters also expressed frustration with the torpid economy; a major increase in legal immigration, despite Tory vows to constrain it; and an overburdened National Health Service, which has meant long waiting times for patients.

While a Labour victory had long been predicted — it held a double-digit polling lead over the Conservatives for more than 18 months — the magnitude of the Tory defeat will reverberate through Britain.
Continued on Page A9

'Breakthrough' Is Seen in Renewed Talks for Cease-Fire in Gaza

This article is by **Aaron Boxerman, Michael D. Shear and Thomas Fuller.**

JERUSALEM — American and Israeli officials on Thursday expressed renewed optimism over a cease-fire deal in the Gaza Strip, after Hamas revised its position and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel then told President Biden that he was sending a new delegation of negotiators to the stalled talks.

White House officials said they

believed new progress in the talks amounted to what one repeatedly called "a breakthrough" in the monthslong negotiations, though they said that it would take some time to work out the many steps involved in implementing the truce. Israeli and other officials involved in the talks agreed that there had been progress but described it in more cautious terms.

The discussions are based on a three-stage framework deal publicized by President Biden in late May and endorsed by the United Nations. If carried out, the agree-

Cautious Optimism as the Israelis Send a Group to Qatar

ment would ultimately stipulate an end to the war, a full Israeli withdrawal from Gaza, and for Hamas and its allies to release the remaining 120 living and dead hostages in Gaza for Palestinians held in Israeli jails.

A senior Biden administration official directly involved in the talks said that there is broad agreement now about the steps required to transition from phase one, a temporary cease-fire, to phase two, a permanent end to the fighting and a release of the remaining living hostages.

The official, who asked not to be identified because of the sensitivities of the negotiations, compared the current situation to the deal that was reached in November.

Continued on Page A10

In Ukraine, Off-the-Shelf A.I. Opens an Age of Killer Robots

By **PAUL MOZUR and ADAM SATARIANO**

KYIV, Ukraine — In a field on the outskirts of Kyiv, the founders of Vyriy, a Ukrainian drone company, were recently at work on a weapon of the future.

To demonstrate it, Oleksii Babenko, 25, Vyriy's chief executive, hopped on his motorcycle and rode down a dirt path. Behind him, a drone followed, as a colleague tracked the movements from a briefcase-size computer.

Until recently, a human would have piloted the quadcopter. No longer. Instead, after the drone locked onto its target — Mr. Babenko — it flew itself, guided by software that used the machine's camera to track him.

The motorcycle's growling engine was no match for the silent drone as it stalked Mr. Babenko. "Push, push more. Pedal to the metal, man," his colleagues called out over a walkie-talkie as the

Fear of New Arms Race Raises the Stakes of an Ethics Debate

drone swooped toward him. "You're screwed, screwed!"

If the drone had been armed with explosives, and if his colleagues hadn't disengaged the autonomous tracking, Mr. Babenko would have been a goner.

Vyriy is just one of many Ukrainian companies working on a major leap forward in the weaponization of consumer technology, driven by the war with Russia. The pressure to outthink the enemy, along with huge flows of investment, donations and government contracts, has turned Ukraine into a Silicon Valley for autonomous drones and other weaponry.

Continued on Page A6



A Day for Dogs, Hot and Otherwise

Dressed for excess, Julie and Garrett Brown, and Dorsett, took in the Nathan's contest. **PAGE A12.**

GRAHAM DICKIE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Online Hostility in China Is Festering Offscreen

The video posted last year on Chinese social media showed more than 100 Japanese children, supposedly at an elementary school in Shanghai, gathered in their schoolyard. Chinese subtitles quoted two students leading the group as screaming: "Shanghai is ours. Soon the whole China will be ours, too."

The messages were alarming and infuriating in China, which Japan invaded during World War II. Except that the scene actually took place at an elementary

Social Media Amplifies Largely Uncensored Xenophobia

school in Japan. And the students were not stoking hatred of China; they were swearing an oath to play fair at what looked like a sporting event.

The video wasn't taken down until after it had been viewed more than 10 million times. Xenophobic online content like

the schoolyard video is the subject of debate in China right now. Last month, a Chinese man stabbed a Japanese mother and her son in eastern China. Two weeks earlier, four visiting instructors from a college in Iowa were stabbed in northeastern China. Some in China are questioning the role that online speech plays in inciting real-world violence.

China has the world's most sophisticated system to censor the internet when it wants to. The government sets strict rules
Continued on Page A5



Training for a weapon that works with a PlayStation controller. **SASHA MASLOV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES**

Far Right Pulls French Youths Toward Its Side

By **AURELIEN BREEDEN and AIDA ALAMI**

PARIS — In the 1980s, a French punk rock band coined a rallying cry against the country's far right that retained its punch over decades. The chant, still shouted at protests by the left, is "La jeunesse emmerde le Front National," which cannot be translated well without curse words, but essentially tells the far right to get lost.

That crude battle cry is emblematic of what had been conventional wisdom not only in France, but also elsewhere — that young people often tilt left in their politics. Now, that notion has been challenged as increasing numbers of young people have joined swaths of the French electorate to support the National Rally, a party once deemed too extreme to govern.

The results from Sunday's parliamentary vote, the first of a two-part election, showed young people across the political spectrum coming out to cast ballots in much greater numbers than in previous years. A majority of them voted
Continued on Page A8

Submerged in Summer of '64

An art show mixes paint and prose in "The Swimmer," a psychoanalysis of John Cheever's suburban tale. **PAGE C1**

Elevating Black Libraries

A look at the people and places that lifted so many communities. Below, Kevin Young at the Schomburg Center. **PAGE C1**



Conservatives' Long Game

Rulings by the Supreme Court's Republican-appointed majority expanded one kind of executive branch power while undercutting another. **PAGE A13**

A.I. 'Friend' for Public School?

Los Angeles schools hired a start-up to build an A.I. chatbot for parents and students. A few months later, the company collapsed. **PAGE A11**

Cleaning Up the 'Crossroads'

Quality-of-life problems are tarnishing the area around Times Square, and New York City officials are trying to do something about it. **PAGE A12**

Power Shift Off Canada's Coast

British Columbia recognized the Haida's aboriginal title to their islands after the Indigenous group's decades-long quest in the courts. **PAGE A4**

China Seizes Taiwanese Boat

The authorities in Taipei have demanded that Beijing release the fishing vessel and its crew members. **PAGE A5**

OBITUARIES B10

Creator of Photorealist Art

Audrey Florsize was best known for her vibrant oversize still lifes, painted from photographs. She was 93.

Breaking a Slump Just in Time

After struggling for two years, Frances Tiafoe is rediscovering his game, and flair, at Wimbledon. **PAGE B9**

Too Famous to Bench

Cristiano Ronaldo's trip to Euro 2024 has been marked by pitch invaders and uninspiring performances. **PAGE B7**



Aiming for 'the Singularity'

The prophecy by Ray Kurzweil, now 76, of merging with A.I. and living indefinitely seems less far-fetched. **PAGE B1**

OpenAI Hack Raises Fears

A security breach last year at the maker of ChatGPT revealed internal discussions, but not the code. **PAGE B1**

OPINION A18-19

Nate Silver

PAGE A18



TRUMP HURT, BUT SAFE, AFTER A SHOOTING



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

A bloodied former President Donald J. Trump before being spirited away by the Secret Service on Saturday in Butler, Pa.

A Suspected Gunman and a Rally Attendee Are Killed

This article is by Michael Gold, Simon J. Levien and Julian E. Barnes.

BUTLER, Pa. — Former President Donald J. Trump was injured in a shooting just minutes into his rally on Saturday in Butler, Pa., in what officials said they were investigating as an assassination attempt.

A rallygoer was killed in the shooting and the suspected gunman was killed by the Secret Service, according to a federal official and two people also briefed on the matter.

Mr. Trump was "fine" and being treated at a hospital, according to a spokesman for his campaign. He was escorted off the stage by Secret Service agents, with his face and ear bloodied. As he was taken to his motorcade, he pumped his fist in a defiant gesture to the crowd.

In a statement, a spokesman for the Secret Service said that in addition to the rallygoer who was killed, two others were critically injured. The suspected gunman "fired multiple shots toward the stage from an elevated position outside the rally venue," the spokesman, Anthony Guglielmi, said.

In a post on his social media site, Truth Social, Mr. Trump recounted the shooting. "I knew immediately that something was wrong in that I heard a whizzing sound, shots, and immediately felt the bullet ripping through the skin," he wrote. "Much bleeding took place, so I realized then what was happening."

President Biden, in brief televised remarks on Saturday night, expressed gratitude that Mr. Trump had been swiftly evacuated and said "there's no place in America for this kind of violence." He also said he had tried to reach the former president.

Mr. Biden's campaign said in a statement on Saturday night that

it would pause "all outbound communications" and was working to "pull down our television ads as quickly as possible." The move reflects a desire to put politics aside while the crisis of a likely assassination attempt on a presidential candidate plays out.

Mr. Trump had been showing supporters a chart of numbers about border crossings, which his audiovisual staff placed on screens above the stage, when the shots rang out.

The former president ducked quickly, with the sound coming from the bleachers to the left of where he was standing at a lectern. The noises came in two groups, and smoke rose from that section of the bleachers.

As members of the crowd began screaming, Mr. Trump was tackled by Secret Service agents. Officials shouted for the crowd to duck and cover, whisking members of the news media off the press riser where they had been watching Mr. Trump's speech.

Theresa Koshut, a teacher from Pittsburgh who was in the fifth row, said she immediately ducked when she heard the shots. Ms. Koshut was all too familiar with active-shooting drills from school.

"I dropped and rolled under the bleachers," she said. "I didn't even think."

After a brief pause, Mr. Trump rose, surrounded by a group of uniformed Secret Service members. He pumped his fist to the crowd and then was rushed off the stage and ushered into his motorcade, which quickly left the venue, the Butler Farm Show, about 30 miles north of Pittsburgh.

After he departed, police officials began cordoning off the area with crime-scene tape as attendees began clearing out. Blood was visible on the bleachers.

Those who attend Mr. Trump's

Continued on Page 13

G.O.P. and Allies Lay Legal Foundation to Contest the Election

By JIM RUTENBERG and NICK CORASANITI

The Republican Party and its conservative allies are engaged in an unprecedented legal campaign targeting the American voting system. Their wide-ranging and methodical effort is laying the groundwork to contest an election that they argue, falsely, is already being rigged against former President Donald J. Trump.

The campaign involves a powerful network of Republican law-

Push to Restrict Voting and Plans to Disrupt Certification

yers and activist groups, working loosely in concert with the Republican National Committee. Many of the key players were active in Mr. Trump's attempt to overturn the results of the 2020 election.

But unlike the chaotic and im-

proved challenge four years ago, the new drive includes a systematic search for any vulnerability in the nation's patchwork election system.

Mr. Trump's allies have followed a two-pronged approach: restricting voting for partisan advantage ahead of Election Day and short-circuiting the process of ratifying the winner afterward, if Mr. Trump loses. The latter strategy involves an ambitious — and legally dubious — attempt to reimagine decades of settled law

dictating how results are officially certified in the weeks before the transfer of power.

At the heart of the strategy is a drive to convince voters that the election is about to be stolen, even without evidence. Democrats use mail voting, drop boxes and voter registration drives to swing elections, they have argued. And Mr. Trump's indictments and criminal conviction are a Biden administration tactic to interfere with the election, they claim.

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HANNAH McKAY/REUTERS

Wimbledon Winner

Barbora Krejčíková held off Jasmine Paolini to claim her first singles title at the event. Page 27.

How Hollywood's Big Donors Broke With Biden

This article is by Theodore Schleifer, Jacob Bernstein and Reid J. Epstein.

WASHINGTON — When aides to President Biden heard in recent days that George Clooney, as close a figure as there is in Hollywood to royalty, planned to publicly break with Mr. Biden in an essay that cast doubt on his re-election chances, panic set in from Wilmington to Beverly Hills.

Could Mr. Clooney be persuaded not to publish it? The movie mogul Jeffrey Katz-

enberg sought to intervene. Mr. Katzenberg, who moonlights as a top Biden official and has worked with Mr. Clooney on philanthropy for decades, reached out to him to see if there was an off-ramp, according to three people familiar with the matter. There was not — Mr. Clooney published his essay in The New York Times, and the president's relationship with Hollywood was torn asunder.

The fallout from the Clooney essay has ricocheted across the worlds of politics and entertainment — and onto Mr. Katzenberg

himself. It has turned Hollywood, America's drama capital, into ground zero for the impasse between the Biden campaign and the major donors who increasingly do not want it to proceed.

"This is a town that pays attention to box office, and the numbers do not look encouraging right now," said Billy Ray, the screenwriter behind "The Hunger Games" and other films who has worked with Democratic candidates on messaging. "I do think they're going to have a challenge

Continued on Page 14

Israel Targets A Commander In a Safe Zone

This article is by Ronen Bergman, Natan Odenheimer and Adam Rasgon.

TEL AVIV — Israel conducted a major airstrike in southern Gaza on Saturday morning that it said had targeted a top Hamas military commander who is considered one of the architects of the Oct. 7 attack on Israel, according to six senior Israeli officials.

The Gaza Health Ministry said that 90 people had been killed in the assault, half of them women and children, and 300 wounded.

The commander targeted in the attack, Muhammad Deif, is the leader of the Qassam Brigades, Hamas's military wing. He is the second most senior Hamas figure in Gaza, after its leader in the territory, Yahya Sinwar.

As of Saturday night, the status of Mr. Deif and Rafah Salameh, the leader of Hamas forces in Khan Younis, who Israeli officials say was also targeted in the attack, was unclear.

Speaking to reporters Saturday night, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel confirmed that Israeli forces had tried to assassinate Mr. Deif but that Israel did not yet have "absolute clarity" as to whether he had been killed.

Hamas said in a statement that Israel's "allegations about targeting leaders are false," and are "merely to cover up the scale of the horrific massacre."

The strike hit a strip of coastal land known as Mawasi, which Is-

Continued on Page 7

Post-October 7, Hamas Became A Ghost Army

This article is by Patrick Kingsley, Natan Odenheimer, Aaron Boxerman, Adam Sella and Iyad Abuheweila.

JERUSALEM — They hide under residential neighborhoods, storing their weapons in miles of tunnels and in houses, mosques, sofas — even a child's bedroom — blurring the boundary between civilians and combatants.

They emerge from hiding in plain clothes, sometimes wearing sandals or tracksuits, before firing on Israeli troops, attaching mines to their vehicles or firing rockets from launchers in civilian areas.

They rig abandoned homes with explosives and tripwires, sometimes luring Israeli soldiers to enter the booby-trapped buildings by scattering signs of a Hamas presence.

Through eight months of fighting in Gaza, Hamas's military wing — the Qassam Brigades — has fought as a decentralized and largely hidden force, in contrast to its Oct. 7 attack on Israel, which began with a coordinated large-scale maneuver in which thousands of uniformed commandos surged through border towns and killed roughly 1,200 people.

Instead of confronting the Israeli invasion that followed in frontal battles, most Hamas fighters have retreated from their bases and outposts, seeking to blunt Israel's technological and numerical advantage by launching surprise attacks on small

Continued on Page 6

RUTH WESTHEIMER, 1928-2024



Dr. Ruth in 2000. She was a radio and television darling.

Sex Therapist Broke Taboos As 'Dr. Ruth'

By DANIEL LEWIS

Ruth Westheimer, the grandmotherly psychologist who as "Dr. Ruth" became America's best-known sex counselor with her frank, funny radio and television programs, died on Friday at her home in Manhattan. She was 96.

Her death was announced by a spokesman, Pierre Lehu.

Dr. Westheimer was in her 50s when she first went on the air in 1980, answering listeners' mailed-in questions about sex and relationships on the radio station WYNY in New York. The show, called "Sexually Speaking," was only a 15-minute segment heard after midnight on Sundays. But it was such a hit that she quickly became a national media celebrity and a one-woman business conglomerate.

At her most popular, in the

Continued on Page 23



INTERNATIONAL 4-10

The Bride-to-Be as Canvas

Sometimes crossing divides of wealth and faith, henna artists are ubiquitous before Indian weddings. PAGE 10

Anatomy of a Landslide

How and why Britain's Labour Party won a huge majority in Parliament with only a third of the total vote. PAGES 8-9

NATIONAL 11-21

Compassion vs. Civic Order

The Supreme Court ruled cities could cite homeless campers, even if no shelter beds were available. Many local leaders are weighing their options. PAGE 11

'Signs of Scorching Prejudice'

A manslaughter case against Alec Baldwin turned into an interrogation of the prosecution's conduct. PAGE 15

SPORTS 26-29

Track Star Clears Barriers

Trey Cunningham came out, and friends and peers shrugged. He wishes the same for other men in elite sports. PAGE 26

METROPOLITAN

Leaving an L.G.B.T.Q. Haven

Rabbi Sharon Kleinbaum, who created a welcoming home in New York at what grew into the largest gay synagogue in the country, is retiring. PAGE 1

Angel of Death, or Mercy?

In a motel room, a former doctor ended a woman's life at her request. He was charged with manslaughter. PAGE 1

SUNDAY STYLES

A Study in Scarlett

After avenging herself on Disney and OpenAI, Ms. Johansson is starring in a summer rom-com. PAGE 8



SUNDAY BUSINESS

Doomsday Profits

An entrepreneur is promoting timeshares in a survivalist compound to those worried the end is nigh. PAGE 1

Tech's Steely-Eyed A.I. Gambler

Microsoft's chief executive, Satya Nadella, is betting billions on a technology with big potential and risks. PAGE 4

ARTS & LEISURE

She's Horror-Struck

Mia Goth, after playing two very different lead characters in a horror franchise, is ready to branch out. She has appeared in "X," "Pearl" and the new movie "MaXXXine," and she reflects on those roles as well as what's ahead for her and her career. PAGE 6

SUNDAY OPINION

The Editorial Board

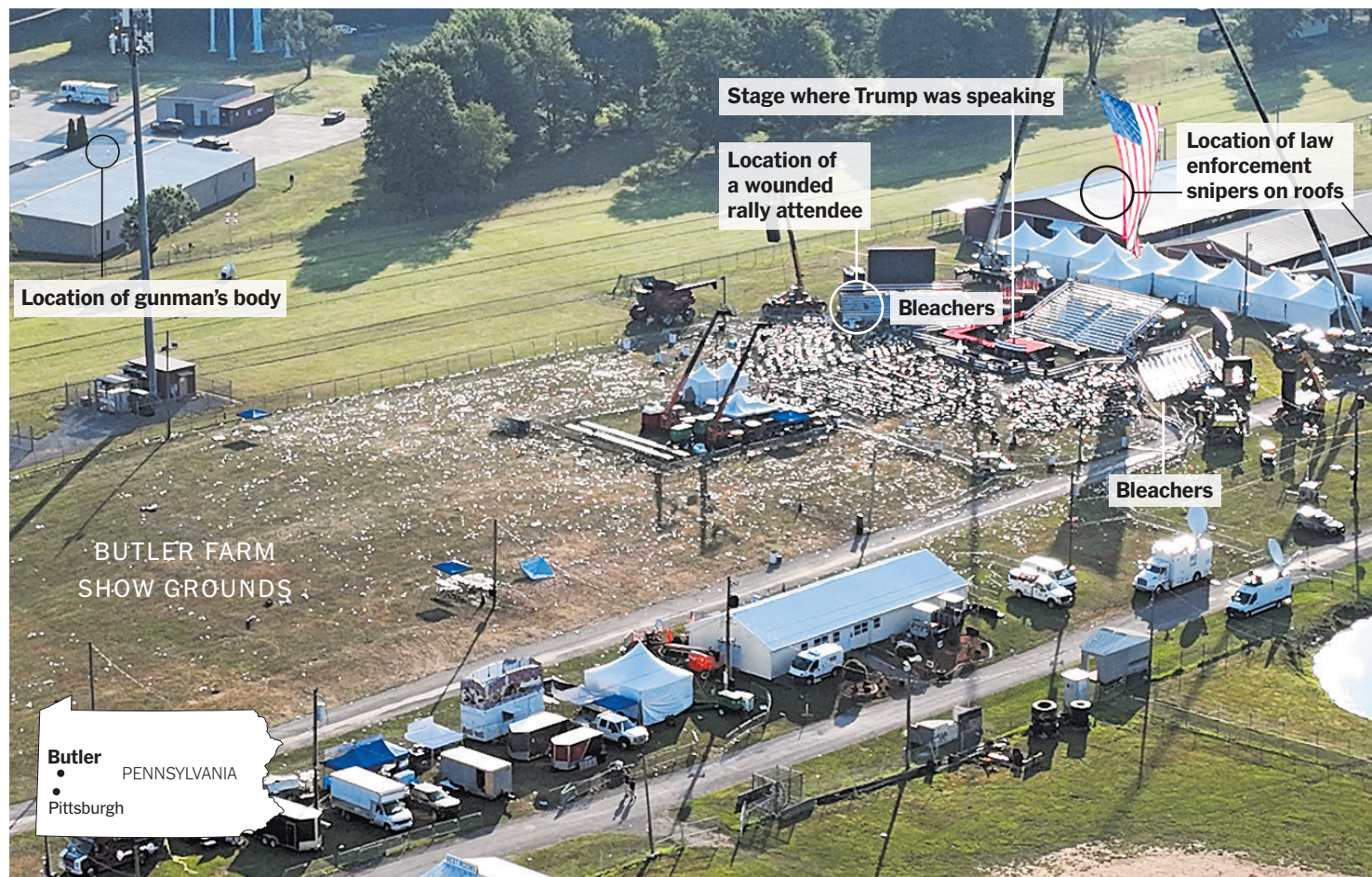
PAGE 6



Gunman's Motive Sought as Trump Vows to Go to R.N.C.

The Aftermath of the Rally

The shooter in Butler, Pa., fired from a nearby rooftop on Saturday and was killed by the Secret Service. Former President Donald J. Trump and at least three spectators were struck. One of them, a 50-year-old man, died.



THE NEW YORK TIMES; PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN SUNDAY BY DORAL CHENOWETH/USA TODAY NETWORK, VIA REUTERS

Father Bought Rifle, F.B.I. Says — Possible Explosives in Car

This article is by Michael D. Shear, Glenn Thrush, Peter Baker and Michael Levenson.

Investigators searched on Sunday for a motive that would explain why a 20-year-old armed with an AR-15-style semiautomatic rifle shot at former President Donald J. Trump, just days before he was to accept the Republican nomination for president.

The assassination attempt, which wounded Mr. Trump and killed one of his supporters, was being treated by the F.B.I. as a possible act of domestic terrorism. And it immediately raised questions about why the Secret Service and other law enforcement agencies had not secured a nearby building outside the large outdoor venue where Mr. Trump held his rally.

The gunman apparently climbed onto the building's rooftop with a rifle and fired multiple times, wounding Mr. Trump just minutes into his speech on a sweltering Saturday afternoon in Butler, Pa., north of Pittsburgh.

Within moments, someone shouted "shooter down" and Secret Service agents, agitated but in control, began moving Mr. Trump offstage to safety. "Wait, wait, wait, wait," he called out. He then made a point of pumping his fist at the crowd and seemed to defiantly shout, "Fight! Fight!" The moment — captured in photos that showed Mr. Trump's fist held aloft, his cheek bloody, with the American flag behind him — roused Mr. Trump's stunned supporters, who broke out in chants of "U.S.A.!"

Mr. Trump was taken to the hospital on Saturday night but was able to walk off his plane unaided when it landed in New Jersey hours later. On Sunday, he vowed to remain "defiant in the face of wickedness" and flew to Milwaukee for the start of the Republican National Convention on Monday, saying he would not let the assassination attempt change his "scheduling, or anything else."

The gunman, who was identified by the F.B.I. as Thomas Matthew Crooks of Bethel Park, Pa., a Pittsburgh suburb, was killed by the Secret Service, the agency said. Law enforcement officials later found a possible rudimentary explosive device in his car, Paul Abbate, deputy director of the F.B.I., said.

An AR-15-type semiautomatic rifle found next to Mr. Crooks's body had been bought by Mr. Crooks's father, the F.B.I. said. It was not clear if he had given Mr. Crooks the weapon, or if Mr. Crooks had taken it without permission.

The gunman did not have a criminal history in Pennsylvania's public court records. A voter-registration record showed that he had registered as a Republican. Federal campaign-finance records also show he donated \$15 to the Progressive Turnout Project, a liberal voter turnout group, through the Democratic donation platform ActBlue in 2021.

Mr. Crooks worked as a dietary aide at a nursing home in his hometown, according to Marcie Grimm, the facility's administrator.

Continued on Page A14

F.B.I. Finding Few Red Flags On the Shooter

This article is by Campbell Robertson, Jack Healy, Nicholas Bogel-Burroughs and Glenn Thrush.

Federal investigators racing to unravel how and why a 20-year-old nursing home employee carried out an assassination attempt against former President Donald J. Trump at a political rally in Pennsylvania said on Sunday that the gunman had used an AR-15 style rifle purchased by his father, and had left behind explosives materials in the vehicle he drove to the event.

But many details of the life and motives of the gunman, Thomas Matthew Crooks, were still unclear. Federal authorities said the gunman had no history of mental health issues or previous threats, and had not been on the radar of federal law enforcement.

Investigators were scouring his online presence and working to gain access to his phone, but so far had not found indications of strongly held political beliefs or any evidence that shed light on a motive. Mr. Crooks was shot and killed by Secret Service agents moments after he began firing from a rooftop outside the rally where Mr. Trump was speaking.

Kevin P. Rojek, the F.B.I. official in Pittsburgh who is leading the investigation, said Mr. Crooks is believed to have acted alone and that there were no additional public safety concerns.

Attorney General Merrick Garland said that the shooting was "an attack on our democracy" and that federal authorities would use every available resource to investigate the gunman.

Continued on Page A16

U.S. Is Likely To Be Ripped Further Apart

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — When President Ronald Reagan was shot by an attention-seeking drifter in 1981, the country united behind its injured leader. The teary-eyed Democratic speaker of the House, Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., went to the hospital room of the Republican president, held his hands, kissed his head and got on his knees to pray for him.

But the assassination attempt against former President Donald J. Trump seems more likely to tear America further apart than to bring it together. Within minutes of the shooting, the air was filled with anger, bitterness, suspicion and recrimination. Fingers were pointed, conspiracy theories advanced and a country already bristling with animosity fractured even more.

The fact that the shooting in Butler, Pa., on Saturday night was two days before Republicans were set to gather in Milwaukee for their nominating convention invariably put the event in a partisan context. While Democrats bemoaned political violence, which they have long faulted Mr. Trump for encouraging, Republicans instantly blamed President Biden and his allies for the attack, which they argued stemmed from incendiary language labeling the former president a proto-fascist who would destroy democracy.

Mr. Trump's eldest son, his campaign strategist and a running mate finalist all attacked the

Continued on Page A17



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

An annotated photograph by Doug Mills of The Times, who reflected on his experience at Donald J. Trump's rally. Page A2.

Volunteer Firefighter Is Killed Shielding Family From Gunfire

This article is by Ernesto Londoño, Isabelle Taft, Christina Morales and Brian Conway.

Corey Comperatore, 50, was a family man who loved to fish. He worked at a plastics manufacturing company, volunteered as a firefighter and went to church.

An "avid supporter" of Donald J. Trump, as Gov. Josh Shapiro of Pennsylvania put it, Mr. Comperatore attended the former president's campaign rally in Butler, Pa., on Saturday with his family, alongside thousands of fellow fans who gathered on a sweltering evening.

When a gunman fired shots from the roof of a nearby building, Mr. Comperatore threw himself over his family members to shield

them, according to the governor. Mr. Comperatore was shot in the head and died at the scene, authorities said. Two other rally attendees were critically injured in the shooting.

Officials and Mr. Comperatore's sister, Dawn Comperatore Schafer, confirmed his identity on Sunday. "We watched him die on the news," she said in a phone interview, through tears. "That's how we found out."

Mr. Shapiro, a Democrat, said on Sunday that Mr. Comperatore "died a hero," adding that "Corey was the very best of us."

Mr. Comperatore, of Sarver, Pa., had two daughters — Allyson, 27, and Kaylee, 24. He and Jeff Lowers, a longtime friend, were volun-

Continued on Page A20

Secret Service Will Face Review And Assess Convention Security

This article is by Zolan Kanno-Youngs, David A. Fahrendthold, Hamed Aleaziz and Eileen Sullivan.

WASHINGTON — President Biden on Sunday called for an "independent review" of security measures before and after the attempted assassination of former President Donald J. Trump, while directing the Secret Service to review all of its security measures for the Republican National Convention this week.

Mr. Biden's directive, though brief and without specifics, is likely to increase the scrutiny of the decisions and possible failures of the agency charged first and foremost with protecting the lives of the country's current and former leaders, and their families.

Less than 24 hours after Mr. Trump was injured at a campaign rally in Butler, Pa., members of Congress were promising hearings and former law enforcement officials were questioning why the warehouse roof where the would-

be assassin, Thomas Matthew Crooks of Bethel Park, Pa., fired shots was not covered by the Secret Service's security perimeter, despite being within the range of some guns.

Mr. Trump, the presumptive Republican nominee, was herded off the stage and pronounced fine, but the gunman came shockingly close to succeeding. A spectator was killed in the shooting and two others were critically wounded.

"Congress will do a full investigation of the tragedy yesterday to determine where there were lapses in security and anything else that the American people need to know and deserve to know," Speaker Mike Johnson, Republican of Louisiana, said Sunday on NBC.

The chair of the House oversight committee also asked the Secret Service director, Kimberly A. Cheatle, to testify at a hearing on July 22.

The demand for answers from

Continued on Page A16

INVESTIGATION The F.B.I., though still seeking many answers about the 20-year-old shooter, believed that he acted alone. PAGE A16

AT THE SCENE Rally attendees recounted a day of merriment turned to horror minutes after Donald J. Trump took the stage. PAGE A14

TUMULT The rally was the latest escalation of political violence and a reminder of the fragility of peaceful democracy in the U.S. PAGE A15

RICHARD SIMMONS, 1948-2024

TV's 'Clown Prince of Fitness' Kept Us Sweating

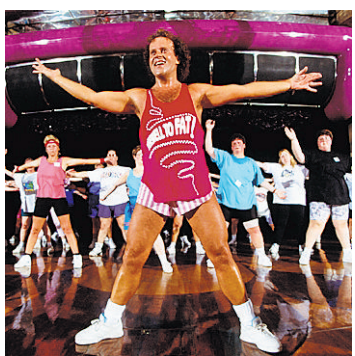
By ALEX TRAUB

Richard Simmons, who with dances, confessions, screeches, comedy sketches and pep talks established himself as America's most popular fitness instructor, died on Saturday at his home in Los Angeles. He was 76.

A representative for Mr. Simmons, Tom Estey, confirmed the death.

The Los Angeles police and fire departments responded to Mr. Simmons' address at 10 a.m. on Saturday. A Fire Department spokesman said that personnel there determined he had died of natural causes.

In March, Mr. Simmons said he had been treated for basal cell carcinoma, which he said first appeared as a "strange looking



EVAN HURD/SYGMA, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Richard Simmons on a cruise.

bump" under his eye. From the 1980s until his death, Mr. Simmons was the dominant incarnation of a longstanding figure from American pop culture, dating at least to the muscle show

impresario and magazine publisher Bernarr Macfadden (1868-1955). Mr. Simmons shared much with Jack LaLanne. Each man became a television and self-help sensation by promoting a personal story of being born again: a miserable youth of sinful junk-food gluttony, followed by the discovery that physical fitness confers happiness and virtue.

"I think I'm just a good example of a chubby, fat, unhappy kid who lived in New Orleans, Louisiana, and dreamed, and now all my dreams are coming true," Mr. Simmons told the TV host Huell Howser in 1980.

A TV fitness act would seem to demand a balance between masculinity and theatrics. Mr. Simmons showed otherwise. He

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PAUL CHILDS/REUTERS

Floating to Victory

Carlos Alcaraz beat Novak Djokovic in straight sets to earn his second Wimbledon title. Page D2.

INTERNATIONAL A4-8

Too Much Cocaine in Colombia

Domestic and foreign shifts in the global drug industry have devastated many poor citizens whose livelihoods are tied to the powder. PAGE A8

NATIONAL A9-17, 20

Harm From Hot Sidewalks

The risk of serious contact burns is increasing as temperatures soar and as more people move to the desert Southwest. PAGE A13

OBITUARIES B7-8

Star of 'Beverly Hills, 90210'

Shannen Doherty, who also starred in "Charmed," had continued to work after receiving a breast cancer diagnosis. She was 53. PAGE B8

ONLINE

Full R.N.C. Coverage

Follow developments from Milwaukee at nytimes.com, where reporters will be providing live updates, analysis and commentary on opening night.

OPINION A18-19

Bernie Sanders

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Vance, a Onetime Critic of Trump, Is Selected as His Running Mate

By MICHAEL GOLD

MILWAUKEE — Former President Donald J. Trump has chosen Senator J.D. Vance of Ohio to be his running mate, wagering that the young senator will bring fresh energy to the Republican ticket and ensure that the movement Mr. Trump began nearly a decade ago can live on after him.

Mr. Vance, 39, is a political newcomer who entered the Senate only last year, but he has spent that time methodically ascending the conservative firmament.

Once an acerbic Trump critic — attacking Mr. Trump as “reprehensible” and calling him “cultural heroin” — he won Mr. Trump’s backing in his 2022 Senate race by wholly embracing his politics and his lies about a stolen election. The endorsement lifted him above a crowded field, and ultimately to the Senate.

Mr. Vance, a venture capitalist in Silicon Valley who became best known for writing the memoir “Hillbilly Elegy,” did not forget it. He quickly emerged as a top defender of the former president in the halls of Congress and on television, taking his cues from Mr. Trump while frequently bucking the priorities of Senator Mitch McConnell, the chamber’s long-time Republican leader.

Mr. Trump announced his choice in a post on Truth Social, his social media platform, on Monday as the Republican National Convention was getting underway in Milwaukee. He said that Mr. Vance was “the person best suited” to be his potential vice president. He highlighted Mr. Vance’s time in the Marine Corps and his memoir, saying he believed Mr. Vance was a champion for hardworking people, particularly the workers and farmers in a number of key swing states.

Mr. Trump’s selection came just days after he survived an assassination attempt at a rally in Pennsylvania, an episode that underlined the significance of his choosing a running mate who might be in line as Mr. Trump’s successor.

Mr. Vance, an ardent and vocal defender of Mr. Trump, went further than many of his allies, directly attributing the shooting to the rhetoric of President Biden and his campaign, even as Mr. Trump and his campaign called for unity. “The central premise of the Biden campaign is that President Donald Trump is an authoritarian fascist who must be stopped at all costs. That rhetoric led directly to President Trump’s attempted assassination,” Mr. Vance wrote on X.

In Mr. Vance, Mr. Trump has tapped an ambitious ideologue who relishes the spotlight and has already shown he can energize donors on behalf of the presumptive nominee. His youth — there are nearly 40 years separating them, and Mr. Vance is the first millennial nominated to a major-party ticket — could prove a boon to the

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J.D. Vance and his wife, Usha, on Monday, when he became the G.O.P.’s vice-presidential nominee.

HAIYUN JIANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

For the G.O.P., Free-Market Economics Is History

By JEANNA SMIALEK and ANA SWANSON

Donald J. Trump’s presidency was a major turn away from the Republican Party’s long embrace of free-market economics. If the Republican platform is any indication, a second Trump term would be a near-complete abandonment.

The 2024 platform, which was released last week and is expected to infuse the Republican National Convention that started in Milwaukee on Monday, promises action on what have become Mr. Trump’s signature issues: It pledges to pump up tariffs, en-

Platform Ditches Ideals for Policies Risking Inflation and Debt

borrowing. Other policies it proposes — including cutting taxes and expanding the military — would most likely swell the nation’s debt.

The Republican platform also does not mention exports or encouraging trade. And while the document insists that the party will lower inflation, long a pertinent issue for economic conservatives, it fails to lay out a realistic plan for doing that. Chapter One

Continued on Page A12

ONLINE Follow the convention at nytimes.com, where reporters will be providing live updates.

Secret Service Faces Scrutiny Over Rooftop Lapse

This article is by David A. Fahrnthold, Zolan Kanno-Youngs, Christina Morales and Mark Walker.

WASHINGTON — The building from which a gunman fired at former President Donald J. Trump on Saturday was — at least in hindsight — an obvious security risk. Its rooftop offered an ideal sniper’s perch, with a close, elevated and unobstructed view of Mr. Trump.

But when the Secret Service drew up plans for the rally, it left that building outside its security perimeter. Instead, local law enforcement officials in Butler, Pa., were given responsibility for the building, and no police officers were stationed on the roof itself.

The building, used as a warehouse by equipment manufacturer AGR International, has become a focal point of investigations into the shooting that nearly felled a former American president, one that Homeland Security Secretary Alejandro N. Mayorkas on Monday called a security failure.

The first question is why the building, about 450 feet from the stage, was left out of the perimeter. A Secret Service advance



Secret Service snipers before the rally in Butler, Pa. A gunman was atop a nearby building outside the agency’s security zone.

ERIC LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

team visited the site and made the determination, and a supervisor would have had to approve it. The agency so far has not said who that was.

That is just one of many unanswered questions. It is also unclear how the gunman got on the roof. People at the rally reported a suspicious person to local law en-

forcement. Quickly thereafter, rally visitors pointed out a man on the warehouse and the Secret Service shot and killed him after he began his assault.

The Secret Service has not said if local law enforcement officers made service agents aware of a suspect, if those officers were up

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First, Gunshots. Moments Later, Disinformation.

This article is by Tiffany Hsu, Sheera Frenkel and Ken Bensinger.

Four minutes after the first report of a shooting at a rally for Donald J. Trump on Saturday, an anonymous account on X posted, “Joe Biden’s antifa shot President Trump.”

Within half an hour, another account on X with links to the QAnon conspiracy theory claimed without proof that the attack against Mr. Trump had probably been ordered by the C.I.A. Shortly after that, the far-right activist Laura Loomer posted on X about some recent remarks that President Biden made about Mr. Trump and then wrote, “They tried to kill Trump.” She did not provide evidence.

An hour later, with official details of the assassination attempt still scant, the narrative that Mr. Biden and his allies had engineered the attack on Mr. Trump was being amplified by Republican lawmakers, Russian sym-

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JUDGE VOIDS CASE ABOUT DOCUMENTS THAT TRUMP KEPT

Special Counsel’s Appointment Is Ruled Improper, and Appeal Is Planned

By ALAN FEUER

The federal judge overseeing former President Donald J. Trump’s classified documents case threw out all of the charges against him on Monday, ruling that Jack Smith, the special counsel who filed the indictment, had been given his job in violation of the Constitution.

In a stunning decision delivered on the first day of the Republican National Convention, the judge, Aileen M. Cannon, found that Mr. Smith’s appointment as special counsel was improper because it was not based on a specific federal statute and because he had not been named to the post by the president or confirmed by the Senate.

She also found that Mr. Smith had been improperly funded by the Treasury Department.

The ruling by Judge Cannon, who was put on the bench by Mr. Trump in his final year in office, flew in the face of previous court decisions reaching back to the Watergate era that upheld the legality of the ways in which independent prosecutors have been put into their posts.

It handed Mr. Trump a major legal victory two days after he was wounded in a shooting at a campaign rally and at the very onset of the political pageant where he is set to formally become his party’s presidential nominee.

The classified documents case, which was being heard in Federal District Court in Fort Pierce, Fla., once appeared to be the most straightforward of the four criminal prosecutions that Mr. Trump has faced. He was charged last year with illegally holding on to classified national security materials after leaving office and then obstructing government efforts to retrieve them along with two co-defendants, Walt Nauta and Carlos DeOliveira.

The charges against Mr. Nauta and Mr. DeOliveira were also tossed out.

Mr. Smith’s office said he intended to appeal. “The dismissal of the case deviates from the uniform conclusion of all previous courts to have considered the issue that the attorney general is statutorily authorized to appoint a

special counsel,” said Peter Carr, a spokesman for the special counsel. “The Justice Department has authorized the special counsel to appeal the court’s order.”

But even if the appeal succeeds, the case still might never go in front of a jury.

It has long been clear that the documents case would not go to trial before the election in November, largely because of the glacial pace with which Judge Cannon has handled it. Should Mr. Trump be elected president again, he could simply have his Justice Department dismiss the case if it is reinstated on appeal — and even if he does not, longstanding Justice Department policy forbids prosecuting a sitting president.

But Judge Cannon’s decision to



U.S. JUSTICE DEPARTMENT

Boxes of documents stored in a bathroom at Mar-a-Lago.

dismiss the indictment in its entirety at such a consequential moment in Mr. Trump’s campaign was a remarkable development for the former president’s legal and political future, giving him more ammunition to portray the prosecution as an effort by President Biden and his allies to undercut him in the election.

In a statement on his social media

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REBUFF Judge Aileen M. Cannon’s ruling rejected a Supreme Court decision in 1974. PAGE A16

In Japan, Children’s Book Bag Holds Generations of Tradition

By MOTOKO RICH

TOKYO — In Japan, cultural expectations are repeatedly drilled into children at school and at home, with peer pressure playing as powerful a role as any particular authority or law. On the surface, at least, that can help Japanese society run smoothly.

During the pandemic, for example, the government never mandated masks or lockdowns, yet the majority of residents wore face coverings in public and refrained from going out to crowded venues. Japanese tend to stand quietly in lines, obey traffic signals and clean up after themselves during sports and other events because they have been trained from kindergarten to do so.

Carrying the boxy, bulky back-

pack known as a randoseru to school is “not even a rule imposed by anyone but a rule that everyone is upholding together,” said Shoko Fukushima, associate professor of education administration at the Chiba Institute of Technology.

On the first day of school this spring — the Japanese school year starts in April — flocks of eager first graders and their parents arrived for an entrance ceremony at Kitasuna Elementary School in the Koto neighborhood of eastern Tokyo.

Seeking to capture an iconic moment mirrored across generations of Japanese family photo albums, the children, almost all of

Continued on Page A6



NORIKO HAYASHI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The age-old bags, once uniform, now include distinctive details.



BIDEN BOWS OUT

LATE REVERSAL UPENDS RACE FOR WHITE HOUSE AS PRESIDENT ENDORSES HARRIS TO LEAD TICKET



KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Biden began changing his mind Saturday, officials said, and he made a final decision Sunday. Below, a portion of his letter.

It has been the greatest honor of my life to serve as your President. And while it has been my intention to seek reelection, I believe it is in the best interest of my party and the country for me to stand down and to focus solely on fulfilling my duties as President for the remainder of my term.

I will speak to the Nation later this week in more detail about my decision.

For now, let me express my deepest gratitude to all those who have worked so hard to see me reelected. I want to thank Vice President Kamala Harris for being an extraordinary partner in all this work. And let me express my heartfelt appreciation to the American people for the faith and trust you have placed in me.

Facing Pressure, He Writes, 'It's Time to Come Together and Beat Trump'

By PETER BAKER

President Biden on Sunday abruptly abandoned his campaign for a second term under intense pressure from fellow Democrats and threw his support to Vice President Kamala Harris to lead their party in a dramatic last-minute bid to stop former President Donald J. Trump from returning to the White House.

"It has been the greatest honor of my life to serve as your President," Mr. Biden said in a letter posted on social media. "And while it has been my intention to seek re-election, I believe it is in the best interest of my party and the country for me to stand down and to focus solely on fulfilling my duties as President for the remainder of my term."

Mr. Biden then posted a subsequent online message endorsing Ms. Harris. "My very first decision as the party nominee in 2020 was to pick Kamala Harris as my Vice President," he wrote. "And it's been the best decision I've made. Today I want to offer my full support and endorsement for Kamala to be the nominee of our party this year. Democrats — it's time to come together and beat Trump. Let's do this."

The president's decision upended the race and set the stage for a raucous and unpredictable campaign unlike any in modern times, leaving Ms. Harris just 107 days to consolidate support from Democrats, establish herself as a credible national leader and prosecute the case against Mr. Trump. Recent polls have shown her competitive with and even slightly ahead of Mr. Trump.

Although Democratic convention delegates must ratify the choice of Ms. Harris to take over as standard-bearer next month, Mr. Biden's endorsement meant the nomination was hers to lose and she appeared in a powerful position to claim it. While Mr. Biden, 81, remained president and still planned to finish out his term in January, the transition of the campaign to Ms. Harris, 59, amounted to a momentous generational change of leadership of the Democratic Party.

The president said he would "speak to the nation later this week in more detail about my decision," although it was not clear when he would do that as he re-

Continued on Page A14

Vice President Suddenly Enters Spotlight After Years in Shadows

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — Vice President Kamala Harris, who has struggled for nearly four years in President Biden's shadow, was thrust on Sunday into the center of a remarkable political drama that could culminate with her becoming the first woman of color at the top of a major-party presidential ticket.

Mr. Biden's decision to abandon his re-election bid and endorse Ms. Harris to succeed him puts her in a powerful, but not certain, position to become the new face of the Democratic Party, charged with preventing former President Donald J. Trump from returning to the Oval Office for another four years.

"Today I want to offer my full support and endorsement for Kamala to be the nominee of our party this year. Democrats — it's time to come together and beat Trump," Mr. Biden wrote in a social media post after he an-



ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Vice President Kamala Harris vowed to win the nomination.

ounced his decision to step aside. "Let's do this."

Ms. Harris and her team are likely to move swiftly to try to seize that mantle even as uncertainty swirled about whether other Democrats would seek to

Continued on Page A15

Donors, With Renewed Vigor, Flock to Support a Harris Bid

By THEODORE SCHLEIFER and KENNETH P. VOGEL

Democratic donors are immediately mobilizing around Kamala Harris as their party's next presidential nominee, offering Democratic elites something they have not felt in weeks.

Optimism. Advisers and major givers said on Sunday that they were being inundated with enthusiasm and word of planned donations to support Ms. Harris if she became the official Democratic candidate — even as questions remained about how to best support her. Shortly before 5 p.m. Eastern time on Sunday afternoon, the Biden cam-

paigned filed paperwork formally renaming its campaign committee "Harris for President."

In the immediate aftermath of President Biden's decision to exit the race, Ms. Harris was enjoying some broad, swift consolidation among major givers. Multiple Biden donors and their advisers said that they were hearing from previously despondent donors who were ready to give to support a Harris-led ticket. One Silicon Valley bundler raised over \$1 million in a 30-minute period, the person shared.

Continued on Page A16

Rank-and-File Democrats Greet News With Hope and Hesitation

This article is by Patricia Mazzei, Mitch Smith and Heather Knight.

MIAMI — For Democratic voters who have spent much of the summer brooding about President Biden's fitness for office, his decision on Sunday not to seek reelection came as a relief. Now, they figured, their political party might stand a chance in November — though many still expressed deep doubts. "I'm overjoyed, absolutely

overjoyed," said Mark Oliver Rylance, 67, a Democrat from Columbus, Ohio, said about Mr. Biden's announcement. Just last weekend, Mr. Rylance participated in a demonstration outside of the Ohio Democratic Party convention calling for Mr. Biden to step aside.

"If Biden had stayed in, we would have lost absolutely everything," he added, echoing the feelings of many Democrats. "We would have lost the House, would have lost the Senate, and it could

Divided Over Whether Move Was Too Late

very well have been a landslide." The delicate subjects of whether Mr. Biden, 81, was fit for another term and how long he might stay in the race after his disastrous debate performance last month had found their way into conversations at dinner parties,

neighborhood parks and church gatherings. The end of Mr. Biden's candidacy on Sunday shifted some Democrats' emotions from profound anxiety to hopeful determination, even if what comes next for their party remains unclear.

There was also plenty of resignation to the idea that no Democrat might be able to pull off a victory against former President Donald J. Trump.

Mr. Biden's endorsement of

Continued on Page A16

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Jack Ma's Unlikely Benefactor

Papers show that Xiao Jianhua, a corrupt investor, backed China's most successful entrepreneur. PAGE A6

Rage Over Inequality

Protests set off by a quota system for government jobs revealed broader resentment in Bangladesh. PAGE A9



NATIONAL A11-17

Relief for Campus Protesters

Charges have been dropped for many of the 3,100 people who were arrested in pro-Palestinian encampments at universities this year. PAGE A11

Medicaid Experiment Falters

Georgia got a waiver to add work rules to its Medicaid expansion, an approach Republicans favor, but the results have been disappointing. PAGE A17

Reversal by Secret Service

The agency revealed that it had turned down requests from the Trump team over the past two years, but not for the Pennsylvania rally. PAGE A13

BUSINESS B1-4

'No Tax on Tips' Catches On

The sudden popularity of the proposal is another reminder of the improvisational nature of economic policymaking under Donald J. Trump. PAGE B1

Disappearing Data for A.I.

New research has found a drop in content made available to the collections used to power the technology. PAGE B1

OBITUARIES B5-6

A Folk Music Mainstay

Happy Traum, a noted guitarist and banjo player who sometimes collaborated with Bob Dylan, was 86. PAGE B6

SPORTS D1-8

The Rise of Flag Football

With the sport coming to the Olympics in 2028, the N.F.L. is getting behind it, particularly for women. PAGE D1

Capping a U.S. Sweep

Xander Schauffele's British Open win put Americans on top in all four of this year's pro golf majors. PAGE D3



ARTS C1-6

His Second Chance Is Here

Alex Izenberg was almost a teenage rock star, but then problems arose. Now he has a new album out. PAGE C1

Storehouse of Black Genealogy

Charleston's International African American Museum helps people fill in the blanks of family histories. PAGE C1

OPINION A18-19

Frank Bruni

PAGE A19



STARTING 15-WEEK DASH, HARRIS PRESSES CASE



Vice President Kamala Harris raised \$81 million in her first 24 hours as a candidate to lead the Democratic Party's presidential ticket.

Emphasizes Past as Prosecutor and Collects Endorsements

By ERICA L. GREEN and ZOLAN KANNO-YOUNGS

WILMINGTON, Del. — Vice President Kamala Harris drew on her past as a prosecutor on Monday in her first campaign appearance since President Biden dropped his re-election bid, saying her law enforcement background would help her defeat a rival who is a convicted criminal.

Speaking from what had been the Biden-Harris campaign headquarters in Wilmington, Del., Ms. Harris said her experience as a prosecutor in California gave her insight into former President Donald J. Trump.

"I took on perpetrators of all kinds," Ms. Harris told a crowd of campaign staff members. "Predators who abused women. Fraudsters who ripped off consumers. Cheaters who broke the rules for their own gain. So hear me when I say: I know Donald Trump's type."

Ms. Harris made a point to praise Mr. Biden, even as she tried to reintroduce herself to Americans on her own terms. The president, who has been recovering from Covid at his vacation home in Rehoboth Beach, Del., called in to the event at campaign headquarters, which featured "Kamala" and "Harris for President" posters.

"I'm hoping you'll give every bit of your heart and soul that you gave to me to Kamala," Mr. Biden told the staff before Ms. Harris spoke. At one point, Mr. Biden spoke to his vice president directly. "I'm watching you, kid," Mr. Biden said. "I love you."

Before she previewed her campaign in Wilmington, Ms. Harris paid tribute to Mr. Biden during an event honoring college athletes at the White House. She talked

about her friendship with Mr. Biden's son Beau Biden, who died of brain cancer in 2015, and commended the president's "deep love of our country."

But she wasted no time in starting to build her new profile as the presumptive nominee and the new hope among Democrats for defeating Mr. Trump. Ms. Harris raised \$81 million in her first 24 hours as a presidential candidate, began an effort to engage delegates and scooped up key endorsements.

In the three and a half months until Election Day, Ms. Harris still needs to define herself for the American people before Republicans do it for her. She also needs to quickly take over the campaign apparatus that Mr. Biden had spent more than a year building.

Stefanie Brown James, a co-founder of the Collective PAC, an organization that supports Black candidates at all levels of government, quoted the rapper Jay-Z when describing the current moment for Ms. Harris.

"Allow me to reintroduce myself," Ms. James said. "She has to in this moment define who she is, explain her record."

But Ms. James also said Ms. Harris would need to form an effective message that used her work as a vice president and prosecutor to energize voters, some-

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LOOKING BACK Some say the president's decision will enhance his role in posterity. PAGE A18

LOOKING AHEAD Kamala Harris's first big decision is choosing a potential running mate. PAGE A14

Promise and Peril Grow Out Of Shift in Standard-Bearers

By SHANE GOLDMACHER

Vice President Kamala Harris swiftly established herself as the Democratic front-runner to take on Donald J. Trump within hours of President Biden's exit on Sunday, fundamentally rewiring the presidential contest at warp speed.

Now the race has been transformed into an abbreviated 106-day sprint that more closely resembles the snap elections of Europe than the drawn-out American contests.

The tight timeline will magnify any missteps Ms. Harris might make but also minimize the chances for a stumble.

And in a race that Mr. Trump had been on a trajectory to win, Ms. Harris immediately becomes

Injecting New Dynamic on Issues Like Age, Gender and Crime

the ultimate X-factor.

Mr. Biden quickly endorsed Ms. Harris, who would be a barrier-breaking nominee as the first woman, the first Black woman and the first person of South Asian descent ever to serve as president.

As the Democratic Party rallies behind her — the loudest voices of dissent were simply those not publicly endorsing her — here are six ways her candidacy holds both promise and peril.

Continued on Page A14

Defending Biden Legacy Abroad Now Falls to Another Candidate

By DAVID E. SANGER

ASPEN, Colo. — As President Biden greeted the leaders of his 31 allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization a week ago, he described in vivid terms how he thought history would treat his first term in office.

He was the American president who had restored and then expanded NATO, the world's biggest military alliance, saving it from his predecessor's threats to withdraw from it. He organized the West to push back against President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia, and in so doing deterred Moscow from direct attacks on European nations beyond Ukraine's borders. And he became the architect of a new American plan to contain China, though he never calls it that: cutting off sophisticated technology to Beijing while pour-

Parties Diverge Sharply in Confronting Grave Global Threats

ing billions of federal dollars into producing advanced chips at home.

But Mr. Biden's defense of his record came too late, after his shocking debate performance that led to his withdrawal from the race on Sunday. And now it will fall to a different nominee — probably but not certainly Vice President Kamala Harris — to defend that record from a radically different interpretation of the past four years promoted by former President Donald J. Trump.

Continued on Page A7

Inside the President's Reversal That Surprised Even His Allies

This article is by Katie Rogers, Michael D. Shear, Peter Baker and Zolan Kanno-Youngs.

WASHINGTON — "I need you and Mike at the house," President Biden said Saturday afternoon.

Mr. Biden was on the phone from his vacation home in Rehoboth, Del., with Steve Ricchetti, a counselor to the president and one of his closest advisers. He was referring to Mike Donilon, his chief strategist and longtime speechwriter. Soon, both men were in Rehoboth, socially distanced from the president, who was recovering from Covid.

From that afternoon and far into the night, the three worked on one of the most important and historic letters of Mr. Biden's presidency — the announcement of his decision to withdraw from his re-election campaign after top Dem-

Harris Learned of His Endorsement of Her on Sunday, Too

ocrats, donors, close allies and friends had pressured him relentlessly to get out.

He would not tell most of his staff until a minute before making the announcement to the world on social media on Sunday. Vice President Kamala Harris, whom Mr. Biden went on to endorse, spoke to him earlier on Sunday morning, as did Jeff Zients, his chief of staff, and Jen O'Malley Dillon, his campaign chair. Senior advisers at the White House heard directly from the president

Continued on Page A10

Wealthy Women Stockpile Donations for Harris

By THEODORE SCHLEIFER

For decades, Kamala Harris has been bolstered by a tight-knit group of female donors who rose up with her in Democratic politics. And for weeks, even when she was still insisting that President Biden would be the party's nominee, these allies began to make moves to make sure her historic campaign would not be built on the fly.

Quickly and quietly, her biggest supporters worked to rally support around her, creating enough momentum to effectively stamp out any opposition. They collected money, cut ads in advance and worked their networks to monitor the moves of other hopefuls.

Allies Acted in Advance in Effort to Outflank Any Opposition

On Sunday, when Mr. Biden announced his exit from the race and endorsed Vice President Harris, all the behind-the-scenes maneuvering appeared to pay off. The nation's highest-ranking female officeholder, Ms. Harris rapidly picked up pivotal endorsements without attracting a single serious challenger. Money started flooding in. Ads began moving. And while some major Democratic donors remained on the hunt for a

non-Harris candidate on Monday, their efforts were appearing increasingly futile by the hour.

Some Democratic donors who are not immediately supporting Ms. Harris — including former Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg of New York and Silicon Valley leaders such as Reed Hastings and Vinod Khosla — called for a competitive process, which Democratic donors and fund-raisers have been interpreting as something of a code to say they are not eager to support Ms. Harris against former President Donald J. Trump.

"The decision is too important to rush because the election is too important to lose," Mr. Bloomberg said on Monday.

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Secret Service Director Pressed to Quit

Kimberly Cheatle couldn't explain the failure to protect former President Donald Trump. Page A11.

NATIONAL A9-19

State Weighs Laws on Crime

Theft and drug use have tested the patience of Californians, who will decide whether to impose stricter penalties that would increase incarceration. PAGE A9

Memoir Contains Multitudes

Even before JD Vance aligned with Donald J. Trump, contradictions were evident in "Hillbilly Elegy." PAGE A17

OBITUARIES A22

A Founder of the Four Tops

Duke Fakir, who sang tenor on several of the group's hits, was the last surviving original member. He was 88.

INTERNATIONAL A4-8

Israel's War to the North

After months of low-level conflict between Israel and Hezbollah, a cease-fire in Gaza would provide an offramp for both sides, diplomats say. PAGE A4



Hong Kong's Bouncy Art

Inflatable replicas of famous monuments have popped up in a park, raising questions about what even counts as art and the city's changing place in the world. PAGE A8

BUSINESS B1-5

A.I. Has a Math Problem

The world's smartest computer scientists have created artificial intelligence that is more liberal arts major than numbers whiz. PAGE B1

Delta Flails After Tech Outage

The airline was the only one still canceling hundreds of flights Monday as it raced to update its systems. PAGE B1

SPORTS B6-10

Swimming Supremacy at Risk

U.S. swimmers have long won the overall Olympics medal count. But Australia poses a threat in Paris. PAGE B6

ARTS C1-6

Change Atop Ford Foundation

Darren Walker, who as the organization's leader oversaw billions in grants, plans to leave at the end of 2025. PAGE C1

Where 'The Blob' Still Oozes

Much of the 1958 sci-fi horror film was shot in Phoenixville, Pa. The locals still have a soft spot for the movie. PAGE C1



SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

A Distressing Timeline

Millions of malaria vaccines are being supplied to children in Africa. Tens of thousands died waiting. PAGE D5

The Flip-Side Solution

Scientists could never explain how a fossil might have been a jellyfish. Then they turned it upside-down. PAGE D8

OPINION A20-21

Jon Meacham

PAGE A20



NEWS ANALYSIS

Google Ruling Makes Waves For Its Rivals

'Predictor' of Direction Antitrust Law Will Go

By STEVE LOHR

In 2000, a ruling in a U.S. antitrust case against Microsoft helped set the rules of competition for the digital giant of its day.

At the time, a federal judge said Microsoft had abused the monopoly power of its Windows operating system and ordered that the company be split up. A breakup was reversed on appeal, but key legal findings were upheld. And Microsoft was prohibited from forcing restrictive contracts on its industry partners and ordered to open some of its technology to outsiders — preventing the company from single-handedly controlling the internet.

More than two decades later, a ruling in a Google antitrust case similarly promises to shape new rules for the tech industry. Judge Amit P. Mehta of U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia found on Monday that Google had violated antitrust laws by stifling rivals in internet search to protect its monopoly.

Google's loss could have major ripple effects for competition today. U.S. regulators have also accused Apple, Amazon and Meta of violating antitrust laws by advantaging their own products on the platforms they run and acquiring smaller rivals. The Google ruling, and potential remedies to be decided by Judge Mehta, are likely to weigh heavily on those cases, including a second lawsuit against Google over ad technology, which is scheduled to go to trial next month.

Judge Mehta's ruling is "a predictor of what other courts might do," said Rebecca Haw Allensworth, a Vanderbilt University law professor. Continued on Page A11

French Cuisine? Olympians Pick Chinese Eatery.

By ANDREW KEH and WEIYI CAI

PARIS — As Tang Zhongqiu knows, there often comes a time in an Asian person's trip to France when one grows weary of the endless parade of bread and seeks respite in a simple bowl of rice.

This is true of backpackers and businesspeople and, it turns out, Olympic table tennis champions. So while Tang assumed there would be an uptick in customers at his Chinese restaurant in the 15th arrondissement of Paris after a nearby convention hall was converted into the table tennis arena for the Summer Olympics, he had no idea it would be like this.

For the past two weeks, his narrow restaurant, Yang Xiao Chu, has been transformed into a bustling, unofficial clubhouse for table tennis, a sport followed most fervently and practiced most successfully in China. His store — one of the closest Chinese restaurants to the arena, but far enough that you would need to have sought it out — has been practically bursting at the seams with current Olympians, former gold medalists, team staff members, journalists and countless hungry fans. "I didn't expect we would get this busy during the Olympics," Tang said one recent morning, before the lunch rush. "I just look after them as if they were my family members."

Tang, much to his disbelief, has Continued on Page A6



Vice President Kamala Harris with Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota at a rally Tuesday in Philadelphia.

MINNESOTA'S WALZ IS HARRIS'S CHOICE FOR RUNNING MATE

With Plain-Spoken Criticism of Trump, Governor Eclipses Bigger Names

This article is by Reid J. Epstein, Katie Rogers, Erica L. Green and Shane Goldmacher.

WASHINGTON — Vice President Kamala Harris, the Democratic nominee for president, chose Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota as her running mate on Tuesday, elevating a former football coach whose rural roots, liberal policies and buzzy takedowns of former President Donald J. Trump have recently put him on the map.

Mr. Walz, 60, emerged from a field of candidates who had better name recognition and more politically advantageous home states. Minnesota is not a top-tier presidential battleground and is unlikely to prove critical to a Harris-Walz victory.

But he jumped to the top of Ms. Harris's list in a matter of days, helped by cable news appearances in which he declared that Republicans were "weird." The new, clear articulation of why voters should reject Mr. Trump caught on fast and turned the spotlight on the plain-spoken Midwesterner behind it.

"One of the things that stood out to me about Tim is how his convictions on fighting for middle class families run deep," Ms. Harris said in a social media post confirming his selection. "It's personal."

Mr. Walz (pronounced Walls) appeared with Ms. Harris at a rally on Tuesday evening in Philadelphia, their first appearance as the Democratic ticket. In his own post on social media, Mr. Walz said it was the "honor of a lifetime" to be chosen as her running mate.

"Vice President Harris is showing us the politics of what's possible. It reminds me a bit of the first day of school," he said.

Mr. Walz leapfrogged better-known contenders in part because Ms. Harris viewed him as an Everyman figure from Minnesota whose Midwestern-dad vibe balanced out her Bay Area background, according to three people familiar with the vice president's thinking.

With his straight-talking style, Mr. Walz was thought to be someone who could match up well in a debate against Senator JD Vance of Ohio, whom Mr. Trump chose last month as his running mate. And after two weeks of vetting and deliberations, Ms. Harris connected best with Mr. Walz in comparison with the other choices.

Over and over in the selection process, loyalty had been emphasized as one of the most important criteria for Harris. This suggests that Mr. Walz convinced her he would support her not only in winning but also in helping her govern.

In her social media post, Ms. Harris highlighted Mr. Walz's biography as a National Guardsman and his time as a high school teacher, football coach and adviser of the Gay-Straight Alliance. She also pointed to his efforts as governor to work with Republicans on bipartisan measures while pushing progressive priorities.

Mr. Walz is in his second term as governor and spent 12 years in Congress, where he was the rare Midwestern Democrat representative. Continued on Page A14

DECIDING FACTORS Gov. Tim Walz's policies and Midwest appeal elevated him. PAGE A15

FODDER FOR TRUMP The G.O.P. nominee attacked Kamala Harris over a market slide. PAGE A16

LEBANON DISPATCH

A Nation Whose Only Certainty Is Uncertainty

By BEN HUBBARD and HWAIDA SAAD

BINT JBEIL, Lebanon — The town in south Lebanon appeared deserted, its roads empty and its market shuttered, after months of fighting between Hezbollah and Israel across the nearby border made many residents flee.

But in a central square this summer, Hezbollah had erected huge banners for the triple funeral of a man the militant group claimed as its own and his two sisters, all killed when Israel bombed their home in this southern town of Bint Jbeil.

As the coffins arrived, martial music blared and a few hundred of the remaining residents came

As Hezbollah and Israel Extend Their Fight, Anxiety Spreads

to pay their respects. Watching the procession, Asmaa Alawiye, an accountant, said life was hard after months of clashes. Her two children were out of school. Her husband, a plumber, could not find work. And no one knew when life would return to normal. "There is no plan," said Ms. Alawiye, 32. "We have no idea what to prepare for because we have no idea what's coming." Since the Gaza war began in

October, Hezbollah has been fighting a second, smaller battle along the Lebanon-Israel border to bog down Israeli forces and help Hamas, its ally in Gaza. The violence there has killed hundreds of people and displaced more than 150,000 in both countries, leaving the border zone dotted with rubble-strewn ghost towns.

Now, fear has spread that a broader war could erupt, after Israel killed a senior Hezbollah official in response to an attack from Lebanon that killed 12 children and teenagers in an Israeli-controlled town in which the group denied its involvement. Hours after the killing, a Hamas leader was assassinated in Iran; Continued on Page A7



In Bint Jbeil, Lebanon, in July, mourning the deaths of a Hezbollah member and his two sisters.

'Muslim-Friendly' Housing Plan Tests the Boundaries of Inclusion

By DAN BARRY

LINO LAKES, Minn. — Butch Robinson is done. After dedicating most of his 77 years to growing sod, he just wants to sell his sprawl of green and ease his aching back into the lounge chair of a hard-earned retirement.

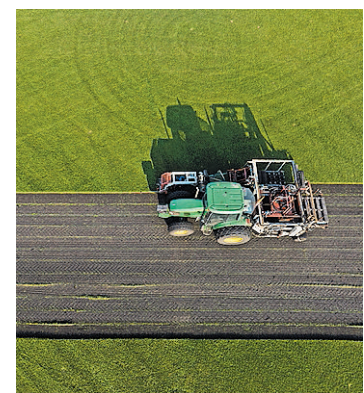
That is why Mr. Robinson and the two sons who run the family farm with him, both with nagging backs, were delighted when a developer put down a nonrefundable retainer for 156 of their acres on the fast-growing fringe of the Twin Cities suburb of Lino Lakes, Minn.

The builder's ambitious plan called for a housing development for 434 homes. It would include shops, restaurants, tennis courts, soccer fields, a park with a pavilion — and a 40,000-square-foot mosque.

So began a conflagration over a small emerald swath of the American dream, fueled by colliding hopes and mutual distrust. At the dispute's core: clashing interpretations of what inclusion looks like.

It culminated last month with a packed City Council hearing on a proposal to pause development in the precise corner of Lino Lakes that features the Robinson sod farm. Butch Robinson was present, his white hair tucked under a U.S.A. baseball cap. So was the developer. So was the resident leading the opposition.

The mayor and the four other council members, all white men, sat at a curved table with an American flag drooping behind



Rolling sod on the Robinsons' farm in Lino Lakes, Minn.

them. Scowling like a principal anticipating school-assembly misbehavior, the mayor expressed hope for a "good positive session."

Then everyone stood to pledge allegiance to one nation, under God, with liberty and justice for all.

Harold Robinson isn't sure how he became "Butch," but the nickname has stuck for decades, just as he's been stuck in pretty much the only place he's ever known.

His father and an uncle bought the land in the 1940s and turned the wiregrass fields into a farm for vegetables and, eventually, sod. For many years, Butch Robinson lived here with his parents and three siblings in a small home with an outhouse and an unobstructed view. "No neighbors at all," he said.

He helped out with the crop, lost part of a thumb in the process, Continued on Page A12

INTERNATIONAL A4-9

New Leader in Bangladesh

A Nobel laureate was chosen to head an interim government, after the country's longtime leader fled. PAGE A9

Long Battle for a Ruined City

Ukrainian troops are in a harsh struggle for Toretsk, a strategic city that has been under relentless assault. PAGE A5



NATIONAL A10-20

Decline in Vet Homelessness

Two federal agencies, backed by ample funding, have quietly shown that it is possible to make progress on a seemingly intractable problem. PAGE A10

Hurricane Scale Can Deceive

Tropical Storm Debby was only briefly a Category 1 hurricane. But a rating like that can never fully capture how destructive a storm can be. PAGE A17

Convicted of Spying for Beijing

Shujun Wang, who co-founded an organization devoted to democracy in China, used it to gather information on dissidents, prosecutors said. PAGE A19

BUSINESS B1-5

Pushing for 6-Day Workweek

Some South Korean firms are asking more of managers, raising concerns about work-life balance in a country where long hours are common. PAGE B1

Recession Fears Not Baseless

The economy has defied predictions of a downturn since the pandemic. Now there are shakier readings. PAGE B1

FOOD D1-8

The Impersonal Touch

The restaurant critic Pete Wells reflects on a dining world where it's getting hard to find the human factor. PAGE D7

ARTS C1-6

In Scotland, a Rite of Summer

The streets of Edinburgh, the nation's capital, are packed as throngs of performers entertain and entice. PAGE C6

Josh Hartnett in His Dad Era

The actor, who stars in the film "Trap," discusses fatherhood, fame and his love of the French New Wave. PAGE C1



SPORTS B6-11

Never a Gold, Silver or Bronze

For 66 countries and territories, the wait for an Olympic medal goes on, and on, and on. PAGE B6

The Quest for Pins

Celebrities and athletes are taking to social media to chronicle the chase for the prized Olympic tokens. PAGE B10

OPINION A22-23

Bret Stephens

PAGE A23



TRUMP STORMS BACK

HE DEFEATS HARRIS AND CAPS HIS RESURGENCE FROM OUTCAST TO FELON TO PRESIDENT-ELECT



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Donald J. Trump and Melania Trump on election night in West Palm Beach, Fla. Impeached twice and convicted on 34 felony counts, Mr. Trump, the 45th president, is now poised to become the 47th.

COURT CASES

Legal Strategy: Delay, Deflect, Win the Office

This article is by Devlin Barrett, Alan Feuer and Charlie Savage.

For all that Donald J. Trump's election to a second term was a remarkable political comeback, it was also the culmination of an audacious and stunningly successful legal strategy that could allow him to evade accountability for the array of charges against him.

The string of accusations lodged during the two years of Mr. Trump's candidacy, seemingly enough to end the career of almost any politician, became in his hands a fund-raising bonanza and a rallying cry, a deep pool of fuel for his rage and a call to demand retribution. The intensity of his campaign fed off the recognition that his personal freedom could be on the line.

He was indicted not just once but twice for plotting to overturn the 2020 election. He was accused of mishandling national security secrets and obstruction. He was found liable for sexual abuse and defamation, and for inflating his net worth. And he was found guilty of criminal charges stemming from a hush money payment to a porn star.

Throughout it all, however, starting with his first indictment in the hush money case, legal proceedings that were meant to hold

Continued on Page A11

NEWS ANALYSIS

A Comeback That Tells Us Who We Are

By PETER BAKER

In her closing rally on the Ellipse last week, Kamala Harris scorned Donald J. Trump as an outlier who did not represent America. "That is not who we are," she declared.

In fact, it turns out, that may be exactly who we are. At least most of us.

The assumption that Mr. Trump represented an anomaly who would at last be consigned to the ash heap of history was washed away on Tuesday night by a red current that swept through battleground states — and swept away the understanding of America long nurtured by its ruling elite of both parties.

No longer can the political establishment write off Mr. Trump as a temporary break from the long march of progress, a fluke who somehow sneaked into the White House in a quirky, one-off Electoral College win eight years ago. With his comeback victory to reclaim the presidency, Mr. Trump has now established himself as a transformational force reshaping the United States in his own image.

Populist disenchantment with the nation's direction and resentment against elites proved to be deeper and more profound than

Continued on Page A10

WHAT MATTERED

Democracy Fears Lost Out to Everyday Worries

By SHAWN HUBLER

Her campaign pitch was moving, even high-minded. If Vice President Kamala Harris were elected to the White House, she would safeguard the ideals of a good nation. Voters had a choice, she said: democracy, constitutional rights and bedrock freedoms — or Donald J. Trump's "chaos and division."

On Tuesday, the nation replied. The answer from more than half of voters seemed to dismiss warn-

Pitch by Harris Didn't Land With Voters

ings that Mr. Trump was a threat to principles on which the country had been founded. Abstract truths mattered less, voters said, than tangible issues, like the ability to pay rent or concerns over border crossings. In a time of widespread distrust in institutions, Ms. Harris's call to protect the nation's

norms rang hollow for many Americans.

In more than 200 interviews across the country in the four days preceding the election, voters, especially in swing states, spoke not of endangered democracy or institutions but of diminished prospects. Their words echoed repeated pre-election polling that showed that majorities of Americans believed the nation was headed in the wrong direction, even as the pandemic had ebbed,

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RETURN TO POWER

A Path Seemed Unimaginable. Now It's Paved.

This article is by Matt Flegenheimer, Maggie Haberman and Jonathan Swan.

By late January 2021, just days into Donald J. Trump's unhappy new life as a former president, his world had shrunk to a size he could not abide.

Self-exiled in Florida as a twice-impeached semi-pariah, he golfed and glowered, boiling over his 2020 defeat and still refusing to acknowledge its legitimacy. His social media bullhorns had been silenced after Jan. 6, with Twitter citing "the risk of further incitement of violence." His circle had dwindled to a smattering of junior aides, straining to keep him on the fairways and away from the television.

"Get the pool," Mr. Trump instructed at one point, referring to the hive of reporters who had trailed him daily as president. "I want to make a statement." He was told that he did not have one anymore.

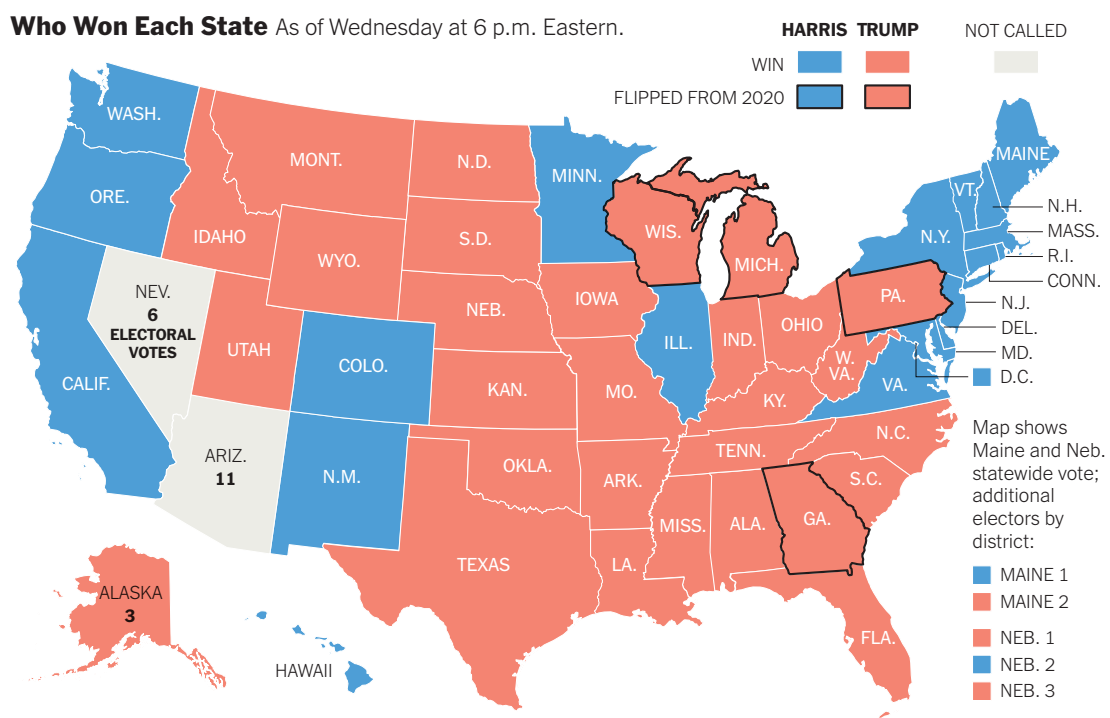
By late February, Mr. Trump had waited long enough. In his first public appearance as a newly private citizen, he accepted an invitation to Orlando for a conference of right-wing activists.

"Do you miss me yet?" he asked, his arms splayed wide, as if waiting to be hugged.

It had been five weeks. Outside of that room, most Americans did not seem to miss him much at all. Now, less than four years later, Mr. Trump's arc back to power is complete — an extraordinary reversal carried off by a man who

Continued on Page A12

Who Won Each State As of Wednesday at 6 p.m. Eastern.



THE NEW YORK TIMES



Chinese Troupe A Cash Engine For Its Leader

Followers Provide Free Labor and Savings

By MICHAEL ROTHFELD and NICOLE HONG

Over the past decade, the dance group Shen Yun Performing Arts has made money at a staggering rate.

The group had \$60 million in 2015.

It had \$144 million by 2019.

And by the end of last year, tax records show, it had more than a quarter of a billion dollars, stockpiling wealth at a pace that would be extraordinary for any company, let alone a nonprofit dance group from Orange County, N.Y.

Operated by Falun Gong, the persecuted Chinese religious movement, Shen Yun's success flows in part from its ability to pack venues worldwide — while exploiting young, low-paid performers with little regard for their health or well-being.

But it also is a token of the power that Falun Gong's founder, Li Hongzhi, has wielded over his followers. In the name of fighting communism, and obeying Mr. Li's mystical teachings, they have created a global network to glorify him and enrich his movement.

Under Mr. Li's direct leadership, Shen Yun has become a repository of vast wealth for Falun Gong, often accumulating money at the expense of its loyal adherents, a New York Times investigation has found.

It has raked in funds through ticket sales — nearly \$39 million in 2023 alone — but also by using religious fealty to command the free labor of its followers. It has received tens of millions of dollars more in ways that may have crossed legal or ethical lines, The Times found.

In one case, Shen Yun and a school that trains its dancers received \$16 million from The Epoch Times, a newspaper run by Falun Gong followers, during a period when federal prosecutors said the publication's accounts were inflated in a money-laundering conspiracy.

Shen Yun and a network of satellite organizations added more wealth by skirting rules to tap tens of millions of dollars in pandemic-era relief money.

And three former Shen Yun performers have been arrested.

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JIMMY CARTER, 1924-2024



DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Jimmy Carter in 2007. He was a self-professed outsider intent on reforming Washington.

A Peacemaker Who Never Stopped Striving

By PETER BAKER and ROY REED

Jimmy Carter, who rose from Georgia farmland to become the 39th president of the United States on a promise of national healing after the wounds of Watergate and Vietnam, then lost the White House in a cauldron of economic turmoil at home and crisis in Iran, died on Sunday at his home in Plains, Ga. He was 100.

The Carter Center in Atlanta announced his death.

Mr. Carter, who was the longest-living president in American history, died nearly three months after he turned 100 and became the first

former commander in chief to reach the century mark. In August, his grandson, Jason Carter, told the Democratic National Convention that the former president was "holding on" and "though his body may be weak tonight, his spirit is as strong as ever" and he "can't wait to vote for Kamala Harris."

The former president cast his absentee ballot for her in mid-October after making his final public appearance on his birthday when he was rolled out to his yard in a wheelchair to watch a flyover of military jets in his honor. Other than interludes in the White House and the Georgia

Continued on Page A16

Hope Is Fading In Cuba as U.S. Hardens Policy

Obama-Era Progress Is Cut by White House

This article is by Frances Robles, Ed Augustin and Hannah Berkeley Cohen.

It wasn't long ago that the Plaza of the Revolution in Havana was packed with American tourists knocking into each other with selfie sticks while taking photos of the iconic image of the revolutionary Che Guevara and trying to catch a ride in a candy-apple red 1952 Chevrolet Bel-Air.

Today, those polished 1950s-era American convertibles that came to symbolize quintessential Cuba sit empty, the tourists they once carried largely gone.

The drivers spend their lives like most Cubans do: coping with prolonged power outages, standing in line at poorly stocked supermarkets and watching their friends, family and neighbors — sick of all the hardships — pack up and leave.

Ten years ago, President Barack Obama stunned the world by restoring diplomatic relations with Cuba, ending more than 50 years of Cold War estrangement between the United States and a country with which it had once been on the brink of nuclear war.

For two and a half years, Cuba brimmed with enthusiasm amid a remarkable wave of investment and tourism, fueled by deals signed by major American companies such as Google, AT&T and Major League Baseball.

But a financial implosion caused by a cascade of factors — the tightening of U.S. policy by the Trump administration, Cuba's mismanagement of its economy, the crushing effect of the Covid-19 pandemic — has kept visitors away and launched an immigration exodus of epic proportions.

Tourism, once a lifeblood of Cuba's economy, has collapsed, down nearly 50 percent since 2017, with new U.S. visa regulations making it harder for even Europeans to travel there.

"The comparison between then and now is literally night and day," said Luis Manuel Pérez, who works as a chauffeur.

A former engineering professor, Mr. Pérez, 57, once had a stream of customers who paid \$40 an hour

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ANGER AND AGONY OVER FIERY CRASH OF KOREAN PLANE

179 DEAD; 2 SURVIVORS

Pilots Were Warned of a Possible Bird Strike on the Approach

This article is by Choe Sang-Hun, John Yoon and Jin Yu Young.

SEOUL — A passenger plane with 181 people on board skidded on the runway at a high speed and slammed into a wall before exploding into flames.

Two crew members were rescued alive from the tail of the burning plane, but over the ensuing hours on Sunday, grim news trickled out to anxious relatives at Muan International Airport, in southwestern South Korea.

By late Sunday, all of the remaining 179 people onboard had been confirmed dead, making the plane crash — flown by the popular low-cost carrier Jeju Air — the worst aviation disaster involving



CHANG W. LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Jeju Air flight crashed on Sunday in Muan, South Korea.

a South Korean airline in nearly three decades and the worst ever on South Korean soil.

Sunday's crash was the deadliest worldwide since that of Lion Air Flight 610 in 2018, when all 189 people on board died as the plane plunged into the Java Sea, according to reports from the International Civil Aviation Organization, a United Nations agency.

Officials were investigating what caused the Jeju Air flight to crash-land, including why its landing gear appeared to have malfunctioned and whether the

Continued on Page A10

Venturesome Tourists Disregard Risks as Afghanistan Beckons

By DAVID ZUCCHINO

BAMIYAN, Afghanistan — Yi-Pin Lin, an associate professor at Tufts University, proudly says he has vacationed in 120 nations over the past decade.

But there was one country he had always dreamed of visiting, only to be frightened off by decades of war, kidnappings and terrorism: Afghanistan.

With the end of the Afghan war in 2021, the country's new Taliban rulers began encouraging tourists to visit. So last month, Mr. Lin packed his bags, paid \$130 for a visa and boarded a flight to Kabul, the Afghan capital.

"When I told my friends where I was going, they all thought I was crazy," he said. "They said it was too dangerous."

Mr. Lin, 43, is part of a small but growing vanguard of venturesome tourists making their way to Afghanistan, disregarding dire warnings issued by their governments. The State Department advises Americans not to travel to Afghanistan "due to terrorism, risk of wrongful detention, civil unrest, kidnapping and crime."

Over the past three years, Taliban officials say, 14,500 foreign tourists have visited the isolated, poverty-stricken nation. They have arrived with hard currency



ELISE BLANCHARD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Yi-Pin Lin, left, a tourist from the United States, and his Afghan guide visiting a lake in Afghanistan.

that Afghanistan desperately needs.

Many tourists have experienced the country's traditional hospitality while visiting its famous mosques, its towering mountain ranges, its scenic high deserts and the remains of the re-

nowned Buddha statues in Bamiyan.

In the minds of many around the world, Afghanistan has conjured another image since the Taliban takeover: something akin to a prison. The country has become notorious for its suffocating re-

strictions on women, which have essentially erased them from public life.

The Taliban's rise to power, however, has also brought a relative calm to the country with the end of the 20-year war.

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CHARLES F. DOLAN, 1926-2024

Founder of HBO Who Turned Cable TV Into a Cultural Force

By RICHARD GOLDSTEIN

Charles F. Dolan, who founded HBO, merged a group of small Long Island cable TV systems into a network he called Cablevision and amassed a fortune building an innovative communications, entertainment and sports empire that included Madison Square Garden and its professional teams, died on Saturday. He was 98.

A representative for Mr. Dolan's family confirmed the death on Sunday in a statement, which did not say where he died.

Cablevision Systems Corporation had 1,500 customers when Mr. Dolan founded it in 1973. It was serving three million cable TV households in the New York metropolitan area and providing internet and digital telephone service when he reached a deal in September 2015 to sell it to Altice, a European media company, for \$17.7 billion. Altice USA now runs it under the Optimum brand.

Mr. Dolan "helped establish cable television as an economic, social and cultural force in the United States during the final



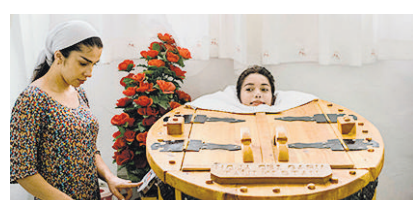
ALAN RAJA/NEWSDAY, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Charles F. Dolan in 2001. He founded Cablevision in 1973.

quarter of the 20th century," Douglas Gomery, a mass communications scholar, wrote in the 2004 edition of "Encyclopedia of Television," a publication of the Museum of Broadcast Communications in Chicago.

The deal with Altice, completed in June 2016, included the Long Island-based Newsday and Mr. Dolan's News 12 cable stations providing news from the New York metropolitan area. But the

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A Day at the Radioactive Spa
Khoja Obi Garm offers treatments with radon-infused water and echoes of Tajikistan's Soviet past. PAGE A8

Voice of a Long-Ago Japan
Midori Kato, 85, is the last original cast member of the cartoon series "Sazae-san." The Global Profile. PAGE A6

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Blessing for an Abortion Clinic
Through a ritual at a year-old Maryland facility, leaders want to show that religion can be a source of support for reproductive rights. PAGE A12

Raising Pheasants to Be Shot
Some New York lawmakers hope to end a program that provides birds to foster interest in field sports. PAGE A13

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A Pioneering Sportscaster
Greg Gumbel was the first Black announcer to call a major U.S. final, the 2001 Super Bowl. He was 78. PAGE B6



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Instead of stadiums, the N.H.L. should choose outdoor venues with stunning backdrops. Commentary. PAGE D3

Sharing Their Trauma
Two women accused a tennis coach of sexual assault 26 years apart. Then they found each other. PAGE D1

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A.I. Could Reshape the Map
As artificial intelligence is widely adopted, some once-struggling midsize cities in the Midwest, Mid-Atlantic and South are poised to benefit, transforming economics and politics. PAGE B1

Can Musk Deliver on Tesla?
Sales of the company's cars are flagging, but investors are focusing on the potential of autonomous driving and Elon Musk's ties to President-elect Donald J. Trump. PAGE B1

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Artists We Lost in 2024
Remembering, in their own words, the creators and performers who died this year, like the pianist and conductor Maurizio Pollini, above. PAGE C1



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