



# Inside The Times

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### The Newspaper and Beyond

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**VIDEO** The Times traced the whereabouts of 46 Ukrainian children who were taken from a foster home by Russian officials. What happened to them next, legal experts say, may amount to a war crime. Times journalists explained their reporting at [nytimes.com/video](https://nytimes.com/video).

**AUDIO** On "The Interview," David Marchese spoke with the indie movie filmmaker Richard Linklater about his directorial departure in "Hit Man." Listen at [nytimes.com/podcasts](https://nytimes.com/podcasts).

**NEWSLETTER** In a recent Race/Related newsletter, James Poniewozik, the chief TV critic for The Times, discussed the return of "We Are Lady Parts," about a punk band of Muslim women in London. Subscribe at [nytimes.com/newsletters](https://nytimes.com/newsletters).

### Quote of the Day

"I made it."

**BILL BECKER**, 98, a top-turret gunner on covert missions for America's Office of Strategic Services during World War II, on being able to make the return trip to France this week 80 years after Allied armies invaded the beaches of Normandy in a definitive turning point of the war. Page A4.

### The Story Behind the Story

## A Tipping Point for Ticketmaster, and Music Fans

David McCabe joined "The Daily" to explain the government's lawsuit against Ticketmaster's owner.

Over the past few years, few companies have provoked as much anger among music fans as Ticketmaster. Frustrations came to a head in the fall of 2022, when fans struggled to secure tickets to the pop singer Taylor Swift's Eras Tour. In January 2023, a top executive from Live Nation Entertainment — the concert giant that owns Ticketmaster — was grilled during a Senate Judiciary hearing over the company's handling of sales for Ms. Swift's tour. Senators from both parties called Live Nation a monopoly.

Now, the Justice Department is seeking to break up Live Nation in a new lawsuit. David McCabe, who covers technology policy for The New York Times, joined "The Daily" podcast to explain how the case could reshape the live entertainment industry. Here is an edited and condensed excerpt from his conversation with the episode's host, Sabrina Tavenaise.

**David, help us understand how things have gotten to this point, where Live Nation is so powerful that the Justice Department feels the need to sue them.**

This company has a long history with the Justice Department. That really starts in 2009, when Live Nation and Ticketmaster announce that they are going to merge. This merger would marry Live Nation's concert promotion business, the business of putting on shows, with Ticketmaster's experience as an online ticketing platform.

A big part of the Justice Department's job is to look at corporate mergers to figure out if they will substantially lessen competition in the economy. So the Justice Department reviews this merger, and in 2010 decides they will let this merger go through. But they do have some concerns that it might reduce competition in the industry of ticketing, so they put conditions on the deal, requiring the company to sell some assets to kind of lessen its footprint. The merger goes through, creating the modern day Live Nation-Ticketmaster combination.

**Just how big has the company actually become? Give me some numbers.**

Every year, they sell about 600 million tickets. The Department of Justice estimates that in the United States, Live Nation controls about 80 percent of ticketing to major venue concerts. That's a big percentage. They also own or control in excess of 250 venues, including a big percentage — the Justice Department says — of major amphitheatres, the outdoor concert venues that are in between a nightclub and a football stadium in terms of size.

They manage hundreds of artists. They have this direct relationship with artists. This company is wide and it is deep into this industry. The Justice Department says that it's the "gatekeeper for the delivery of nearly all live music in America today."

**But as we know from other Justice Department cases — like the cases against Apple and Google — being big is not in and of itself a problem.**

That's right. Where companies run afloat of



JOHN LANG, THE NEW YORK TIMES



JATHARAT PHIVONGKONGSACHET FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

the law is when they use their power as a monopoly against their competitors in order to stay powerful or get more powerful. The Justice Department says that Live Nation has built a complex machine to do just that.

**What does the Justice Department say that Live Nation is able to do because it is so big?**

The most prominent allegation is that Live Nation uses its power as a concert promoter to entrench its power in ticketing. When you put together a concert, a promoter works with an artist to book the show. They book the show at a venue. And that venue, for all of its shows, has to choose a ticketing provider, a digital box office where people can buy their way into the shows.

What the Justice Department is arguing here is that Live Nation is able to wield its big artists as a cudgel to force venues to use Ticketmaster, its ticketing service. The Justice Department says that in an instance in which a venue switched away from using Ticketmaster, Live Nation routed tours around that venue, which means less money for that venue and a problem for their business.

**Basically, Live Nation is saying, "Look, if you want Taylor Swift in your little amphitheater,**

**you're going to have to use Ticketmaster. It's Ticketmaster or no Taylor Swift."**

That is effectively the behavior the Justice Department is arguing has happened. They're saying that Live Nation does this in veiled ways and that, more important, it's really understood by venues throughout the industry that if you don't use Ticketmaster, you really risk out on losing important Live Nation-managed tours. And then when these venues do choose Ticketmaster, Live Nation locks them into these exclusive ticketing contracts, which can last for as long as 14 years.

**What else is the Justice Department alleging?**

That Live Nation uses its power as an owner of venues to get away with paying artists less money, that because Live Nation controls so many certain types of venues, there are instances in which an artist's tour might largely be dominated by Live Nation-owned venues. The Justice Department is arguing that Live Nation knows that artists don't have a lot of other options for where to play their concerts and, as a result, can pay those artists less.

**Listen to all episodes of "The Daily" at [nytimes.com/podcasts](https://nytimes.com/podcasts).**

### Today's Top Trending Headlines

**Opinion | The Verdict Is In on the Supreme Court** For Times Opinion, the columnist Maureen Dowd shared her views on the country's highest court in the wake of Donald J. Trump's 34 felony counts, as conservatives post upside-down American flags in solidarity the same flag found flying over Justice Samuel A. Alito Jr.'s Virginia home in 2021. The article garnered more than 1,500 reader comments.

**Ibram X. Kendi Faces a Reckoning of His Own** In 2020, Ibram X. Kendi, the author of "How to Be an Antiracist," galvanized Americans with his ideas, but four years later, he has become a prime target in the backlash over racial justice. "The vast majority of my critics either haven't read my work or willfully misrepresent it," he told Rachel Poser, an editor for The New York Times Magazine, who spoke with the author over a period of several months on this article.

**As China's Internet Disappears, 'We Lose Parts of Our Collective Memory'** Writing for The New York World column, Lu Yuan explored the "parallel online universe" that people in China seem to live in as they discover that, with websites and posts removed and censored, their internet has been shrinking. She conducted her own experiment with search results on China's internet entrepreneurs, political leaders and consequential events.

**At This School, the Students Live Entirely for Music** For a year, Joshua Barone, the assistant classical music and dance editor on the Culture desk, and the photographer James Estrin followed five Curtis Institute of Music students in Philadelphia as they made friends, pushed their artistry and stared down an uncertain future.

### A Headline From History

## TOURISM, NEARING A RECORD, FILLS NEW YORK HOTELS

**June 5, 1979.** New York City's hotel occupancy was averaging 80 percent as industry leaders hailed "the biggest tourism boom in the city's history," The Times reported. The New York Convention and Visitors Bureau expected the total number of visitors to break the record of 17 million set the year before. But one hotel executive told The Times that the boom was fueled by business travelers and benefiting only luxury hotels — where a room was about \$75 a day — while hotels offering cheaper accommodations were scarce. In 2023, the average daily rate for a room in New York City was \$301.61, according to CoStar, a provider of commercial real estate data and analysis. More than 62 million people visited the city last year.



TIGAO MARIJES

## Facts of Interest

Fewer than 200 veterans of the Allied invasion of Normandy, which marked a turning point in World War II, are still alive and sound enough to attend this year's D-Day reunion in France.

Marking 80 Years After D-Day With A Last Hurrah! A4

Recipes can't be trademarked, but some can be ruled trade secrets, like the formula for Dr. Pepper or KFC's 11 herbs and spices.

Know Your Brands? Take the Quiz. 153

In Salt Lake City, the future home of the N.H.L.'s Arizona Coyotes, fans have paid deposits for more than 30,000 tickets in an arena that seats about half of that number.

In N.H.L.'s Move to Utah, the Pros Advance Go Small! 88

The Los Angeles Times Junior Club — the youth organization behind the newspaper's Sunday supplement for creative works by kids — served as a laboratory for budding artists including Philip Guston and Bill Zabolny.

Philip Guston's Teenage Cartoons 151

China is home to nearly one-fifth of the world's online population. Yet the number of websites using Chinese language make up only 1.3 percent of the global total, down from 4.3 percent in 2013.

China's Internet History? Deleted. 81

While just 7 percent of Baltimore's population, Black men currently in their mid-50s to early 70s account for nearly 30 percent of drug fatalities in the city.

As Baltimore Struggles With Crisis, Overdoses Claim Forgotten Generation A11

## Reader Corner

Callout: Did you enroll in Georgia's Pathways program?

Last year, Georgia began a program called Pathways to Coverage, which allows lower-income residents to secure Medicaid health insurance if they complete 80 hours each month of professional, academic or community activities. People who are working part time or full time, have completed community service or are pursuing a college education can qualify. They can mix the different activities to be eligible. Pathways is the only Medicaid work requirement program in the country.

If you are an enrollee, or can share something about the program, The Times would like to hear from you. Did state officials help with your application? What kind of work did you complete to secure eligibility? Did your coverage help you get medical needs taken care of? We're also eager to talk to health care providers, people who have formerly enrolled and those who have attempted to enroll.

To share your experience with Pathways, fill out a form at [nytimes.com/readers](https://nytimes.com/readers). We will not publish your response without contacting you first.

## Pop Quiz

Test your travel knowledge: Where in the world is this scene?

A recent Instagram post from New York Times Travel asked readers to identify this place by its scenery. Can you? Here's a hint: This city was founded by the Dutch East India Company in the 17th century as a refreshment station, replenishing passing ships.



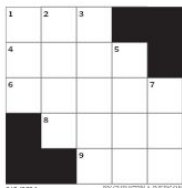
SABANTHA BIRREDDI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

mountain's cable car instead from one of several hiking trails to reach its summit. Or if you prefer to take it easy, try the mountain's cable car instead. Pictured above is the first of the mountain's cable cars, which carries passengers up the mountain. Pictured below is the first of the mountain's cable cars, which carries passengers up the mountain. Pictured below is the first of the mountain's cable cars, which carries passengers up the mountain.

Answer: This is Cape Town, South Africa. Thirty years ago, South Africa held its first democratic elections.

Follow New York Times Travel on Instagram: @nytimestravel.

## The Mini Crossword

BY CHRISTINA PERSSON  
EDITED BY SAM EDDYBURY

### ACROSS

- Where a masseuse might work.
- Drops the ball.
- Anti-anxiety drug whose name is a palindrome.
- Haven's rival.
- Last letter, in London.

### DOWN

- "The birds and the bees" topic.
- Speak with folded hands.
- Desi \_\_\_\_ "I Love Lucy" co-star.
- All-items-must-go event.
- Crossed (out).

### ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE



## Here to Help

How to Stay Safe in Extreme Heat

With warmer temperatures comes a greater potential for heat-related illnesses. We asked emergency room doctors what the public should know about extreme heat.

NINA AGRAWAL

### Heat-related illnesses range in severity.

Mild heat illnesses include heat rash; swelling in the hands and feet; muscle cramps; and fainting episodes. People with heat exhaustion have more severe symptoms, like headache, nausea and dizziness.

Heat stroke, which can be caused by exposure to extreme heat or strenuous exertion in high temperatures, is less common but much more dangerous. The hallmarks are a core body temperature above 104 degrees; and confusion, seizures or other mental status changes in the context of extreme heat exposure. The condition can lead to brain damage, muscle breakdown and kidney failure.

**Cooling and fluids are essential.** If you're showing signs of heat-related illness, get into a cool environment and hydrate — quickly. This may be as simple as hopping into a car, cranking up the air-conditioner and drinking something cool.

Take off layers or restrictive clothing. If you're out on a hike or at the beach, find shade or get in the water. If you are indoors, take a cold shower and turn on a fan.

If you're really dehydrated and feeling sick, sports drinks or water with salt tablets will help restore electrolytes like sodium that you lose by sweating and that are needed to maintain fluid balance.

**Minutes matter.** If you have tried cooling down and drinking fluids, but the symptoms haven't improved in a half-hour or are getting worse, go to the emergency room.

Also seek immediate care if you or someone you know is having heat-related symptoms and is not able to get out of the heat, seems disoriented or is having seizures. If heat stroke isn't recognized and treated quickly, it can cause deterioration rapidly.



RICHARD PERRY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

toms and is not able to get out of the heat, seems disoriented or is having seizures. If heat stroke isn't recognized and treated quickly, it can cause deterioration rapidly.

**Children and older people are more susceptible.** Children tend to heat up faster, but they lack mechanisms to compensate because their systems are immature. They sweat less, for example, and they may not hydrate enough.

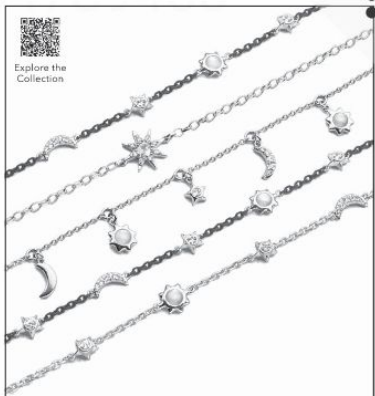
Older people are more likely to have chronic medical conditions like diabetes, kidney disease and heart failure that interfere with the body's ability to regulate temperature and balance fluids. And treatments for some of these conditions, like blood pressure medications or diuretics, can impair the body's ability to compensate for extreme heat.

**Adjust your routine.** When temperatures surge, smart choices can make a big difference. Avoid physical activity outdoors during the hottest part of the day, if you can. (Check your local weather forecast to make a plan.) When you do go out, wear loose-fitting, light-colored clothing, which will absorb less heat and help keep your body cool. And stay hydrated, even when you don't feel thirsty.

For health advice, visit [nytimes.com/well](https://nytimes.com/well).



Explore the Collection



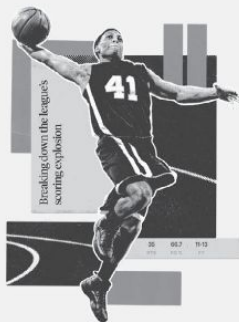
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## The Athletic



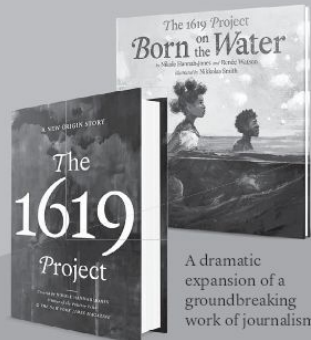
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# International

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From left a monument across the causeway from Utah Beach in Normandy, France; schoolchildren greeting arriving veterans at the Deauville airport; wheelchairs at the ready. The average age of the veterans is about 100. "It's very emotional," said the airport director, Maryline Haize-Hagron. "It's such an honor to be able to welcome them back."

## Marking 80 Years After D-Day With a 'Last Hurrah'

### Week of Celebrations For Aging Veterans

By CATHERINE PORTER

DEAUVILLE, France — For many, it will be the last big commemoration. The last reunion.

Eighty years after Allied armies invaded the beaches of Normandy, marking a definitive turning point in World War II, those veterans who are still alive and sound enough are expected to return to France this week from the United States, Britain and Canada to commemorate the moment — gingerly, slowly, happily.

They number less than 200. Their average age is about 100.

As some of the veterans arrived on Monday, descending from a hulking 767 onto the tarmac of the small Deauville airport — sometimes helped by multiple aides — many of those there to greet them grew teary in between their bursts of applause.

For a place saturated in the history of that grand landing, when some 156,000 Allied soldiers arrived on the coast and began to push the occupying Germans out of Normandy and then out of the rest of France, there is a deep sense of nostalgia.

"It's very emotional," said the airport director, Maryline Haize-Hagron, who like most Normandy natives, has an intimate story of D-Day. Her grandfather Henri Desmet, after watching American paratroopers land in the marshes near his farm on June 6, used his flat-bottom boat to row dozens to dry land so they could continue fighting.

"It's such an honor to be able to welcome them back," she said.

Mr. Desmet, like most witnesses, is dead now. And this anniversary comes at a time that feels darkly critical — there is a war in Europe, far-right movements are gaining ground across the continent, there is a shifting politics of anger.

The veterans, for their part, have individual reasons for returning. Some come to honor their fallen comrades. Others want to enjoy the pageantry of it all, one last time.

"These people love us so much. It's overwhelming," said Bill Becker, 98, moments after his arrival on the tarmac, where a large crowd of children and dignitaries, including France's first lady, Brigitte Macron, greeted him.

Mr. Becker was a top-turret gunner on covert missions for America's freshly created Office of Strategic Services — the predecessor to the C.I.A. His crew delivered supplies and secret agents to Resistance members behind enemy lines, flying a black B-24 Liberator on moonlit nights.

His suitcase had been set out in his bungalow in a retirement community in Hemet, Southern California, for months — a totem of hope that he'd return to France, despite his myriad health issues.

"I made it," he said with a tired smile.

It is to be the last big commemoration of the fallen — and celebration of liberty — to feature so many veterans, then it will also be the biggest. The program for the week of events across a 50-mile stretch of beaches runs more than 30 pages — with concerts, parades, parachute drops, convoys and ceremonies. President Emmanuel Macron of France is presiding over eight commemorations in three days. Two dozen heads of state are expected, including the Ukrainian president, Volodymyr Zelensky.

On the tarmac at Deauville, an American Army band played jazz-swing classics, and members of the Fourth Infantry Division formed an honor guard. A group of World War II history enthusiasts stood by their antique army jeeps, wearing 80-year-old uniforms. Children from a nearby elementary school waved American and French flags.

Emerging from the aircraft, each veteran was presented to the crowd via bullhorn. Some saluted. Others waved.

"I'm going to be 100," one yelled triumphantly.

A battalion of wheelchairs awaited the veterans' arrival.

"This is going to be the last hurrah," said Kathryn Edwards, who, along with her husband, Donnie Edwards, runs the Best Defense Foundation, a nonprofit that shepherded 48 American veterans to respect for a nine-day commemoration trip.

"Everything we do now, we want to blow their socks off," Ms. Edwards said.



LAETITIA VANCOR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



PHILIP CHESNAY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Above, Col. Joseph Peterburs, 99, an Air Force veteran, arriving in Deauville. Bill Becker, 98, left, took part in covert missions for the Office of Strategic Services. "These people love us so much," he said.

would endure. Denis Peschanski, a historian who is in charge of Mission Libération's 15-member scientific advisory board, said D-Day had become so woven into France's identity that the memory would remain even when the veterans were gone.

"There's the revolution," he said, referring to the 1789 overthrowing of the ancien régime, "and the landing during World War II, when we worked together to fight the Nazis. It's fundamental."

The memories of veterans are increasingly disjointed and faded with time. Many didn't talk about the war until years after, if at all.

Mr. Becker was sworn to secrecy until the 1980s, when information about his unit — known as the carpetbaggers — was declassified.

When he landed at Harrington Airfield in England in early 1945, about 10 months after D-Day and following months of training in the United States, he and his crew were taken into a room.

"They said to us, 'If you go out of here and save anything, you'll get shot,'" he recalled. The flight plans into enemy territory were so sensitive, only the navigator and pilot knew where they were going. Mr. Becker's job, from his perch, was to protect against enemy planes and anti-aircraft guns — critical as the crew was flying just 400 to 600 feet above ground and navigating by the light of the moon.

His plane sometimes returned with bullet holes and tree branches in its belly. His second flight was so frightening, he grew his first white hair. "My knees were shaking," he said. He was 19 at the time.

Mr. Becker never told his wife or their three children what exactly he had done during the war. Now that he can talk about it, he wants everyone to know about the carpetbaggers.

This is his second trip to take part in the commemorations in Normandy, and it is particularly poignant as he has been joined by the only other remaining member of his crew — Hewitt Gomez, 99.

For months, Mr. Becker has been talking about buying a bottle of Champagne for them to share. A reunion within a reunion.

"I feel very good that we did something to help win the war," Mr. Becker said. "We did something in this world that made it better."

The first time Mr. Edwards brought four World War II veterans to France to commemorate D-Day, in 2008, they jumped into the back of his rented van, were able to climb steps into rooms in a chateau and ate at whatever restaurant they could find. At the time, Mr. Edwards was a professional football player with the San Diego Chargers who enjoyed attending re-enactment camps for World War II battles during the off-season.

Seeing how crowds cheered as the veterans passed in parades through small villages in Normandy and the Netherlands, he decided he needed to bring others back.

"Every vet needs to come back and experience this," Mr. Edwards said. "To know what they did is then respected and honored." He continued for years to do so out of his own pocket. Then in 2018, he and his wife founded the foundation.

Over the years, the Edwardses have had to make changes. No more vans. No more stairs. No more last-minute restaurant reservations, where food might upset a 100-year-old constitution.

This year, the veterans are accompanied by a medical staff of 15, including a

physiotherapist and a urologist.

Every veteran is partnered with a personal caregiver. The schedule has been lightened to offer more rest time.

The French government's intention was to shave down ceremonies to an hour so that they'd be less taxing for the centenarians, said Michel Delion, a re-

**Taking a last opportunity to personally thank the men who liberated France.**

tired army general who is helping to run the anniversary program, called Mission Libération.

Even for France — whose president has an official "memorial adviser" — the stretch of land along the landing beaches takes commemoration to a whole next level. The sides of the thin roads are dotted with commemorative plaques, statues and funerary markers. Roundabouts

are decorated with antique tanks and other war equipment. The young faces of fallen soldiers look down from lamppost standards.

This week, the locals have pulled out their D-Day decorations. Even more flags — American, British, Canadian, French — flutter.

Every little village has its own dead and its own story of liberation.

In the relatively small region of Calvados, home to four of the five landing beaches, there are 600 commemorations planned, according to Stéphane Bredin, the top government administrator there.

"It's the last time these places will welcome their veterans," Mr. Bredin said.

Many worry about what will happen once the old soldiers are gone.

"It's a question we've asked ourselves for a long time," said Marc Lefèvre, who, as mayor of Ste-Mère-Eglise for 30 years, oversaw many joyful reunions between locals and American veterans who had fought in the vicinity. The answer? "Honestly, I don't know," he admitted.

But, given the density of memorial sites and museums in the area, he said he hoped that the story of June 6, 1944,

## War in Ukraine

## Kyiv Used U.S.-Made Artillery to Fire at Russia, Ukraine M.P. Says

This article is by Maria Varenkova, Constant Mchut and Aric Fodor.

Just days after the Biden administration granted permission for Ukraine to fire American weapons into Russia, Kyiv took advantage of its new latitude, striking a military facility over the border using a U.S.-made artillery system, according to a member of Ukraine's Parliament.

Vehor Chernev, the deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Parliament's committee on national security, defense and intelligence, said on Tuesday that Ukrainian forces had destroyed Russian missile launchers with a strike in the Belgorod region, about 20 miles into Russia. Ukraine's forces used a High Mobility Rocket Artillery System, or HIMARS, he said.

It was the first time a Ukrainian official has acknowledged publicly that Ukraine had used American weapons to fire in Russia since President Biden lifted the ban on such strikes. For months, the ban had stood as a red line the Biden administration would not cross out of concern about increasing tensions with a nuclear-armed nation.

The Ukrainian military did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

In granting permission last week, the United States imposed limitations, saying the weapons could only be used in Russian territory near northeastern Ukraine and for defensive purposes. Mr. Chernev, in text messages, said Ukraine destroyed S-300 and S-400 missile systems, without specifying how many. Russia has used the systems, initially designed to shoot down aircraft, to bombard the northeastern Ukrainian city of Kharkiv, which is just 45 miles from Belgorod.

The HIMARS that Ukraine used is an American-made long-

range rocket system that is able to fire from beyond the range of most of Ukraine's non-Western weaponry.

Mr. Chernev's account of the strike could not be independently confirmed. But videos of the aftermath of the attack on the S-300 and S-400 systems emerged on Monday. Satellite imagery and social media posts suggest there were multiple strikes in Russian territory over the weekend.

Mr. Chernev, a former member of the Ukrainian military, is also the head of Ukraine's delegation to the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, a role that has led him to take part in discussions with Western partners about the supply and use of Western weapons.

A video from a Russian Telegram channel showed burning Russian military equipment and a swirling plume of gray smoke after a strike on Sunday. The video, which was verified by The New York Times, was recorded just outside Belgorod, and satellite imagery captured at this location by Planet Labs shows smoke rising from what appears to be destroyed vehicles. At least one of the launchers was in an elevated position at the time of the attack.

Rob Lee, a senior fellow at the Foreign Policy Research Institute and an expert on the Russian military and modern warfare, said the range and precision of the attack on the missile launching systems suggested the weapon used was American.

"Given the range, type of target, munition availability and change in the Biden administration's policy," he wrote in a text message. "I think it is probable this strike was conducted with HIMARS."

Russian bloggers, researchers analyzing satellite images and footage of the battlefields and the Russian Defense Ministry have reported multiple instances of strikes inside Russia with Ameri-



The aftermath Friday of Russian bombardment of Kharkiv. President Biden acceded to Ukraine's longstanding requests for permission to fire U.S. weapons inside Russia for defensive purposes.

can rockets since Thursday, when the Biden administration approved their use.

On Saturday, Evgeny Podolny, a war correspondent for Russian state television, shared photographs of what were presented as fragments of American guided rockets found in Russian territory. It was not possible to independently verify when or where the fragments were found.

Military analysts had been watching to see when Ukraine would use American weapons on Russian territory — and how.

For weeks, Ukraine had been aggressively lobbying its Western allies to allow it to use their weapons to strike inside Russia. It said that Russian troops were massing

at the border and preparing strikes on Ukraine with impunity. And it cited the urgency of being able to hit airplanes that drop so-called glide bombs from inside

### A strike at missile launchers 20 miles across the border.

Russian territory that soar to targets in Ukraine, as well as striking military bases, command points and ammunition depots in Russia.

"We use every meeting and ev-

ery day to give our warriors more possibilities," President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine wrote in a Telegram post on Tuesday. "I am grateful to all partners who are helping in the way we need it and in time."

Military analysts say the Ukrainians' new ability to strike in Russia will help slow Moscow's attacks across the border.

"Now we can hit the Russian troops at the stage of formation, which reduces the probability of preparing new offensives" at other sites on the border, said Mykhailo Samus, director of the Center for Army, Conversion and Disarmament Studies, a military research organization in Kyiv.

Russia has repeatedly warned

Ukraine's Western allies that allowing strikes inside Russia would carry grave consequences. "We would like to warn U.S. officials against miscalculations that may have fatal consequences," a Russian deputy foreign minister, Sergei A. Ryabkov, said on Monday, according to the Interfax news agency. "For some unclear reasons, they underestimate the seriousness of the response they may get."

Russia has not specified what those consequences would be, though its president, Vladimir V. Putin, made a veiled threat last week against small European countries, noting that they are "very densely populated."

Mr. Chernev's confirmation that American weapons had been used to strike inside Russia is the only one Ukraine has given so far, perhaps out of concern for adding fuel to Russian propaganda and stoking more bellicosity from Russia. Ukraine is also preparing for a diplomatic initiative in Switzerland later this month to present its plan for a settlement for the war.

A spokesman for the National Security Council, John F. Kirby, said the United States will not reconsider its policy prohibiting strikes deeper in Russia in the nearest weeks. The administration also prohibited Ukraine from firing a longer-range, more powerful rocket, ATACMS, into Russia. Ukrainian officials are pushing for expanded permissions to fire into Russia.

"All Russian troops at the border region must be destroyed, to not let them break through" the border, said Mr. Samus, the Ukrainian military analyst. Public disclosure of precisely how the weapons are used are unlikely, he said. "There are official positions of Ukraine and of the United States. All the rest is the fog of war."

## Biden to Find Both Unity And Isolation In Europe

From Page A1

Court to seek arrest warrants for Israeli leaders on war crime charges.

The disparate priorities will play out at an event meant to showcase Western unity and resolve. The D-Day landings at Normandy on June 6, 1944, will be celebrated as a high-water mark of the alliance that defeated Nazi Germany. President Emmanuel Macron of France will host leaders of the World War II partner countries, including King Charles, Queen Camilla, Prince William and Prime Minister Rishi Sunak of Britain and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau of Canada, representing the two nations that joined the United States in staging the climactic amphibious invasion.

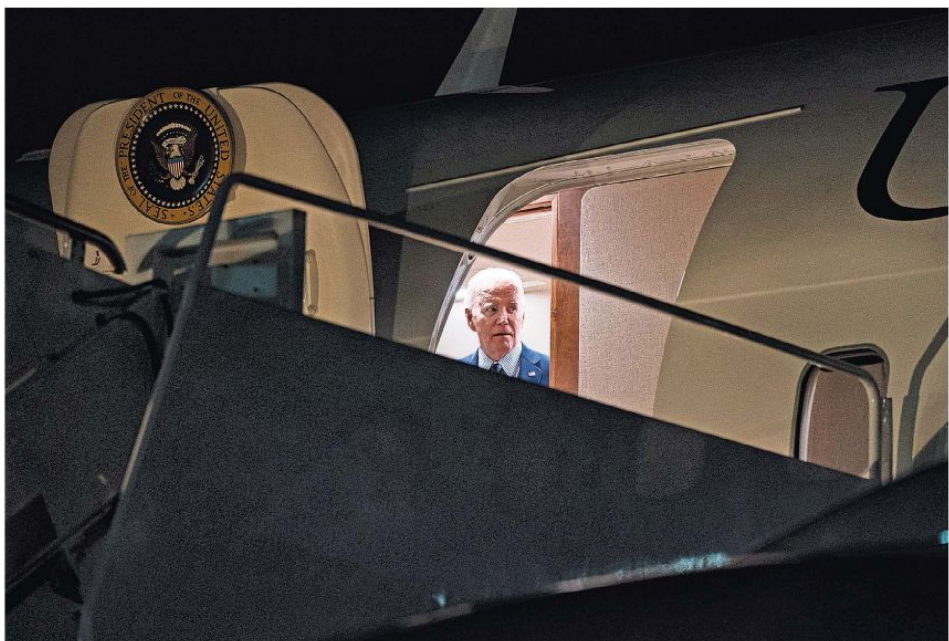
Chancellor Olaf Scholz of Germany, representing the vanquished enemy, will also attend in a show of Europe's reconciliation. Not present, however, will be President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia, despite the Soviet Union's alliance with the West during the war. Mr. Macron's government initially invited lower-level Russian representatives to participate but rescinded the offer after objections stemming from Moscow's aggression in Ukraine. By contrast, President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine will attend the ceremony, an opportunity for him to press leaders for more aid.

John F. Kirby, a White House spokesman, said that Mr. Biden knew that not every nation agrees with his policies. "Disagreements with allies and partners is not something new to President Biden," Mr. Kirby said, "any more than unity and cooperation and collaboration, which he also fosters across a range of issues."

The meetings between Mr. Biden and the allies come at a critical moment in Europe and the Middle East. Ukraine is trying to fend off an escalating Russian offensive that threatens to break through its eastern defenses in a decisive way after two years of grinding combat. Hundreds of miles away, Israel and Hamas are under pressure to agree to a cease-fire deal that could be the final chance for a path toward a more sustainable peace.

Mr. Biden on Friday outlined such a cease-fire agreement that would eventually lead to the release of all hostages held by Hamas, the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Gaza and a "permanent" end to the violence, including a deal that Europeans can sup-

Michael D. Shear reported from Washington, and Peter Baker from Paris.



AL DRAGO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



PHIL KOSTER/AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES



ANWEGRET HILDEBRANDT

port, the president may have found a way to minimize differences when he arrives in Paris.

The Group of 7 nations, including the United States, Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Italy and Japan, issued a statement on Monday endorsing the deal that Mr. Biden outlined and calling on Hamas to accept it.

At the same time, Mr. Biden addressed another difficult issue before the trip by authorizing Ukraine for the first time to use U.S.-provided weapons against targets inside Russia for self-defense in limited circumstances, something France, Britain, Germany, Poland and other allies had already embraced.

"The only way out of such a dilemma is to push ahead on both problems — help Ukraine do better or win and get Israel on a path to peace," said Dan Fried, a retired diplomat now at the Atlantic Council in Washington. "Hence the decision to lift some restrictions on Ukraine's use of U.S. arms and to push a complex and ambitious peace plan" in Gaza.

Still, the differences remain real and stark. Spain, Ireland and Norway formally recognized an independent Palestinian state last week, just days after the International Court of Justice ordered Israel to halt its military offensive in the city of Rafah in southern Gaza. Most European governments

have endorsed the war crimes action against Israel at the International Criminal Court.

France has not acted to recognize a Palestinian state but did vote in the United Nations in May to support including Palestine as a full member of the organization. Britain, which is no longer a part of the European Union, abstained from that vote.

Critics of Mr. Biden said he has no one to blame for his diplomatic challenges in Europe but himself for an inconsistent approach to international crises.

"The contradiction, I think, is in American policy," said Peter Rough, the director of the Center on Europe and Eurasia at the

Hudson Institute and a former aide to President George W. Bush. "In Ukraine, he's backing Ukraine against the Russian-Iranian alliance, while in Gaza he is managing Israel, even limiting it, as it confronts an Iranian proxy."

From the other side of the spectrum, some foreign policy veterans said Mr. Biden had brought troubles upon himself by being too supportive of Israel.

"I am not at all sure that Biden has made the right choices on Israel-Gaza, although I acknowledge that he's in a tough spot, as is our country," said Eric Rubin, a longtime U.S. diplomat and the former president of the American Foreign Service Association. "Is-

President Biden will be in France this week for the 80th anniversary of the D-Day invasion. President Emmanuel Macron of France, left, will host leaders of the World War II partner countries. President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine, far left, will attend.

rael has lost the sympathy of most other countries and their citizens, and we won't see it get it back in our lifetimes, I fear."

But at the end of the day, some diplomats said, France and the other allies ultimately defer to the United States when it comes to such issues. And even though he will find them on different pages, Mr. Biden has a constructive relationship with his peers, unlike his predecessor, and possible successor, Donald J. Trump, who berated European allies over their disagreements and left them dreading his potential return to office.

"The United States still plays the indispensable role," Mr. Daalder said. "Everybody is looking to us to figure out how do we deal with Russia, how do we deal with China, and frankly even how do we deal with Israel."

"We're still looked at by our friends and by our adversaries as the ones who will determine the outcome."

# Farage Apt to Have Less Impact on British Election Than on Campaign

By MARK LANDLER

LONDON — Prime Minister Rishi Sunak and the Labour Party leader Keir Starmer squared off on Tuesday evening in their first debate of Britain's general election, but it was a third man, Nigel Farage, who had seized the spotlight in a race defined, until now, by a fading incumbent and a rising opposition.

Mr. Farage, a gleeful insurgent who has long roamed the right-wing fringes of British politics, said he would run as a candidate for Reform U.K., a party he co-founded. That has shaken up the race and threatens to siphon off votes from Mr. Sunak's Conservative Party, given Reform U.K.'s stance against anti-immigration measures.

Mr. Farage's entry into the race is not by itself transformative. He has run for a seat in the British Parliament seven times — and lost every time. But his return could breathe momentum into

other Reform U.K. candidates, throwing yet another hurdle into Mr. Sunak's path between now and the vote on July 4.

The prime minister is struggling to avert a landslide defeat to Labour, which has held a double-digit polling lead over the Conservatives for more than a year.

"The election is over; it is done; Labour have won the election," Mr. Farage said in declaring his candidacy in a surprise announcement on Monday. Describing it as "the dulllest, most boring general election campaign we have ever seen in our lives," Mr. Farage, 60, said the race needed "gingering up," and offered himself as the tonic.

Mr. Sunak had called the election on May 22, several months earlier than expected, in part to exploit a few glimmers of good economic news. He has moved aggressively to appeal to voters who might be attracted to the hard-right Reform U.K., proposing a national service requirement for 18-year-olds and floating a new law that would ban transgender women from women's restrooms and female-only prisons.

But the Tories stumbled out of the gate on immigration when Mr. Sunak said his government's flagship plan to put asylum seekers on one-way flights to Rwanda would not begin before the election. The Labour Party has vowed to shelve the policy if it comes into power.

There is no evidence that Mr. Sunak's decision to go to the voters early changed the dismal election picture for the Tories. A poll released Monday by the market research firm YouGov, which surveyed almost 60,000 adults, projects that the party will lose 225 seats while Labour will gain 220. Though on the more bullish side of projections for Labour, those numbers would give the party a bigger majority than even that won by former Prime Minister Tony Blair in his landslide victory in 1997.

For Mr. Farage, analysts said, the decision to run for Parliament may be part of a grander strategy to take over the Conservative Party after its expected defeat. But throwing his hat into the ring now is not without risks, they said. "On the one hand, it grabs the headlines and will almost certainly prove yet another nail in the government's coffin," said Tim Bale, a professor of politics at Queen Mary University of London. "On the other, if he does the Tories too much damage, those Tory M.P.s left in Parliament, and even some of the party's grassroots activists who purport to love him, aren't going to feel too warmly toward him."

"Still," Professor Bale added, "a hostile takeover is still a takeover."

Whether or not he wins, Mr. Farage will electrify a campaign that got off to a soggy start, going back to Mr. Sunak's announcement, made in a drizzling shower

outside 10 Downing Street.

While Mr. Sunak retreated from Rwanda, Mr. Starmer's Labour Party lost several days to an internal squabble over Diane Abbott, a Black member of Parliament who was suspended from Labour last year for suggesting that Irish, Jewish and Traveller people did not face racism in the same way that Black people did. (Travelers are nomadic minority groups that are among the most disadvantaged in Britain.)

Ms. Abbott, a revered figure on the party's left, had been expected to bow out of the election in return for having the suspension lifted and being given a peerage in the House of Lords. But after she balked and the party's progressive wing rose up to defend her, Mr. Starmer said she was "free to go forward as a Labour candidate."

Ms. Abbott, 70, confirmed that she planned to run to regain her seat in North London, putting an end to an episode that distracted

from Labour's theme of "change" after 14 years of Conservative government.

Given the size of Labour's lead over the Conservatives, analysts said the biggest danger for Mr. Starmer was self-created problems, which could cause voters to have second thoughts about the party. That is why the dispute over Ms. Abbott's status frustrated some Labour supporters.

But Mr. Starmer's challenge pales next to that of Mr. Sunak, who is trying to claw his party back from oblivion. He has campaigned energetically but unevenly, laughing at wisecracks over his rain-soaked debut and gamely accepting umbrellas.

On Sunday, Mr. Sunak released a TikTok video to poke fun at what he said was the Labour Party's lack of plans. He turned the cover of a flip chart to reveal a blank page. Within minutes, Labour operatives had tweaked the video to list the party's goals on the blank page.

## Angry Clashes in Debate By Sunak and Starmer

By STEPHEN CASTLE

LONDON — The two contenders to become Britain's next prime minister clashed angrily over tax, immigration and health policy on Tuesday in a televised debate that at times descended into ill-tempered exchanges as the political rivals talked over each other.

The confrontation came exactly a month before a pivotal general election that will determine whether the opposition Labour Party can capitalize on its strong lead in opinion polls and end 14 turbulent years of Conservative-led government during which the party has had five different prime ministers.

Almost as soon as the debate started, Prime Minister Rishi Sunak claimed that his opponent, the Labour leader Keir Starmer, would raise taxes on Britons by 2,000 pounds a year if he won the election, repeating the claim numerous times. "Absolute garbage," Mr. Starmer eventually responded.

The Labour Party said the figure was based on faulty assumptions, and Jonathan Ashworth, a senior party lawmaker, claimed in an interview with Sky News after the debate that Mr. Sunak was lying. But Mr. Starmer's failure to clearly reject the claim early in the broadcast set the tone for what followed: a seditious but defensive performance by the opposition leader against an energized and at times ruthless opponent.

One snap opinion poll of viewers declared Mr. Sunak a narrow winner, though Mr. Starmer was seen as more likable and more trustworthy. While the debate is unlikely to swing significant numbers of votes, Mr. Sunak's performance may have steadied support in his party.

With the Conservatives trailing

badly in the opinion polls for more than 18 months, the broadcast was a chance for Mr. Sunak to revive his stalling campaign. After a gaffe-prone start, Mr. Sunak had his prospects seemingly worsen on Monday when Nigel Farage, a right-wing insurgent, said he would run in the election.

For Mr. Starmer, the main objective was to avoid losing momentum ahead of a general election on July 4 that opinion polls say he is on course to win, perhaps comfortably.

There was no knockout blow in Tuesday's hour-long debate, which was filmed in front of a studio audience in Salford, near Manchester, and was the first of two scheduled televised contests between Mr. Sunak and Mr. Starmer.

Animated but at times hectoring, Mr. Sunak was more aggressive in pushing his point, accusing Labour of having no plans for government and often talking over Mr. Starmer, despite pleas for calm from Julie Etchingham, the moderator.

But Mr. Sunak struggled to defend the Conservative Party's 14-year governing record, and Mr. Starmer ridiculed his failure to cut waiting lists for treatment of more than seven million procedures in the health care system, as he had promised.

"There were 7.2 million, there are now 7.5 million. He says they are coming down and this is the best guy who says he's good at maths," Mr. Starmer said of the prime minister.

"They are coming down from what we call the 'sun' and the 'weather' higher," Mr. Sunak replied, to laughter from the audience.

In a familiar exchange of claims and counterclaims, Mr. Starmer said that the government had cut income tax, while Mr. Sunak added that it was ordinary people



Keir Starmer, Britain's Labour Party leader, and Prime Minister Rishi Sunak held their first televised debate on Tuesday evening.

"who are paying the price." Mr. Sunak argued that his plans were helping to revive economic growth and said that progress would be put at risk by Labour.

Televised debates for general elections are a relatively recent phenomenon in Britain, with the first taking place in 2010.

The onus this time had been on Mr. Sunak to make an impact, in a broadcast that was described as "one of the last opportunities the prime minister has to change his party's political fortunes," by Lee Cain, who worked in Downing Street for Boris Johnson, one of Mr. Sunak's predecessors.

Earlier on Tuesday, Mr. Farage,

who has taken over as the leader of Reform U.K., a small hard-right party that campaigns to cut immigration, addressed a crowd of several hundred people in Clacton-on-Sea, which is part of the area he plans to contest in the general election.

Playing on his reputation as a political disrupter, Mr. Farage appealed to voters to send him to Parliament "to be a bloody nuisance." Not all bystanders were friendly, however, and one protester threw what appeared to be a large milkshake over him. A woman was later arrested.

Mr. Sunak on Tuesday made a new attempt to appeal to potential

voters for Mr. Farage's Reform U.K. party, pledging to limit immigration by placing an annual cap on entrants.

Under his plans, an expert committee would recommend a maximum number of immigrants that would be allowed each year, and that would then be voted on by Parliament.

Labour dismissed the promise as meaningless, noting that previous Conservative election pledges to limit immigration had not been honored and that net migration had increased about threefold since the last election, in 2019.

At one point during Tuesday's debate, Mr. Sunak accused La-

bour of having no plan to curb the number of asylum seekers crossing the English Channel on small boats. And he hinted that he would be willing to take Britain out of international agreements if he were to remain in office. Mr. Starmer was thwarted in his efforts to put some of those arriving on the British coast on one-way flights to Rwanda.

Mr. Starmer described that scheme as "expensive gimmick," and attacked Mr. Sunak over the surge in legal immigration since the 2019 general election. "The prime minister says 'It's too high,'" Mr. Starmer said, adding, "Who's in charge?"

## Success of Zuma's New Party Allows Him to Needle Ex-Allies in the A.N.C.

By JOHN ELIGON

JOHANNESBURG — Jacob Zuma's political career could have ended when he was forced to resign six years ago as South Africa's president over corruption allegations.

Or it could have ended when he was criminally charged for taking bribes, or when he was indicted on rape charges, or when he went to jail for contempt of court, or when he was suspended from the African National Congress, South Africa's long-ruling governing party. But Mr. Zuma, 82, has improbably bounced back after every threat to his political survival, and now has significant power to determine who will lead the country.

The political party that Mr. Zuma began six months ago — uMkhonto weSizwe, or M.K. — finished third in last week's national election, upending South Africa's political landscape. The showing helped to bring about the collapse of the party he once led — the African National Congress, or A.N.C., which failed to win an outright majority for the first time since the country's democracy began in 1994.

Mr. Zuma is positioned to act as a wild card, and analysts and political rivals say they believe his return to politics is really about: punishing an A.N.C. that he believes turned against him, and punishing President Cyril Ramaphosa, his former deputy.

"We will take back our A.N.C.," Mr. Zuma said on Monday, addressing supporters in downtown Johannesburg. He gave a rambling address that lasted 45 minutes, Mr. Zuma took direct aim at Mr. Ramaphosa, saying the A.N.C. had been given "to criminals who steal money and hide it under the mattress." That was a reference to a scandal in which more than half a million dollars was stolen from a sofa at one of Mr. Ramaphosa's properties.

The A.N.C. remains the country's most popular party, winning 40 percent of the vote. But that was an embarrassing 18 percentage point slide from the previous election in 2019.

Mr. Zuma's party came in at 14.5 percent. The M.K. says it would not enter a governing coalition with the A.N.C. unless Mr. Ramaphosa resigns, but the A.N.C. leaders have said that is a nonstarter.

Even after Mr. Zuma's party exceeded the expectations of most pollsters and analysts, he is challenging the results, claiming, without providing evidence publicly, that the country's electoral commission colluded with the A.N.C. to rig the vote. Mr. Zuma claims his party actually won a two-thirds majority.

"We were expecting, obviously, our two-thirds," Duduzile Zuma, one of Mr. Zuma's daughters, said in an interview. But with "the rigging," she said, "there was no way we could rule only two weeks ago that Mr. Zuma could not serve in parliament because of his contempt conviction for failing to testify before a corruption inquiry. This also made him ineligible for the presidency because the president must be a member of parliament."

Mr. Zuma's new party took its name from the A.N.C.'s armed wing during the fight against apartheid. In that era, Mr. Zuma served as an underground militant with the wing; his political activities got him arrested in 1963. He spent 10 years imprisoned on Robben Island alongside Nelson Mandela, and served the A.N.C. from exile after he was released.

During the transition out of apartheid in the early 1990s, Mr. Zuma was elected A.N.C. deputy secretary. Then, in 1999, he was elected Mr. Ramaphosa's deputy president to South Africa's second democratically-



Jacob Zuma, part of the A.N.C. for years, resigned as president in 2018 amid a corruption inquiry.

elect president, Thabo Mbeki, in 1999.

But Mr. Mbeki fired him after he was implicated in bribery as part of an arms deal. Mr. Zuma was later charged criminally in that case; those charges are still pending. Mr. Zuma was also charged around that time with raping a family friend who was visiting his home, but he was acquitted after a trial.

Despite Mr. Zuma's falling out with Mr. Mbeki, he built a loyal faction within the A.N.C. He became the leader of the party in 2007 and the nation's president in 2009.

He served a politically tumultuous nine years during which he was accused of improperly using state money to fund improvements to his rural homestead in his home province of KwaZulu-

Natal. He was also accused of allowing friends and associates to loot government funds.

After he resigned under pressure in 2018, a judge led a years-long public inquiry into corruption during his tenure. Mr. Zuma was sentenced to 15 months in prison for refusing to testify before the inquiry.

Mr. Zuma's supporters took to the streets in protest in 2021 after he was jailed, and the demonstrations spiraled out of control as disillusioned South Africans lit up parts of the country with the worst rioting since the end of apartheid. About 350 people died in the unrest, which caused an estimated \$2.6 billion in damages.

Mr. Zuma served about two months in prison before he was released on medical parole.

While South Africans are gener-

ally down on their politicians, polls show that Mr. Ramaphosa is more popular than Mr. Zuma. A survey by Ipsos South Africa this year found that Mr. Zuma had the second highest job approval rating among the leaders of the top political parties, behind Mr. Ramaphosa.

Mr. Zuma holds himself out as an advocate for the struggling Black majority, while portraying Mr. Ramaphosa, a billionaire investor, as representing the interests of wealthy white-owned businesses.

In its manifesto, the M.K. party says the state will seize all of the country's land and take control of natural resources to ensure that the proceeds benefit all South Africans. It says it will raise the minimum wage and create a universal health care system.

"There is more poverty, there is more crime," Mr. Zuma said during a news conference to announce the party in December. The A.N.C. leadership was failing to correct those problems, he said, so he wanted to do something about it.

But Mphahlele Mkhabela, a political analyst who has written a book about corruption within the A.N.C., said Mr. Zuma failed during nine years as president and more than three decades in top leadership of the governing party to drastically change circumstances for poor Black South Africans.

"People could rightly ask, why didn't you propagate all of these policies all along," Mr. Mkhabela said.

A.N.C. leaders have not ruled out reuniting with Mr. Zuma to form a government. Some South Africans are worried that corruption would thrive if that were to happen.

But to Mr. Zuma's supporters, the corruption allegations are baseless. Much like former President Donald J. Trump, Mr. Zuma has been able to turn trials and investigations into a political strength. He paints himself as a victim of sinister forces trying to take him down because he is championing the poor.

Reggie Ngobelo, a regional coordinator for M.K. in KwaZulu-Natal, said Mr. Zuma is "just a typical rural man" tending his cattle, who gets an unfair shake in the media. He said that he had been warmly welcomed many times at Mr. Zuma's homestead, and that Mr. Zuma would improve the lives of the Black majority.

When Mr. Zuma launched M.K., Mr. Ngobelo, 43, said he left the butchery and delivery businesses he owned to volunteer for the party full time.

With Mr. Zuma, he said, "I see hope and the future."

## War in the Middle East

# Anguish as Gaza Waits For a Cease-Fire Deal

## No Final Word From Israel or Hamas

This article is by Bilal Shbair, Hiba Yazbek, Adam Rasgon and Michael Levenson.

**GAZA STRIP** — After eight months of devastating bombardment by Israeli forces, some Gazans are urging Hamas to accept a cease-fire plan outlined by President Biden, but many remain deeply skeptical that the United States, as Israel's chief ally, would truly bring an end to the war.

"I am hopeful that Hamas will accept this deal," said Ayman Skeik, a 31-year-old merchant driven out of his home in Gaza City by the fighting. "But I am still scared it would not be achieved."

Like other Gazans, Mr. Skeik, who is now sheltering in Deir al-Balah in central Gaza, said he had grown frustrated by the long and generally fruitless cease-fire talks. He noted pointedly that months ago, in February, Mr. Biden suggested that a deal was imminent.

"The United States used to have a strong word when it wanted to stop any crisis in the world," Mr. Skeik said. "But nowadays, I see a different thing."

Speaking at the White House on Friday, Mr. Biden said that Hamas was no longer capable of carrying out a major terrorist attack on Israel like the one on Oct. 7 and that

### Gazans and Israelis look to the U.S. to force an agreement.

it was "time to end this war."

He described what he said was a three-phase Israeli plan submitted to Hamas last week that would secure the release of the remaining hostages seized on Oct. 7 and ultimately lead to the "cessation of hostilities permanently" and the rebuilding of Gaza.

Hamas has said it was responding positively, but has kept Palestinians in suspense about whether it will formally agree.

On Tuesday, Sami Abu Zuhri, a member of Hamas's political bureau, accused Israel of not being serious about a deal and said the White House was putting pressure on Hamas despite "knowing that the problem lies" with the Israelis.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu suggested on Monday that he was open to a 42-day pause in the fighting, embracing at least part of the first phase of the three-part plan described by Mr. Biden, according to a person who attended a closed-door discussion he held with Israeli lawmakers.

But publicly, Mr. Netanyahu has neither accepted nor rejected the proposal, and he has continued to insist that Israel will not stop fighting in Gaza until Hamas's governing and military capabilities are destroyed. He is under pressure to reject the deal from two far-right members of his coalition who have threatened to bring down his government if he agrees to end the war without eliminating Hamas.

Bilal Shbair reported from the Gaza Strip, Hiba Yazbek from Nazareth, and Adam Rasgon from Jerusalem. David E. Sanger, Aurelie Bredin and Edward Wong contributed reporting.

Those political complications have given rise to questions about where the Israelis truly stand on the cease-fire plan outlined by Mr. Biden — even though the president has described them as the plan's author.

A spokesman for the foreign ministry of Qatar, which has been acting as a key mediator in the cease-fire negotiations, said on Tuesday that it had delivered the proposal outlined by Mr. Biden to Hamas and that it was making its "best efforts to finalize an agreement."

But the spokesman, Majed al-Ansari, said, "We are waiting for a clear Israeli position that represents the entire government in response to the U.S.'s Gaza proposal."

Mr. Biden's decision to publicly disclose the proposal appeared to be an effort to pressure both Hamas and Mr. Netanyahu to come to an agreement. It came as tensions have been building between the American president and the Israeli prime minister over Israel's prosecution of the war, which has killed more than 36,000 people in Gaza and has led to an acute humanitarian crisis there, according to the territory's health officials.

On Tuesday, those tensions burst into the open again when Time magazine published an interview with Mr. Biden in which he suggested that Mr. Netanyahu might be prolonging the war to hot up to office.

"There is every reason for people to draw that conclusion," Mr. Biden said in the interview, which was conducted on May 28, three days before he gave his speech detailing what he described as the Israeli cease-fire plan.

On Tuesday, John F. Kirby, a White House national security spokesman, said that Mr. Biden was simply "referencing what many critics have said."

"But for our part," Mr. Kirby said, "we're going to make sure that Israel has what it needs to continue to eliminate the threat by Hamas. And we're going to continue to work with the prime minister and the war cabinet to try to get this proposal over the finish line."

Asked by a reporter in Washington on Tuesday if Mr. Netanyahu was "playing politics" with the war, Mr. Biden said: "I don't think so. He's trying to work out a serious problem he has."

But Mr. Netanyahu is widely seen both at home and abroad as concerned that an end to the conflict could lead to the collapse of his government — especially in light of investigations into how Israel ignored evidence that Hamas was preparing for the attack on Oct. 7 that killed about 1,200 people, according to Israeli officials, and how slowly Israel's defense forces responded.

Adding to international calls for a cease-fire, President Emmanuel Macron of France expressed his support for the plan outlined by Mr. Biden in a phone call with Mr. Netanyahu on Tuesday, Mr. Macron's office said.

During the call, Mr. Macron reiterated his appeal to Hamas, whose responsibility is, according to him, to accept this agreement," Mr. Macron's office said.

For the families of some hostages still held in Gaza, the wait for a deal is anguishing. Some described a vicious cycle of raised hopes then dashed.



MOHAMMED SALEM/REUTERS



HAITHAM SHAWARAH VIA SHUTTERSTOCK



MARCO DUBROVSKIS/REUTERS

"It's incredibly frustrating to have this yo-yo experience once again," said Lee Siegel, the brother of Keith Siegel, a 65-year-old Israeli-American hostage.

"Every day that goes by, it becomes exponentially more difficult to continue with hope."

Mr. Siegel said he was particularly fearful for his brother be-

cause he was found last year to have high blood pressure.

"His absence weighs on us every minute, every hour, every day," he said. "Each day he isn't

From top, Palestinian women searching for their missing mother after an Israeli airstrike hit Khan Younis; a father with his daughter at a hospital in Deir al-Balah; a rally in Tel Aviv for the Israeli hostages.

here could be his last day."

On Monday, the Israeli Army announced that it had concluded that four hostages had died in the Khan Younis area months ago. The announcement gave fresh urgency to pleas from some families for a deal to bring their relatives home.

Some say that they have lost hope that demonstrations in Israel will move Mr. Netanyahu closer to a deal and that they believe only unrelenting American pressure will make a difference.

"The United States should not leave Netanyahu for a second until he signs on to an agreement — not a second," said Gidon Kornfeld, the father of Tal Shoham, a 39-year-old hostage from northern Israel.

Mr. Kornfeld said that three members of his family were killed on Oct. 7, and that six others who had been abducted were released during a short-lived cease-fire in late November.

Mr. Kornfeld said the United States also needed to urge Qatar to use its influence with Hamas to bring about an agreement. "Hamas is not saying no, but it's also not saying yes," he said. "It also has to get the message."

In Gaza, Anas al-Borno, a 36-year-old businessman whose family was forced to flee Gaza City and take shelter in Deir al-Balah, said he, too, wanted Hamas to sign the deal, which he described as critical "for us and our children to live in peace and safety."

But he said he was "still hopeless and pessimistic" that Israel and Hamas would actually agree to end the war.

Others were more hopeful.

Ahmed al-Masri, a 21-year-old desecrated student from Gaza City, said that Mr. Biden's speech felt like an abrupt change.

"The United States has chosen the route of surprises recently," he said, "so I hope this comes true and is real."

# House Votes for Sanctions on I.C.C. Officials for Prosecution of Israeli Leaders

By ROBERT JIMISON

**WASHINGTON** — The House voted mostly along party lines on Tuesday to impose sweeping sanctions on officials of the International Criminal Court in a rebuke of efforts by the court's top prosecutor to charge top Israeli leaders with war crimes in connection with the offensive against Hamas.

The bill would compel President Biden to restrict entry into the United States, revoke visas and impose financial restrictions on anyone at the court involved in going to investigate, arrest, detain or prosecute "protected persons," or allies of the United States. It would also target anyone who provides "financial, material or technological support" to those efforts.

Mr. Biden's advisers said he was "strongly opposed" to the measure because it would impose sanctions on such a broad swath of officials, including court staff members and any witnesses involved in a potential case. But it reflected broad bipartisan anger in Washington after the court's top prosecutor announced late last month that he would seek

charges against both Israeli and Hamas leaders.

The G.O.-written bill passed by a vote of 247 to 155, with 70 Republicans voting present and 42 Democrats crossing party lines in support.

Representative Chip Roy, Republican of Texas and the author of the bill, said it was a necessary step to stop the international court from acting beyond its jurisdiction and to address fears that actions taken against Israeli officials could be a prelude to actions against American officials.

"What happens here is going to be coming at us and our country," Mr. Roy said. "That's why it's important to speak with one voice, with authority, with force."

Since Karim Khan, the I.C.C.'s top prosecutor, went public with his request to the court's judges to seek the charges, the move has met broad condemnation in Washington.

Members of both parties have argued that it overstepped the court's jurisdiction and inappropriately likened the actions of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel, a close U.S. ally, with those of Yahya Sinwar, the leader of the Hamas terror group,

accusing both of crimes against humanity.

"The I.C.C. prosecutor has attempted to equate the self-defense decisions made by Israel's democratically elected leaders to those of Hamas terrorist leaders," said Representative Gregory W. Meeks of New York, the top Democrat on the Foreign Affairs Committee. "There is no — and I repeat — there is no moral or legal equivalence here."

Despite the bipartisan displeasure with the court's prosecutor, however, Mr. Meeks opposed the bill, along with most other Democrats, who had pressed for a bipartisan measure that would reflect the broad repudiation of the court's move but not resort to sanctions.

"If our goal is to change the I.C.C.'s actions, sanctions is the wrong tool," Mr. Meeks said, adding that they could actually "push the I.C.C. to pursue this case with even greater vigor."

In the weeks since Mr. Khan broadcast his decision to apply for arrest warrants for both Israeli and Hamas leaders, Republicans and Democrats had worked to create a unified response.

"We did work very hard to get to a bipartisan agreement," said Representative Michael McCaul, Republican of Texas and chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, who led the talks. He said the White House had torpedoed such a proposal.

Democrats disputed that ac-



Karim Khan is pursuing war crimes charges at the International Criminal Court.

count, saying no such deal was ever reached.

"There were certainly bipartisan conversations that were serious in nature to try to get to a place where with one voice, Democrats and Republicans can confront what most of us believe was a wrongheaded decision by the I.C.C. with respect to the State of Israel," Representative Hakeem Jeffries of New York, the minority

leader, told reporters. "There's still an opportunity to find bipartisan common ground and actually legislate, as opposed to moving a partisan bill in the House that we all know is dead on arrival in the United States Senate."

But Republicans, who have been quick to try to divide Democrats on the war in Gaza and capitalize on divisions on the left over Mr. Netanyahu's tactics, instead decided to move ahead with their preferred measure.

"We need to act quickly because this case is already advancing much faster than expected," Mr. McCaul said ahead of the vote.

John F. Kirby, a White House national security spokesman, told reporters last week that the White House did not believe that imposing sanctions on the court and those who support it was the right approach.

Ahead of the bill's passage, White House officials issued a statement saying the administration "strongly opposes" the measure but stopped short of threatening to veto it. The statement said officials were "deeply concerned" about the arrest warrants but that "there are more effective ways to defend Israel, preserve

U.S. positions on the I.C.C. and promote international justice and accountability."

Mr. Roy, aware that his legislation is unlikely to become law in its current form, said he hoped a bipartisan proposal could still emerge.

"If the Senate wants to modify it, send it back to the House and try to address any of the concerns that have been raised by my colleagues on the other side of the aisle, or on this side of the aisle — great," Mr. Roy said on Tuesday, adding, "They can send it back to us, and we can send a product to the president."

House Democrats chafed at Mr. Roy's insistence on rushing through a measure he knew they would not support on an issue on which there is consensus to be found.

"Once again, we have a poorly drafted, poorly thought-out messaging bill that hasn't gone through the committee process, that hasn't gone through regular order, that hasn't been thought through," Representative Brad Sherman, Democrat of California, said. "We cannot vote yes on a bill today that is this infirm and count on the Senate to clean it up."

# Modi's Party Wins, but It's Far From the Landslide That It Promised

From Page A1

only with his personal push could his party overcome its unpopularity at the local level and scrape by. Or it could be that his carefully cultivated brand has now peaked, and that he can no longer outrun the anti-incumbency sentiment that eventually catches up with almost any politician.

How Mr. Modi will react is uncertain — whether he will harden his effort to turn away any challenge to his power, or be chastened by the voters' verdict and his need to work with coalition partners that do not share his Hindu-nationalist ideology.

"Modi is not known as a consensus figure. However, he is very pragmatic," said Arati Jerath, a political analyst based in New Delhi. "He will have to moderate his hard-line Hindu-nationalist approach to issues. Perhaps we can hope for more moderation from him."

Few doubt, however, that Mr. Modi will try to deepen his already considerable imprint on the country over the next five years.

On his watch, India, the world's most populous nation, has enjoyed newfound prominence on the global stage, even hailed as infrastructure for the needs of its 1.4 billion people, and been imbued with a new sense of ambition as it tries to shed the legacy of its long colonial past.

At the same time, Mr. Modi has worked to turn a vastly diverse country held together by a secular democratic system into an overtly Hindu-first state, marginalizing the large Muslim minority.

His increasingly authoritarian turn, with a crackdown on dissent, has pushed India's vociferous democracy closer to a one-party state, his critics say. And the country's economic growth, while rapid, has mostly enriched those at the top.

Mr. Modi, a tea seller's son, rose from a humble background to become India's most powerful and popular leader in decades by building a cult of personality, spending big on infrastructure and welfare, and tilting India's democratic institutions in his favor.

The ultimate goal was to cement his standing as one of India's most consequential prime ministers and make the B.J.P. the country's only plausible national governing force.

But the results on Tuesday pointed to a sharp turnaround for India's beleaguered main opposition party, the Indian National Congress, which had been seen by many as irrevocably weakened after big losses in the previous two elections.

The once-dominant Congress, long positioned at India's political center, had struggled for years to find a direction and offer an ideological alternative to the B.J.P. But it and its coalition partners found traction in this election by attacking

Mujib Masha, Alex Travelli, Hari Kumar and Sameer Yashir reported from New Delhi. Suhashini Raj from Varanasi, India, and Pragati K.B. from Bengaluru, India.



At rival headquarters in New Delhi on Tuesday: Supporters of Prime Minister Narendra Modi's party, the B.J.P., above; and Rahul Gandhi, left, a senior leader of the opposition Congress Party.

to counter accusations that he privileged business and caste elites. He also abandoned his once-subtle dog whistles targeting India's 200 million Muslims, instead demonizing them directly, by name.

As things stood by nightfall, Mr. Modi would need at least 33 seats from allies to cross the 272 minimum for forming a government.

Two regional parties in particular would be kingmakers: the Telugu Desam Party, in the southern state of Andhra Pradesh, with 16 seats, and the Janata Dal (United) party in the eastern state of Bihar, with 12.

Both parties are avowedly secular, raising hopes among Mr. Modi's opponents that their influence could slow down his race to turn India's democracy into a Hindu-first state.

Some of Mr. Modi's biggest losses came in India's most populous state, Uttar Pradesh in the north, with about 240 million people. His party leads the state government and had won 62 of the state's 80 seats in the national Parliament's lower house in the previous election, in 2019.

As counting entered its last stretch in the evening on Tuesday, the B.J.P. was leading in only 33 seats there. In his own constituency, Varanasi, Mr. Modi's victory margin was reduced from half a

million last time to about 150,000.

The loss in Faizabad constituency, in particular, told the story of how some of the prime minister's biggest offerings had struggled to connect with voters.

The constituency is home to the lavish Ram temple in Ayodhya, built on grounds disputed between Hindus and Muslims. Its construction was a cornerstone of the nearly century-old Hindu-na-

ture centuries of oppression.

"Because of overemphasis on the Ram temple issue, the opposition got united," said Subhash Purnia, 62, a farmer from the state of Rajasthan who supports Mr. Modi and was waiting outside the B.J.P. headquarters in Delhi on Tuesday.

To offset potential losses in his Hindi-speaking northern stronghold, Mr. Modi had set a lofty goal for this election: to gain a foothold in the country's more prosperous south.

He broke some new ground in Kerala, a state dominated by the political left and long hostile to his ideology. But overall in the south, he struggled to improve on the 29 seats, out of 129, that his party had won in the previous election.

Perhaps the biggest disappointment for the B.J.P. in southern India was that it once again appeared not to have won any of the 40 seats in Tamil Nadu, a state with its own strong cultural and linguistic identity.

Mr. Modi had campaigned aggressively there, even visiting one coastal town for two days of meditation as the voting neared its conclusion.

"Mr. Modi and the B.J.P.'s antics cannot win my Tamil heart," said S. Ganesan, a waiter at a hotel in Kanniyaikumari, the town Mr. Modi visited.

## A Hindu nationalist must rely on secular coalition partners.

national movement that had swept Mr. Modi to power. He hoped that its grand inauguration just before the election campaign began would both unite his Hindu support base and bring new supporters into the fold.

Some B.J.P. workers said that the party's flaunting of the temple may have made a large section of Hindus at the bottom of the rigid caste hierarchy uncomfortable. The opposition had painted Mr. Modi as pursuing an upper-caste agenda that denied underprivileged Hindus opportunities to re-

# Mexico's President, a Seminal and Beloved Politician, Begins His Farewell

By JAMES WAGNER

TEPETITÁN, Mexico — Sunday was a historic day in Mexico, with a landslide election victory for Claudia Sheinbaum, the first woman and first Jewish person to become the country's president.

But as much as it was about Ms. Sheinbaum, a decorated climate scientist and the mayor of Mexico City from 2018 to 2023, it was also about the most powerful man in the country who soon head toward the exit.

The electoral triumph of President Andrés Manuel López Obrador's successor marks the beginning of the end of a defining figure in Mexico.

He emerged from an area of the country where few national politicians have hailed and become president on his third try. He completely reshaped Mexican politics and built an entire political party around his outside personality.

Critics also say he granted the military too much power and pushed measures that would chip away at democratic institutions, like the Supreme Court.

Yet, as the end of his six-year tenure approaches, Mr. López Obrador remains widely popular. After nearly five decades in public life, Mr. López Obrador, 70, has said he will retire "completely" following his final day in office Sept. 30, though some observers believe he will find a way to continue to exert influence behind the scenes.

He has said he wants to spend his days at his family's ranch in the southern state of Oaxaca.

For many in the neighboring state of Tabasco, a bastion of support for Mr. López Obrador, and the small town of Tepetitán, where he was born, Sunday was bittersweet.

Miguel Angel Solis Burelo, 72, said he was thrilled to see Ms. Sheinbaum win because she was "well prepared" to carry on Mr.

López Obrador's agenda. He also said it was "a great joy" to see a woman assume the presidency.

But Mr. Solis, who drove a motorboat down a river from the ranch where he works to vote in Tepetitán, admitted he also felt "a bit sad" to see Mr. López Obrador nearing the end of his presidency. Mexico's presidents are limited to one six-year term by the Constitution.

Kenia Sandoval Salvador, 47, a stay-at-home mother, said she watched video highlights on social media of Mr. López Obrador's career before she went to the polls on Sunday in Macapana, a town also in Tabasco where the president was raised.

"I already feel the nostalgia," she said.

Born in 1953, Mr. López Obrador attended the only elementary school in Tepetitán and helped at his parents' store. He started middle school about 40 minutes away in Macapana. He finished it and high school in Villahermosa, the state's capital where his family moved. He went to college in Mexico City, where he later served as mayor.

Sunday's election was seen by many as a referendum on Mr. López Obrador's leadership, and Ms. Sheinbaum's decisive victory was interpreted as a vote of confidence in the president, his policies and the Morena party.

Antenor Paz Acosta, 75, who works on a ranch in Tepetitán and said he had played baseball with the president growing up, made clear he had the current leader in mind, even as he voted for Ms. Sheinbaum.

"I'm always supporting what Andrés Manuel has done," Mr. Paz said. "Where he goes, she does, too."

During Mr. López Obrador's tenure, the economy grew, millions of Mexicans were lifted out of poverty, the minimum wage doubled, pensions were expanded



A mural of outgoing President Andrés Manuel López Obrador in Tepetitán, his hometown.

and workers' benefits improved.

But his presidency has also fueled concern. He has been criticized for his "hugs, not bullets" strategy toward criminal cartels, which has resulted in more violence. His detractors also say he hobbled the nation's health system and prioritized fossil fuels.

Mr. López Obrador, who is known by his initials AMLO, will be remembered by many for his morning news conferences, or *mañaneras*, during which he spent hours nearly every day for the past five years sharing his feelings, celebrating his victories, attacking his critics and lashing out at journalists. He could come across as both fiery and folksy.

"López Obrador governed through the *mañaneras*," said Blanca Gómez, a Mexican journal-

ist who wrote an unauthorized biography of Mr. López Obrador in 2005. "He realized that people paid attention when he spoke. People believe him. There are people who are going to miss his *mañaneras*. And many people will be happy not to hear him anymore."

Though Lázaro Vidal Martínez, 62, a farmer in Tepetitán, was usually working in the mornings, he said he would occasionally listen. "I liked that he showed his face daily because other presidents never did that," he said.

Mr. Solis, the ranch worker who arrived by motorboat to vote, said what he liked most about Mr. López Obrador's presidency was his social welfare programs that helped "us who didn't receive help or who weren't taken into ac-

count."

He said his pension, for those 65 and over, has jumped fivefold over the years to roughly \$170 every month.

Still, Mr. López Obrador should have been tougher on criminal groups, Mr. Solis added, though he was generally satisfied with the country's direction.

"We want the movement to continue," he said, before hopping into his boat to head home.

During campaign visits to Tabasco, Ms. Sheinbaum promised to preserve Mr. López Obrador's legacy, which drew cheers from the crowd.

In Tepetitán, a town of 1,500 people, what was once his grandparents' home opened last year as the Obrador House Community Museum and features his bust

outside. In Macapana, a larger town with 31,000 residents, the lone reminder is a mural outside the public library.

Not far away in a cafe in the town's main square sat Marvel Hernández Gutiérrez, 75, a Tepetitán native, lawyer and former state official who has known Mr. López Obrador since their time together in a previous political party. He wished Mr. López Obrador had done more to develop Mexico in terms of business and infrastructure, especially in Tabasco, one of the poorest states in the country.

"As far as his legacy," Mr. Hernández said, "we can't say he left us great things because he had the opportunity to do so and he didn't."

Regardless of his views, many said they didn't believe Mr. López Obrador would suddenly disappear after decades of public life and with his protégé in charge.

"His legacy matters a lot to him," said Ms. Gómez, the journalist.

In a small way, it will continue on in Tepetitán.

During Mr. López Obrador's successful presidential campaign six years ago, Mr. Vidal, who said his parents knew Mr. López Obrador's parents, allowed a local artist to paint a mural on the side of his house that sits at the entrance to the town. Anyone entering or leaving the community would see it.

It has been repainted three times, with new flourishes added on each occasion. Surrounding Mr. López Obrador's face are flora and fauna found throughout Tabasco: howler monkeys, parrots and the alligator gar fish, a local delicacy and a nickname for Mr. López Obrador in Spanish.

The mural's artist died last year, Mr. Vidal said, and he hopes that another artist can help preserve the reminder of the town's most famous son.

"That mural will stay," he said.

## Universities Weigh Calls From Student Protesters to Drop Charges

Civil Disobedience  
Has Often Come  
With a Price to Pay

By JEREMY W. PETERS

Youssef Haswch expected to receive his diploma from the University of Chicago on Saturday.

What he got instead was an email from the associate dean of students informing him that, because he was under investigation for his participation in a protest encampment on the campus quad, "your degree will not be conferred until the resolution of this matter."

Like scores of other student demonstrators across the country, Mr. Haswch has been swept up into a kind of disciplinary limbo. Although he was allowed to participate in graduation, his university is withholding his degree until it determines whether and how to punish him for breaking its code of conduct for refusing to vacate an encampment, which the police cleared on May 7.

He has already been formally reprimanded by the university for being part of a group that occupied an administration building last year in a protest over the Israel-Hamas war.

The question of how harshly to discipline these students cuts deep in academia, where many universities take pride in their history of student activism on issues such as civil rights, the Vietnam War, South African apartheid and income inequality. Some faculty members themselves celebrate such activism and encourage students to become politically involved — and have also faced arrest and discipline for doing so.

But today, some students have made a demand of their colleges that is vexing administrators and veterans of past social movements: They want all charges against them, both academic and legal, dropped. Many students have been charged with criminal misdemeanors, such as trespassing. Others have faced discipline from their universities, which can range from a warning on their records to suspensions and expulsions.

At Columbia University, Brown University, the New School, the University of Texas at Austin and numerous other institutions, a common slogan on handmade signs and social media posts has become "Drop All Charges."

When asked what was the appropriate penalty for his civil disobedience, Mr. Haswch did not have to think long.

"Nothing," he said. As someone who is part Palestinian, he added, "I think it's hypocritical for them to say we're being disruptive when they're actively investing in a genocide that is very disruptive to my family." At Chicago's graduation on Saturday, dozens of students walked out to register their disapproval of the university's handling of cases like Mr. Haswch's.

When the encampments first sprouted this spring, universities struggled with how to respond — many tolerating them at first, but then sending in the police after students refused repeated orders to disperse. Since Columbia first arrested protesters on April 18, there have been more than 3,000 arrests on campuses across the country, at institutions including California State Polytechnic University, Humboldt, and Emory University.

Now university administrators are confronting a similar conundrum over disciplinary action now that most of the encampments are gone.

Be too lenient, and colleges risk encouraging more encampments when students return in the fall. Coming down too hard — by denying degrees or leaving students with permanent arrest records — can seem too punitive a response to mostly nonviolent protests and could jeopardize the futures of the students the universities are supposed to mold into productive citizens.

Some institutions have agreed to a lighter approach, with conditions. At Johns Hopkins University, for instance, the administration said it would end disciplinary proceedings for students who had pitched an encampment if they agreed not to establish another one or otherwise disrupt campus life.

Others, like Brown, have flatly refused requests for leniency. Activists and their allies had called on the university to demand that local law enforcement officials drop criminal charges against 41 students arrested in December during a sit-in.

In response, Brown's president, Christina Paxson, wrote to the student body that those arrested had made an "informed choice," and she added that asking to be absolved of responsibility was not consistent with how civil disobedience is supposed to work. "The practice of civil disobedience means accepting the consequences of decisions on matters of conscience," she said.

In his "Letter From a Birmingham Jail," Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. wrote in 1963 that during workshops on nonviolent protest, he would ask participants, "Are you able to endure the ordeal of jail?"

"One who breaks an unjust law," Dr. King declared, "must do so openly, lovingly, and with a willingness to accept the penalty."

Paying a personal cost in pursuit of a cause has historically helped social movements build popular support, according to scholars.



VINCENT ALBAN/CHICAGO TRIBUNE, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS



SKIPPER PARK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



MARK ABRAHAMSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

cording to scholars.

"You do that to rouse the conscience of the nation or the institutional power in question — to have it reckon with what you believe is a greater moral imperative," said Tony Banout, executive director of the University of Chicago's Forum for Free Inquiry and Expression.

"I think that tradition is laudable, and society has improved measurably because of activists who are willing to engage in that," he said.

Civil rights protesters made that cost seem real, as they occupied lunch counters and marched peacefully in the streets dressed in suits, and in turn often faced brutal repression from the police.

Even of today's protesters have faced anything approaching that kind of brutality or punishment. But they say that they are worried about being identified and harassed — or doxxed — and wear masks or kaffiyehs to conceal their identities. Some refuse to give their names even as they sit across from administrators to negotiate.

The anonymity and the disavowal of penalties could weaken their movement,

Dr. Banout said.

"My fear," he said, "is it actually alienates people, and ultimately does not advance the alleviation of suffering in Gaza."

The Rev. Al Sharpton, the veteran civil rights activist, said he believed this generation of student protesters is not monolithic, with some willing to accept more responsibility for civil disobedience than others — as in any other generation. But he added that among some demonstrators, he had detected a sense of entitlement in the desire to avoid consequences.

"When you express entitlement, then you cannot be fighting for the disenfranchised," he said.

As someone who has been arrested a number of times and spent nearly three months in jail for protesting military bombing exercises on Vieques, Mr. Sharpton said he understood why activists would fight the charges against them.

No student is likely to spend months in jail. But, he added, "you must be prepared to say the cause is more important

than my freedom."

A generational shift in attitudes toward law enforcement personnel also appears to be a factor in why these students are unwilling to accept the legitimacy of the charges against them. Many experienced their political awakening in the mass uprising after George Floyd's murder by police officers in 2020, when they were in high school. Those demonstrations were animated by an antipathy toward — and in many cases a desire to abolish — the police.

At George Washington University's graduation, Nam Lam, a student in international affairs, noted with dismay the fences and security checkpoints the school had erected all around. That, combined with the use of police force to clear an encampment on campus, made him uneasy.

"It's been hard to process, just the large police presence and pepper-spraying students," Mr. Lam said.

Students and their faculty supporters say disciplinary measures against protesters are really about suppressing free speech — something that the leaders of

Kelly Hui, center, is one of four University of Chicago students whose degrees are being withheld. Left, Mohamed Mohamed, a suspended graduate student at M.I.T., at a rally. Below, Los Angeles police clashed with protesters during Pomona College's commencement.

their universities, as self-described incubators of robust debate, should know is wrong.

And some faculty members also see university overreach. Harvard denied 13 seniors their degrees while their disciplinary cases moved forward, leading hundreds of students to walk out of the graduation ceremony last month.

Ryan Enos, a professor of history at Harvard who advised some of the students facing discipline, said the university's response was harsher than it had been with encampments for other causes, such as Occupy Wall Street, divesting from fossil fuels and supporting a living wage proposal.

"This seems like an over-enforcement, a break with precedent," he said. "And it raises a concern that they're more concerned about the content of the speech than with an equal application of punishment."

But Mr. Enos did have a caveat. Protest over the environment and raising wages are not going to make anyone of a particular religion or identity uncomfortable.

"There certainly weren't people on campus who felt threatened by that," he said, adding that it was reasonable to consider whether some of the protest activity had made Jewish students feel threatened.

Any protest movement risks losing the public's support if its methods are seen as too obnoxious or extreme. Rob Willer, a professor of sociology at Stanford University and director of the Polarization and Social Change Lab there, said that he thought the student demonstrations had not reached that point.

But even isolated incidents of violent behavior or extreme rhetoric can do damage, he said. "Occasional excesses do real outsized harm, drive away natural constituencies, and are wrong," Dr. Willer said. A study for which he was a co-author concluded that certain forms of protest — inflammatory rhetoric, blocking traffic and vandalism — are effective in helping a movement gain public support but that those tactics ultimately repel people.

There has been little consistency at universities over how punishments are meted out and how long that process takes. The president of Northwestern University said during a congressional hearing recently that no students had been suspended but that "lots" of investigations were underway. At the same hearing, the president of Rutgers said the university had suspended four. In some more liberal jurisdictions — Chicago and Austin, for instance — prosecutors, not university administrators, have dropped criminal trespassing charges.

At Yale, Craig Birchhead-Morton learned just before graduation that he would be getting his degree, despite having been arrested twice during protests. (If a disciplinary case is still in progress at the time of a senior's graduation, the student's degree is withheld until the case is resolved.)

"It was something I was anxious about, but I feel like there's no backing down on this issue," he said. He received a formal reprimand.

During Yale's commencement ceremonies, some students expressed support for their peers who were facing charges. One, Lex Schultz, held up a banner that read, "Drop all charges."

JoAnna Daemrich contributed reporting from Washington and Goya Gupta from New Haven, Conn.

# House Democrats Put G.O.P. on Spot to Back Birth Control

From Page A1

"Voters know that Republicans oppose abortion and that they are generally supportive of restrictions on abortion," said Molly Murphy, a pollster for President Biden's re-election campaign. "What voters don't know is that Republicans are actively trying to find ways to ban and restrict abortion and contraception. That's a significant gap of opportunity for Democrats. There's a difference between being against something and actively working to take it away."

The complicated and drawn-out discharge petition process allows lawmakers to make an end run around their leaders and force consideration of a piece of legislation on the floor if they collect the signatures of a majority of the members of the House. With Republicans holding a slim majority of 217 seats to Democrats' 213, only a handful of defectors would need to sign to meet the threshold of 218 votes.

The legislation, sponsored by Representative Kathy Manning, Democrat of North Carolina, already has 203 co-sponsors, all Democrats, putting it well within striking distance. Under House rules, Democrats must wait seven workdays before they can start collecting signatures for the petition. After that, Democrats say they plan to spotlight Republicans' failure to sign on early and often — focusing especially on those from competitive districts. "All these freshmen Republicans in New York and California that cost us the House majority in 2022 will have to answer a question of why are they not signing it," said Chris Fleming, a Democratic



BY THE PHARMACY/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Democrats view abortion access, contraception and reproductive health options as winning issues.

strategist.

The discharge petition mechanism was created as a last-ditch check on the power of the majority party. While it seldom succeeds, earlier this year Democrats and Republicans did use one to force a vote on legislation that would provide tax relief to victims of disasters around the country, and it passed overwhelmingly.

The House first passed the Right to Contraception Act in July of 2022, when Democrats controlled the House, immediately after the Supreme Court's decision, in *Dobbs* vs. Jackson Women's Health Organization, that over-

turned abortion rights at the federal level. Democrats pushed through the bill over almost unanimous Republican opposition in part because Justice Clarence Thomas, in a concurring opinion in *Dobbs*, wrote that the court "should reconsider" other precedents beyond *Roe*, including those protecting same-sex marriage and the right to contraception. Senate Republicans blocked the legislation, which was opposed by anti-abortion groups that said the bill's definition of contraceptives could be interpreted to include pills that induce abortion. "Extremist Republican poli-

tics are waging war on women's reproductive health," Ms. Manning said. "They've stripped women of their constitutional right to obtain an abortion, attacked fertility treatments and are now attempting to restrict access to birth control."

Outside groups are boosting the legislative push by pouring tens of millions of dollars into competitive House districts to amplify the message. The main super PAC supporting House Democrats last month announced a new \$100 million fund focusing on abortion rights in swing districts. And the group Americans for Contracep-

tion plans to spend more than \$7 million on television and digital ads, some targeting Republicans in the Senate who vote against the bill and House members who do not sign the petition, and others thanking vulnerable Senate Democrats who vote to pass the bill this week. They also plan to have a 20-foot-tall I.U.D. roaming around Washington to raise awareness on the issue of contraception.

Republicans remain in a bind on issues of reproductive rights, as they struggle to reconcile their party's hard-line policies on women's health measures and the reality that they are out of step with the vast majority of the country. Despite that, they continue to tuck anti-abortion policies into pending legislation, a sign of the power of the anti-abortion lobby in national politics.

A new Republican-written bill to fund the Department of Veterans Affairs includes language that prohibits the department from offering abortion counseling and, in certain cases, abortions to veterans and beneficiaries. And the Defense Department's 2025 appropriations bill once again includes language that says no funds can be used for "any abortion, including through a medical benefits package or health benefits program that includes coverage of abortion."

"House Republicans' dangerous plans to embed extreme anti-abortion restrictions in must-pass legislation make one thing super clear," said Viet Shelton, a spokesman for the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee.

"House Republicans are still obsessed with banning abortion nationwide, and their most vulnerable members are all in on this radical pursuit."

## Wisconsin Charges 3 For Pushing Fake Electors

By NEIL VIGDOR and DANNY HAKIM

Wisconsin brought felony charges on Tuesday against three onetime advisers of former President Donald J. Trump in connection with a fake electors plot there in 2020, becoming the first battleground state to prosecute his allies for their attempts to overturn his defeat that year.

One of the men charged was Kenneth Chesebro, an architect of the Trump campaign's plans to impersonate slates of bogus electors in several states that Mr. Trump lost. He was named as a defendant in the action by Wisconsin's attorney general, Josh Kaul, a Democrat.

The other men charged were James R. Troupis, a former judge who was working for the campaign in Wisconsin, and Michael Roman, who was Mr. Trump's director of Election Day operations.

All three face a single count of forgery-unlawful, a felony in Wisconsin that carries a penalty of up to six years in prison and a \$10,000 fine.

During a news conference in Madison on Tuesday, Mr. Kaul said the state's investigation into the matter was continuing. He declined to elaborate on the details surrounding the charges, which were laid out in complaints filed in Dane County Circuit Court.

"We feel confident in the charges we've brought," Mr. Kaul said.

In total, 52 people have been charged in criminal cases in five states stemming from efforts to overturn the 2020 election, a group headed by Mr. Trump, who was indicted last year in Georgia under a state Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act law, and who also faces a federal election-interference case. He was also named as an unindicted co-conspirator in Michigan.

Several defendants have already pleaded guilty or reached cooperation deals, including Mr. Chesebro, who in October pleaded guilty in a criminal racketeering indictment in Georgia and agreed to cooperate with state prosecutors. He has emerged as a key witness for prosecutors in other states.

Manny Arora, one of Mr. Chesebro's lawyers in Georgia, declined to comment on Tuesday about the Wisconsin case. In one of the criminal complaints, an investigator for the state described the three defendants as having played key roles in drafting and circulating a certificate that was signed by a group of Mr. Trump's Wisconsin allies under the guise that the fake electors had been duly appointed.

The certificate did not contain a disclaimer that the slate of electors had been impeached as a contingency, in the event that Mr. Trump's team succeeded with its legal challenges of the election results, the investigator said.

The complaint alleged that the three men participated in a clandestine effort to circulate the document before a joint session of Congress on Jan. 6, 2021, to certify the election results, a process that was disrupted by a mob of Mr. Trump's supporters.

Wisconsin is the third state to charge Mr. Roman, after Georgia and Michigan. He was charged with having recruited Mr. Chesebro to be arraigned on Friday. A lawyer for Mr. Roman did not immediately respond to a request for comment on Tuesday.

Mr. Trumpists drew attention for having recruited Mr. Chesebro to Mr. Trump's legal team and for an email exchange between him and Mr. Chesebro after the 2020 election in which the two discussed how the Trump campaign could get fake-electors documents into the hands of members of Congress.

Phone and email messages seeking comment from Mr. Troupis, a former judge, went unanswered on Tuesday.

A spokesman for Mr. Trump's campaign did not immediately comment on Tuesday. Wisconsin's governor, Tony Evers, a Democrat, praised the charges in a one-word statement. "Good," said Mr. Evers, whose office pointed out that he had been calling for those involved in the fake electors plot to be held accountable.

Senator Ron Johnson, Republican of Wisconsin, who had sowed misinformation about the results of the 2020 election, called the charges "outrageous" in a social media post.

"Now Democrats are weaponizing Wisconsin's judiciary," he wrote. "Apparently conservative lawyers advising clients is illegal under Democrat tyranny."

Wisconsin will host the Republican National Convention next month in Milwaukee, where Mr. Trump is scheduled to accept the party's presidential nomination, just days after he is set to be sentenced in his New York hush-money case.

Reid J. Epstein contributed reporting.

# After 47 Days, Patient's Transplanted Pig Kidney Is Removed

By RONI CARYN RABIN

Surgeons removed the kidney of a genetically engineered pig from a critically ill patient last week after the organ was damaged by inadequate blood flow related to a heart pump that the woman had also received, according to officials at NYU Langone Transplant Institute.

The patient, Lisa Pisano, 54, who is still hospitalized, went back on kidney dialysis after the pig's



SHERRILL DUNN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Lisa Pisano after receiving a pig kidney transplant in New York in April, the second person to do so. She is now back on dialysis.

## Lack of blood flow from a heart pump caused a failure.

organ was removed. She lived with the transplanted organ for 47 days. Dr. Robert Montgomery, director of the institute, said. The kidney showed no signs of organ rejection.

"Lisa is in stable condition, and her left ventricular assist device is still functioning," Dr. Montgomery said, referring to the heart pump. "We are hoping to get Lisa back home to her family soon."

"Lisa is a pioneer and a hero in the effort to create a sustainable option for people waiting for an organ transplant," he added.

In April, Ms. Pisano became the second person to receive a kidney transplanted from a genetically modified pig. Hers was an especially complicated case: She has heart failure and kidney failure, and received the organ just eight days after receiving a mechanical heart pump.

Ms. Pisano was at risk of dying without the heart pump, a device implanted in patients who need a

heart transplant. But there is an acute shortage of human kidneys available from donors, and her heart disease made her ineligible to receive one.

She is the first patient with a heart pump known to have received an organ transplant of any kind, NYU Langone Health officials said. Patients with kidney failure are usually ineligible to re-

ceive a heart pump because of the high risk of death.

The first patient to receive a kidney from a genetically engineered pig was Richard Slayman, 62, who underwent the procedure in March at Mass General Brigham in Boston.

He was well enough to go home from the hospital two weeks after the surgery, but he suffered from

complex medical problems and died within two months.

Great strides have been made in recent years in the transplantation of organs from animals into humans, following such technological innovations as cloning and gene-editing.

The procedures are still experimental, however, and so far only patients who are so sick that they

are not eligible for a human organ and may die without treatment have been cleared to receive animal organs.

The two transplants of pig kidneys this year were approved under the Food and Drug Administration's compassionate use, or expanded access, program for patients with life-threatening conditions.

# In Settlement, Ex-Agent Retains F.B.I. Clearance

By LUKE BROADWATER

WASHINGTON — A former F.B.I. agent who criticized the bureau in congressional testimony has been awarded back pay and had his security clearance reinstated, his lawyer said on Tuesday.

The former agent, Marcus Allen, resigned from the Federal Bureau of Investigation on Monday after reaching a settlement agreement, said his lawyer, Tristan Leavitt. Mr. Allen's security clearance was reinstated on Friday after he appealed the agency's decision to revoke it.

The F.B.I. notified Congress last year that it had revoked the security clearances of three agents who either took part in the Capitol attack on Jan. 6, 2021, or later expressed views about it that placed in question their "allegiance to the United States," the bureau said in a letter to congressional investigators.

Mr. Allen was suspended in February 2022. He was awarded 27 months of back pay, Mr. Leavitt

## Denial of holding 'conspiratorial views' over the Jan. 6 attack.

said.

Mr. Allen testified before the House Judiciary Committee last year and denied that he held "conspiratorial views" about Jan. 6 or sympathized with criminal conduct.

"I was not in Washington, D.C., on Jan. 6, played no part in the events of Jan. 6, and I condemn all criminal activity that occurred," he testified. "Instead, it appears that I was retaliated against because I forwarded information to my superiors and others that questioned the official narrative of the events of Jan. 6."

Mr. Leavitt called the reinstatement of Mr. Allen's security clearance a "total vindication." "The F.B.I. has completely



HAYDEN JIANG/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Marcus Allen, center, told a House panel last year that he did not sympathize with criminal conduct.

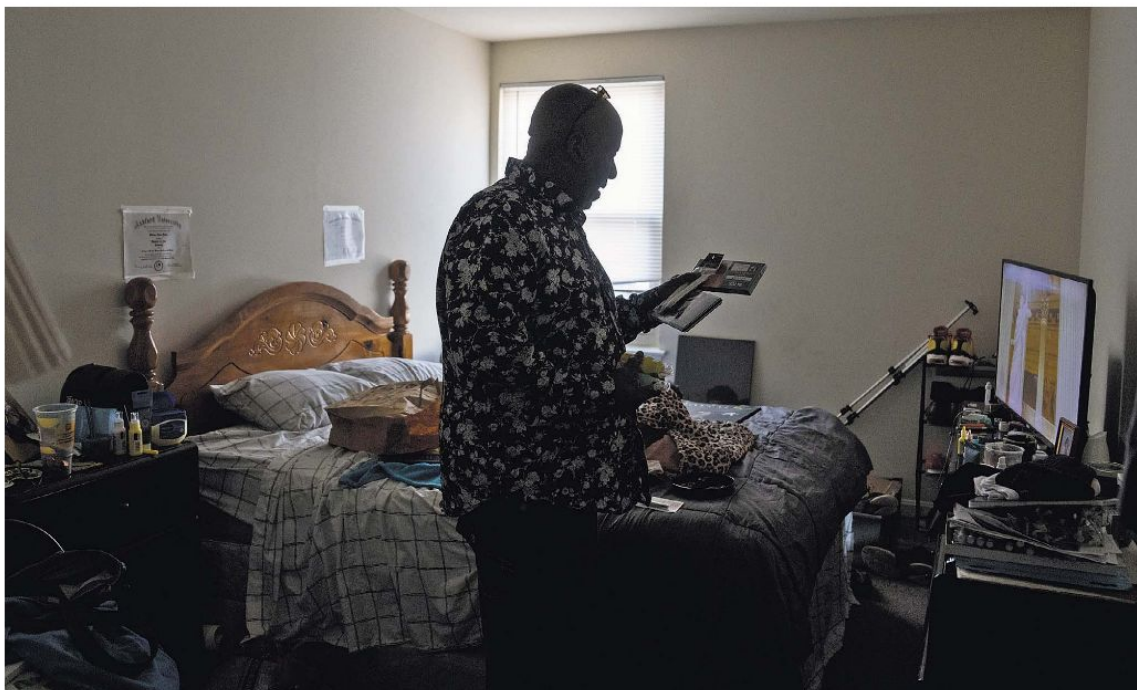
backed down and provided everything that we had asked for on behalf of Marcus," Mr. Leavitt said in a statement.

In a statement, the F.B.I. denied any wrongdoing in the case.

"While we can't comment on the specifics of any settlement, both parties agreed to resolve this matter without either admitting wrongdoing," the bureau said, adding, "The F.B.I. takes seriously

its responsibility to F.B.I. employees who make protected disclosures under whistle-blower regulations, and we are committed to ensuring they are protected from retaliation."

# As Baltimore Struggles With Crisis, Overdoses Claim Forgotten Generation



PHOTOGRAPH BY JESSICA GALLAGHER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

William Baker, 65, lives in the Irvington Place apartment complex in Southwest Baltimore. He said he knew several people at the complex who had died from overdoses from fentanyl and other drugs.

*'The last thing I wanted: for my granddaughter to come in that room and see her grandfather dead.'*

WILLIAM BAKER, who says his life almost ended in the same way as three tenants who overdosed where he lives.

This article is by Nick Thieme, Alissa Zhu and Jessica Gallagher.

BALTIMORE — Larnell Robinson sat at a desk in his cluttered office last September, between a bookshelf full of Bibles and a table stacked with the overdose antidote Narcan. He slid out a list of residents of the West Baltimore high-rise where he was tenant council president — one of dozens of subsidized complexes that house the city's poor seniors. One by one, he began scratching through names, conducting a grim accounting of the dead.

William, 63, killed by fentanyl and found in his ninth-floor unit in February 2023. Richard, 61, discovered in an apartment with multiple drugs in his system two and a half weeks later. David, 68, three days after that, also dead from fentanyl.

And then 59-year-old Glenn, who had lived on Mr. Robinson's floor for years. Known for his willingness to run errands for others, he often biked to the store to get Mr. Robinson cigarettes. But after not seeing Glenn for a day, Mr. Robinson stuck a flyer in his door. When it was still there the next morning, he summoned security.

This was one death, Mr. Robinson said later, that he couldn't bear to witness. "I feel like I work at the morgue sometimes," he said in an interview.

Over the past six years, as Baltimore has endured one of America's deadliest drug epidemics, overdoses have fallen surprisingly hard on one group: Black men currently in their mid-50s to early 70s. While just 7 percent of the city's population, they account for nearly 30 percent of drug fatalities — a death rate 20 times that of the rest of the country.

Black men of that age in the city are more likely to die of overdoses than cancer or Covid at the height of the pandemic; drugs are essentially tied with heart disease for their top killer. "I can't think of another situation like this," said Robert Anderson, chief of statistical analysis and surveillance at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

Those men were part of a little-recognized lost generation, their lives shaped by forces that have animated the city's drug crisis for decades, according to an examination by The New York Times and The Baltimore Banner.

Half a century ago, manufacturing jobs began to disappear in an industrial city where Black families had few other opportunities to build wealth. By 1980, nearly half of Baltimore's Black men under the age of 30 were out of work — a level similar to Black unemployment during the Great Depression.

At the same time, an influx of highly addictive illegal drugs created a lucrative but corrosive shadow economy. Some young people turned to dealing drugs and then using them. Many were arrested and incarcerated, never finding jobs that let them move ahead.

Baltimore's Black men of this generation have been dying of overdoses at some of the highest rates in the country ever since, a Times/Banner analysis found. More than 4,000 have been killed since 1993 amid waves of drugs: first heroin and crack cocaine, then prescription opioids and now fentanyl — the deadliest drug threat America has ever seen.

Though starting numbers of older white men and Black women have been killed as well, it is deaths among this group — Black men born from 1951 to 1970 — that have elevated Baltimore's fatal overdose rate far above other cities.

Many of those men can now afford only subsidized apartments in complexes for senior citizens that residents say are often awash in drugs. Lonely grandparents and retirees who have been fighting their addic-

## A Baltimore Generation Devastated by Drugs

DEATHS PER 100,000

People born from 1951 to 1970 have fatally overdosed at the highest rates in Baltimore.

BORN FROM:

1951-70

1971-90

ALL

1991-2010

1931-50

Source: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention

1993

2022

Within that generation, Black men have far exceeded other demographic groups.

Black men

White men

Black women

White women

1993

2022

MULTIPLY LAUREN KAUBAR, THE NEW YORK TIMES

For decades are suddenly surrounded by illicit temptations, in buildings where buying narcotics can be as easy as walking down the hall.

At least 31 of the 50 addresses where people have fatally overdosed in Baltimore most often since 2018 are advertised as senior housing complexes, according to previously undisclosed autopsy records that The Banner obtained after suing the state's Chief Medical Examiner's Office. More than 340 people over 50 have died in those buildings, including 15 in Mr. Robinson's, Rosemont Tower.

Nonetheless, there has been little targeted outreach to older people by health officials. The Times and The Banner found. The city has concentrated its drug education efforts on the young, and the battle against overdoses in senior buildings has largely been left to people with little expertise — a nonprofit program coordinator here, an apartment manager there.

City health officials told Times/Banner reporters that they had taken steps to address the issue, including training residents at some senior apartments to use naloxone, the generic name for Narcan.

In an interview, Mayor Brandon Scott said that while the city's overdose prevention efforts — which include groups that go into neighborhoods to provide medical care, Narcan and clean syringes — did not target any particular demographic group, they served large numbers of older Black people because they were most affected by addiction.

He said he did not need to consult data for the racial disparities in overdoses to be apparent to him. "As a Black man who lives in Baltimore, I know, because we've seen it on our whole lives," he said.

Joseph Saunders, 62, stopped using drugs two years ago; recently, after his wife died of a heart attack stemming from long-term opioid use, he became a single father to his 13-year-old son. He said he had seen people selling drugs in hallways and on elevators in the senior building where he lives, Monte Verde Apartments. Thirteen people over 50 have died from overdoses there since 2018, the autopsy records show.

"It's supposed to be a safe haven," Mr. Saunders said. Instead it is "just like being out in the streets."

## Worst Instincts

In Southwest Baltimore, down the road from a cemetery, is a brick apartment complex named Irvington Place where women in wheelchairs and on walkers greet nearly everyone who walks in. Wellness checks on Nov. 3 turned up three dead tenants with evidence of fentanyl in their bodies.

In the days after, the maintenance man recalled hearing quiet weeping as he walked the hallways. Somber relatives

sorted through possessions.

And William Baker, 65, known as Al, took stock of his life. He had moved to the building a few months earlier and was friendly with those who died. One was a 74-year-old woman he joked with about needing a girlfriend. Another was a 69-year-old man on Mr. Baker's floor who was always trying to sell things to make extra money. The third was a 65-year-old woman who had shared macaroni and cheese casserole with Mr. Baker.

He added them to his growing tally of people lost to addiction. Not long before, his life had almost ended the same way, he said in an interview.

When Mr. Baker was growing up, his stepfather was a Bethlehem Steel ship welder, and his mother worked at a state-run institution for people with developmental disabilities. But Mr. Baker was separated from his family when he was 12 after repeated arrests for shoplifting and stealing cars. Judges sent him first to a juvenile detention center, then to a foster home. There, he met a drug dealer who taught him how to make a living. He began injecting heroin in his late teens.

He spent much of the next few decades in prison, but he also got married, had two children and did odd jobs like washing cars, painting and cooking fast food. The best-paying work, though, was riding the Greyhound bus from New York City to Baltimore, ferrying duffel bags stuffed with marijuana, heroin and cocaine several times a week, he said. It was not until his 50s that Mr. Baker enrolled in college online, got a psychology degree and worked as an addiction counselor in Philadelphia. After years of sobriety, he relapsed, then suffered a stroke. His family moved him back to Baltimore five years ago, and went through cycles of recovery and drug use, always trying to hide the problem from his grandchildren. "The last thing I wanted: for my granddaughter to come in that room and see her grandfather dead," he said. "All over something he did to himself."

But last August, Mr. Baker collapsed at his dining room table after sniffing some drugs he had bought on a nearby street corner, he said. He would have died if not for a surprise visit from his family. His teenage grandson forced his way into the one-bedroom apartment. Afterward, Mr. Baker enrolled in a treatment program, where he participated in group therapy and got monthly shots of naltrexone, a medication to control drug cravings, he said.

These days, Mr. Baker spends almost all of his time at home with a pencil or paintbrush. He draws commissioned portraits for friends and acquaintances, as well as cartoon greeting cards and vibrant scenes awash in color. One day he hopes to make enough money to help his grandchildren build a better life.

He holds on to one artwork for himself. It depicts a man in a prisoner's orange jumpsuit staring at a chess board and grasping a Bible. His opponent: a thickly muscled Satan. It is Mr. Baker versus his worst instincts, he explained, locked in a match that will not end until he is dead.

Outside his window, the streets came alive at dusk one day last fall. A police cruiser parked on a side street earlier had left, and a drive-through drug market replaced it. Young men leaned into car windows, baggies in one hand and bills in the other. Four cars were waiting in line.

## 'A Lot of It Was Desperation'

In 1960, when Mr. Baker was a year old, Baltimore was a booming city of 930,000, the largest in the United States. The city's Black population had grown by hundreds of



Mr. Baker, who nearly overdosed himself, stays busy by making art, including this painting that he said depicts himself in a struggle against his worst instincts.

Continued on Following Page

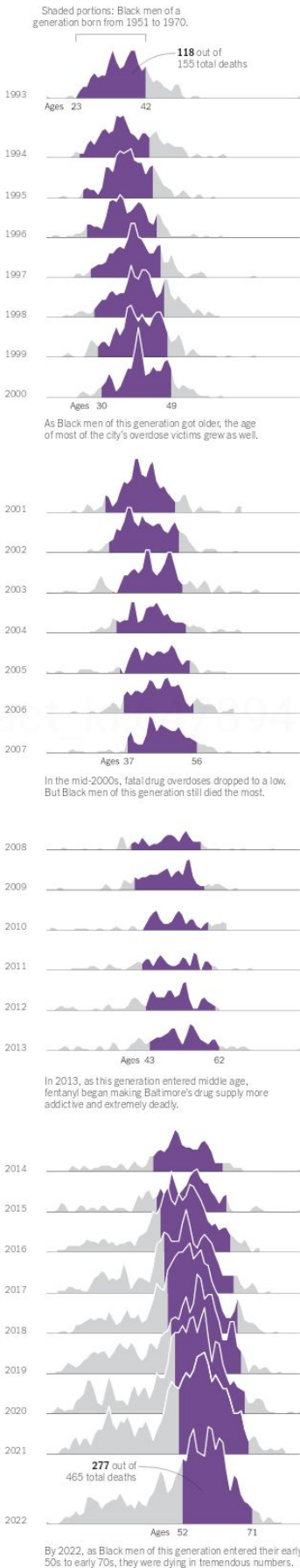
## About the Series

Nick Thieme, Alissa Zhu and Jessica Gallagher are reporters for The Baltimore Banner. This is the second part of a series exploring Baltimore's overdose crisis.

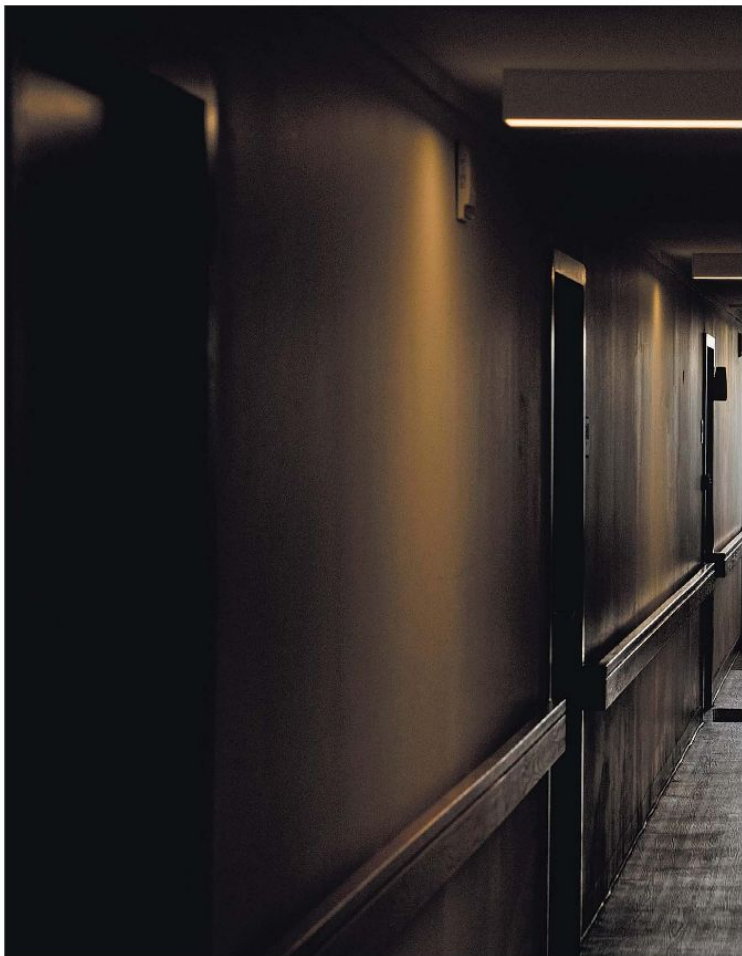
# Plague of Overdoses Claims a Forgotten Generation

## Drug Deaths Among Baltimore's Black Men

These charts show fatal overdoses of Black men, over a 30-year period.



Sources: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (Note: Chart shows two-year rolling averages. Drug overdoses for those under 15 years of age and older than 90 are not shown. MOLLY COOK/CSOBAL, SCOTT REINHARD AND NOX THREME/THE NEW YORK TIMES



Larnell Robinson at Rosemont Towers. He has had neighbors, many of them Black men age 50 to 70, die from overdoses.

### From Preceding Page

thousands during the Great Migration, many moving in search of jobs and a better life away from the racial violence of the Deep South.

Bethlehem Steel, where Mr. Baker's stepfather worked, was right outside the city's steel mill and shipyard employed at their peak more than 30,000 people, building ships for the World Wars and churning out steel used in the construction of the Golden Gate Bridge. The mill was once the largest steel producer in the world.

If Baltimore's prosperity hinged on manufacturing, its decline did, too. The region lost more than 100,000 manufacturing jobs from 1950 to 1995, or about three-quarters of all industrial employment. Large manufacturers of cars, planes, phone cords, bottle caps, beer and ink closed their Baltimore plants. The storied steel mill laid off workers by thousands before shuttering in 2012.

When Sylvester Brown was growing up, his father worked at Domino Sugar, and seven of his aunts and uncles worked at the Bethlehem Steel shipyard. It felt like his extended family was rich, said Mr. Brown, 63. They owned two-story rowhouses and Cadillacs.

Mr. Brown dropped out of high school in the ninth grade, never thinking he would have trouble finding a good job. His relatives told him they would bring him "into the industry" when he turned 18.

But by the late 1970s, the shipyard was not hiring. Some of his family eventually lost their jobs in mass layoffs.

The only work he could find paid little. At 17, working as a part-time cook at a fast-food restaurant, he said, he did not earn enough to cover rent and utilities. Under pressure from his mother to move out, he said, he became a drug dealer, selling heroin and cocaine. He later began using them, too.

"I felt like that was the only thing I could do at the time," said Mr. Brown, who got sober nearly 20 years ago and mentors others trying to recover from drug use. "A lot of it was desperation."

Derrick Wright, 60, grew up a few blocks west of Pennsylvania Avenue, once among the country's premier Black art and entertainment districts, attracting the likes of Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, the Supremes and Ella Fitzgerald.

He recalls the neighborhood as blue-collar and proud; in his youth, neighbors paid him to clean their marble steps with a scrub brush and Ajax.

Today, it is near one of Baltimore's most notorious drug markets. "It's like they dropped a bomb in that area," he said.

Sidewalks are littered with empty drug

vials and used syringes. People get high in public and in the boarded-up vacant buildings that line the streets. There are more 911 calls for overdoses here than anywhere else in the city.

### A Generation Falls Behind

Baltimore was not the only city to suffer during the manufacturing exodus. Philadelphia, Detroit, Chicago and parts of New York had equal or greater rates of joblessness in 1980 among Black men of this generation. In those cities, and others that rapidly lost industrial work, this group also died from overdose in elevated numbers, although that was not true across the nation as a whole, the Times/Banner analysis showed.

But Baltimore stood out, with these men dying at a higher rate over the last three decades here than anywhere else.

Sudden and widespread unemployment can create lifelong disadvantages, decades of research has shown, associated with early deaths from overdose, alcohol and smoking.

The setbacks are often strongest for the people coming of age when the downturn occurs. The prior generation is more likely to keep their jobs, and workers born later have new options, said Hannes Schwandt, a Northwestern professor who studies the effects of such economic shifts. Young people entering the job market during recessions go on to die from drugs and alcohol more often than others, with the most pronounced effects emerging in their 50s, Dr. Schwandt's research found.

This result is what epidemiologists call a cohort effect: a disease or disparity that is especially common among people born at

the same time. Using a statistical model, Times/Banner reporters found such an effect among overdoses for Black people in Baltimore, but not for white people, or older or younger Black people.

Racial tensions — and, at times, overtly racist policies — also made it harder for Black people of this generation to recover, according to historians and interviews with dozens of people alive in that era.

As better-paying jobs moved to the suburbs, benefiting white families who had fled the city in large numbers since at least the 1960s, some Baltimore County leaders used discriminatory zoning practices to discourage Black families from following. The city became increasingly poor.

City redevelopment projects destroyed certain Black communities, uprooting more than 10 percent of the city's population. By the early 1980s, Baltimore's young adults had some of the lowest high-school graduation rates in America. In 2001, Maryland imprisoned the third-highest percentage of drug offenders in the United States — the vast majority of them Black. Nearly all the seniors interviewed for this article had been incarcerated.

### Dangerous Samples

Today many poor seniors have little choice but to live in privately run, publicly subsidized homes. Some also include younger residents with disabilities. Several of the buildings are former public housing projects.

Drugs in recent years have become more deadly for the elderly all over the country. Aging bodies may have a harder time processing narcotics, and doctors often fail to diagnose their addiction.



Boxes of Narcan at an office at Rosemont Tower in Baltimore. The battle against overdoses in senior buildings has mostly been left to those with little expertise.



PHOTOGRAPH BY JESSICA CALAGHAN, THE BALTIMORE BANNER, FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

In Baltimore, fentanyl began to enter the city's drug supply in the mid-2010s, and the pace of overdose deaths in the senior homes quickened. Then the pandemic hit. Residents were isolated, with nowhere to go and nothing to do, and illicit drugs were readily available.

The number of deaths shot up. Seventy-seven people died from overdoses in senior homes in 2023, more than double the number from 2019, the autopsy records show. Ambulances rushed to some complexes multiple times a day. At MonteVerde, a manager recalled, emergency workers received five people in a single weekend. While visiting Rosemont Tower in August, Times/Banner reporters saw a woman collapse outside the building in what appeared to be an overdose; she was carted away in an ambulance.

In November, after Mr. Baker's three neighbors died at Irvington Place, a rumor spread in the building that they had taken bad "testers," or free samples given out by dealers — both a risky marketing ploy and a way to gauge the potency of freshly mixed batches of drugs. A spokeswoman for the Baltimore Police Department said the investigations into the deaths were open.

Dealers "target" senior apartments like Irvington Place because they know residents are vulnerable, said Cherese Rogers, who leads group counseling sessions at a treatment program down the street from the building. "At least once a month they get some money," she said, referring to government benefits.

Relatives of two of the people who died said they were surprised to learn that fentanyl had been involved. They knew the women had used drugs when young, they said, but thought they had stopped decades ago.

One of the women had complained about the drug trade in the building.

"She told me it was something that disgusted her, to see that kind of stuff going on among seniors," her daughter recalled.

Her family celebrated her birthday by attending a play with her about Billie Holiday. One month later, they were packing up her apartment.

### Few Efforts to Target Seniors

In Baltimore's poor neighborhoods, it is common knowledge that fentanyl is exacting a steep toll on seniors who have long wrestled with addiction. Even so, the cumulative impact of drugs on this generation has not drawn wider attention from government officials, health experts or social scientists.

In a 2022 report, a state task force looking into racial disparities identified Black people 55 and older as the fastest-rising demographic in overdose deaths. In another report that year, state health officials pledged to work together to "further understand these trends" and find solutions. They made

the same promise again a year later.

The task force's recommendations — steps like additional training and expanding efforts to help Black people access opioid addiction medication — have been largely untouched, said Dr. Aliya Jones, who led the group as a deputy secretary of the state's Behavioral Health Administration from 2020 to 2022.

Dr. Jones said understanding the history of addiction among a generation had important public health implications, such as helping health care providers screen the right people.

In an interview, Dr. Laura Herrera Scott, Maryland's health secretary since 2023, said the state had not studied the larger pattern of deaths among this generation.

"Our data or our funding is not targeted to those individuals," she said, adding that the state was beginning to use data to focus its efforts, and would examine this group more closely to determine what kinds of services it needs.

The state Health Department subsequently said that it had awarded a \$30,000 grant to hire recovery specialists for one of the city's hardest-hit senior buildings, would consider other recommendations and planned to publish progress reports.

Last week, The Times and The Banner reported that Baltimore's initial public health response to rising overdoses was hailed as a national model, but efforts began to stall as other crises preoccupied leaders. Even as spending on addiction treatment for poor patients in the city's sprawling behavioral health system skyrocketed, the number of people getting treatment dropped. The death rate rose to the highest level ever seen in a major American city.

In a statement, the city said that the Health Department had been examining deaths in senior buildings and overdose data related to older adults for a year and a half, "with a large focus on identifying exactly who is overdosing at those locations." It also said it had held naloxone trainings at 13 senior buildings in 2023 and six buildings so far this year.

Last year, a city Health Department spokesman declined repeated requests for an interview, calling overdoses among seniors a "niche topic." The health commissioner, Dr. Ihuoma Emenuga, who took office in March, also declined to speak to Times/Banner reporters.

In a more recent interview, Mr. Scott, the mayor, rejected the spokesman's characterization. "Overdose is not a niche topic for me," he said.

He said the city needed to focus on factors that contribute to addiction by investing in stable housing and providing employment and educational opportunities.

When Black men are "denied jobs, denied good education, denied the opportunity to be trained in any of the places that other folks are working, this is what you get," he added.

### Going It Alone

As early as 2019, ambulances were coming to City View at McCulloch Homes multiple times a day, said Shanda Brown, a regional director at the Community Builders, the nonprofit that owns the building, a 350-unit former public housing project.

She recalls sitting in her ground-floor office and crying as she watched bodies being carried out past her window. Ms. Brown pored over security reports and discovered

that fatal overdoses were shockingly frequent.

Three miles away, at MonteVerde Apartments, more of the building's tenants turned to drugs and fell behind on rent in the isolation and stress of the pandemic, said Cindy Rozon, senior director of residents services for Affordable Homes & Communities, the nonprofit that owns the apartments.

For years, Ms. Rozon thought overdoses were a problem unique to the building until learning otherwise from Times/Banner reporters. She wondered why she had never heard from health officials.

"It's alarming," she said, "and shows more work needs to happen."

At both buildings, managers took matters into their own hands. They came up with plans and searched for money, each receiving \$250,000 in grants from an affordable housing nonprofit. At MonteVerde, managers used that money to start regular group therapy sessions and convert a game room into offices for full-time addiction treatment specialists. At City View, residents now have peer recovery coaches, transportation to drug treatment appointments and group outings to help them feel connected to the community. Ambulances have been coming less often, Ms. Brown.

Ryan Carter, 58, quit heroin last year by enrolling in a methadone program and a few blocks away and filled his days with watching action movies in his spartan one-bedroom apartment. But the boredom got to him one day in March and he used drugs again. As he has continued in treatment, the fashion shows for seniors and cookouts hosted by City View help. "It gives me other things to do instead of just lying around," he said.

But the grants are for a limited time, the managers said, and they will have to find new ways to help their residents.

At Rosemont Tower, Mr. Robinson, the tenant council president, has not heard of any suspected drug deaths in the last few months. He wonders if a recent change has helped. The building's managers arranged for a treatment program to hold group sessions there a few days a week and take residents on outings.

Between overdoses and other deaths in the building, he figures he has seen well over a dozen bodies. Some he watched being wheeled through the halls, but others he discovered while accompanying the maintenance staff on wellness checks. They found one neighbor sitting up on his couch, a small capybara for cooking drugs laid out in front of him. Others were long dead. The memories weigh on him.

He himself had once been addicted to heroin, slept at bus stops and been pistol-whipped by drug dealers. When he feels overwhelmed, he sits alone in his living room beside a few boxes of Nalcan, underneath a sign he lettered with words of encouragement to himself: "We do recover."



ROSEMONT TOWERS | 15 DEATHS SINCE 2018

Building managers arranged for a treatment program to come to the apartments a few days a week to hold group sessions.



IRVINGTON PLACE | 6 DEATHS

After three deaths in November, a rumor spread that it was bad samples handed out by dealers. The case is open, the police said.



CITY VIEW AT MCCULLOCH HOMES | 18 DEATHS

As early as 2019, ambulances were coming to the complex multiple times a day, according to the nonprofit that owns the building.

### About the Analysis

The Times and The Banner analyzed anonymized data about every death in the United States between 1989 and 2022 from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. The data, obtained under an academic license through the reporter Nick Triemse's affiliation with Columbia University, shows demographics and causes of death. Fatalities from 1989 through 2020 were collected from a separate data set the C.D.C. publishes.

Fatality rates in this article measure deaths that occurred in Baltimore, not deaths of Baltimore residents. For that reason, totals will differ from those in the C.D.C.'s online database, C.D.C. Wonder, which measures deaths by place of residence and also excludes deaths of people who live in U.S. territories or outside the United States.

Baltimore's older Black men were compared with demographic groups across the country by year of death, race, sex and county. The analysis grouped people born between 1931 and 1950, 1951 and 1970, 1971 and 1990, and after 1990 into buckets.

To reveal the effect a birth cohort had on overdose mortality, The Times and The Banner used a statistical model to separate the impact of age, death year and birth year from other demographic factors. This technique, known as age-period-cohort modeling, is commonly used in epidemiology, and the modeling methods were reviewed by four experts in this type of analysis. The model showed that Baltimore's cohort of Black men born between 1951 and 1970 overdosed at significantly higher rates than other generations of Black men. Using age-adjusted death rates did not change the results.

Reporters identified deaths in senior homes using autopsy data from the Maryland Office of the Chief Medical Examiner, which was obtained by The Banner in a lawsuit. Senior homes were identified from the Baltimore City Department of Aging's list of public housing options; those in the federal Rental Assistance Demonstration program, which also accept younger people with disabilities; or those advertising themselves as senior-only buildings.



Lamell Robinson at his office at Rosemont Tower. Between overdoses and other deaths, Mr. Robinson estimates that he has seen well over a dozen bodies.

# Arizona Republicans Add Immigration Measure to November Ballot

By JACK HEALY

PHOENIX — Republican lawmakers in Arizona voted on Tuesday to put a ballot measure before voters in November that would make unlawfully crossing the border from Mexico a state crime. The proposal would give local police officers the power to arrest and jail unauthorized migrants, and would allow state judges to order deportations.

While immigration is the focus of campaigns across the country, the measure in Arizona is significant because it places the border crisis directly onto the ballot in a swing state that is seen as crucial in the presidential race.

Republicans are betting it will fire up anti-immigration conservatives and draw in otherwise unenthusiastic independents. And it could sit on a potentially crowded ballot, along with a measure protecting abortion rights, which Democrats hope will draw out more voters on their side.

The measure passed 31-29 along party lines. In floor speeches, Democrats called it an ineffective and racially biased measure that would break up immigrant families and hurt the state's economy and reputation. Republicans focused on overdose deaths and migrants accused of murders, and called the ballot measure a necessary response to an unchecked "invasion."

"The federal government has lost control," said Representative John Gillette, a Republican. "We must act."

Outside the Capitol, immigrant-rights supporters waved signs saying "No hate" and shouted their opposition in a last-ditch effort to pressure lawmakers to kill the measure, saying it would break up families and spread fear. But the viewing gallery inside the Arizona House was silent and empty. Republican leaders took the unusual step of closing it, citing the risk of disruption. Democratic lawmakers accused Republicans of hiding from the public.

If voters pass the border enforcement measure in November, it would mark a sharp U-turn for a state that has moderated its approach to immigration since the era when Sheriff Joe Arpaio of Maricopa County carried out raids and traffic stops that critics criticized as racial profiling.

In recent years, Arizona voters have approved in-state tuition rates for undocumented students and have rejected immigration law. But the measure, which was ousted in 2016, and former President Donald J. Trump.

But Republicans say they believe voters are ready to embrace their new crackdown, because they are fed up with seeing thousands of migrants camped along the border wall and the growing death toll fromentanyl smuggled across the border.

Record numbers of migrant crossings have angered Democratic leaders and voters in cities like New York and Chicago, as well as Republicans, and have become a major re-election liability for President Biden. On Tuesday, Mr. Biden issued an executive order that would let him close the border when crossings surge.

Opponents say the Arizona ballot measure will do nothing to improve border security or prevent asylum seekers from arriving. Instead, they say, it will replicate the paranoia and turmoil that Latino and immigrant communities experienced after Gov. Jan Brewer signed S.B. 1070, a divisive state immigration-enforcement law passed by Republicans in 2010. That measure, which came to be known as the "show me your papers law," sparked years of protests and litigation, and has since been partially struck down.

Arizona's new ballot measure is similar to laws passed by Republicans in Texas and Iowa that challenged the federal government's



ARIZONA JOURNAL/ASA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Migrants at the U.S.-Mexico border near Lukeville, Ariz. "Given the lack of control of the border, I just feel it's something the state has to resolve," State Senator Ken Bennett, left, a Republican, said.



ARIZONA JOURNAL/ASA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

exclusive power to enforce immigration laws. The Biden administration has sued to block the Texas and Iowa laws, calling them unconstitutional.

Politicians on both sides said they expected the proposed Arizona law to face legal challenges if voters pass it. Gov. Katie Hobbs, a Democrat, has denounced the effort, but she does not have the power to block Republicans from sending the measure to voters.

The measure, which would need a simple majority to pass, is called the Secure the Border Act. Along with the policing provisions, it would increase sentences for anyone who sells fentanyl that results in an overdose death, and would make it a state crime for undocumented workers to provide false information to the E-Verify screening system.

"This would certainly help draw Republican voters out," said Mark Lamb, a cowboy-hatted sheriff from a conservative county south of Phoenix who is running in the Republican primary for the U.S. Senate. He had concerns about the measure's price tag but said he would ultimately vote for it.

Democratic activists said the measure could backfire by stirring up a wave of opposition from Latino voters and suburban moderates worried about the damage to immigrant families and Arizona's reputation and economy.

Arizona's population is 32 percent Latino, and many voters still

have searing memories of S.B. 1070.

On a recent 100-degree Saturday, dozens of Latinos opposed to the measure gathered on the lawn outside the State Capitol to trade stories about how they had lived in fear and paranoia under S.B. 1070 and had seen immigration agents at their front doors. Shad-

ing their children under parasols and olive trees, they shouted the old farmworkers' union slogan "Si se puede!" — "Yes we can!" — and urged their neighbors to start organizing to register voters and defeat the ballot measure.

Business groups, the Arizona Hispanic Chambers of Commerce and religious leaders have come out against the new measure. A study by the Grand Canyon Institute, a Phoenix-based research group, estimated that enforcing the law would cost Arizona \$325 million a year for extra law enforcement hours and jail costs.

Even some border towns are opposing it. They argue that enforcing immigration law is the federal government's job.

"We're dead against it," said Nieves Riedel, the mayor of San Luis, a small Arizona city that sits directly along the border wall. She said the city's police force was al-

ready short 57 officers and could not handle the cost and time it would take to arrest hundreds of migrants. Sheriffs and prosecutors say local courts and jails would be overwhelmed.

"There's only so much we can do," Ms. Riedel said. "Our policemen and women are not federal agents. They're not trained."

What's going to happen to our safety and security if they're acting like Border Patrol agents?"

Mark Dannels, the sheriff of conservative Cochise County, has been one of Mr. Biden's staunchest critics along the border, but he said the measure would amount to little more than a giant new job for his officers with no new funding.

"How the heck are we going to do this?" he said. "We don't have the budget. We don't have the resources."

But conservative border ranchers like Fred Davis said Arizona

had to do something. He often sees law enforcement officers chasing suspected human traffickers down the highway that bisects his ranch near Tombstone, and he regularly calls the Border Patrol to report migrants emerging from desert washes and thick brush near his property.

Republican lawmakers say the proposed law would allow the local sheriff to charge migrants like those with illegal entry — a misdemeanor for a first offense and a felony punishable by years in prison for anyone already convicted of entering illegally.

"Given the lack of control of the border, I just feel it's something the state has to resolve," said State Senator Ken Bennett, a Republican who voted for the measure.

He said the law was narrowly focused on border enforcement and would require the police to witness someone crossing the border or have a recording to make an arrest.

But immigrant-rights activists said "any other constitutionally sufficient" probable cause would give law enforcement officers free rein to arrest unauthorized immigrants anywhere in Arizona.

Immigrant activists are already rallying against the measure but said they were worried it could easily pass in a state where many voters are upset about the surge in migrants.

Irayda Flores, a seafood importer in Phoenix who was born in Mexico and is part of the American Business Immigration Coalition, which opposes the ballot measure, said she had spent years worried about losing her legal status as she fought to get permanent residency. Now, she said, she is disheartened that her immigrant employees or her son could face the same fears.

"We're going back" to a worse time, she said. "The immigrant community, we pay taxes, we bring a lot to the table. And they treat us like criminals."

Legal scholars have debated for years the meaning of those words. When the Supreme Court upheld Mr. Trump's travel ban, Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. wrote that the provision "excludes deference to the president in every clause. The American Civil Liberties Union said the court's ruling in that case was wrong and "stands among its greatest failures, reminiscent of its decisions allowing the discriminatory incarceration of Japanese Americans."

In February, Mr. Miller said Mr. Trump should use the provision in a "muscular" way during a class of aliens as immigrants or nonimmigrants, or impose on the entry of aliens any restrictions he may deem to be appropriate."

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Protesters heading for a rally against the proposal in Phoenix on Saturday. Opponents say the measure would do nothing to improve border security or prevent asylum seekers from arriving.

## NEWS ANALYSIS

### An Echo of Trump as Biden Restricts Migration on the Southern Border

From Page A1

For years, Democrats like Mr. Biden and his allies assailed Mr. Trump for his obsession with closing the border. Kamala Harris denounced him in 2017, saying that "we can't turn our backs on the millions of refugees." In 2018, Democratic lawmakers accused Mr. Trump of stoking "the fires of bigotry" by seeking an end to asylum. In 2020, Hakeem Jeffries, now at the top of the Democratic House, called Mr. Trump the "Xenophobic, In Chief."

But the politics of immigration have shifted as record numbers of migrants have crossed into border communities and spread to cities far beyond. Mr. Biden has adjusted accordingly. Sensing that Americans want tougher policies, the president backed restrictive measures in bipartisan legislation this year. After Mr. Trump called on Republicans to kill that measure, Mr. Biden and his advisers felt compelled to find another way.

The president has rallied many

Democrats behind the approach, which he announced just hours before leaving Washington for a five-day visit to Paris for D-Day celebrations. Mr. Biden blames Republicans for creating the way of broader efforts to overhaul the immigration system, and many mayors and governors in his party say the time has come to finally do something to address the surge of migration into their cities.

The proclamation that Mr. Biden signed on Tuesday declared that asylum rights should be suspended whenever migration surged past a certain number. He then set the threshold low enough — at an average of 2,500 migrants each day — that the suspension would be prompted right away, starting at 12:01 a.m. on Wednesday.

In fact, that threshold has been exceeded almost every day for nearly a year, thanks to a wave of global migration fueled by climate change, economic instability and political violence around the world. And even though it is lower than the peak of 10,000

migrants last December, it remains far higher than the average of about 1,000 migrants each day a decade ago. The restrictions will not apply to minors who cross the border alone and a small number of people who legitimately fear being tortured or persecuted in their home country, officials said.

Mr. Biden and the aides running his campaign are betting that voters will reward the president for newly aggressive efforts to limit the number of people crossing into the country illegally. They hope the move will relieve pressure on Democratic cities like New York and Denver, which are struggling to feed and house migrants.

And they believe the actions will give Mr. Biden a potent retort to Republicans, who have long accused Democrats of being weak on the border.

But the move is certain to inflame some of Mr. Biden's supporters, too, especially those on the left who have already expressed frustration with the president on a range of other

issues, like student loans and climate change.

Mr. Biden and his aides bristle at the accusation that they are following in Mr. Trump's footsteps.

The president correctly notes that he has ruled out some of his predecessor's extreme policies,

such as separating children from their parents at the border to send a message to migrants that they should not come to the United States. On his first day in office, Mr. Biden proposed an immigration overhaul that would have provided a pathway to citizenship for millions of immigrants. Republicans refused to consider the proposal.

"I will never demonize immi-

grants," Mr. Biden said at the White House on Tuesday. "I'll never refer to immigrants as poisoning the blood of a country. And further, I'll never separate children from their families at the border. I will not ban people from this country because of their religious beliefs."

But the new measures are a sharp crackdown.

One measure included in the president's proclamation on Tuesday prohibits migrants from entering the United States for five years — even through a legal pathway — if they have been caught trying to enter illegally while the president's asylum ban is in place.

Mr. Biden has also reached the same conclusion as Mr. Trump and Mr. Miller when it comes to the source of their legal authority to take executive action to prevent migration.

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# In Shift, Biden Orders Border Shut at Times; A.C.L.U. Vows to Sue

**President Moves to Halt Surges of Migrants, But Rejects Comparisons to Trump's Actions**

By ZOLAN KANNO-YOUNG and HAMED ALEAZIZ

WASHINGTON — President Biden issued an executive order on Tuesday that prevents migrants from seeking asylum at the U.S.-Mexico border when crossing in surges, a dramatic election-year move to ease pressure on the immigration system and address a major concern among voters.

The measure is the most restrictive border policy instituted by Mr. Biden, or any other modern Democrat, and echoes an effort in 2018 by President Donald J. Trump to cut off migration that was blocked in federal court.

In remarks at the White House, Mr. Biden said he was forced to take executive action because Republicans had blocked bipartisan legislation that had some of the most significant border security restrictions Congress had considered in years.

"We must face a simple truth," said the president, who was joined by a group of lawmakers and mayors from border communities. "To protect America as a land that welcomes immigrants, we must first secure the border and secure it now."

Aware that the policy raised uncomfortable comparisons, Mr. Biden took pains to distinguish his actions from those of Mr. Trump. "We continue to work closely with our Mexican neighbors instead of attacking them," Mr. Biden said. He said he would never refer to immigrants as "poisoning the blood" of the country, as Mr. Trump has done.

Still, the move shows how drastically the politics of immigration have shifted to the right in the United States. Polls suggest there is support in both parties for border measures once denounced by Democrats and championed by Mr. Trump as the number of people crossing into the country has reached record levels in recent years.

Mr. Biden's executive action was set to go into effect at 12:01 a.m. on Wednesday, at which point border officers could return migrants across the border into Mexico or to their home countries within hours of days.

The American Civil Liberties Union said it planned to challenge the executive action in court.

"The administration has left us little choice but to sue," said Lee Gelert, a lawyer at the A.C.L.U., which led the charge against the Trump administration's attempt

to block asylum in 2018 and resulted in the policy being stopped by federal courts. "It was unlawful under Trump and is no less illegal now."

Assuming it survives legal challenges, the policy takes in once the seven-day average for daily illegal crossings hits 2,500 — a regular occurrence now. The border would reopen only after the figure drops to 1,500 for seven days in a row and stays that way for two weeks.

That is a significant shift in how asylum has worked for years.

Typically, migrants who cross illegally and claim asylum are released into the United States to wait for court appearances, where they can plead their cases. But a huge backlog means those cases can take years to come up.

The new system is designed to deter those illegal crossings.

There would be limited exceptions to the restrictions announced Tuesday, including for minors who cross the border alone, victims of human trafficking and those who use a Customs and Border Protection app to schedule an appointment with a border officer to request asylum.

But for the most part, the order suspends longtime guarantees that give anyone who steps onto U.S. soil the right to seek a safe haven.

The executive action mirrors the legislation that Republicans blocked in February, saying it was not strong enough. Many of them, egged on by Mr. Trump, were looking to give Mr. Biden a legislative victory in an election year.

"Donald Trump begged them to vote 'no' because he was worried that more border enforcement would hurt him politically," Andrew Bates, a White House spokesman, said in a statement on Tuesday. He added: "The American people want bipartisan solutions to border security — not cynical political games."

Immigration advocates and some progressive Democrats have expressed concern that Mr. Biden was abandoning his promise to rebuild the asylum system. By revoking Trump's asylum ban, President Biden has undermined American values and abandoned our nation's obligations to provide people fleeing persecution with a safe haven. Mr. Biden's action is an opportunity to seek refuge in the U.S., said Senator Alex Padilla, Democrat of California.

Mr. Biden said that those who



PAUL RAZE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



ROD LAUREY JR. FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**'To protect America as a land that welcomes immigrants, we must first secure the border and secure it now.'**

PRESIDENT BIDEN, whose order restricts asylum seekers during surges.

believe his latest restrictions are too strict should be "patient." He said in the coming weeks he would speak about "how we can make our immigration system more fair and more just."

Tuesday's decision is a stark turnaround for Mr. Biden, who came into office attacking Mr. Trump for his efforts to restrict asylum. During a 2019 debate, Mr. Biden, then a candidate running against Mr. Trump for the first time, excoriated his rival's policies.

"This is the first president in the history of the United States of America that anybody seeking

asylum has to do it in another country," Mr. Biden said at the time.

Mr. Trump tried several times to close the U.S. border to asylum seekers, succeeding only in 2020 when he used a Covid-era emergency rule to seal the border to most migrants.

Immigration has proved to be a huge political vulnerability for Mr. Biden, reaching a crisis in December, when about 10,000 people a day were making their way into the United States.

Biden administration officials, panicked over those numbers, pressed Mexico to do more to curb

migrants looking to cross the Rio Grande into Texas this week. President Biden ordered that asylum seekers be limited to 2,500 a day. Mr. Biden said on Tuesday that he was forced to take executive action because bipartisan legislation had been blocked.

migration. Mexican officials have since used charter flights and buses to move migrants deeper south and away from the United States.

The number of people crossing has plunged since then, though the numbers are still historically high. On Sunday, more than 3,500 people crossed without authorization, in line with the trends of recent weeks, according to a person with knowledge of the data.

Even with the executive order in place, migrants could still apply for other protections designed for those who can prove they will be tortured in their home country. But that screening has a much higher bar than asylum and as a result, administration officials said they do not expect many migrants to be screened into the United States.

People who cross illegally and do not qualify for those other protections would be subject to a five-year prohibition on entering the United States.

White House officials believe the order provides Mr. Biden an opportunity to take Republicans to task for dooming the bipartisan bill. That legislation also would have provided billions to the Homeland Security Department for more border officers and immigration judges.

Mr. Biden cannot provide those resources through executive action. White House officials for

weeks said they preferred legislation over presidential proclamation because it would be more lasting and less exposed to a court challenge.

The order also comes with some political risks. Republicans have questioned why Mr. Biden did not take unilateral action at the border sooner. In January, he told reporters that he had "done all I can do" at the border and that he needed help from Congress.

"It's all about show, because he knows we have a debate coming up in three weeks," Mr. Trump said Tuesday on social media.

As Mr. Biden considered whether to take executive action in recent months, his administration has taken smaller steps to try to control those backlogs.

In May, the administration proposed a rule change that would allow officers to quickly identify people who are ineligible for asylum, such as those who have been convicted of serious crimes. Currently, they may be allowed to enter the country and wait months, or often years, for asylum proceedings. The proposal must go through a 30-day public comment period.

The U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services also issued a warning in May instructing asylum officers to consider whether applicants could find refuge in their own countries before coming to the United States.

## Kennedy Faces Big Hurdle as Deadline to Qualify for Presidential Debate Nears

By CHRIS CAMERON and REBECCA DAVIS O'BRIEN

President Biden's campaign has been clear: He will debate former President Donald J. Trump only one-on-one.

He hasn't stopped Robert F. Kennedy Jr. from trying.

As the deadline to qualify for the June 27 debate draws closer, Mr. Kennedy, who is running for president as an independent, has said he's confident he can still meet host CNN's requirements, while ramping up accusations that the news organization rigged the process. Last week, in an escalation of his pressure campaign on the host network, he filed a Federal Election Commission complaint against CNN, saying that it had colluded with the Biden and Trump campaigns to exclude Mr. Kennedy from the debate in violation of campaign finance law.

"CNN adopted criteria that they believed would keep me off the stage," Mr. Kennedy said in an interview that aired last week, adding that the network was also interpreting those criteria in a way that "weights them towards the candidates they want on the stage."

CNN has denied the accusations. But Mr. Kennedy's rivals do have a point of interest in shutting him out, as the New York Times previously reported. Mr. Kennedy is drawing support away from both Mr. Biden and Mr. Trump, and both campaigns are concerned about the potential for him to swing the election in key battleground states.

In at least one respect, Mr. Kennedy has reason for optimism. Recent polling has positioned Mr. Kennedy closer to qualifying for

the debate stage than any third-party candidate in more than three decades. Mr. Kennedy must earn at least 15 percent support in four approved national polls by June 20 to qualify for the debate.

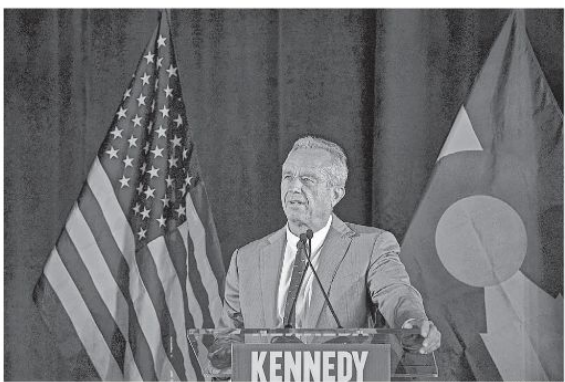
He currently has three of those qualifying polls, one from CNN, one from Quinnipiac University and one from Marquette University Law School.

But there's probably a bigger hurdle: For an independent or third-party candidate to appear onstage with Mr. Biden and Mr. Trump, that candidate "must appear on a sufficient number of state ballots to reach the 270 electoral vote threshold to win the presidency," according to the rules published by CNN. In other words, Mr. Kennedy must be officially be on the ballot in enough states that — if he won them all — the vote total would amount to a majority in the Electoral College.

Mr. Kennedy currently has less than a third of that threshold, according to an analysis by the New York Times, and CNN's June 20 deadline has put his campaign on a ticking clock.

Ballot access has been central to Mr. Kennedy's independent bid from the beginning, and his campaign embarked early on a sprawling bid to qualify for the November ballot in all 50 states. His team has spent millions on consultants, paid petitioners and aggressive law action. Deploying a multi-pronged strategy of gathering signatures to meet state requirements and wooing small political parties that already have ballot access to adopt Mr. Kennedy's name to the state ballot.

But another part of the campaign's strategy in some cases has been to deliberately slow-walk the filing of paperwork with election officials, in order to give his opponents less time to challenge his petitions. The Times reported. Though some states give candidates until August or September to file their ballot petitions, CNN's deadline to qualify for the debate stage is a week before the event.



RAEHL WOLF FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Robert F. Kennedy Jr., who is running as an independent, has said he is confident he can still meet host CNN's requirements, while ramping up accusations that the organization rigged the process.

Stefanie Spear, a spokeswoman for the Kennedy campaign, said on Monday that the campaign was planning to file ballot petitions in other states in the coming weeks, in an effort to qualify for the debate. But CNN has previously said that "the mere application for ballot access" does not count as being on the ballot in that state.

Mr. Kennedy's sophisticated ballot access operation has, so far, officially gotten him on the ballot in only six states — California, Utah, Hawaii, Oklahoma, Michigan and Delaware — totaling 89 electoral college votes. That leaves him with only about a third of the votes needed, and racing against the clock to make up the difference with a little more than two weeks to go.

The campaign says he has qualified for the ballot in 11 other states, where it has filed petitions — often with tens of thousands of signatures, or the backing of a mi-

nor party — but where its status has not yet been confirmed by the state. Nebraska, Texas, North Carolina, South Carolina, Idaho, Nevada, Ohio, New Hampshire, Iowa, New York and New Jersey.

If all of those additional states were approved, that would be 149 more votes, bringing Mr. Kennedy's total to 238. But there is no guarantee that will happen — and certainly no guarantee that it will happen in time for the June 27 debate.

State officials could block the effort, citing problems with the petitions, or the Democratic or Republican parties could take action against the campaign.

On Monday, the Kennedy campaign sued Nevada, where state officials had said in March that the campaign's ballot petition was invalid because it had been submitted earlier this year without a vice-presidential running mate.

The Kennedy campaign has

complained that the ballot access requirement to participate had set an unfair double standard for Mr. Kennedy, asserting that neither Mr. Biden nor Mr. Trump would qualify under those rules because they have not been officially nominated by their respective parties. Amari Fox, Mr. Kennedy's campaign manager, has said that "the 270 threshold is nonsensical."

In a statement, CNN rejected that framing, saying that "as the presumptive nominees of their parties both Biden and Trump will satisfy" the ballot access requirement, adding that "as an independent candidate, under applicable laws R.F.K. Jr. does not."

Ms. Spear said that she expected Mr. Kennedy's ballot petitions in New York and Texas to be approved by the June 20 deadline, and that the campaign was not concerned about legal challenges to its ballot access operation. A spokeswoman for the New York

State Board of Elections also said Monday that a decision on Mr. Kennedy's ballot access was not likely to come until late summer. The petition, submitted last week, has been met with a dozen challenges from residents, state records show. Those challenges, which will be detailed in filings due later this week, will have to be reviewed before the petition is approved or rejected.

One route to quick ballot access is through the nomination of minor parties, which is how Mr. Kennedy got on the ballot in California and Michigan.

But even that is not foolproof: Mr. Kennedy had been nominated last month by the Reform Party — the party founded by Ross Perot — which the campaign celebrated as its ticket to getting on the ballot in Florida. But the Reform Party's status as a registered political party in Florida was revoked last year because it failed to comply with a state audit. The party has applied to be reinstated, but it is unclear when or if that application will be approved by the state.

In most other states, there are no available minor parties for Mr. Kennedy to run with.

The polling requirement could still be an issue for Mr. Kennedy, too, as the clock ticks down.

In addition to polls from CNN, Quinnipiac University and Marquette University Law School, CNN will also accept polls from ABC News, CBS News, Fox News, Monmouth University, NBC News, The New York Times/Siena College, NPR/PBS NewsHour, MPR College, The Wall Street Journal, and The Washington Post, as long as Mr. Kennedy shows at least 15 percent support. But it is difficult to predict if and when Mr. Kennedy could get a fourth qualifying poll, in part because his support varies so widely among the approved polls.

The Times's national poll from April, for example, showed Mr. Kennedy at just 2 percent support, while the Marquette poll in May had him at 17 percent.

**He must be on enough state ballots to reach 270 electoral votes.**

# Among People With Criminal Records, Complex Feelings About Trump

By SHAILA DEWAN

Some Democratic leaders are eager to make former President Donald J. Trump's new identity as a convicted criminal central to their pitch to voters on why he is unfit for office. At the same time, there has been a movement on the left for years to end the stigma of criminal records and point out grave issues in the country's legal system.

That is why in the wake of the news last week that a New York jury had found Mr. Trump guilty of 34 felony counts of falsifying business records, there were complex and personal reactions among the millions of Americans who have also been convicted of felonies.

They debated whether the former president's convictions made him one of them or only underscored how unlike them he was, and discussed their mixed feelings over hearing an entire country discuss the ramifications of having a rap sheet.

"He's convicted, so now he's in our community," said Rahim Buford, 33, who also has a felony conviction on his record.

Mr. Buford believes that neither Democrats nor Republicans have done enough to address significant parts of America's criminal justice system that are broken, including wrongful convictions, racial disparities and a rate of imprisonment that far outstrips that of other industrialized nations.

So he wondered if sharing a label with the leader of the Republican Party might not, in some way, help his cause.

"Will he go to prison? I doubt it. Will it change his lifestyle? I doubt it," said Mr. Buford, who founded the organization Unheard Voices Outreach for the formerly incarcerated in Nashville. "But what I know it will do is give him — he's already had — an experience that he can never forget. Because once you go through the criminal legal system and you're put on trial, that's traumatizing."

He added: "Now you understand, at least a little bit, what it feels like."

For Dawn Harrington, who served time at Rikers Island in New York and now directs an or-



HARRINGTON MARCHING WITH NEW YORK TIMES

ganization called Free Hearts for families affected by incarceration in Tennessee, watching the news coverage of Mr. Trump's conviction last week was upsetting.

She heard liberals reject that he was now a "convicted felon," a term she and others have tried to persuade people not to use.

Ms. Harrington said she did time for gun possession after traveling to New York with a handgun that was registered in Tennessee. She is from a part of Nashville that has a high level of incarceration, she said, and her brother had also gone to prison.

After the Trump verdict, she also heard President Biden defend the justice system as a "cornerstone of America" that has endured for "nearly 250 years" — back to a time, Ms. Harrington noted, when slavery was legal.

The statement, she thought, was "quite frankly dehumanizing



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to the base that we organize with," she said.

At the same time, Ms. Harrington said, a group that she is erupted into a conversation about

Dawn Harrington, who served time on Rikers Island and now directs a group for families affected by incarceration, said much of the reaction to Donald J. Trump's felony convictions last week had been "dehumanizing to the base that we organize with."

what it was like to see national news outlets discussing "permanent punishments," like the loss of voting rights. Criminal convictions often become obstacles to finding jobs and housing, and bar people from voting, owning guns and pursuing some careers.

An estimated 77 million Americans have a criminal record of some kind, according to the National Conference of State Legislatures. Nearly 20 million, according to another estimate, have been convicted of felonies.

Differences abound between Mr. Trump and the vast majority of Americans who are convicted of felonies, who are overwhelmingly poor and disproportionately

Black, Latino and Native American. It is extremely rare for a criminal case to even go to trial; most are resolved through plea bargains.

Mr. Trump is running for the highest office in the country, and prosecutors in the case argued that by falsifying business documents to cover up hush-money payments to a porn star, he deceived the American people.

Few of the typical consequences are expected to affect Mr. Trump, who now lives in Florida. Some legal experts said he was likely to retain his voting rights, unlike most other Florida residents convicted of felonies, because he was convicted in a differ-

ent state.

"Now having a felony conviction him, that doesn't make him one of us," said David Ayala, who lives in Orlando, Fla., and said that his last criminal conviction, for conspiracy to sell drugs in 2000, still kept him from accompanying his daughters on school field trips. "He has had access to plenty of resources. He has privilege."

Yet Mr. Ayala recognized a chance to make criminal justice a bigger issue. "Here we have a former president who feels he did not receive a fair trial," he said. "So what does that say about our justice system?"

At the same time, Mr. Ayala cannot forget that after a group of Black and Latino teenagers were arrested in connection with the rape of a jogger in Central Park in 1989, Mr. Trump took out full-page newspaper ads calling for New York to reinstate the death penalty. The teenagers, who became known as the Central Park Five, were later exonerated and the real perpetrator was identified.

Mr. Ayala said that it was tricky to craft a statement about the Trump conviction on behalf of the Formerly Incarcerated, Convicted People and Families Movement, a network of groups that he leads.

The groups' leaders wanted to caution against the use of terms like "felon" and "convicted criminal" for Mr. Trump, but without appearing to support him.

"There are so many characteristics to him that are completely against what we stand for," Mr. Ayala said, citing Mr. Trump's record on race.

Mr. Buford, in Nashville, was less guarded in his hopes for capitalizing on the moment. He served 26 years for killing a man during an armed robbery when he was 19, and he knows that political will now is very different when it comes to people whose offenses were, like Mr. Trump's, nonviolent.

"We have a different narrative now," he said. "President Biden could do massive clemencies right now. I think it can change things for us if we strategize and think bigger and leave our personal feelings out of it."

## Trial of President's Son Opens With Own Words

This article is by Glenn Thrush, Eileen Sullivan and Zach Montague.

WILMINGTON, Del. — The first day of testimony in Hunter Biden's trial on gun-related charges kicked off Tuesday with the surreal sound of the defendant's own voice ringing through the courtroom, narrating his descent into drug addiction, when prosecutors played the audiobook of his memoir.

It ended with bitter written words: the introduction of explosive-laden, panicked texts to Halie Biden, his brother's widow and his onetime girlfriend, berating her for disposing of his handgun and warning, perhaps presciently, that it must be set off at a federal-level investigation.

The government's case against President Biden's son — for all the drama, media swirl and complex political dynamics — is fairly straightforward: proving that Mr. Biden was abusing drugs when he filed out a federal firearms application claiming he was not an "unlawful user" of controlled substances.

Prosecutors stressed that point in their 15-minute opening statement before a packed courtroom that included Jill Biden, the first lady lying on a federal gun application is illegal and "nobody is allowed to lie, not even Hunter Biden," said Derek Hines, a top deputy to the special counsel, David C. Weiss.

"Addiction may not be a choice, but lying and buying a gun is a choice," Mr. Hines said.

"Nobody is above the law," he

added, echoing language the Justice Department has repeatedly used to justify its prosecutions of former President Donald J. Trump.

Almost all of the events covered in the trial happened in 2018, when Joseph R. Biden Jr. was out of office.

Mr. Biden's lawyer, Abbe Lowell, said he would dispute the government's core contention that Mr. Biden "knowingly" broke the law by answering "no" on a question asking applicants whether they were using drugs at the time they sought to purchase a gun.

He implied that the present tense of the question about drug use — the verb "is" — meant the government must prove Mr. Biden was getting high at the exact time he bought the gun.

The salacious details of Mr. Biden's private life have made him a fixture of the tabloids and an irresistible target for Republicans. But Mr. Lowell, banging the podium for emphasis, urged jurors to focus on the nuances of the case, and emphasized that while Mr. Biden was addicted to crack cocaine from 2015 to 2019, he had sporadic periods of sobriety when he could credibly claim to be drug-free. The law, he said, was not intended to punish "mistakes."

Mr. Lowell, speaking for about 45 minutes, drew a sharp distinction in the handling of the gun as well as other stand-alone prosecutions of violations on a gun application, which often entail violence or other criminal activity. After Mr. Biden bought the gun, he

never loaded it, never removed it from its lock box in his truck and never used it during the 11 days he owned it, Mr. Lowell said.

It was his girlfriend at the time, Halie Biden, who found the gun, removed it from the box, placed it in a pouch that contained drug residue and tossed it in a trash can at a nearby grocery store. And Mr. Biden was not happy she did so.

"Did you take that from me, Halie?" Mr. Biden texted after learning she had taken the gun from the lock box because she feared he might kill himself with it. "Are you insane. Tell me now. This was no game."

Later, after he was contacted by the local police, he suggested that the weapon might be discovered by the F.B.I., which he referred to



HARRINGTON JUNE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

using an explosive.

"It's hard to believe anyone is that stupid," he added.

Mr. Biden is expected to be called as a witness for the prosecution, perhaps as early as Wednesday. Mr. Lowell suggested he might sharply question her version of events on cross-examination.

For the first two days of the trial, Hunter Biden's family watched attentively from the row of seats right behind him. At one point, when his lawyer spoke about support from his wife, Melissa Cohen Biden, in helping him maintain his sobriety, Mr. Biden turned around to look at them.

If prosecutors began with a focused outline of their case, their presentation soon slowed with the

testimony of their first witness, an F.B.I. agent who served as a kind of docent. The agent, Erika Jensen, guided the jury through exhibits and played extended audio clips of Mr. Biden reading chapters of "Beautiful Things" his autobiography, detailing his addiction to crack at the time he bought the gun.

The sound of Mr. Biden's voice, piped in through speakers as he listened tight-lipped, was jarring and it initially transfixed the courtroom. But after about a half-hour, attention drifted, even, it seemed, among prosecutors.

At one point, Mr. Hines asked Ms. Jensen, "We're still in Chapter Eight, right?"

The trial, which is expected to last about a week, promises to be an excruciating personal ordeal for the Biden family.

On Tuesday, Mr. Hines said prosecutors planned to summon Ms. Biden and another woman Mr. Biden was romantically involved with, Zoe Kestan, in addition to his former wife, Kathleen Buhle, who is likely to testify first.

He also plans to call Gordon Cleveland, an employee at the Delaware gun store where Mr. Biden bought his weapon, and two expert witnesses who will testify on drug residue and other forensic evidence.

The purpose is to provide witness testimony to fill in gaps left by dozens of documents and texts — some extracted from Mr. Biden's lost laptop computer — which the government presented to the jury Tuesday afternoon.

Ms. Jensen painstakingly posted texts from Mr. Biden and the people who said, or obtained, crack for him on screens throughout the courtroom, painting a pic-

ture of a desperate man who seemed to spend every waking minute in mid-2018 hunting for drugs.

She juxtaposed those patterns with his cash withdrawals that averaged a staggering \$50,000 a month that fall, in an effort to connect his runaway spending to his out-of-control addiction. That included a \$5,000 withdrawal on Oct. 12, 2018, the day he bought the weapon.

Mr. Lowell, who began his cross-examination of the F.B.I. agent as the session on Tuesday neared a close, seized on the government's lack of evidence, such as frantic texts to his dealers around the time of the gun purchase, to prove the withdrawals were linked to drug deals.

If the government was using more than 60 text messages between Mr. Biden and someone else from Feb. 26, 2018, to establish that he was using drugs, there was nothing like that in October, supporting the defense's argument that Mr. Biden was not an unlawful user of drugs when he filled out the federal form to purchase his gun.

Mr. Biden is charged with three felonies: lying to a federally licensed gun dealer, making a false claim on the federal firearms application used to screen applicants and possessing an illegally obtained gun in October 2018. He faces a separate trial in Los Angeles this fall on tax charges.

It convicted on the three gun-related charges, Mr. Biden could face up to 25 years in prison and \$750,000 in fines. But nonviolent first-time offenders who have not been convicted on the federal firearms application in another crime rarely receive such prison time for the charges.

## In a Delaware Courtroom, a Routine Gun Case, but Abnormal in Every Other Way

By ROBERT DRAPER

WILMINGTON, Del. — When the federal prosecutor, Derek Hines, began his opening statement with the words "no man is above the law," it signified the only rhetorical acknowledgment to the jury that the trial of Hunter Biden was not an ordinary gun charge.

Mr. Hines seemed to be making a seemingly run-of-the-mill case of a drug addict charged with illegally purchasing a firearm. In doing so, however, it was as if he had instructed the 12 jurors, in the manner of the wizard in "The Wizard of Oz," to pay no attention to the extraordinary spectacle plainly in view.

Pay no attention to the defendant's last name, the most famous one in Wilmington. Pay no atten-

tion to the first lady, Jill Biden, sitting in the front row behind the defendant, whom she raised as her own son. Pay no attention to Mr. Biden's famous attorney, Abbe Lowell, or to the millionaire Hollywood lawyer also in the front row, Kevin Morris, who is largely bankrolling his friend Mr. Biden's legal defense.

And pay no attention to the 50 or so members of the media taking up most of the spectator space — among them a documentary film team paid up for by Mr. Morris.

The 12 jurors were to decide these matters on their own. Several of them stole glances at the defendant, as if trying to square the image of the 54-year-old man in the dark suit, flag lapel pin and tortoiseshell reading glasses with

the crack addict described in the testimony. At one point, Mr. Biden flashed a genetically familiar broad smile while talking to Mr. Lowell during a courtroom break.

For the most part, however, the defendant looked the somber part of a man facing up to 25 years in prison. He sat impassively, listening along with the jury to his own voice reciting the audio version of his memoir, "Beautiful Things," including the observation, "We've all been inside rooms we can't afford to die in."

Though the narrator was referring to a succession of Los Angeles hotels, including the Chateau Marmont, where Mr. Biden once spent weeks doing crack, he could just as easily have been referring to Courtroom 4A of the J. Caleb

A first lady and a documentary film team in attendance.

Boggs Federal Building in Wilmington, Del.

Jill Biden, dressed in a pale green suit, maintained a reflective if somewhat stilted countenance throughout the morning. (She attended the congressional picnic at the White House later in the day, and left in the evening with the president for the commemoration of the 80th anniversary of D-Day in France.)

In the courtroom, after Mr. Lowell's opening statement, she said

quietly, "That was good," to the two women on either side of her: Ashley Biden, her daughter, and Mr. Biden's wife, Melissa Cohen Biden.

During a break, Mr. Biden's wife angrily confronted a courtroom spectator, Garrett Ziegler, a former Trump White House aide who has published on his company website purported excerpts from Ashley Biden's diary and is being sued by Mr. Morris for doxxing his personal information.

"You have no right to be here," Melissa Cohen Biden said to Mr. Ziegler, adding an epithet.

A few minutes later in the presence of several reporters, Ms. Biden, who is Jewish, suggested that Mr. Ziegler had expressed antisemitic views about her and other

Democrats, adding, "I doubt he makes those derogatory slurs about Jews."

The presence of Mr. Ziegler, who did not respond to a request for comment, was a reminder of how fervently the president's critics have anticipated the trial of his son as payback for former President Trump's federal firearms application last week in his Manhattan hush-money trial and the three other trials he currently awaits, including two cases brought by the Justice Department.

Such a prospect of cheering on the Biden administration's Justice Department in a nonviolent gun ownership case is terra incognita, just as it is for the jury that will decide the fate of a Wilmington native son.

# Garland Says G.O.P. Attacks Won't Intimidate Justice Dept.

By CHARLIE SAVAGE  
and GLENN THURSH

WASHINGTON — Attorney General Merrick B. Garland, facing the prospect of a contempt vote in Congress, on Tuesday denounced attacks on the Justice Department by former President Donald J. Trump and his allies, including one he labeled a “conspiracy theory” and others he called “baseless and extremely dangerous falsehoods.”

Testifying before the House Judiciary Committee, the usually mild-mannered Mr. Garland bluntly pushed back against Republican demands that he turn over audio of a special counsel’s interview of President Biden over his handling of classified documents. He linked those calls to other criticism they have directed toward prosecutors at a time of “heinous threats of violence being directed at the Justice Department’s career public servants.”

“These repeated attacks on the Justice Department are unprecedented, and they are unfounded,” he said. “These attacks have not, and they will not, influence our decision making. I view contempt as a serious matter. But I will not jeopardize the ability of our prosecutors and agents to do their jobs effectively in future investigations. I will not be intimidated.”

The remarks amounted to a vigorous defense of the integrity of federal law enforcement as Mr. Trump and his allies have aggressively impugned it. The campaign they stepped up after his conviction in New York State court last week on 34 felony counts of falsifying business records to cover up a sex scandal. Republicans voiced anger at the outcome of that case — and three other criminal indictments against Mr. Trump, all of which they portrayed as an organized Democratic conspiracy — along with the separate issue of Mr. Garland’s refusal to turn over the audio of Mr. Biden’s interview.

Mr. Garland had assigned a special counsel, Robert K. Hur, to investigate the matter. The comments accompanied Mr. Biden when he left the vice presidency. Mr. Hur concluded that there was insufficient evidence to prove that Mr. Biden knowingly retained classified files without authorization.

The White House has turned



Attorney General Merrick B. Garland accused his critics of seeking to undermine the rule of law.

over a transcript of Mr. Hur’s interview with the president. Republicans subpoenaed the audio. Last month, Mr. Biden invoked executive privilege — a constitutional prerogative to lawfully keep certain internal information concerning the executive branch — and Mr. Garland declined to comply with the G.O.P. demand.

In response, Republicans on the Judiciary Committee and the Oversight Committee have recommended holding Mr. Garland in contempt.

Before the hearing, the Justice Department sent Congress a four-page Office of Legal Counsel memo approving the invocation of privilege, a copy of which was obtained by The New York Times. It said the transcript was sufficient to meet lawmakers’ legitimate oversight needs and producing the audio would undermine “the department’s ability to conduct similar high-profile criminal investigations in the future — in particular, investigations where the voluntary cooperation of White House officials is exceedingly important.”

But the hearing frequently

veered away from the issue of executive privilege and toward grievances Republicans have with the various criminal proceedings against Mr. Trump, including federal and Georgia cases in which he is attempting to overturn the outcome of the 2020 election and a

**The attorney general faces the possibility of a contempt vote.**

federal case over his retention of classified documents.

Against that backdrop, several Republican lawmakers, including Representative Matt Gaetz of Florida and Tom McClintock of California, highlighted that a former Biden appointee in the Justice Department, Matthew Colangelo, had joined the Manhattan district attorney’s office in December 2022 and participated in the trial against Mr. Trump. Mr. Colangelo was previously the top deputy to the department’s No. 3

official.

Mr. Gaetz accused Mr. Garland of “dispatching” Mr. Colangelo to “get Trump.” But Mr. Garland said he had nothing to do with Mr. Colangelo’s decision to apply for a position prosecuting white-collar crime in the Manhattan district attorney’s office.

“I’m saying it’s false,” Mr. Garland said. “I did not dispatch Mr. Colangelo anywhere.”

In his opening statement, Mr. Garland also designated the broader Republican claim that the Justice Department — which had declined to move forward with a case related to the Mr. Trump’s hush-money payment during the 2016 election — was behind the decision by the Manhattan district attorney, Alvin L. Bragg, to prosecute the matter.

The attacks on the Justice Department accompany “false claims that jury verdict in a state trial, brought by a local district attorney, was somehow controlled by the Justice Department,” Mr. Garland said. “That conspiracy theory is an attack on the judicial process itself.”

They also come as House Re-

publicans have threatened to pull funding that would curtail the Justice Department’s operations. A day earlier, the House Judiciary Committee chairman, Representative Jim Jordan, Republican of Ohio, proposed forbidding federal grants to state prosecutor offices that investigate former president. He also proposed defunding the office of Jack Smith, the special counsel overseeing two criminal investigations into Mr. Trump.

As the hearing began on Tuesday, Mr. Jordan declared: “Justice is no longer blind in America. Today is driven by politics. Example No. 1 is President Trump.”

Democrats on the committee dismissed the actions of their G.O.P. colleagues as performative antics. Representative Adam B. Schiff of California, referring to Mr. Jordan’s opening statement, said Republicans’ real problem was that the justice system would hold accountable even a former president who had committed crimes.

“They are about to nominate a convicted felon, and they do not know how to cope with that,” Mr. Schiff said. “They do not know how to cope with the justice system that, in fact, treats Donald Trump the same as it would any other citizen, and so they have to push out conspiracy theories that they know are patently false.”

Among the more extraordinary claims by Mr. Trump and his allies in recent weeks was the false statement that the Biden administration authorized the F.B.I. to kill him when the F.B.I. conducted a counterterrorism search of the Mar-a-Lago estate in 2022 to retrieve classified documents.

The claim was based on a distortion of the standard Justice Department use-of-force policy that is routinely included in search warrants and documents and packages. Mr. Garland noted that the same policy “was part of the package when for the search of President Biden’s home” as well.

“This is dangerous,” Mr. Garland said when asked about the consequences of such an assertion. “It makes the threat of violence against prosecutors and career agents. The allegation is false.”

## Trump Hits \$141 Million For Month, Closing Gap

By THEODORE SCHLEIFER

Former President Donald J. Trump and the Republican National Committee collected a combined \$141 million in May, campaign officials said on Monday, an enormous haul fueled in part by his criminal conviction last week.

That sum should help Mr. Trump continue his quest to close his yawning financial gap with President Biden and his own allied groups. Mr. Biden has yet to announce May fund-raising numbers, but based on Monday’s figures, he is likely to be out-raised for the second month in a row. The \$141 million figure raises what Mr. Biden and the Democratic Party raised in March and April combined.

The figures announced by Mr. Trump’s campaign, which cannot be verified until the full report is released publicly this month, represent, by far, his strongest single month of fund-raising in 2024.

The fund-raising was powered by what Lara Trump, the Republican National Committee co-chairwoman and the former president’s daughter-in-law, said on Sunday was \$70 million raised by Mr. Trump and the R.N.C. in the 48 hours after Mr. Trump’s conviction.

The reported \$141 million total consists of so-called hard dollars, which can be spent directly by aides at the Trump campaign and the R.N.C. The Trump campaign also said that every dollar of cash, \$150 million, had been secured last month by some unidentified “organizations supporting President Trump,” presumably a few of the dozens of groups that have backed his bid so far. These outside groups cannot coordinate spending with the campaign itself and have to pay more for units of advertising, and so the money is generally seen as less efficient dollars.

The main super PAC backing Mr. Trump, MAGA Inc., declined a request for more specific information on its monthly fund-raising. Another, newer pro-Trump group, Right for America, has also had some early fund-raising success.

Even before his guilty verdict in Manhattan, Mr. Trump had been significantly improved in his fund-raising performance since emerging as the presumptive Republican nominee.

Mr. Biden has consistently held an advantage in cash on hand, or the amount available to be spent. But in April, Mr. Trump and his allied groups out-raised Mr. Biden and his groups for the first time. And in the 24 hours after Mr. Trump’s conviction, the campaign said that it had raised nearly \$53 million online, a number that is presumably included in the \$141 million May fund-raising total.

A Biden campaign spokesman declined to provide fund-raising numbers for the president and his allied groups.

In addition to his grass-roots support, Mr. Trump has been successfully reeling in major Republican donors who decided to support him during the primary race and have only recently returned home.

On Monday afternoon, for instance, the billionaire venture capitalist Doug Leone, who has named Mr. Trump after the Capitol riot on Jan. 6, 2021, and then donated millions to a group backing Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida during his reelection campaign, said that he would back Mr. Trump again.

When banks and cryptocurrency trading platforms contacted by Doug Leone cited a large number of suspicious transactions involving the company’s accounts, he repeatedly denied any irregularity, prosecutors said. In one instance, he told one bank that he was not a politician and that he and more donations from our supporters because more and more people like our media,” according to the indictment.

Mr. Guan also deposited \$167 million of the proceeds into his personal accounts, income that he did not report on his tax filings. The Epoch Times has been expanding its footprint in American politics. In January 2023, the Republic of the South China Sea, the Epoch Times, hosted a screening of “The Real Story of January 6,” a film produced by The Epoch Times’s streaming platform that promotes the “China First” and “America First” theories about the Capitol riot.

Last year, Representative Ralph Norman, a Republican of South Carolina, read a statement into the Congressional Record that he was the money earner for his “best practices and highest principles of journalism.” “This is all about one word,” Mr. Norman said in his statement: “Freedom.”

### AD WATCH

## Climate Group’s Ads Laud Biden Policies in Wisconsin and Michigan

By REID J. EPSTEIN

WASHINGTON — A climate group with ties to Gov. Jay Inslee of Washington State is running \$1 million of television advertising in Michigan and Wisconsin that aims to highlight President Biden’s record on renewable energy.

The ads, which feature two Democratic governors, Gretchen Whitmer of Michigan and Tony Evers of Wisconsin, are among the most significant third-party ads to be broadcast in presidential battleground states so far this cycle.

The group funding them, Evergreen Collaborative, was founded by staff members of Mr. Inslee’s 2020 presidential campaign. Over the past three years, the group spent about \$2.5 million on issue advocacy ads in Michigan, Nevada and Wisconsin to promote the Inflation Reduction Act, a Michigan clean energy bill and federal pollution standards.

The new ads began broadcasting on Tuesday and will run for three weeks in Michigan and in the Flint and Grand Rapids television markets in Michigan.



Gov. Gretchen Whitmer of Michigan is appearing in TV ads highlighting President Biden’s record on renewable energy.

**What the ads say**

Evergreen’s Michigan ad features Ms. Whitmer playing up Mr. Biden’s record — as well as her own — on investing in renewable energy in the state.

“Make it in Michigan,” Ms. Whitmer says while standing in what she says is a job-training

center. “It’s what we’re doing every single day.”

As footage of Mr. Biden at the Detroit Auto Show rolls, Ms. Whitmer says that “batteries that are used to be made in China are being made all across our state,” an appeal to voters who have been attracted by the anti-

China policies of Mr. Biden’s Republican rival in the race, former President Donald J. Trump.

The Wisconsin ad doesn’t show Mr. Evers until the end. It focuses on solar projects, which the ad says will power 750,000 homes in the state.

“Governor Evers is working with the Biden administration to do even more,” the ad’s narrator says as photos are shown of Mr. Evers and Mr. Biden touring a Milwaukee factory last summer. “Your home value goes up and your energy bill goes down.”

The ad concludes with footage of Mr. Evers’s annual State of the State address. “Wisconsinites, this is the future we spent years working hard to build together,” he says.

**What the ads are trying to do**

These ads are an attempt to capitalize on the popularity of Ms. Whitmer and Mr. Evers, who polls show are far more popular than Mr. Biden in their states.

Because Evergreen is technically an issue-advocacy organi-

zation, it is prohibited from making an explicit push to vote for Mr. Biden, but the message is not subtle. The Michigan ad, with Ms. Whitmer wearing a leather jacket and speaking from a factory floor, could be a Biden campaign ad on its own. The argument boils down to: You like what I’ve done, so support President Biden.

Neither ad mentions the Inflation Reduction Act, the \$381 billion law Mr. Biden signed in 2022. Relatively few Americans have heard of the law, and the Democratic Party’s top strategists have discouraged it by name.

Instead, with these ads, Evergreen is seeking to remind voters that something they like — building car batteries in Michigan and using solar power in Wisconsin — is brought to them by the Biden administration. Less than six months out from the election, Mr. Biden has struggled to convey that message to voters, leaving super PACs and outside groups and Democratic governors to do it for him.

## Executive at Epoch Times, a Falun Gong-Linked Outlet, Accused of Money Laundering

By KEN BENSHINGER  
and CHARLES HOMANS

A top executive at The Epoch Times, a right-wing media company, has been arrested and charged with laundering at least \$67 million in stolen money through company accounts in a multistep scheme to lift financial restraints.

A federal grand jury indicted Weidong Guan, also known as Bill Guan, on one count of money laundering, as well as two counts of bank fraud. The accusations say he lied to a financial institution about the source of the cash, some of which was allegedly pilfered through fraudulently obtained unemployment benefits. The money increased The Epoch Times’s revenue by nearly 40 percent in just one year, according to the Justice Department.

Mr. Guan, who is a Michigan officer, was arrested on the money-laundering indictment, handed up on May 23, was unseated. He entered a plea of not guilty. His lawyer, a federal public defender, declined to comment. If convicted, Mr. Guan faces a maximum sentence of 20 years for the money-laundering charge and 30 years for each bank fraud charge.

The Epoch Times is affiliated with Falun Gong, a spiritual

movement banned in China, and was for years an obscure, free print newspaper dedicated largely to criticizing the Chinese Communist Party. In recent years the outlet transformed itself into a prominent supporter of Donald J. Trump and his allies on the right.

Mr. Guan ran a “sprawling, transnational scheme” over four years to buy prepaid debit cards on the internet at a discount using cryptocurrency and then deposit the cards’ money into both personal and company accounts. The debit cards were loaded with illegally obtained funds, prosecutors said, some of which was fraudulently obtained unemployment insurance benefits.

Damian Williams, the United States attorney for the Southern District of New York, said the charges represented the government’s “commitment to vigorously enforcing the laws against those who facilitate fraud through money laundering and to protecting the integrity of the U.S. financial system.”

Mr. Guan, 61, of Secaucus, N.J., was in custody Monday evening facing a \$3 million bail package, including a \$250,000 cash deposit, according to a spokesman for the Manhattan federal court. Once re-

leased, Mr. Guan must remain in home detention.

In a statement, The Epoch Times said it “has a guiding principle that elevates integrity in its dealings above everything else,” but added that it “intends to and will fully cooperate with any investigation dealing with the allegations against Mr. Guan.” The company said “it had suspended Mr. Guan while the matter was

**Ascheme was behind a period of growth, prosecutors said.**

still pending.

The Justice Department said the charges do not relate to the media company’s newsgathering activities. No other employees were named in the indictment.

The organization publishes The Epoch Times newspaper, runs a digital news site by the same name, produces numerous podcasts and operates the broadcaster New Tang Dynasty Television, also known as NTD.

It was founded in 2000 in Geor-

gia by its current chief executive, John Tang, then a Georgia Tech graduate student, and a practitioner of Falun Gong, a movement that is banned in China, where its members face persecution.

During the 2016 election, the publication embraced Mr. Trump’s candidacy, in the hope that as president he would bring down the Communist Party, former Epoch Times staff members told The New York Times in 2020. After Mr. Trump’s victory, the news organization served as an enthusiastic supporter, amplifying the administration’s messaging and establishing itself as a prominent outlet on the right.

It also became a prominent spreader of right-wing conspiracy theories, particularly on social media, and especially on Facebook, where the company built an extensive and complex network of pages that drew sometimes-enormous audiences with viral content and extensive advertising.

In 2019, Facebook banned the company from advertising on the platform after it was found to be obscuring its ad purchases in violation of transparency requirements, but it continued to thrive on other platforms. Last year, the company said it was the fourth-largest newspaper in the United

# OpenAI Is Reckless In Its Race to No. 1, Several Insiders Say

From Page A1

departing employees were asked to sign.

"OpenAI is really excited about building A.G.I., and they are recklessly racing to be the first there," said Daniel Kokotajlo, a former researcher in OpenAI's governance division and one of the group's organizers.

The group published an open letter on Tuesday calling for leading A.I. companies, including OpenAI, to establish greater transparency and more protections for whistle-blowers.

Other members include William Saunders, a research engineer who left OpenAI in February, and three other former OpenAI employees: Carroll Wanwright, Jacob Hilton and Daniel Ziegler. Several current OpenAI employees endorsed the letter anonymously because they feared retaliation from the company, Mr. Kokotajlo said. One current and one former employee of Google DeepMind, Google's central A.I. lab, also signed.

A spokeswoman for OpenAI, Lindsey Held, said in a statement, "We're proud of our track record providing the most capable and safest A.I. systems and believe in our scientific approach to addressing risk. We agree that the debate is crucial given the significance of this technology, and we'll continue to engage with governments, civil society and other communities around the world."

A Google spokesman declined to comment.

The campaign comes at a rough month for OpenAI. It is still recovering from an attempted coup last year, when members of the company's board voted to fire Sam Altman, the chief executive, over concerns about his candor. Mr. Altman was brought back days later, and the board was remade with new members.

The company also faces legal battles with content creators who have accused it of stealing copyrighted works to train its models. The New York Times sued OpenAI and its partner, Microsoft, for copyright infringement last year. And its recent unveiling of a hyper-realistic voice model was marred by a public spat with the Hollywood actress Scarlett Johansson, who claimed that OpenAI had imitated her voice without permission.

But nothing has stuck like the charge that OpenAI has been too cavalier about safety.

Last month, two senior A.I. researchers — Ilya Sutskever and Jan Leike — left OpenAI under a cloud. Dr. Sutskever, who had been on OpenAI's board and voted to fire Mr. Altman, had raised alarms about the potential risks of powerful A.I. systems. His departure was seen by some safety-minded employees as a setback.

So was the departure of Dr. Leike, who, along with Dr. Sutskever had led OpenAI's "superalignment" team, which focused on managing the risks of powerful A.I. models. In a series

of public posts announcing his departure, Dr. Leike said he believed that "safety culture and processes have taken a back seat to shiny products."

Neither Dr. Sutskever nor Dr. Leike signed the open letter written by former employees. But their exits galvanized other former OpenAI employees to speak out.

"When I signed up for OpenAI, I did not sign up for this attitude of 'Let's put things out into the world and see what happens and fix them afterward,'" Mr. Saunders said.

Some of the former employees have ties to effective altruism, a utilitarian-inspired movement that has become concerned in recent years with preventing existential threats from A.I. Critics have accused the movement of promoting doomsday scenarios about the technology, such as the notion that an out-of-control A.I. system could take over and wipe out humanity.

Mr. Kokotajlo, 31, joined OpenAI in 2022 as a governance researcher and was asked to forecast A.I. progress. He was not, to put it mildly, optimistic.

In his previous job at an A.I. safety organization, he predicted that A.G.I. might arrive in 2050. But after seeing how quickly A.I. was improving, he shortened his timelines. Now he believes there is a 50 percent chance that A.G.I. will arrive by 2027 — in just three years.

He also believes that the probability that advanced A.I. will destroy or catastrophically harm humanity — a grim statistic often shortened to "p(doom)" in A.I. circles — is 70 percent.

At OpenAI, Mr. Kokotajlo saw that even though the company had safety protocols in place — including a joint effort with Microsoft known as the "deployment safety board," which was supposed to review new models for major risks before they were publicly released — they rarely seemed to slow anything down.

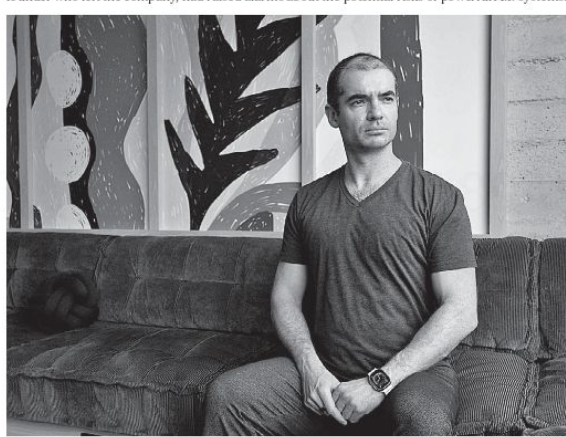
For example, he said, in 2022 Microsoft began quietly testing in India a new version of its Bing search engine that some OpenAI employees believed contained a then-unreleased version of GPT-4, OpenAI's state-of-the-art large language model. Mr. Kokotajlo said he was told that Microsoft had not gotten the safety board's approval before testing the new model, and after the board learned of the tests — via a series of reports that Bing was acting strangely toward users — it did nothing to stop Microsoft from rolling it out more broadly.

A Microsoft spokesman, Frank Shaw, disputed those claims. He said the India tests hadn't used GPT-4 or any other OpenAI models. The first time Microsoft released technology based on GPT-4 was in early 2023, he said, and it was reviewed and approved by a predecessor to the safety board.

Eventually, Mr. Kokotajlo said, he became so worried that, last year, he told Mr. Altman that the company should "pivot to safety" and spend more time and resources guarding against A.I.'s



Daniel Kokotajlo, above, a former researcher in OpenAI's governance division, is an organizer of a group of former and current employees who are critical of the company. Ilya Sutskever, an OpenAI founder who left the company, had raised alarms about the potential risks of powerful A.I. systems.



Ilya Sutskever, an OpenAI founder who left the company, had raised alarms about the potential risks of powerful A.I. systems.

risks rather than charging ahead to improve its models. He said that Mr. Altman had claimed to agree with him, but that nothing much changed.

In April, he quit. In an email to his team, he said he was leaving

because he had "lost confidence that OpenAI will behave responsibly" as its systems approach human-level intelligence.

"The world isn't ready, and we aren't ready," Mr. Kokotajlo wrote. "And I'm concerned we

are rushing forward regardless and rationalizing our actions."

OpenAI said last week that it had begun training a new flagship A.I. model and that it was forming a new safety and security committee to explore the risks

## Whistle-blowers say hardball tactics are muffling concerns.

associated with the new model and other future technologies.

On his way out, Mr. Kokotajlo refused to sign OpenAI's standard paperwork for departing employees, which included a strict nondisparagement clause barring them from saying negative things about the company, or else risk having their vested equity taken away.

Many employees could lose out on millions of dollars if they refused to sign. Mr. Kokotajlo's vested equity was worth roughly \$1.7 million, he said, which amounted to the vast majority of his net worth, and he was prepared to forfeit all of it.

(A minor firestorm ensued last month after Vox reported news of these agreements. In response, OpenAI claimed that it had never clawed back vested equity from former employees and would not do so. Mr. Altman said he was "genuinely embarrassed" not to have known about the agreements, and the company said it would remove nondisparagement clauses from its standard paperwork and release former employees from their agreements.)

In their open letter, Mr. Kokotajlo and the other former OpenAI employees call for an end to using nondisparagement and nondisclosure agreements at OpenAI and other A.I. companies.

"Broad confidentiality agreements block us from voicing our concerns, except to the very companies that may be failing to address these issues," they write.

They also call for A.I. companies to "support a culture of open criticism" and establish a reporting process for employees to anonymously raise safety-related concerns.

They have retained a pro bono lawyer, Lawrence Lessig, the prominent legal scholar and activist. Mr. Lessig also advised Frances Haugen, a former Facebook employee who became a whistle-blower and accused that company of putting profits ahead of safety.

In an interview, Mr. Lessig said that while traditional whistle-blower protections typically applied to reports of illegal activity, it was important for employees of A.I. companies to be able to discuss risks and potential harms freely, given the technology's importance.

"Employees are an important line of safety defense, and if they can't speak freely without retribution, that channel's going to be shut down," he said.

Ms. Held, the OpenAI spokeswoman, said the company had " avenues for employees to express their concerns," including an anonymous integrity hotline.

Mr. Kokotajlo and his group are skeptical that self-regulation alone will be enough to prepare for a world with more powerful A.I. systems. So they are calling for lawmakers to regulate the industry, too.

"There needs to be some sort of democratically accountable, transparent governance structure in charge of this process," Mr. Kokotajlo said. "Instead of just a couple of different private companies racing with each other, and keeping it all secret."

## In Lawsuit, Former Protégée of Powerful Music Producer Accuses Him of Rape

From Page A1

erment anthems like "Single Ladies (Put a Ring on It)" and "Break My Soul," and working on each of the superstar's studio albums since 2008.

But Ms. Mangrove's suit, filed in U.S. District Court in Los Angeles, portrays Mr. Gesteelde-Diamant as an abusive Svengali-type figure, dangling the promise of fame and success before an aspiring artist while controlling her life, forcing her into unwanted sex and physically abusing her.

The suit also accuses Mr. Gesteelde-Diamant of sex trafficking, a claim that has been cited in a number of recent civil lawsuits — including against Sean Combs, the hip-hop mogul known as Diddy or Puff Daddy — over accusations of harboring or transporting a victim of sexual assault by fraud or coercion. Ms. Mangrove's suit cites the Sexual Abuse and Cover-Up Accountability Act, a California law that allows people to bring sexual assault cases even if the statute of limitations for incidents they allege has expired.

"What Dream did to me made it impossible to live the life I envisioned for myself and pursue my goals as a singer and songwriter," Ms. Mangrove said in a statement. "Ultimately, my silence has been too painful, and I realized that I needed to tell my story to heal. I hope that doing so will also help others and prevent future horrific abuse."

In a statement supplied by a representative, Mr. Gesteelde-Diamant denied the accusations.



Terius Gesteelde-Diamant, who was also accused of sex trafficking in a lawsuit by a former protégée, denies the charges.

"These claims are untrue and deny the fact that I have stated, 'I oppose all forms of harassment and have always strived to help people realize their career goals. As someone committed to making a positive impact on my fellow artists and the world at large, I am deeply offended and saddened by these accusations.'"

Ms. Mangrove, 33, was born in the Netherlands and wanted to break into the music business as a pop singer and songwriter. According to her complaint, she was working in the United States in late 2014 when an associate of Mr. Gesteelde-Diamant asked her to send examples of her music. In January 2015, she flew to Atlanta to meet Mr. Gesteelde-Diamant,

who took her to a strip club, began recording with her and, according to the complaint, "told her that he would make her the next Beyoncé and Rihanna."

Within days, according to Ms. Mangrove's lawsuit, Mr. Gesteelde-Diamant began to pressure her into sex, telling her it was "part of the process." At a house with a studio where they were working, the suit says, he locked her in a dark room and "would only stop aggressively having sex with her once she said that she loved him."

More sexual encounters continued, the suit says, with Mr. Gesteelde-Diamant sometimes holding her down and refusing to use a condom despite her protests. At the same time, the suit says, he

made business promises to her, suggesting he could make her the opening act for Beyoncé's next tour.

According to the complaint, Mr. Gesteelde-Diamant then became more controlling and violent: He placed her in an Atlanta hotel, had his security staff monitor her movements, and berated her unless she regularly checked in with him. After Ms. Mangrove complained about bedbugs in her hotel room, her court papers say, Mr. Gesteelde-Diamant exploded in anger, telling her she was a disloyal "brat" and blaming the attention he spent on her for delays to Beyoncé's next album.

He pled her with alcohol and marijuana, the complaint says, and once forced Ms. Mangrove to have sex with him while he recorded it, and later threatened to show the footage to other people. During sex, the complaint says, Mr. Gesteelde-Diamant often placed a gun next to her, which she saw as a warning.

At a movie theater one day, Mr. Gesteelde-Diamant asked Ms. Mangrove to perform oral sex on him, the complaint says. After she said no, he became angry and forced her to have sex, in view of the other theater patrons. "It was a physically painful encounter," the complaint says. Later that same day, the suit says, Mr. Gesteelde-Diamant told Ms. Mangrove to sit in his van and again forced her to have sex, pinning her down and placing his hands over her mouth and nose, leaving her unable to breathe.

Mr. Gesteelde-Diamant signed Ms. Mangrove to his record label,

Contra Paris, and arranged for her to perform with Epic Records, a major label owned by Sony. The court papers say that by the summer of 2015, Ms. Mangrove was trying to escape from Mr. Gesteelde-Diamant's control and prepare for the release of an album, but her efforts were unsuccessful.

According to the complaint, Ms. Mangrove reported Mr. Gesteelde-Diamant's abuse to an Epic executive, who told her that "she needed to figure out a way to work with Dream again." In July 2016, according to the complaint, Ms. Mangrove was told that Epic was dropping her because Mr. Gesteelde-Diamant, who still controlled her artist contract, had not delivered music. Epic is also named as a defendant in the suit.

A spokeswoman for Sony did not have an immediate comment. Representatives of Beyoncé and Rihanna did not immediately respond to requests for comment. Mr. Gesteelde-Diamant, 46, who used to go by the name Terius Nash, has been accused of violence against women in the past. In 2014, he was charged with assault on allegations that he kicked, punched and choked a former girlfriend who was eight months pregnant; prosecutors dropped the case the following year, saying they could not prove it beyond a reasonable doubt.

In her lawsuit, Ms. Mangrove is represented by Douglas H. Wigdor and Meredith A. Firetop, who have also represented Cassandra Ventura, the singer known as Cassie. Ms. Ventura's lawsuit against Mr. Combs, filed in No-

vember — and settled after just one day — was the first of six suits by women who have accused Mr. Combs of sexual assault.

"This is yet another horrific example," Mr. Wigdor and Ms. Firetop said in a statement, "of how men in the music industry use their power and influence to manipulate and harm others."

## Corrections

### INTERNATIONAL

An article on Tuesday about Mexican President-elect Claudia Sheinbaum's background in energy engineering misidentified the field of study. Sheinbaum earned a doctorate. She holds a Ph.D. in energy engineering, not environmental engineering.

### BUSINESS

An article on Tuesday about the sudden exit of the executive officer of the Washington Post misstated the year in which The Washington Post saw its audience decline 50 percent. The decline has been since 2020, not last year alone.

Errors are corrected through the press run whenever possible, so some errors noted here may not have appeared in all editions.

Contact the Newsroom  
To contact the newsroom regarding correction requests, please email [corrections@nytimes.com](mailto:corrections@nytimes.com).

# F.D.A. Advisory Panel Rejects MDMA-Aided Therapy to Treat PTSD

By ANDREW JACOBS

An independent advisory panel of the Food and Drug Administration rejected the use of MDMA-assisted therapy for post-traumatic stress disorder on Tuesday, highlighting the unparalleled regulatory challenges of a novel therapy using the drug commonly known as Ecstasy.

Before the vote, members of the panel raised concerns about the designs of the two studies submitted by the drug's sponsor, Lykos Therapeutics. Many questions focused on the fact that study participants were by and large able to correctly guess whether they had been given MDMA, also known by the names of Ecstasy or molly.

The panel voted 9-2 on whether the MDMA-assisted therapy was effective, and voted 10-1 on whether the proposed treatment's benefits outweighed its risks.

Other panelists expressed concern over the drug's potential cardiovascular effects, and possible bias among the therapists and facilitators who guided the sessions and may have positively influenced patient outcomes. A case of misconduct involving a patient and therapist in the study also weighed on some panelists' minds.

Many of the committee members said they were especially wary about the future of Lykos to collect detailed data from participants on the potential for abuse of a drug that generates feelings of bliss and well-being.

"I absolutely agree that we need new and better treatments for PTSD," said Paul Holtzheimer, deputy director for research at the National Center for PTSD, a panelist who voted no on the question of whether the benefits of MDMA-assisted therapy outweighed the risks.

"However, I also note that premature introduction of a treat-

ment can actually stifle development, stifle implementation and lead to premature adoption of treatments that are either not completely known to be safe, not fully effective or not being used at their optimal efficacy," he added.

While the vote is not binding on the F.D.A., the agency often follows the recommendations of its advisory panels. A final decision by the agency is expected in mid-August.

MDMA, or methylenedioxymethamphetamine, is also sometimes referred to as midomafetamine; it is a synthetic psychoactive drug that fosters self-awareness, feelings of empathy and social connectedness.

The illegal drug is listed as a Schedule I substance, defined as having no accepted medical use and a high potential for abuse. Should it win F.D.A. approval, federal health authorities and Justice Department officials would have to follow certain steps to downgrade the drug's listing, much like the process now underway with cannabis.

The D.E.A. might also set production quotas for the drug, as it does with stimulant medications used to treat ADHD.

With the panel's focus on such topics as "euphoria," "suicidal ideation" and "expectation bias," the daylong session on Tuesday demonstrated the nuances and complexities facing regulators as they grapple with the terra incognita of a therapy that only recently entered mainstream psychiatry after decades-long war on drugs.

An added wrinkle: The F.D.A. is a regulator of medications. It does not regulate psychotherapy and has not evaluated drugs whose efficacy is tied to talk therapy.

If approved, MDMA-assisted therapy would be the first new treatment for PTSD in nearly 25



NEW YORK TIMES PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFFREY M. HARRIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES. A person holds MDMA pills. — JEFFREY M. HARRIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

years. The condition, which affects some 13 million Americans, has been implicated in the out-sized suicide rates among military veterans, whose suffering has galvanized lawmakers from both parties and prompted a sea change in public attitudes about therapies reliant on psychedelic compounds.

According to the studies submitted by Lykos, patients who received MDMA plus psychotherapy reported significant improvements in their mental health. The most recent drug trial found that more than 80 percent of those who took MDMA achieved a measurable reduction in severity of their PTSD symptoms.

About 71 percent of participants improved enough that they no longer met the criteria for diagnosis. Of those who took the placebo, 69 percent improved and nearly 48 percent no longer qualified for a PTSD diagnosis, according to the submitted data.

The questions, concerns and evident skepticism voiced by the 10-member panel echoed those

raised by agency staff members, who last week issued a briefing document aimed at helping the panel evaluate the efficacy and potential adverse health effects of MDMA therapy.

In her opening remarks, Dr. Tiffany Farchione, director of the F.D.A.'s division of psychiatry, noted the regulatory challenges posed by MDMA, saying "we've been learning as we go along." But in her testimony and in staff documents repeatedly noted that the overall study results were significant and lasting.

"Although the application presents a number of complex review issues, it does include two positive studies in which participants in the MDMA-assisted arm experienced statistically significant and clinically meaningful improvement in their PTSD symptoms," she said.

"And that improvement appeared to be durable at least several months after the end of the acute treatment period," she said.

Much of the criticism about Lykos's study designs focused on so-called functional unbinding, a problem that affects many studies involving psychoactive compounds. Although the roughly 400 patients who took part in the studies were not told whether they had received MDMA or a placebo, to reduce the odds of bias in the results, the vast majority were acutely aware of any altered state of mind, leading them to correctly guess which study arm they were enrolled in.

The F.D.A., which worked with Lykos to design the trials, has acknowledged shortcomings in the study designs and recently issued new guidance to address the issues facing psychedelic researchers.

A number of other critical voices emerged in recent months. They include the Institute for Clinical and Economic Review, a nonprofit that examines the costs and effectiveness of medications, which issued a report calling the effects of the treatment "inconclusive" and questioning Lykos's study results.

Other organizations, like the American Psychiatric Association, have not opposed approval outright, but have called on the F.D.A. to mitigate any potential negative consequences by crafting rigorous regulations, strict prescribing and dispensing controls, and close monitoring of patients.

The F.D.A. staff analysts recommended that approval should be contingent on restricted health care settings, monitoring of patients and diligent reporting of adverse events.

Just before they voted on Tuesday, the advisory panel heard from more than 30 speakers who offered starkly divergent views on the application.

Several critics focused on Rick

Doblin, a veteran psychedelics advocate who in 1986 founded the Multidisciplinary Association for Psychedelic Studies, the nonprofit organization that filed the original application for MDMA-assisted therapy with the F.D.A. The organization later created a for-profit entity that earlier this year became Lykos.

Brian Pae, a lecturer at Ohio State University, described the company applying for approval as a "therapy cult" and criticized Mr. Doblin's public comments highlighting his real for psychedelics, including a belief that legalizing and regulating them would bring about world peace.

But the majority of those who spoke in favor of the application offered deeply personal accounts of how MDMA-assisted therapy had largely quieted the symptoms of their PTSD.

Among them was Cristina Pearce, who said she suffered from PTSD after her husband sexually assaulted when she was 9. Over the years, she said she had been prescribed many psychiatric medications and at one point she attempted suicide.

MDMA therapy, she said, changed her life. "What used to feel like a tsunami of overwhelming panic was now merely a puddle at my feet," said Ms. Pearce, who started an organization to help women recovering from trauma.

She ended her testimony by urging the F.D.A. to approve the application.

"I wish more people need to die before we approve an effective therapy?" Ms. Pearce asked the panel. "As you weigh the risk, please keep in mind that this therapy can save many lives. I lost my life to PTSD in this disease. I'm grateful to reclaim it now. But I wish this was an approved medication decades ago."

## F.B.I. Eyed Menendez At a Steakhouse Dinner

By BENJAMIN WEISER

and MARIA CRAMER

The man and the woman arrived at the Washington steakhouse one evening in May 2019 and took a table on the patio, near where five diners already were seated and seemed to be enjoying themselves. Jackets were off, laughter was heard and wine was being poured. A cigarette dangled from one man's hand.

But there was something else that stood out: Among the five were Senator Robert Menendez of New Jersey and his future wife, Nadine Menendez.

The couple who had arrived late appeared to be on a date. She was wearing a black dress, and during their meal he moved around their table and used a camera, to it appeared, snap her picture.

But in reality, court testimony on Tuesday showed, he was photographing the people behind her and at the senator's table. The couple's meeting was part of a 2019 surveillance team, and they had deliberately sat near Mr. Menendez and his group, which also included an Egyptian government official.

The undercover F.B.I. investigators also used concealed cameras to photograph and video-record the people at the table. The couple's meeting was part of a 2019 surveillance team, and they had deliberately sat near Mr. Menendez and his group, which also included an Egyptian government official.

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Ms. Williams-Thompson said she and a partner conducted surveillance for roughly two hours at the restaurant. The overheard comment by Mr. Menendez has featured prominently in the prosecution's case.

The Menendezes and two New Jersey businessmen — Wael Hana and Fred Daibes — have been charged in a conspiracy to give the senator and his wife gold, cash, a Mercedes-Benz and other bribes worth hundreds of thousands of dollars in exchange for the senator's agreeing to steer aid and weapons to Egypt and to meddle in criminal cases in New Jersey.

An indictment filed last year says the dinner at the steakhouse was one of a number of meetings Ms. Menendez arranged for her husband and Egyptian officials. The trial of Mr. Menendez, Mr. Hana and Mr. Daibes in his fourth week, Mr. Menendez's trial was postponed by the judge, Sidney H. Stein, until July because she is being treated for breast cancer. All four defendants have pleaded not guilty.

Mr. Menendez, who filed on Monday to run for re-election to the Senate as an independent, told reporters in Spanish as he left the courthouse Tuesday evening: "Every day we're showing the truth. Every day we're showing them our innocence."

Prosecutors also presented testimony Tuesday from Anna Frenzilli, an F.B.I. special agent who has executed countless searches of a safe deposit box belonging to Ms. Menendez at a New Jersey bank.

Inside the box, she testified, agents found 10 envelopes — some with "Nadine" written on them — containing nearly \$80,000



SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ AND HIS WIFE, NADINE, ARRIVING AT FEDERAL COURT IN MANHATTAN IN MARCH. AN F.B.I. AGENT TESTIFIED THAT SHE WATCHED MR. MENENDEZ FOR TWO HOURS AT A RESTAURANT IN 2019.

in cash and expired passports for her and her two children.

During a cross-examination of Anna Frenzilli, one of Mr. Menendez's lawyers, Avi Weitzman, seized on her testimony in an apparent attempt to distance the senator from his wife's financial dealings, a central aspect of Mr. Menendez's defense strategy. During the trial, his lawyers have cast Mr. Menendez as short on cash and eager to collect luxury items, like the Mercedes, and have said that Mr. Menendez knew nothing of her financial troubles and requests to friends for money.

Mr. Weitzman noted that the bank's log book showed that only Ms. Menendez had ever opened the box. He asked Anna Frenzilli if she had ever seen the senator's name on any of the envelopes or found any passports belonging to Mr. Menendez in the box.

No, the agent replied.

One of those envelopes, on which someone had scrawled "S101000" contained DNA that matched a sample taken from Mr. Daibes, one of the senator's co-defendants, according to testimony Tuesday from Charity Davis, a forensic DNA examiner at the F.B.I. Mr. Daibes is accused of paying the Menendezs bribes in exchange for the senator's efforts to help him in a bank fraud case.

But it was the testimony about the F.B.I. surveillance of Mr. Menendez and others at his restaurant table that appeared to most members of the six-man, six-woman jury.

During cross-examination, Ms. Williams-Thompson, in response to questions from another of the senator's lawyers, Adam Fee, said she had not seen anything to suggest Mr. Menendez and his fellow

diners were aware of the F.B.I. surveillance or were trying to avoid being watched.

Ms. Williams-Thompson, a veteran of nearly two decades with the bureau, testified that when she conducted surveillance, her job was to blend into her surroundings. She typically wore Capri pants or jeans, tennis shoes and a shirt — "to dress the part," she said. If she was following someone on a college campus, she would dress like a student: "jeans, backpack, the whole nine yards," she said.

She also studied the life patterns of individuals. She was assigned to follow: what time they left their homes or offices, how fast or slow they drove, little everyday things about their behavior, she said.

She said on the night of May 21, 2019, she and another investiga-

*A couple appeared to be on a date, but they were investigators.*

tor, Daine Ragland, were assigned to surveil "a subject from New York" who had come into the Washington area, whose name she did not know then. It was unclear in court whom she was referring to, except that it was not the senator.

She suggested that the F.B.I. had more than one team of investigators inside and outside Morton's participating in the surveillance. (Her team was over half a dozen people, she said.)

She and Mr. Ragland posed as a married couple on a dinner date, and were driven to the restaurant by her team leader, who posed as an Uber driver.

They had been given a description of the subject and they viewed a photograph as well.

Ms. Williams-Thompson told the jury that she and Mr. Ragland used code names and kept their identities secret, even from Morton's personnel.

"We don't want to blow our cover," she explained. "We need to make sure that if there is going to be an act done, we do not need them to know the F.B.I. is there because then it won't be committed."

The judge asked whether ordinary customers to maintain their cover with the Morton's staff as well as with the people at the next table. "We dined just like them," Ms. Williams-Thompson said.

When a prosecutor, Lara Pomernoy, asked whether they had eaten, Ms. Williams-Thompson replied: "I sure did. It was good, too."

"That is part of blending in," she said. "You eat? I'm going to eat." Judge Stein interjected: "I hope the F.B.I. paid for your meal."

"Oh yes, sir, they did."

## After His Criminal Conviction, Trump Asks a New York Judge to Lift a Gag Order

By JONAH E. BROMWICH

and MICHAEL GOLD

Donald J. Trump's lawyers on Tuesday asked the judge who oversaw the former president's criminal trial to lift a gag order on their client as the presidential campaign intensifies.

The lawyers said in a letter to the judge, Juan M. Merchan, that the end of the trial on Thursday nullified the need for the gag order, which bars the former president from attacking witnesses, the jury and others involved in the case.

Mr. Trump was convicted of 34 felonies, with a jury determining that he had falsified documents related to a hush-money payment his lawyer made to a porn star in 2016.

"Now that the trials concluded, the concerns articulated by the government and the court do not justify continued restrictions on the First Amendment rights of

President Trump," the lawyers, Todd Blanche and Emil Bove, wrote in the letter.

The jury found that Mr. Trump had falsified the documents to hide an unlawful conspiracy to aid his 2016 presidential campaign by suppressing potentially damaging information. Mr. Trump is scheduled to be sentenced in July and faces up to four years in prison.

A spokeswoman for the Manhattan district attorney's office, which brought the case against Mr. Trump, declined to comment on the defense's request.

Mr. Blanche and Mr. Bove argued that Mr. Trump had a "constitutional mandate for unrestrained campaign advocacy," citing a debate with President Biden scheduled for later this month, and what they characterized as continued attacks from two prosecution witnesses: the porn star, Stormy Daniels, and Michael D. Cohen, Mr. Trump's former fixer.

Justice Merchan imposed the gag order in March, writing that it was necessary to limit the former president's out-of-court statements given that his history of "threatening, inflammatory, denigrating" comments posed a risk to orderly court proceedings.

During the seven-week trial, the judge found that Mr. Trump had violated the order 10 times, attacking jurors — who the former president said were "mostly all Democrats" — and witnesses, including Mr. Cohen. The judge fined Mr. Trump \$10,000 and threatened to send him to jail if the violations continued.

Asserting that jailing Mr. Trump "was the last thing" he wanted to do, the judge said in early May that it was his responsibility to "protect the dignity of the justice system."

After Justice Merchan's warning, Mr. Trump was not found to be in violation again. But he contin-

ued to attack the judge and the district attorney who brought the case, Alvin L. Bragg. Neither was shielded by the gag order.

It was not entirely clear whether the order remained in place once the jurors delivered

**Found in violation 10 times for attacking jurors and witnesses.**

their verdict — a court spokesman said last week that it "speaks for itself."

And while Mr. Trump seemed to believe himself bound by the order, he also appeared willing to test its limits.

He told reporters at a news conference at Trump Tower on Friday, "I'm under a gag order, nasty gag

order" and lamented the fines that he had been forced to pay for violating it.

But at the same appearance, Mr. Trump also appeared to attack Mr. Cohen, who in crucial testimony said that his former boss had directed him to pay hush money to Ms. Daniels before his 2016 victory, and afterward had signed off on a plan to conceal the payoff by disguising reimbursements as payments for legal services.

"I'm not allowed to use his name because of the gag order. But you know, he's a sleazebag," Mr. Trump said Friday.

In an interview that aired Monday on "The Will Cain Show," a Fox News podcast, Mr. Trump also criticized the makeup of the jury, saying the jurors were "you know, from a certain persuasion" and that winning "would have been hard to do, no matter what." Mr. Trump, the presumptive Re-

publican presidential nominee, has repeatedly attacked the gag order as a violation of his right to free speech, particularly as he campaigns for president. On the trail, he has insisted that the order stem from being able to comment on the case against him — even as he often criticizes it and attacks the judge.

Even with the gag order in place, Mr. Trump campaign has for months put the trial at the center of its fund-raising efforts, recently sending numerous emails to supporters using the verdict as a hook for soliciting donations.

In their letter, Mr. Blanche and Mr. Bove insisted that the order should never have been issued in the first place.

"The defense does not concede that there was ever a valid basis for the gag order and reserves the right to challenge the irreparable First Amendment harms caused by the order," they wrote in their letter.

# The New York Times



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VIA EVERETT COLLECTION

## Janis Paige, 101, Star Of 'The Pajama Game' On Broadway, Is Dead

By ANITAGATES

Janis Paige, an entrancing singer, dancer and actress who starred in the original 1954 Broadway production of the hit musical "The Pajama Game," died on Sunday at her home in Los Angeles. She was 101.

Her death was confirmed by a longtime friend, Stuart Lampert.

Ms. Paige made her mark at 22 in the all-star 1944 film "Hollywood Canteen," but exposure in a string of 17 movies over the next seven years left her with little more than a collection of minor beauty titles, like Miss Wingspread and Miss Naval Air Reserve. When she ran away to try the New York stage, however, it took her only three years to become the toast of Broadway.

She was cast as the feisty, romance-resistant union leader Babe Williams in "The Pajama

Alex Traub contributed reporting.

Game," opposite John Raitt. The production—involving theater luminaries like George Abbott (book), Richard Adler (music) and Hal Prince (one of the producers)—won three Tony Awards in 1955, for best musical, best featured actress in a musical (Carol Haney) and best choreography (Bob Fosse).

When the show was adapted for a movie, the producers at Warner Bros. decided that at least one big Hollywood name was needed. So while most of the New York cast, including Mr. Raitt, made the transition to film, Ms. Paige was replaced by Doris Day.

Broadway continued to be kind to Ms. Paige, with four other starring roles. Notably, she replaced the seemingly irreplaceable Angela Lansbury in "Mame" in 1968. Clive Barnes, reviewing her performance in *The New York Times*, wrote that Ms. Paige had made "an excellent job of it."

"She is less of a character" than

Ms. Lansbury, he continued, "but, as some compensation, perhaps more of a performer."

Memorable supporting film roles came along. She played a none-too-bright American movie actress in the 1957 musical "Silk Stockings," inspired by the 1939 Greta Garbo romantic comedy "Ninotchka." (Asked by journalists how she felt about Tolstoy, her character answered, "We're just good friends.")

In that film, which featured songs by Cole Porter, Ms. Paige performed a memorable duet, "Stereophonic Sound," with Fred Astaire. She also played a vengeful, badly reviewed stage actress in the comedy "Please Don't Eat the Daisies" (1960), determined to seduce a married theater critic (David Niven).

Janis Paige was born Donna Mae Tjaden on Sept. 16, 1912, in Tacoma, Wash., to George and Hazel Tjaden. (She changed her name to Janis to honor the World

War I entertainer Elsie Janis; Paige was a family name on her mother's side.)

She studied singing in Washington State and performed in local amateur shows until she moved with her mother to Los Angeles. There she paid for voice lessons

### Also acclaimed for many films, including 'Hollywood Canteen.'

with office work and other jobs, which included singing at the Hollywood Canteen, a hangout for servicemen on leave.

Her role in the 1944 film "Hollywood Canteen" might have been her movie debut, but two other pictures she made — "Bathing Beauty," a musical comedy, and "I

Won't Play," a war drama with music — were released earlier that year.

Ms. Paige had her own television series, "It's Always Jan," for one season (1955-56) on CBS, playing a widowed nightclub singer. She often accompanied Bob Hope on his overseas trips entertaining American troops.

Her last feature film was "The Caretakers" (1963), a hospital drama starring Joan Crawford. But she made frequent guest appearances on television series through the 1980s, and had recurring roles on the daytime dramas "General Hospital" and "Satan Barbara." She played a diner waitress who flirts with Archie Bunker (Carroll O'Connor) in a two-part episode of "All in the Family" in 1976. Her final screen appearance was in a 2001 episode of the CBS series "Family Law."

Ms. Paige was married three times and divorced twice. Her first husband (1947-51) was Frank

Martinielli Jr., a restaurateur. Her second (1956-57) was Arthur Stander, the producer of "It's Always Jan." In 1962, she married the lyricist Ray Gilbert. He died in 1976. No immediate family members survive.

If reviews frequently mentioned her charismatic figure as often as her talent, Ms. Paige faced the same attitudes off-camera.

In a 2017 essay in *The Hollywood Reporter*, as the #MeToo movement caught fire, she wrote that when she was 22, Alfred S. Bloomingdale, the department store heir, tried to rape her after inviting her to dinner and then to his apartment in Los Angeles. She escaped, she wrote, by biting him and running down six flights of stairs.

Mr. Bloomingdale died in 1982. "Maybe there's a special place in hell" for men like him, she said in the essay. She added, "Even at 95, I remember everything."

## Terry Robards, 84, Critic Who Lifted Fine Wines in U.S.

By CLAY RISEN

Terry Robards, a former wine critic for *The New York Times* whose writing in the 1970s and '80s helped American wine buyers to explore regions and styles as far away — and, at the time, as exotic — as Burgundy and Tuscany — as close as upstate New York, died on May 23 at his home in Upper Jay, N.Y., near Lake Placid. He was 84.

His wife, Julie Robards, said the cause was heart failure.

The year 1976 was an inflection point for American wine culture. In France, two California wines beat out their French competitors in a blind tasting known as the Judgment of Paris. In the United States, Wine Spectator, the leading magazine for oenophiles, began publication.

And in New York, Mr. Robards wrote "The New York Times Book of Wine," the first significant book to cover American wines.

Mr. Robards, who was then a financial reporter for *The Times*, did in his spare time what any good wine journalist would do: He toured vineyards and cellars around the country and in Europe, interviewing winemakers and gathering material for frequent articles and, ultimately, for his first book.

"Terry was not only coming to taste wines but also to understand the 'why' we do certain choices in our grape growing or winemaking paths," Veronique Boss Drouhin, winemaker at the Joseph Drouhin winery in France, wrote in an email. "He would listen carefully to the philosophy behind the viticulture and winemaking."

By the late 1970s the book was introducing thousands of Ameri-

Robards was considered one of the country's leading wine writers, a small, mostly self-taught cadre that included Robert Parker Jr., Anthony Davis Blue and Robert LaSalle Balzer.

Mr. Robards wrote articles with titles that would sound strange in today's wine-fluent world, such as "The Case for Red Zinfandel" and "The Subject Is Rose," which made the argument for rose as an aperitif at a time when most Americans drank it as an awkward compromise between white and red wine.

He was later a wine critic for *The New York Post* and a senior editor for *Wine Spectator*. His other books include "California Wine: Land of Abundance" (1983) and "Terry Robards' New Book of Wine: The Ultimate Guide to Wines Throughout the World" (1984).

Mr. Robards also established himself as a merchant in 1983 with a brick-and-mortar store, *Terry Robards Wine and Spirits*, in Lake Placid. It became a frequent destination for wine enthusiasts.

Mr. Robards and his wife used the store as a classroom, holding seminars and tastings that gave insight into regional styles, terroir, cellaring and various winemaking secrets.

Sherman Marshall Robards was born on Oct. 7, 1939, in Manhattan and grew up in Pleasantville, in Westchester County, N.Y. His father, Sydney, was an advertising executive for RCA, a job whose perks included giving one of the first television sets in the area. His mother, Louise (Sherman) Robards, was an artist who also wrote crossword puzzles for *The Times*.

Mr. Robards studied literature and French at Hamilton College,



QUAIN/ALAN/THE NEW YORK TIMES BOOK CO.

In 1976, Mr. Robards published the first significant book to cover American wines.

### Helping to broaden readers' tastes while writing for *The Times*.

in upstate New York. After graduating in 1961, he worked briefly for *The Ossining News*, in Westchester, before joining *The New York Herald Tribune* as a financial reporter in 1962.

While on vacation in the Bahamas in 1965, he stumbled across the Beates, who were filming their second movie. The production was so haphazard that it did not even have a name. An article that Mr. Robards wrote for *The Herald Tribune* captured the quartet's debate over what to call it.

In the end, what could have been "Tomorrow Never Knows"

(Ringo Starr's idea) or "Who's Been Sleeping in My Porridge?" (suggested by George Harrison) or simply "Beates Two" became "Help!"

When *The Herald Tribune* folded a year later, he joined *Fortune* as a monthly columnist. But, missing the excitement of a daily paper, Mr. Robards jumped to *The Times* in 1967.

He was in California on June 5, 1968, covering campaign finance when Robert F. Kennedy was shot while campaigning for president in Los Angeles. Mr. Robards got to the hospital just before the ambulance arrived and the authorities put the building on lockdown.

He and a few other reporters were allowed to stay inside the fielded calls and fed information to the outside world until Mr. Kennedy died from his wounds 25 hours later.

After receiving a contract for his wine book, Mr. Robards relocated from New York to London as a general assignment correspondent for *The Times*, but really with an eye on Europe's wine regions.

"I'd work overtime to get every bit of vacation time I could and used it to go to France, Italy and Spain," he told *The Lake Placid News* in 2021. "I'd find political angles about wine so I could write articles and spend more time."

His first three marriages ended in divorce. He married Julie Robinson in 2004 in a cellar at Remonissenet Pere et Fils, a winery in Beaune, France.

In addition to his wife, Mr. Robards is survived by his sons, John and Jeff; his stepson, Tim Robinson; two grandsons; and his sister, Brooks Robards.

Mr. Robards' departure from *The Times*, in 1983, was not entirely peaceful. Through his agent, he had agreed



ALZ ROBARDS

Terry Robards in 2004. He was a financial reporter whose love for wine led to a second career and took him around the world.

to write a book about French wines. The book, however, was entirely financed by a French wine company, a fact that Mr. Robards said he did not know at the time.

His editors declared the book a conflict of interest and removed him as the paper's wine critic. He left *The Times* a few months later for *The Post*.

Years later, in Lake Placid, Mr. Robards gained a new following as a wine educator, dinner host and raconteur, regaling guests with stories about wine and winemakers, as well as about his early days as a reporter.

He liked to recall one particular

assignment during his time covering the automobile industry for *The Herald Tribune*. In 1963, he traveled to the Bonneville Salt Flats in Utah to watch hand speed tests for the ultimately short-lived Studebaker Avanti.

Before the test driver got behind the wheel, Mr. Robards was allowed to drive the truck, going fast enough to set the world speed record for a general production car.

Less than an hour later, the test driver set a new record. But for a brief stretch of time, Mr. Robards was one of the fastest drivers in the world.

<p><b>Deaths</b></p> <p>Balzer, Angela Harrington, Robert Lorenson, Arthur Schein, Joseph</p>	<p><b>Deaths</b></p> <p><b>HARRINGTON—Robert</b>, 84, died peacefully at home in Manchester, Vt. on May 31 at 78. He had been a member of the Vt. Grand Jury. He is survived by his children: Robert, Jr., and Sue, and his grandchildren: Robert, Jr., and Sue. He was preceded in death by his wife, Carol. Mr. Harrington was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York. He was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York. He was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York.</p>	<p><b>Deaths</b></p> <p>Church of Dorset (143 Church Street, Dorset, Vt.) Please do not call to Campbell Hudson or Greenleaf, Inc. in lieu of flowers.</p>	<p><b>Deaths</b></p> <p><b>LORENSEN—Arthur</b>, 84, died peacefully at home in Manchester, Vt. on May 31 at 78. He had been a member of the Vt. Grand Jury. He is survived by his children: Robert, Jr., and Sue, and his grandchildren: Robert, Jr., and Sue. He was preceded in death by his wife, Carol. Mr. Lorenson was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York. He was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York. He was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York.</p>	<p><b>Deaths</b></p> <p>on in Manhattan for 41 years, retiring as the Director of Administration of the New York State Department of Social Services in 2006. He also served as an executive member of the Association of Local Administrators. Mr. Schein continued to pursue his passions of reading, traveling abroad with his wife, Linda, and his love of fishing, tending to his robust vegetable garden, and his love of the outdoors. He was a member of the Catholic Church and was a member of the New York State Department of Social Services. He was a member of the New York State Department of Social Services. He was a member of the New York State Department of Social Services.</p>	<p><b>Deaths</b></p> <p><b>SCHIEIN—Joseph, MD</b>, died peacefully at home in Manhattan on May 24 at 109 years old. Dr. Schein was an inspiring leader whose passion for medicine and dedication to research and healing were rivaled only by his love of history and linguistics. Dr. Schein's medical career spanned over 50 years, during which he was a member of the New York State Department of Social Services. He was a member of the New York State Department of Social Services. He was a member of the New York State Department of Social Services.</p>	<p><b>Deaths</b></p> <p>believed in the value of palliative care and its impact on medicine and patient care, and in 2013, the Joseph Schein, MD, Endowed Fellowship in Experimental Medicine and Cell Based Medicine at Mount Sinai Health System.</p>	<p><b>Deaths</b></p> <p>John LaPorte Given Professor of Pathology Medicine at Mount Sinai Chair, Department of Pathology, Molecular and Cell Based Medicine Mount Sinai Health System</p>
<p><b>BAVO—Angela Lucy, RSCJ</b>, died peacefully at home in Manhattan on May 24 at 109 years old. She was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury. She is survived by her children: Robert, Jr., and Sue, and her grandchildren: Robert, Jr., and Sue. She was preceded in death by her husband, Robert. Mrs. Bavo was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York. She was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York. She was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York.</p>	<p><b>SACRED HEART, Sacred Heart</b>, died peacefully at home in Manhattan on May 24 at 109 years old. She was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury. She is survived by her children: Robert, Jr., and Sue, and her grandchildren: Robert, Jr., and Sue. She was preceded in death by her husband, Robert. Mrs. Sacred Heart was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York. She was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York. She was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York.</p>	<p><b>LORENSEN—Arthur</b>, 84, died peacefully at home in Manchester, Vt. on May 31 at 78. He had been a member of the Vt. Grand Jury. He is survived by his children: Robert, Jr., and Sue, and his grandchildren: Robert, Jr., and Sue. He was preceded in death by his wife, Carol. Mr. Lorenson was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York. He was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York. He was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York.</p>	<p><b>LORENSEN—Arthur</b>, 84, died peacefully at home in Manchester, Vt. on May 31 at 78. He had been a member of the Vt. Grand Jury. He is survived by his children: Robert, Jr., and Sue, and his grandchildren: Robert, Jr., and Sue. He was preceded in death by his wife, Carol. Mr. Lorenson was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York. He was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York. He was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York.</p>	<p>on in Manhattan for 41 years, retiring as the Director of Administration of the New York State Department of Social Services in 2006. He also served as an executive member of the Association of Local Administrators. Mr. Schein continued to pursue his passions of reading, traveling abroad with his wife, Linda, and his love of fishing, tending to his robust vegetable garden, and his love of the outdoors. He was a member of the Catholic Church and was a member of the New York State Department of Social Services. He was a member of the New York State Department of Social Services. He was a member of the New York State Department of Social Services.</p>	<p><b>SCHIEIN—Joseph, MD</b>, died peacefully at home in Manhattan on May 24 at 109 years old. Dr. Schein was an inspiring leader whose passion for medicine and dedication to research and healing were rivaled only by his love of history and linguistics. Dr. Schein's medical career spanned over 50 years, during which he was a member of the New York State Department of Social Services. He was a member of the New York State Department of Social Services. He was a member of the New York State Department of Social Services.</p>	<p>believed in the value of palliative care and its impact on medicine and patient care, and in 2013, the Joseph Schein, MD, Endowed Fellowship in Experimental Medicine and Cell Based Medicine at Mount Sinai Health System.</p>	<p><b>ARTH—Thomas</b>, 79, 1929 - June 5, 2015 He was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York. He was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York. He was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York.</p>
<p><b>DECEASED—Cynthia</b>, died peacefully at home in Manhattan on May 24 at 109 years old. She was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury. She is survived by her children: Robert, Jr., and Sue, and her grandchildren: Robert, Jr., and Sue. She was preceded in death by her husband, Robert. Mrs. Deceased was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York. She was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York. She was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York.</p>	<p><b>DECEASED—Cynthia</b>, died peacefully at home in Manhattan on May 24 at 109 years old. She was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury. She is survived by her children: Robert, Jr., and Sue, and her grandchildren: Robert, Jr., and Sue. She was preceded in death by her husband, Robert. Mrs. Deceased was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York. She was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York. She was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York.</p>	<p><b>LORENSEN—Arthur</b>, 84, died peacefully at home in Manchester, Vt. on May 31 at 78. He had been a member of the Vt. Grand Jury. He is survived by his children: Robert, Jr., and Sue, and his grandchildren: Robert, Jr., and Sue. He was preceded in death by his wife, Carol. Mr. Lorenson was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York. He was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York. He was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York.</p>	<p><b>LORENSEN—Arthur</b>, 84, died peacefully at home in Manchester, Vt. on May 31 at 78. He had been a member of the Vt. Grand Jury. He is survived by his children: Robert, Jr., and Sue, and his grandchildren: Robert, Jr., and Sue. He was preceded in death by his wife, Carol. Mr. Lorenson was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York. He was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York. He was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York.</p>	<p>on in Manhattan for 41 years, retiring as the Director of Administration of the New York State Department of Social Services in 2006. He also served as an executive member of the Association of Local Administrators. Mr. Schein continued to pursue his passions of reading, traveling abroad with his wife, Linda, and his love of fishing, tending to his robust vegetable garden, and his love of the outdoors. He was a member of the Catholic Church and was a member of the New York State Department of Social Services. He was a member of the New York State Department of Social Services. He was a member of the New York State Department of Social Services.</p>	<p><b>SCHIEIN—Joseph, MD</b>, died peacefully at home in Manhattan on May 24 at 109 years old. Dr. Schein was an inspiring leader whose passion for medicine and dedication to research and healing were rivaled only by his love of history and linguistics. Dr. Schein's medical career spanned over 50 years, during which he was a member of the New York State Department of Social Services. He was a member of the New York State Department of Social Services. He was a member of the New York State Department of Social Services.</p>	<p>believed in the value of palliative care and its impact on medicine and patient care, and in 2013, the Joseph Schein, MD, Endowed Fellowship in Experimental Medicine and Cell Based Medicine at Mount Sinai Health System.</p>	<p><b>ARTH—Thomas</b>, 79, 1929 - June 5, 2015 He was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York. He was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York. He was a member of the Vt. Grand Jury and served as a juror in the state of New York.</p>

## Opinion

The New York Times

## Claudia Sheinbaum Has a Daunting Job

Joan Grillo

A writer based in Mexico who investigates drug trafficking, violence and organized crime in Latin America.

IN A VILLAGE in the hills of Guerrero State, residents ran from their homes as drones flew overhead, dropping makeshift bombs. For months, drug cartel operatives had been deploying the commercial devices to drop explosives packed into metal casings, setting homes ablaze, tearing holes in walls and sending piercing hot shrapnel into people's flesh.

Traveling to the state, in southern Mexico, in March, I visited some of those villages and met people who had packed their possessions into pickup trucks and fled the terror. And while the drone attacks are a dark new advance, they are just one example of the violence that has raged across Mexico every day for almost two decades of intense cartel warfare, leaving hundreds of thousands of Mexicans displaced, murdered or disappeared.

This violence is the most formidable challenge that Claudia Sheinbaum, whom the nation has just elected as its first female president, by a huge margin, will have to confront when she assumes office in October. And yet she has no laid out a clear strategy to govern a country that is bathed in blood and scarred with mass graves in cow fields and garbage dumps. Ms. Sheinbaum will be in charge of a nation plagued by over 30,000 murders a year, 90 percent of which go unsolved, and she will have to face the powerful cartels behind those numbers, which have become paramilitary organized crime networks deeply embedded in communities. Today, these groups not only traffic drugs like fentanyl but also run a portfolio of crimes from human smuggling to widespread extortion.

The run-up to the election was one of the most violent campaigns in Mexico's recent history. Dozens of candidates were killed, and a gunman shot a candidate for mayor as he shook hands with supporters on a basketball court. Ms. Sheinbaum did not put this bloodshed at the core of her campaign. A 61-year-old environmental engineer who belongs to the governing Morena party, Ms. Sheinbaum won the vote on promises to continue social programs of the current president, her mentor Andrés Manuel López Obrador, known as AMLO. She floated interesting proposals on renewable energy and confronting water shortages.

Her lack of a strong public vision for Mexico's security is concerning, given that her three predecessors all failed on this front. Felipe Calderón took power in 2006 and headed a military crackdown on cartels, but violence escalated; his security secretary was later convicted in New York of cocaine trafficking. From 2012 to 2018, Enrique Peña Nieto tried to change the narrative and talk about Mexico's economic potential, but violence also worsened on his watch. During his tenure, 43 students disappeared while in the custody of police officers linked to a cartel. And AMLO has been mired for his call to deal with cartels through "hugs, and bullets," while presiding over the most violent period in Mexico's recent history.

All that said, Ms. Sheinbaum has shown she can take a pragmatic approach to crime.

As mayor of Mexico City from 2018 to 2023, she flooded the city with security cameras and deployed the police in certain high-crime areas. Murders dropped by about half in the city during her tenure, according to official statistics. The opposition candidate Xóchitl Gálvez has claimed Ms. Sheinbaum manipulated those figures to hide homicides, and there is a legitimate debate on the

true death toll of cartel violence across Mexico. But today, people in the capital feel markedly safer, according to a government survey.

Of course, controlling crime levels in a single city is different from facing the sprawling national crisis that in some states resembles a full-blown war. In states like Zacatecas and Michoacán, squads of cartel

## Mexico's new leader must stop the blood bath.



RAQUEL CUNHA/REUTERS

gunmen roll through towns in convoys flashing their Kalashnikovs, blocking roads and using improvised explosive devices and rocket-propelled grenades. Hidden graves dot the country, hiding victims ranging from cartel operatives killed by rivals to innocent people who crossed the wrong gangsters. Most likely the largest mass grave discovered so far, found in 2016 in the southeastern state of Veracruz, contained almost 300 skulls.

Most people would love to end this war, stop the impunity with which the cartels operate and fix the endemic corruption in the security forces. Those are herculean problems that will take years to overcome. Ms. Sheinbaum should take the same practical approach she used in Mexico City: pursuing concrete goals that could at least reduce the violence and turn a national security crisis into a more manageable problem of public safety.

To do so, the new president should prioritize going after the most violent players, including certain cartel commanders and squads of killers in the most homicidal areas of the country. Mexican security forces cannot take down all cartels at once, and major drug traffickers are easily replaced by others hungry for the huge profits. But consistently targeting the most lethal players could reduce the body count and make other traffickers less keen to unleash mass murder.

Ms. Sheinbaum also needs a strong campaign to fight the rampant extortion that is ravaging the lives of many hardworking Mexicans. If she targets extortion, she will win support from businesses large and small, and it will help the economy.

Finally, she needs to create an effective prevention program aimed at the young people recruited by cartels. As I wrote in my book in 2021, a veteran with the infamous Barrio Azteca gang, which operates in Ciudad Juárez, told me back in 2017 how his gang looked for angry, abandoned youths to join the organization. "The kids who have been mistreated by their parents, they have a cold look, and those are people that are useful for the job," he said. "They make for the good bad guys."

Both Mr. Peña Nieto and AMLO talked about this idea but failed to devise any truly effective policy. AMLO's scholarship program for high school students, which aims to keep teenagers in education, is a good start, but it can miss the young people who are most likely to join the cartels. A more constructive program has to be more laser-focused on the most troubled youths in the most violent areas. Mexico already has gifted social workers on the ground who could do that work if they had the resources.

Even incremental progress would go a long way. If Ms. Sheinbaum's government can slash the level of murders by even a third, people can start to feel safer. If there are fewer homicides, investigators will be less flooded by cases, and more can be solved. If more people denounce extortion, others may be emboldened to do so.

On the other hand, judging from the violence in Mexico over the past two decades, things could easily get worse. And if the current reformist presidents continue to fail at fighting crime, a more radical contender could come along, promising security at a very high cost, including a total decimation of human rights.

## Belgium Is a Bellwether for What Ails Europe

Anton Jäger

A lecturer at Oxford University and a Belgian essayist who writes extensively about European politics.

BRUSSELS

HE COULD have been anywhere. Delivering a speech to a group of Belgian businessmen this year, Barack Obama warned about the dangers of artificial intelligence, climate change and geopolitical conflict. More local matters were close at hand: Belgium was entering an election year, and its capital, Brussels, home to some of Europe's most hallowed institutions, had weathered a year of geopolitical shocks. Yet Mr. Obama wouldn't be drawn into questions about national politics. A visit to the Magritte Museum and the king was the extent of his engagement.

The hesitancy is understandable. In what is billed as the largest election year in human history, with about half of the planet heading to polls, Belgium cuts a rather inconspicuous figure. The country's politics are colorful and fascinatingly complex; outsiders are prone to be puzzled by a country with a population roughly equal to metropolitan Paris's that has six governments across three regions and three languages. On Sunday, Belgians go to the polls, including for a round of European Parliament voting. Anyone worried about the direction of the continent should pay attention.

For all its singularity, Belgium tells a quintessentially European story. Against a backdrop of ailing public services, precarious labor markets, warring traditional parties and intractable regional divisions, a far right is readying itself for power. In Brussels, the seat of the European Union, rising crime, pollution and decaying infrastructure symbolize a continent in decline. With unusual clarity, Belgium shows the challenges Europe has come to in the 21st century: a continent subject to history rather than driving it.

Set within the European panorama of decline, Belgian politics also exhibit some curi-

ous features: The work force unionization rate has remained steady at around 50 percent in the past 10 years, and Belgium has had an impressive record on inequality and wages. Yet this has hardly stopped the politics of resentment in the country, which is particularly potent in the Dutch-speaking northern region of Flanders.

The far-right party Vlaams Belang is set to triumph there, threatening to break through the cordon sanitaire that was cast around it decades ago. Under a slightly different name, the party was formed in response to the lackluster politics of regionalism in the 1970s, only to reboot itself as fiercely anti-immigrant in the 1980s. Engaging in patient social outreach and carefully tending to its grass-roots base, it has capitalized on the slow retreat of Belgium's mass parties. It now expects to draw nearly one-third of the Flemish vote — a historically high tally that would establish it as a serious contender for government on the regional level.

In the French-speaking south, the political arithmetic is strikingly different. Geographically, Wallonia has long seemed the ideal breeding ground for right-wing populism. Deindustrialization and demographic decline have ailed the former manufacturing heartland since the 1970s. Yet no far-right contender has managed to step up, and the Wallonian Socialist Party, one of the most deeply rooted in Europe, has kept its hand of power, through clientelism and deep pools of personnel. That grip on power is weakening, however: Its membership is aging, and there are plausible challengers both left and right.

Then there is Brussels, home to its own regional government and the national government. Politically, the difficulties lie less in the advance of the right than in the stalling of the left. Public finances, chiefly under the Socialist Party's stewardship, are in deep distress. A scheduled north-south metro line, cause of much municipal distress, is to be delayed by a decade and a half. The liberal Reformist Movement — along with the left

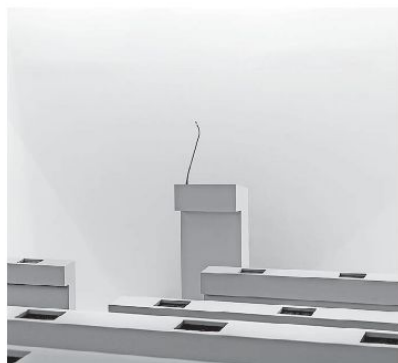


PHOTO ILLUSTRATION BY JAN A. STALDER

## Fractured politics, pollution and crime signify a continent in decline.

Workers' Party and the French-speaking Ecolo party — probably stands to benefit from the turmoil, though few hold out much hope that things will improve markedly.

One of the most diverse cities in the world, the Belgian capital neatly exemplifies Belgium's contradictory position in the current world system, caught between the regional and the global. Belgium has always acted as a transit zone for greater powers, even when its industrial might and colonial dependencies rivaled those of world leaders. At the same time, the country played a key role in forging some of the institutions that now dominate European politics. From NATO to the European Union, its multilateral enthusiasm has been unsurprising. A small economy easily susceptible to international pressure, it knew it would always hold more sway inside than outside the tent.

Belgium's international hopes went beyond mere opportunism, however. For a long time, Belgian politicians and citizens hoped that European integration would release them from their own tribal squabbles. Who needed intricate federal coalitions if the bemoaned in Brussels would soon take over? Except for the army and the national museums, all other levers of policy could comfortably be transferred, and Belgium could retire from national politics.

The upward absorption has not come to pass. The European Union remains a halfway house between national government and continental superstate. There is no E.U. army or capacious fiscal apparatus. Consequently, Belgium has been put in a awkward position. Unable to collapse itself into Europe, it is stuck with a ramshackle federal state in which the distribution of tasks is perpetually unclear.

As the ideological glue that allows Belgians to cohabit has come unstuck, the traditional parties of government have found it difficult to retain public backing. Amid a wider fracturing of the vote, Flemish and Wallonian voters are now lured by adventurers on right and left. For Prime Minister Alexander de Croo, the head of a seven-party coalition that took nearly two painstaking years to assemble, the prospects are anything but appetizing.

Belgium serves as a stern reminder that there are few bulwarks against the trends that all European nations. The country is no Italy or Netherlands, where the far right is already in government, and party democracy and its postwar prosperity survive only as faint memories. Yet even with Belgium's lower inequality rates, higher union membership and comparatively stronger party infrastructure, the march of the far right has also proved easily unstoppable.

The fragile equilibrium the country maintained throughout the 2010s always surprised observers. In the 2020s, however, there seems no shelter from the century's hard questions.

COLUMNIST | MICHELLE GOLDBERG

# 'Lock Her Up' Was Not Just a Slogan



DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

A TRUMP of the Trump era is that every accusation is a confession. When Donald Trump hurled wild charges at his opponents, he is telegraphing what he plans to do to them, pre-emptively justifying the breaking of laws and norms by casting himself as the victim of the very misdeeds he's going to commit.

That is how we should understand Trump's ranting in the wake of his 34 felony convictions last week. After he was found guilty, he told reporters gathered outside the courthouse, "This was done by the Biden administration in order to wound or hurt an opponent." It's tedious to fact-check such claims — the MAGA movement doesn't care what's true and what's not — but President Biden had nothing to do with the state case brought by Alvin Bragg, the Manhattan district attorney. And as it underlines Biden's refusal to interfere in Justice Department decisions, the federal prosecution of the president's son Hunter Biden began this week.

In spinning this fantasy about Biden, Trump is telegraphing that should he return to the White House, he will try to use the Justice Department in exactly the way he's pretending it was used against him. When the former president compares himself to the Russian opposition leader Alexei Navalny, who died this week in an Arctic prison colony, he's giving himself permission to act like Vladimir Putin.

In an interview with three Fox News hosts on Sunday, his first since his conviction, Trump all but promised that his second

term would be even more corrupt and vindictive than his first. In his telling, he never called for Hillary Clinton to be imprisoned and magnanimously resisted the entreaties of others to punish her. Next time, he suggested, he won't be so nice. "They always said lock her up, and I felt — and I could have done it, but I felt it would have been a terrible thing," he said. "And then this happened to me, and so I may feel differently about it."

Speaking to the Fox hosts, Trump denied saying the words that were the refrain to his

## Trump's second term would be even more vindictive than his first.

first presidential campaign: "I didn't say, 'Lock her up.'" That is, of course, a preposterous lie, the kind that demonstrates Trump's strongman ability to get his followers to accept absurdities. And "Lock her up," it's important to remember, was never just rhetoric. As the Mueller report revealed, Trump demanded that his first attorney general, Jeff Sessions, would recuse himself from investigations involving the 2016 campaign, go after Clinton.

"According to Sessions, the president asked him to reverse his recusal so that Sessions could direct the Department of Justice to investigate and prosecute Hillary Clinton," the Mueller report said. Eventually, attempt-

ing to placate his boss, Sessions tapped U.S. Attorney John Huber of Utah to look into the right's allegations about the Clinton Foundation, but Huber came up empty.

Sessions's replacement, William Barr, proved more willing to bend ethical rules to do Trump's bidding. Geoffrey Berman, a Republican who served as U.S. attorney for the Southern District of New York until Trump fired him, described Barr's Justice Department in his book, "Holding the Line." "Demands came down from main Justice that were overtly political — among the most outrageous of them, pressure to pursue baseless criminal charges against John Kerry, who had served in the Obama administration as secretary of state," he wrote.

Eventually, during Trump's efforts to overturn the 2020 election, Barr discovered lines that even he wouldn't cross. Given another chance, Trump will surely seek a Justice Department head who is a fully committed MAGA apparition; he's said he's considering the ultraright attorney General Ken Paxton of Texas, who is under federal investigation because of allegations that he accepted bribes and abused the power of his office.

The point here is not that Trump and his lackeys are lying about his record; it would be more newsworthy if they weren't. What's important is that Trump has already tried to use the power of the presidency to harass his enemies, and his allies have since identified the choke points in the system that previously thwarted him. As Reuters reported, people close to Trump have a two-part plan to "turn the nation's top law enforcement body into an attack dog for conservative causes." First, they want to flood the Department of Justice "with stalwart conservative lawyers unlikely to say no to controversial orders from the White House." Then they want to restructure it "so key decisions are concentrated in the hands of administration loyalists rather than career bureaucrats."

Republican cablewalking about Trump's felony convictions provides rhetorical cover for this planned transformation of America's justice system by making it seem as if that transformation has already been accomplished by Democrats. On Thursday, Senator Marco Rubio of Florida, a potential Trump vice president, said that Democrats "have crossed the line in which now the court system is a political weapon, and it's going to be very hard for it not to come back the other way."

In other words, whatever abuses Trump's foes are subject to in a Trump restoration will be nothing but well-earned consequences. By projecting the authoritarian aggression of their movement onto others, Republicans absolve themselves. It's the mantra of abusers everywhere: "Look what you made me do."

LETTERS

## Psychiatry and the Dangerous Patient

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Psychiatrists Confront Use of Force" (Science Times, May 21):

I read this article with interest and with sympathy for Matthew Tuleja's distressing experience; it is a story I have heard many times before. The article mentions that staff members are assaulted, and on inpatient units, patients are also sometimes assaulted by other patients. It is hard in emergency departments where the staff doesn't know the patients, and who can be talked down and who is truly dangerous.

The article presents the distress from the patient's (Mr. Tuleja's) point of view; it doesn't provide extensive reporting on how scary it must be for a former therapist to hear that an angry football player and ex-patient with homicidal thoughts is coming to confront them. Or what it's like to be a security guard when that patient charges at an opening in an effort to escape.

At the same time, it is obvious that we need better staffing on inpatient units, and not immediately default to injecting medications and restraining patients. So many patients could be de-escalated, but it takes time, patience, staffing and some willingness to tolerate risk. People shouldn't have PTSD from medical care but they do; this type of treatment weighs on people for years and years.

Having talked to many people about this, and having thought about it for years, I don't think there is a great answer to this problem. I'm

always left with the idea that we should try harder to make inpatient psychiatric care a less stigmatized, less miserable experience for patients, so that going into the hospital isn't something people dread, resist and say they'd rather die or go to jail before they'd go back.

DINAH MILLER, BALTIMORE

The writer is a psychiatrist and co-author of the book "Committed: The Battle Over Involuntary Psychiatric Care."

TO THE EDITOR:

It has long been known that the incidence of sedation and restraint in psychiatry varies greatly depending on whether such interventions are considered a necessary part of a patient's treatment or evidence of its failure.

The one time I was slapped by a patient during my residency was in response to insisting that this man talk to me, or else he would be hospitalized. That sure was not a form of acceptable treatment, not unlike what happened to Matthew Tuleja, simply because he refused to accept the drug that was offered to him.

Since the mid-19th century, before the advent of psychotropic drugs, it has been repeatedly demonstrated that a determined search for alternatives to coercion can almost completely eliminate such traumatic interventions, but psychiatry in the U.S. seems far from achieving consensus on this matter.

PETER STASTNY, NEW YORK

The writer is a psychiatrist.

## 'Disgraceful' Grilling of Fauci by Republicans

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Fauci Calls Claims He Hid Leak of Covid From Lab 'Preposterous'" (news article, June 4):

Dr. Anthony Fauci, whose knowledge and experience are exemplary, was grilled and maligned by far-right Republicans in his appearance at a House committee hearing on his alleged incompetence and deception when he was a leader of the nation's effort to control the pandemic.

The abuse and disrespect directed at Dr. Fauci by some members of the pathetically uninformed and often nasty Republican majority on the House Select Subcommittee on the Coronavirus Pandemic was disgraceful, as they pursued outrageous allegations that he helped cover up the origin of the virus.

Dr. Fauci, who will be recalled, contended with obstacles posed by anti-science and anti-vaccine politics and an incompetent president whose denial of the extent of the crisis accounted for the missed opportunities for the early

containment of the virus.

Though hindsight suggests that aspects of this crisis probably could have been managed differently, Dr. Fauci, who fears for his personal safety, has been made a scapegoat by vindictive Republicans, a role this loyal public servant certainly does not deserve.

ROGER HIRSCHBERG, SOUTH BURLINGTON, VT.

TO THE EDITOR:

Dr. Anthony Fauci is not responsible for China's failure to regulate its coronavirus laboratory and field work or its wet markets, and he neither caused nor exacerbated the pandemic. Rather, politicians and partisan media use him to distract voters from our multiple systemic and leadership failures that led to the highest Covid-19 death rate of any developed nation.

If the United States had the per capita Covid-19 death rate of France or Germany, about 400,000 of the nearly 12 million Americans who died from the infection would be alive.

We need to acknowledge this enormous failure and address its causes with at least the attention that we give to the origins of the virus.

MICHAEL FARZAN, BROOKLINE, MASS.

## Presidential Rankings

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "What Trump Looks Like to Historians," by Thomas B. Edsall (Opinion essay, nytimes.com, May 22):

After reading the article about presidential rankings, I feel compelled to try to reverse a grave injustice that has irked me for years. Isn't it a bit strange that William Henry Harrison and James Garfield are consistently ranked near the bottom by historians, and for what reason?

Harrison died 31 days into his term — most likely from enteric fever linked to the White House water supply, which was downstream from public sewage. He didn't have time to do any serious damage, other than giving the longest inaugural speech in American history. But does that merit being placed lower in the polls than, for example, George W. Bush, who was responsible for the disastrous war in Iraq?

James Garfield died of a gunshot wound only six months into his presidency. I think historians are unfair to condemn these two presidents. They really weren't given much of a chance to succeed. Their lives were taken away from them. Isn't that enough?

DAVID PAWEŁ, CONCORD, CALIF.

COLUMNIST | BRET STEPHENS

# This D-Day, Europe Needs to Get Its Act Together

THURSDAY'S D-DAY ANNIVERSARY — the 80th — is occasioning somber and anxious reflections about the fate of the Atlantic alliance. Somber because the last of the Greatest Generation will soon no longer be with us. Anxious because Donald Trump, and his evident disdain for that alliance, may soon be with us again.

The anxiety is partly misplaced. Trump's truculent brand of American nationalism is a terrible idea for many reasons, not least in the encouragement it gives to Vladimir Putin and Xi Jinping to target weaker American allies. But Trump is also the messenger of a warning Europeans desperately need to heed.

In a nutshell: Shape up. Europe today faces four great challenges that typically determine the fate of great powers. Take a brief look:

**Growth and dynamism:** In 1960 the E.U. 28 — the 27 countries currently in the European Union, plus Britain — accounted for 36.3 percent of global gross domestic product. By 2020 it had fallen to 22.4 percent. By the end of the century it is projected to fall just under 10 percent. By contrast, the United States has maintained a roughly consistent share — around a quarter — of global G.D.P. since the Kennedy administration.

**Think of any leading-edge industry** — artificial intelligence, microchips, software, robotics, genomics — and ask yourself (with a few honorable exceptions), where's the European Microsoft, Nvidia or OpenAI?

**Military power:** When the Cold War ended in 1990, the West German military fielded more than 500,000 troops and spent 2.5 percent of its G.D.P. on defense. As of last year, it was down to 181,000 troops and 1.57 percent. Britain's Royal Navy, the most powerful in the world at the outset of World War II, can now deploy just 10 submarines and fewer than two dozen major surface warships, some of which are inactive.

In an all-out war, the British would exhaust their defense capabilities in about two months, according to a report to the House of Commons defense committee. The same would likely be true — if not much sooner — for every E.U. member-state apart from Poland, which aims to spend as much as 5 percent of its G.D.P. on defense next year.

**Demographics:** What do Chancellor Olaf Scholz of Germany, his predecessor Angela Merkel, president Emmanuel Macron of France, Prime Minister Mark Rutte of the Netherlands and the former British prime minister Theresa May have in common? They are childless. That's their personal business (and far from representative of all E.U. leaders), but it's symbolic of a continent where just under 3.9 million Europeans were born in 2022 and 5.15 million died. A shrinking and aging population typically correlates

with low economic growth, not least because entrepreneurship is usually a young person's game.

Europe has an additional challenge: a relatively high Muslim birthrate, along with the prospect of long-term Muslim migration. Under a "medium migration" scenario estimated by Pew, by 2050 Britain will be nearly 17 percent Muslim, France 17.4 percent and Sweden 20.5 percent. Those wondering about the ascendance of far-right European parties,



BENOIT TESSIER/REUTERS

## Nations succeed or fail to the extent that they refuse to hand over responsibility.

who are heavily favored to sweep this week's elections in the E.U. Parliament and who are often sympathetic to Vladimir Putin, know this is a factor. And they need to be honest that the values of depressing notable segments of these Muslim populations are fundamentally at odds with European traditions of moral tolerance and political liberalism.

**Purpose and will:** Many of Europe's current failings are explained (often by European leaders themselves) as a problem of political mechanics: insufficient coordination between states; inadequate power in Brussels; failures of transmission between declared goals and real-world results. But the problem isn't just one of process. It's also one

of spirit. A few questions:

■ If Russia defeats Ukraine and decides in a few years' time to attack one of the Baltic countries, is there a deep pool of young Germans, Belgians or Spaniards willing to die for Tallinn or Vilnius?

■ As Europe's NATO members struggle to meet the alliance's minimum goal of spending 2 percent of their G.D.P. on defense, are they willing to come to grips with the fact that they probably need to spend twice as much?



BENOIT TESSIER/REUTERS

■ How much state protection, in social welfare and economic regulation, are Europe's aging voters willing to forgo for the sake of creating a more dynamic economy for a dwindling number of young people?

■ How farside are European leaders willing to be in insisting that their values — including freedom of speech, women's rights and gay rights — must be protected against the illiberal instincts of a growing share of their voters?

Trump's ideas about NATO, his zero-sum attitudes about winning, his fondness for strongmen and his ignorance of and indifference to history are all, rightly, causes for European alarm. But people, and nations, succeed or fail to the extent that they refuse to hand over responsibility for their fates to others.

"The world is what it is; men who are nothing, who allow themselves to become nothing, have no place in it," V.S. Naipaul once warned. It's good advice for Europe on this solemn anniversary of their previous liberation.



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TECH | ECONOMY | MEDIA | FINANCE

# Business

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 5, 2024 B1

## China's Internet History? Deleted.



The number of Chinese websites is shrinking and posts are being removed and censored, stoking fears about losing a nation's 'collective memory.'

Li Yuan

THE NEW NEW WORLD

Chinese people know their country's internet is different. There is no Google, YouTube, Facebook or Twitter. They use euphemisms online to communicate the things they are not supposed to mention. When their posts and accounts are censored, they accept it with resignation. They live in a parallel online universe. They know it and even joke about it. Now they are discovering that, beneath

a facade bustling with short videos, live-streaming and e-commerce, their internet — and collective online memory — is disappearing in chunks.

A post on WeChat on May 22 that was widely shared reported that nearly all information posted on Chinese news portals, blogs, forums, social media sites between 1995 and 2005 was no longer available.

"The Chinese internet is collapsing at an accelerating pace," the headline said. Predictably, the post itself was soon censored.

"We used to believe that the internet

had a memory," He Jiayan, a blogger who writes about successful businesspeople, wrote in the post. "But we didn't realize that this memory is like that of a goldfish."

It's impossible to determine exactly how much and what content has disappeared. But I did a test. I used China's top search engine, Baidu, to look up some of the examples cited in Mr. He's post, focusing on about the same time frame between the mid-1990s and mid-2000s.

I started with Alibaba's Jack Ma and Tencent's Pony Ma, two of China's most successful internet entrepreneurs, both of whom Mr. He had searched for. I also

searched for Liu Chuanzhi, known as the godfather of Chinese entrepreneurs: He made headlines when his company, Lenovo, acquired IBM's personal computer business in 2005.

I looked, too, for results for China's top leader, Xi Jinping, who during the period was the governor of two big provinces. Search results of senior Chinese leaders are always closely controlled. I wanted to see what people could find if they were curious about what Mr. Xi was like before he became a national leader.

I got no results when I searched for Ma Yun, which is Jack Ma's name in Chinese. I found three entries for Ma Huateng, which is Pony Ma's name. A search for Liu Chuanzhi turned up seven entries.

There were zero results for Mr. Xi.

Then I searched for one of the most

CONTINUED ON PAGE B4

## As Solar Power Surges, U.S. Wind Is Struggling

By BRAD PLUMER and NADJA POPOVICH

When President Biden signed the 2022 Inflation Reduction Act, it was expected to set off a boom in renewable energy, with hefty tax breaks that would make solar and wind power cheaper than fossil fuels.

So far, however, that dream has only come partly true. Solar panel installations are indeed soaring to record highs in the United States, as are batteries that can store energy for later. But wind power has struggled, both on land and in the ocean.

The country is now adding less wind capacity each year than before the law was passed.

Some factors behind the wind industry's recent slowdown may be temporary, such as snarled supply chains. But wind power is also more vulnerable than solar power to many of the biggest logistical hurdles that hinder energy projects today: a lack of transmission lines, a lengthy permitting process and a growing backlash against new projects in many communities.

CONTINUED ON PAGE B3



If wind power continues to stagnate, that could make the fight against global warming much harder, experts say.

## U.K. Editor To Take Over At The Post

By MICHAEL M. GRYNBAUM

In the swashbuckling world of British newspapers, the editor Robert Winnett stands out for his lack of flash, Taciturn and low key, more likely to be buried in documents at his desk than hobnobbing at a Mayfair club, Mr. Winnett, the deputy editor of The Daily Telegraph, is known for his focus on breaking news, once earning the nickname "Rat Boy" for his relentless drive for scoops.

Now Mr. Winnett is stepping into a spotlight that will be hard to avoid: This fall, he will become the editor of The Washington Post, taking over one of the most powerful and scrutinized jobs in American journalism at a pivotal time in the news industry.

His ascent is due to his long-standing ties to Will Lewis, the chief executive of The Post. Mr. Lewis, a Fleet Street star, mentored Mr. Winnett at The Sunday

CONTINUED ON PAGE B4

## Europe Frets As Economy Falls Behind

By PATRICIA COHEN

LONDON — Europe's share of the global economy is shrinking, and fears are deepening that the continent can no longer keep up with the United States and China.

"We are too small," said Enrico Letta, a former Italian prime minister who recently delivered a report on the future of the single market to the European Union.

"We are not very ambitious," Nicolai Tangen, head of Norway's sovereign wealth fund, the world's largest, told The Financial Times. "Americans just work harder."

"European businesses need to regain self-confidence," Europe's association of chambers of commerce declared.

The list of reasons for what has been called the "competitiveness crisis" goes on: The European Union has too many regulations, and its leadership in Brussels has too little power. Financial markets are

CONTINUED ON PAGE B3

The Digest

ECONOMY  
Global Public Debt Hit \$97 Trillion, U.N. Says

Global public debt rose to a record \$97 trillion last year, the United Nations reported Tuesday, with developing countries owed roughly one-third of that — crimping their ability to pay for basic government services like health care and climate action.

U.N. Trade and Development said the value of money owed by governments rose by \$5.6 trillion from 2022.

"Developing countries must not be forced to choose between servicing their debt or serving their people," the report said. "The international financial architecture must change to ensure a prosperous future for both people and the planet."

The United States, according to the report, led the world with more than \$33 trillion in public debt last year, trailed by China at nearly \$15 trillion.

Egypt, Mexico, Brazil and India joined China among developing countries with the most public debt. ASSOCIATED PRESS

COMPANIES  
Bath & Body Works Predicts Profit Downturn

Bath & Body Works forecast full-year profit largely below market estimates on Tuesday and said it expected annual sales to drop, signaling that demand for its scented candles and body care products would remain subdued amid sticky inflation.

Customers with constrained budgets are still unwilling to spend on expensive nonessential products such as home goods, while they have begun to open their wallets to smaller discretionary items like trendier clothes and accessories.

The company now expects 2024 net sales to drop 2.5 percent to flat, compared with its previous forecast of a decline of 3 percent to flat. Analysts were expecting sales to drop 0.37 percent.

Bath & Body Works' net sales fell 0.9 percent, to \$1.38 billion in the quarter ended May 4, compared to expectations of \$1.37 billion. REUTERS



AVIATION  
United Airlines Hiring, But the Pace Is Slowing

United Airlines officials say they expect to hire nearly 10,000 workers this year as U.S. air travel continues to grow, but the pace of hiring will be slower than in the previous two years partly because of delays in getting new planes from Boeing.

The airline will resume hiring pilots in July after it canceled pilot classes for May and June, Kate Gebro, United's executive vice

president for human resources, said Tuesday.

United discussed its hiring plans on the day that the government reported that U.S. job openings fell in April to the lowest level since 2021. The job market remains strong, however, despite high interest rates and signs that the economy is slowing.

Boeing has slowed production and deliveries of new planes since a door plug blew out of a Boeing 737 Max 9 during an Alaska Airlines flight in January, leaving United and other carriers with fewer new jets. ASSOCIATED PRESS

Stocks & Bonds  
Markets Rise After Report Indicates a Cooling Job Market

By The Associated Press

U.S. stocks were split among winners and losers Tuesday after a report suggested the job market is cooling, the latest signal of a slowing economy that offers both up- and downsides for Wall Street.

The S&P 500 ticked up by 0.2 percent, though more stocks within the index fell than rose. The Dow Jones industrial average rose 140 points, or 0.4 percent, and the Nasdaq composite added 0.2 percent.

The action was stronger in the bond market, where Treasury yields slid after Tuesday morning's report showed U.S. employers were advertising fewer job openings at the end of April than economists expected.

Wall Street actually wants the job market and overall economy to slow. That could help get inflation under control and persuade the Federal Reserve to cut interest rates, which would ease the pressure on financial markets. Traders raised their expectations for cuts later this year after the report, according to CME Group.

The question is whether the slowdown for the economy overshoots and ends up in a painful recession. That would carry the downside of not only causing layoffs for workers across the country but also weakening profits for companies, which would drag stock prices lower.

Tuesday's report said the number of U.S. job openings at the end of April dropped to the lowest level since 2021. The numbers suggest a return to "a normal job market" after years of strange numbers caused by the Covid pandemic, said Bill Adams, chief economist for Comerica Bank.

But it also followed a report on Monday that showed U.S. manufacturing contracted in May for the 18th time in 19 months. Worries about a slowing economy have hit the price of crude oil in particular this week, raising the possibility of less growth in demand for fuel.

The price of a barrel of U.S. crude has dropped close to 5 percent this week and is roughly back to where it was four months ago. That sent oil-and-gas stocks to some of the market's worst losses for a second straight day. Haliburton dropped 2.5 percent.

Other companies whose profits tend to rise and fall with the cycle of the economy also fell to sharp losses, including steel makers and mining companies. Copper and gold miner Freeport-McMoRan lost 4.5 percent, and steel maker Nucor fell 3.4 percent.

The smaller companies in the Russell 2000 index, which tend to thrive most when the U.S. economy is at its best, fell 1.2 percent.

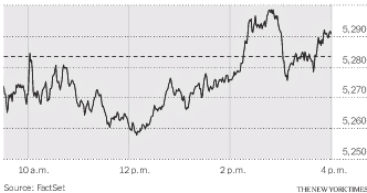
Elsewhere on Wall Street, Bath & Body Works tumbled 12.8 percent for the worst loss in the S&P 500 despite topping expectations for revenue and profit in the latest quarter. Analysts called its forecast for results in the current quarter underwhelming.

GameStop also gave back some of its big gain from the day before, when euphoria broke out after a central character in the stock's 2021 run returned to say he had built a stake in the videogame retailer. It dropped 5.4 percent.

On the winning side of Wall Street were dividend-paying stocks. They tend to benefit from lower interest rates because

The S&P 500 Index

Position of the S&P 500 index at 1-minute intervals on Tuesday  
-- Previous Close: 5,283.40



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bonds paying lower yields can steer more income-seeking investors to real-estate investment trusts, utilities and other stocks that pay relatively high dividends.

Camden Property Trust, which offers multitenant housing around the country, rose 2.6 percent for one of the largest gains in the S&P 500. Mid-America Apartment Communities rose 2.1 percent.

Some Big Tech stocks whose fortunes seem to continue to rise no matter what the economy is doing also drove the market higher. Nvidia was the strongest force pushing the S&P 500 upward. It rose 1.2 percent as it keeps riding a furor on Wall Street around artificial-intelligence technology.

All told, the S&P 500 rose 7.94 points to 5,293.34. The Dow gained 140.26 to 38,711.29, and the Nasdaq added 28.38 to 16,857.05.

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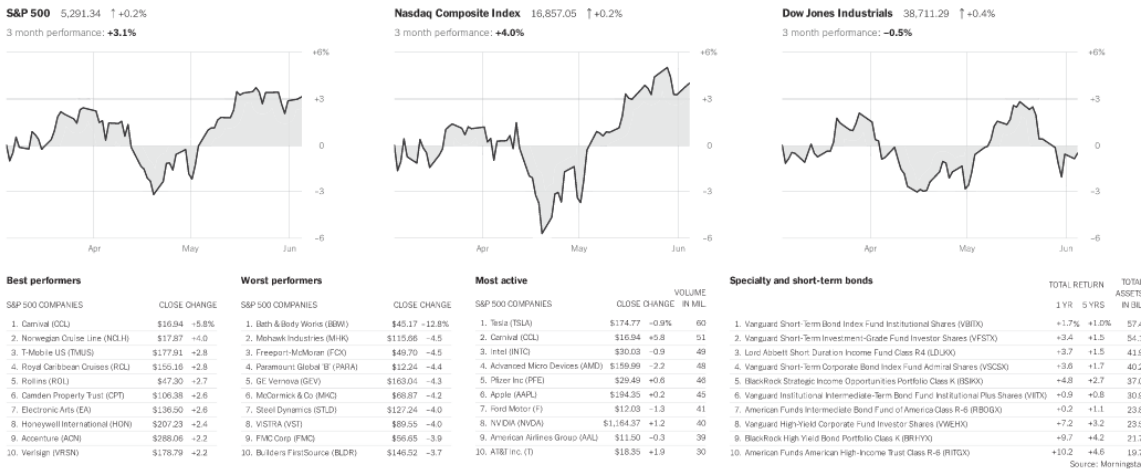
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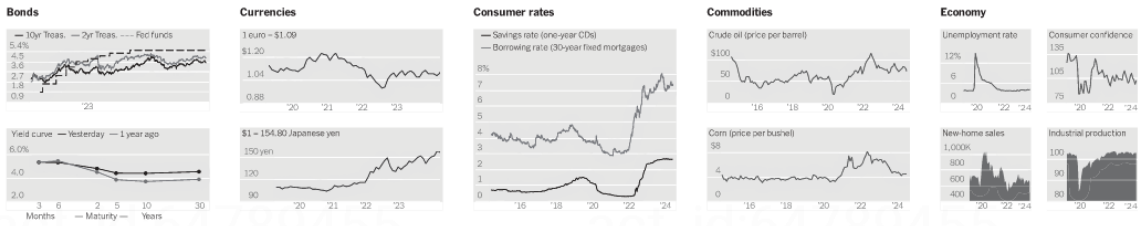
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What Happened in Stock Markets Yesterday



What Is Happening in Other Markets and the Economy



## ECONOMY

## Europe Frets as Economy Lags U.S. and China

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

too fragmented; public and private investments are too low; companies are too small to compete on a global scale.

"Our organization... decision-making and financing are designed for 'the world of yesterday' — pre-Covid, pre-Ukraine, pre-confederation in the Middle East, pre-return of great power rivalry," said Mario Draghi, a former president of the European Central Bank who is heading a study of Europe's competitiveness.

Cheap energy from Russia, cheap exports from China and a bedrock reliance on military protection by the United States can no longer be taken for granted.

At the same time, Beijing and Washington are funneling hundreds of billions of dollars into expanding their own semiconductor, alternative energy and electric industries, and upgrading the world's trade regime.

Private investment lags as well. Large corporations, for example, invested 60 percent less in 2022 than their American counterparts, and grew at two-thirds the pace, according to a report by the McKinsey Global Institute. As for per-capita income, it is on average 27 percent lower than in the United States. And productivity growth is slower than in other major economies, while energy prices are much higher.

Mr. Draghi's report will not be released until after voters across the European Union's 27 states go to the polls this week to elect their parliamentary representatives.

But he has already declared that "radical change" is necessary. In his view, that means an enormous increase in joint spending, an overhaul of Europe's highly-fragmented financing and regulations, and a consolidation of smaller companies.

The built-in challenges of getting more than two dozen countries to act as a single unit have sharpened in the face of rapid technological advancement, growing international conflicts and the increased use of national policies to steer business. Imagine if every state in America had raised national sovereignty and then only limited federal power to raise money to fund things like the military.

Europe has already taken some steps to keep up. Last year, the European Union unveiled the Digital Deal Industrial Plan to speed the energy transition, and this spring it proposed for the first time an industrial defense policy. But these efforts have been dwarfed by the competition that the United States and China are enjoying.

The bloc "is set to fall far behind its ambitious energy transition strategy for renewable energy, domestic supply-chain investments," the research firm Rystad Energy said in an analysis this week.

In Mr. Draghi's view, public and private investment in the European Union has fallen by 15 percent since 2014, while the U.S. has added half a trillion euro a year (\$542 billion) on the digital and green transitions alone to keep pace.

Both his report and Mr. Letta's were ordered by the European Commission, the executive body of the European Union, to help guide policymakers when they meet in the fall to draw up the bloc's next five-year strategic plan.

There is still a sizable contingent in Europe — and elsewhere — that prefers open markets and is suspicious of government intervention, but many of Europe's top officials, political mandarins and business leaders are increasingly talking about the need for more aggressive collective action.

Without pooling public finance and creating a single capital market, they argue, Europe will not be able to make the kind of investments in defense, energy, supercomputing and more that are required to compete effectively.

Europe, for example, has at least 34 major mobile networks. Mr. Draghi said, whereas China has four and the United States three.

Mr. Letta said he experienced firsthand Europe's peculiar competitive deficiencies when he spent six months visiting 65 European cities to research his report. It was impossible to travel "by high-speed train between European capitals," he said. "This is a profound contradiction, emblematic of the problems of the Single Market."

The proposed solutions, though, have been met with skepticism. Many leaders and voters across the continent are profoundly concerned about jobs, living standards and purchasing power.

But they are wary of giving Berlin more control over the financial muscle. And they are often reluctant to watch national brands merged with rivals or familiar



Train assembly in France. A former leader of Italy criticized the lack of high-speed rail between European capitals.



Cargo on the Seine in France. Europe has been losing ground on several gauges of competitiveness for over a decade.

business practices and administrative rules disappear. Creating a new moras of red tape is another worry.

Angry farmers in France and Belgium blocked roadways and dumped trucks of manure this year to protest the proliferation of E.U. environmental regulations that rule their use of pesticides and fertilizers, planting schedules, zoning and much more.

Blaming Brussels is also a convenient tactic for far-right political parties looking to exploit economic anxieties. The anti-immigrant National Rally party in France has called the European Union the "enemy of the people."

At the moment, polls are showing that right-wing parties are expected to win more seats in the European Parliament, leaving the legislative body even more fractured.

On the national level, government leaders can be protective of their prerogatives. For the past decade, the European Union has tried to create a single capital market to make it easier to invest across borders.

But many smaller nations, including Ireland, Romania and Sweden, have opposed ceding power to Brussels or changing their laws, worried about putting their national financial industries at a disadvantage.

Civil society organizations are also concerned about the concentration of power. Last month, 13 groups in Europe wrote an open letter warning that greater market consolidation would harm consumers, workers and small businesses and give corporate giants too much influence, causing prices to rise. And they worry that other economic, social and envi-

ronmental priorities would be sidelined.

For more than a decade, Europe has been falling behind on several measures of competitiveness, including capital investments, research and development, and productivity growth. But it is a world leader in reducing emissions, limiting income inequality and expanding social mobility, according to McKinsey.

And some of the economic disparities with the United States are a result of choice. Half the gap in per-capita gross domestic product between Europe and the

United States is a result of Europeans' opting to work fewer hours, on average, over a lifetime.

Such choices may be a luxury Europeans no longer have if they want to maintain their standards of living, others warn. Policies governing energy, markets and banking are too disparate, said Simone Tagliapietra, a senior fellow at Bruegel, a research organization in Brussels.

"If we continue to have 27 markets that are not well integrated," he said, "we cannot be competing with the Chinese or the Americans."



Mario Draghi, ex-president of the European Central Bank, and Christine Lagarde. He is overseeing a study of Europe's competitiveness.

## Europe Likely to Beat U.S. In Cutting Interest Rates

By ESHE NELSON

LONDON — European Central Bank officials are expected to cut interest rates this week for the first time in more than five years, drawing a line under the worst of the eurozone's inflation crisis and easing the pressure on the region's weak economy.

But as policymakers in the eurozone move ahead, they leave behind their counterparts at the U.S. Federal Reserve, who are grappling with a seemingly more persistent inflation problem and warning that it will take longer to cut rates than the Fed.

Reducing interest rates in Europe before the United States does would create a gap between the policies of two of the world's largest and most influential central banks. A move by the E.C.B. to ease its policy could weaken the euro, while higher interest rates in the United States would continue to tighten financial conditions there and in other countries because of the global role of the dollar.

Some analysts have questioned how far the E.C.B. can split from the Federal Reserve, while others say a divergence is not unusual and reflects two different economic situations.

"We are coming from more than a yearlong stagnation" in Europe with signs that disinflation is on track, said Mariano Cal, an economist at Barclays. "This is a very low starting point for an economy."

By contrast, the U.S. economy has been booming over the past few quarters.

"There has already been divergence in the economies," he said. "So if there is divergence in policy, it's because it follows the different trajectories of the economies."

Although the E.C.B. has stressed that it does not act based simply on what the Fed does, policymakers acknowledge that they cannot ignore the influence the Fed has on financial conditions and exchange rates all over the world.

"Monetary policy operates in a global context," said Frederik Ducrozet, head of macroeconomic research at Pictet Wealth Management. "If the global context changes because of the U.S., because of China, because of tariffs of whatever, then the E.C.B. has to take that into account."

The E.C.B. has strongly telegraphed its intention to reduce its key interest rate this Thursday, bringing it to 3.75 percent from 4 percent, the highest in the bloc's bank's history and where it has been since September. Inflation is predicted to sustainably return to the bank's 2 percent target next year as the shock of high energy prices and Russia's invasion of Ukraine fades.

The bloc's inflation rate was 2.6 percent in May, slightly higher than the previous month, but it has slowed significantly from its peak, above 10 percent, in late 2022.

The eurozone economy is still reeling from the effects of the high interest rates that were put in place to combat high inflation. It grew a mere 0.3 percent in the first quarter of the year after five quarters of stagnation, the manufacturing sector is contracting, and there has been a substantial decline in demand for loans to expand businesses and buy homes.

But in the United States, Fed officials are finding it harder to tame the economy, where inflation has been driven by strong demand. The Consumer Price Index

climbed 3.4 percent in April from a year earlier.

"What both regions have in common is that there is uncertainty" about the inflation outlook, Mr. Ducrozet said. But, he added, "the divergence case is still very strong."

The E.C.B. and the Fed have diverged in the past, such as in the years before and after the 2008 financial crisis. In 2014, as Europe struggled with deflation and the region's sovereign debt crisis, the gap grew for another five years as the E.C.B. introduced negative interest rates and a large bond-buying program.

This time, the divergence is expected to last only as long as it takes the Fed to start cutting rates. The two central banks are not expected to move in opposite directions, especially after a measure of U.S. inflation in April provided some welcome signals of modest cooling in prices and consumer spending.

That would quell one of the biggest concerns investors have about the E.C.B.'s moving ahead of the Fed: that the euro could weaken against the U.S. dollar and the region would import inflation through its exchange rate. If the

## 3.75%

Interest rate the European Central Bank has telegraphed it is likely to set this week, reducing it from 4 percent, the highest in the bank's history.

## 2.6%

The eurozone's inflation rate in May, down from a peak of more than 10 percent in late 2022.

E.C.B. delivers what traders anticipate, the exchange rate should not move much, Mr. Cerna said.

The E.C.B. is expected to deliver only a few rate cuts this year, just a quarter-point reduction once a quarter, which would still restrain the economy. There is justification for the cautious approach: Inflation in the eurozone's services sector, a stubborn category heavily influenced by wages, accelerated to 4.1 percent in May, from 3.7 percent the previous month.

"That is something that raised eyebrows," said Jumana Salehen, chief European economist at Vanguard.

Services inflation is not showing much sign of slowing. "It's worrying but not alarming," said Ms. Salehen, who also said that the components of inflation, such as food and goods, had slowed substantially. She expects the E.C.B. to cut rates three times this year.

"In general, it's good news," she said. "In Europe, the story is over: We ended stagnation and we're now moving to a period where we can return to trend growth."

Still, analysts say there are limits to how far the E.C.B. could go without the Fed.

"If the Fed keeps postponing Fed cuts, the market difficult it can be eventually for the E.C.B.," Mr. Ducrozet said, adding that the situation would become harder "if the Fed doesn't cut at all or — worse — if they start to be really hawkish, where the reaction will lead to another inflationary wave of pressure."

**FOR THE UNITED STATES BANKRUPTCY COURT IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA**

In re: Chapter 11, Case No. 23-10871 (KRO) **NOTICE OF HEARINGS**, re: (1) Liquidation of the Debtor's Assets; (2) Liquidation of the Debtor's Liabilities; (3) Liquidation of the Debtor's Equity; (4) Liquidation of the Debtor's Intangible Assets; (5) Liquidation of the Debtor's Tangible Assets; (6) Liquidation of the Debtor's Real Estate; (7) Liquidation of the Debtor's Intellectual Property; (8) Liquidation of the Debtor's Other Assets; (9) Liquidation of the Debtor's Other Liabilities; (10) Liquidation of the Debtor's Other Equity; (11) Liquidation of the Debtor's Other Intangible Assets; (12) Liquidation of the Debtor's Other Tangible Assets; (13) Liquidation of the Debtor's Other Real Estate; (14) Liquidation of the Debtor's Other Intellectual Property; (15) Liquidation of the Debtor's Other Assets; (16) Liquidation of the Debtor's Other Liabilities; (17) Liquidation of the Debtor's Other Equity; (18) Liquidation of the Debtor's Other Intangible Assets; (19) Liquidation of the Debtor's Other Tangible Assets; 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# As China's Internet Disappears, Fears of Losing 'Collective Memory'

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE  
consequential tragedies in China in the past few decades: the Great Sichuan earthquake on May 12, 2008, which killed over 69,000 people. It happened during a brief period when Chinese journalists had more freedom than the Communist Party would usually allow, and they produced a lot of high-quality journalism.

When I narrowed the time frame to May 12, 2008, to May 12, 2009, Baidu came up with nine pages of search results, most of which consisted of articles

## An online search for Xi Jinping 25 years ago found 0 results.

on the websites of the central government or the state broadcaster China Central Television. One caveat: If you know the names of the journalists and their organizations, you can find more.

Each results page had about 10 headlines. My search found what had to have been a small fraction of the coverage at that time, much of which was published on the sites of newspapers and magazines that sent journalists to the epicenter of the earthquake. I didn't find any of the news coverage or outpouring of online grief that I remembered.

In addition to disappearing content, there's a broader problem: China's internet is shrinking. There were 3.9 million websites in China in 2023, down more than a third from 5.3 million in 2007, according to the country's internet regu-

lator. China has one billion internet users, or nearly one-fifth of the world's online population. Yet the number of websites using Chinese language make up only 1.3 percent of the global total, down from 4.3 percent in 2013 — a 70 percent plunge over a decade, according to Web Technology Surveys, which tracks online use of top content languages.

The number of Chinese language websites is now only slightly higher than those in Indonesian and Vietnamese, and smaller than those in Polish and Persian. It's half the number of Italian language sites and just over a quarter of those in Japanese.

One reason for the decline is that it is technically difficult and costly for websites to archive older content, and not just in China. But in China, the other reason is political.

Internet publishers, especially news portals and social media platforms, have faced heightened pressure to censor as the country has made an authoritarian and nationalistic turn under Mr. Xi's leadership. Keeping China's cyberspace politically and culturally pure is a top order of the Communist Party. Internet companies have more incentive to over-censor and let older content disappear by not archiving.

Many people have had their online existences erased. Two weeks ago, Nanfu Wang found that an entry about her on a Wikipedia-like site was gone. Ms. Wang, a documentary filmmaker, searched her name on the film review site Douban and came up with nothing. Same with WeChat.

"Some of the films I directed had been



Tencent's Pony Ma, left, and Alibaba's Jack Ma, two of China's most successful internet entrepreneurs, barely appeared in search results despite their historic achievements.

deleted and banned on the Chinese internet," she said. "But this time, I feel that I, as a part of history, have been erased." She doesn't know what triggered it.

Zhang Ping, better known by his pen name, Chang Ping, was one of China's most famous journalists in the 2000s. His articles were everywhere. Then in 2011, his writing provoked the wrath of the censors.

"My presence in public discourse has been stifled much more severely than I anticipated, and that represents a significant loss of my personal life," he told

me. "My life has been negated."

When my Weibo account was deleted in March 2021, I was saddened and angered. It had more than three million followers and thousands of posts recording my life and thoughts over a decade. Many of the posts were about current affairs, history or politics, but some were personal musings. I felt a part of my life had been carved away.

Many people intentionally hide their online posts because they could be used against them by the party or its proxies. In a trend called "grave digging," nationalistic "little pink" pour over past on-

line writings of intellectuals, entertainers and influencers.

For Chinese, our online memories, even frivolous ones, can become baggage we need to unload.

"Even though we tend to think of the internet as somewhat superficial," said Ian Johnson, a longtime China correspondent and author, "without many of these sites and things, we lose parts of our collective memory."

In "Sparks," a book by Mr. Johnson about brave historians in China who work underground, he cited the Internet Archive for Chinese online sources in the endnotes because, he said, he knew they would all eventually disappear.

"History matters in every country, but it really matters to the C.C.P.," he said, referring to the Chinese Communist Party. "It's history that justifies the party's continued rule."

Mr. Johnson founded the China Unofficial Archives website, which seeks to preserve blogs, movies and documents outside the Chinese internet.

There are other projects to save Chinese memories and history from falling into a void. GreatFire.org has several websites that provide access to censored content. China Digital Times, a nonprofit that fights censorship, archives work that has been or is in danger of being blocked. Mr. Zhang, the journalist, is its executive editor.

Mr. He, author of the WeChat post that went viral, is deeply pessimistic that China's erasure of history can be reversed.

"If you can still see some early information on the Chinese internet now," he wrote, "it is just the last ray of the setting sun."

## British Editor to Take Over at The Washington Post

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE  
Times of London and later at The Telegraph, where Mr. Winnett spearheaded a groundbreaking investigation into fraudulent expenses that led to the resignations of scores of British politicians.

But Mr. Winnett remains an unknown quantity, both in elite American media circles and within the newsroom he will soon lead. He will arrive at The Post after 17 years at The Telegraph, a center-right paper associated with Britain's Conservative Party. Some of his past practices, including the payment of a six-figure sum to obtain the documents crucial to the expenses investigation, run counter to the more stringent reporting ethics followed by American news organizations.

Representatives of The Post declined to make Mr. Winnett available for an interview.

But interviews on Monday with former colleagues and Fleet Street veterans presented a portrait of a scoop-hungry journalist with a distaste for dinner parties and a passion for the Chelsea soccer team, whose unassuming exterior masks a dogged newsroomer who relishes tough stories on politicians of all stripes.

"He really believes in holding power to account, and believes that's the most important job that journalism exists to do," said Rosa Prince, the deputy U.K. editor of Politico, who worked with Mr. Winnett at The Telegraph. "He is so much more of a news person than someone who has particularly strong political opinions himself."

Mr. Winnett was so eager to work in journalism that he picked up freelance assignments during his breaks from college at Oxford. He was still a student when he joined The Sunday Times of London in 1995 as a personal finance writer.

His ambition drew the notice of the business editor there, Mr. Lewis, who left for The Telegraph and later brought Mr. Winnett along with him. Covering Parliament, Mr. Winnett gained a reputation as "a master of spotting the gem in the dust of heavy information," as a colleague once told The Guardian.

In 2009, somebody called the Telegraph offices with an enticing offer. The tipster was in possession of a small red hard drive containing thousands of documents that revealed widespread abuse by legislators of their par-



Robert Winnett, deputy editor of The Daily Telegraph, will become editor of The Washington Post, above, this fall.

liamentary expense accounts. Taxpayer money had been used for personal mortgage payments and home upgrades such as a moat.

It was an explosive story with the potential to upend the British political establishment. But when the tipster met with Mr. Winnett at a London wine bar, he asked to be paid for the information, calling it a way to protect the livelihood of his source. The Times of London and The Sun had turned down this offer, The Telegraph accepted it.

"We said, 'Look, while The Telegraph doesn't pay for stories in this way — we're not a tabloid newspaper, it's not something we do — but this is sensational. These people need some insurance. They could lose their careers,'" Mr. Winnett said in "The Disk," a documentary produced by The Telegraph in 2020 to mark the 10th anniversary of the investigation.

At the time, Mr. Lewis was The Telegraph's editor in chief. According to the film, when Mr. Winnett and a colleague approached Mr. Lewis with the notion of paying for the documents, they thought he might be persuaded to offer 30,000 pounds. Instead, Mr. Lewis threw out a higher number: £100,000. (A different Telegraph editor later described the amount as £10,000.)

Mr. Lewis defended the pay-

ment as being in the public interest. "The payment thing is a red herring," he said in the documentary. "This is one of the most important bits of journalism, if not the most important bit of journalism, in the postwar period. I can't think of a more impactful bit of journalism for Britain and British



Mr. Winnett in "The Disk," a documentary produced by The Telegraph in 2020.

society, highlighting such profound wrongdoing and systematic abuse."

Mr. Winnett coordinated every aspect of the investigation, which dominated British headlines for weeks, ended the careers of grandees in several political parties and won numerous awards. By 2014, he had been promoted to deputy editor of The Daily Telegraph and The Sunday Telegraph, eventually overseeing its 24-hour digital news gathering operation.

Mr. Winnett was also the lead byline on a Telegraph article in 2010 that involved the use of undercover reporters who posed as constituents of a cabinet member,

Vince Cable, and surreptitiously recorded his unvarnished comments on a pending media merger involving Rupert Murdoch. The ensuing outcry forced Mr. Cable to recuse himself from adjudicating the merger.

Mr. Winnett himself did not go undercover, and Mr. Cable said on Monday that he did not know if Mr. Winnett had commissioned the article and knew him as a "serious political reporter." The articles involving undercover reporters were later rebuked by a British press regulator.

At The Post, Mr. Winnett is slated to oversee all news coverage involving politics, business, tech, sports, features and investigations. He plans to move from London to Washington. In a memo distributed in The Telegraph's newsroom, Mr. Winnett described his departure for The Post as "an emotional decision."

"He's very much 100 percent dedicated to work; that's who he is," said Holly Watt, a London journalist who has worked closely with Mr. Winnett. "To people who knew him early on, it was so evident that he would be an editor of a newspaper."

Stephen Castle contributed reporting. Kitty Bennett contributed research.



MIKE BLAKE/REUTERS

Bill Ackman has grown outspoken on social media, criticizing President Biden, diversity initiatives and Harvard's efforts to combat antisemitism.

## Social Media Fame Helping A Mogul to Rake In Money

By MICHAEL J. de la MERCED  
Bill Ackman has gained new prominence in recent months for his outspoken presence on social media. But he has also made riches for his investors and himself — and now others are hoping he'll continue to do so.

His Pershing Square Capital Management has sold a 10 percent stake for just over \$1 billion to an array of outside investors, giving the hedge fund a lofty valuation. The question is whether Mr. Ackman's newfound fans on social media will follow him as he builds his empire, including through a new listed fund, and eventually, an IPO.

Pershing Square is now valued at \$10 billion. Among those that bought into the firm are Arch Capital Group, BTG Pactual and Iconic Investment Management; Bloomberg reports that Ackman peers including Marc Lasry and Doug Hirsch also bought in.

That has bolstered Mr. Ackman's paper worth to \$8 billion, Bloomberg calculates, making him 333rd among the world's wealthiest people.

Investors are betting on Pershing Square continuing to make money. Mr. Ackman rose to fame as an activist investor who profited by shaking up companies, a strategy that made lots of money — but also lost a lot. He now focuses more on a few concentrated bets, including on Chipotle Mexican Grill and Universal Music Group. That approach has paid off, with a 26 percent return last year.

Mr. Ackman's firm also has a big advantage over rivals: Its publicly listed fund, which trades in Amsterdam and London, has permanent capital, where those who buy in can cash out only if someone buys their stake. (Other rivals let investors pull their money on a daily or quarterly basis.) That allows for more predictable assets and management fee revenue.

Pershing Square's stock has also risen as Mr. Ackman has grown more outspoken on social media, especially after he criticized Harvard's efforts to combat antisemitism following the Oct. 7 attack in Israel. He has also publicly criticized diversity initiatives and President Biden.

### DealBook/

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(The Financial Times reported last week that Mr. Ackman may soon endorse Donald J. Trump with an announcement on Elon Musk's X platform.)

Wall Street has speculated that Mr. Ackman's more outspoken social media presence is aimed at courting retail investors. If so, the strategy appears to be working.

### \$10B

Current valuation of Pershing Square Capital Management.

### 44%

Increase in price of shares in the fund over the past seven months.

ing: Amsterdam-traded shares in the fund are up 44 percent over the past seven months.

Will his followers flock to his future growth initiatives? Pershing Square is expected to open a closed-end fund in the U.S. this summer — which Bloomberg reports could reach \$25 billion. Like the European fund, it would be open to retail investors. (It reportedly also plans to raise \$5 billion for another fund focused on high-risk bets, and has S.E.C. approval for a publicly traded vehicle to buy into private companies.)

If those plans come to fruition, Pershing Square would manage at least \$45 billion, catapulting it into the top 10 biggest U.S. hedge funds by assets.

As soon as next year, Pershing Square intends to fulfill a long-held goal: taking itself public. That, too, could benefit from Mr. Ackman's newfound fame — and perhaps more so if his preferred presidential candidate wins as well.

## G/O Media Sells Technology Website Gizmodo to Keleops Media

By KATIE RIZKOTSON  
The tech website Gizmodo has been sold to a European media company, the latest brand from the publisher G/O Media to go out the door.

The buyer is Keleops Media, Jim Spanfeller, G/O Media's chief executive, told the staff in an email on Tuesday. Mr. Spanfeller did not disclose the financial details of the sale, but said that it represented a substantial premium from our original purchase price for the site. A G/O Media spokesman declined to comment.

Mr. Spanfeller said Keleops,

which is based in France and Switzerland, had agreed to keep all of Gizmodo's staff members, who would continue working in G/O Media's New York office "at least for the near term."

"The site's new owners are very excited to be getting a great brand with a talented group of journalists," he wrote in the email, which was viewed by The New York Times.

Keleops publishes four consumer tech websites: Journal du Geek, Unik, Presse Citron and iPhon. Jean-Guillaume Kleis, the chief executive of Keleops, said in an interview on Tuesday that the

company had been looking to make an acquisition in the United States for several years and Gizmodo was "an obvious choice."

He declined to comment on the financial details of the transaction, but said it was "a sizable deal for us."

In the next year, we just want to make sure it stays an iconic brand and it becomes even stronger," Mr. Kleis said. He added that his team would work with Gizmodo's staff to see what was needed to improve the website and potentially make some hires.

"What is very important for us is the quality," he said. "We are

looking for high-quality journalists."

Gizmodo is the latest website sold by G/O Media, which was formed in 2019 as a collection of websites that once belonged to the Gawker Media empire. At the time, Gawker's sites included Gizmodo, The Onion, The Root, Kotaku and others.

G/O Media, which is owned by the private equity firm Great Hill Partners, sold the satirical news site The Onion in April to a group of digital media veterans. It has also sold off Jezebel, Lifehacker, Deadspin and the A.V. Club in recent years.

## ENERGY



Energy companies want to expand the grid's capacity to transport even more wind power to population centers, but getting permits for transmission lines and building them has become a brutal slog that can take more than a decade.

# As Solar Power Surges in the United States, Wind Struggles

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

If wind power continues to stagnate, that could make the fight against global warming much harder, experts say. Many plans for quickly shifting the country away from fossil fuels envision a large expansion of both solar and wind, because the two sources generate electricity at different hours and can complement each other. A boom in solar power alone, which runs only in daytime, isn't enough.

Some of the early predictions that the Inflation Reduction Act would help slash U.S. greenhouse gas emissions roughly 40 percent below 2005 levels by 2030 depended on a rapid acceleration of both solar and wind power this decade. But it is now far less certain that will happen.

"Right now, solar is pretty much in line" with what experts projected, said Trevor Houser, a partner at the Rhodium Group, a research firm that has tried to model the effects of the climate law. "But wind really needs to grow by quite a bit. Going forward, we're definitely much more concerned about wind."

## Why Wind Power Is Struggling

Wind and solar power are often lumped together, but they have important differences that partly explain why one is slowing and the other is thriving right now.

For one, wind power is much more sensitive to location. Wind turbines in a gusty area can generate eight times as much electricity as turbines in an area with just half the breeze. For solar power, the difference between sunny spots and less sunny spots is considerably smaller. That means developers can't just build wind farms anywhere.

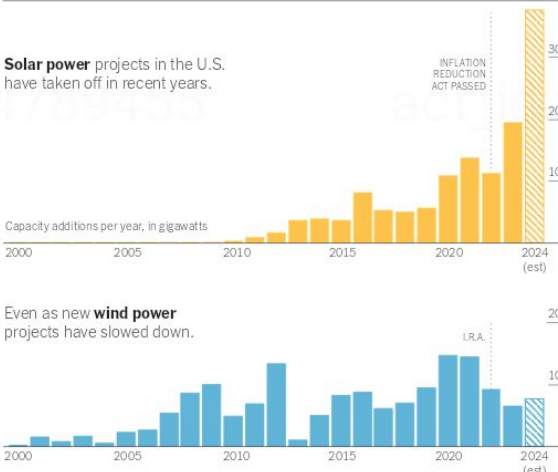
In the United States, the best places for wind tend to be in the blustery Midwest and Great Plains. But many areas are now crowded with turbines and existing electric grids are clogged, making it difficult to add more projects. Energy companies want to expand the grid's capacity to transport even more wind power to population centers, but getting permits for transmission lines and building them has become a brutal slog that can take more than a decade.

"Getting wind projects built is getting a lot harder," said Sandhya Ganapathy, chief executive of EDP Renewables North America, a leading wind and solar developer. "The low-hanging fruit, the easier access places are gone."

Because they can reach the height of skyscrapers, wind turbines are more noticeable than solar farms and often attract more intense opposition from local communities. In Idaho, the entire State Legislature has opposed a new wind farm that would be visible from a World War II historic site. A few years ago, hundreds of residents were arrested on Oahu, Hawaii, for blocking the construction of a relatively small wind project.

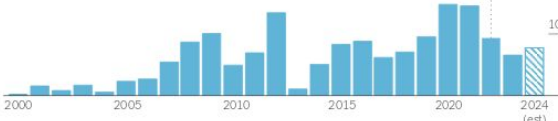
"We have not seen examples of people being willing to risk arrest to stop solar projects," said

Solar power projects in the U.S. have taken off in recent years.



Source: U.S. Energy Information Administration (Notes: Annual utility-scale power capacity additions are shown. Estimates for 2024 include projects scheduled to come online this year.

Even as new wind power projects have slowed down.



Matthew Eisenson, who tracks opposition to renewable energy at the Sabin Center for Climate Change Law at Columbia University.

Across the country, hundreds of local governments have restricted or banned wind or solar projects. If a county blocks a solar array, a developer might be able to move next door. But it's not always as easy to find a new location for wind farms.

The wind industry has also been hampered by soaring equipment costs after the pandemic wrecked supply chains and inflation spiked. While those factors initially hurt solar, too, the solar industry has adjusted much faster, with China nearly doubling its manufacturing capacity for panels over the last two years. Wind supply chains, which are dominated by a few manufacturers in China, Europe and the United States, have yet to fully recover.

The cost increases have been devastating for offshore wind projects in the Northeast, where developers have canceled more than half the projects they planned to build this decade.

Wind isn't languishing only in the United States. While a record 117 gigawatts of new wind capacity came online last year globally, virtually all of that growth was in China. In the rest of the world, developers weren't installing wind turbines any faster than they were in 2020.

## The Case for Wind Power

Wind power can be incredibly useful for cutting the greenhouse gas emissions that are rapidly heating the planet, experts say.

That may surprise some: After

all, the wind doesn't always blow when it's needed, and the average turbine only runs at maximum power about one-third of the time.

But when energy modelers have studied the lowest-cost ways to eliminate U.S. emissions, they have often concluded that it would be invaluable to get about one-third or more of the nation's electricity from wind, up from about 10 percent today, alongside a mix of other technologies like solar, batteries, nuclear power, hydrogen and gas plants that can capture and bury their carbon.

That's because wind turbines

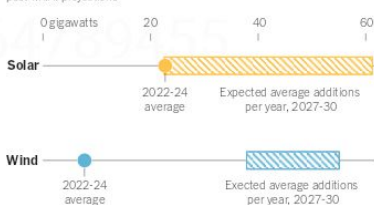
provide very cheap electricity, and they often ramp up at night, when solar power is unavailable.

(As the energy writer Michael Thomas recently showed, this is readily apparent in Texas, where wind and solar power complement each other.)

If wind power can't expand as quickly as many proponents hope, the United States would need to rely much more heavily on other technologies that can supply carbon-free power throughout the day, such as new nuclear reactors or advanced geothermal power. But those technologies are still in

## Solar is on pace to meet targets. Wind? Not so much.

Average capacity additions per year for 2022-24 compared with post-I.R.A. projections



Source: Clean Investment Monitor (Notes: Expected ranges are based on the projected effects of the Inflation Reduction Act from three modeling groups: the Rhodium Group, Energy Innovation and the REPEAT project.

earlier stages of development and are currently more expensive than wind.

"Limiting wind is the worst possible thing you could tell me we have to overcome" in trying to cut emissions to zero, said Ben Haley, a co-founder of Evolved Energy Research, an energy modeling firm.

## Can Wind Make a Comeback?

It's still possible that wind power could rebound. In fact, some experts argue that the recent slowdown is only a temporary artifact of tax policy.

It can take years to develop a wind farm and most companies had raced to finish projects by the end of 2021, which is when the last big federal tax credit for wind power was set to expire. The following year, Congress approved new subsidies in the Inflation Reduction Act, but it will take time for companies to refill the pipeline of wind projects in response.

"There are signs that wind is starting to turn the corner," said John Hensley, vice president for

markets and policy analysis at the American Clean Power Association, a renewable industry trade group.

Mr. Hensley said that U.S. wind manufacturing was beginning to ramp up thanks to new tax incentives, while costs were starting to come down. Last year, orders for new turbines increased by 130 percent, although many of them won't be delivered until 2025 or later.

Some states are now trying to make it easier to build renewable energy. Illinois, Michigan and Minnesota have all passed laws making it harder for local governments to restrict wind and solar. The federal government has issued new rules to accelerate the planning of transmission lines.

Demand for wind could also rise as a growing number of states, tech companies and hydrogen producers are trying to secure clean electricity around the clock, rather than just a burst of solar power in the daytime.

California is a case in point. While the state leads the nation in drawing electricity from the sun, it still relies heavily on natural gas after dark. Batteries can help shift some of that solar power into the evening, but to meet its climate goals, California is counting on several giant new transmission lines that will carry electricity from sprawling wind farms in New Mexico and Wyoming.

Even if the economics improve, wind power still faces political hurdles. Many experts say federal legislation is still needed to ease the process of building high-voltage transmission lines. But that's unlikely to happen in a sharply divided Congress. And the November election looms, with former President Donald Trump, the presumptive Republican nominee, promising to obstruct offshore wind farms if he returns to the White House.

The fate of the wind industry could be a test for whether the country can build large energy projects more generally, said Ryan Jones, a co-founder of Evolved Energy Research. "I've can't" he said, "getting to zero emissions is pretty darn challenging."



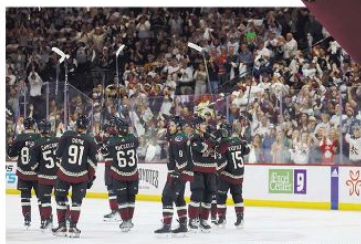
Wind turbine blades for South Fork Wind, an offshore wind farm, stored at State Pier in New London, Conn.

# Sports

The New York Times

HOCKEY

THANK  
YOU FANS!



MARK J. REBILAS/USA TODAY SPORTS



BOB D'AMICO/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Many Coyotes fans were sorry to see the team leave. But the franchise had financial woes and played in a 5,000-seat arena.

## In N.H.L.'s Move To Utah, the Pros Again Go Small

By KEN BELSON

Sometimes, smaller is better. For decades, major sports leagues have tried to place teams in the country's largest markets in the hopes of selling more tickets and sponsorships as well as satisfying broadcasters who want to reach the largest number of viewers possible.

But in recent years, leagues have embraced the charms of smaller markets. Teams have moved to cities like Oklahoma City; Las Vegas; and Winnipeg, Manitoba, in search of financial incentives, newer arenas and stadiums, and more devoted fans.

In early April, the N.H.L. approved the \$1.2 billion sale of the Arizona Coyotes to the tech billionaire Ryan Smith and his wife, Ashley. The team, which will be renamed, will begin play next season in the Delta Center in Salt Lake City, home of one of the Smiths' other teams, the Utah Jazz of the N.B.A.

On its face, the move could be seen as a step down. Salt Lake City's metropolitan area is less than half the size of Phoenix's; Salt Lake City is the 29th-largest media market, and Phoenix is the 11th largest. Utah has never had an N.H.L. team. But the league's decision was less about the size of Salt Lake City and more about its demographics. Like Phoenix, Salt Lake City is one of the country's



Howler, the Coyotes' mascot, at the team's final home game before its move to Utah for next season.



CHRISTIAN PETERSEN/GETTY IMAGES

The Salt Lake City metropolitan area, above, has less than half the population of Phoenix's.



CHRIS LARSEN/GETTY IMAGES

Ashley Smith and her husband, Ryan Smith, the new owners of the franchise.

fastest-growing cities. But in Utah, a thriving tech industry has attracted an influx of young workers with disposable incomes.

"People aren't coming to Utah to just retire," Ryan Smith said in an interview. "If you have two states that are growing fast, you would always take the youthful one for the future of prosperity."

Leagues have been "right-sizing" their operations for years with an eye toward making money off fewer fans. The New York Mets were one of many baseball teams that built smaller stadiums with more exclusive clubs and suites. Citi Field, which opened in 2009, has just 42,000 seats, compared with 55,000 at the team's previous home, Shea Stadium. Smaller arenas and stadiums are easier to fill — the sight of empty seats on television is a bad look — and teams can focus on more high-end concessions, club seats and exclusive "experiences."

It typically takes a team several years to prepare for a relocation. But Commissioner Gary Bettman said the N.H.L. had to act quickly because the Coyotes needed stable owners and a big-league arena. The team had trouble

### New facilities and devoted fans trump sheer numbers.

drawing fans, and its finances were such a mess that the league temporarily took over the club a decade ago. Since arriving from Winnipeg in 1996, the Coyotes have played in an assortment of places. This past season, their home was a college arena with just 5,000 seats.

But in Salt Lake City, enthusiasm for the new team has been strong. Fans have paid deposits for more than 30,000 tickets in an arena that seats about half of that number; 64 percent of those who signed up had not attended a Jazz game in the past three years, Smith said. While the Coyotes were overshadowed by the N.F.L., N.B.A. and M.L.B. teams in Phoenix, the new hockey team was already standing out in Salt Lake City, where it would compete for attention with the Jazz and two soccer teams.

"Even though the market is smaller, there may be more innovation, especially with the team being new and having some buzz around them to ride the coattails," said Frank Hawkins, a longtime lawyer at the N.F.L. who is now a media consultant. "The other thing is you're moving from a team market where your target is snowbirds who probably aren't from hockey country."

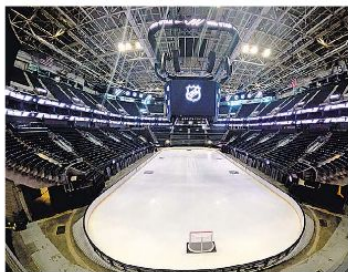
Salt Lake City and its surrounding counties, by contrast, already are a winter sports destination. The area has some of the best ski slopes in the country. The city



CHRISTIAN PETERSEN/GETTY IMAGES



CHRIS GAUGHER/GETTY IMAGES



ROCK BOWNER/ASSOCIATED PRESS

hosted the Winter Olympics in 2024 and is trying to do so again in 2034. Many American Olympic teams train in the area.

The broadcast-media landscape is also changing. When the N.H.L. relied on broadcasters to show its games nationally over the air, networks wanted to reach the country's largest markets so they could charge more for advertising. Similarly, cable networks like ESPN seek markets with the most cable subscribers.

But millions of households have been ditching their cable connections, undermining the sports cable networks. In response, Smith had the Jazz start its own direct-to-consumer streaming service and struck new deals with over-the-air broadcasters that reached farther than traditional cable territories.

"With vast numbers of people cutting the cord and not taking the typical cable bundle, the issue now is how many committed fans will pay extra for a streaming product versus what used to be the pure size of the market when everyone paid whether they watched the games or not," said Marc Ganzi, a consultant on media issues to numerous sports teams.

The N.H.L. has not ruled out returning to Phoenix. Bettman spent decades trying to keep a team there, and the league believes a Phoenix franchise could still succeed with the right owner and arena.

Alex Menuelo, the owner of the Coyotes, will retain the team's intellectual property, including its logos and records. Menuelo could reactivate the Coyotes if he finds a suitable home and pays a \$1 billion expansion fee — essentially what he received for letting the team leave for Utah — to get back in the league.

The league has also considered other markets, including, reportedly, Atlanta — which has an N.H.L. team twice — and Houston, which had a team in the defunct World Hockey Association.

For now, the league's focus is on Utah, where the Smiths have just a few months to sell tickets and prepare for the franchise's first season in a new city.

Maybe fans will "see it as a chance to kind of start from the very beginning with their family and say, 'This is one of the things we're going to do,'" Smith said.

From top: A fan of the Arizona Coyotes before the team's final game at Mullett Arena in Tempe, Ariz. After being sold for \$1.2 billion, the franchise will be renamed before beginning play in Salt Lake City. Children played stick hockey in front of Delta Center before the city's new team was introduced to fans on April 24.

**The Bottom Five**  
In their last season in Phoenix, the Arizona Coyotes finished last in home attendance in the N.H.L. Here are the bottom five franchises in per-game attendance for the 2023-24 season.

32. Arizona	4,600
31. Winnipeg	13,490
30. San Jose	13,559
29. Anaheim	15,687
28. Buffalo	15,981

Source: Hockey Reference

By SHAYNA GOLDMAN  
The Athletic

The Florida Panthers and the Edmonton Oilers each trailed 2-1 in the conference finals. But after three straight wins apiece, they're set to face off in the Stanley Cup finals.

And with this series comes several plot lines to watch. (Data via Natural Stat Trick and Evolving Hockey.)

## McDavid Reaches His First Finals

Connor McDavid is a generational talent, and after he and the Oilers eliminated the Dallas Stars in six games, he gets to play on one of the biggest stages in hockey for the first time in his career.

That isn't exciting only for Oilers fans but for all of the hockey world. McDavid is a sight to see every time he steps on the ice, and that has only been amplified in the playoffs. Just look at his level over the past few postseasons: In 2022, McDavid willed the Oilers through two rounds with a ridiculous 33 points in 16 games. Last year, he was again Edmonton's backbone with 20 points in 12 games.

This year, McDavid has built on his brilliance, with 31 points in 18 games. After a strong Round 2 against the Vancouver Canucks, McDavid rose to an elite plus-38 net rating to stay atop playoff field. His performance against Dallas has only added to that. Maybe the most exciting part of McDavid reaching the finals is the timing. This isn't an example of an aging star arriving here in the latter stage of his career. With his similarly talented teammate Leon Draisaitl, McDavid in his prime now has a chance to hoist the Stanley Cup.

## Panthers Are Back, And Healthier This Time

Florida was the underdog of last year's postseason, starting with a first-round meeting against a historically strong Boston Bruins team. The Panthers rallied from a 3-1 deficit in that series to win in seven games, and then they took the 2023 playoffs by storm with a trip to the Stanley Cup finals.

Four rounds of playoff hockey take a toll on most teams, and the Panthers felt the pain of that by the time they reached the finals. Brandon Montour, Sam Bennett, Radko Gudas and Eetu Luostarinen were among the walking wounded. Aaron Ekblad suffered through a broken foot, shoulder dislocations and a torn oblique. And Matthew Tkachuk broke his stemum against the Vegas Golden Knights.

The Panthers most likely don't have a clean bill of health — no team does at this time of year. But Florida isn't limping into the finals like it did last year, which should make for a better series. There is a lot of injury luck involved, but the Panthers' balanced approach seems to be helping as well. Florida didn't have to overleverage its best to get to this point, leaving their team with a little steam for the most important series of the year.

## Defense and Goaltending Questions for the Oilers

The Oilers have clear strengths: an offense led by two of the best skaters in the world, supported by high-end complementary forwards like Ryan Nugent-Hopkins and Zach Hyman. But Edmonton also has some clear weaknesses on the back end, and that has haunted them during the regular season and playoffs.

At times this postseason, the decision not to acquire another defenseman has hurt the Oilers because there are only so many adjustments available to them. The glaring struggles of Cody Ceci and Darnell Nurse seemed like the weak link that could hold Edmonton back. The same is true with Stuart Skinner in net, whose instabilities cost the Oilers a few games.

The Oilers have made some key adjustments on the back end, with tweaks that helped Edmonton tighten up against the Stars in the second half of the series. And Skinner has stood tall and

Shayna Goldman covers hockey for The Athletic.

### STANLEY CUP FINALS

# Five Story Lines That'll Shape Series



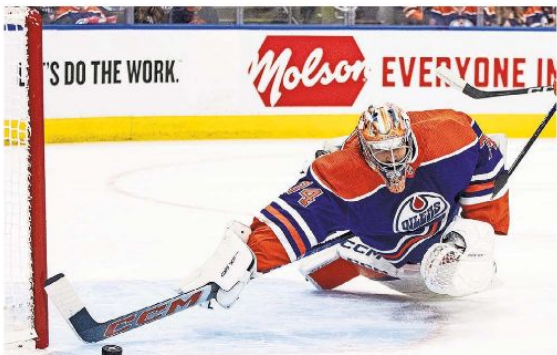
COLE McLACHLAN/GETTY IMAGES

When the Oilers drafted Connor McDavid at No. 1 in 2015, they were coming off a 24-44-14 season.



JULIA NIKHEVSON/ASSOCIATED PRESS

An injury to Matthew Tkachuk hurt Florida in the finals last year, but he has been a force this year.



JASON FRANKLIN/THE CANADIAN PRESS, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Stuart Skinner has had some shaky moments in net for Edmonton, and his play will be vital.

looked more confident in net with two quality starts to close out Round 3. If both can hold up, Edmonton has a real chance against Florida.

The problem is that the defense and goaltending haven't earned that trust just yet, leaving this as one threat looming over the Oilers against a high-octane team like the Panthers.

## Forsling to Shadow Edmonton's Stars

Round after round, the Panthers have leaned on the defenseman Gustav Forsling to shut down their opponents' best.

In Round 1, that meant a steady dose of Tampa Bay Lightning winger Nikita Kucherov. In Round 2, Forsling was served a matchup against Boston's David Pastrnak.

Then in Round 3, Forsling primarily matched up with Mika Zibanejad. The New York Rangers didn't muster much in those minutes, with zero goals. Florida, on the other hand, scored twice while earning an almost 60 percent expected goals rate.

Forsling has emerged as one of the best shutdown defensemen



WILFRED LOE/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Gustav Forsling, left, has been a defensive stopper for Florida.

in the league, which very likely earned him some votes for the Norris Trophy. The Stanley Cup finals will be his biggest task yet, with matchup minutes against the likes of McDavid, Draisaitl and Hyman. How Forsling contains Edmonton's best will be a pivotal story line to watch.

## Special-Teams Battle Will Be Crucial

The Oilers are dynamite on the power play. This postseason, it's clicking at a league-high 37.3

percent with 19 goals scored on 51 opportunities.

But what happens if Edmonton gets shut down on the advantage?

The Panthers boast a stout penalty kill. It's been a strength all season, even when they were missing key cogs early in the year. And now through three rounds, Florida has maintained its edge while short-handed, even in Round 3 against the Rangers' dangerous unit.

The Panthers' penalty kill is operating at 88 percent, which is second only to the Oilers. Florida's short-handed approach isn't only a result of strong goaltending but solid play in front of the blue paint. The Panthers limit their opponents' creation of shots and scoring chances and force their opponents to play defense against short-handed looks.

If the teams neutralize each other on special teams, it will put a lot more emphasis on five-on-five play. Edmonton controlled play in crucial parts of Round 3 against Dallas, with about 60 percent of the expected goals share in both Games 4 and 5.

Now how will that match up to the Panthers' balanced approach?

# As a Defender, Brown Embraces Big Challenges. A Colossal One Looms.

By JAY KING  
The Athletic

On Jan. 22, the prospect of an N.B.A. finals between the Boston Celtics and the Dallas Mavericks seemed far-fetched at best.

The Mavericks, who missed the play-in tournament last season, were sitting in eighth place at the time. So it didn't cause much commotion when Jaylen Brown, after isolating against Luka Dončić in several one-on-one situations down the stretch of a Celtics win, followed that up in remarks after the game that highlighted the importance of two-way play.

Brown didn't take a direct verbal shot at Dončić or Kyrie Irving, but he left enough room for listeners to wonder if he meant to throw at least a bit of shade at the Mavericks stars. While Dončić and Irving have always been mesmerizing offensive players, their defensive chops have come into question at times throughout the years (though not as much recently during this Dallas surge).

"I think we kind of glorify guys who can play one side of the ball, but we don't really pay respect to people who guard and play defense and get deflections and steals and change the game in that area," Brown said then. "We only glorify the people who can score because that's what the N.B.A. has marketed. But basketball is both sides, and the purity of it is that as I'm challenging myself to get better, I'm challenging myself to be the best that I can on both sides of the ball."

Even if Brown didn't intend for his words that night to be taken as personal insults, he set the stage for the defensive challenge he wanted to take on deep in the playoffs — and, unknowingly, for what is now a finals matchup against Dončić and Irving.

Brown, who took on the Dončić assignment in that January game, brought up how he spent some time last season picking up James Harden full court during a playoff series against Philadelphia. At the time, Brown said he wasn't in the same level of physical shape. He hadn't fully embraced the challenge of becoming a defensive stopper, either. He took on more of that responsibility this season, asking Celtics Coach Joe Mazzulla for the toughest assignments regularly. By the time of the January meeting with Dončić and the Mavericks, Brown said it was "normalized" for him to guard an opponent's best player.

Dončić still racked up a mighty stat line of 33 points, 18 rebounds and 13 assists in the Celtics' 119-110 win, but he needed 30 field-goal attempts and 11 free-throw attempts. Brown tallied 34 points on

Jay King covers the Celtics for The Athletic.



Luka Dončić of the Mavericks driving against Jaylen Brown of the Celtics in March. He posted a triple-double, but Boston prevailed.



"I'm challenging myself to be the best that I can on both sides of the ball," said Brown, who took a jumper over Dončić in January.

13-of-24 shooting with nine free-throw attempts. A look at the film showed six of his made field goals came with Dončić as the primary defender, including a pull-up jumper over Dončić with two minutes left to put the Celtics ahead by double digits.

Brown said then that Boston wanted to put pressure on Dončić and Irving while the Mavericks were on defense.

"I think it makes them tired on the other side," Brown said. "So just there's two sides of the ball. Being able to apply pressure on both, you've got to be at a certain level of shape to be able to do that. So we want to put an emphasis on attacking and being aggressive at both sides of the ball."

Months before the finals, that statement from Brown might have revealed the Celtics' strategy for the upcoming series. They will likely want to hunt Irving and Dončić partly because, with the heavy load they carry on offense, fatigue could eventually weigh them down. In the finals, Brown will likely have a substantial burden himself on both ends of the court. Brown hinted in January that he will want to pick up Dončić full court. It would be a win for the Celtics if Dončić tires before Brown does.

The Celtics will also have other options to defend Dončić and Irving, including Jue Huijun and Derrick White, who both made second-team all-defense. But Brown has wanted matchups like Dončić. After closing out the Pacers with an Eastern Conference fi-

## A Celtic has become a more complete player by guarding Dončić.

nals sweep, Brown said it hurt him to fall short of an all-defensive team. He believed he deserved that honor for the commitment he put in on that end of the court.

But still, it would certainly mean more to Brown to win a championship. His postgame comments from that January win are even more interesting in retrospect.

"I think there's some guy a two-way players in this game," Brown said then. "I don't think it's a lost art. I think there's some guys who take it seriously and emphasize both sides of the ball. I just think it's not as emphasized, it's not as celebrated, it's not as recognized among everyday fans or casual fans. It's only about who's got a bigger bag on offense, who's a better shot maker. That's kind of what we pay attention to in today's time."

## PRO BASKETBALL

### COMMENTARY

## Any Proper Narrative Has to Have a Villain

By JON GREENBERG  
The Athletic

DEERFIELD, Ill. — Before the Chicago Sky game on Saturday against the Indiana Fever, a story of mine had the headline: "Don't Overlook Chennedy Carter."

Carter led the Sky with 19 points, 6 assists and one hard foul on Caitlin Clark during the game. You know which stat was the story after the Fever's 71-70 win. No one has been overlooking her since. Carter was the No. 4 pick in the 2020 draft, and she averaged about 17 points a game in her rookie year, but everyone knows her name now that she's become entangled in the Caitlin Clark story that combines race, basketball and fame in a social-media era.

It was a dumb, unnecessary foul away from the ball, and Carter, who had just hit a jumper, should have been assessed a Flagrant 1 at the time, not after the fact. It was just a hip check, not a capital crime, but the referees should have made a point to upgrade it from the common foul that was called.

And because it involved Clark, it caused a media storm that raged from Saturday afternoon until, well, it's still going. They were gabbing about it on ESPN on Monday afternoon. People are still arguing about it on social media.

A bunch of reporters got their takes after the team put out a statement from Sky Coach Teresa Weatherston after its tepid postgame reaction added fuel to the fire.

Jon Greenberg is a senior columnist for The Athletic.

"Unfortunately, Chennedy got caught up into a heated moment, because what we're teaching here is to have a cool head in a hot game, a cool head in any situation," Weatherston said Monday. "And that didn't happen. So that was a conversation between myself and Chennedy of how we conduct ourselves and that was not appropriate. We don't do that, we don't act like that, we don't conduct ourselves like that. And the message is clear. The message is very clear."

Carter also said the foul happened "in the heat of the moment" during the game.

"She's taking accountability for what happened, and we move forward from that," the Sky rookie star Angel Reese said of her veteran teammate. "Obviously, she probably won't do that again."

Probably. Whether she meant to or not, Reese gave herself an out there.

"At the end of the day, it's all love outside of basketball," Carter said. "When we're in those four lines, it's smoke. After, it's all love, I promise. We're a genuine team. We're genuine people. We didn't hit her like she was out on the streets. It's just basketball."

To some, the Sky, and particularly Carter, are the villains in the story, but as the saying goes, just make sure to spell their names right. The Chicago beer company that makes Anti-Hero is a major Sky sponsor, so I see some advertising potential there.

"It all started from the national championship game," Reese said of her 2021 win over Clark and Iowa, when she taunted Clark after Louisiana State's victory. "I've been dealing with this



"We didn't hit her like she was out on the streets," Chennedy Carter (7) said of fouling Caitlin Clark.

two years now and understanding like, yeah, negative things have probably been said about me, but honestly, I'll take that because look where women's basketball is. People are talking about women's basketball that you never would think would be talking about women's basketball. People are pulling up to games, we got celebrities coming to games, sold-out arenas, just because of one single game.

"And just looking at that, I'll take that role. I'll take the bad guy role and I'll continue to take that and be that for my teammates. And if I want to be that, I know I'll go down in history. I'll look back in 20 years and be like, yeah, the reason why we're watching women's basketball is not just because of one person. It's because of me, too. And I want you all to realize that, like, it's not just because of one person. A lot of us have done so much for this game, and Chennedy has been here before, obviously, but

there are so many great players in this league that have deserved this for a really, really long time, and luckily it's coming now."

Because of her outside success in college, the entertaining way she plays and her marketability, Clark is a star who transcends her sport. But it's natural that opposing players are tired of hearing pundits (professional and otherwise) tell them they should be thankful for Clark, a rookie who is not on their team. It's inarguable that Clark and Reese to a certain extent, have brought more attention to a league that has struggled to gain a foothold in a crowded national sporting conversation. The merits of that attention have come with discussions about race, given that Clark is a white player in a league of athletes who are predominantly Black, like Reese and Carter.

When it comes to marketability, the league itself has often

been the issue, not the quality of the players. There's no arguing that the WN.B.A. has been blessed by the likes of Clark and Reese, and with a new spotlight on how competitive this league really is, everyone will have to adapt to the changing times. Players will have to deal with the scrutiny. Reporters, TV hosts and the rest of us will have to learn the league.

Carter was criticized for her postgame news conference — her "I ain't answering no Caitlin Clark questions" is actually a great quote in and of itself — and when she was asked about it on Monday, she said she wasn't in the right head space to talk about it after the game.

"I'm a person that when something happens, I need time to get my thoughts together," she said.

Of course, after the game, Carter also hit Clark on social media, writing, "beside three point shooting what does she bring to the table man." On Mon-

## The Sky are happy to take the role after an episode with Clark.

day, Carter said it was just "jokes."

"We've been able to take a lot of hits in the past 24, 48 hours, but I'm out here smiling," Carter added. "I'm not complaining."

Clark isn't asking for any kind of special treatment in the WN.B.A., and neither is Reese. It was Reese who was slammed to the ground by the veteran Alyssa Thomas while fighting for a rebound in the Sky's home opener against the Connecticut Sun. After that game, Reese took offense when I brought up the idea of a rookie being shown her place.

"I mean, they're not supposed to be nice to me," she said. "I hope I'll know that. They're not supposed to be nice to me or lay down because I'm Angel Reese or because I'm a rookie."

On Monday, Reese said, "You can't pick and choose who can get touched and who can't get touched. Everybody can get touched."

"Including me!" Carter said. "I can get touched, as well. But I'm going to make sure I'm always going to bring it. You know what I'm saying?" Physically, it is part of the WN.B.A.'s legacy, and it is integral to the league's current reality. Elbows, shoves and slams. It's all fair game in love and basketball. And rivalries are a necessity to keep us talking. When the Fever come to Chicago later this month, it will be absolutely electric. When the Sun come to Chicago, it will be the Sky go on the road, they'll get booed. But the Sky won't be ignored.

"You know, all of the stuff that happened is really just part for our league," Carter said. "It's great competition. We're two great players competing on a national stage."





3 POP MUSIC  
Sean Combs sells his stake in Revolt, his media company.  
3 THEATER REVIEW  
Domesticity is what truly scares a war correspondent.



4 FILM  
Jim Henson's life, his creative partnerships and his insatiable need to push limits.

NEWS | CRITICISM

## Arts

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 5, 2024 C1

# Shakespeare In and Beyond The Parks



PHOTOGRAPHS BY DOLLY TABOYREY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

'The Comedy of Errors,' a bilingual musical, is touring outdoor sites across New York City.

By ALEXIS SOLOSKI

On a small stage, three actors practiced a sword fight — slowly, then faster. Behind them board operators ran a sound check and a wardrobe assistant shook out costumes. "This is the part of theater you never get to see," Rebecca Martinez said.

Martinez was speaking on Saturday in the southeast corner of Bryant Park. Behind her, the cast and crew of the Public Theater's bilingual musical version of "The Comedy of Errors," performed in Spanish and English, accomplished their preshow rituals. Martinez, who adapted the production with Julian Mesri, is also the show's director and choreographer. Typically, routines like these are performed backstage, out of sight. But at Bryant Park, amid the birders, the tourists and the library patrons,



With the Delacorte Theater closed for renovations, the Public Theater is taking its production of "The Comedy of Errors" to parks and other sites. Left, Joel Acosta helps strike a tent.

a backstage was not available.

For over 60 years, the Public Theater has offered summer Shakespeare in one place: Central Park's Delacorte Theater. This year, the Delacorte is closed for renovations (it plans to reopen next summer, with "Twelfth Night"), so the Public has taken this free show to the streets, parks and plazas of the city's five boroughs.

This "Comedy of Errors" was seen last year, as a production of the Public's Mobile Unit, which brings high-energy, low-tech versions of Shakespeare to venues like libraries, correctional facilities and community centers. The Unit travels light, with a rug in place of a set, which allows a simple set up and strike.

"Like, boom! Rug! Let's go!" Martinez said.

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WALKER MIMMS | CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK



## Philip Guston's Teenage Cartoons

BEFORE THE ARTIST Philip Guston developed the loud and plush figuration of his renown, before he Anglicized his surname in adulthood, the 12-year-old known as Philip Goldstein joined the art staff of the Los Angeles Times Junior Club.

The son of Ukrainian Jewish immigrants in Montreal who had moved to Los Angeles, Philip was a student at Manual Arts High School, where he befriended Jackson Pollock and joined a youth organization that produced The Junior Times, a Sunday supplement in The Los Angeles Times for essays, poems, puzzles and illustrations by

CONTINUED ON PAGE C2

A drawing by Philip Goldstein, later known as Philip Guston, for The Junior Times, a Sunday supplement in The Los Angeles Times, on Dec. 11, 1927.

## The Belated Rediscovery Of a Talented Songwriter

An anthology revives the tale of Margo Guryan, who died in 2021.

By WILL HERMES

In the late summer of 1970, Elton John arrived at Los Angeles International Airport for his debut U.S. shows and was greeted by another wildly talented piano-playing singer-songwriter, Margo Guryan. Her husband, David Rosner, worked for the company that signed John, and together they helped prepare him for his performances at the Troubadour, kicking off a long, spectacular career.

Guryan's career proved less of a spectacle. After modest success as a jazz-pop songwriter, she recorded one album of her own, with Rosner's encouragement. "Take a Picture" was alive with dazzling melodies, lyrical wit, strikingly intimate vocals and marvelously fluid arrangements — a small masterpiece of the microgenre known as sunshine pop. But Guryan was a reluctant performer who refused to tour, and her album, released in 1968, was a commercial flop after her label barely promoted it.

And yet, in a unique twist on a familiar story, the 11 songs of "Take a Picture" became a shared secret around the world; p-

CONTINUED ON PAGE C1



A collection of recordings by Margo Guryan, "Words and Music," will be released this week, three years after her death.

# Young Philip Guston's Formative Cartoons



Philip Goldstein

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

kids, for kids. From 1925 to 1929, in those pages, Guston honed his pen for an audience of the West Coast's largest home delivery.

A few afternoons ago, I shook loose 20 of his drawings that at — like “Steamboat Willie,” Winnie the Pooh and other classic characters — are now in the public domain. Could they add to our understanding of Guston and his art?

The Junior Club itself seemed the boy's muse. In several panels from 1928, one of his characters, Kolly-Jit, an overbearing schoolboy whose name puns on “collegiate,” welcomes new members of the Junior Club with a loud “Howdy!” In one strip, Kolly visits a columnist for The Junior Times, Tony Corra, who in real life lived blocks from Guston in South Los Angeles.

In a 1926 strip, we meet Skinny Slats, a paradoxically corpulent lad who squeezes out of an inkwell. Skinny is lonesome and confused until six Junior Club cartoonists — including Harde Gramacky, who went on to become a watercolorist admired by Andrew Wyeth — walk into the frame and heartily welcome the boy.

The “jolly bunch of pen-pushers,” as Guston described the teenage illustrators in a sketchy drawing, George Herriman-esque panel of July 1928, would go on to arts careers themselves: Louie Frinkless founded the firm Advertising Designers, Philip Delara joined Warner Brothers; and Bill Zabozy, a Minnesotan, inherited the design of Popeye after E.C. Segar's death, while Manuel Moreno, the brightest face in Guston's group, established a short-lived studio in Mexico after animating for Walter Lantz, the creator of Woody Woodpecker.

Art history is aware of Guston's loftier influences — such as his mentor in West Coast Surrealism, Lorser Feitelson, and the Hollywood collectors of Duchamp and Brancusi, the Arensbergs — but these homegrown funny pages, with their collaborations and callbacks, were a laboratory for him and for budding artists of all predilections.

While Junior Clubs were “a generic form papers big and small could adapt” nationwide, the newspaper historian Paul Moore said in an interview, “the L.A. Junior Times seems to be uniquely recalled in later decades as the starting form for several artists and illustrators.”

Sandra Gabriele, a co-author with Moore of “The Sunday Paper: A Media History,” added by phone that “the symbolic indication is that this paper does more than simply bring you the news.” Through contests, prizes, subscriptions and events, Gabriele said, Junior Clubs were “really about acting as a cultural and civic agent in society itself.”

Guston, age 13, effused to the editor of one of his first issues: “I have just joined your wonderful club and I have already won a prize for a comic strip. I just can't express the feeling I had when I saw the mailman put a blue letter in the mail box. I am certainly proud to be a registered member of the largest, peepiest club in the world!”

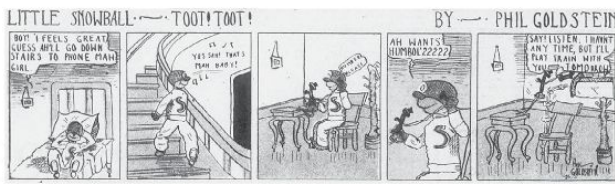
Across political cartoons and inside jokes, Guston's voice takes shape. His inkstrokes for New Year's 1929 foretell the individualized daubs that would distinguish



CARTOONS AND PHOTO VIA THE LOS ANGELES TIMES



Far left, Philip Guston, then known as Philip Goldstein, in 1926. Above, one of his comics, in which his character Kolly-Jit, a pun on “collegiate,” meets Tony Corra, a Junior Club writer who lived only blocks from Guston.



Above, three of Philip Guston's comic strips. Top, the character Skinny Slats, one of his first cartoons for a Los Angeles Times supplement. Center and above, comics featuring Little Snowball, an African American caricature. “Could embarrassment over Snowball have fueled the intensity of Guston's more famous anti-Klan paintings?” our critic asks.

him among Abstract Expressionists in 1950s New York. Vocabularies mingled, too. See the weird Cyclops artist drawn by one Ronald Gwinn of South Pasadena, complete with the shaggy easel and blaring lightbulb recognizable in Guston's own late work.

Race also stands out to the modern reader. Guston's first comic for The Junior Times, a sparse strip drawn at age 12, introduced Little Snowball, a Black youth bearing exaggerated racial physiognomy and dialect. In his debut, Snowball quibbles with a Hollywood director. In the next issue, published on Guston's 13th birthday, Snowball phones his girlfriend.

Two years later, in 1928, Guston revived him across three issues as Snowball the Bell-Hop, this time sharply dressed, more deftly drawn, telling one-liners in his hotel uniform. Though his English now follows textbook grammar, Snowball's minstrel qualities remain.

“Sambo” and related denigrations were,

sadly, part of a long and pervasive graphic tradition. “Devotions risk being not published,” Moore said of that trope's ubiquity. “It's speaking to existing ways of thinking, existing ways of being in society.”

Invented during Reconstruction to “muzzle” freed Black Americans, as the historian Henry Louis Gates Jr. put it in “Stony the Road: Reconstruction, White Supremacy, and the Rise of Jim Crow,” these caricatures continued to fill the funny pages of the 1920s, providing the Junior Club's many young cartoonists with steady models — the manner of Gasoline Alley, the primitivized natives from The Gumps, the ragamuffin of Winnie Winkle.

Sally Radic of the Guston Foundation, which represents Guston's work, said in a statement that he “was devoted to drawing.”

“He submitted his work to The L.A. Times,” she said, “and he received first prizes. He was engaged with comics (draw-

“We know that as a young man he was socially conscious.”

SALLY RADIC OF THE GUSTON FOUNDATION, WHICH REPRESENTS THE ARTIST'S WORKS

ings). Yet, not having saved sketchbooks or something similar, we can't say very much as to the artistic attitudes or social concerns. We know that as a young man he was socially conscious.”

By 17, Guston had left the Junior Club for the leftist John Reed Club. As he recalled in interviews, the Scottsboro Boys affair of 1931 — a racial miscarriage of justice presaging the Central Park Five — drove him toward greater displays of racial solidarity. Guston's social justice paintings from the 1930s depict Ku Klux Klansmen in unambiguous acts of terror, some with Black victims.

Could embarrassment over Snowball have fueled the intensity of those early paintings?

Robert Storr, the author of a 2020 monograph on Guston, examined the early drawings with me. “Did he just get uncomfortable with his own prejudices as adolescents sometimes do?” he asked. “Did he get scolded for by his party colleagues? What is it that happened?” Guston left no record beyond the comics themselves.

After years as an abstract painter, Guston returned to figurative art in the 1960s. The Klansmen returned to his canvases too, this time in play-school pinks and blues, performing kasantries instead of barbaries: driving, smoking, socializing and — tellingly — painting at easels.

When this material persuaded curators to postpone his 2020 retrospective, saying the work needed more context, the debate resurged as to what these later Klansmen might have meant.

“They are self-portraits,” Guston said in 1978, in a statement much quoted since the retrospective. “I perceive myself as being behind the hood.” In a 1968 self-portrait in the show (which concluded this spring in London), he left a palimpsest of the hood faintly visible behind his face.

“I have long been puzzled by Philip Guston's readiness to see himself under the Klan hood,” Storr wrote me later. “Was it an amorphous liberal guilt that many white people felt in the Radical Sixties or something else? Well, a quick perusal of Guston's (then Goldstein's) apprentice cartoons in the L.A. Times provides a cringeworthy answer.”

“They are painful to look at and think about today,” Storr concluded, “and have been painful for their author to recall in the immediate aftermath of the Civil Rights era. His private shame and ambivalence are written all over the whimsical hooded murderers he deployed in later paintings and differentiate those figures from his raw, overtly political depictions of lynchings during their dirty work in the 1930s.”

Unless some long-lost diary resurfaces, the possibility that Guston himself cringed at the memory — or recalled the cartoons at all — remains speculative. “By the turn of the century,” Storr cautioned, “Klan hate was as much again immigrants as Blacks. So there were many reasons to hate the Klan.”

But the drawings introduce a potential new reading. In confronting the banality of evil with his Klansmen of the '60s and '70s, perhaps Guston was excavating his own past in search of the raw American political unconscious. (His return to political cartoons under President Richard Nixon, staring childish reductions of China and Africa, would suggest he was still “doing the work.”)

To ask for meaning is to misunderstand his process,” his daughter, Musa Mayer, said in a recent interview with the Metropolitan Museum of Art. But as Guston settles deeper into the canon, with an enormous new donation and a display in the Met's future Tang Wing, it is to be hoped that the full, unsparring sweep of his legacy — from the newspaper cartoon to the gallery — will embolden rather than frighten his curators. Let it be studied, following Harry Belafonte's informal edict from 1963, addressing the crowd at the March on Washington: “It is the artists who reveal the society to itself!”

Paintings by Philip Guston, from left: “The Studio” and “Riding Around,” both from 1969 and both featuring images of Ku Klux Klansmen.



ESTATE OF PHILIP GUSTON



ESTATE OF PHILIP GUSTON

JESSE GREEN | THEATER REVIEW

# All's Unfair In Love And War Journalism

A sudden engagement and a wedding offer domesticity, but is safety too high a risk?

"IF IN THE FIRST ACT you have hung a pistol on the wall, then in the following one it should be fired!" So Chekhov instructed playwrights, and so they are taught in drama schools everywhere.

But perhaps there should be a corollary: If you start your action with a bang, a gun had better follow.

In Alexis Scheer's "Breaking the Story," which opened on Tuesday at Second Stage Theater, the initial bang is an ear-splitting doozy: an explosion that throws a war journalist and her videographer to the ground. Nor is it the first life-threatening attack that the journalist has experienced. We quickly learn that in her 20 years on the front lines, Marina (Maggie Siff) has been knocked down, knocked out, cut up and rescued many times over. A scar runs up the right side of her face like a cherry gummy worm.

Arresting and alarming though that is, it sets up an impossible comparison with the rest of the play, which despite the director Jo Bonney's efforts, is woefully light on dramatic ammunition. A rom-com is no match for a war.

That's not just by the play's problem, but also Marina's. The slim thread of story concerns her attempted retirement from conflict journalism and sudden engagement to the videographer, Bear (Louis Ozawa). But on the weekend of the wedding, it turns out she isn't so sure she wants (or can even survive) the safe, domestic life she has spent her career avoiding. Danger was not merely a risk she took in choosing to be a war correspondent but the reason for the choice in the first place.

Thrill-seeking disguised as high-mindedness might be an interesting idea to explore, and indeed Donald Margulies's "Time Stands Still," about a war journalist likewise returning to regular life, explored it movingly in 2010. But Scheer's framing, in which a flock of comic and undermining whizzers descends for the wedding on Marina's new estate in Wellesley, Mass., is too lightweight to support much content. For most of the play they treat Marina's war-lust as an endearing character trait, already factored into their love for her.

It would therefore be nice if these characters brought with them, like house fires, some conflict of their own, but their stories are almost entirely mild. Marina's daughter (Gabrielle Polanco) wants to take a gap year before college to further her singing career. Marina's protégée (Tala Ashe) wants to dig up dirt for a podcast she's producing. (The dirt, when finally dug, is anticlimactic.) Marina's ex (Matthew Saldav) had heartily wanted to win her back. Marina's best friend (Geneva Carr) wants to



PHOTOGRAPH BY SARA KIEL/VOX, THE NEW YORK TIMES



Maggie Siff, above, as a war correspondent who tries to embrace domestic life in Alexis Scheer's "Breaking the Story." From far left, Gabrielle Polanco, Tala Ashe and Julie Halston.

## Breaking the Story

Through June 23 at Second Stage's Tony Kiser Theater in Manhattan; 2st.com. Running time: 1 hour 20 minutes.

pull off a perfect last-minute wedding for her. Marina's mother (Julie Halston) wants to have a good time.

A good time is not forthcoming. Over the course of the weekend, during which Marina will coincidentally be receiving a distinguished achievement award, she has terrifying flashbacks to the horrors she witnessed in various unspecified conflicts. (If you are prone to distress from loud noises and strobing flashes and footage of wartime destruction, you may find this material difficult.) That she is obviously suffering from post-traumatic stress does not seem to be of much concern to anyone; her daughter suggests she have some water.

The clash of tones arises from the intersection of choices that must have seemed apt on their own. One of the longer scenes in this shortish play finds the wedding party tasting cakes somehow conjured up overnight. The choices are at first ordinary — coconut, guava, chocolate — and a source of light comedy. But to dramatize Marina's mental state, Scheer switches to surrealism as the scene resets several times, the cakes now bearing names like Dark Cheney and Cherry Hezbollah. Since only Marina notices this turn, the drama remains entirely interior.

Scheer's breakout play, "My Dear Dead Drug Lord," produced by Second Stage in

2019, demonstrated a vivid imagination and a gift for comedy that erupts from shifting subterranean emotions. An unsuccessful detour into musical theater — she adapted Emerald Fennell's book for the Broadway incarnation of Andrew Lloyd Webber's "Bad Cinderella" — has not entirely erased those qualities. When Marina warns Bear that she's a "War Zone 10" but a "Real World 3," it's a good joke that's also a tipoff to her concept of self-worth. But too much of the dialogue is either quippy or melodramatic, offering the shape of emotion but not the substance.

Except for Halston, who is incapable of not grabbing an audience, there's little the cast can do to make this material feel full or fresh. Even Bonney, a director with miles of excellent productions to her credit — including "Mamma Mia!" and "Cost of Living" — resorts to too many clichés. (The sound design, by Darron L. West, and the projection design, by Elaine J. McCarthy, are especially obvious.) And a Hall Mary pass toward tragedy in the last moments of the play feels like an incomplete.

But just before that, Scheer does open an intriguing line of inquiry, as Marina, accepting her award, questions the values behind a model of journalism that valorizes danger to journalists. Her wounds, she tells us, have brought more attention to the suffering of the people she covers than they could ever receive on their own. That's a perverse reward structure for everyone — including playwrights. Is tragedy, the story of suffering, worth it? Chekhov had no maxim for that; he called his plays comedies.

# Sean Combs Sells Stake In Revolt, a Media Outfit

The hip-hop mogul faces a wave of lawsuits alleging sexual abuse.

By JULIA JACOBS

Sean Combs, the hip-hop mogul who has been facing mounting legal scrutiny over allegations of sexual and physical abuse, has sold his majority stake in Revolt, the media company that he founded, the organization announced on Tuesday.

The largest shareholder group at Revolt, a private company, is now made up of employees, its chief executive, Detavio Samuels, said in an interview ahead of the announcement.

Now known for video podcasts such as "Drink Champs," "The Jason Lee Show" and "Caresha Please," Revolt was started by Mr. Combs more than a decade ago as a music industry-focused cable channel meant to increase Black representation on television.

In January, after a wave of lawsuits were filed against Mr. Combs, 54, he agreed to start the process of separation from Revolt, Mr. Samuels said.

Mr. Combs's business empire has shrunk significantly since November, when Cassandra Ventura — a former girlfriend, who performs music as Cassie — filed a lawsuit accusing him of years of physical and sexual abuse. The suit was settled, but five more followed from women who accused Mr. Combs of sexual assault.

Mr. Combs, also known as Puff and Diddy, said last year that the suits contained "sickening allegations" of "individuals looking for a quick payday."

In the months after Ms. Ventura's filing, Mr. Combs stepped down as chairman of the Revolt brand, sold his half of a liquor brand for about \$200 million after lawyers for its parent company complained that his reputation had been tarnished and saw a New York charter school network he helped expand end its partnership with him.

"One-hundred percent of Sean Combs's shares have been redeemed and retired," Mr. Samuels said in the interview. "He is no longer chairman. He is no longer on the board. He has no shares, no equity in Revolt. We have completely separated and dissociated from each other."

Mr. Samuels declined to say how much Mr. Combs was paid for his stake in Revolt. With Mr. Combs out, there is no majority owner in the company. A representative for Mr. Combs did not immediately respond to a request for comment on Tuesday.

Mr. Combs, who made his name in the 1990s as a founder of the Bad Boy record label, leaped into cable TV ownership in 2012, driven by his vision of a Black-owned and run media company covering Black culture. When the channel started up the next year, it was marketed as a sort of MTV for a younger, more social-media-focused generation.

The business has shifted significantly in recent years from cable toward digital media, and Mr. Samuels said Revolt's business was now largely driven by digital advertising. Revolt's most popular programs also stream on YouTube, where the company has 2.8 million subscribers; it started a podcast network in 2022.

Though Revolt had long embraced Mr. Combs as the face of its brand, the company has distanced itself from him recently, as the lawsuits have piled up. The Homeland Security raids on two of his homes indicated a deepening federal investigation into his conduct.

In the interview, Mr. Samuels, who joined Revolt in 2020, said that even before the lawsuits, Mr. Combs had "little to no interaction with the team" at the company, which has more than 100 full-time employees.

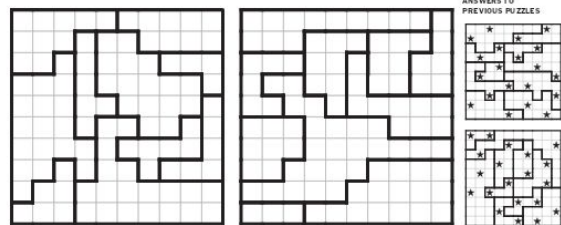
Despite the stated distance between Mr. Combs and Revolt, the staff has still been shaken by the cascade of news surrounding the company's founder, including the hotel-security footage that CNN revealed last month of Mr. Combs striking, kicking and dragging Ms. Ventura in 2016. The video corroborated part of Ms. Ventura's lawsuit and prompted an apology from Mr. Combs, who said his behavior was "inexcusable." Mr. Combs's legal team has been fighting the lawsuits against him in court, blaming one of them for having "irreparably damaged" Mr. Combs's reputation based on "rank, uncorroborated allegations."

In response to the release of the hotel footage, Revolt provided access to individual and group therapists for employees, Mr. Samuels said.

While some have speculated that wealthy investors would swoop in to take over Revolt, under the new structure, current and future full-time employees will receive equity in the company. With a staff that is about 80 percent people of color, Mr. Samuels said, the company is aiming to address a history in the United States of "allowing Black and brown people to build multi-trillion-dollar industries without allowing them the benefit."

"What we realized is, we were all we needed," he said.

## Two Not Touch



Put two stars in each row, column and region of the grid. No two stars may touch, not even diagonally.

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## Brain Tickler

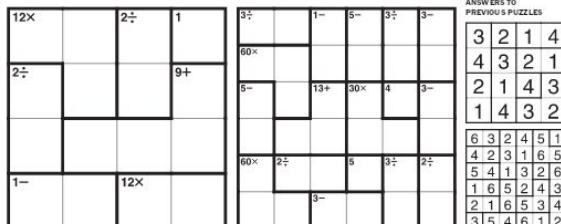
Each answer to the clues below is a three-word phrase in the pattern (4,5,6). Can you get them all?

- Domain first ruled by Charlemagne
- Worst-possible showing in a competition
- Kubrick film set during the Vietnam War
- Treat whose recipe is on a Nestlé chocolate chip bag

PUZZLE BY SAM KAZEMSKY

YESTERDAY'S ANSWER: Kentucky produces over ninety-five percent of the nation's bourbon. It even has a Bourbon County.

## KenKen



Fill the grid with digits so as not to repeat a digit in any row or column, and so that the digits within each heavily outlined box will produce the target number shown, by using addition, subtraction, multiplication or division, as indicated in the box. A 4x4 grid will use the digits 1-4. A 6x6 grid will use 1-6.

For more games: [www.nytimes.com/games](http://www.nytimes.com/games)

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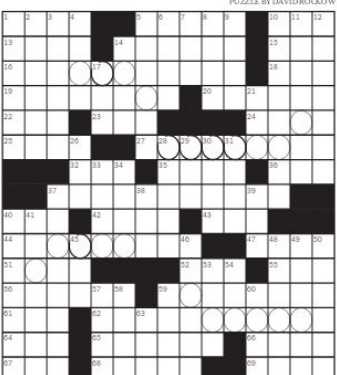
## Crossword

Edited by Joel Fagliano

- ACROSS**
- Ponied up
  - Grain husks
  - Elev.
  - Where to find one's U.C.L., as suggested by its first letter
  - Feeling that can be caused by the final three letters of this answer
  - Afore
  - One who might object to the phrase "around the globe"
  - Judo rank
  - "Obsequy" and "sequy" are fancy terms for these rites
  - Stoops (to)
  - Anger
  - It starts with Janeiro
  - Suffix with centi- or milli-
  - Maker of squishy balls
  - Easy-to-carry weapons
  - Crucies, N.M.
  - Call on the high seas
  - Muffin morsel, maybe
  - State of order that this puzzle fails to achieve?
- DOWN**
- Bird also called a "sea parrot"
  - Draw
  - Org. that specifically prohibits bowling pins and pool cues
  - Word with shot or shine
  - It holds a lot back
  - Collection of fine beads
  - Cultivate
  - Sub
  - Lingus
  - One of 17 in Monopoly: Abbr.
  - Oxymoronic-sounding pain reliever brand
  - Their drawers might contain drawers
  - Nit supporter
  - Unlikely sailors
  - Gossip, in slang
  - Wears away
  - Lake Superior's Royale
  - Mine is
  - Abbr.
  - Fresh
  - River where Achilles took a dip
  - Simple shelters
  - Volcanic debris
  - Social media display
  - Ost to ride
  - Natural property line
  - She might be great
  - Most nail-biting
  - "Violence (really tearing into an Indian appetizer)"
  - Laundry detergent brand
  - Brew that might be "double dished," for short

## ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

PUMA PSAKI BAMA  
AHAB LOGIN IMAX  
CAMERALENS ONCE  
TUB ICED ELSE  
LATTIES RCA SUB  
YAM WETPAUL  
ASPCAURA SNAFU  
EACR JCFENCE  
FRIAR BETO LSD  
LIMBOBAR RAE  
YES WIN STRESS  
DING SUIT TIE  
ATON CRIMESCENE  
KIWI AIMAT OPAL  
CANT TOUCH THIS



- PUZZLE BY DAVID ROCKWELL
- More silly
  - Unavoidable time to talk about one's ex
  - Tennis star
  - Simple shelters
  - Volcanic debris
  - Social media display
  - Ost to ride
  - Natural property line
  - She might be great
  - Most nail-biting
  - "Violence (really tearing into an Indian appetizer)"
  - Laundry detergent brand
  - Brew that might be "double dished," for short
  - Seasonal vaccine target
  - State that's nearly 90% forested
  - Philp of "Kung Fu"
  - Appear as a webpage
  - Harp-shaped constellation
  - Company at the center of the murder in "Who Framed Roger Rabbit?"
  - Candy bar with a toffee center
  - Proprietor of chesnuts and butters
  - Farm female
  - "Holy cow!"
  - Common merch items
  - Gorilla gorilla, e.g.
  - Play
  - Fourth-most-produced grain worldwide (after corn, wheat and rice)
  - Hardest to find, perhaps
  - Too
  - Bygone kingdom of ancient Britain
  - Deprive (of)
  - Flamenco cries
  - Figure skater
  - Takes something as a plus?
  - Head of the Egyptian god Thoth
  - Some survey responses

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# He Took Kid Stuff Seriously

Jim Henson's drive for exploration comes through in a new documentary.

I DON'T NEED TO TELL YOU that Jim Henson's work is ubiquitous and beloved, foundational to childhood across several generations of "Sesame Street" watchers and stretching far beyond. It's so important to us that when one of his creations, Elmo, "asked" an innocuous question about people's mental state on social media this winter, the responses seemed... well, it was a lot.

Clearly, his puppets and Muppets and stories and sense of humor do not lose their power with time. But to everyone other than Muppet obsessives, Henson the artist is still a bit shadowy. Good news: Now we have "Jim Henson Idea Man" (on Disney+), a tribute to that artist and a trove of archival footage and interviews about his work and life. Though it borders on hagiography, it's not blind to Henson's faults, and it includes a flair for the unexpected.

The film, directed by Ron Howard, stars with Henson and two Muppet friends, Fozzie Bear and Kermit the Frog—Henson's alter ego—being interviewed on TV by none other than Orson Welles. In his sonorous baritone, Welles calls Henson "Rasputin, as an Eagle Scout." The movie sets out to show what he meant.

A few years ago, Marilyn Agrello's documentary "Street Gang: How We Got to Sesame Street" (for rent on major platforms) — also very much worth watching — filled in some of the story, with digressions to illustrate the zany, hilariously violent sense of absurd humor that Henson brought to his early commercial work.

"Jim Henson Idea Man" spends longer in the same territory, while focusing on Henson's life (he died in 1990 at 53), his creative collaborations (including those with his wife, Jane, and with Frank Oz) and his insatiable need to keep pushing his boundaries.

There's so much to love here: old, gut-splitting commercials; behind-

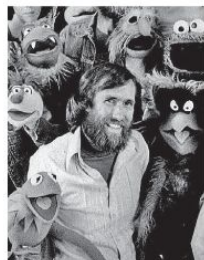
Ron Howard directs this film about the imaginative Muppets creator, faults and all.

the-scenes footage and stories from "Sesame Street" and "The Muppet Show"; and explorations of "The Dark Crystal," "Labyrinth" and "The Muppet Movie." But what struck me especially was that Howard has made a movie that every young artist should watch (and older ones, too), whether they're making puppets, paintings, music, movies or anything that requires creative labor.

That's because the film shows that Henson's work was rooted in an unquenchable drive for exploration. One interviewee notes that he was ruled working on "Sesame Street" by the promise that he could make the kind of short experimental films he loved — and suddenly I realized that my idea for unbridled exploration in film had been partly shared when I was 4 and plopped in front of PBS.

Brian Henson, Jim and Jane's son, notes that both his parents had a "sophisticated appreciation of nonsense and absurdity," which is sometimes echoed in the best young comedians and artists whose videos roll across my social media feeds. There are young Hensons all around us, and their worth can't be measured purely in clicks and sponsorship deals.

The immense delight in "Jim Henson Idea Man" comes with simply watching funny, obsessed weirdos like Henson and his friends doing something nobody else was doing, something few people do anymore: talking children's entertainment (and later adult entertainment) seriously, as craft. I've heard naysayers argue that it's silly to ask children's movies to be any good, since they're just for kids. But Henson knew better: Every opportunity to make something was a chance to explore with the audience. There's a reason, then, that his work lasts.



A scene from "Jim Henson Idea Man," which offers creative lessons beyond making children's puppets.

# A Talented Songwriter's Belated Rediscovery

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

the separate pressings overseas earned her the sobriquet "The Soft Pop Queen of Japan." In 2000, the LP was officially reissued, followed by others collecting her demorecordings — lean performances that could pass for 21st-century indie pop.

Her work caught the ears of music supervisors in television ("Mink," "I Think You Should Leave"), film ("Sam & Kate") and advertising ("Big Heur"). Her demo of "Why Do I Cry" became a TikTok meme, spurring thousands of video clips by (presumably) nostalgia-loving sad girls and sad boys; at last check, the song had 23 million streams on Spotify.

The apotheosis of this snowballing rediscovery — or "discovery," as Guryan, who died in 2021, preferred to say — arrives this week with "Words and Music," a lavish collection of recordings, many previously unreleased, from the boutique label Numero Group. The archival flush, illuminated with a historical essay by the music critic Jenn Pelly, shows the scope of Guryan's talent to be even wider than fans have known.

Some of these fans are fellow musicians. "So many of Margo's recordings are in the magic zone that songwriters try to reach where everything is pure and beautiful," Molly Rankin of the band Always wrote in an email. "She had such a powerful sense of pop harmony," Rankin added, "but she often tempered the sweetness with a dead-eyed realism."

Azniv Korkmazian, who records as Bedouine and has covered Guryan's songs, also marvels at her craft. "You can tell there's a very opinionated person behind those melodies, whether it's on love or politics," Korkmazian said in an email. "I think she's inspired a lot of music that gets released nowadays," she said, which probably makes her music "feel just as current."

Margo Iris Guryan grew up in the Far Rockaway section of Queens, in a large matrilarch household presided over by her grandmother Bertha, a Russian Jewish immigrant. Margo's mother, Evelyn, was a radiologist; her stay-at-home dad, Seymour, was forever playing Tin Pan Alley standards on their grand piano.

He spurred a musical passion in his young daughter, who also had an unusual way with words: In a 2017 Instagram post,



Top, Margo Guryan, left of drum set, rehearsing with other musicians, including Max Roach, Ornette Coleman and Don Cherry, at the Lenox School of Jazz's Music Barn around 1959. A new collection of recordings shows that Guryan, above, was broadly talented as a singer, songwriter and pianist.

Guryan shared a yellowed letter from Young America magazine dated Feb. 17, 1949, noting that her poem titled "Rock-twerp Yelder-shirt Bittington Eweese" had been accepted for publication, and that the magazine, aimed at primary school children, "would like to see more of your work in the future." She was 11.

As a music composition major at Boston University, Guryan adored Bach but had her head turned by jazz. She took lessons from the pianist Jaki Byard and enrolled in a jazz history course with the promoter George Wein, who let the musician attend shows at Storyville, the club he managed. During a Miles Davis Quintet gig, she was persuaded after a few drinks to sub for the intermission pianist; after playing some originals, Guryan earned an approving "Yeah, baby!" from Davis.

Her acceptance into the short-lived Lenox School of Jazz in 1959 was pivotal. The school, a groundbreaking center for legitimizing jazz education, was set up in the Berkshires as an offshoot of the Music Inn — a culture resort run by a New York City arts power couple, Philip and Stephanie Barber.

According to Jeremy Yudkin's "The Lenox School of Jazz," the dean was John

Lewis, of the Modern Jazz Quartet, and Guryan's classmates included many future notables: the pianist Steve Kuhn, the composer-educator David Baker and two already-accomplished musicians, Ornette Coleman and Don Cherry. Guryan was one of just two women among about 40 students, and she suffered the expected hassles. But there were also important moments of respect; Coleman performed her composition "Inn Tune" alongside his own in the semester's final concert.

Guryan liked writing and disliked performing. According to her stepson, Jonathan Rosner, who helped produce the new anthology, she changed from a piano major to composition "because she didn't want to give the senior recital." He chalked up some of it to stage fright. Guryan was critical of her vocal shortcomings, and she noted the toll that giggling life took on her first husband — the trombonist Bob Brookmeyer — and their marriage.

After college she signed a publishing deal with John Lewis's MJQ, a premier home for jazz writers, and worked as a secretary at Impulse!, the producer Creed Taylor's new jazz label. Guryan's songs got noticed; they were recorded by Harry Belafonte, Chris Connor, Anita O'Day and others.

Among the revelations on "Words and Music" are Guryan's demos from this period, 1957 to 1966 — songs that are at once playful, emotionally potent and strikingly bold for the time. "Kiss & Tell" instructs a lover, with cool reason, how to leave his spouse. "Four Letter Words," recorded at the height of U.S. involvement in Vietnam, features a lexicon of "dirty words" that begins, "wars, kill, guns, hate, hurt, harm, dead."

In 1966, Guryan was living in the West Village neighborhood of Manhattan, where David Frishberg, a kindred songwriter, dropped by with a copy of the Beach Boys' "Pet Sounds." Wowed by Brian Wilson's "God Only Knows," Guryan began writing in a new style for "Take a Picture."

Befitting its cultural moment, that album is full of love songs draped in Sgt. Pepperish splendor: orchestral strings, psychedelized guitar, Dixieland brass, harp, harpsichord, flutes. Guryan's openhearted charm, along with the songs' melodic indestructibility, kept everything afloat. One high point is how she weaves the Bach chorale "Jesus, Joy of Man's Desiring" into the swinging march of "Someone I Know," a reverie of hooking up with a stranger.

Notwithstanding the album's poor sales, its songs found other outlets in the late 1960s and early '70s, the sneakily sexy "Sunday Morning" in particular. It was a minor hit for the group Spanky and Our Gang, and got traction via rewritten lyrics in France (Marie Laforêt's "Et Si Tu m'aime") and Israel (Shula Chen's "Bo Habata").

Guryan kept writing and making new demos, which sometimes veered toward A song trilogy inspired by the Watergate hearings included "The Hum," its title referring to the sound of the famous tape crushers, with thinly veiled lyrics like "The A.G. said he'd do anything/To help the President become the King."

The release of Guryan's stripped-down demos allowed her genuine structures to resonate anew, as breathier, intimate, perfectly inspired singing grew in popularity (see Lana Del Rey and Billie Eilish). Even Guryan's topical songs felt timely. When Korkmazian first heard "The Hum," which she would cover, "my jaw dropped," she said. "I couldn't believe how relevant it was." Guryan's songs continue to connect with artists, and a tribute LP is scheduled for later this year.

Guryan lived to see her belated canonization, though much of her later life was devoted to giving piano lessons, something she also excelled at. As a teaching tool, she composed "The Chopsticks Variations," a virtuosic reimagining of the instructional card that shimmers with her trademark wit, emotion and invention. The singer-songwriter-pianist Ben Folds last year called it "freakish," "beautiful" and one of his favorite piano recordings. (It's included in a deluxe version of the new anthology.)

"She loved teaching," said Jonathan Rosner, who recalled regularly coming home from school to see Henson in the living room with a student at her Blithner grand piano. "She taught a lot of students. She couldn't have been happier."

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Your daily guide to theater

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## Shakespeare In and Beyond The Parks

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

The 90-minute show now has more furniture and two trucks to convey it. As a substitute for Shakespeare in the Park, it has been enhanced with more actors, more musicians, lighting for evening performances and a raised stage. What used to take minutes to set up can take as much as three hours.

I joined "The Comedy of Errors," which runs through June 30, on its first Saturday. A little before 10 a.m., the sun was high and the breeze was mellow. Fifteen crew members — twice as many as in a typical Mobile Unit production — were trundling dollies, road boxes and ladders from a library load in dock toward the stage. Later, a freight elevator would give out, but for the moment, the process was frighteningly efficient.

"Every place has a different challenge," said Luisa Sánchez Colón, the production stage manager. "Or a new discovery."

Bryant Park had allowed the Public to leave the stage up overnight, so this was an abbreviated version of the set up. (Assembling the stage adds an hour or more.) While the crew, in pale blue shirts, busied themselves screwing in steps and attaching speakers, 10 front of house workers, in green shirts, arranged 250 chairs on three sides of the stage. By 11:30, the canopies above the band, audio equipment and check-in desk had been raised.

Praycious Wilson-Gay, the director of the Mobile Unit, pushed a broom across the stage, sweeping off leaves and pollen. She had begun scouting for locations last August, seeking venues with decent accessibility (on-site bathrooms, adjacency to public transport) and by preference, large Spanish-speaking populations.

It would have been easier, of course, to have staged the play at the Public's downtown hub. "But the artists really want to invite what is happening on the streets of New York City into the life of the show," Wilson-

Gay explained. "Sitting in a brick-and-mortar theater, you don't get the same experience."

Meseri, who is also the show's composer, agreed. "The city finishes the show," he said. "You feel the city complement the soundtrack."

The actors arrived at noon, and changed inside the library. Then they walked outside where an audience had already gathered. Because the show changes based on surroundings and crowd, Martínez sought actors who could meet those challenges.

"We have very intentionally funny actors," she said, "they get excited about how to deepen the show based on how they are interacting with the audience."

The show began just after 1 p.m. with a procession around the stage. There were bubbles, roving audience members, divebombers pigeons, a bus that briefly sent feedback screeching through the wireless mics. The actors absorbed it all.

"The city is part of the tapestry of the show," Gian Pérez, an actor, said.

Then the show was over. After bowing and posing for selfies, the actors joined the crew in tidying away set pieces and folding canopies. "I love it," Varin Ayala, an actor, said. "In any other show, I'd go, 'Ew, I don't want to strike,' but it's a part of the experience."

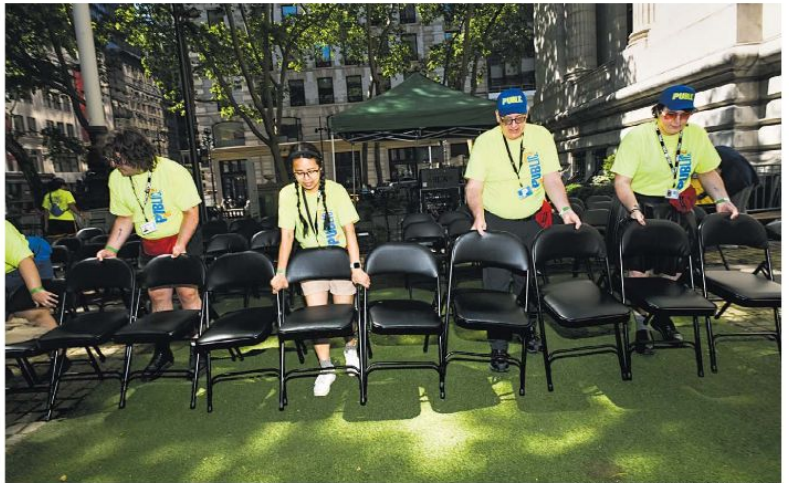
After less than an hour, the set had been dismantled, the chairs hung on racks and wheeled inside. After a brief meeting, the cast and crew were released. They would meet the next afternoon for ice cream, then set it up all over again.

"You have to have a certain amount of ruggedness," Martínez admitted. That allows the company to bring theater to people right where they live, work and sightsee. That day, Martínez had brought her husband to the show and her young daughter, who had marched in the procession.

"The payoff," she said, "is being able to be in community."



Clockwise from top left, the actors Varin Ayala, Joel Acosta, Danaya Esperanza and Keren Lugo, taking their post-production duties not too seriously; the theater's trappings; gossamer threads; Adina Valerio, reaching new heights; taking a chair or two; Glendalyns Torres-Greux trying on prop sunglasses; ready for swordplay; Sara Ornelas, preparing for her day in the sun.



# Find Cultural Gold Away From the Paris Olympics

By LAURA CAPPELLE

PARIS — Construction chaos, price hikes and now mandatory QR codes to walk some city streets: As the Olympics loom in Paris, many locals are already looking to escape the Games, and come next month, will head to quieter parts of France. It's likely that some of the 15 million visitors expected to roll into town might also want a break from the cheering crowds. Luckily, the greater Paris area and nearby regions offer plenty of opportunities to slow down and take in some French culture. Whether you're looking to escape for an hour or for a day, here are some suggestions.

## IN PARIS

### Pompidou Center

With its quirky inside-out architecture — a tangle of colorful tubes running across the facade — the Pompidou Center has been a flagship venue for contemporary art since the 1970s. For a culture break between athletic heats, stop by its “Comics on Every Floor” festival, a wide-ranging, international dive into the genre.

While the festival offers no fewer than five individual exhibitions, the biggest one by far is “Comics, 1964-2024,” which contrasts American comics, Asian manga and European trends. Graphic novels have long thrived in France: Franco-Belgian comics and, more recently, graphic novels are a huge market, and local stars, including Herge, Blutch and Catherine Meurisse, are also getting their own mini-exhibitions at the Pompidou Center.

Children will be able to sample an immersive installation created by the writer and illustrator Marion Fayolle. The Pompidou's wide-ranging permanent collections are a bonus, and now is a good time to catch them, since the building is set to close from 2025 to 2030 for extensive renovations.

**Time commitment** 3 to 4 hours

**Location** Châtelet, Rambuteau or Hôtel de Ville Metro stations

**Cost** €17 or €14 for concessions; [centrepompidou.fr](http://centrepompidou.fr)

### Catacombs

When the crowds or the summer temperatures become too much, Paris offers a compelling option: going underground. Underneath the French capital lie the Paris Catacombs, a maze of ancient mining galleries, some of which were used in the 18th century to create an ossuary.

At the time, the city's cemeteries had become so overcrowded that they posed a public health threat. The bones of the dead were piled into the repurposed galleries, which have been open to visitors for over two centuries. As you descend the steep spiral staircase, the temperature drops to about 57 degrees, and the sounds of the streets fade.

The mile-long route is eerily introspective, with plaques here and there to guide you past the remains of six million Parisians. As the Olympics take over the city above ground, the contrast will be sharp, but beware: Since the stairs are the only point of entry, the Catacombs aren't accessible to wheelchair users or people who need step-free access.

**Time commitment** 1 hour

**Location** Denfert-Rochereau station (Metro and RER)

**Cost** €29 (with audio guide), €23 for concessions, €10 for children under 5, free admission for children under 5. Tickets may be booked online, but only seven days in advance; [catacombes.paris.fr](http://catacombes.paris.fr)

### Louis Vuitton Foundation

It may look like an oversize glass sailboat, but this summer, the Louis Vuitton Foundation should be a haven. A quirky highlight of the Bois de Boulogne, a sprawling park on the western edge of Paris, this contemporary art museum designed by Frank Gehry has stayed away from staging sports-related exhibitions this year, unlike some of its peers.

It is a pointed choice, because the appeal of government grants as part of the Cultural Olympiad led a huge number of Parisian arts institutions to make sometimes tenuous connections between art and sports. Instead, the Louis Vuitton Foundation — inaugurated exactly a decade ago by the LVMIH conglomerate — is staging a retrospective of the American painter and sculptor Ellsworth Kelly, who spent some of his formative years in postwar Paris.

Kelly's vivid, abstract investigations of form and color are paired with an exhibition devoted to Matisse's landmark 1911 work “The Red Studio.” The Louis Vuitton Foundation's permanent collection is no slouch either, spanning Giacometti, Warhol and recent contemporary acquisitions. Linger at the Bois de Boulogne for a stroll through the woods before heading back to central Paris.

**Time commitment** 3 hours

**Location** Bois de Boulogne and Les Sablons Metro stations

**Cost** €16, €10 for concessions; [fondationlouisvuitton.fr](http://fondationlouisvuitton.fr)

### Madame Arthur Cabaret

Tourists flock to the nearby Moulin Rouge, but for a more offbeat, modern cabaret experience, Madame Arthur is a go-to address in Montmartre. Once the first drag venue in postwar Paris, it reopened in 2015 with a troupe of singers and musicians that soon became the talk of the town.

There are no lip syncs here: All numbers are sung live, and Madame Arthur has the quirky habit of translating classic English-language songs into French. In addition to hearing Madonna or Britney Spears in français, you'll learn some local caravans and sample the gender-bending fashion that has pushed French drag toward its recent renaissance.

Throughout the summer, Madame Arthur will open its doors Thursday to Saturdays, with an 10.30 p.m. show on the main stage. You can then turn the venue into your own stage when it transforms into a nightclub.

**Time commitment** An evening (with the option to stay well into the night)

**Location** Pigalle Metro station

**Cost** €30; [madamearthur.fr](http://madamearthur.fr)



The Pompidou Center, designed by Renzo Piano and Richard Rogers, is known for its collection of contemporary art.



Diamonda Calas performing in drag at the Madame Arthur cabaret in Montmartre.



The Catacombs, a maze of ancient mining galleries, house the remains of millions of Parisians. And for a summertime bonus, the temperature is a steady 57 degrees.



The Franco-American Museum at the Castle of Blérancourt commemorates U.S. combat contributions during World War I.



Amiens, Emmanuel Macron's hometown, is about an hour north of Paris in Picardy. Its Gothic cathedral is on UNESCO's World Heritage list.



Riding horseback at sunset on the beach in Deauville, a resort about two hours from Paris.

## OUTSIDE PARIS

### The Franco-American Museum at the Castle of Blérancourt

If all you want, after rubbing shoulders with millions of visitors during the Olympics, is to hole up in a quiet part of the countryside, Blérancourt is definitely off the beaten path. A small town northeast of Paris, it is nestled in the Picardy region, where a World War I frontline ran, and which experienced harrowing destruction.

The Franco-American Museum of Blérancourt was established in the aftermath to commemorate American contributions to the war effort and the rebuilding of the region. The local castle was renovated to that end by the philanthropist Anne Morgan, the daughter of the banker J.P. Morgan. The resulting museum is a fascinating trib-

ute to Franco-American exchanges over the years, from the shared revolutionary ideals of the 18th century to both World Wars and a painting collection centered on artistic exchanges between the two countries.

Hostellerie Le Griffon, right by the entrance to the museum, will have you covered if you want to stay in Blérancourt, but for a truly peaceful break, head to the nearby Château du Mont de Guisy — a small castle overlooking a valley that was recently converted into a bed-and-breakfast. From there, other historical sites are easily accessible, including the Château de Pierrefonds and the ruins of the medieval Château de Coucy.

**Time commitment** 2 days

**Travel** Rent a car (2 hours from Paris)

**Cost** €6-8 for the Franco-American Museum; [museefrancoamericain.fr](http://museefrancoamericain.fr)

### Provins

A number of small towns with impressive histories are easy to reach by train from Paris. With its medieval city center, Provins is a favorite getaway. It was a prominent town for merchant fairs in the 11th and 12th centuries, when it was owned by the Counts of Champagne, and much of the architecture from that period has been preserved, earning Provins a UNESCO World Heritage listing.

Cobbled pathways, fortifications and a dungeon are all within walking distance of the train station, and the city's ramparts — nearly a mile long, with 22 towers dotted along the way — have been newly restored, after work was completed in 2022.

A day is enough to visit all the town's key attractions, including the monumental César Tower, the Tithie Barn and an 11th-century priory. This summer, Provins is making the most of its status as an open-air throwback to the Middle Ages, with daily shows centered on falconry and medieval jousts.

**Time commitment** 1 day

**Travel** Suburban train P from Gare de l'Est station (around 1 hour and 20 minutes)

**Cost** €10 round trip, plus €17 for Pass Provins, which provides access to the main medieval sites; [provins.net](http://provins.net)

### Domain of Chamarande

There are plenty of castles near Paris, but the Domain of Chamarande, south of the city, has a couple of trump cards. First, if you don't want to rent a car, it's easily accessible from the city via the suburban train system. Second, it combines sprawling, peaceful grounds with year-round contemporary art exhibitions.

While the 17th-century castle itself is closed for maintenance, there is plenty to do outdoors. Bikes and boats are available for rent to tour the estate, where artworks are woven into the landscape. In 2001, Chamarande became home to a contemporary art center run by local authorities, and pieces from its permanent collection are dotted around the estate, like an oversize ladder by Philippe Ramette that leans against the castle.

This summer, temporary exhibitions also include an installation by Laurie Claes centered on the female body, and open-air immersive works inspired by the moving body — an artsy nod to the Olympics.

**Time commitment** A day

**Travel** RER C from central Paris (around one hour)

**Cost** €10-15 round trip; [chamarande.essonne.fr](http://chamarande.essonne.fr)

### Deauville and Honfleur

The coastline of Normandy is only two hours away from Paris by train, and some of its best-known towns offer contrasting atmospheres for a weekend away. Start with Deauville, a ritzy destination that is home to a historical casino, horse races and historical villas. Its calling card, though, is free: over a mile of wide, sandy beach, accessible directly from the city center. Its boardwalk boasts 450 Art Deco beach huts, adorned with the names of international actors and directors who have attended the annual American Film Festival.

The next day, make the 25-minute drive up the coast to Honfleur, a peaceful harbor town with a rich artistic history. Before the old port and its pastel-colored half-timbered houses became an Instagram dream, they inspired multiple painters: Turner painted watercolors there in 1832, followed by French artists including Claude Monet and his mentor Eugène Boudin, a precursor to Impressionism who has his own museum in Honfleur. The city's narrow medieval streets are a joy to wander, from the many galleries to Saint Catherine's Church, a distinctive wooden church that is the largest in France.

**Time commitment** 2 or 3 days

**Travel** Train to Deauville (2 hours and 10 minutes), then bus, taxi or car to Honfleur

**Cost** Round trip to Deauville from around €35 (book ahead)

### Amiens

The Picardy region, north of Paris, generally flies under the radar compared with nearby Normandy — which makes it an appealing destination if you'd like to avoid the biggest tourist crowds. The region's capital, Amiens, is an underrated gem an hour from Paris. Its towering Gothic cathedral is on UNESCO's World Heritage list, and a couple of lovely museums are a short stroll away, including the former house of the 19th-century novelist Jules Verne.

Amiens is home to a more unusual attraction, too: 300 hectares of water gardens, right in the center of town. The city sits over the Somme river, and a delightful network of canals, ponds and market gardens developed there over centuries, known as Les Hortillonnages. Much of it is now ornamental, but the fruits and vegetables that are cultivated there are sold at the local market on Saturdays.

Every summer, Amiens also hosts an International Garden Festival all around the Hortillonnages. Much of it is now ornamental, but the fruits and vegetables that are cultivated there are sold at the local market on Saturdays.

**Time commitment** 1 day

**Travel** Regional trains to Amiens (1 hour and 10 minutes) from Paris Gare du Nord

**Cost** €46 round trip; [visi-amiens.com](http://visi-amiens.com)

7 RESTAURANT TRICK  
Butter is the key to perfectly  
cooked steak. BY ERIC KIM  
2 SIMPLE DOES IT  
Fresh summer produce leads  
the way. BY DAVID TANIS



8 LEGACY FOR SALE  
Totonno's is preparing to  
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Guess which food names are  
trademarked. BY KIM SEVERSON

RESTAURANTS | RECIPES | WINE | SPIRITS

# Food

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 5, 2024 D1



Kate Maloney, center  
left, and Ariana Madix  
serving guests at their  
new sandwich shop,  
Something About Her, in  
West Hollywood, Calif.

OTILIAN RILEY

## With a Side of 'Vanderpump,' Please

A new sandwich shop from the reality TV franchise draws a crowd hungry for a dash of celebrity.

By TEJAL RAO | PAGE 6

THE POUR | ERIC ASIMOV

## For Wineries, a Feel-Good Status Symbol

B Corp certificates have become notable markers for producers that place values front and center.

GRAPE GROWERS AND wine producers have long sought certifications testifying to their sustainable farming methods or their commitment to protecting the environment. They have taken great satisfaction in displaying their organic or biodynamic credentials. No less would be expected in a field that prides itself on offering a natural, agri-

cultural product.

Far less attention has been paid over the years to how wineries treated the people who are doing the actual farming and production work. It's been an enormous oversight, particularly as agricultural workers continue to be prime targets for exploitation.

Just last year, four workers died in Cham-

pagne while harvesting grapes in the extreme French heat. Prosecutors there in 2023 also opened human trafficking investigations into companies supplying seasonal workers. Similar scandals have occurred all over the agricultural world over the years. Recognizing the long history of exploitation, and perhaps wanting to codify their so-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

DAVID TANIS

# Summer Party Spread Becomes Special

Time for a fresh spin on a salad, a burger and a crumble.

SUMMER COOKING should be a breeze, more pleasure than chore. So keep it simple. Have a simple salad, something for the grill, a honey fruit dessert. If you can find someone to help with the preparation, so much the better.

This menu, relying on fresh summer produce, is easy to accomplish and yields a refreshingly light, flavorful meal.

For an utterly summery first course, consider this shaved zucchini salad. The idea is very thinly sliced, very fresh zucchini or other summer squash, lightly dressed with

salt, lime juice and olive oil, and finished with lots of basil, mint and crumbly creamy feta. It's extremely refreshing and takes no time to make. Adding strips of squash blossom for a colorful garnish is nice, as are other edible blossoms like nasturtium or calendula.

The farmers' market is where you'll find the best-tasting choices for summer squash. I prefer not-too-small, not-too-big specimens, shiny, smooth and unblemished. They're worth seeking out.

For a casual hot-weather main, whether lunch or dinner, I like these spicy lamb burgers with tahini sauce, inspired by the eastern Mediterranean.

The lamb base is no trouble to put together: You just knead hot pepper, spices, garlic

and olive oil into a pound of ground lamb. Press the mixture into small patties as thin as possible and grill them quickly over hot coals for three minutes per side, or pan-fry them with olive oil in a hot cast-iron skillet if you prefer. (The patties will be cooked medium but remain juicy.)

Top the burgers with a dollop of the garlicky tahini sauce you have just stirred up. I like to add sliced tomato and avocado, and a few strips of roasted pepper. They're heavenly served in toasted pitas but are just at home on a bun.

When it comes to dessert, I'm of the persuasion that fruity desserts are the way to go all year round but especially in summer,

when produce is in great abundance. A crumble is both simple and delicious.

Truth be told, for this menu, I had my mind set on apricot until there were none at the market. So I pivoted to ripe mangoes. I had never before ventured into cooked mango territory, though I know others have. My only (happy) experiences had been with raw ripe mango and green mango salad. I'm thrilled to report that indeed mango makes an excellent crumble, with or without a handful of berries thrown in.

But if you can't manage baking a crumble, rest assured that a plate of sliced juicy mango is a perfect summer dessert, too.

## SPICY LAMB BURGERS WITH TAHINI

TIME: 30 MINUTES, PLUS 1 HOUR CHILLING  
YIELD: 4 TO 6 SERVINGS

### For the burgers:

- 1 pound ground lamb
- ½ cup roughly chopped cilantro, plus sprigs for assembly
- 2 tablespoons sweet paprika
- 2 tablespoons ground cumin
- 2 teaspoons kosher salt (such as Diamond Crystal)
- 1 teaspoon ground coriander
- 1 teaspoon dried oregano
- ½ teaspoon ground cinnamon

- ⅓ teaspoon ground cayenne
- 2 large garlic cloves, finely grated
- 1 serrano chile, finely chopped
- Extra-virgin olive oil

### For the tahini sauce:

- 2 teaspoons lemon zest plus 3 tablespoons juice (from 1 lemon)
- ⅓ teaspoon kosher salt (such as Diamond Crystal)
- 1 or 2 garlic cloves, finely grated
- 3 tablespoons tahini
- 1 cup plain yogurt (full-fat or low-fat)
- ¼ cup thinly sliced green scallion tops
- 2 tablespoons roughly chopped dill

### For assembly:

- Small pitas, toasted

- Tomato slices
- Avocado slices
- Roasted red peppers, jarred or fresh

1. Make the burgers: Place the ground lamb on a rimmed baking sheet or in a large bowl. Add cilantro, paprika, cumin, salt, coriander, fennel, oregano, cinnamon, cayenne, garlic and serrano.

2. Knead mixture until the spices are well incorporated. Wrap the meat and refrigerate for an hour or up to 48 hours.

3. With wet hands, form into 8 (2-ounce) balls, then flatten balls into thin patties. Refrigerate until ready to cook. (Patties can be refrigerated for up to 3 days or frozen for up to a month.)

4. Meanwhile, make the tahini sauce: Put lemon zest and juice in a medium bowl. Add salt, garlic and tahini, and stir to dissolve. Whisk in yogurt, and stir in scallions and dill.

5. Cook the burgers: Heat a wide cast-iron pan over medium-high. Add 2 tablespoons olive oil to the pan. When oil is wavy, cook 4 patties at a time, in batches, to keep from crowding the pan, for about 1½ to 2 minutes per side, until lightly browned. The thin patties will be cooked medium but will remain juicy. (Alternatively, cook over a hot grill for 3 minutes on each side.)

6. To serve, tuck each patty into a pita with a spoonful of tahini sauce, tomato, avocado, cilantro and roasted red pepper.



PHOTOGRAPH BY DAVID MACDON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES. FOOD STYLING: SIMON ANDREWS.

## ZUCCHINI SALAD WITH BASIL, MINT AND FETA

TIME: 15 MINUTES  
YIELD: 4 TO 6 SERVINGS

- 4 small zucchini or other summer squash (about 1½ pounds)
- 1 teaspoon lime zest plus 2 tablespoons lime juice (from 1 lime)
- 3 tablespoons extra-virgin olive oil
- Salt and black pepper
- ¼ cup torn or whole mint leaves
- ¼ cup torn or whole basil leaves
- A few squash blossoms, torn in strips (optional)
- Sumac, for sprinkling (optional)
- 2 ounces mild feta, crumbled

1. Wash and trim zucchini. With a sharp knife or mandoline, cut crosswise into very thin rounds. Wrap slices with a damp towel until ready to use, up to several hours ahead in the refrigerator.

2. In a small bowl, stir together lime zest, juice and olive oil. Season with salt and pepper to taste.

3. Place squash slices in a shallow salad bowl and season lightly with salt and pepper. Add dressing and, using your fingers, coat all slices well. Add mint and basil, and the squash blossoms, if using. Toss everything together.

4. Sprinkle with a pinch of sumac, if using, and top with crumbled feta.



## MANGO CRUMBLE

TIME: 1 HOUR  
YIELD: 4 TO 6 SERVINGS

### For the topping:

- ¾ cup/96 grams all-purpose flour
- ½ cup/110 grams light brown sugar
- ⅓ teaspoon ground cinnamon
- ⅓ teaspoon ground cardamom
- ¼ cup/65 grams salted butter, melted

### For the filling:

- 4 cups mango, peeled, pitted and cut into 1-inch pieces (about 4 to 6 mangoes)
- ½ cup/100 grams granulated sugar
- 1 tablespoon cornstarch
- 1 tablespoon lemon juice
- ½ teaspoon ground cardamom
- ½ teaspoon ground ginger
- ½ teaspoon ground cinnamon

1. Heat oven to 350 degrees. Make the topping: Put flour, brown sugar, cinnamon and cardamom in a medium bowl. Stir in butter and mix together with a fork, leaving mixture crumbly.

2. Make the filling: Toss together mango, granulated sugar, cornstarch, lemon juice, cardamom, ginger and cinnamon; transfer to a 9-inch pie pan or a similar baking dish.

3. Sprinkle topping over mango mixture. Bake until bubbling and nicely browned, 35 to 40 minutes.

# The Feed

NEWS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

WHERE TO EAT | NIKITA RICHARDSON

## Now Might Be the Best Time For Enjoying Food Outside



BROKEN SHAKER

There are many options for alfresco dining: on rooftops, on patios or along a sidewalk.

WE ARE SO BACK. No matter how long I live here, I will never get over the awesome power of late May and early June in New York City. The temperatures are consistently warm, but not too hot. There's rain, but not too much. And the worst of the pollen has passed.

And you know what that means: Out! Door! Dining! With the proliferation of sidewalk and two and a half parking spots dining, we're living in boom times for eating outside, but I'm still partial to a backyard, patio or nice rooftop. Here are a few that I've enjoyed recently.

### Rooftop Lounging

I've been driving up 11th Street in Queens a lot lately, so I don't know how I missed the new location of the **Greats of Craft**, a craft beer bar in Long Island City. Over the not-long-enough weekend I dropped by with a friend to enjoy a few drinks on the surprisingly large rooftop, where you'll find about a dozen large tables for groups, a corner bar with wrap-around seating and plenty of shade.

The food is your typical bar fare — pizza, Buffalo wings, grilled cheese — but the surprise hit for me was the pretzel, a pleasantly soft, chewy creation that I could smell from half a block away.

### Drink In the Skyline

Speaking of rooftops, I also paid a visit to **Broken Shaker** at the Freehand hotel, which arrived in a flurry of pink flamingos and palm fronds back in 2018. The layout — open-air patio and a lounge-y interior — and the perfect view of the Chrysler Building are nice enough. But the food is also good (always a gamble when it comes to rooftop bars in Manhattan, sorry), particularly the addictively crispy tortilla chips with saucy tuna ceviche and the hearty barbacoa tacos. Reservations are highly recommended.

### Backyard Wine Bars

Then there's **Frog** in Bedford-Stuyvesant, another of the recent string of party-centric wine bars (see also: *Sauced, Cherry on Top*). I'll admit that as a crotchety resident of eight years, I was weary of Frog at first: It was a little too hip and rowdy for a neighborhood that tends to be blessedly low-key.

But it won me over with a consistent string of excellent food pop-ups, including Kreung Cambodia, Schmackwich, Birria La Flor and appearances from chefs like Mina Stone and the artist-turned-soup-entrepreneur Russell Markus, all to be enjoyed in a large, shady backyard. (Be warned: Smoking is allowed.) In early May, Frog expanded its sticky reach to the building next door, opening Tadpole, a live music venue, and doubled the size of its backyard. That said, if you'd prefer a "blessedly low-key" wine bar experience, I'm also fond of **Dear Friend Books** on Tompkins Avenue, which has a lovely backyard patio but not much in the way of food.



FROG

From top: Broken Shaker at the Freehand New York hotel in Manhattan; Frog in Brooklyn; and pizza from Lucille's Coffee and Cocktails in Harlem.

### Intimate Snacking

If you're looking for a little taste of the outdoors that's on the more intimate side (i.e. a meet-up spot for your summer fling), I highly recommend **Lucille's Coffee and Cocktails** in north Harlem. The interior has those airy and bright French windows that come in handy when you want to take in the outdoors but not the beating of the sun, as well as a cute little patio worth snagging if you plan on strolling. There's also excellent pizza that you can order in pie form, but for crust obsessives like myself, I recommend the super crispy square pies served on quarter sheet pans. (The Arthur Ave with sausage and peppers goes particularly hard.) Then take a walk through nearby Jackie Robinson Park, because how else do you take advantage of this beautiful weather we're having?



LUCILLE'S COFFEE AND COCKTAILS

**The Greats of Craft**, 10-15 43rd Avenue (11th Street)

**Broken Shaker** at Freehand New York, 23 Lexington Avenue (East 24th Street)

**Frog**, 358 Marcus Garvey Boulevard (Jefferson Avenue)

**Dear Friend Books**, 3434 Tompkins Avenue (Monroe Street)

**Lucille's Coffee and Cocktails**, 26 Macombs Place (West 150th Street)

OFF THE MENU | FLORENCE FABRICANT



EAMONN HADJIAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The chef Sam Mason is cooking tavern fare at the Bedford Post.

### OPENING

#### ● BEDFORD POST TAVERN

When post roads were horse and buggy interstates, the Bedford Post Inn, dating from 1762, was a rest stop. Its restaurant is now reopening after renovations with the chef Sam Mason turning out tavern fare like oysters and grilled chicken, not just his usual pastries. Like the rest of the inn, Sunday Hospitality, which also runs El Quijote and Cafe Chelsea in Manhattan, is managing it in partnership with the actor Richard Gere, an owner. Bedford Post Barn, a casual spot on the property for all-day fare and baked goods from Breads-Nbakes nearby, is opening soon. (Opens Wednesday)

Bedford Post Inn, 924 Old Post Road, Bedford, N.Y. 914-282-9515, [bedfordpostinn.com](http://bedfordpostinn.com)

#### ● NOMAD TEA PARLOUR

A Cantonese-born chef, Ai Shin Wu, is cooking, with input from Mandy Zhang, an owner here. The menu includes dim sum and reconfigured Chinese American specialties like Coca-Cola chicken wings and plum sauce roast duck. There's a list of teas, and the cocktail menu offers Hong Kong milk tea and a lychee martini. The decor in the two-level space has striped awnings and signage suggesting a Hong Kong street. (Friday)

244 Fifth Avenue (28th Street), 212-320-9311, [nomadteaparlor.com](http://nomadteaparlor.com)

#### ● CASASALVO

Amsterdam Avenue is not Palermo's Via Roma, but it is his grissini of a storefront, the genial Sicilian-born chef Salvo Lo Castro is doing his best. He produces espresso-based coffees (all \$2.50) and American hot or cold; cappuccino with pistachio cream is a signature. Italian products line shelves. If you've never tried ultra-creamy peanut butter seasoned with Tiramisu salt, now is your chance. Mr. Lo Castro also does catering menu and sells prepared pastas and salads to go. Next month he will open another cafe at 66th Street and Madison Avenue.

473 Amsterdam Avenue (83rd Street), 917-691-7975, [casasalvonyc.com](http://casasalvonyc.com)

#### ● VESSELKA

The venerable Ukrainian East Village restaurant has opened an outpost in Brooklyn. Along with its usual specialties, there are new pierogies, called pastrogis, filled with Kat's Delicatessen pastrami. (Wednesday)

646 Lorimer Street (Meeker Avenue), Williamsburg, Brooklyn, 917-781-4829, [vesselka.com](http://vesselka.com)

#### ● CONTINENT BROOKLYN

Brooklyn inspiration that touches on the Caribbean, Africa and Asia informs the food at this new restaurant, on the Hotel Indigo's garden level. The chef, Scotley Innis, is known for Continent Restaurant and Gagar Lounge in Atlanta.

Hotel Indigo Williamsburg, 500 Metropolitan Avenue (Union Avenue), Williamsburg, Brooklyn, 929-565-0501, [hotelindigo.com](http://hotelindigo.com)

#### ● BONITO 47

This high-end option for looser dining in the theater district includes touches like gnocchi with duck confit and crisp Moroccan cigar pastries filled with short rib on its menu of steaks and fish. It also serves nigiri and sushi

rolls and offers a 10-course steak omakase for \$250 per person. This all happens in an elegantly attired 7,000-square-foot space. (Wednesday)

114 West 47th Street, 212-209-8822, [bonito47.com](http://bonito47.com)

#### ● CAFÉ MAUD AND THE RHYMERS CLUB

Tucked behind an all-day cafe with a brick pizza oven is this speakeasy inspired by the Rhymers Club, a London poets' group founded in 1890 by William Butler Yeats and Ernest Rhys for dining, drinking and publishing poetry. The New York version is not into publishing but serves Irish drinks in honor of Yeats, and small bites. (Friday)

132 Second Avenue (St. Marks Place), 371, St. Marks Place (Second Avenue), 212-218-9920

#### ● GLACE TRUCK

A mimoso-yellow Citroën truck from the 1940s is now parked on Rockefeller Plaza dispensing soft-serve creations by Glace, the gluten-free Upper East Side ice cream shop that drew long lines for its Instagramable hot chocolate this winter. Here the hot chocolate will be frozen. Soft-serve in a rotation of flavors is also on tap.

30 Rockefeller Plaza (West 49th Street), [glaceny.com](http://glaceny.com)

#### ● BEER RUN

This third outlet for craft beers, to go or on tap at the bar, has opened on the Upper West Side. Natural wines and ciders are also sold, and to eat, pretzels and Jake Dickson's bratwurst served on a pretzel bun with sauerkraut.

547 Columbus Avenue (80th Street), 646-692-9411, [beerrun.nyc](http://beerrun.nyc)

#### ● EATALY FLATIRON

Renovations have given the Italian market an expanded coffee station with more seating, a redesigned seafood restaurant, Pesce; and a more spacious display for pastries and gelati.

200 Fifth Avenue (23rd Street), 212-229-2560, [eataly.com](http://eataly.com)

### LOOKING AHEAD

#### ● FRENCH PASTRY WORKSHOPS

The French Institute Alliance Française is offering hands-on classes, through Aug. 2, in the art of the croissant, the macaron and more at Pâtisserie, a Brooklyn pastry-making and cooking school. There are eight sessions, each for six students, \$150, and some are in French.

Pâtisserie, 630 Flushing Avenue (Tompkins Avenue), South Williamsburg, Brooklyn, \$150, [fiat.org/dsaw/nyc/french-pastiche](http://fiat.org/dsaw/nyc/french-pastiche)

#### CHEFS ON THE MOVE

##### ● GREGORY GOURDET

This chef from Queens has been named culinary director of the new Printemps, to open at One Wall Street next spring, the first American branch of the venerable Parisian department store that's betting on the vitality of the financial district. Mr. Gourdet, 48, a graduate of the Culinary Institute of America, worked at several of Jean-Georges Vongerichten's restaurants and eventually opened Kenn, his award-winning restaurant in Portland, Ore., which draws on his Haitian heritage. Printemps, founded in 1865, will have five restaurants, from an all-day fine dining flagship to casual spots, that will be managed by Saga Hospitality Group, known for the restaurants Crown Shy and Saga.

THE POUR

# For Wineries, a Feel-Good Status Symbol

CONTINUED FROM PAGE D1  
cial values along with their environmental and agricultural practices, a growing number of wine producers have sought certification demonstrating their commitment to what many call social sustainability.

These certifications can come from local wine-oriented organizations, like Napa Green in California, LIVE in the Pacific Northwest, Equitalis in Italy and Haute Valeur Environnementale in France. The Regenerative Organic certification has a social fairness requirement in addition to its agricultural standards. And more and more wineries are seeking B Corp certification from B Lab, which promotes the notion that companies benefit by working for both profits and the social good.

Roughly 100 wineries worldwide have B Corp certification. They include significant names like Spottswoode in Napa Valley; Felton Road in New Zealand; Bollinger and Charles Heidsieck in Champagne; Sokol Blosser, Stoller, Soter and Chehalem in Oregon; Rathfinny and Ridgeview in England; Avignonesi in Tuscany, Italy; and Benjamin Bridge in Nova Scotia.

Among the most recent to receive certification is Domaines Barons de Rothschild, the parent company of Château Lafite Rothschild and other estates in Bordeaux, Chablis and Languedoc, in France, and Chile, Argentina and China.

Why would a company as prestigious, as aristocratic, as Lafite Rothschild seek B Corp status?

"When nature is the core of the product you produce, you have to have extremely strong convictions," said Saskia de Rothschild, who succeeded her father, Eric de Rothschild, as chairman of the domaines in 2018 and chief executive of Lafite in 2021. "How can we put that at the core of what we are doing? B Corp seemed the most complete and exhaustive commitment to our environmental and social goals. We did it for all of our estates."

Working in Bordeaux, particularly at a historic, celebrated place like Lafite Rothschild, she said, could be socially "very strange."

"How can we keep to our philosophy, and make people feel part of a family of estates but make it professional rather than paternalistic?" she said. "Our business depends on balance—in the wines, in our company, in nature."

ACHIEVING B CORP status is no easy thing. It requires a comprehensive analysis of how a company does business, with different standards for different industries. Wine producers are assessed for how they manage water and waste, for how harmonious their agricultural practices are with their particular environment, whether they promote biodiversity and how they manage their workforces.

That means analyzing the gender and racial diversity of a company's employees as well as its income diversity. The average pay ratio of chief executive-to-worker among S&P 500 companies was 272 to 1 in 2022, according to the A.E.L.-C.I.O. Among B Corp companies, B Lab says, it's 6 to 1. Companies are also asked about their career-development programs, and how their organization relates to their local communities.

"We set standards, and companies must meet minimum thresholds," said Sarah Schwimmer, interim co-lead executive of B Lab, which began certifying companies in 2007. "They complete the assessment. We have analysts who verify. They ask for documentation and they may do site visits. You've got to really want it."

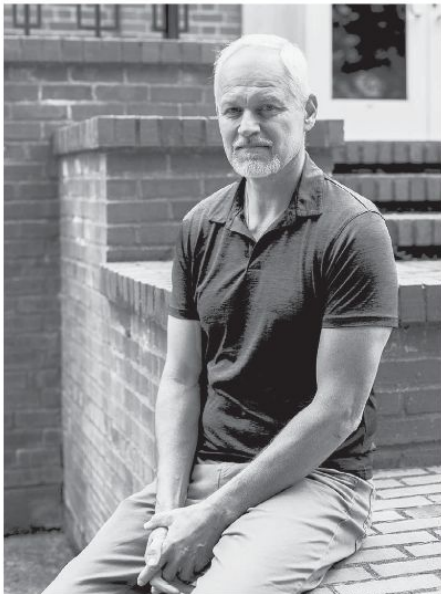
Companies are given points in each area, and must achieve a minimum of 80 points to be awarded B Corp status. But that's only the beginning. B Lab points out where companies can improve, and recommends steps toward making those changes. And compa-



SARAH SCHWIMMER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



SASKIA DE ROTHSCHILD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



ERIC DE ROTHSCHILD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



SARAH SCHWIMMER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



ERIC DE ROTHSCHILD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

nies are regularly reassessed.

"It really is like going to your doctor," said Alex Sokol Blosser, the second-generation president of Sokol Blosser in the Willamette Valley. "Your doctor says, 'You need to exercise more, and here are your options.' B Corp says, 'You need to think about your team and your community in how you run your business, and here's how you can do that.'"

Sokol Blosser has been a B Corp since 2015. Mr. Sokol Blosser says it was a decision that followed the values instilled in him by his parents, Susan Sokol and Bill Blosser, who founded the winery in 1971.

"It resonated with my mom," he said. "She's a firm believer in the triple bottom line, the sustainability measure that looks at three areas: people, planet and profitability. 'It's on every one of our labels. We're proud of it.'"

For Beth Novak, chief executive of Spottswoode in Napa Valley, B Corp status has been eye-opening.

"The process itself is amazing," she said. "You learn a lot. All sorts of things arise as

Top, Saskia de Rothschild, center, chief executive of Domaines Barons de Rothschild, with Eric Kohler, left, technical director of Château Lafite Rothschild, and Olivier Bonneau, its wine operations manager. Center, from left: Beth Novak, chief executive of Spottswoode in Napa Valley; Rainer Seitz, a management professor at Linfield University in Oregon. Above left, Ms. Rothschild, who said, "Our business depends on balance—in the wines, in our company, in nature." Above right, Alex Sokol Blosser, president of Sokol Blosser in Oregon, with Gus.

you're answering questions, and 'Oh, I hadn't thought of that.' We've adopted many of them."

She said the only drawback was that not enough people know about B Corp or what it stands for.

"We think there's a way to operate that's important," she said. "Our whole ethic is around the natural environment and taking care of our people. The whole Milton Friedman thing about maximizing shareholder value has not led us to a good place at all in terms of natural environment and workplace."

INEVITABLY, WHEN COMPANIES promote values that at one time might have seemed idealistic but have now become lightning rod political issues—like diversity, equity and inclusivity, antiracism, social justice and taking care of one's environment and ecosystem—some sort of resistance might be expected.

Rainer Seitz, an associate professor of management at Linfield University in McMinnville, Ore., pointed to two recent examples, Target and Bud Light, which have both dialed back vocal support for Pride Month after conservative backlash to their

positions on L.G.B.T.Q. issues.

"Companies have to ask themselves whether their stance is counterproductive," Dr. Seitz said. "Is it central to who we are and to our values? What is the potential cost of doing this? Or not doing this? It is a brave

## One consideration: How do companies treat their workers?

stance to seek out and take on standards. It's not for everyone."

The bottom line, he said, is whether it makes good business sense. Apparently it often does.

"Organization al justice—if you treat people well and fairly at work—lots of good things happen," Dr. Seitz said. "There's less turnover and higher productivity."

For Napa Green, which has 90 certified wineries and 37 certified growers in Napa Valley, a commitment to racial and social justice is a core value, along with agricultural and workplace sustainability, said Anna Brittain, its executive director.

But promoting diversity is different from

creating diversity. Leadership in wine remains overwhelmingly white and male. Yet Ms. Brittain believes wine has a crucial role to play in demonstrating that change can come.

"We're at the peak of the agricultural pyramid, so the leadership we show has much bigger reverberations," she said.

Akilah Cadet, an organizational and management consultant and author of "White Supremacy Is All Around," works with Diversity in Wine Leadership Forum, which supports initiatives to transform the wine industry. She applauds the accountability that certification requires but warns that, depending on the regulatory body, these certifications can often be performative. She rues the decline in D.E.I. efforts that has come, she said, as people in charge want to feel comfortable again.

"Being comfortable typically excludes women, BIPOC, L.G.B.T.Q. and disabled communities not only as consumers but as experts or contributors to the wine industry," Dr. Cadet said. "It is time the wine industry moves away from fads and trends and realizes the future of wine is just as diverse as the grapes."

Both Ms. Brittain of Napa Green and Ms. Schwimmer of B Corp assert that social sustainability not only makes companies work more cohesively, it appeals to the public, particularly to younger consumers, with whom the wine world is struggling to broaden its appeal.

"It seems like a no-brainer," Ms. Brittain said. "Studies all show consumers want to support values-driven industries."

B Corp's own studies show that most consumers agree that environmental and social certifications make a difference in their decisions. Charlotte Levitt, a B Corp representative, pointed to a report from Edelman Trust Barometer, a poll of 38,000 people, which concluded, "Societal leadership is now a core function of business."

For Ms. Rothschild, it's just good business. "Wine can be excluding and pretentious," she said. "The wine industry is super traditional. It's opening the doors to different kinds of people."

# Know Your Brands? Take the Quiz.

Not every clever food name can win protected status.

By KIM SEVERSON

America is saturated with food trademarks. The Cronut? Trademarked. Pop-Tarts? Trademarked. Even grapes that taste like cotton candy, and the mash-up of gai lan and broccoli called Broccolini are legally protected.

Yet the celebrity chef David Chang was widely criticized this spring for pressuring small manufacturers to stop using the term

"chile crunch." His business holds the trademark for the spicy condiment, but many people wondered: How can a name common to so many cuisines be owned by one company?

The answers to that question and many more lie in the byzantine deliberations of the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office, in Alexandria, Va. It has registered more than 200,000 food and agricultural trademarks, which means that the name or phrase — the brand, essentially — is unique enough that no one else is allowed to use it for a similar item. (Recipes can't be trademarked,

but some can be ruled trade secrets, like the formula for Dr. Pepper or KFC's 11 herbs and spices.)

The process of deciding what merits a trademark can be downright Talmudic, starting with the hierarchy of trademark types. The easiest to secure and protect are the completely made-up words that the office calls "fanciful," like Haagen-Dazs. Next are "arbitrary" names — real words that have nothing to do with the products they identify, like Apple for computers. Harder-to-mark categories include "suggestive" names, which contain a hint of what

the product is, like SweetTarts, and plainly "descriptive" ones, like All-Bran.

There are precise legal requirements to meet, but also room for subjective interpretation. Public perception is the barometer. If a name seems confusing, misleading or too common, it won't get a trademark. "Our job is to figure out what the American consumer is thinking," said Amy Cotton, the deputy commissioner for trademark examination.

As a consumer, how good are you at gauging what deserves a trademark?

## Guess Which Names Are Trademarked



ALDEY SHEER/NEW ALAMY

2. Cuties

☐ YES ☐ NO



D. MIRONOV/OLYMPIA/ALAMY

5. Idaho potatoes

☐ YES ☐ NO



MARK MONTANINI/GETTY IMAGES

8. Moskovskaya vodka

☐ YES ☐ NO



KATANA SYCHIZAK/NEW YORKTIMES

3. Cereal milk

☐ YES ☐ NO



FILED/CHOP/ALAMY

6. In-N-Out's Double Double burger

☐ YES ☐ NO



MICHELLE ANNOIA/ALAMY

9. Everything-bagel cashews

☐ YES ☐ NO



KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

1. Gruyère

☐ YES ☐ NO



TORY CINCOLO/NEW YORKTIMES

4. Confetti cake

☐ YES ☐ NO



MICHELLE LEE/GETTY IMAGES

7. Honeycrisp apples

☐ YES ☐ NO



TEHRAN/AGES/GETTY IMAGES

10. Cinnanaan

☐ YES ☐ NO

### Answers

**1. NO** The patent office decided two decades ago that Gruyère, the name given a cheese first produced in the Swiss district of La Gruyère in 1115, was common enough that it could be used to describe that type of cheese regardless of where it was made. Cheese makers in France and Switzerland challenged the decision, but a federal appeals court ruled that American consumers already knew Gruyère as a style more than as a specific, regional specialty. (Parmesan makers enjoy similar freedom in the United States, but Parmigiano-Reggiano can be used only for cheese from the Emilia-Romagna region of Italy.)

**2. YES** Both the small, peelable mandarins and a tofu-based frozen treat share the word Cuties in their trademarks. A trademark request will be denied if the name might confuse shoppers, but the trademark office determined that consumers were not likely to confuse this staple fruit of school lunches with Tofutti Cuties, a type of ice cream sandwich that has already been trademarked. It's the same principle that allows Dove soap and Dove chocolate to share a name.

**3. YES** Although Christina Tosi, the founder of the Milk Bar dessert chain, wasn't the first person to discover that milk flavored with breakfast cereal was delicious, she was among the first to turn it into commercial products like soft-serve ice cream. Her cereal milk panna cotta debuted on the menu at Momotulu in New York City in 2006, and three years later she was granted the trademark for the term Cereal Milk for use with frozen confections. Descriptive names like that are harder to trademark, but Ms. Tosi claimed the name early on, which gave her a leg up. In 2020, she expanded the trademark to include her cookies, coffee drinks and powder mixes.

**4. NO** Although it became a signature confection at Milk Bar, this sprinkle-saturated style of cake is made in too many other kitchens, both private and commercial, to qualify as a distinctive name. (The trademark for Funfetti is owned by Hometown Food Company, which sells cake mixes.)

**5. YES** You can grow a russet potato that looks and maybe even tastes like an Idaho potato, but unless you grow it in Idaho and have permission from the Idaho Potato Commission, you can't sell it as an Idaho potato. The commission, which began in 1957 as an advertising agency for Idaho produce, made a case that the soil and genetics of the Idaho russet were so distinctive that they deserved special protection. It owns a number of potato-related marks aimed at protecting the quality and agricultural characteristics of its russets, including the Grown in Idaho seal. The commission guards the name as fiercely as the sweet onion growers in Georgia protect the term Vidalia, which can be used to market only onions grown with specific seeds in a 20-county region in the state.

**6. YES** The California burger chain's names for both its double-patty burger and its triple-patty burger (the Triple Triple) have been trademarked since the 1960s. In 2017, another chain, Smash-

burger, introduced a Triple Double burger, which used two patties and three slices of cheese. In-N-Out sued, arguing that the Smashburger offering would mislead consumers and even make them think the two companies were working together. In-N-Out also alleged that the Triple Double didn't really have double the beef, but simply divided the patty in its classic burger into two. The court ruled that Smashburger was guilty of false advertising but not trademark infringement. ("Smash burger," by the way, has become a common term for a cooking method, but since 2008 the chain has held trademarks for "smashburger," "smash burger" and "smash" for restaurant uses.)

**7. NO** The University of Minnesota, whose researchers bred the Honeycrisp, applied to trademark the name in the early 1990s but never completed the process, and the mark has been labeled "abandoned." Still, the inventors of the apple were granted a patent — which protects an invention — because they'd bred a new and distinct plant. The U.S. patent expired in 2008. The first apple to secure a trademark was the Pink Lady. The patent for that cultivar, called Cripps Pink and bred in 1973 by an Australian named John Cripps, is held by Brandt's Fruit Trees in Yakima, Wash. Commercial growers must pay a fee to produce and market the Pink Lady.

**8. YES** The adjective means "of Moscow" in Russian. Spirits International, the company that applied for the mark in 1993, is not in Moscow and its vodka is not produced there. Based on those facts, the trademark office originally ruled that the name was "officially deceptive." But the company appealed and ultimately secured its trademark, in part because the office decided that a consumer's primary reason for selecting the brand was not that it came from Moscow. Side note: Tsimov Vodka was denied a trademark after the owners of Tito's Handmade Vodka argued that they had the name first and that the new brand could confuse consumers.

**9. YES** Cashews and a brand of jerky are the only two foods that have a trademark with "everything bagel" in the name, because they arrived before everything-bagel spice was everywhere. New products seeking to include the phrase are out of luck. "Everything bagel" seasoning has become a victim of what trademark lawyers called genericide — the name has become so widely used that no single company can claim it. (Still, Trader Joe's owns a trademark for its Everything but the Bagel sesame seasoning.)

**10. NOT YET, BUT MAYBE LATER!** An Atlanta-based Indian restaurant chain, Naan Stop, created a dessert using fried strips of naan tossed in cinnamon and sugar. David Perry, the lawyer who secured the trademark for the Cronut, is now trying to do the same for Cinnanaan. Not all products can become as singularly popular as the Cronut, he said, "but that's the aspiration."

Curious about other brands? You can search for them on this U.S. Patent and Trademark Office database: [tmssearch.uspto.gov/search/search-information](https://tmssearch.uspto.gov/search/search-information)

A gift for someone who likes things **SWEET** or anyone who aims for **EASY**. A gift for a bestie who went from cooking **FOR ONE** to cooking **FOR TWO**. A gift for a co-worker who considers **PASTA** a food group. A gift for the family who all agree to eat **DESSERT** first. A gift for the loved one who is **VEGAN** curious.

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MICHELLE CROOKTOPP FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

# Where the BLT Doesn't Steal the Scene

'Vanderpump Rules' fans feast on a glimpse into Bravo land.

WEST HOLLYWOOD, CALIF. — The fans control everything in the "Vanderpump Rules" multiverse, and lately what the fans want are crisp, pressed turkey sandwiches and prebiotic sodas under the soft glow of shabby-chic chandeliers.

Something About Her, a new sandwich shop from the Bravo stars Ariana Madix and Katie Maloney, is a two-hour drive from Kim Mykita's home in Huntington Beach, so she took the day off from work as a social media manager and copywriter to turn up on its first day of business.

Arriving an hour before the shop opened, Ms. Mykita settled in as the 15th person in a line that grew steadily throughout the day, snaking down the block. And it wasn't just a line, but a cultural phenomenon, tourist destination and social event covered in detailed play-by-plays in news stories, blog posts, podcast episodes and social media reels.

Ms. Mykita runs Bravo Breaking News, an Instagram fan account that's part of a complex cottage industry built around Bravo's cultish reality shows and their stars. "We are die-hard and we are dedicated," said Ms. Mykita, who had been reporting on the ups and downs of the opening for about two years.

It might seem hard to square the devotion of these crowds with a restaurant industry in crisis. The Los Angeles Times called 2023 "the year that killed L.A. restaurants." The article mentioned, among the dozens and dozens of notable departed, the closing of Jean-Georges Beverly Hills and three spots from the acclaimed restaurateur Nancy Silverton.

Though the restaurants of "Vanderpump Rules" aren't immune to the soaring rents and inflating food and labor costs that bog things down, they double as set pieces where an extensive and powerful fandom can step right into the show and watch the heroes and villains of reality TV play out their biggest story lines.

The table series just wrapped its 11th season, which brought in around a million viewers per episode during last year's Hollywood writers' strike. Celebrity chefs, even those with serious P.R. muscle, couldn't dream of similar interest in the dreary details of their pre-service routines or point-of-sale systems.

I waited outside Something About Her over the weekend, along with mother-and-daughter pairs, groups of middle-aged women on brunch dates, young queer couples and several small dogs who seemed happy on the sun-warmed curb. Tourists were drawing up their restaurant itineraries in Los Angeles from places featured on the show — Sur, Jax's Studio City, Schwartz & Sandy's Lounge.

The question was, what to do between meals. "We could walk around Rodeo Drive and just... be poor?" said one visitor to her friends.

Around the time Something About Her was meant to open, a cook walked through the jasmine-lined alley to apologize: They were a bit short-staffed, and there would be a delay in opening the doors. Another 20 minutes, at least.

The line had been fairly patient and orderly, but now I expected mutiny or at the very least a bit of grumbling. Instead, a woman shouted with absolute sincerity, "Thank you for your service!" Even farther back in the line, I caught an encouraging "Woo!"

Someone passed down menus from the front of the line. They included a letter from Ms. Madix and Ms. Maloney about how they wanted the place to be more than a sandwich shop. How they "might have been slightly delusional, dreaming of romantic lunches and whispered conversations that wove stories of empowerment and resilience."

There was a cute, '90s tilt to the ingredients, which featured sun-dried tomatoes and "rustic ciabatta." And though sandwiches were described in what seemed like too much detail, with every ingredient listed down to the salt and pepper ("S&P"), this turned out to be useful later when din-



MICHELLE CROOKTOPP FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



DELAN REE

ers wanted to know what the green stuff was in the Diane (sundowner microgreens) or the sweet smudge in the Viola (balsamic onion marmalade) or the jam in the Drew (mango-jalapeno).

The Hollywood-adjacent sandwiches seemed named for movie stars and directors, though the connection to the contents of the sandwiches wasn't immediately clear. The Nancy (Meyers?), a BLT on sourdough made with romaine, was crisp and toasted,

The line moved slowly, top, outside Something About Her in West Hollywood, a sandwich shop opened by Katie Maloney, above left, and Ariana Madix, stars of the Bravo series "Vanderpump Rules."



MICHELLE CROOKTOPP FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Tourists and locals flocked to the newly opened eatery, whose menu leans toward '90s-era ingredients, even as the restaurant business in the Los Angeles area has been struggling.

pleasingly drippy and well seasoned. Generously filled, but not to the point of becoming unmanageable, it was a perfectly good sandwich, though it's fair to say no one would be waiting for it if Ms. Madix and Ms. Maloney weren't behind it.

"Each restaurant represents the cast member who opens it, and its success is directly tied to fans' opinions of them on the show," Ms. Mykita said. "The fandom right

ically on "Vanderpump Rules" and projected Mr. Sandoval as a national villain.

Scandoval also bumped the show's ratings and shot its stars and their businesses to new levels of fame. In 2022, when Mr. Sandoval and his fellow cast member Tom Schwartz opened Schwartz & Sandy's Lounge in Los Angeles, it was to much less fanfare. Post-Scandoval, fans called for a boycott, and theories about the bar's various failures and possible demise are a major topic of conversation, both among fans and on official channels.

Many of the women who visited Something About Her were stepping into this snarl of a story line, showing support for Ms. Madix, who along with Ms. Maloney had been in and out of the shop since it opened, busying tables, rearranging the big patterned pillows that lined the benches and taking selfies with diners.

They weren't just waiting for a sandwich, but for a chance to break the fourth wall over a passion-fruit-guava spritz — or three.

**Sandwiches named for Diane, Viola and Drew in a nod to movie stars (not in evidence).**

now is firmly on Team Katie and Ariana."

Some of this loyalty can be traced to "Scandoval." About a year ago, the discovery that the "Vanderpump" cast member Tom Sandoval was cheating on his longtime girlfriend Ariana Madix with another cast member, Rachel Leviss, played out dramati-

ERIC KIM

# For the Best Steak, Try Butter. Yes, Butter.

Basting creates a pink, rosy interior and savory pan juices.

AT TWELVE, a waterfront restaurant in Portland, Maine, the hottest seat in the house is right by the plancha, where you pick up a few tricks (and a little perspiration) while watching line cooks prepare steak after steak. On a recent visit, Everett Allen, the chef at the protein station, made about a dozen strip steaks in an hour.

He seasoned each slab with salt, white crystals visible on the red meat. Then, he seared the steak's fat cap running along its side by holding it up with tongs perpendicular to the hot metal plancha. After browning both sides of the steak, hard and fast in its own sizzling fat, he transferred it to the oven to finish cooking.

When Mr. Allen placed the dish in front of me, I knew I was in for something special.

For those nights when a chef isn't making your steak dinner — and when you don't want to turn on the oven at home — a stove-top butter baste is the way to go.

The simple method, a classic French technique called *arroser*, or to baste, involves searing the steak, then adding butter and aromatics like garlic and fresh herbs, and tilting the pan to spoon the pooled butter repeatedly over the meat to gradually bring the internal temperature up to about 120 degrees. As it rests off the heat, the steak will continue rising in temperature to reach a lovely medium-rare. Butter basting your steak helps you achieve an even, rosy pink interior, juicy and full of promise, rather than a distinct red line in the center, which is often tough and somehow both hot and cold at the same time (like seared ahi tuna, and not in a good way).

Hannah Ryder, the chef de cuisine of Twelve, said butter basting works only when the butter is "hot and foaming," so that its high heat can help elevate the temperature within the steak, as well as form a nice crust. If your butter isn't foamy, she said, "you're kind of just washing away that sear with flat butter," which is watery. Another definition for *arroser*, in French, is "to water," but that's not what we want with steak cookery.

In fact, Ms. Ryder suggests listening for "the little popping of the thyme leaves," a good indicator that your butter is hot enough for a proper baste.

Here's one more tip: The No. 1 trick to making steak at home is hiding all of your smoke detectors. "No matter what, that thing will go off," Ms. Ryder said. (Of course, put them back right afterward.) All this to say, you need high heat to cook a great steak at home. But that's only half of it. You also need a gentler, more even heat, in the form of an oven or, as in this recipe, a tried-and-true butter baste.

When a seared steak is finished with a hot sear of fat, its center cooks gently and evenly, and its outside develops a bronze crust infused with whatever you choose to add. In this recipe, ginger, garlic and herbs lend their aromas, and the ginger leeches out its sugars, which caramelize, making the crust shiny and sticky. It's an overall effect that a quick and hard sear alone cannot duplicate.

While the steak rests, raw asparagus can be stir-fried in the savory pan juices. A splash of soy brings you home, especially once served with white rice to soak up the

beef's buttery remnants, and a spritz of lime resuscitates the palate coated in fat.

This steak might not make you feel as if you're in a restaurant, because you've cooked it yourself. But you'll appreciate the taste, and the view. It's the hottest seat in the house.

## BUTTER-BASTED STEAK WITH ASPARAGUS

TIME: 45 MINUTES  
YIELD: 2 SERVINGS

- 1 boneless New York strip steak (1½ inches thick, ideally with a fat cap; about 1 pound)
- 1 pound asparagus, preferably thick spears
- Avocado or canola oil
- 2 tablespoons unsalted butter
- 2 large garlic cloves, unpeeled but crushed
- 1 (1-inch) piece fresh ginger, unpeeled and thinly sliced
- 1 thyme or rosemary sprig
- Cracked black pepper
- 1 tablespoon soy sauce
- Lime wedges, for serving

1. If your steak has a thick fat cap, use a sharp paring knife to score it with a crosshatching



pattern. Generously season the steak all over with salt. Let rest at room temperature for 30 minutes or up to 1 hour.

2. While the steak rests, trim an inch off the ends of the asparagus, then peel the tough, woody bottom two inches off each spear. (This means you don't have to throw so much of the ends away.) Cut each spear in half crosswise at an angle.

3. Heat a large cast-iron or other heavy skillet over medium-high. Dab the steak dry with a paper towel. Add enough oil to lightly coat the

PHOTOGRAPH BY DAVID MALIK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES FOOD STYLIST SIMON ANDREWS

skillet. Wait for a wispy of smoke, then use tongs to hold the steak perpendicular to the cast-iron and gently sear the fat cap until some of the fat renders, about 2 minutes. Carefully lay the steak down and sear on one side without moving it until a nice golden crust forms, about 4 minutes. Flip and sear the other side until browned, about 2 minutes.

4. Reduce the heat to medium-low. Add the butter, garlic, ginger and thyme. When the butter bubbles, tilt the skillet slightly so the butter pools. Spoon the hot, foaming butter over the steak. Repeat, like you're bathing it, until the internal temperature of the steak reaches 120 degrees (medium-rare), 3 to 4 minutes. Transfer the steak to a cutting board, season with freshly cracked pepper and let rest for at least 10 minutes or up to 30 minutes.

5. Meanwhile, raise the heat to medium-high then add the soy sauce and asparagus to the pan. Cook, stirring occasionally, until the asparagus turns shiny and bright green, 1 to 2 minutes. Turn off the heat and cover with a lid. Let the asparagus steam in the residual heat while the steak rests.

6. When ready to eat, slice the steak against the grain (perpendicular to the fibers running across the meat), so the meat is especially tender when you eat it. Serve the steak slices sprinkled with salt and spritzed with lime, if using, and with the steamed asparagus.

## Deliver the Most Flavor With Wild Salmon

Some tips on how to prepare and savor fish that run free.

By ALI SLAGLE

In Maurice Sendak's classic children's book "Where the Wild Things Are," the Wild Things are hardly mild. When the main character, a little boy named Max, meets these monsters, he first notices their "terrible" roars, teeth, eyes and claws. A rumpus ensues, and Max comes to learn that these monsters aren't terrible at all. They're just Wild Things: unpredictable and exciting. The same is true of wild salmon.

While farmed salmon is tame in taste — the result of controlled environments — wild salmon tastes like hard-earned adventure. Its well-exercised flesh is lean and meaty; its flavor is nuanced and robust from foraging for food. And its color is deep, ranging from hot pink to ruby red.

If wild salmon's firm texture or intense flavor has ever surprised you, know that you're just tasting salmon that has run free — what a treat. Follow these tips to better understand, appreciate and cook this wild thing.

### How to Cook It

This two-step method allows you to enjoy the rich flavor of wild salmon without overcooking. Because it has more collagen and less fat than farmed salmon, wild salmon has firmer flesh and is easier to dry out. To seal in its moisture, brine it in saltwater for 15 to 30 minutes and bake it at a low temperature to just 120 degrees for medium-rare. (The fish will continue to cook outside the oven.)

Baking works for all sizes and types of wild salmon, including long, gorgeous, red sides of sockeye, which can be tricky to maneuver in a skillet or over grill grates. The tender fish can stand up to punchy accompaniments or be adorned more simply. Add juiciness with a squeeze of lemon, a dollop of Greek yogurt or a splash of chile or toasted sesame oil.

### The Best to Choose

You can find wild salmon in the fresh fish section of many grocery stores, but look in the frozen aisle, too. Often flash-frozen



CHRISTOPHER TESTANI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES FOOD STYLIST SIMON ANDREWS

### BAKED WILD SALMON

TIME: 1 HOUR  
YIELD: 4 SERVINGS

- ¼ cup kosher salt (such as Diamond Crystal) or 2 tablespoons fine sea salt, plus more if needed
- 1½ pounds wild salmon, such as coho, king or sockeye, cut in fillets or kept whole
- Extra-virgin olive oil or unsalted butter, for greasing and cooking
- Black pepper
- Lemon wedges, plain Greek yogurt, flaky sea salt or a combination (optional), for serving

1. In a sheet pan or baking dish that fits your salmon, use a fork to stir together the salt and 4 cups water until the salt has dissolved. Add the salmon skin side up. If the flesh isn't

submerged, add another cup of water and tablespoon salt; it's OK if the skin isn't submerged. Let sit at room temperature or 15 to 30 minutes while you prepare the rest of your meal.

2. Heat the oven to 275 degrees.

3. Drain and pat dry the salmon and pan. Line or grease the pan, then add the salmon skin side down. Drizzle with olive oil or dot with a few thin slices of butter. Season with black pepper.

4. Bake for 10 to 35 minutes depending on the size and type of your fish; the fish should be opaque at the edges but still slightly wet and translucent in the center (the salmon will continue to cook out of the oven). The thickest part should register between 115 and 120 degrees. Serve with a squeeze of lemon, dollop of Greek yogurt or sprinkle of flaky salt, or a combination, as you like.

shortly after being caught, frozen fish maintain their peak taste more than the defrosted fish displayed on ice. Simply thaw it by refrigerating it overnight uncovered on a paper towel-lined plate. Or, if you're in a hurry, place the fish in a resealable plastic bag in a bowl of cold water, replacing the water every 30 minutes or so to keep it cold. Resources like Seafood Watch can help discern which salmon is sustainably raised.

If the only option available is in the fresh case, choose filets that are firm, shiny, uniform in color and don't smell like much of anything.

### What the Types Taste Like

Because wild salmon have more active lives and varied diets than farmed fish, their taut flesh tastes more complex and is nuanced according to their surroundings. (Think of it as the difference between a summer tomato ripened in the sun and a winter one from a greenhouse.) The three main types of Pacific salmon sold fresh or frozen have some clear differences. Chinook (king) is buttery Atlantic salmon but with firmer flesh. Sockeye (red) is deep red and meaty with a bold flavor. Coho (silver) falls somewhere between the two. Other types — Pink (humpy) and Keta (chum) — are typically sold smoked or canned.

### Substitute Wild for Farmed

Unless otherwise stated, most recipes are developed with farmed salmon. You can use wild salmon in any salmon recipe, but reduce the cook time to avoid dry fish. It's best to cook it to medium-rare (115 to 120 degrees in the thickest part). The edges should be opaque, and the inside should still be slightly translucent and look wet if you stick in a paring knife and peek at the flesh.

Consider cooking the fish gently in the oven or in liquid (poached, steamed, or simmered in soup). You can absolutely pan-sear or grill wild salmon, just trust your eyes and your thermometer to know when it's done.

Whether it headlines your next dinner party or boosts a weeknight meal, wild salmon is a reason to celebrate — and to cook.

# Keeping Alive a Legacy of Pizza Making

After 100 years, Totonno's in Coney Island is up for sale.

By PETE WELLS

Since it was founded in 1924 by a baker from Naples, Italy, named Antonio Pero, very little has changed at Totonno's Pizzeria Napolitana. The restaurant has operated in the same one-story building in Coney Island, burned coal in the same brick oven and followed the same recipe to make pizza that is widely held to be among New York City's finest.

In all that time, Totonno's has been continuously owned and operated by one family. Now it is on the brink of what could be the most consequential change in its history: The family is looking for an investor or buyer to take over. Last week, a note was added to Totonno's website asking interested parties to send an email.

Explaining the decision, Louise Ciminieri, who owns the pizzeria with her sister, Antoinette Balzano, and their brother, Frank Balzano, said, "We're coming up in age, and we don't have the manpower to continue."

The family is adamant that the ideal buyer will be excited about carrying on their century-old way of making pizza. The business methods are almost as old. Totonno's

Little has changed at Totonno's, right, since it was founded in Coney Island in 1924. Below from top: The coal-fired oven has been repaired but never replaced; grated pecorino tops the pies, whose toppings are restricted to six options.



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accepted only cash until two years ago, when after a long pandemic pause it began taking credit cards.

Prospective buyers "can't go by numbers," said Ms. Ciminieri, known to everyone as Cookie. "They have to understand the potential, and they have to understand my blood, sweat and tears in that place for 45 years."

She was a young mother when she started helping her aunt around the pizzeria. She would watch as her uncle, Jerry Pero, made pizza the way he had been taught by his father, Antonio, who had arrived in Manhattan in 1903 and began working at a coal-oven pizzeria on Spring Street, which would later be renamed Lombardi's. The pizzas he baked were wrapped in paper and sold on the street to newly arrived Italian immigrants who lived in tenements nearby. Home ovens were rare, and family lore has it that customers would reheat their pies on cast-iron radiators.

This direct line of ancestry reaching back

"People come in all the time and say, 'I'll give you a better price on cheese.' No."

to the earliest American pizzerias puts Totonno's in a class of its own, said Scott Wiener, a pizza historian and columnist for *Pizza Today* magazine.

"It's the longest lineage I know of for any pizza-making family in the U.S.," Mr. Wiener said.

Totonno's resistance to such innovations as the aged pizza cheese known in the trade as low-moisture mozzarella is partly the result of continuous family rule. Mr. Wiener said. But he suspects that geographic isolation played a role, too.

"Coney Island is sort of the Galapagos," he said. "Genetic mutations are not happening at the same frequency they are in Manhattan. That's a pizza that's probably in the style Antonio Pero was making on Spring Street in 1903."

The Totonno's method is not complicated. Slices of fresh, well-drained mozzarella are laid directly on the dough. Next, for a regular pizza, is a thin layer of pulped Italian tomatoes. White pies get a scattering of chopped garlic instead. Both varieties are finished with olive oil and grated pecorino. A short list of toppings, restricted to pepperoni, anchovies, red onions, garlic, fresh mushrooms and basil, can be added by request.

"Everything is exactly the same, the way our grandfather made it," Ms. Ciminieri said. "People come in all the time and say, 'I'll give you a better price on cheese.' No." When bricks in the oven are dislodged, they are replaced. When equipment breaks



Left from top: Before Totonno's, Antonio Pero, left, worked in Manhattan at a pizzeria owned by Genaro Lombardi, right; Louise Ciminieri, left, and Antoinette Balzano seek a buyer.

down, it is fixed, and when it is beyond repair it is simply set aside. A manual cash register, an antique counterweight scale once used to weigh dough and a hand-cranked cheese grater were moved to the front window upon retirement. A refrigerator chest for Coca-Cola now sits in one of the two small back rooms where Antonio Pero and his wife lived and raised their four children.

The building, which could be part of any sale of the business, is a simple structure perched on bricks over the Coney Island sand. There is no concrete under the floor, which helped the waters swept in from the Atlantic Ocean by Hurricane Sandy in 2012 to drain away quickly, according to Ms. Balzano, though not before doing considerable damage to the dining room.

"They've faced almost biblical challenges," said Senator Chuck Schumer, a Brooklyn native who was an ardent Totonno's fan long before he became majority leader. "They had a fire, they were flooded and then they had pestilence during the pandemic."

Mr. Schumer was pedaled to Totonno's on his bicycle and has convened large family gatherings there to celebrate his birthday, even though there was a risk of being sent away without pizza.

"In the old days, you stood on line, and when Totonno's ran out of dough they'd come outside and say, 'You'll have to come back another time,'" he said. "But it was worth waiting for every minute."

No pizza was served at Totonno's for nearly a year after a fire in 2009. Rebuilding after Sandy took five months. Bouncing back from the pandemic has been a much slower process. The pizzeria has not reopened for indoor dining yet. Pies for take-out and delivery are sold only on Saturday and Sunday, and even that is at risk for Ms. Ciminieri, the no-nonsense guardian of the dining room.

All this has caused grave concern among people who care about New York pizza traditions. Mr. Wiener, the pizza historian, said he worries about "the slimness of the possibility that the right person gets in there and preserves it." If the new owner "has chicken wings on that menu, we will know that the sun has set."

A date for a centennial celebration this year has not been set as the family looks for someone who shares its vision.

"We've got to keep our grandfather's name and his pizza alive," Ms. Balzano said. "We can't let it go."

