"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Today, sunny, low humidity, a light breeze, high 78. Tonight, partly cloudy, light and variable winds, low 65. Tomorrow, clouds and sun, humid, high 83. Weather map, Page 30.

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PHOTOGRAPHS BY VERÓNICA GABRIELA CÁRDENAS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Suheidy de Leon and her mother, Maty Vargas, taking a spin with Gonzalo Vázquez at La Pulga de Alamo in Texas last month.

Gazans Voice Their Distress Under Hamas

Risking Retribution in Group's Stranglehold

By RAJA ABDULRAHIM and IYAD ABUHEWEILA

JERUSALEM — On Oct. 7, as the Hamas-led attack on Israel was unfolding, many Palestinians took to the streets of Gaza to celebrate what they likened to a prison break and saw as the sudden humiliation of an occupier.

But it was just a temporary boost for Hamas, whose support among Gazans has been low for some time. And as the Israeli onslaught has brought widespread devastation and tens of thousands of deaths, the group and its leaders have remained broadly unpopular in the enclave. More Gazans have even been willing to speak out against Hamas, risking retribution.

In interviews with nearly a dozen Gaza residents in recent months, a number of them said they held Hamas responsible for starting the war and helping to bring death and destruction upon them, even as they blame Israel first and foremost.

One Gazan, Raed al-Kelani, 47, said Hamas always acts in its own interests.

"It started Oct. 7, and it wants to end it on its own terms," said Mr. al-Kelani, who worked as a civil servant for the former Palestinian Authority government in Gaza, which was run by a rival faction to Hamas before Hamas seized control of the territory in 2007.

"But time is ticking with no potential hope of ending this," he added. Mr. al-Kelani now makes meals and distributes food aid in shelters for displaced Gazans. "Hamas is still seeking its slice of power," he said. "Hamas does not know how to get down from the tree it climbed."

Some of the Gazans who spoke to The New York Times said that Hamas knew it would be starting a devastating war with Israel that would cause heavy civilian casualties, but that it did not provide any food, water or shelter to help people survive it. Hamas leaders

Continued on Page 9

TRUMP RESISTERS DRAFT PLAYBOOK IN CASE HE WINS

A GROWING COALITION

Abortion Pill Stockpiles and Legal Pushback Are Among Tactics

This article is by Charlie Savage, Reid J. Epstein, Maggie Haberman and Jonathan Swan.

Opponents of Donald J. Trump are drafting potential lawsuits in case he is elected in November and carries out mass deportations, as he has vowed. One group has hired a new auditor to withstand any attempt by a second Trump administration to unleash the Internal Revenue Service on them. Democratic-run state governments are even stockpiling abortion medication.

A sprawling network of Democratic officials, progressive activists, watchdog groups and ex-Republicans has been taking extraordinary steps to prepare for a potential second Trump presidency, drawn together by the fear that Mr. Trump's return to power would pose a grave threat not just to their agenda but to American democracy itself.

"Trump has made clear that he'll disregard the law and test the limits of our system," said Joanna Lydgate, the chief executive of States United Democracy Center, a nonpartisan democracy watchdog organization that works with state officials in both parties. "What we're staring down is extremely dark."

While the Supreme Court on Thursday rejected an attempt to nullify federal approval of the abortion pill mifepristone, liberals fear a new Trump administration could rescind the approval or use a 19th-century morality law to criminalize sending it across state lines.

The Democratic governor of Washington State, Jay Inslee, said he had secured a large enough supply of mifepristone pills to preserve access for women in his

Continued on Page 18

CAUGHT DOPING, STILL SWIMMING

Chinese Athletes Failed More Than One Test

By MICHAEL S. SCHMIDT and TARIQ PANJA

After the revelation in April that 23 elite Chinese swimmers had tested positive for a banned substance months before the last Summer Olympic Games, China and the global antidoping authority vigorously defended their decisions to allow them to compete in the Games in 2021. The swimmers, they insisted, had not been doping.

But as they made those claims, China and the antidoping authority were both aware that three of those 23 swimmers had tested positive several years earlier for a different performance-enhancing drug and had escaped being publicly identified and suspended in that case as well, according to a secret report reviewed by The New York Times.

In both instances, China claimed that the swimmers had unwittingly ingested the banned substances, an explanation viewed with considerable skepticism by some antidoping experts. The two incidents add to longstanding suspicions among rival athletes about what they see as a pattern of Chinese doping and the unwillingness or inability of the global authority, the World Anti-Doping Agency, to deal with it.

The three Chinese athletes revealed to have tested positive earlier, in 2016 and 2017, were no ordinary swimmers: Two would go on to win gold medals at the Tokyo Olympic Games in 2021, and the third is now a world-record holder. All three are expected to contend for medals again at the Paris Games in July.

Antidoping experts say that if Chinese officials and WADA had abided by existing rules with both sets of positive tests, the athletes would have been publicly identified and subject to further scrutiny, and could have been disqualified from the 2021 Olympics, and possibly the Games that open in Paris next month.

"Athletes we have spoken to are appalled with the antidoping system and WADA," said Rob Koehler, the director general of Global Athlete, a group working for athletes' rights. "Athletes are expected to follow the antidoping rules to a T, but yet the very organization holding them account-

Continued on Page 27

Kicking Up Their Heels, and Social Media Fame

Flea Market Spawns Dancing Sensations

By EDGAR SANDOVAL

ALAMO, Texas — The punishing heat of late spring does nothing to keep the crowds from descending on La Pulga de Alamo, one of the flea markets that are a center of both commerce and culture in the Rio Grande Valley of South Texas.

ACROSS THE COUNTRY

The tables and booths that spread across 70 acres, shaded under tarps and awnings, carry things that might not always be found at the local Walmart: spiro papa, an elaborate spiral of thinly sliced potatoes on a stick; the fragrant roasted corn cobs known as elotes asados; oversize statues of the Virgin of Guadalupe; piñatas that don't quite resemble the Disney princesses they are supposed to represent.



For as long as anyone can remember, pulgas — Spanish for fleas — have been part of the fabric of El Valle, as the area is known to the large Spanish-speaking population in this part of Texas, a slice of Mexico just north of the border. This is never more true than on the weekend, when the market in Alamo transforms from a shopping mecca into a one-of-a-kind dance hall whose fame has spread across the country and beyond.

This is mainly because of the collection of colorful characters who began showing up for Alamo's weekend dance afternoons and found themselves turning into internet celebrities.

A local electrician known as El Divino Colombiano, the Divine Colombian, twirls in a pair of tight blue jeans and ruby-red, six-inch heels. A woman with lime-green feathers around her neck pushes a wheelchair onto the floor. In it is her mother, La Reynita de Oro, the Small Gold Queen, who waves her arms, festooned with gold bracelets, as the music swells. And then there's the construction worker known as El Bronco because of his resemblance to the lead singer of the popular Mexican band

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MIKE KAI CHEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Reclaiming Tribal Lands
Native American groups see hope in small property transfers in California's Owens Valley. Page 13.

Marquee Primary for Democrats Is Shaped by Tensions Over Gaza

By NICHOLAS FANDOS

Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York has declared the race her most pressing electoral priority. Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont is slated to join her for a pre-election rally in the Bronx. And a powerful pro-Israel lobby working for the other side has already shattered spending records.

The House primary between Representative Jamaal Bowman, a left-wing Democratic darling, and George Latimer, a more moderate challenger, was always expected to be a marquee showcase of their party's divisions over the Israel-Hamas war.

But with early voting underway, the June 25 contest in New York has exploded into a proxy war for the Democratic Party's future, tearing open old wounds over race, class and ideology in the heart of a presidential election year.

On one side, nearly the entire local Democratic establishment, including Mr. Sanders's 2016 rival, Hillary Clinton, has lined up behind Mr. Latimer, the Westchester County executive. So has the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, a pro-Israel lobby that has already spent $12 million — more than any other race in its history — to try to defeat Mr. Bowman over his criticism of Israel.

On the other side, Ms. Ocasio-Cortez, the other members of the House's left-wing "squad" and their progressive coalition are undertaking a desperate rescue mission, draining bank accounts and leveling increasingly personal at-

Continued on Page 20

Opposition to Venezuela's Autocrats Gains a New Symbol: 'Freedom Empanadas'

This article is by Isayen Herrera, Julie Turkewitz and Sheyla Urdaneta.

GUÁRICO, Venezuela — A car pulled up recently outside a modest restaurant in the state of Guárico in Venezuela's sprawling savanna. The driver shouted from behind the wheel: "Are you the ones whose business was closed by the government? I want a picture with you!"

Bounding out of the car, the man pulled close to Corina Hernández, 44, one of the owners of the restaurant. He snapped a selfie. "We are all outraged," he told her.

Corina and her sister Elys Hernández have emerged as unlikely political folk heroes just as Venezuela is heading into its most competitive election in years.

Their transgression? Selling 14 breakfasts and a handful of empanadas to the country's leading opposition figure. The government's response came just hours later — an order forcing the sisters to temporarily shut down their business.

Their case was shared widely on the internet, turning them into symbols of defiance for Venezuelans tired of the country's authoritarian leaders. (The sisters have since gained a large online following well beyond Venezuela and have rebranded their products as "freedom empanadas.")

But their business is just one of several that have felt the strong arm of the government after offering everyday services to President Nicolás Maduro's main political opponent, María Corina Machado.

Ms. Machado, a former legislator and longtime critic of Mr. Ma-

Continued on Page 12

INTERNATIONAL 4-12

French Protest the Far Right
A new left-wing coalition is calling on demonstrators to stop Marine Le Pen's National Rally party from taking power in coming elections. PAGE 7

A 2022 Ukraine-Russia Deal?
With the two locked in their third year of all-out war, documents show that early negotiations explored peace terms in remarkable detail. PAGE 10

It's Not Just Russia
China, while not invited to the G7 summit, was referred to 28 times, almost always as a malign force, in the final communiqué. News Analysis. PAGE 6



NATIONAL 13-22

Father's Day Advice
Pearls of wisdom from Times readers: Trust your instincts, find the fun and don't forget those nail clippers. PAGE 14

SUNDAY STYLES

Ready to Be Just Some Guy
The fashion designer Dries Van Noten talks about why, at 66, he's walking away from the career that has defined him for decades. PAGE 6

Stars, Stripes and Trump
His affinity for the red, white and blue is powerful, and Pavlovian, branding, Vanessa Friedman writes. PAGE 10

METROPOLITAN

A Woman Leads This Nation
Lisa Goree takes the helm of the Shinnecock Indian Nation as the Long Island tribe navigates disputes. PAGE 1



ARTS & LEISURE

The Shape of Inspiration
Dozens of this year's Tony Award nominees discuss the shows and performances that helped make them who they are as artists. PAGES 8-11

SUNDAY OPINION

Stephen Wertheim PAGE 4

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Full-Court Press in Africa
The N.B.A. has spent hundreds of millions to cultivate a fan base on a continent in which it sees tremendous economic opportunity, with benefits that could go beyond the court. PAGE 1

Goodbye, Work Friends
As she hands off the workplace column after four years, Roxane Gay reflects on the rewards and the frustrations of office life. PAGE 6

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Inside The Times

The New York Times

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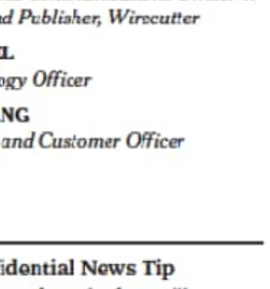
The Newspaper and Beyond

TODAY'S PAPER

Crossword THE MAGAZINE, PAGE 54
Obituaries PAGES 23-25
Weather PAGE 30







VIDEO

On "Popcast (Deluxe)," the weekly culture roundup show, the hosts Jon Caramanica and Joe Coscarelli discussed new tracks by the rappers Eminem, Drake and J. Cole, as well as Will Smith's new movie, "Bad Boys: Ride or Die." Watch at *nytimes.com/popcast*.

WORKOUT

Well's 20-minute core routine for strength and stability focuses on important muscles in the legs and torso that we use every day. Bonus: No equipment (and very little space) necessary. Try it at *nytimes.com/well*.

COOKING

Set your Juneteenth table with the help of Times Cooking. Our collection of recipes for the June 19 holiday includes shrimp Creole, stone-ground grits and peach tea. *nytcooking.com*

Quote of the Day

"Don't pass up on an opportunity to tell your kids that you are proud of them."

CRAIG CRABTREE, *of Kaiserslautern, Germany, who was among hundreds of readers who passed along their Father's Day advice. Page 14.*

The Story Behind the Story



PHOTOGRAPHS BY VICTOR MORIYAMA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Starlink antennas brought the internet to Marubo villages in the Brazilian Amazon. A Times article about changes there was misrepresented.

Tribe's Story Reveals the Perils of the Internet

By JACK NICAS
Jack Nicas, the Brazil bureau chief for The New York Times, wrote about the lives of the Marubo, an Amazonian tribe, in an article this month.

In April, I hiked more than 50 miles through the Amazon rainforest to visit the remote villages of the Marubo people. The 2,000-member tribe had recently received high-speed internet, and I wanted to understand how it had affected their lives.

During a weeklong visit, I saw how they used the internet to communicate between villages, chat with faraway loved ones and call for help in emergencies. Many Marubo also told me they were deeply concerned that the connection with the outside world would upend their culture, which they had preserved for generations by living deep in the forest. Some elders complained of teenagers glued to phones, group chats full of gossip and minors who watched pornography.

As a result, the story we published June 2 was in part about the Marubo people's introduction to the ills of the internet.

But after publication, that angle took on a whole different dimension.

After our article came out, more than 100 websites around the world published headlines that falsely claimed the Marubo had become addicted to porn. Alongside those headlines, the sites published images of the Marubo people in their villages.

The New York Post was among the first, saying last week that the Marubo people were "hooked on porn." Dozens quickly followed that take. TMZ's headline was perhaps the most blunt: "TRIBE'S STARLINK HOOKUP RESULTS IN PORN ADDICTION!!!"

The Post and TMZ did not respond to requests for comment.

Similar headlines proliferated across the world, including in the United Kingdom,



Marubo mainly use the web on their phones.

Germany, Australia, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Turkey, Nigeria, Mexico and Chile. RT, Russia's state media outlet, published the claim in Arabic. There were countless videos, memes and social media posts.

In Brazil, the rumor spread fast, including in the small Amazonian cities where some Marubo now live, work and study.

The Marubo people are not addicted to pornography. There was no hint of this in the forest, and there was no suggestion of it in The New York Times's article.

Instead, the article mentioned a complaint from one Marubo leader that some Marubo minors had shared pornography in WhatsApp group chats. This was especially concerning, he said, because Marubo culture frowns upon even kissing in public.

Many of the sites that distorted this detail are news aggregators, meaning their business model is largely designed around repackaging the reporting of other news organizations, with often sensationalist headlines to sell ads.

Because these sites also link to the original reporting, they are generally legally protected, even if they misrepresent the material.

By now, these sorts of sites and misleading headlines are just another part of the internet economy. To an informed internet user, their tactics are familiar.

For the Marubo, however, the experience was bewildering and infuriating.

"These claims are unfounded, untrue and reflect a prejudiced ideological current that disrespects our autonomy and identity," Enoque Marubo, the Marubo leader who brought Starlink to his tribe's villages, said in a video posted online Sunday night.

The Times article had overemphasized the negatives of the internet, he said, "resulting in the spread of a distorted and damaging picture."

Alfredo Marubo (all Marubo use the same last name), the leader who said in the Times article that he was concerned about pornography, released a statement Tuesday from his tribal association saying that the misleading headlines "have the potential to cause irreversible damage to people's image, and therefore we feel exposed in the face of this misinterpretation of the accurate reporting."

Eliesio Marubo, a lawyer and Indigenous rights activist, has become one of the most public faces of the Marubo tribe. So when the headlines went viral, Eliesio said he had tens of thousands of notifications of messages and tags in comments on social networks. Many mocked the Marubo people, he said.

Eliesio said the article had raised an important debate about the sudden arrival of high-speed internet to remote Indigenous groups, showing the promise of the internet in its own way. But the resulting misinformation had also illustrated the internet's perils.

"The internet brings a lot of advantages," he said, "but it also brings a lot of challenges."

Last Week's Top Trending Headlines

In Secret Recordings, Alito Endorses Nation of 'Godliness.' Roberts Talks of Pluralism. A woman posing as a Catholic conservative surreptitiously recorded Justice Samuel A. Alito Jr. and Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. at a Supreme Court gala earlier this month. Their remarks, which were posted and distributed widely on social media, showed marked differences in the justices' worldviews.

Clarence Thomas, in Financial Disclosure, Acknowledges 2019 Trips Paid by Harlan Crow Another Supreme Court justice also made news this week. On Friday, Justice Clarence Thomas acknowledged that he took two luxury trips paid for by Harlan Crow, a real estate magnate and Republican donor. It was the first time that Justice Thomas included the trips — taken in 2019 and revealed by ProPublica — on his financial disclosures, one of the few public records that offer details of the justices' activities outside the court.

Jury Finds Hunter Biden Guilty of 3 Felonies A team of Times journalists covered Hunter Biden's conviction on Tuesday on three federal felony counts tied to a handgun purchase in 2018. President Biden later said that he would not commute his son's sentence, which has not been set: "I said I'd abide by the jury decision. I will do that."

At 17, She Fell in Love With a 47-Year-Old. Now She Questions the Story. Jill Ciment's 1996 memoir "Half a Life" described her teenage affair with the middle-aged man she eventually married. Her new book, "Consent," revisits that relationship "with almost clinical detachment," wrote Alexandra Alter of the Books team.

A Headline From History

FILIPINOS FLEEING AS VOLCANO BUILDS

June 16, 1991. The Philippine government ordered the evacuation of hundreds of thousands of people the previous day after scientists warned that Mount Pinatubo, an erupting volcano in Luzon, appeared close to a "catastrophic explosion," The Times reported. A catastrophic explosion it was: The eruption of Mount Pinatubo was the second largest of the 20th century, spewing 1.2 cubic miles of magma. (The largest was the 1912 eruption of Mount Novarupta in Alaska.) More than 800 people died following Pinatubo's eruption, which arrived in tandem with a devastating typhoon. The blast also caused hundreds of millions of dollars in damages. The explosion led to the permanent closure of Clark Air Base, one of the oldest and largest American military installations outside the United States.

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Facts of Interest

Globally, the number of lives lost to alcohol is about three million a year. (That's about four times more than the number of women who die of breast cancer every year.)

Intoxicology THE MAGAZINE, PAGE 46

The Czech writer Franz Kafka worked by day as an insurance officer, investigating injuries from industrial accidents. He wrote at night.

The Very Online Afterlife of Franz Kafka ARTS & LEISURE, PAGE 13

In 2012, Tinder introduced its swipe feature. Other dating apps followed suit, making the swipe ubiquitous.

Actual Places to Meet Actual People SUNDAY STYLES, PAGE 1

In Senegal, the N.B.A., which has been promoting basketball in Africa for more than 20 years, operates an academy for high school-age players, an N.B.A. Africa office and the headquarters of the Basketball Africa League.

The N.B.A. Nurtures Its Hoop Dreams In Africa SUNDAY BUSINESS, PAGE 1

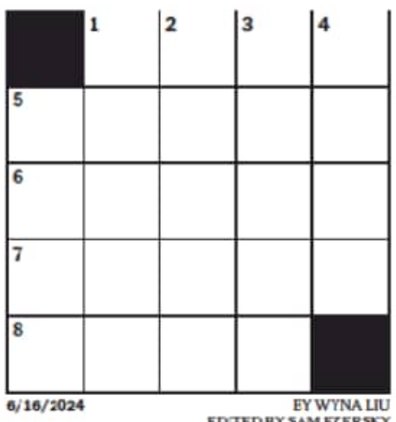
An 8,000-mile automobile race in 1907 from what is now Beijing to Paris took participants two months to complete, traversing near-roadless terrain. Gasoline had to be sent ahead by train or horse.

Going Places BOOK REVIEW, PAGE 22

The European Union regulates more than 1,300 ingredients for use in cosmetics; the U.S. Food and Drug Administration prohibits or restricts only nine ingredients that have been proved harmful to human health.

The Relaxer Reckoning THE MAGAZINE, PAGE 34

The Mini Crossword



6/16/2024 BY WYNA LIU EDITED BY SAM EZERSKY

ACROSS

1 Pencil material that's actually made of graphite and clay
5 Uninspired first message on a dating app
6 "One more time!"
7 Fried Hanukkah treat
8 Get out of Dodge

DOWN

1 Long paper size
2 Fill with joy
3 How besties might dress
4 "Finished!"
5 50%

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

S	P	R	A	T	■	■
T	I	E	D	O	N	■
O	L	D	S	O	U	L
U	F	C	■	C	R	O
T	E	A	M	U	S	A
■	R	R	A	T	E	D
■	■	D	R	E	S	S



TIAGO MAJUELOS

The Dateline

Where Times Journalists Are Reporting Around the World



THE NEW YORK TIMES

1. HELENA, MONT. — For the past three years, Montana's suicide rate was the highest in the nation, and most of the deaths involved firearms. In Helena, Michael Corkery met Ali Mullen, whose husband's death by suicide sparked a personal mission to promote gun safety in the state.

2. UNAMEN SHIPU, QUEBEC — A sexual abuse scandal pushed a Catholic church in northern Quebec to the edge. Norimitsu Onishi interviewed the Rev. Gérard Tsatselam, a priest who is dealing with the fallout from a predecessor's alleged abuse.

3. BRISTOL, ENGLAND — The British curry house Urban Tandoor is luring in new customers with campy music video parodies on TikTok. (A "Grease"-inspired "You're the Naan That I Want" features employees in leather and lipstick.) Isabella Kwai visited the restaurant in Bristol.

4. WUHAN, CHINA — No country is moving as aggressively as China to test driverless vehicles on public roads. Keith Bradsher reported from Wuhan, where hundreds of robot taxis buzz around a city with 4.5 million cars and eight-lane expressways.

Word Through The Times

Tracing the Evolution of One Word Throughout Our Report



ZUZANNA ROGATTY

A headline on a 2021 New York Times article made a bold claim: President Biden was a geek. A "Watch Geek in Chief," to be exact. His affinity for luxury timepieces — he wore a Rolex at his inauguration — had caught the eye of Times Styles.

In 1919, a "geek" was something very different: a circus entertainer performing grotesque acts, like biting the heads off animals. In 1946, The Times reviewed "Nightmare Alley," a novel about a man who joins a carnival and learns "what makes a geek bite the heads off chickens."

From this definition grew a more modern one. By the second half of the 20th century, a "geek" was a social outcast, though not one in sideshows. This "geek" was "an overly diligent, unsociable student," perhaps "obsessively devoted to a particular pursuit," per the Oxford English Dictionary.

Benjamin Nugent, who wrote "American Nerd," suggested that the meanings of "geek" and "nerd" converged in the 1970s. He cited a 1980 On Language article by William Safire, who wrote that "pencil geek" acted as a synonym for "nerd."

Perhaps because of its meanspirited nature, "geek" appeared sparingly in The Times. Here's one case: A 1977 article mentioned a belief at one high school that anyone who boycotted the prom was "a cheapskate, or a geek who couldn't get a date."

In 1987, Gary Panter, a cartoonist quoted in The Times, anointed Pee-wee Herman as the "new ascendant geek," the type of person "who is now the height of fashion." He was right: As the decades passed, "geeks," in defiance of the word's definition, had gained some social status.

Mr. Nugent said that as "nerd" became linked "with technology and engineering prowess," so did "geek." The words "became a way of talking about how people with nonnormative behaviors were now useful and powerful and sought after," he added.

In 2019, Merrill Perlman, a former Times editor, wrote in the Columbia Journalism Review that the verb form of "geek" also helped shake the word of its negative history, citing as examples "geek up" (to excite) and "geek out," which in the 1990s was linked to computing. The slang grew. Per a 2005 Times Opinion essay: "to geek out on something means to immerse yourself in its details to an extent that is distinctly abnormal — and to have a good time doing it." One no longer geeked out just over computers; you could geek out over, say, watches.

Today, being a "geek" or "nerd" is seen as a point of pride, said Maya Phillips, a Times arts and culture critic who explored "nerd culture" in a 2022 book. When she was a child, she said in an interview, being called either was "derogatory." But by the mid 2000s, "it became a signifier of someone who was ahead of the curve and able to figure out elements of pop culture that would become mainstream." SARAH DIAMOND

Here to Help

Five Films to Stream on Netflix Right Now

'Ali' (2001)

Will Smith (right) nabbed his first Oscar nomination for his masterly turn as Muhammad Ali in this robust biopic. Eschewing the cradle-to-grave approach of too many such projects to focus on the key decade of 1964 to 1974, "Ali" adroitly dramatizes the champ's transformation from gifted young fighter to political figure. The director Michael Mann exchanges his customarily sleek and contemplative style for something earthier and more emotional.



FRANK CONNOR/COLUMBIA PICTURES, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

'Godzilla Minus One' (2023)

On the eve of the franchise's 70th anniversary (and coinciding with the current American iteration of the character), Toho studios released this throwback to the pointed political commentary and sociological subtext of its original entry. Thrilling and thoughtful, "Minus One" keeps "bringing blockbuster brio to heel with a sometimes heavy heart," a Times critic wrote.

'Hit Man' (2024)

Richard Linklater directed this fact-based story of Gary Johnson, a professor whose side gig as an electronics surveillance specialist for the New Orleans Police Department turns into undercover work as a fake killer for hire. Linklater wrote the script with the actor Glen Powell, who plays Johnson. As the fake hit man, Johnson unluckily feels an attraction to a potential "client" (an electrifying Adria Arjona).

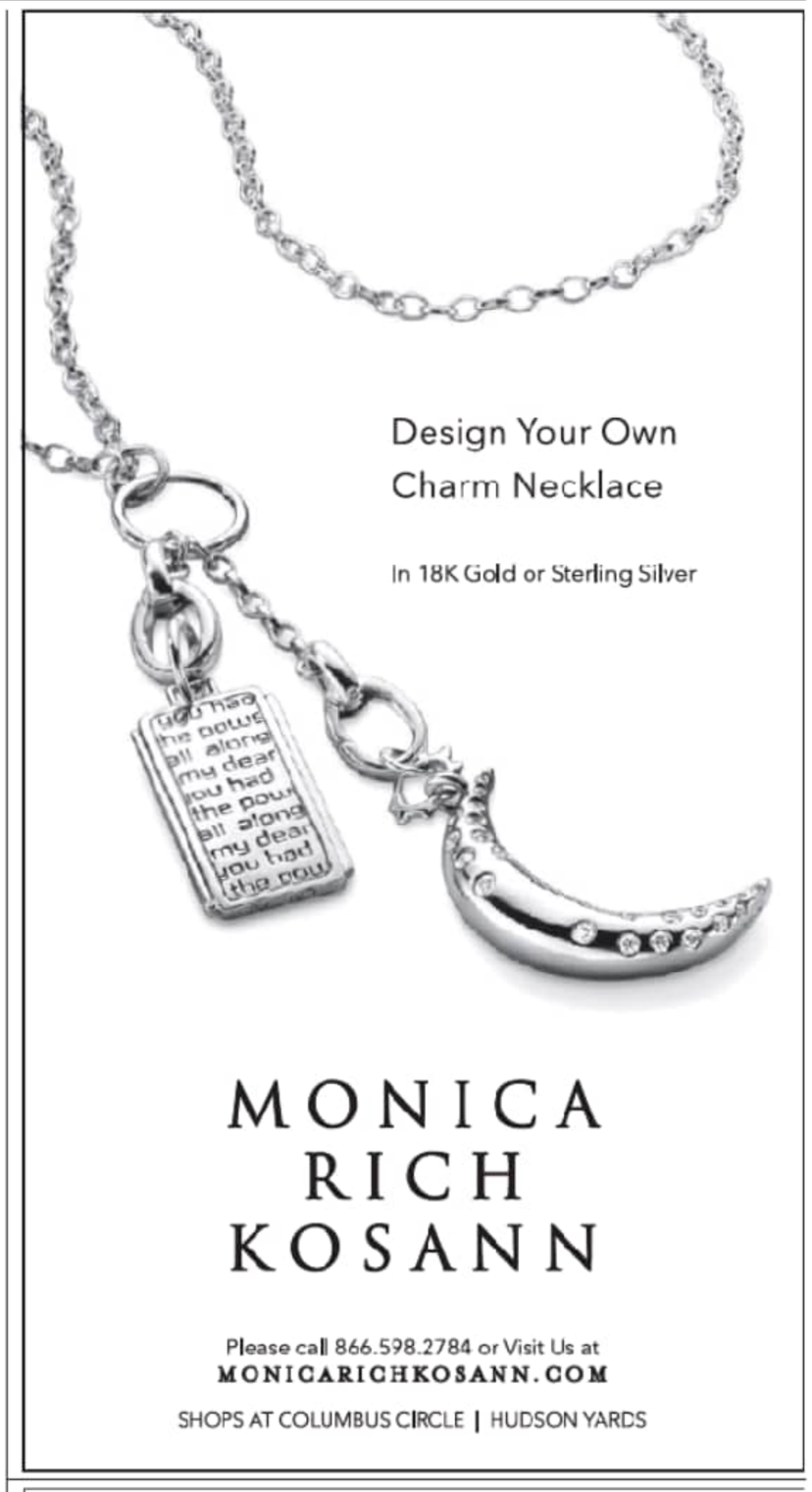
'Sing Street' (2016)

Hollywood doesn't make many big-screen musicals anymore. But this delightful picture from John Carney is a welcome addition to that canon, a sweetly nostalgic tale about a wistful Irish kid who imagines that his amateur rock band will get him out of his dingy hometown and into the arms of his dream girl. The performers are likable, and the '80s nostalgia is well placed.

'Tangerine' (2015)

Shot on the fly in real locations with smartphones and a cast of mostly first-time actors, this comedy from the director Sean Baker is a vibrant and heartfelt story of life on the fringe. The plot concerns two transgender sex workers (Kitana Kiki Rodriguez and Mya Taylor) and their fortunes and misfortunes in the sketchier stretches of Hollywood. JASON BAILEY

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International

The New York Times

Canada Either Bestows a Warm Asylum Welcome, or Jail

Refugee Rights Groups Call Most Detentions Unfair and Arbitrary

By IAN AUSTEN

HALIFAX, Nova Scotia — His attempt to escape deportation from Germany by hiding on a westbound freighter — under the cargo cover of a new BMW — was desperate and ill-conceived. With only 1.5 liters of water and some nuts and dates, Walid Kabil did not have enough supplies, heat or space to survive the April voyage.

He feared being returned to Morocco, where he said he had been arrested because of his political activism. But cold, aching and dehydrated, he sought help from the ship's crew.

Then came the surprise. After the ship docked in Halifax, Nova Scotia, and he was handed over to Canadian border authorities to make his asylum claim, Mr. Kabil was sent to a provincial jail filled with people accused of violent crimes, including murder.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has told asylum seekers on social media that his country welcomes "those fleeing persecution, terror & war," but Mr. Kabil and thousands of others seeking asylum have found that the welcome does not always apply to them.

Government officials say only a small percentage of asylum seekers are detained because they could be a risk to public safety or disappear into the country. One expert on immigration said it was an important tool to control undocumented migration.

Like the United States and other Western countries, Canada is increasingly struggling to accommodate asylum seekers who some critics say are adding to a strain on government services.

The questions being raised about asylum seekers who arrive without a sponsor or documentation focus on how often and for how long they should be detained while they wait for their claims to be heard and what detention says about the country's self-image as a nation open to migrants.

In the United States, where immigration is a central issue in the November election, President Biden has moved to temporarily block most asylum seekers at the southern border after the number of migrants crossing illegally reached historical highs.

In Canada, Carl Desmarais, a top official at the Border Services Agency, which inspects all people and cargo entering the country, called detention "a measure of last resort."

But human rights groups and other detractors say it should be used even more sparingly because most asylum seekers are not a threat to commit crimes or abscond.

"The default position should be that people are released into the community pending the determination of their legal status," said Alan Rock, a former national justice minister who has been pushing to end detention.

During the 2024 fiscal year, which ended on March 31, roughly 32,000 refugees sought asylum in Canada, a decline of 22 percent from the previous year. The drop is probably primarily driven by an agreement making it effectively impossible to cross into Canada from the United States to make a refugee claim.

Of those, nearly 5,800, or 18 percent, were held in provincial jails or immigration detention centers, according to the Canada Border Services Agency.

Those detained were held an average of 16.5 days, while 7 percent were held for more than 99 days.

While polls show that Canadians broadly support immigration and admitting refugees, that support has softened somewhat, particularly because some economists say immigration-driven population increases are contributing to rising housing prices.

François Legault, the premier of Quebec, in an open letter to Mr. Trudeau in January, pleaded with the federal government to reduce the influx of refugees into his province. "We are close to the breaking point because of the excessive number of asylum seekers," he wrote. "The situation has become unbearable."

Mr. Kabil, the Moroccan migrant, said he was shocked when he learned that he was being detained.

"When I came here it was like: O Canada, the dream, I'm going to be safe," he said. "But then suddenly it was, 'You know that you're going to be in jail.'"

He was released after 11 days and was granted refugee status in 2021, four and a half years after he arrived in Canada.

The Canada Border Services Agency declined to comment on Mr. Kabil's case because of privacy laws.

Migrants who are locked up tend to be asylum seekers who enter the country by other means — usually by air traveling on a tourist or student visa and occasionally as stowaways on ships. (Under agreements with Washington, migrants who walk into Canada across its border with the United States are quickly returned south.)

Some detained migrants are awaiting deportation after their asylum claims were turned down. But an analysis by Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International found that most were waiting for their claims to be heard, a process that can drag on for years.

One man believed to be from South Africa was held in an Ontario jail for 11 years because his identity could not be determined.

Since 2000, at least 17 detainees have died in immigration custody, according to research by Human Rights Watch.

Because the border services agency is not required to announce the deaths of people in immigration custody, an exact count could not be determined, said Samer Muscati, who investigates immigration detention for the group.

Last year, a coroner's jury in Ontario looking into the 2015 death in immigration detention of a 39-year-old Somali man with mental illness recommended the creation of an oversight body to investigate the conditions of people in immigration custody. But there has been no movement on the recommendation.

When asylum seekers are detained, the border services agency is required to bring them before the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada within 48 hours. But advocates say the process is flawed and inconsistent.

In some cases, the agency will argue that "this person's a flight risk because they have close ties to their community in Canada," said Julie Chamagne, the executive director of the Halifax Refugee Clinic. "Then they show up at the next hearing and say the person is a flight risk because they don't have close ties. It's very, very, very frustrating."

Canada does not track how many asylum seekers commit crimes unrelated to immigration. But less than 2 percent of people in the last fiscal year failed to appear for immigration hearings, according to the Immigration and Refugee Board.

While detention is a serious measure, it is crucial to Canada's border security strategy amid a global refugee crisis, said Christian Leuprecht, a political science professor at the Royal Military College of Canada in Kingston, Ontario.

Detention, he added, helps safeguard "Canadian sovereignty, Canadian rule of law and the prosperity, stability and social harmony which makes this country so attractive for people to come here to begin with."

Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International and others have lobbied Mr. Trudeau's government to push the border agency to reduce detentions. But the agency largely operates independently from the government and has no independent civilian oversight body.

Following lobbying by human rights groups, Canada's 10 provinces have said this year that they will not renew contracts allowing the federal government to use their jails for immigration detention.

The border services agency said it was filling the void by expanding the three detention centers it now operates.

The agency, as part of the federal budget being considered in Parliament, could also receive funds to build new segregated immigration detention facilities within federal prisons. Border officials said asylum seekers would generally be separated from the criminal population.

Hediyeh, a 28-year-old Iranian woman who asked to be identified by only her first name to protect relatives back home, fled to Canada because of what she described as violent behavior by her father, a government official and religious figure, who opposed a romantic relationship.

Her father, she said, beat her with a belt and wrapped a plastic bag over her head until she passed out. Relying on smugglers and a forged Danish passport, she took a series of flights before finally arriving in Halifax.

At first, Hediyeh said she was not worried.

"In my country, we just know that Canada is a perfect country," she said. "You always hear a lot of good things about it, that it's safe, especially for women, that it is going to help you. So I arrived and I was happy. I was, ready to explain everything."

After a hearing in English, which she did not understand at the time, Hediyeh thought she was going to a hotel. Instead, she was sent to a Nova Scotia provincial jail.

She said she spent two days in solitary confinement.

Then she was transferred into the general prison population, where violence was common. She carried her clothing into a shower after seeing someone steal another prisoner's garments.

"It was so scary; lots of things were going on," she said. "I realized, 'My god, I'm in the real, real jail.'"

Hediyeh was released after one month, and her claim to stay in Canada was eventually accepted.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHRIS DONOVAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Walid Kabil at the Halifax Refugee Clinic in Nova Scotia. After he fled Morocco and reached Canada as a stowaway, he said, he was detained in a provincial jail.



'When I came here it was like: O Canada, the dream, I'm going to be safe. But then suddenly it was, "You know that you're going to be in jail."'

WALID KABIL, who spent 11 days in a jail filled with people accused of violent crimes, including murder, before he was released. He gained refugee status in late 2021, four and a half years after he arrived in Canada.

Hediyeh, who asked to be identified only by her first name, was immediately jailed after she fled to Canada from Iran.





"It was a shock," Mr. Kabil said of being jailed. "Detention is not the last resort that it should be," said Julie Chamagne, head of the Halifax Refugee Clinic, above.

Vjosa Isai contributed reporting from Toronto; Hamed Aleaziz from Healdsburg, Calif.; and Miriam Jordan from Los Angeles.

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NEWS ANALYSIS

Western Anxiety Makes for an Unexpectedly Smooth G7 Summit

By STEVEN ERLANGER

BARI, Italy — The Group of 7 summit that ended on Saturday went extraordinarily smoothly by the standards of a gathering where the leaders of major powers come together. That was a measure of the anxiety the leaders feel about deteriorating trends in Ukraine, in the Middle East, in China and in their own political futures.

There was a dispute over the use of the word "abortion" in the communiqué, prompted by the host, Prime Minister Giorgia Meloni of Italy, but that was seen as a gesture to her domestic constituency. On important issues of geopolitics, there was little that divided the group.

President Biden may appear politically vulnerable and uncertain of re-election, but this summit meeting was another example of unchallenged American leadership of the West, especially on contentious issues of war and peace.

With the main headlines about new support for Ukraine — a $50 billion injection built on the money earned from frozen Russian assets, and long-term security pacts with Ukraine signed by the United States and Japan — this gathering was just the first in a series intended to bolster President Volodymyr Zelensky in the war against Russia.

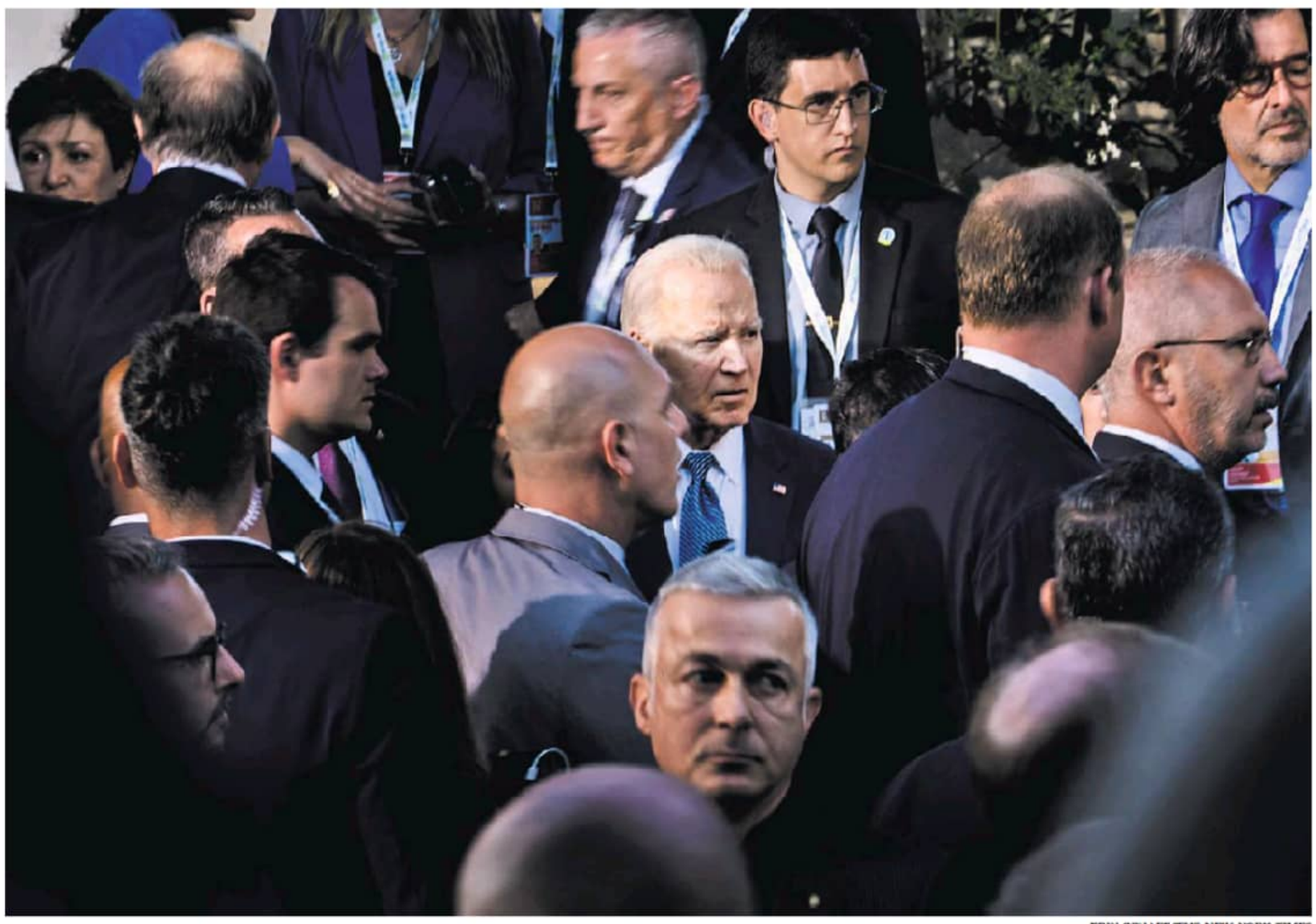
It is followed this weekend by a so-called peace summit in Switzerland that aims to show that Ukraine has global support and is willing to negotiate on fair terms with Russia, even though Moscow has not been invited. Then, NATO holds its 75th anniversary summit meeting in Washington in mid-July.

While Ukraine will not receive an invitation to begin membership talks with NATO, the alliance, led by the United States, is preparing what Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken has called "a bridge to membership" — a coordinated package of long-term military and financial support for Kyiv that some have likened to a diplomatic and military "mission."

It's all aimed at trying to persuade Ukrainians and President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia that his attempts to subordinate the country will not succeed.

"These summits have become easier to manage as the geopolitical situation has gotten worse," said Jeremy Shapiro, research director of the European Council on Foreign Relations and an American former diplomat. "It will be the same at the NATO summit. Everyone is nervous and sees greater benefit in unity and in American leadership."

With the leaders of countries like Britain, Canada, France, Germany and Japan all weakened politically by recent elections or by those on the near horizon, "It's easy for the Americans to orchestrate," Mr. Shapiro said. "The luxury of big summitry squabbles is pretty much gone."



ERIN SCHAFT/THE NEW YORK TIMES



POOL PHOTO BY JENS BUTTNER



NICOLE TUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Clockwise from top: President Biden at the G7 in Italy on Friday. On issues of geopolitics, there was little that divided the group; anti-tank defenses known as "dragon's teeth" in Ukraine; Patriot air defense systems at a training area in Germany on Tuesday.

A few years ago, it would have been more raucous inside the room, Mr. Shapiro said. "But no one is undermining the United States now, not even Emmanuel Macron," he noted, referring to the French president who has become a hawk on Ukraine and just suffered a major political defeat in European elections, as did Chancellor Olaf Scholz of Germany.

Even on issues like Israel and Gaza, where Europeans are passionately divided and much less inclined than Mr. Biden to give Israel a pass on the conduct of the war, the discussion at the summit was quiet and the communiqué was bland and muted, simply restating the Biden administration's view.

Similarly on China, where European and American interests do not always coincide, there was a new toughness in the language, led by Washington. In contrast to a few years ago, there were at least 25 references to China in this communiqué, nearly all of them critical of Beijing.

But the message on Ukraine was the most important, trying to convince Mr. Putin that "you can't wait us out," as Charles A. Kupchan, an American former official and professor of international affairs at Georgetown University, put it.

Noting the $50 billion loan, the bilateral security commitments and NATO's new commitments to Kyiv, "Concrete progress is being made, if progress is measured in terms of extending the time horizon for supporting Ukraine," Mr. Kupchan said.

"It's important now, because Putin thinks he can still win, conquer Ukraine or subjugate it by destroying its infrastructure and economy, forcing people to leave and then install a puppet regime," Mr. Kupchan added. "But the only way the war ends is when Putin is convinced he can't achieve either of those objectives, so the time horizon is key."

On Friday, as Mr. Zelensky left Italy to travel to his peace summit in Switzerland, Mr. Putin laid out his conditions for negotiations — an offer that would amount to a Ukrainian surrender. For now, Ukraine and Russia are talking past one another. They will only be willing to negotiate seriously, Mr. Kupchan suggests, "when there is a manifestly clear military stalemate and neither side thinks it can get more." That situation may arrive sometime next year, he added, as Ukraine continues to construct better defensive lines.

To get there, however, the West must ensure that Ukraine "survives as a sovereign state," said Robin Niblett, former director of Chatham House, an international affairs think tank in London. "Each of these meetings and steps in the last few months and coming up to the NATO summit are a procession to ensure Ukraine's long-term survival," he said.

"We are investing in Biden and preparing for Trump," Mr. Niblett said, given the real possibility that Mr. Biden might lose the election to Donald J. Trump, who is no fan of aiding Ukraine.

"A key element of Western strategy is to have an effective transition from the United States leading that support to Europe picking up the baton," Mr. Niblett added. The message to Mr. Putin, he said, is "maybe Ukraine can't push you out, but you can't win."

Only this past week, NATO defense ministers agreed that the alliance would assume a greater role in training Ukrainian troops and coordinating arms supplies to Ukraine, taking over from the United States in a bid to safeguard the process.

Europe already provides more total financial and military aid to Ukraine than Washington does, but it is not nearly enough, said Claudia Major, a defense analyst at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs.

The West is increasing its support to Ukraine for urgent military, budgetary and reconstruction needs, she said. "But my fear is that we congratulate ourselves, and it's really great, but it's not enough for Ukraine to win or end the war on its own terms."

Sending Western troops to train Ukrainian soldiers in Ukraine, as some NATO countries advocate, would carry an important political message, Ms. Major said. But it would also require more protection for them when Kyiv needs all its forces engaged in the real battle, she added.

Similarly, Mr. Macron's offer of Mirage jets to Ukraine is an important gesture, but, Ms. Major noted, "It adds to Ukraine's logistical headaches with yet another sophisticated weapons system, so its military benefit is questionable."

Ms. Major said that South Korea, West Germany and even Finland were excellent examples for Ukraine of how a country can lose territory but still become a democratic and economic success fully anchored in the West. "Are we prepared to do as much for Ukraine?" she asked.

Mr. Niblett and Mr. Kupchan say that the war in Ukraine is slowly moving toward some form of functional cease-fire. "Ukraine is beginning to fortify a relatively fixed front line, even if Zelensky doesn't want to say so, fearing that line could become a new border," Mr. Kupchan said.

But no one expects a serious conversation about the realism of Ukraine's war aims until after the American presidential election. "There remain few people who are still optimistic that Ukraine can win this war, but in public there is no serious conversation about an alternate war aim, and that leaves everyone in limbo for now," Mr. Kupchan said.

"The level of Western unity is not false, and there remains remarkable solidarity with Ukraine," he added. "The problem is what do we do with that solidarity."

NEWS ANALYSIS

China Joins Russia On G7 Adversaries List

By DAVID E. SANGER

PUGLIA, Italy — President Biden was eager to get off the stage at the Group of 7 summit Thursday night, clearly a bit testy after answering questions about Hunter Biden's conviction and the prospects of a cease-fire in Gaza.

But at the end of his news conference with President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine, he couldn't seem to help jumping in as the Ukrainian leader spoke delicately about China's tightening relationship with Russia. He leaned into his microphone as soon as Mr. Zelensky was finished.

"By the way, China is not supplying weapons" for the war in Ukraine, Mr. Biden said, "but the ability to produce those weapons and the technology available to do it."

"So, it is, in fact, helping Russia," he said.

Throughout the Group of 7 summit meeting in Puglia, China has been the lurking presence: as the savior of "Russia's war machine," in the words of the summit's final communiqué; as an intensifying threat in the South China Sea; and as a wayward economic actor, dumping electric cars in Western markets and threatening to withhold critical minerals needed by high-tech industries.

In total, there are 28 references to China in the final communiqué, almost all of them describing Beijing as a malign force.

The contrast with China's portrayal just a few years ago is sharp.

At past summits, the West's biggest economies talked often about teaming with Beijing to fight climate change, counterterrorism and nuclear proliferation. While China was never invited into the G7 the way Russia once was — Moscow joined the group in 1997 and was suspended when it annexed Crimea in 2014 — Beijing was often described as a "partner," a supplier and, above all, a superb customer of everything from German cars to French couture.

No longer. This year, China and Russia were frequently discussed in the same breath, and in the same menacing terms, perhaps the natural outcome of their deepening partnership.

A senior Biden administration official who sat in on the conversations of the leaders gathered at the summit, and later briefed reporters, described a discussion of China's role that seemed to assume the relationship would be increasingly confrontational.

"As time goes on, it becomes clear that President Xi's objective is for Chinese dominance," ranging from trade to influencing security issues around the world, the official told reporters, declining to be named as he described the closed-door talks.

But it was China's support of Russia that constituted a new element at this year's summit, and perhaps changed minds in Europe. The subject of China's role was barely raised in the last two summits, and when it was, it was often about the influence of its top leader, Xi Jinping, as a moderating force on President Vladimir V. Putin, especially when there were fears that Mr. Putin might detonate a nuclear weapon on Ukrainian territory.



TINGSHU WANG/REUTERS

Xi Jinping, China's leader, did not attend the summit, but his country was a lurking presence there. Almost all of the references to China in the final communiqué described Beijing as a malign force.

This time, the tone was very different, starting in the communiqué itself.

"We will continue taking measures against actors in China and third countries that materially support Russia's war machine," the leaders' statement said, "including financial institutions, consistent with our legal systems, and other entities in China that facilitate Russia's acquisition of items for its defense industrial base."

The United States had insisted on including that language and was pressing its allies to match Mr. Biden's action last week, when the Treasury Department issued a number of new sanctions devised to interrupt the growing technological links between Russia and China. But so far, few of the other G7 nations have made similar moves.

Inside the Biden administration, there is a growing belief that Mr. Xi's view of China's role in the Ukraine war has changed in the past year, and that it will throw its support increasingly behind Mr. Putin, with whom it has declared a "partnership without limits."

Even just a few months ago, most administration officials viewed that line as hyperbole, and even Mr. Biden, in public comments, expressed doubts that the two countries could overcome their huge suspicions of each other to work together.

That view has now changed, and some administration officials said they believe that Beijing was also working to discourage countries from participating in a peace conference organized by Mr. Zelensky. More than 90 countries will be at the conference in Switzerland this weekend, but Russia will not participate — and China, which a year ago expressed interest in a variety of cease-fire and peace plans, has said it will not attend either.

In the view of Alexander Gabuev, the director of the Carnegie Russia Eurasia Center in Berlin, China is now opposing any peace efforts in which it cannot be the central player.

"Xi, it seems, will not abandon his troublesome Russian partner or even pay lip service to aiding Kyiv," Mr. Gabuev wrote in Foreign Affairs on Friday. "Instead, China has chosen a more ambitious, but also risker, approach. It will continue to help Moscow and sabotage Western-led peace proposals. It hopes to then swoop in and use its leverage over Russia to bring both parties to the table in an attempt to broker a lasting agreement."

American officials at the summit said they largely agreed with Mr. Gabuev's diagnosis, but said they doubted China had the diplomatic experience to make it work.

But the change in views about China reached far beyond the questions swirling around an endgame in Ukraine. European countries that had worried a few years ago that the United States was being too confrontational with China, this year signed on to the communiqué, with its calls for more robust Western-based supply chains that were less reliant on Chinese companies.

By implication, the jointly issued communiqué also accused China of a series of major hacks into American and European critical infrastructure, urging China "to uphold its commitment to act responsibly in cyberspace" and promising to "continue our efforts to disrupt and deter persistent, malicious cyberactivity stemming from China, which threatens our citizens' safety and privacy, undermines innovation and puts our critical infrastructure at risk."

That infrastructure reference appeared to be tied to a Chinese program that the United States calls "Volt Typhoon." American intelligence officials have described it as a sophisticated effort by China to place Chinese-created malware in the water systems, electric grids and port operations of the United States and its allies.

In congressional testimony and interviews, Biden administration officials have charged that the malware's real purpose is to gain the capability to shut down vital services in the United States in the midst of a Taiwan crisis, slowing an American military response and setting off chaos among Americans who would be more concerned about getting the water turned back on than keeping Taiwan independent.

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'We Need to Unite': Protests Against the Far Right Course Through France

By CATHERINE PORTER and LIZ ALDERMAN

PARIS — Tens of thousands of demonstrators crowded onto French streets on Saturday to denounce the rise of the country's far-right political party and call on fellow citizens to block it from taking power in snap parliamentary elections set by President Emmanuel Macron.

The protests, organized by the country's five biggest labor unions, were widely supported by human rights associations, activists, artists and backers of a newly formed left-wing coalition of political parties, the New Popular Front. Most protesters painted a dark picture of the country under a far-right prime minister.

"For the first time since the Vichy regime, the extreme right could prevail again in France," Olivier Faure, the leader of the Socialist Party, said while addressing the crowd in Paris.

That prospect brought out of retirement former President François Hollande, who announced on Saturday that he would run for legislative elections to help ensure that the far right would not take power.

"The situation is very grave," he said, in his hometown, Corrèze. "For those who feel lost, we need to convince them: The coming together of the French is indispensable."

Mr. Macron shocked the country last week by announcing that he was dissolving the lower house of Parliament and calling for new parliamentary elections after his centrist Renaissance party was clobbered by the far-right National Rally party in elections for the European Parliament.

The move is a political gamble; Mr. Macron hopes voters will rally to him. He is painting himself as the clear force of sanity and stability between two extreme forces — the National Rally and the far-left France Unbowed party, which has since joined the New Popular Front.

But there are signs that his decision may backfire.

Early polls show a lead for the National Rally, which has long called for a drastic cut to immigration and asylum seekers and the introduction of a system of "national preference" that would reserve jobs, housing and hospital treatment for native French people.

"There were many things behind Macron's gamble to call this election," said Gilles Ivaldi, a political science professor at the Paris-based Sciences Po university who studies far-right politics in France and Europe. "One thing he missed — there is political momentum for the National Rally. That's key to winning elections."

The rapid upswing in the National Rally's political fortunes, after years spent blocked from power, drew people like Philippe Noel, a 45-year-old teacher, into the streets on Saturday.

"There is a real risk that we end up with a far-right government" Mr. Noel said, as he walked by a brass band playing pop songs for the crowd under a drizzly sky. "But it's not inevitable, and I hope the parties of the left can all unite."

By Saturday afternoon, 250,000 people had come out across France, including 75,000 in Paris, according to estimates from the police.

"I came because I am angry and I feel powerless," said Lucie Heurtebize, 26, who works in the technology industry. "We need to unite."

As the protests began to wind down, Gabriel Attal, the prime minister and a member of Mr. Macron's party, announced changes to Renaissance's platform that mirrored pledges their rivals have put forward to increase spending power for French households. These included indexing pensions to inflation, allowing employers to increase employees' salaries through untaxed bonuses and providing supplementary health care coverage at a cost of 1 euro per day.

"The French know that our program is coherent," he said in an interview with Le Parisien, a daily newspaper. "With the other parties, it's a parachute jump without the parachute."

The demonstrations passed largely without incident, as people of all stripes — students, workers, tech programmers, business executives and soccer players — voiced their determination to stop the rise of the National Rally.

But in Paris, groups of protesters clad in black began smashing storefronts before clashing with throngs of riot police officers, who deployed tear gas. Those protesters drew boos from other demonstrators and warnings that the violence would help right-wing politicians and right-wing media outlets cast those on the left as extremists.

"It's not normal that today we have 50 percent of people who vote for a racist, misogynist party that wants to expel foreigners and doesn't address the real problems of the people," said Laura Michaud, 31, a business executive who came to the protest with friends. "I'm not a fan of Emmanuel Macron, but if I have to, I will vote for him."

Many in the crowd, however, said they hoped the newly-formed, left-wing coalition could beat out the far right, as the original Popular Front coalition had during the 1930s.

Coalescing against the rise of far-right fascist political groups in Europe, the original Popular Front formed a government under Léon Blum, who in 1936 became the country's first Socialist and Jewish premier. Under his brief leadership, Mr. Blum secured many workers' rights considered essential today, including collective bargaining, a 40-hour workweek and two weeks of annual paid vacation.

"We had been expecting this Popular Front for a long time," said Patrick Franceschi, a business developer who supports the Greens party. "We voted for Macron twice to oppose the National Rally, but now there is a front of the left and it's closer to my political family."

The New Popular Front is made up of ecologists, communists, socialists and far-left parties, which came together despite recent bruising conflicts and opposing policies.



ROMAIN FERROUCHEAU/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

A man walking through clouds of tear gas deployed by riot police during a demonstration against the far right in western France.

On Friday, the coalition unveiled a platform promising to increase wages, restore purchasing power to French citizens and lower France's legal retirement age to 60 from 64. It said it would pull away from the European Union's free trade treaties, which the coalition says kill French jobs through globalization.

On immigration, the coalition wants France to become more welcoming to asylum seekers and climate refugees — a position drastically different from the National Rally's proposal.

But cracks have already appeared, with some prominent members of France Unbowed being pushed off the list of candidates. And the return of Mr. Hollande could add more complications; the Socialist Party crumbled under his leadership, and he is a polarizing figure for many on the left.

Saturday's demonstrations echoed large-scale protests that flooded streets across France in 2002. At that time, the founder of the far-right National Front, Jean-Marie Le Pen, made it into the second round of the presidential elections. Mr. Le Pen's daughter Marine took over the party in 2011, and changed its name to the National Rally, but its foundational ideas — opposing immigration and boosting the powers of the police — remained.

Back then, left-wing parties came together to form a so-called "Republican front" that asked members to protect the country against the far right and cast their votes for Jacques Chirac, the conservative competitor, even though they disagreed with his policies.

"It was tracing a line in the sand," said Cécile Alduy, a professor at Stanford University and an expert on the National Rally, declaring that "there was an essential distinction between a party that threatens the Republic by breaking values like equality and freedom and solidarity, and other parties that you might disagree with on policies, but they fall within the framework of the Constitution."

It worked. Mr. Chirac was overwhelmingly voted into office as president.

Since then, a Republican front-style bulwark has been called for repeatedly, particularly during lower-level elections, to keep far-right party members out of the president's office. And while the strategy has worked in the past, it has gradually weakened. In 2022, 89 National Rally members were elected to the 577-seat National Assembly, making the party a formidable opposition force. Ms. Le Pen received 41.5 percent of the vote in the presidential election, though she lost to Mr. Macron.

Last week's European elections saw the party make even more gains.

Ségolène Le Stradic contributed reporting.



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THE GLOBAL PROFILE AZAHRIAH

Hungarian Rapper's Bandwagon Gets an Unlikely New Rider

By ANDREW HIGGINS

BUDAPEST — The 22-year-old rapper is so popular — he recently held three sold-out concerts at Hungary's largest stadium — that even Prime Minister Viktor Orban, a stodgy champion of traditional values not known for being in tune with youth or its culture, claims he is a fan.

Mr. Orban has said he particularly likes the song "Rampapapam," a reggae-flavored ode to the joys of cannabis. It's a surprising choice given the prime minister's conservative views and one that raised questions about whether he has actually listened to it or just watched its video showing the musician playing soccer, the leader's favorite sport.

But Attila Bauko, a Hungarian superstar better known as Azahriah, has won so many passionate fans in Hungary that Mr. Orban, who has had 14 years in power, appears to want some of the rapper's energy and stardust.

"Since they see that a lot of people like me, it seems they want to be friendly," Azahriah said in an interview backstage before a concert last month at the Puskas Arena, a sports stadium in Budapest, that attracted nearly 50,000 people for each of the three nights he performed.

Official favor "should be flattering," Azahriah said, "but feels strange and uncomfortable" when so many of his young fans loathe the governing Fidesz party.

When tickets for his recent concerts sold out within minutes of going on sale in October, Mr. Orban's office put the singer's image and a "sold out" sign on a TikTok video promoting one of the prime minister's speeches.

The video was later deleted after a wave of online mockery. Azahriah sold 138,800 tickets online while only a few thousand people turned out to hear Mr. Orban run through his own greatest hits — a familiar litany of complaints against the European Union.

Azahriah first caught the public eye a decade ago when, at age 12, he began a YouTube channel. He occasionally played the guitar but mostly just talked, attracting a youthful following with accounts of his troubles at school in Ujpalota, a down-market district of Budapest studded with Communist-era concrete apartment blocks.

His personal story resonated. His parents were divorced and he was raised mainly by his mother, an officer in the Hungarian military. His father moved to Germany to work as a mechanic, following a path taken by many Hungarians frustrated by their prospects at home.

He turned into a show business sensation after he started calling himself Azahriah, a biblical name meaning roughly "helped by God," and, in 2020, teamed up with Desh, an already established artist, to record his first hit, "Meadow." His first album, "I'm Worse," was a collection of mostly English language songs.

He later switched to Hungarian and "Hunglish," a mix of the two languages, with occasional snatches of Spanish and Roma.

His rapid rise to the top of the Hungarian charts — earlier this month he had four of the top five songs on Spotify's most-listened



PHOTOGRAPHS BY AKOS STILLER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

'Musicians are not obliged to talk about politics. If you don't have anything to say, that is fine. But in a free country, it is not OK to stay silent because you are worried about hurting your career. We are not in Russia.'





Attila Bauko, better known in Hungary as Azahriah, at a concert in Budapest last month. At right, in Ujpalota, a Communist-era district of the capital where he grew up. He has become wildly popular, and even Prime Minister Viktor Orban claims to be a fan.

list in Hungary — has been so fast that psychologists, called on by media outlets in Hungary to explain the phenomenon, talk of "mass psychosis."

Gergely Toth, Azahriah's manager, recalled that when he first signed Azahriah three years ago, he was a niche artist performing at concerts before 1,500 people.

"I'm in the middle of this whole thing, and even I find it hard to explain what happened," Mr. Toth said. "People cheer for him like they cheer for Hungary's national football team."

Politics, however, have thwarted Azahriah's chances of representing his country in Europe's musical equivalent of the World Cup, the Eurovision Song Contest. The authorities, alarmed by Eurovision's reputation as Europe's biggest gay event, in 2020 ended Hungary's participation in the annual competition.

"It would have been great if I could have won Eurovision as a straight white man," Azahriah said.

David Sajo, the entertainment editor for Telex, a popular online Hungarian media outlet, said he was not a big fan himself, but he praised Azahriah for widening Hungary's musical horizons through his mixing of Afrobeat, Caribbean ska, Latin music and other genres that is "pretty basic and generic in the West, but unique here."

Mr. Sajo said Azahriah's big break really came in 2022 with a scandal that could have ended many other careers. After a concert at a provincial pancake festival, a video appeared online showing the artist having sex backstage with a female fan.

"Suddenly his name was everywhere day after day, in every gossip magazine, every mainstream newspaper and every internet site," Mr. Sajo said. "Before that, he was just another Gen-Z celebrity. After it, he became an A-list superstar for the whole country."

Azahriah said that the episode was embarrassing, but acknowledged that "it widened my popularity."

His most fervent fans are young women like Luca Szeles, 20, who is from a small town in northern Hungary and is studying to be a kindergarten teacher. She purchased tickets for all three of the recent concerts and slept on the sidewalk outside Puskas Arena to ensure she would be at the front of the line for entry at each one.

She said she relates to Azahriah like no other artist, even Taylor Swift, whom she also likes, because he sings about "real things in my own life" — like his reference in one song to growing up in Ujpalota.

She said she had watched his YouTube channel for years but became really hooked in 2021, when he released "Mind1," a doleful track performed with Desh. She was going through a difficult patch at home at the time, she recalled, and connected with the lyrics "every night you're waiting to see what tomorrow will bring, but you know everything is going to be the same anyway."

But his fans also include older people, too like Julia Bakos, 50, an economist, who attended a recent concert with her 10-year-old son. She said her musical tastes used to run to Depeche Mode and Hungaria, a Communist-era group, but she fell for Azahriah because he "has something for everyone" and constantly switches between genres and languages.

And unlike many stars, she said, "he seems like a decent person" who tries to reach across political and generational barriers.

During a recent concert, he told the audience that some fans would like him to talk more about politics, but he said that was not his job.

His occasional political interventions have avoided personal insults and mostly been driven by his disgust at what he described as Hungary's "warlike atmosphere" between bitterly antagonistic political camps.

"Musicians are not obliged to talk about politics," he said. "If you don't have anything to say, that is fine. But in a free country, it is not OK to stay silent because you are worried about hurting your career. We are not in Russia."

In February, he joined a chorus of public outrage over the pardoning of a man convicted of covering up pedophile abuse at a children's home. The Hungarian president, Katalin Novak, a close ally of Mr. Orban's, was forced to resign over the furor.

"There are certain issues that go way beyond a moral level that I can accept," he recalled.

A few of Mr. Orban's loyalists tried to discredit his intervention by reviving his own scandal and painting him as a sex abuser. But they quickly dropped that effort, which had only reinforced public support for the musician.

"Azahriah is one of the few people in Hungary who cannot be destroyed by Fidesz," said Mr. Sajo, the entertainment editor. "They know he is too popular to mess with."

Balazs Levai, a movie producer who is making a film about the artist, said that he had struggled to understand Azahriah's appeal and decided that "he is like a guy from a Hungarian fairy tale — somebody who comes from absolutely nowhere to become a hero for everyone."

With Oman's Aid, Sweden and Iran Exchange Prisoners in Breakthrough Swap

By MATINA STEVIS-GRIDNEFF and FARNAZ FASSIHI

BRUSSELS — Iran and Sweden exchanged prisoners on Saturday, breaking a logjam that brought relief to families but also raised concern about Sweden's decision to release the first-ever Iranian official to be convicted of crimes against humanity.

Iran released Johan Floderus, 33, a European Union diplomat and Swedish national, who was arrested in April 2022 in Tehran, as well as Saeed Azizi, a dual national arrested in 2023, the Swedish prime minister said.

"It is with pleasure that I can announce that Johan Floderus and Saeed Azizi are now on a plane home to Sweden, and will soon be reunited with their families," the prime minister, Ulf Kristersson, said on social media.

Mr. Floderus had been charged with espionage and corruption, and Mr. Azizi with "assembly and collusion against national security," charges they have both consistently denied and that human rights advocates have called fabricated.

In exchange, Sweden released Hamid Nouri, an Iranian judiciary official who had been sentenced to life in a Swedish court for torture, war crimes and the mass execution of 5,000 dissidents in 1988 who were sent to the gallows without trial.

Vivian Nereim contributed reporting.

The swap was coordinated with the help of Oman, according to a statement published by the Omani state news agency. The prisoners on both sides were taken there before traveling on to their home countries.

Upon landing in Tehran on Saturday, Mr. Nouri was greeted on the tarmac by several officials, a cleric and a floral wreath, state television showed. After some brief remarks about the case, he suddenly raised his voice saying he had a message for terrorists, opposition dissidents and Israel.

"I am Hamid Nouri, I am in Iran, I'm with my family," he shouted. "Where are you despicable people? You said even God cannot release Hamid Nouri, and see he did."

Iran has regularly exchanged prisoners with other countries, swapping dual nationals or foreigners for Iranians held in prisons for committing crimes in those countries. But Mr. Nouri's case was notable in that it was the first time an Iranian official had been convicted abroad for crimes committed inside Iran.

His conviction was also hailed at the time as a landmark legal case of trans-border justice in which war criminals can be arrested and convicted outside their own borders based on the principle of universal jurisdiction. Human rights lawyers said his case paved the way for charges against officials from places like Syria, Sudan and Russia who were accused of war crimes and crimes against humanity.



AMIRABBAS GHASEMI/MIZAN NEWS AGENCY, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Johan Floderus, center, in an Iranian courtroom last year. The Swedish national and diplomat was released on Saturday.

The news of the exchange was welcomed by the families of the Swedes, as well as senior officials closely following the cases.

"Delighted at the news that our Swedish colleague Johan Floderus and his compatriot Saeed Azizi have been released from unjustified Iranian custody," said the president of the European Commission, Ursula von der Leyen.

But the swap, particularly the release by Sweden of Mr. Nouri, also triggered anger and concern over rewarding Iran for its systematic arrest of foreign nationals on fabricated allegations, usually of espionage or other political crimes, in order to extract concessions from Western countries.

"This was an affront to justice," said Gissou Nia, the chairwoman of the Iran Human Rights Documentation Center in New Haven, Conn. "There has been a standing request for countries that have universal jurisdiction to open investigations into Iranian officials, including for the women-led protests." She was referring to the mass protests in 2022 that began with a young woman's death in the custody of the morality police after allegations that she violated the mandatory hijab rule.

Ms. Nia added, "It's horrible for victims of atrocity crimes in general," adding that it was also a disincentive for other countries to undertake complex and often costly cases under universal jurisdiction.

On Saturday, family members, both of those victims and of the dozens of others from around the world who remain in Iranian custody, were also outraged by the exchange, with many taking to social media to express their frustrations. Several of those still imprisoned, including Ahmadreza Djalali, a scientist on death row on murky charges of spying and aiding Israel in assassinating nuclear scientists, are Swedish citizens. Mr. Djalali has denied the charges against him.

Mr. Djalili's wife, Vida Mehrannia, said in a telephone interview that she was shocked when she heard from the news media of the exchange this morning and devastated that her husband had been left behind.

"The Swedish government abandoned my husband," she said. "If you are going to release a murderer with the blood of 5,000 people on his hands, you must demand the release of all Swedish citizens and all European citizens." She said her husband called her from prison today saying he had heard the news in the Iranian news media and was demoralized that Sweden had left him behind.

Richard Ratcliffe, whose wife, Nazanin Zaghari-Ratcliffe, a British-Iranian charity worker, spent six years in prison in Iran on false political charges, underscored the complexities of such swaps.

"I am really delighted for Johan and his family, and also Saeed," he said. "They didn't deserve any of this. But I am distraught for Ahmadreza and all the others left behind. Nothing about hostage diplomacy is fair."

For Iran, getting Mr. Nouri back from Sweden is a major coup.

Mr. Nouri was a judicial official at Gohardasht Prison near Tehran, where 5,000 people were executed in the 1988 purge. He prepared the list of names for a so-called death committee of three officials, which included the future president, Ebrahim Raisi. He also escorted the prisoners to the gallows.

He was lured to Sweden in 2019 by his former son-in-law in coordination with international law experts and the families of the victims. He was arrested upon landing in Stockholm under the doctrine of universal jurisdiction and subsequently found guilty of war crimes. He was sentenced to life in prison by a Swedish court in 2022 and was appealing his sentence at the time of his release.

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War in the Middle East

As War Drags On, Gazans Voice Their Distress Under Hamas

From Page 1

have said they wanted to ignite a permanent state of war with Israel on all fronts as a way to revive the Palestinian cause and knew that the Israeli response would be big.

Throughout the war, hints of dissent have broken through, sometimes even as Gazans were mourning loved ones killed by Israeli attacks. Others waited until they left the enclave to condemn Hamas — and even then were at times reluctant in case the group survives the war and continues to govern Gaza.

In March, the well-known Gaza photojournalist Motaz Azaiza caused a brief social media firestorm when he obliquely criticized Hamas after he left the territory. He was one of a handful of young local journalists who rose to international prominence early in the war for documenting the death and destruction on social media.

"If the death and hunger of their people do not make any difference to them," he wrote in an apparent reference to Hamas, "they do not need to make any difference to us. Cursed be everyone who trafficked in our blood, burned our hearts and homes, and ruined our lives."

Some Palestinians attacked him over the comments, and Mr. Azaiza felt compelled to defend himself publicly. But inside Gaza, many agreed that he was giving voice to a sentiment that had grown over the course of the war.

Gauging public opinion in Gaza was difficult even before the war began. For one, Hamas, which long controlled territory, perpetuated a culture of fear with its oppressive system of governance and exacted retribution against those who criticized it.

Now, polling has become even more difficult, with most of the 2.2 million Gazans displaced multiple times by the war, constant breakdowns in communications and constant Israeli military offensives.

Still, some recent surveys reflect the weak or mixed support in Gaza for Hamas and its leaders. In some cases, contradictory results underline the complications in surveying a transient population during the fog of war.

In March, a survey by the West Bank-based Institute for Social and Economic Progress asked Gazans how they felt about Hamas leaders. About three-quarters opposed Yahya Sinwar, the group's Gaza-based leader, and a similar share opposed Ismail Haniyeh, the movement's political leader in exile.

"When you realize six months in or seven months in that Gaza is completely destroyed, your life as a Gazan is completely destroyed, that's where people are coming from when they are not supportive of Sinwar or Haniyeh," said Obada Shtaya, a Palestinian and a founder of the Institute for Social and Economic Progress.

Other polls painted a more mixed picture. A poll conducted by the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research in Gaza and published this past week showed that support in Gaza for Hamas leaders is slightly higher, and that the share who are satisfied with Hamas leadership in the territory has risen since December.

But it also showed that support for Hamas continuing to govern the territory had declined slightly in the past three months.

Basem Naim, a Hamas spokesman, said that public support for Hamas in Gaza was no less than 50 percent. That includes Hamas members in Gaza — which he said numbered more than 100,000 — and their families.

"Are there people in Gaza who blame Hamas? Of course," he told The Times. "We aren't saying that 100 percent of Gaza residents are Hamas supporters or are happy with what happened," he added.

"In the end," he said, "this is a natural thing in societies that some people are for and some people are against. And we welcome this position."

Some of the nearly one dozen Gazans The Times spoke to about Hamas say this war has lasted longer than any previous conflict between Israel and an armed Palestinian faction in Gaza in part because Hamas seeks not only to survive, but to cling to power. And if it does, there is no guarantee that future wars with Israel will not plunge Gazans back into the same misery.

Hamas says it will not agree to any cease-fire deal with Israel that leads only to a temporary truce, wary that the war would restart once the Israeli hostages are freed. The group says it wants a permanent cease-fire.

Mr. Naim said that if Hamas had such low popularity numbers as a result of the war, then it should be left to elections that allow Palestinians to choose their representatives. But over the past decades, Palestinians in both Gaza and the Israeli-occupied West Bank have had few opportunities to express their voice in democratic elections.

The two territories are separated geographically, and while Hamas has governed Gaza for more than a decade, the more moderate Palestinian Authority administers some parts of the West Bank.

The Fatah party, a rival to Hamas, lost a legislative election to Hamas in 2006. The next year, Hamas fighters routed Fatah forces from Gaza and forcibly seized control of the territory. The political chasm between Hamas and Fatah has, in large part, hindered elections since then.

In 2021, Palestinian parliamentary elections were delayed indefinitely after Mahmoud Abbas of Fatah, the president of the Palestinian Authority, raised concerns about possible Israeli government constraints on the voting. However, there were also suggestions at the time that Mr. Abbas may have delayed because he was worried about Fatah losing ground.

Mr. Naim blamed Israel and the United States for disrupting past Palestinian elections.

One Gaza resident who in recent months fled to Egypt with her family said that she hears regularly from friends and family that they do not want the war to end before Hamas is defeated in Gaza. She said Hamas had prioritized its own aims over the well-being of the Palestinians they purport to defend and represent.

"They could have surrendered a long time ago and saved us from all this suffering," said the woman, who asked not to be named for fear of possible retribution if her criticism were made public.

Even for Palestinians who chafed under Hamas's iron grip on Gaza for over a decade, Oct. 7 gave them a feeling, at least initially, that this was a battle of liberation from Israeli occupation. Much of Gaza's population are either refugees or descendants of refugees who fled their homes in present-day Israel after they were expelled or forced to flee during the establishment of the Israeli state. They have never been allowed to return.

When Hamas attacked Israel, most Gazans supported that "form of resistance," said a 26-year-old lawyer from Gaza who also asked not to be named.

"But what we don't support is them continuing with this war when they have not accomplished any of the goals they set out to accomplish," the lawyer said. "This isn't resistance. This is insanity."

Hamas's stated goals for the attack touched mostly on broader Palestinian aspirations beyond Gaza's borders. And some residents of the territory have long felt that during each new round of war between Hamas and Israel, the group is seeking to raise its global profile and champion more universal Palestinian causes at the expense of ordinary Gazans.

One of Hamas's aims was to free Palestinian prisoners held by Israel, some of them from Gaza, but others from the West Bank and East Jerusalem. It also wanted to stop Israel from exerting increased control over Al Aqsa Mosque in the Old City of Jerusalem — one of Islam's holiest sites — and to stop the expansion of Jewish settlements in the occupied West Bank.

The more that Hamas pushed those objectives rather than ending the war quickly, Gazans said they felt other Palestinians were winning their freedom at their expense.

"I do not want to sacrifice my life, my home and house for anyone," Ameen Abed, a resident of Jabaliya in northern Gaza, said at the time of one of the prisoner releases.

"Who are you to impose this kind of life on me? My home has gone because someone's imprisonment will end after four months, why?" he said. "What did I benefit from?"

While Hamas and even the Israeli hostages were in the underground tunnels, he said, Gazans were above ground with no protection from Israeli and U.S.-made bombs dropped over their heads every day. That is an oft-heard complaint by Hamas's critics in Gaza.

"There is uncontrolled anger against Hamas," he said. "It threw the Palestinian people into the bottom of the well."



EYAD BABA/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES



MOHAMMED SALEM/REUTERS

Above, Palestinians in central Gaza on Wednesday. Recent polling suggests support for Hamas and its leaders, including, at left, Ismail Haniyeh, left, and Yahya Sinwar, has fallen in Gaza.

Raja Abdulrahim reported from Jerusalem, and Iyad Abuheweila from Istanbul.

8 Israeli Soldiers Killed in Southern Gaza

By AARON BOXERMAN

Eight Israeli soldiers were killed while riding in an armored vehicle in southern Gaza on Saturday, the Israeli military said, as the Israeli offensive in the southern city of Rafah continued to exact a toll among its troops.

The deaths occurred around 5:15 a.m. as Israeli troops operated in the northwest part of Tel al-Sultan, a neighborhood in western Rafah, the Israeli military said.

The soldiers — who belonged to the military's engineering corps — were riding in an armored vehicle when the blast occurred, the military said. An explosive device apparently damaged the vehicle, but may have also ignited munitions inside it, officials said, adding that the explosion was severe enough to make finding and identifying the bodies difficult.

Hamas, the Palestinian armed group, said in a statement its militants had fired anti-tank missiles at Israeli military vehicles in western Rafah, killing some soldiers.

Israel has fought for more than eight months in Gaza in the wake of the Hamas-led attack on Oct. 7, which killed roughly 1,200 in Israel — mostly civilians — and took some 250 others hostage. Over 36,000 people have been killed in Gaza since the start of the war, according to Palestinian health officials, who do not distinguish between combatants and civilians.

Hamas has fought a guerrilla war, resisting Israel's efforts to decisively defeat the organization, take down its leaders and bring back many of those abducted during the surprise Oct. 7 attack.

More than 300 Israeli soldiers have been killed since the Israeli ground invasion of Gaza began in late October. At the end of January, about 20 Israeli soldiers were killed as they prepared to demolish buildings inside Gaza near the border with Israel.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel publicly mourned the soldiers' deaths and called for Israel to remain committed to its military's goals of destroying Hamas, bringing home the hostages and "ensuring Gaza can no longer threaten Israel."

"There is no substitute for victory," Mr. Netanyahu said, adding, "Do not let anyone distract you from the simple and clear fact: We must remain dedicated to the war aims, despite the heavy and agonizing price."

Mr. Netanyahu has been criticized by parts of the Israeli public, the families of hostages held in Gaza and former security officials. Some believe only a settlement with Hamas will return the remaining living and dead captives; others have argued his failure to articulate a postwar alternative to Hamas has left the country trapped in a holding pattern in Gaza.

In the northern town of Beit Jann — populated by Arab Israelis who adhere to the Druze faith — residents mourned Waseem Mahmoud, one of the fallen soldiers. The Druze occupy an unusual middle ground in Israel: Arab practitioners of a minority religion who generally serve in Israel's military and security forces.

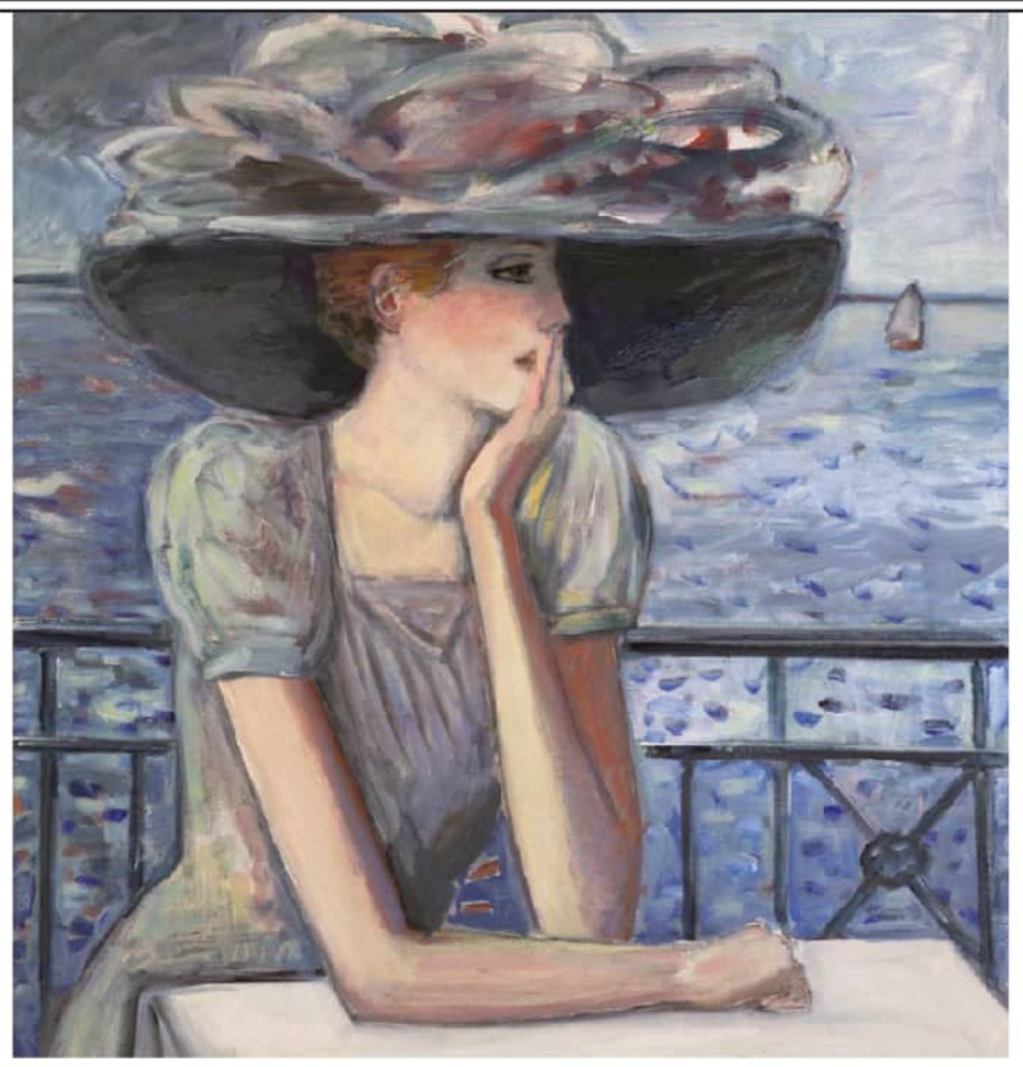
The town's residents had planned to observe Eid al-Adha, a holiday shared by both Muslims and Druze. But all of the public festivities were called off in light of the news, said Nazih Dabour, the town mayor.

"We can't bury our children and celebrate on the same day," said Mr. Dabour, who paid the family a condolence call on Saturday. "It's a huge tragedy for us."



BASHAR TALEB/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

The soldiers were killed in western Rafah, the Israeli military said.



SEASIDE SERENITY
JEAN-PIERRE CASSIGNEUL



Beloved master. Enchanting scene. Classical refinement. This original canvas, *L'air qu'on respire (The Air We Breathe)* by Jean-Pierre Cassigneul, embodies the carefree optimism of coastal life. The painting features an elegant woman gazing into the distance, demonstrating Cassigneul's renowned ability to blend contemporary and classic styles. Inspired by the world of haute couture, the artist's work has been exhibited internationally, captivating audiences worldwide. Oil on canvas. Signed "Cassigneul" (lower right). Canvas: 38¾"h x 31⅝"w. Frame: 49¼"h x 41⅞"w. #31-7511

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War in Ukraine



DANIEL BEREHULAK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ukrainians with the Azov battalion walking through the remnants of a Russian convoy in Bucha, Ukraine, in April 2022. Even as images from that city shocked the world, peace talks were occurring.

Ukraine and Russia Held Peace Talks Early in the War

This article is by Anton Troianovski, Adam Entous and Michael Schwirtz.

With Russia and Ukraine locked in their third year of all-out war, there is no clear path to military victory for either side. Nor are there immediate prospects for a cease-fire and an eventual peace plan, with both sides sticking to irreconcilable positions.

Yet the issues that would need to be tackled in any future peace settlement are evident, and in fact were at the center of negotiations two years ago that explored peace terms in remarkable detail.

Documents reviewed by The New York Times shed light on the points of disagreement that would have to be overcome.

The documents emerged from negotiating sessions that took place in the weeks after the start of the war, from February to April 2022. It was the only time that Ukrainian and Russian officials are known to have engaged in direct peace talks.

The talks failed as both sides dug in on the battlefield, but not before negotiators produced multiple drafts of a treaty that was supposed to guarantee Ukraine's future security while fulfilling some of President Vladimir V. Putin's demands.

Today, even with hundreds of thousands dead and wounded, Moscow and Kyiv appear further from peace than at any other time since the full-scale invasion. On Friday, Mr. Putin said Russia would agree to a cease-fire only if Ukraine handed over four regions the Kremlin has declared part of Russia and dropped its NATO aspirations. It was essentially a demand for capitulation, which the Ukrainian government immediately denounced.

Ukraine's current demands — a withdrawal of all Russian forces from Ukrainian territory — also appear unrealistic given Mr. Putin's apparent resolve and his army's current advantages. This includes the Crimean Peninsula, which Mr. Putin annexed in 2014 in a swift operation that he considers central to his legacy.

But at some point, both sides could return to the negotiating table again — a scenario that is expected to be discussed as Ukraine gathered scores of countries, though not Russia, for a peace conference in Switzerland this weekend. If and when Ukraine and Russia resume direct negotiations, the issues raised in the documents produced at the start of the war, including the status of occupied Ukrainian territories and Ukraine's future security guarantees, would remain relevant.

An examination of the documents shows that the two sides clashed over issues including weapons levels, the terms of Ukraine's potential membership in the European Union, and specific Ukrainian laws on language and culture that Russia wanted repealed. Ukraine's negotiators offered to forgo NATO membership, and to accept Russian occupation of parts of their territory. But they refused to recognize Russian sovereignty over them.

Russia, stunned by the fierce resistance Ukraine was putting up, seemed open to such a deal, but eventually balked at its critical component: an arrangement binding other countries to come to Ukraine's defense if it were ever attacked again.

Reporting was contributed by Andrew E. Kramer, Julian E. Barnes, Oleg Matsnev and Maria Varenikova.

At the time, little about these peace negotiations was known, and what has leaked out in the two years since has been shoehorned into wartime talking points by each side. Mr. Putin contends the West pressured Ukraine to reject a peace deal; Ukraine's Foreign Ministry says that "if Russia wanted peace in 2022, why had it attacked Ukraine in the first place?"

The Times is publishing the documents it obtained in full. They are treaty drafts dated March 17 and April 15, 2022, showing the two sides' competing proposals and points of agreement; and a private "communiqué" at in-person talks in Istanbul on March 29 that summarized the proposed deal.

The documents were provided by Ukrainian, Russian and European sources, and confirmed as authentic by participants in the talks and other people close to them. Some aspects of these documents have emerged, but most of the material has not been previously disclosed.

In addition to reviewing the documents, The Times spent months interviewing more than a dozen Ukrainian, Russian and Western current and former officials and others close to the talks; they include three members of Ukraine's negotiating team. Many spoke on the condition of anonymity because they were not authorized to discuss the negotiations.

"We managed to find a very real compromise," Oleksandr Chalyi, a member of the Ukrainian negotiating team, said at a panel discussion in Geneva last December. "We were very close in the middle of April, in the end of April, to finalize our war with some peaceful settlement."

The Talks Begin

On Feb. 28, 2022, aides to Poland's president met a group of senior Ukrainian officials at the border and ferried them by helicopter to a military base near Belarus. The Ukrainians then entered Belarus on their own and met a delegation of Russians led by an adviser to Mr. Putin, Vladimir Medinsky.

It was an unusual moment in the history of warfare: the start of direct talks between the invaders and the invaded, just days after Europe's biggest war of aggression in three generations had begun.

Some of the Ukrainian negotiators who spoke to The Times thought that Mr. Putin had come to the table so quickly because he never expected his army to stumble so spectacularly. But as far as they could tell, the Russians sitting across from them had little sense of how badly their troops were doing.

When Oleksii Reznikov, the Ukrainian defense minister at the time, said his side had tallied 3,000 Russian soldiers killed in action, Mr. Medinsky appeared surprised and looked over at the top Russian military official at the table.

"No, we only have 80 soldiers" killed, the military official, Aleksandr Fomin, said, Mr. Reznikov recalled.

The negotiators soon shifted to video calls, with the Ukrainians dialing in from a conference room at President Volodymyr Zelensky's offices, Ukrainian negotiators said, or, a few times, from an underground bunker.

Ukraine made a significant concession: It was ready to become a "permanently neutral state" that would never join NATO or allow foreign forces to be based on its soil. The offer seemed to address Mr. Putin's core grievance — that the West, in the Kremlin's narrative, was trying to use Ukraine to destroy Russia.



MURAT CETINMUHURDAR/TURKISH PRESIDENTIAL FRESS SERVICE, VIA AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

President Recep Tayyip Erdogan of Turkey, center, meeting Russian and Ukrainian delegations in Istanbul in March 2022, in a photograph handed out by the Turkish government. Here, Ukraine drafted the Istanbul Communiqué.

An Early Draft

Though the two sides engaged in regular video sessions after meeting in Belarus, a treaty draft dated March 17 shows how far apart they remained. The Times reviewed an English-language version that Ukraine provided to Western governments.

Ukraine sought Russia's assent to international "security guarantees," by which other countries — including Ukrainian allies who would also sign the agreement — would come to its defense should it be attacked again. It wanted the treaty to apply to Ukraine's "internationally recognized borders," even as Russian troops were still trying to take Kyiv.

The Russian team wanted Ukraine and every other treaty signatory to cancel the sanctions against Moscow they had been levying since 2014 and to publicly call on other countries to do the same. Ukraine was to cede its entire eastern Donbas region and recognize Crimea as part of Russia. A seven-point list targeted Ukraine's national identity, including a ban on naming places after Ukrainian independence fighters.

The latter demand illustrated one of Mr. Putin's stated rationales for going to war: He had described Ukraine as an artificial country that should be considered part of Russia.

The draft included limits on the size of the Ukrainian armed forces and the number of tanks, artillery batteries, warships and combat aircraft the country could have in its arsenal. The Ukrainians were prepared to accept such caps, but sought much higher limits.

A former senior U.S. official who was briefed on the negotiations, noting how Russian forces were being repelled across northern Ukraine, said Mr. Putin seemed to be "salivating" at the deal.

American officials were alarmed at the terms. In meetings with their Ukrainian counterparts, the senior official recalled, "We quietly said, 'You understand this is unilateral disarmament, right?'"

Leaders in Poland — early and strong supporters of Ukraine — feared that Germany or France might try to persuade the Ukrainians to accept Russia's terms, according to a European diplomat, and wanted to prevent that from happening.

To that end, when Poland's president, Andrzej Duda, met with NATO leaders in Brussels on March 24, he held up the March 17 text, said the diplomat, who was present.

"Which of you would sign it?" Mr. Duda asked his counterparts, the diplomat said.

None of the NATO leaders spoke up.

A Breakthrough in Istanbul?

A few days later, on March 29, Russia and Ukraine's representatives met at an Istanbul palace on the Bosporus. To some, the talks felt like a breakthrough driven by Russia's battlefield struggles.

After each military setback, a member of Ukraine's negotiating team said, Mr. Putin "reduced his demands."

In Istanbul, the Russians seemed to endorse Ukraine's model of neutrality and security guarantees and put less emphasis on their territorial demands. Afterward, Mr. Medinsky, Russia's lead negotiator, said Ukraine's offer of neutrality meant it was "ready to fulfill those principal demands that Russia insisted on for all the past years."

Ukraine summarized the proposed deal in a two-page document it called the Istanbul Communiqué, which it never published. The status of Crimea was to be decided over a 10- or 15-year period, with Ukraine promising not to try to retake the peninsula by force; Mr. Zelensky and Mr. Putin would meet in person to finalize a peace treaty and strike a deal on how much Ukrainian territory Russia would continue to occupy.

The communiqué, provided to The Times by a Ukrainian negotiator, described a mechanism in which other countries would intervene militarily if Ukraine were attacked again — a concept that the Ukrainians pointedly designated as Article 5, a reference to the mutual defense agreement in Article 5 of the NATO treaty.

But Russian officials sent mixed signals in public on whether the Kremlin was really ready to sign onto the deal. The Russians and Ukrainians returned to hourslong negotiating sessions by video call, exchanging treaty drafts via WhatsApp, negotiators said.

'The Boss'

In early April, after Russia withdrew from the outskirts of Kyiv, images of massacred civilians in the suburb of Bucha, some with their hands tied with white cloth, shocked the world. For Ukrainians, the idea that their country could strike a compromise with Russia seemed more remote than ever.

But Mr. Zelensky, visiting Bucha on April 4, said the talks would go on, even as Russia dismissed the Bucha atrocities as a staged "provocation."

"Colleagues, I spoke to RA," Ukraine's lead negotiator, Davyd Arakhamia, wrote on April 10 in a WhatsApp message to the Ukrainian team. "He spoke yesterday for an hour and a half with his boss."

"RA" was Roman Abramovich, the Russian billionaire who played a behind-the-scenes role in the talks. His "boss," Mr. Putin, was urging the negotiators to concentrate on the key issues and work through them quickly, Mr. Arakhamia wrote. (A member of the WhatsApp group showed that message and others to reporters for The Times.)

A spokesperson for Mr. Abramovich said his role "was limited to introducing representatives from both parties to each other" and that following that initial stage, he "was not involved in the process."

Mr. Arakhamia's message suggested that Mr. Putin was micromanaging not only Russia's invasion, but also its peace talks. At another point, Russia's lead negotiator, Mr. Medinsky, interrupted a video conference by claiming that Mr. Putin was phoning him directly.

"The boss is calling," Mr. Medinsky said, according to two Ukrainian negotiators.

Mr. Putin's involvement and intentions during the 2022 talks were subjects of debate in Kyiv and Washington, Ukrainian and American officials said. Was he truly interested in a deal? Or was he merely trying to bog Ukraine down while his troops regrouped?

"We didn't know if Putin was serious," said the former senior U.S. official. "We couldn't tell, on either side of the fence, whether these people who were talking were empowered."

One Ukrainian negotiator said he believed the negotiations were a bluff on Mr. Putin's part, but two others described them as serious.

On April 15, five days after Mr. Abramovich told the Ukrainians about his meeting with Mr. Putin, the Russian negotiators sent a 17-page draft treaty to their president's desk.

Obstacles

Similar to the month-earlier version, the April 15 draft includes text in red highlighting issues in dispute. But such markings are almost entirely absent from the treaty's first pages, where points of agreement emerged.

Negotiators agreed that Ukraine would declare itself permanently neutral, though it would be allowed to join the European Union.

Much of the treaty would "not apply" to Crimea and another to-be-determined

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DANIEL BEREHULAK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



SERGEI KHODODILIN/BELTA NEWS AGENCY, VIA EPA/SHUTTERSTOCK



SERGEI GUNEYEV/SPUTNIK, VIA AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Top, volunteers loaded bodies into a truck to be taken for forensic investigation in April 2022 in Bucha, Ukraine. Above left, a photograph handed out by the Belarusian government of Oleksii Reznikov, the Ukrainian defense minister, left, and Vladimir Medinsky, a Russian presidential aide, right, before Russia-Ukraine negotiations in February 2022. Above right, Vladimir V. Putin at the Kremlin this month, in a photograph distributed by the Russian government.

Sticking Points That Kept The Two Countries Apart

By ANTON TROIANOVSKI and MICHAEL SCHWIRTZ

Russia and Ukraine failed to agree on a range of critical issues when they held peace talks in the spring of 2022. Documents from those talks obtained by The New York Times shed new light on what those issues were — and what are likely to be the main sticking points in any future negotiations to end Europe's biggest land war in generations.

President Vladimir V. Putin has repeatedly referred to the 2022 talks as a foundation for any future deal, though many Ukrainian and Western officials doubt that Russia would be willing to settle for anything less than the full subjugation of Ukraine.

Ukraine Neutrality

Ukraine's efforts to join NATO were at the core of Mr. Putin's justifications for invading the country in February 2022.

RUSSIA DEMANDED that Ukraine never join NATO or other alliances; host foreign military bases or weapons; or conduct military exercises with other countries without its consent. In the 2022 talks, Russia pledged not to stand in the way of Ukraine's possible membership in the European Union.

UKRAINE OFFERED to become a "permanently neutral state" and to "terminate international treaties and agreements that are incompatible with permanent neutrality." But in the two years since, Ukraine's leaders have become more vocal about seeking to join the Western military alliance as Russia's war has continued.

Security Against Another Attack

Pledges from other countries to protect Ukraine if Russia mounted another invasion are bound to be at the center of any durable peace, some experts say.

UKRAINE PROPOSED a security mechanism that would be triggered "in the event of an armed attack on Ukraine." The "guarantor" countries that signed on to the treaty would hold "urgent and immediate consultations" for no more than three days. Then, they would take "individual or joint action as may be necessary" to protect Ukraine, including establishing a no-fly zone, providing weapons and using military force.

RUSSIA AGREED to much of Ukraine's proposal but with key exceptions. It balked at the idea of other countries establishing a no-fly zone or providing Ukraine with weapons. Most important, Russia sought to insert a clause that would require all guarantor countries — including Russia itself — to agree on military intervention. The idea stands as perhaps the most intractable sticking point in the draft, rendering the security guarantees moot by allowing Russia to veto any international response.

Remaining Russian Occupation

For Ukraine, a peace deal would be likely to come at the expense of accepting Russian control over some part of its territory.

UKRAINE REFUSED to recognize Russian control over any of the country, including Crimea, which Russia illegally annexed in 2014. But Ukraine did offer a deal in which the two countries would agree to "resolve issues related to Crimea" through 10 or 15 years of diplomacy, and would pledge to avoid doing so by "military means."

Ukraine appeared ready to accept some swath of the country's east also remaining under Russian occupation. Mr. Zelensky's position has since hardened. He says Ukraine is fighting to liberate all internationally recognized territory, including Crimea, under Russian control.

RUSSIA'S STANCE has also fluctuated. At the outset of the 2022 negotiations, Russia demanded that Ukraine give up its entire eastern Donbas region and recognize Russian sovereignty over Crimea. By April, Russia had accepted a model in which Crimea and a swath of Ukraine would remain under Russian occupation that Ukraine would not recognize as being legal.

Now, however, Russia's territorial demands appear more extreme. In September 2022, Mr. Putin declared four Ukrainian regions, in addition to Crimea, to be part of Russia, even though Ukraine still controlled most of that territory. Russian officials have said that any negotiations should be based on "the realities on the ground," suggesting that Moscow would insist on keeping the territory its troops have captured.

How Would a Cease-fire Work?

The logistics of how to put a truce into effect are likely to pose one of the most difficult challenges of any negotiations.

RUSSIA SAID, in an annex to the April 2022 draft, that a cease-fire would begin when the treaty was "provisionally applied" — defined as the day it was signed by Ukraine, Russia and most of the guarantor countries. Both sides would not "carry out actions that could lead to the expansion of the territory controlled by them or cause a resumption of hostilities."

Under Russia's proposed terms, Moscow's troops would have more flexibility in withdrawing from the battlefield. While Ukraine would be required to withdraw immediately, Russia's withdrawal would be the subject of separate "consultations."

UKRAINE REJECTED that proposal, but the April 2022 draft does not show a counteroffer. Instead, Ukrainian officials pointed out that Russia could stop fighting at any time. A note inserted by Ukrainian officials into the March 2022 treaty draft says: "The Russian side has ignored Ukraine's numerous requests for a ceasefire."

Limits on Ukraine's Military

Mr. Putin also called for Ukraine's "demilitarization" when he announced his invasion on Feb. 24, 2022.

RUSSIA SOUGHT caps on the size of Ukraine's military, including its total strength (up to 100,000 people), and the quantity of different types of weapons it would have — 147 mortars and 10 combat helicopters, for example. It also wanted the firing range of Ukraine's missiles to be restricted to just 25 miles.

UKRAINE WAS WILLING to accept caps on the size of its military, but a much higher one. It sought an army of up to 250,000 people, 1,080 mortars and 60 combat helicopters. And it offered to restrict the range of its missiles to 174 miles. But that was before Ukraine began to receive arms, equipment and training from the West. Ukrainian officials point out that Ukraine's military is now one of the most powerful in Europe, and it is unlikely that they would accept limits on the country's ability to defend itself.

swath of Ukraine — meaning that Kyiv would accept Russian occupation of part of its territory without recognizing Russian sovereignty over it.

But crucial sticking points remained. Russia wanted the firing range of Ukraine's missiles to be limited to 25 miles, while Ukraine wanted 174 miles — enough to hit targets across Crimea. Russia still wanted Ukraine to repeal laws related to language and national identity, and to pull back Ukrainian troops as part of a cease-fire.

The biggest problem, however, came in Article 5. It stated that, in the event of another armed attack on Ukraine, the "guarantor states" that would sign the treaty — Britain, China, Russia, the United States and France — would come to Ukraine's defense.

To the Ukrainians' dismay, there was a crucial departure from what Ukrainian negotiators said was discussed in Istanbul. Russia inserted a clause saying that all guarantor states, including Russia, had to approve the response if Ukraine were attacked. In effect, Moscow could invade Ukraine again and then veto any military intervention on Ukraine's behalf — a seemingly absurd condition that Kyiv quickly identified as a dealbreaker.

With that change, a member of the Ukrainian negotiating team said, "we had no interest in continuing the talks."

What Now?

Two years later, there are still no signs that Russia and Ukraine might return to the negotiating table. At a Swiss resort this weekend, Mr. Zelensky will seek to persuade dignitaries from about 100 countries and organizations, including Vice President Kamala Harris, that victory remains realistic.

Russia is not invited, and China, its most powerful partner, opted not to attend. Mr. Zelensky has pledged to keep fighting, describing his peace plan as one in which Russia withdraws from all of Ukraine's territory, pays reparations and is punished for war crimes.

"If we don't make progress this year, then we will try again next year," Mr. Zelensky privately told a European counterpart recently, according to a European diplomat who was present. "And if we don't make progress next year, we will try again the following year, and the one after that."

Mr. Putin in recent months stepped up efforts to stoke Western divisions by portraying peace as having been within reach in 2022 — and saying he was prepared to restart those talks. Ukraine's leaders have dismissed Mr. Putin's statements on the subject as deception.

"Putin is a habitual liar, and his recent rants are no exception," Ukraine's foreign ministry said in a statement.

Mr. Putin shifted to a harder line on Friday, insisting that he would order a cease-fire and negotiate only if Ukraine withdrew from the four regions that Moscow has claimed as its own and dropped its aspirations to join NATO.

Even before Mr. Putin's latest demand, experts said it was hard to imagine going back to the kind of deal discussed in 2022. Ukraine is more determined than ever to join NATO, a message it will reinforce when leaders of the alliance meet in Washington next month.

Instead, the more likely end to the fighting could be an uneasy truce. Marc Weller, a Cambridge international law professor who specializes in peace negotiations, said he expected leading Western countries to focus on defending Ukraine's future battle line with Russia "rather than seek accommodation across it."

"The Iron Curtain will now fall on the line of occupation administered by the Russians across Ukraine," Mr. Weller said.

Ukraine Hosts Peace Negotiations in Switzerland, Though Russia Isn't Invited

This article is by Zolan Kanno-Youngs, Anton Troianovski and Andrew E. Kramer.

OBBÜRGEN, Switzerland — President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine played the starring role at a peace conference in Switzerland on Saturday aimed at shoring up support for Ukraine's negotiating positions in its war with Russia with the backing of as many nations as possible.

But some countries questioned the value of peace talks that did not involve negotiations between the warring sides.

"There is no Russia here," Mr. Zelensky said, explaining to dozens of world leaders gathering at an Alpine resort why Russia was not invited to the meeting. "Why? Because if Russia was interested in peace, there would be no war."

The two-day conference, which was attended by Vice President Kamala Harris, has emerged as his highest-profile effort to bring countries beyond Europe and North America onboard with his vision for ending the war: a peace plan that would involve Russia withdrawing from all of Ukraine, paying reparations and facing justice for war crimes.

Before the long-anticipated meeting — which Switzerland said would be attended by 57 heads of state and government — numerous non-Western countries balked at endorsing Mr. Zelensky's full peace plan. So Mr. Zelensky and the summit's Swiss hosts decided to focus on three elements around which they hoped to find wide common ground: nuclear safety, food security and humanitarian issues like exchanging prisoners of war and returning Ukrainian children unlawfully taken to Russia.

"I'm here to stand with Ukraine and leaders from around the world in support of a just and lasting peace," Ms. Harris said at the start of a meeting with Mr. Zelensky before the larger summit. "The United States is committed to helping Ukraine rebuild."

However, Russia's absence emerged as a flashpoint. Prince Faisal bin Farhan, the foreign minister of Saudi Arabia, told the gathering at the Bürgenstock resort near Lucerne that "any credible process will require Russia's participation."

Later, Hakan Fidan, the Turkish foreign minister, said, "This summit could have been more result oriented if the other party to the conflict — Russia — was present in the room."

Viola Amherd, the Swiss president, acknowledged that "a peace process without Russia is inconceivable." She added that the conference would also address "how and under what conditions Russia can be included in this process."

The summit will continue on Sunday. Any joint statement that emerges will be scrutinized for hints on the direction of future talks and Russia's involvement.

China — the country widely seen as having the most influence on Russia — skipped the conference. Brazil did not send a high-level delegation. Both countries are backing their own negotiating proposals, insisting that Russia and Ukraine need to negotiate directly.

"You don't negotiate with your friends," Celso Amorim, the chief foreign policy adviser to President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva of Brazil, said in an interview. "You negotiate with your adversaries."

Mr. Amorim, who was in nearby Geneva for a United Nations trade conference, added that peace talks not involving Russia were futile.



POOL PHOTO BY MICHAEL BUHOLZER/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine, center, arriving in Switzerland on Friday for a weekend peace conference at an Alpine resort near Lucerne.

"I'm not defending one side or the other, but I, for one, am very clear that nothing will come from this meeting in Switzerland," he said. "I respect the intentions, but it's obvious that nothing will happen."

Mr. Zelensky has said Ukraine's intention is to negotiate with Russia collectively — after building consensus among Kyiv's allies and as many neutral nations as possible. He said on Saturday that once those countries agree on an "action plan" to end the war, "it will be communicated to the representatives of Russia" at a second conference that it would be invited to attend.

"At the second peace summit, we can fix the real end of the war," he said. "Now, we are starting this path together."

Jake Sullivan, Mr. Biden's national security adviser, told reporters at the summit that Ukraine has indicated "this war must ultimately end in negotiation." But he said Mr. Zelensky was focused on developing unified principles for peace with allies rather than specifying conditions for bringing Russia to the negotiating table.

"There's not some secret conversation happening where he's got a blueprint for an end to the war," Mr. Sullivan said.

On Friday, President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia offered his own cease-fire plan, calling for Ukraine to cede territory and for Western nations to lift their sanctions. Ukraine and its allies denounced Mr. Putin's suggestion as intended to undermine this weekend's talks.

"He is not calling for negotiations," Ms. Harris said at the summit. "He is calling for surrender."

President Biden, who has already traveled to Europe twice in recent weeks, for a D-Day memorial and a Group of 7 summit, skipped the gathering.

As Ms. Harris entered the conference, she echoed Mr. Zelensky's agenda by announcing that the United States would provide $500 million in new financing to repair Ukraine's energy infrastructure. She also said the United States would provide $379 million for refugees and displaced people in Ukraine.

Ms. Harris planned to leave for Washington on Saturday evening, but Mr. Sullivan said he will stay to discuss ways to support the nuclear, energy and food security for Ukraine.

China has said that 45 countries "responded positively" to the Brazilian and Chinese proposal for talks, without naming the countries. Mr. Amorim, the presidential adviser from Brazil, said that he had no precise information about how many or which countries supported the proposal, but that the participation of China, as the country with the most influence over Russia, was key.

Oleksii Polegkyi, academic director of the Center for Public Diplomacy in Ukraine, said in an interview on Ukrainian television news on Thursday that Kyiv's strategy for the summit could end up being a diplomatic misstep.

But Maria Zolkina, director of conflict studies at the Democratic Initiatives Foundation, a nongovernmental group, said the value to Ukraine of the gathering was broader than just a formal effort to shore up support for Kyiv's peace plan.

The effort is helping promote Ukraine's vision of a postwar order in Eastern Europe that would prevent Russian expansionism, she said, adding that Ukraine wanted to muster support for negotiations on its terms, "not to start from Chinese, Russian or someone else's proposals."

Zolan Kanno-Youngs and Anton Troianovski reported from Obbürgen, Switzerland, and Andrew E. Kramer from Kyiv, Ukraine. Maria Varenikova contributed reporting from Kyiv, Jack Nicas from Rio de Janeiro, and Safak Timur from Istanbul. Anastasia Kuznietsova also contributed reporting.

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New Symbol for Venezuela's Opposition: 'Freedom Empanadas'

From Page 1

duro, isn't even running, but she is capitalizing on her popularity to campaign alongside and on behalf of the leading opposition presidential candidate.

And everywhere she goes on the campaign trail, the people who help her are harassed by the authorities. In recent weeks, those targeted included six sound equipment operators working a rally, a truck driver retrieving supplies at campaign event in Caracas and four men with canoes who provided transportation in an impoverished Venezuelan outpost.

Some people have been detained for hours, they said in interviews, dragged in to a notorious detention center known as the Helicoide. Others have had equipment seized and businesses shuttered, stripping them of their livelihoods.

"Those days we had nothing to eat," said the truck driver, Francisco Ecceso, of the 47 days he said his vehicle was held by the police.

For opposition figures and analysts following the decline of the country's democracy in recent years, such petty persecutions are clear signs that the government is seeking new ways to suppress the opposition and put its power on display.

Whatever the motivation, there is widespread agreement that the vote, scheduled for July 28, poses the biggest electoral challenge to Mr. Maduro's 11-year hold on power.

For the first time in years, the opposition is united around a single figure — Ms. Machado — who has widespread voter support. When Mr. Maduro's government barred her from running, her coalition managed to get a surrogate on the ballot, a soft-spoken former diplomat named Edmundo González.

Donations to two sisters roll in after a video spreads online.

Polls show that a majority of Venezuelans plan to vote for Mr. González, and that they are frustrated by widespread hunger, poverty and soaring levels of migration, which have forced families apart.

The Hernández sisters operate their restaurant, Pancho Grill, in the small town of Corozo Pando, a five-hour drive south of Caracas, in one of the poorest parts of the country. In all, there are five Hernández siblings — four sisters and a brother — and two of them, Corina and Elys, operate the restaurant, along with their aunt Nazareth.

Here, following an economic crisis that began around 2015, people who once held decent jobs now make a living searching for junk to sell, and mothers have resorted to hunting small pig-like báquiros and rodents known locally as picures to feed their children.

The Hernández family has run Pancho Grill for 20 years, selling breakfasts of pulled beef, eggs, beans and corn cakes called arepas to those who can afford them.

Empanadas, a staple of the Venezuelan diet, come fried and crunchy, piping hot from the pan, stuffed with cheese, beef or chicken and served with a generous portion of ají dulce salsa — made with the country's preferred red pepper — on the side.

Their work space bears the scars of the economic tailspin: Rust coats the kitchen because of a ceiling leak, the refrigerators are broken, and extended power outages mean the Hernández women often work in the dark.

In late May, Ms. Machado stopped at Pancho Grill with her team in between campaign events, buying breakfast and posing for pictures with the Hernández family.

But the opposition leader had barely left when the sisters received new visitors: two tax regulators and a National Guardsman, who said they were temporarily shutting the business down.

The sisters had failed to keep accounting books or declare their earnings, among other issues, the officials told them.

The sisters did not dispute these accusations. But in their two decades in operation, they had never received a visit from the tax agency, they said. And in a region where such infractions are commonplace, no one else in town was inspected that day.

The Hernández family was told the restaurant would be shut down for 15 days.

Representatives from the tax agency did not respond to an email asking for comment.

Initially, the Hernández sisters were devastated. But they had filmed their interaction with the regulators, and sent it to one of their daughters. The young woman decided she might as well share the family's experience with a few friends.

The video spread quickly online, and soon, outraged supporters were visiting the restaurant as if making a pilgrimage. Donations appeared at the door: spices to season empanada fillings, a 33-pound bag of corn flour. Then funds began rolling in from Colombia, Brazil, Mexico and even as far as Germany.

Many people submitted orders for empanadas, along with instructions for the family to distribute them among needy locals.

At her restaurant recently, Corina Hernández mused that Ms. Machado might have been sent to them by God himself. Government retaliation had, paradoxically, become a blessing.

"Our lives changed after María Corina arrived to buy our empanadas," she said. "Everything got better."

After the 15-day closure, the sisters reopened the restaurant and paid a $350 fine with help from their new supporters, they said. Ms. Hernández said that she had not voted since 2006, when she cast her ballot for Hugo Chávez, Mr. Maduro's predecessor. (Mr. Maduro was Mr. Chávez's handpicked choice to succeed him as president.)

But now, she said, the penalty from the tax authorities had convinced her that she had to show up on July 28, this time to vote for the opposition.

Though the Hernández family is back in business, not everyone who has had run-ins with the government has been so fortunate.

The six sound operators spent hours in detention, terrified that they'd be locked up for years, one of the men said in an interview. In the state of Zulia, on the country's western edge, hotels that had hosted Ms. Machado's team now have "closed" signs posted on their doors.

Employees at one said that the establishment had lost significant money after it was forced to cancel First Communion celebrations slated for its two restaurants.

A five-hour drive south of Pancho Grill, in the state of Apure, a wooden boat that was confiscated by the authorities sits upside down on a beach next to a National Guard command station.

Days earlier, Ms. Machado had arrived in the town of Puerto Páez, Apure. Local organizers had passed through the streets with megaphones to announce her presence, and townspeople had affixed yellow balloons to a truck, which she later used as a platform from which to address voters. The streets overflowed with people.

The next day, four boatmen with motorized canoes agreed to ferry Ms. Machado and her team toward their next campaign stop. The boats were confiscated shortly after, according to interviews with three of the boatmen, and the National Guard later visited one of their homes. There, two Guardsmen told a boatman's wife that they had come with "orders from the bosses in Caracas" and sought to arrest her husband.

He wasn't home, because he had gone into hiding. Now, the boatmen move from house to house, sleeping in a different place each night.

Representatives for the National Guard did not respond to an email requesting comment.

But the wife, who asked not to be named for fear of further retaliation, said that the decision her husband had made to transport Ms. Machado was the right one. "I don't regret it," she said.

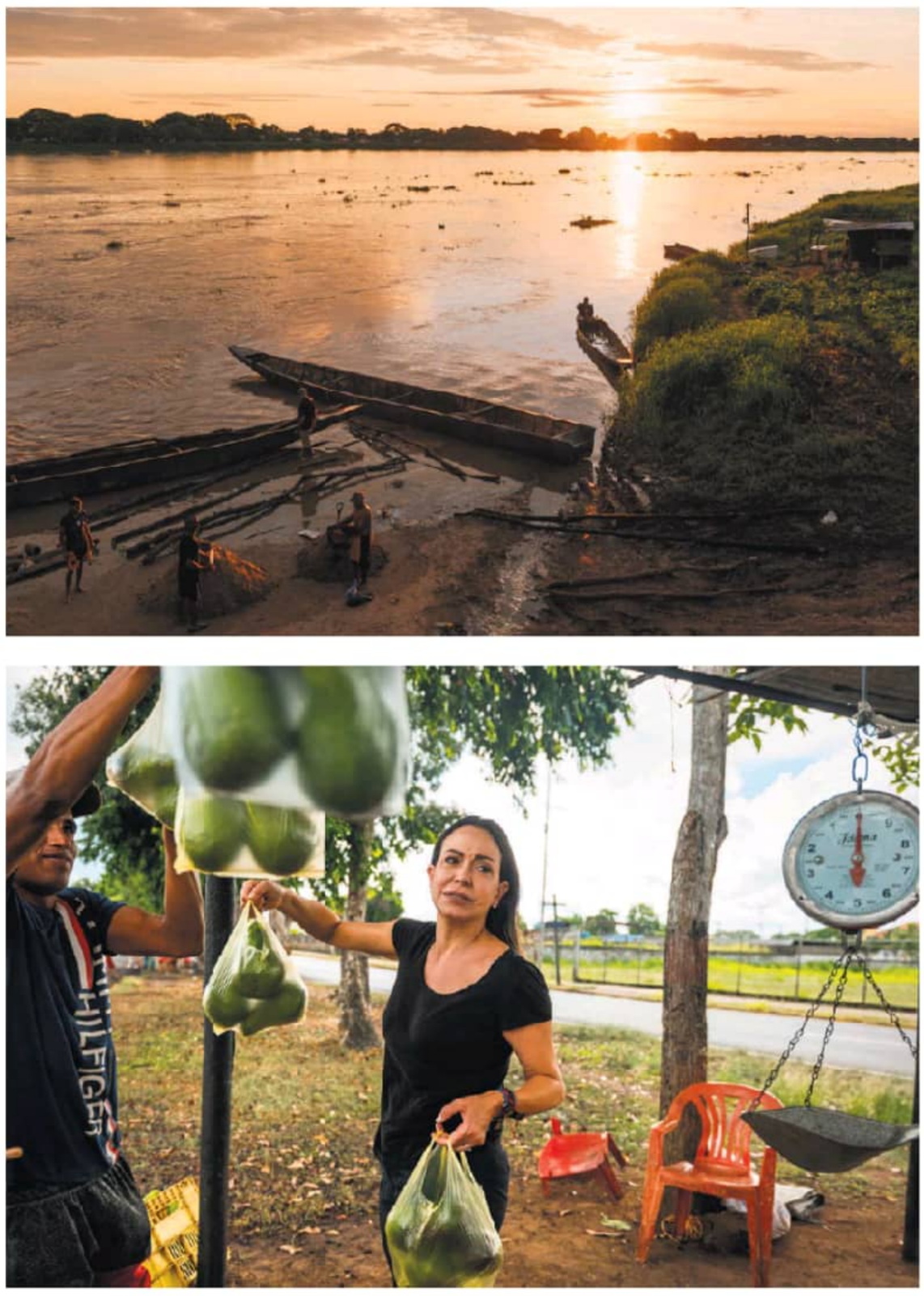
"I have faith in God that she is going to win," she said of Ms. Machado, whom many voters recognize as the true political force behind Mr. González, "and that everything is going to change."

Isayen Herrera and Sheyla Urdaneta reported from the states of Guárico, Apure and Zulia in Venezuela, and Julie Turkewitz from Bogotá, Colombia.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY ADRIANA LOUREIRO FERNANDEZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Corina Hernández, above left, and Nazareth Hernández making empanadas in their restaurant in Corozo Pando, Venezuela. The Apure River, left. María Corina Machado, an opposition leader, at a campaign stop last year in Maturín, Venezuela, below left.





THE NEW YORK TIMES

Princess Appears in Public For First Time Since Diagnosis

By STEPHEN CASTLE

LONDON — Catherine, Princess of Wales, appeared in public on Saturday for the first time since her cancer diagnosis, smiling while riding in a carriage with her three children as she took part in a ceremonial parade to celebrate the birthday of her father-in-law, King Charles III.

Crowds gathered in central London to watch as the princess and her family participated in an event full of military tradition, music and pageantry, dampened only slightly by a light rain that turned into a downpour as the ceremonies concluded.

Her appearance was welcomed as a sign of improvement in her condition and a significant moment for the British royal family, which suffered another blow this year when King Charles announced that he, too, had cancer.

However, when announcing late on Friday that she was well enough to attend the events on Saturday, the princess made it clear that her recovery still had some way to go.

"I am making good progress, but as anyone going through chemotherapy will know, there are good days and bad days," Catherine, 42, said in a statement released to the news media. "On those bad days you feel weak, tired and you have to give in to your body resting," she added. "But on the good days, when you feel stronger, you want to make the most of feeling well."

Catherine rode with her three children — Prince George, Princess Charlotte and Prince Louis — in a state carriage to watch the military parade. She waved occasionally on the short carriage ride before moving to watch the ceremony from an indoor vantage point. Later, there were cheers from the crowd when she appeared on the balcony of Buckingham Palace alongside her children and other members of the royal family to watch a Royal Air Force flyby.

Earlier, her husband, William, Prince of Wales, who is colonel of the Welsh Guards, wore their ceremonial uniform and was on horseback. The princess, who is colonel of the Irish Guards, which played a prominent role in the parade, wore a white dress with black trim by Jenny Packham, a hat by Philip Treacy and the Irish Guards Regimental Brooch.

Catherine was hospitalized for abdominal surgery in January, and until Saturday she had not been seen at an official event this year. In March, she said publicly that she was undergoing a course of preventative chemotherapy.

In another sign of her progress, her office said she had started to work occasionally from home and was meeting with her official teams when she felt able. The princess also said in her statement that she hoped to join some public engagements during the summer, while adding that she "is not out of the woods yet."

Evidence of her recovery will be especially welcome to Britain's royal family, given that her health issues coincided with those of King Charles, who was treated for cancer in January. He has started his return to public life, and last week he attended ceremonies in France to commemorate the 80th anniversary of the D-Day landings that presaged the end of World War II.

On Saturday, Charles, who celebrated his 75th birthday in November, rode in a carriage rather than on horseback, as is typical during the procession, which is known as the Trooping the Color.

The event, which has been an official celebration of the monarch's birthday for more than 260 years, is based around a parade that starts at Buckingham Palace and then travels along the Mall, decorated by flags, to Horse Guards Parade, a ceremonial parade ground by St. James's Park, before heading back to the palace.

After arriving at Horse Guards Parade, the king inspected the troops, who wore the ceremonial uniform of red tunics and bearskin hats. Among the spectators watching the intricate ceremony were Prime Minister Rishi Sunak and his wife, Akshata Murty.

The celebration also featured a 41-gun salute in Green Park.

The parade included about 1,400 soldiers, 400 musicians and 200 horses.



HOLLIE ADAMS/REUTERS

Catherine, Princess of Wales, in a state carriage with her three children, at a ceremonial parade to celebrate the birthday of King Charles III.

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The New York Times



PHOTOGRAPHS BY MIKE KAI CHEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

"To me, it is sacred," said Teri Red Owl, the executive director of the Owens Valley Indian Water Commission. The group purchased Three Creeks, a five-acre property.

Tribal Members Are Reclaiming Lost Land in California

By JILL COWAN

The vast territory known as the Owens Valley was home for centuries to Native Americans who lived along its rivers and creeks fed by snowmelt that cascaded down the eastern slopes of the Sierra Nevada.

Then came European settlers, and over time, tribe members lost access to nearly all of that land. Eventually, the water was lost, too: In the early 20th century, the developers of Los Angeles famously built a 226-mile-long aqueduct from Owens Lake to the city. It was this project, the story goes, that allowed Los Angeles to become the booming metropolis that it is today.

Less familiar is what happened to the Owens Valley, and the people who lived there, after most of the water was sent south. Owens Lake is now a patchwork of saline pools covered in pink crystals and wetlands studded with gravel mounds designed to catch dust. And today, the four recognized tribes in the area have less than 2,000 acres of reservation land, estimated Teri Red Owl, a local Native American leader.

But things are changing, tribal members say. They have recently reclaimed corners of the valley, buoyed by growing momentum across the country to return land to Indigenous stewardship, also known as the "Land Back" movement.

In recent years, Native American tribes have reclaimed hundreds of acres of ancestral land, often following decades of advocacy. Members of Prairie Band Potawatomi Nation, have repurchased 130 acres in Illinois, which will become a federally recognized reservation for the tribe. And some 850 acres of land along the Mattaponi River in Virginia were returned to Indigenous stewardship and preservation.

In California, state and local leaders have acknowledged a dark history of brutality toward Native Americans, and tribes have reclaimed territory up and down the state.

Early this year, the state transferred ownership of the Mount Whitney Fish Hatchery, a European-style stone hall built in 1917 and manicured grounds, to the Fort Independence Indian Community of Paiute Indians, in the first return of its kind under a new state directive.

And last year, the owners of a healing retreat called Three Creeks sold their five-acre property to a water advocacy group representing three local tribes.

Along Highway 395, the desolate road running along the base of the Sierra Nevada, the landscape is rocky and covered in scrub brush. But the approach to Three Creeks is like a portal into a different world, opening onto a lush green expanse and a pond reflecting the clear, blue sky. On the property itself, apple, cherry and apricot trees bloomed on a recent afternoon while the sounds of trickling water and laughter floated through the air.

This is not what the tribe members' ancestors would have seen. But Ms. Red Owl, the executive director of the Owens Valley Indian Water Commission, the group that purchased Three Creeks, said it is no less significant.

"To me, it is sacred," she said as she took a break in the cool air of what is known as the Heron Hut, a circular building on the property used for gatherings and ceremonies.

The former owners of Three Creeks had established the place about 25 years ago for visitors from around the world to stay, tend to the gardens, walk through the nearby mountains and learn about the area's history from local tribe members. In the process, they built relationships with the Native American community.

Gigi Coyle and her partners were told they could have sold the property for $1.5 million on the open market. Instead, they accepted the commission's proposal to buy it for $900,000 as a gesture to the people whose ancestors were there first. Donations to fund the commission's purchase had come from people around the world who were moved by the community's call.

Ms. Coyle, 74, said she hoped the land return would inspire others to challenge beliefs that land is merely property to be passed down to heirs.

"Maybe think twice about that," she said. "Recognize how important a relationship to place is and that these places have destinies, as well as these people."







THE NEW YORK TIMES

Los Angeles long ago built an aqueduct to Owens Lake. The tribe members of Owens Valley lost access to much of their land and water.

The area's Native American community members, who make up a relatively large share of the area's overall population, have carried the legacy of brutal displacements and broken promises by the federal government. (According to census data, 13.8 percent of the roughly 19,000 residents of Inyo County, which includes the valley, identify as American Indian alone, compared with 1.7 percent in California overall.)

At the Owens Valley Paiute-Shoshone Cultural Center, maps show where the local tribes once lived near water sources. Their name for their home, Payahuunadü, translates to "land of the flowing water."

Other exhibitions trace how, in the 1850s, white miners and ranchers discovered that water, and agreements were made with a United States government that continuously shrunk their territory.

Today, the four recognized tribes in the area struggle to provide enough housing for members, many of whom have left as a result. On the Bishop Paiute Tribe's reservation, trailers are parked in the front yards of worn ranch houses and duplexes. Looming overhead are the craggy, towering peaks of the mountains — this spring, capped with blinding white.

While many land returns involve sites that have historic or ceremonial significance, tribal leaders in the Owens Valley say they also want to recover property that community members can use for housing and jobs that can sustain their lives.

"We take care of our roads, we take care of our water, we take care of housing — the state doesn't do that for us," said Carl Dahlberg, the chairman of the Fort Independence tribe, whose reservation is about 40 miles south of the Bishop Paiute Tribe's.

The Fort Independence tribe, which is not part of the group that purchased Three Creeks, took ownership of the Mount Whitney Fish Hatchery thanks to a recent rule change giving tribes the right of first refusal when the state dispenses with excess property.

Marilyn Bracken, 85, a longtime member of the Friends of Mt. Whitney Fish Hatchery, which has helped preserve the site, recalled visiting there for field trips and birthday parties as a girl growing up on the Fort Independence reservation. She said it was meaningful that her community now controlled the site.

"It's encouraging, because this was once our land here," she said as she helped prepare a tribe member's wedding on the hatchery grounds. "Do we feel like we were the ones that should get it back? No, it should have been my grandparents and my great-grandparents. But it's happening now."

Environmental groups are working with Indigenous leaders in hopes of keeping more water in the Owens Valley, and in particular, Owens Lake. Los Angeles's demand for water, they say, has left the region's ecosystems barely hanging on. They hope that after two rainy winters, Los Angeles water officials have more latitude to rethink how much water they really need and to rely more on conservation and recapture measures in Southern California.

"We have a moment here. There is water in the lake. People are ecstatic," said Wendy Schneider, the executive director of Friends of the Inyo, an environmental nonprofit.

Los Angeles water officials said that they are mandated to keep water bills affordable for the millions of customers they serve in the city. And water from the Sierra Nevada and beneath the Owens Valley is the cheapest source in the utility's water portfolio, which includes buying water from the overdrawn Colorado River.

Officials also emphasized that in drier years, their first responsibility is to provide water to tribes, which often leaves less for the utility.

"We're trading impacts from one area to another," said Jaime Valenzuela, who manages Owens Lake planning for the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power. "It's a big balancing act."

The Owens Valley Indian Water Commission, the group that owns Three Creeks, sees more potential for land returns in the area. Already, a couple who owns a neighboring property, bordered by a creek, is working on a letter of intent to sell to the commission.

For now, tribal members and other community members are working to make Three Creeks a sanctuary for anyone interested in learning about the Indigenous history of the Owens Valley.

Julia Morales, 33, a member of the Bishop Paiute Tribe who is living in a cottage at Three Creeks with her daughter, tended to a cluster of bushes in the garden on a recent afternoon. She also has a job at a restaurant in Bishop, but she said she has always wanted to work outdoors and with the environment.

"I feel like I'm exactly where I'm supposed to be," she said.







Three Creeks, which was once a healing retreat, is home to lush green lands and trickling waters near an otherwise desolate highway by the Sierra Nevada. From left, a groundskeeper teaching about tree care; a fish hatchery; and a traditional herb. The new owners want to make it a sanctuary for visitors to learn about Indigenous history.

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ILLUSTRATIONS BY GAERIEL ALCALA

The Best Advice for Dads (According to These Dads)

By TALYA MINSBERG

For Father's Day, The Times asked readers to share the best pieces of parenting advice for dads they've learned along the way. Close to 500 responded, with tips on how to get through the difficult early days of infanthood, bond with kids as they get older and protect them even as you prepare to let them go.

Read some of our favorite submissions below, which have been edited for clarity.



Find Delight

Especially in the first few months, find the fun. The early months and years are repetitive and tiring. If that's what you focus on, you're not going to get the most out of being a parent.

Instead, look for the fun. Example: I was changing my daughter's diaper around six weeks. I lifted up her legs to wipe and suddenly she had a bowel movement that shot out at me, onto my pants, the bed, and our carpet. I thought it was hilarious. I was impressed. It was her world record. It also involved lots of cleaning. But it was also a world record.

We have to do the hard stuff, the repetitive stuff. It comes with being a parent. But choosing to see the fun, delight, and wonder at every step of the way gave me a far richer experience.

Saatvik Ahluwalia, 34, Natick, Mass.

Panic in Shifts

The best advice I offer new parents is something I learned while having a son who spent the first four weeks of life in the hospital: only one parent is allowed to panic at a time. From an emotional standpoint, if both parents are a mess, then it's hard to hold each other up. This doesn't mean to dismiss your feelings. Just remember that sometimes you will need to be the support on the outside — and your time will come to lean on someone else.

Dan Sheets-Poling, 34, Eagle, Wis.



Do It Your Way

Take the time early on to develop your own style of parenting. Early in my fatherhood journey, I realized that I had been running on parental autopilot and parroting everything (good and bad) my father used to say and do when I was a child.

I realized that there is no one "right" way to parent because parents and children are all individuals with different needs and preferences. I started doing things my own way, based on my children's individual personalities, and we are all much happier for it.

James O'Brien, 40, Stillwater, Okla.

Adjust Your Expectations

I am a father of four children. My oldest is 18 and my youngest is 11. I was a stay-at-home dad for a little over 13 years. Through all the changes that children and parents go through, I found that the best thing for me to do is to have realistic expectations. I try to wake up every day and ask myself: "What is realistic to expect from both myself and each of my kids today?"

Anthony Laudon, 48, Minneapolis, Minn.

Be Generous With Praise

Don't pass up on an opportunity to tell your kids that you are proud of them. I can remember a moment from decades ago that a father figure went out of his way to tell me the same, and I've never forgotten it.

Craig Crabtree, 38, Kaiserslautern, Germany



Prioritize the Little Moments

"It goes fast." This is something that I was told over and over and over again before the birth of my first child. The implication was to be present, authentic and "there" for my kids as much as possible and as long as possible because one day — and most likely not on a day of my choosing — my time with them would be over. As a result, I have prioritized them even in the "little moments" ever since. Taking them on vacation solo when my partner couldn't get away due to work obligations, volunteering at their schools, investing time with them in their hobbies (no matter how silly they may seem!), and just being silly or still with them as they need.

James Boehm, 43, London

Consider Dad Saturdays

Here's a tip from personal experience: If you put your child up on your shoulders, and then you hear a rapid thud-thud-thud-thud, that's because there is an operational ceiling fan directly above you. (He's fine.)

A more serious note: Find a group of dads in similar stages and orchestrate regular Saturday outings together with the kids. It doesn't have to be expensive or creative. In addition to the obvious benefit of time with your child, you will combat the epidemic of adult male loneliness, increase your confidence and capability in caring for little ones, and give your partner, if you have one, the greatest gift of all: silence.

Stephen Hoey, 35, Sewickly, Penn.

Get Kids Talking

If you want to know what your kid did at school that day, asking "How was school?" will never, ever work. Instead, I play a game called "Best Day Ever" where I make my kids compete to convince me they had the best day and they end up telling me everything that happened at school.

Doug Scanlon, 42, South Hadley, Mass.

Carry a Nail Clipper

Always. Only when you are out in the world with your children will you notice how long their nails are.

Jonathan Ready, 48, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Teach Decision-Making

On the day they leave for college, you will ask yourself: Have I taught them how to make good decisions? This was shared by a close friend a few years ahead of me in the parenting journey, and I think of it almost daily.

Liam Bossi, 44, Portland, Ore.

Make Messing Up OK

The hardest part of fatherhood is standing back and watching your child make their own mistakes. It is also one of the most important.

Jim Handley, 70, Coeur d'Alene, Idaho.

Let Them Rage

Love and happiness are not the only emotions children should be able to express. They should be allowed to feel anger and sadness too. Your job is to teach them to understand these feelings, embrace them, control them and — most importantly — how and "when" to process them. Don't forget to make them feel safe while doing so.

Matt Headley, 40, Little Rock, Ark.

Protect Your Sanctuary

If your kids are 7 or under, lock the bathroom door while you're on the toilet. It's the only sanctuary in the house.

Brendyn Dobbeck, 33, Düsseldorf, Germany.

Savor Joy

Early childhood is filled with daily magical fleeting moments of joy: Train yourself to pause and savor them for just one extra moment, a few precious seconds, every time. And as your kids get older, there will be fewer spontaneously joyous moments, but you'll be practiced at recognizing and appreciating them when they occur.

Tom Ruppert, 60, Minneapolis, Minn.



Be the Harbor

You provide a safe place for your kids when the storm hits, but harbors are meant to be sailed from. Let them leave the harbor, but always be there for them when they need it.

Peter Maree, 57, Hobart, Tasmania, Australia

Smile and Laugh . . .

. . . as much as you can. A joke is not a Dad joke until it becomes apparent.

Mike Lyon, 70, Boonton, N.J.

*Editor's note: Read the last sentence aloud.

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The followers of Cirilo Treviño, known as El Divino Colombiano, often applaud his high heels. His brother, Jazziel Treviño, puts tall feathers on his cowboy hat.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY VERÓNICA GABRIELA CÁRDENAS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

If there is a star of the show, it is almost always José Urbina, El Bronco, who steals everyone's attention the second he steps into La Pulga de Alamo in Texas. He has 134,000 TikTok followers.



Jacovita Villarreal cutting a rug. Dancing has been part of many pulgas over the years, but La Pulga de Alamo has gained popularity beyond anyone's expectation.







This pulga has turned ordinary blue-collar workers into household names.

ACROSS THE COUNTRY

Kicking Up Their Heels, and Social Media Fame

From Page 1

Grupo Bronco, with moves that invariably draw cheers and flirty whistles.

Dancing has been a feature of many pulgas across the region over the years, but La Pulga de Alamo has gained popularity beyond anyone's expectation. It is a dancing utopia that has turned ordinary blue-collar workers into household names with thousands of social media followers around the world, many of them in places with no pulga culture of their own.

"It's gone viral. All of this exploded around us," said Nancy Kim, one of the Alamo pulga's owners. "People know us everywhere now, not just here in the United States, but all over, from Japan, Argentina, Spain."

It all began with a popular video. In fall 2022, a regular shopper, Alejandro Barron, 60, spotted José Urbina on the dance floor, and noted that he had an uncanny resemblance to the Grupo Bronco lead singer, José Guadalupe Esparza. Mr. Barron uploaded a video of Mr. Urbina to TikTok with an unassuming caption: "Even Lupe of the Bronco band dances at La Pulga de Alamo." The video became an online sensation.

Soon, others came rushing to La Puga de Alamo's main dance floor, known as El Domo, to express themselves with unique outfits and dances with attitude. Some of them became social media stars. One who calls himself El Calambres, the Electric Shock, jerks around as if he is being electrocuted. A woman known as La Correcaminos, the Roadrunner, runs in circles around the dance floor. El Caderas, the Waist Man, is famous for his gyrating hips.

On any given day, the dancers stop to pose for photos and sometimes even discuss their personal lives for the crowds of people filming with their cellphone cameras.

When Mr. Urbina was captured on camera at a different dance hall getting into a physical altercation with a romantic rival, he issued an apology to his 134,000 TikTok followers and gave interviews to Spanish-language blogs and other platforms to explain his version of the events.

"I think it was the drinking," he told an interviewer in May. "The drinking changes a lot of things."

While pulgas are a staple of Latino border communities, this most famous one is owned by an immigrant from South Korea, Taek Kim, and his Mexican American wife, Nancy.



While pulgas are a staple of Latino border communities, this most famous one is owned by an immigrant from South Korea and his Mexican American wife. It spreads across 70 acres, with an estimated 1,500 vendors.



WHY WE'RE HERE

We're exploring how America defines itself one place at a time. In the border city of Alamo, Texas, colorful dancers at a local flea market have turned it into a global internet sensation.

Mr. Kim said he had arrived with his family in the Rio Grande Valley when he was 8 years old. "I felt like a strange animal," he said, recalling teasing from classmates at school.

His family first began selling Korean wares at local pulgas and purchased their own small pulga in the nearby city of Mercedes more than three decades ago.

Then in 1996, Mr. Kim and his wife bought La Pulga de Alamo, which at the time was about 28 acres in size. They worked to attract more vendors and shoppers, and over time it grew to its current 70 acres, with an estimated 1,500 vendors. His wife and two adult sons work in the main shop.

The market's fame on TikTok and other social media outlets is not something he could ever have imagined, Mr. Kim said.

"It's been good for business," he said. "It was nothing that we planned. People do what they want, and we are OK with that."

Mr. Kim isn't the only one making money. Some of the dancers with large followings take in revenue from TikTok and other platforms, and by appearing at private events like parties and business openings.

On a recent sweltering Saturday afternoon, with temperatures reaching nearly 100 degrees, onlookers immediately recognized Suheidy de Leon, 52, as she arrived pushing her mother, Maty Vargas, in her wheelchair. Wearing matching outfits — black blouses and jeans topped with green feather boas around their necks — the duo settled down next to the band.

They didn't stay still for long. The band played the first keys of "Hay 40 Grados," a song from the band Sonora Tropicana about dancing in the heat, and the crowd began chanting for the two women to take the dance floor.

Ms. de Leon, who also does shows impersonating celebrities such as Jenni Rivera and Olga Tañon, stood up, and with a cord tied around her waist, she pulled her mother's wheelchair forward. Ms. Vargas, in full Reynita de Oro mode, shook her arms in the air to acknowledge the crowd's adoration.

"For us, dancing is about celebrating life," Ms. de Leon said in an interview.

Her mother, 88, who grew up in Mexico, had always loved attending all kinds of dances, weddings, quinceañeras and ballroom events, Ms. de Leon said. Late last year, she said, Ms. Vargas had to undergo a delicate surgery to remove a thyroid tumor. When it was over, Ms. Vargas told her daughter that she needed a reason to keep going.

"As soon as she opened her eyes, she asked me, 'Take me dancing. If you don't do it, nobody else will,'" Ms. de Leon recalled.

"She loves feeling like a star."

Also making an appearance that weekend was El Divino Colombiano — Cirilo Treviño, 38, whose followers from around the world often applaud the assortment of burlesque-style high heels he wears. (In a recent video, he waved a Brazilian flag to salute his fans there.) He is usually joined by his brother, Jazziel Treviño, 35, who tends to go for a more demure look, with tall feathers on a cowboy hat, a nod to his love of birds.

"People love it," Cirilo Treviño said as he prepared to go out for a series of twirls on his towering heels.

But if there is a star of the show, it is almost always Mr. Urbina, El Bronco, who steals everyone's attention the second he steps into the market. As soon as he arrived that weekend, he was surrounded. He spent more than an hour posing for photos and recording impromptu interviews before busting his moves on the dance floor.

"I never thought that my life would change so dramatically just because people say I look like a singer — and at this age," said Mr. Urbina, 53, whose satin black shirt exposed part of his chest. "But I love it, and I love my fans, too."

Moments later, one of his fans, Maria Baltazar, 30, who had driven five hours from Houston to see him, jumped on him on the dance floor and wrapped her legs around his waist.

Dozens of cellphone cameras captured their moves, as if they were celebrity performers on a world tour. When the song was over, Ms. Baltazar planted a kiss on his cheek and walked away, fanning herself with her hands.

"From the moment I saw him online, I knew he was the love of my life," she said. "My dream came true today. I met El Bronco."

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An Unusual Turnabout in High Voter Turnout

This article is by Nate Cohn, Charlie Smart and Ethan Singer.

In a reversal of one of the most familiar patterns in American politics, it appears that Donald J. Trump, not President Biden, would stand to gain if everyone in the country turned out and voted.

In New York Times/Siena College polls over the last year, Mr. Biden holds a wide lead over Mr. Trump among regular primary and midterm voters, yet he trails among the rest of the electorate, giving Mr. Trump a lead among registered voters overall.

The pattern is the latest example of how the Trump brand of conservative populism has transformed American politics. His candidacy galvanized liberals to defend democracy and abortion rights, giving Democrats the edge in low-turnout special and midterm elections. Yet at the same time, early polls suggest, many less engaged and infrequent voters have grown deeply dissatisfied with Mr. Biden.

The disengaged voters do not necessarily like Mr. Trump, the polling shows. But they're motivated by pocketbook issues, more desiring of fundamental changes to the political system and far less concerned about democracy as an issue in the election. Many low-turnout voters — notably many who consider themselves Democrats — now say they'll back Mr. Trump.

This unusual turnout dynamic is one of the central forces shaping the 2024 campaign. It helps explain why recent polls and election results seem so divergent, and why Mr. Trump has gained among young and nonwhite voters, who are less likely to vote than older white voters. It creates a challenge for the campaigns, who are finding that time-tested strategies for mobilizing irregular voters may not work quite the same way as they did in the past.

With five months until the election, there's still time for less engaged voters to tune in and swing back toward Mr. Biden. Many infrequent voters aren't yet tuned into the race, and their preferences appear highly volatile. If the polls are right, they've swung 20 percentage points since 2020, but some changed their answers when re-interviewed following Mr. Trump's felony conviction. Even if Mr. Trump holds his edge among the disengaged, it's not clear many of these low-turnout voters will ultimately show up to vote.

But if they do vote, Mr. Trump would stand to gain — something unimaginable for a Republican as recently as a few years ago.

In the Obama era, Democrats' electoral fortunes seemed to depend on drawing young and nonwhite voters to the polls. The party excelled when Barack Obama helped mobilize that turnout in the presidential years of 2008 and 2012, but was pummeled in the low-turnout 2010 and 2014 midterm elections.

Even today, the assumption that Democrats benefit from higher turnout remains deeply embedded in the American political consciousness, from the progressive dream to mobilize a new coalition of voters to new Republican laws to restrict voting.

The new turnout dynamic has already upset these familiar political goals. Suddenly, many voters whom Democrats took for granted are now considered "persuasion" targets, as if they were traditional swing voters.

Republicans, meanwhile, watched a widely expected "red wave" fail to materialize in the 2022 midterms, despite new voting laws enacted by Republican state legislatures. Last summer, Republicans in Ohio scheduled a referendum on an irregular date in hopes of sidestepping the public's ability to vote for abortion rights, only to see the referendum lose by double digits.

The evidence for Democrats' strength among high-frequency voters has regularly been on display on Tuesday nights, as they have cheered the results of special elections. While Mr. Trump has struggled to unify highly engaged Republican voters, Democrats have excelled in such elections, in an environment that might appear unfriendly: The electorate is disproportionately white, half of voters are seniors and virtually no young people show up at all.

The signs of Democratic weakness among infrequent voters, who skip low-turnout special and primary elections, is harder to find. It is obvious in the polls — and not just in the Times/Siena polling — but there are hints of it everywhere, if you look carefully.

While Democrats beat expectations in the 2022 midterms, they fared worse than in special elections held in the same districts just a few months earlier. Similarly, Mr. Trump managed to beat expectations and nearly won in 2020 — in the highest-turnout election in a century — in no small part because of surprising strength among lower-turnout Hispanic voters. New voter registration trends have also been increasingly favorable to Republicans, even though new registrants are disproportionately young and nonwhite.

In Pennsylvania, where Democrats enacted automatic voter registration last year, new registrants have affiliated with Republicans over Democrats by six percentage points. Before automatic registration was enacted, Mr. Trump sent an all-caps message on social media denouncing the law.

Demographics are not the explanation for Mr. Trump's strength among infrequent voters. Although these voters are less likely to hold a college degree, they're still disproportionately young and nonwhite. They would be expected to be Democratic-leaning if they had the same preferences as demographically similar voters who turn out more regularly in elections. Instead, infrequent voters of every demographic group seem less likely to support Mr. Biden in the early polls.

On paper, many disengaged voters behind Mr. Biden's weakness look as if they should be loyal Democrats. Many are registered Democrats and still identify as Democratic-leaning. They support abortion rights, back Democrats for U.S. Senate and are from Democratic-leaning constituencies, like young, Black and Hispanic voters.

But their attitudes are more complicated. They are much more likely to say the economy is "poor" than Democratic primary voters, and they're much likelier to disapprove of Mr. Biden's job performance. They want fundamental changes to America, not merely a promised return to normalcy. Some even mistakenly hold Mr. Biden more responsible than Mr. Trump for the Supreme Court's decision to overturn Roe v. Wade — perhaps out of a sense that the president should have been able to do something about it. They get their news from social media, not MSNBC.

While the Biden campaign hopes to overcome low approval ratings by focusing on abortion rights and the threat to democracy, less engaged Democrats don't necessarily share the alarm. Almost by definition, low-turnout Democrats were not as driven to vote to stop Mr. Trump in 2018, 2020 or 2022. Many of them didn't vote, after all.

Virtually none of the low-turnout Democrats say "democracy" is the most important issue in the election, even as around 20 percent of regular Democratic primary voters say the same.

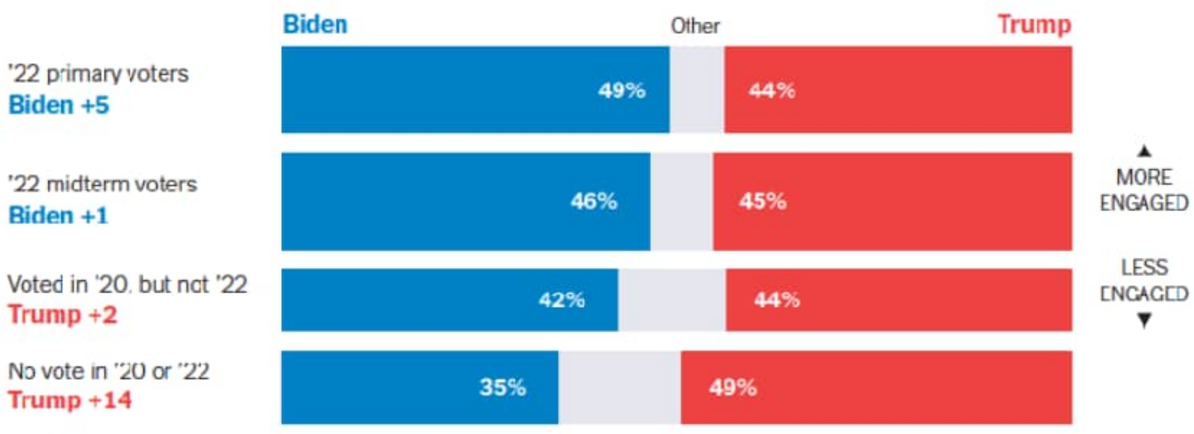
As the campaign goes on, one crucial question is whether these voters' lack of concern over democracy and abortion is because they're disengaged, or because they're genuinely more concerned by nonideological issues, like the economy or Mr. Biden's age.

If it's because they're disengaged, perhaps they'll gradually shift toward Mr. Biden as they tune in and focus on the stakes of the election. If not, Mr. Biden faces a stiff challenge.

Whether they ultimately decide to express their dissatisfaction by turning out to vote for Mr. Trump is another question — one with the potential to decide the election.

A New Shift

The least frequent voters are now the most Republican.



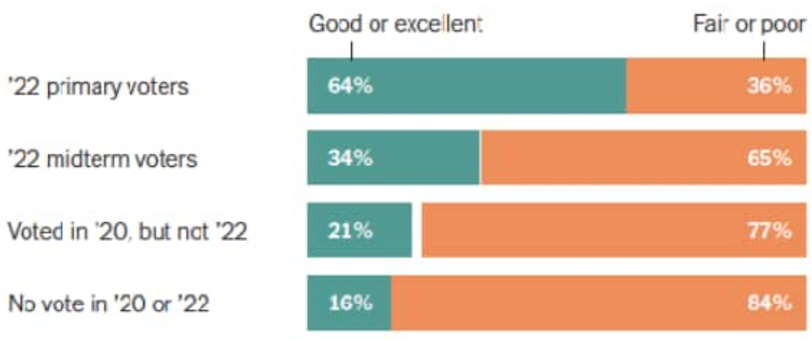
Based on New York Times/Siena College national polls from 2023 and 2024. Bar heights are relative to the share of registered voters in each group.

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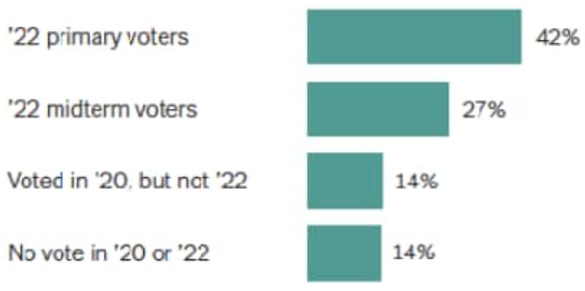
Disengaged and Dissatisfied

Less-frequent voters — even those who identify as Democrats — hold more negative views of the economy and are less concerned about abortion and democracy.

Views of the economy among Democratic-leaning voters



Democratic-leaning voters saying abortion or democracy is their top issue



Based on New York Times/Philadelphia Inquirer/Siena College polls in Pennsylvania, Michigan, Georgia, Arizona, Wisconsin and Nevada.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

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Rare Antelope Dies at Zoo After Choking on Plastic Cap

By EMILY SCHMALL

An African antelope at a zoo in Tennessee died this month after choking on the plastic cap of a food pouch that had been discarded in its enclosure even though it was among items banned near the animal habitats, according to the zoo.

Brights Zoo, a private, family-owned zoo in Limestone, Tenn., said on social media that Lief, a sitatunga, a rare medium-sized antelope native to Central Africa, choked on the red cap of a squeezable fruit pouch found in the animal's exhibit.

Lief was 7 years old. A typical life span for the antelope, which has a shaggy, oily coat and lives in swamplands, is around 22 years in captivity, according to the Smithsonian's National Zoo in Washington.

"He still had a lot of life to live," the zoo said in a post on social media.

Zoo visitors expressed their grief about the loss of the animal, and frustration that whoever left the packaging — no one has claimed responsibility — had violated a zoo policy prohibiting squeezable food pouches, fruit and other food items from being brought to the grounds of the zoo.

The zoo's director, David Bright, said that Lief was born in captivity in 2016 at Austin Savanna, a private breeding and conservation facility in Creedmoor, Texas. He arrived at Brights Zoo about a year later.

"Most of the time, sitatunga herds are pretty shy — they kind of avoid people," Mr. Bright said in a telephone interview on Wednesday. "With him being hand-raised, he had no fear of humans, so all our keepers were very attached."

"He wants to be right beside you, looking for scratches," he added. "You couldn't ask for a better personality in an animal."

Mr. Bright said that a zookeeper noticed on Saturday that Lief was behaving oddly. A veterinarian determined that he had an object blocking his airway, a plastic cap that was removed after sedation. But his airway had been obstructed for too long, and he died shortly after the procedure.

A squeezable food pouch was found in the exhibit, and two more were found in the trash bin in a restroom, Mr. Bright said.

Lief was a bonded pair with a 7-year-old female sitatunga, the only other member of the species at Brights Zoo.



BRIGHTS ZOO

Lief was a 7-year-old antelope who was born in captivity.

"She's depressed," Mr. Bright said. "She looked for him for quite a while, and now she's kind of secluded, staying back."

The zoo, a former racehorse farm, was established in 2007 after Mr. Bright's father, Tony Bright, bought a pair of zebras as a gift to his wife, Connie Bright, for their 25th wedding anniversary. Since then, David Bright said, the for-profit facility has focused on vulnerable and endangered species, which make up about half of the more than 128 species of animals kept there, drawing from 15,000 to 20,000 visitors each month.

Ms. Bright said on social media that the zoo's policy to search visitors' bags for contraband food used to bother her. After Lief's death, no more.

"The three keepers who tried in vain to save this animal felt helpless and devastated as the animal they loved and have hand-fed for years lay dying," she said. "Many hearts are sad and broken today. Your child can go for an hour without needing these."

"Humans pump out one million plastic bottles every minute — that's over 2,500 billion plastic caps alone every single year," said Sian Sutherland, co-founder of Plastic Health Council. "Add to that the annual 200 million Tetra Paks and countless plastic pouches. It is inevitable these billions of little unwanted pieces of plastic will end up harming animals both on land and in our oceans."

She added: "Like brightly colored berries, they appear to be food. And the consequences are fatal."

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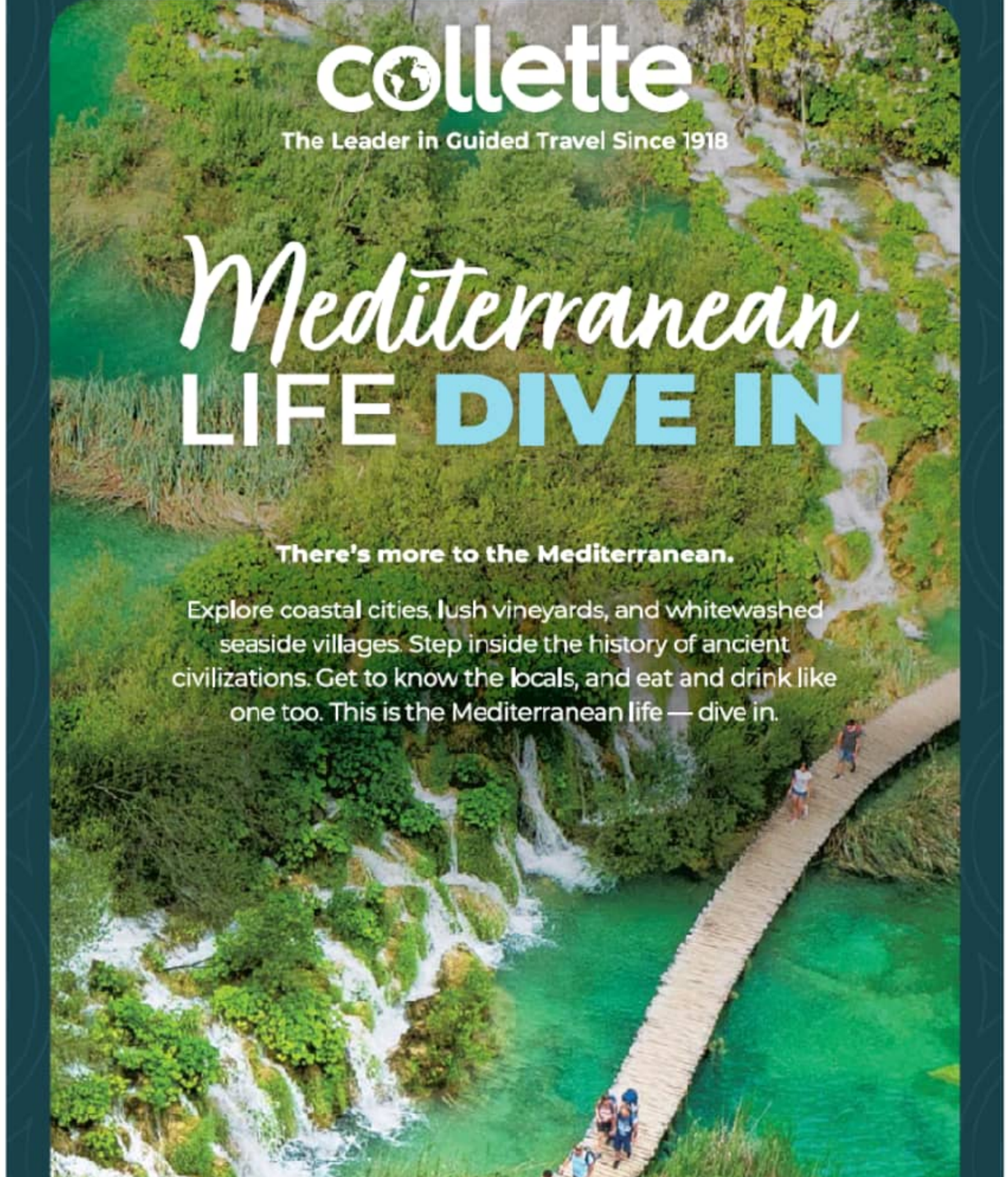
Oscar Heyman Yellow Sapphire, Diamond, Platinum, Gold Bracelet, circa 1950
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Emerging Coalition Drafts Playbook to Resist Trump in Case He Wins

From Page 1

state through a second Trump administration. The supply is locked away at a state warehouse.

"We have it physically in the state of Washington, which could stop him and his anti-choice forces from prohibiting its distribution," Mr. Inslee said in an interview. "It has a life span of five or six years. If there was another Trump administration, it'll get us through."

There is always discussion in any election year of what might happen if the other side wins the White House. Such talk has been typically limited to Washington chatter and private speculation, as much of the energy has focused on helping one's party win the election and develop wish-list policy plans.

But the early timing, volume and scale of the planning underway to push back against a potential second Trump administration are without precedent. The loose-knit coalition is determined not to be caught flat-footed, as many were after his unexpected victory in 2016.

If Mr. Trump returns to power, he is openly planning to impose radical changes — many with authoritarian overtones. Those plans include using the Justice Department to take revenge on his adversaries, sending federal troops into Democratic cities, carrying out mass deportations, building huge camps to hold immigrant detainees, making it easier to fire civil servants and replace them with loyalists and expanding and centralizing executive power.

Ian Bassin, the executive director of Protect Democracy, said the planning for how to resist such an agenda should not be seen as an ordinary policy dispute, but as an effort to defend fundamental aspects of American self-government "from an aspiring autocrat."

"He is no normal candidate, this is no normal election, and these are no normal preparations for merely coming out on the wrong side of a national referendum on policy choices," Mr. Bassin said.

The leaders of many of the centrist and left-leaning groups involved insist their energies are primarily devoted to preventing Mr. Trump from regaining power in the first place. Many are also wary about discussing their contingency plans publicly, for fear of signaling a lack of confidence in President Biden's campaign prospects. Their angst is intensified by Mr. Biden's low approval numbers and by his persistent trailing of Mr. Trump in polls of the states that are likely to decide the election.

Interviews with more than 30 officials and leaders of organizations about their plans revealed a combination of acute exhaustion and acute anxiety. Activist groups that spent the four years of Mr. Trump's presidency organizing mass protests and pursuing legal challenges, ultimately helping channel that energy into persuading voters to oust him from power in 2020, are now realizing with great dread they may have to resist him all over again.

The group leaders say they learned a lot from 2017 to 2021 about how to run an effective resistance campaign. At the same time, their understanding of what Mr. Trump is capable of expanded after the Capitol riot on Jan. 6, 2021. They believe that the orbit around Mr. Trump has grown more sophisticated and that a second Trump White House would be both more radical and more effective, especially on core issues like immigration.

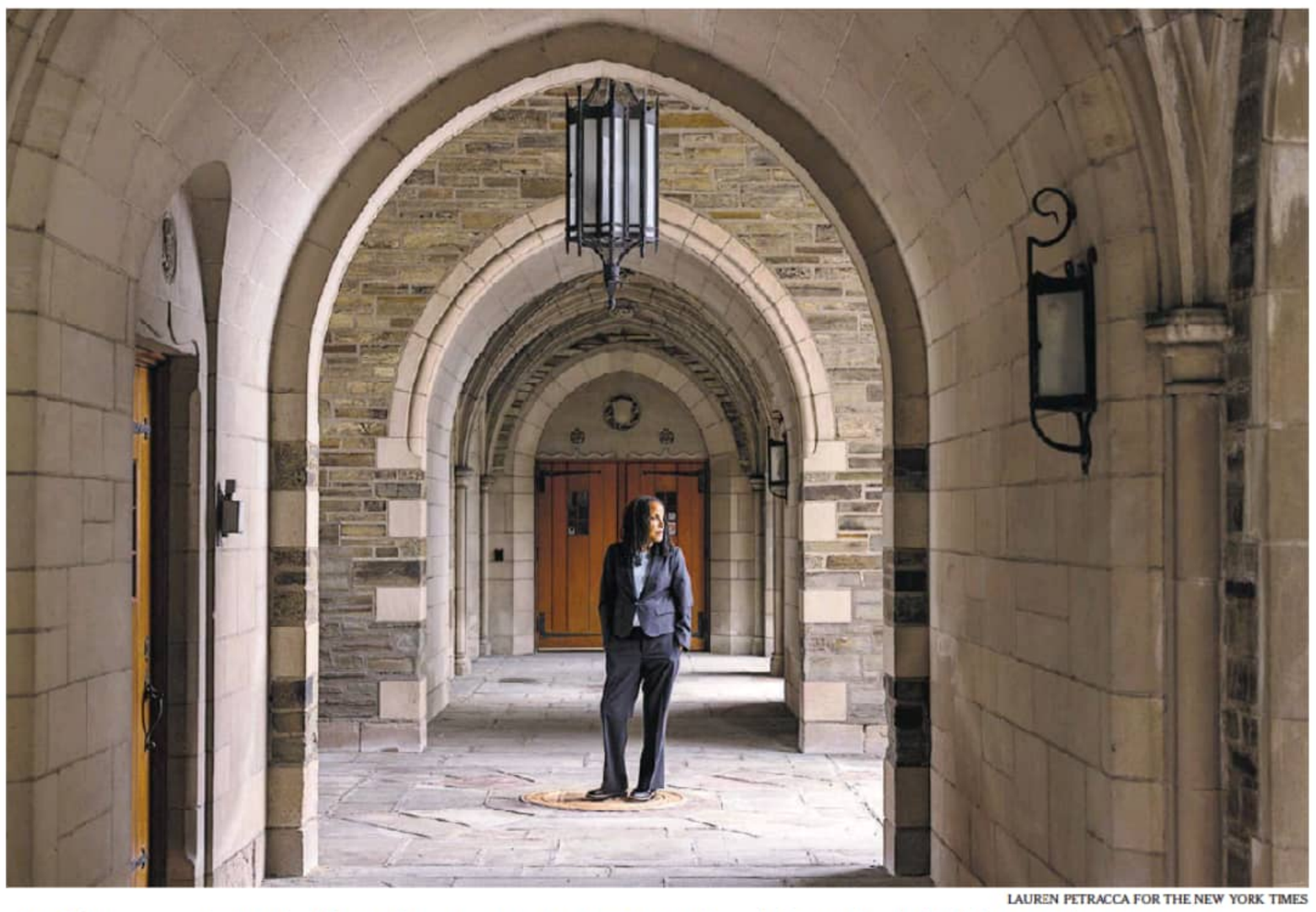
"What Trump and his acolytes are running on is an authoritarian playbook," said Patrick Gaspard, the chief executive of the CAP Action Fund, the political arm of the liberal Center for American Progress think tank. He added, "So now we have to democracy-proof our actual institutions and the values that we share."

The Biden administration pushed through a flurry of regulations in the spring, meeting a deadline to ensure that those rules could not be summarily overturned next year under a 1996 law if Mr. Trump wins the election and Republicans take total control of Congress. But administration officials have generally been reluctant to engage in contingency planning, insisting they are confident Mr. Biden will win a second term.

Steven Cheung, a Trump campaign spokesman, denounced these efforts as a way to pre-empt Mr. Trump from being able to implement a legitimate policy agenda.

"It's not surprising Biden and his cronies are working overtime to stymie the will of the American people after they vote to elect President Trump and his America First agenda," Mr. Cheung said. "Their devious actions are a direct threat to democracy."

Last week, representatives from 50 national and local immigration rights organizations convened at a hotel outside Phoenix for a three-day retreat under the umbrella group Immigrant Movement Visioning Process. On the agenda for two days was "Scenario Planning: Post Election Readiness," building on a four-hour exercise the group had conducted online in May, according to Kica Matos, president of the National Immigration Law Center.



LAUREN PETRACCA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Kica Matos, president of the National Immigration Law Center, at Cornell Law School. Ms. Matos said preparations to resist Donald J. Trump's plans for a vast deportation effort in a second term have been underway since last fall.



RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

'I think from every measure the danger has increased from his first term.'

JAY INSLEE, Democratic governor of Washington State.



VINCENT TULLO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

'I don't want to feel flat-footed again.'

MAURICE MITCHELL, national director of the Working Families Party.



LOREN ELLIOTT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

'He is no normal candidate, this is no normal election.'

IAN BASSIN, executive director of Protect Democracy.

And next month, the anti-Trump conservative group Principles First and Norman Eisen, who was a lawyer for House Democrats during Mr. Trump's first impeachment and helped produce an "autocracy threat tracker" focused on Mr. Trump's plans, are organizing a New York University conference. They are inviting dozens of practitioners and scholars to discuss how to resist leaders with authoritarian leanings around the world, Mr. Eisen said.

Maurice Mitchell, the head of the Working Families Party and a co-anchor of Fight Back Table, a progressive coalition that formed in 2017, said activists opposed to Mr. Trump's agenda were primarily trying to prevent him from winning. But he said they were also determined to be prepared if he does retake power and to stay out of each other's lanes.

"A lot of folks are in the mind frame of, 'What can we learn from the past?'" Mr. Mitchell said. "How can we apply those lessons going forward? And how can we think through the various scenarios that might present themselves, and how might we leverage everything that we have?"

A New Litigation Wave

A common tactic to push back against the first Trump administration was through litigation that tied up his policies in court. Sometimes that work succeeded in blocking actions entirely, and in other cases it delayed those policies from taking effect.

The American Civil Liberties Union, one of the chief litigants against the first Trump administration, is planning to assume a similar role if he regains the White House. In anticipation of that role, the A.C.L.U. has hired a new auditing firm to do a top-to-bottom scrub of the organization's finances to ensure it can withstand scrutiny if a Trump administration were to sic the I.R.S. on it.

The A.C.L.U.'s director, Anthony Romero, said his group had mapped out 63 scenarios in which a new Trump administration could pose a threat to individual rights and the rule of law. The A.C.L.U. team cataloged the threats by their severity, timing and other factors.

That exercise, he said in an interview, led the group to focus on four areas, for which it is drafting potential legal filings. Those areas are Mr. Trump's plans for an unprecedented crackdown on unauthorized immigrants, the potential to further curtail access to abortion, firing civil servants for political reasons and the possibility that he would use troops to suppress protests.

In 2020, as racial justice protests sometimes descended into riots, Mr. Trump had an order drafted to invoke the Insurrection Act — a law that grants presidents emergency power to use federal troops on domestic soil to restore order — but never signed it. He has since suggested that next time, he will deploy troops in Democratic-run cities even if the local authorities have not asked for assistance.

The A.C.L.U. is preparing litigation that would challenge the Insurrection Act, arguing that it was not intended to be used to shut down protest and debate. In parallel, Mr. Romero said, it would be prepared to bring First Amendment challenges to specific deployments in specific cities.

"You're going to have to go retail, protest by protest," Mr. Romero said.

A large part of the pushback to Mr. Trump in his first term centered on immigration policy, from protests against his ban on travel to the United States by citizens of several Muslim-majority countries to outrage at his administration's policy of separating children from their parents in immigration detention.

Since Mr. Trump left office, the political environment on immigration has shifted amid the post-Covid surge of migrants arriving at the border and claiming asylum, overwhelming the system. Mr. Biden recently issued an executive order requiring summary rejection of asylum claims when the numbers are too high.

Several immigrant rights groups, assisted by the A.C.L.U., are challenging that order in court. But immigrant rights leaders say they believe Mr. Trump's policy plans, from mass deportations to giant detention camps, would be vastly more draconian.

A memo circulated by the immigration group FWD.us is warning of a range of restrictive immigration policies that could come in the future. The intention of the memo, a person familiar with its contents said, was to prompt a discussion about finding lessons on how Mr. Trump had responded during his first term to public pressure on his most controversial immigration actions.

At the National Immigration Law Center, scenario planning and preparations for a second Trump term have been underway since last fall — particularly after a New York Times article detailed Mr. Trump's plans for a vast deportation effort, Ms. Matos said. The group convened planning meetings in response to the article and has been working both internally and in coordination with other groups, she said.

For example, during Mr. Trump's presidency, a network of volunteers gathered in New Haven, Conn., to be a rapid response unit when there was chatter about immigration raids. The volunteers recorded the raids on video and were prepared to intervene if they saw any legal rights violations; her center is exploring how to replicate that model nationally, she said.

The center's scenario planning has also focused on the possibility of "much more intense attacks" and harassment targeting immigration rights advocates, from death threats to the possibility of actual violence. "And so what else can we anticipate under Trump 2.0 that we didn't see under Trump 1.0, and how do we prepare for that?" Ms. Matos said.

Another hub of liberal resistance plans for a second Trump administration is Democracy Forward, an organization that formed after Mr. Trump's 2016 victory that filed scores of legal challenges to policies during his first term in the White House. The organization has developed a 15-page threat matrix that covers issues including abortion, health care, civil rights, environmental protections, immigration and the "weaponization of government."

In addition to drafting potential lawsuits to file against expected Trump administration actions, Democracy Forward's chief executive, Skye Perryman, said the organization had also begun recruiting sympathetic plaintiffs who would have legal standing in court.

"We are ensuring that people and communities that would be affected by a range of policies that we see with respect to Project 2025 know their legal rights and remedies and are able to access legal representation, should that be necessary," Ms. Perryman said, referring to a policy planning project developed by conservative think tanks for a second Trump administration.

But there is also a widely held view among Democrats that many types of legal actions may be less effective during a second Trump term than they were during his first. A Supreme Court remade by Mr. Trump is far more conservative and likely to be more sympathetic to his administration's actions.

A Blue-State Bulwark

That legal reality has left those planning for a Trump return to power to focus on state-level actions that can be locked in before the 2024 election.

Lawyers working for Democratic state attorneys general have been quietly studying the playbooks of their Republican counterparts in Texas and Florida, whom they view as being most successful at attacking and obstructing the Biden administration.

A person with knowledge of these conversations, who spoke on the condition of anonymity, said one of their goals was to see what aspects of the red-state anti-Biden playbook could be appropriated to ensure that Democrats can play offense as well as defense against a potential Trump administration.

The Supreme Court's 2022 decision to overturn Roe v. Wade also forced a sense of urgency upon liberal groups and governors. Immediately after the decision, Democratic governors and state attorneys general began arranging calls and meetings to figure out how to counter the new threat to abortion access in their states.

California's governor, Gavin Newsom, founded a group called the Reproductive Freedom Alliance as a hub for governors to coordinate their strategies. Though nonpartisan, it now comprises 23 governors, all Democrats.

The governors in the alliance have worked together to plan litigation, pass shield laws to protect abortion providers and patients from penalties in other states and secure the emergency stockpiles of abortion pills in case they become unavailable or severely restricted. It could be the seeds of a broader collaboration to resist Mr. Trump's agenda.

"The Reproductive Freedom Alliance has pioneered a model of coordination across states to defend, and expand, access to reproductive health care — enabling governors and key staff to develop relationships and a structure for collaboration that could be replicated on other issues, like immigration and gun control," said Julia Spiegel, a lawyer who helped start the Reproductive Freedom Alliance from Mr. Newsom's office.

Mr. Inslee, in Washington State, is one of at least five Democratic governors who have established stockpiles of mifepristone to guard against the possibility of a new Trump administration using federal power to stop its intrastate distribution. The others are the governors of California, Massachusetts, New York and Oregon.

The Supreme Court rejected a lawsuit challenging the Food and Drug Administration's approval of mifepristone on technical grounds, finding that the plaintiffs lacked legal standing to bring the case. But that would not prevent the agency itself from rescinding its approval of the pills. If that happened, Mr. Inslee's aides said, they would argue that the F.D.A. lacked authority to restrict use of the existing stockpiles if the pills did not cross state lines.

The blue-state governors who served during Mr. Trump's first term developed a template in dealing with him that was tested during the peak of the Covid pandemic, when Mr. Newsom, Mr. Inslee and others found themselves issuing public praise for the president if they hoped for basic federal assistance. That experience has left the governors with little room for imagination about what a worst-case scenario would look like in a second Trump term.

At the Brennan Center for Justice, the bulk of the work has been around voting-rights issues for the 2024 campaign.

The group hired the journalist Barton Gellman from The Atlantic to help with scenario planning and tabletop exercises focused on what could unfurl during a Trump presidency, with a report likely to be made public this summer. Other work has included a focus on the Insurrection Act and the Emergency Powers Act.

"We are doing scenario planning for a Biden victory and for a Trump victory," said Michael Waldman, the Brennan Center president. "For Biden, we are preparing for the chance to pass significant legislation strengthening the freedom to vote, and for Trump we are mapping out how to limit the damage from an epic era of abuse of power."



TOM JAMIESON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The lawyer Julia Spiegel helped California's governor, Gavin Newsom, start the Reproductive Freedom Alliance.



VINCENT TULLO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Patrick Gaspard is the chief executive of the CAP Action Fund, the political arm of the Center for American Progress.

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Trump Once Promised to Revive Coal. Now, He Rarely Talks About It.

By LISA FRIEDMAN

WASHINGTON — The first time Donald J. Trump ran for president, he slapped on a miner's helmet and told coal workers they would be "winning, winning, winning" when he entered the White House.

Now, as Mr. Trump campaigns for another chance at the presidency, he rarely mentions America's coal miners and has stopped making grand promises about their future.

The shift reflects political and economic realities, experts said. Top among them: Mr. Trump oversaw coal's decline, not its salvation. Despite the fact that Mr. Trump gutted climate regulations and appointed a coal lobbyist to lead the country's top environmental agency, 75 coal-fired power plants closed and the industry shed about 13,000 jobs during his presidency.

"Not a single coal miner went back to work or power plant saved," said Erin E. Bates, a spokeswoman for the United Mine Workers of America, the labor organization representing coal miners.

"I think he's realizing those promises were not met during his term and they're probably not going to be met now," she said. "Politically, it probably doesn't pay for his campaign to make more broken promises."

Two decades ago, coal produced about half of all the electricity in the United States. Today, it accounts for just 16 percent of American power generation. The industry employed nearly 180,000 people at its peak in the 1980s, but now that figure is about 44,800, according to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Coal began its slide around 2005 as the fracking boom started to produce large quantities of cheap natural gas, which proved attractive to utilities. In the last few years, the cost of power generated by wind turbines and solar farms has plunged, replacing natural gas as the cheapest source of electricity. Last year, power generated from onshore wind turbines and solar farms was about one-third of the cost of the electricity produced by coal, on average.

Strict new limits on emissions from coal-fired power plants announced in April by the Environmental Protection Agency are likely to make the country's 200 or so remaining coal plants even more expensive to operate. Coal is the dirtiest of the fossil fuels and, despite its decline, it is responsible for more than half the planet-warming emissions produced by the power sector in the United States.

Taylor Robinson contributed reporting from New York.



TY WRIGHT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Above, coal miners supporting Donald J. Trump during a rally at the Charleston Civic Center in West Virginia in 2016. Despite his campaign pledges, Mr. Trump oversaw coal's decline and the closing of 75 coal-fired plants, like the one in Conesville, Ohio.



MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The only specific new campaign pledge Mr. Trump has made about coal is to unwind the new E.P.A. limits on pollution from the power plants, which industry leaders say are impossible to satisfy.

Rolling back the regulation would help the industry, but would still not restore coal to its glory days. "The truth is, no candidate is going to be able to do much to save the coal industry when utilities are moving away from coal," Ms. Bates said.

Mr. Trump's energy agenda largely consists of aggressively promoting oil and gas, the burning of which is driving climate change. He has suggested he would quickly approve new oil and gas pipelines, expand oil drilling on public land and in federal waters and permit drilling in the Alaskan wilderness. He has promised to end federal support for electric vehicles, and wind power, which he has falsely claimed "kill all our birds." And he would withdraw the country, again, from the 2015 Paris climate accord. (He did so during his term in the White House but President Biden rejoined the global agreement to limit warming.)

"To keep pace with the world economy," his campaign website says, "President Trump will DRILL, BABY, DRILL."

When Mr. Trump does talk about coal, it's in the context of competition from China and to suggest that the United States is wasting time and money on renewable energy, according to a review of his speeches. "They're opening up a coal plant every single week while we struggle with wind," he said in April.

Since declaring his candidacy for the 2024 presidential race, Mr. Trump has mentioned coal miners only once at his rallies, to say: "We want clean coal. We want to take care of our miners."

Thomas J. Pyle, president of the American Energy Alliance, which supports the fossil fuel industry, noted that Democrats, too, are talking less about coal than they did in 2016, when President Barack Obama's plan to rein in coal plants was the centerpiece of his climate agenda.

When Mr. Biden references coal these days, he speaks about federal funds to create clean energy jobs in former coal communities.

Coal has also dropped from the spotlight because the swing states that both candidates need to win in 2024, like Arizona, Wisconsin and Michigan, are not considered coal states. "The conversation in the energy and climate space has shifted more toward oil and gas," Mr. Pyle said.

Some Republicans also note that Mr. Trump doesn't need to discuss coal as much as he did in the past because he seems to have the locked up the vote in coal communities.

West Virginia, the second-largest coal-producing state, behind Wyoming, was once a Democratic stronghold but has shifted solidly Republican in recent elections. Its senior senator, Joe Manchin III, has left the Democratic Party to register as an independent and is not running for re-election. The man who hopes to succeed Mr. Manchin in the Senate is Gov. Jim Justice, a Republican coal executive and an ally of Mr. Trump's in West Virginia.

"There's really no constituency left for coal in the Democratic Party post-Joe Manchin," said Neil Chatterjee, a former chairman of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission under Mr. Trump who once served as an aide to Senator Mitch McConnell, Republican of Kentucky.

"Trump's got the coal vote so there's really not an imperative to go for it," Mr. Chatterjee said. "He's still going to rail against E.P.A. regulations and regulatory overreach and the Biden administration energy policies, but he can do all that without specifically focusing on coal because the working class, United Mine Worker voters, they've all come to the Republican Party."

> The industry shed about 13,000 jobs during his presidency.

The United Mine Workers has not endorsed a presidential candidate since 2008, when the union backed Mr. Obama, Ms. Bates said. But she said many coal workers were most likely supporters of Mr. Trump.

Another factor that energy analysts said could be shaping Mr. Trump's energy outlook: Some of coal's biggest boosters are either no longer on the political scene or are playing a smaller role than they once did.

For example, Robert E. Murray, a billionaire who built the country's largest privately held coal mining company before it went bankrupt in 2019, died in 2020. Mr. Murray was a longtime supporter of Mr. Trump and donated $300,000 to his inauguration. A few weeks later, Mr. Murray presented Mr. Trump with detailed requests aimed at "getting America's coal miners back to work." Mr. Trump fulfilled most of those wishes but it did not revive the industry.

Mr. McConnell, who was once Mr. Trump's most important ally on Capitol Hill and credited their teamwork with ending the Obama administration's "war on coal," has been feuding with the former president since he condemned Mr. Trump following the Jan. 6 attack on the Capitol. That relationship may have started to thaw on Thursday when Mr. Trump met with Mr. McConnell and other Republicans on Capitol Hill.

Still, no one contests that the coal industry has lost its sway.

"I don't see coal having the same political muscle that it had," said George David Banks, who served as a White House senior adviser on energy in the Trump administration. "It's atrophied."

Trump and Menendez Both Went on Trial, but That's Where the Similarities End

By JESSE McKINLEY

One politician grumbled at the defense table, and sometimes nodded off in full view of the jury's gaze. The other follows the courtroom action avidly, his head twisting a tennis match. Sometimes, he breaks into song in the hallway.

The contrast between two powerful 70-something politicians on trial.

Mr. Menendez, 70, the veteran Democratic senator from New Jersey facing federal corruption charges, has been an attentive participant at his trial, avidly watching the action, his head tennis-courting back and forth between witnesses against him and defense lawyers pleading his case. He makes no faces and has held no news conferences.

Mr. Trump, 78, took a different tack. During his seven-week trial in state court, the former president staged the legal equivalent of a sit-in, glumly protesting the proceedings. There were long stretches where he was either sleeping or, as he asserted, resting his "beautiful blue eyes."

He mumbled and grumbled — earning a warning from the judge — while spending much of his time outside the courtroom loudly berating Democrats, President Biden, the Manhattan district attorney and the very air around him. (He complained about the chilly temperature in the courtroom.)

Mr. Menendez is accused of trading favors for cash, gold bars and a Mercedes-Benz convertible. His trial, which just wrapped up its fifth week, is expected to last until July. He is being tried alongside two businessmen, Wael Hana and Fred Daibes.

We do not yet know how — or whether — Mr. Menendez's comportment will affect the verdict in his case, but Mr. Trump's attitude certainly didn't seem to help: A jury found him guilty of 34 felonies on just its second day of deliberations, a clean sweep for prosecutors and a verdict that comes with up to four years in prison. (His sentencing is July 11, four days before the Republican National Convention, which he is expected to headline.)

Tracey Tully contributed reporting.

Defense attorneys and jury experts say that almost every impression defendants make can sway a panel's opinion, from the way they sit to whether they take notes.

"The jury's going to look at everything you do," said Arthur Aidala, a prominent criminal defense lawyer. "If you're picking your nose, you're picking the wax out of your ears, they're going to be watching you, right? You're the person they're judging. And whether we like it or not, they're not going to just judge you on the evidence."

> *Differing attitudes in the courtroom by two powerful politicians.*

Renato Stabile, an attorney and managing director at Dubin Research and Consulting, says he advises clients that tacit evaluation begins "the moment the jury walks into the room" for jury selection.

"Everybody's watching the defendant like a hawk," he said, adding: "It's like being an actor onstage. When the curtain goes up, all eyes are on you."

And Mr. Stabile said that his primary concern was clients who appear not to be taking the charges — and case against them — seriously, including joking around with their attorneys, laughing or "showing any lightness."

"It could be a highly tense environment and situation and occasionally you need to break the tension," he said. "But jurors pick up on those things."

Those signals sometimes extend to the lawyers themselves, Mr. Aidala added, saying that he modifies his wardrobe and accouterment depending on where he's working, right down to the pens he uses. Fancier for some cases, more utilitarian when he needs to take fast notes.

Mr. Aidala mentioned a murder case in Suffolk County where he "dialed it down a little bit," in his choice of attire, versus a case in federal court he worked on defending Lawrence Taylor, a former Giants linebacker.

"I think juries there expect, you know, a certain heightened sense of style," Mr. Aidala said.

The contrast between the two courtrooms where Mr. Trump and Mr. Menendez have been tried, just a block or so apart, is stark. The federal courthouse where Mr. Menendez is on trial is a gleaming tower, guarded by U.S. Marshals and adorned with sketches of judges and famous cases. There's a staff fitness center, a spacious outdoor terrace and a cafeteria serving salmon, wraps, and salads.

The state court where Mr. Trump was convicted is a squatter, more squalid facility, ringed in scaffolding and abutting a demolition site. The interior is gloomy, the lighting little help. There's a cafeteria here, too, staffed by a single hard-working employee and offering underfilled bags of chips, plastic-wrapped bagels and a menu that ranges from grilled cheese ($4.70) to grilled Swiss cheese ($5.95).

While Mr. Trump's trial brought a crush of media and security, with barricades inside and outside the building, the scene surrounding Mr. Menendez's case is considerably more mellow.

If Mr. Trump used breaks in proceedings to make brash statements to reporters in the hallway outside the courtroom, the senator often stands quietly at the defense table as court prepares to start, either gazing back at the gallery or drumming his fingers on the desk in front of him. (He does have his quirks: In the early weeks of the trial, Mr. Menendez could be heard singing loudly to himself in the courtroom and a nearby hallway during breaks.)

After court is done for the day, Mr. Menendez usually walks among the crowd of reporters and observers in the courtroom, including his daughter, the MSNBC host Alicia Menendez, who has sat in the front row on her days off from television duties, quietly observing and taking notes. Mr. Trump's sons, Eric and Donald Jr., also attended their father's trial, later blasting the case in media appearances.

Valerie Hans, a professor of law at Cornell University who has studied jury behavior, noted that the presence and actions of defendants' families and other supporters can influence juries too.

"They sometimes look to this 'offstage' behavior away from the witness box for clues about credibility," Ms. Hans said.

Ms. Hans recalled a personal injury case in which jurors told her that they were puzzled as to why the injured woman's husband was sitting so far away from his spouse. He was seeking damages for loss of companionship because of his wife's physical state, and the distance led jurors to wonder "what the quality of their relationship really was."

The testimony in both politicians' cases has sometimes been uncomfortable to listen to, including an account of Mr. Trump having sex with a porn star, Stormy Daniels, whose $130,000 hush-money payoff in 2016 lay at heart of the 34 counts of falsifying business records that he was convicted on. (Mr. Trump still denies having sex with Ms. Daniels.)

In Mr. Menendez's case, there have been less graphic, but still cringe-worthy details, including testimony about the senator ringing a small bell to summon his then-girlfriend, now-wife, Nadine, to an outdoor meeting.

But while Mr. Trump harrumphed at accounts of his alleged extramarital affairs, Mr. Menendez has remained placid despite testimony painting him as a corrupt public servant who bragged that he had "saved your ass" to a New Jersey businessman, Jose Uribe, who requested a covert favor.

Emotional outbursts are generally discouraged, Mr. Stabile said, though sometimes acceptable if authentic. "I think something that jurors and people are all very good at is picking up on manufactured emotions," he said.

During another recent high-profile trial — that of President Biden's son Hunter — the younger Mr. Biden appeared to fight back tears as his daughter, Naomi Biden Neal, described his battles with addiction. (Mr. Trump showed few emotions during his trial other than annoyance, though one prominent witness against him, Hope Hicks, a former top aide, was bought to tears during her testimony.)

Despite his seeming remorse for his behavior, Mr. Biden was convicted on three felony counts for lying on a federal firearms application.

Indeed, Ms. Hans said that most juries remain true to the idea that evidence is the most important element, rather than "tangential information they might glean" from the way a defendant comports themselves.

"When the prosecution case is strong," she said, "they are likely to convict."

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Trump Team Opposes Gag On Attacking F.B.I. Agents

By ALAN FEUER

Lawyers for former President Donald J. Trump pushed back on Friday night in an aggressive — and at times misleading — way against an effort to curb his public attacks on the F.B.I. agents working on his classified documents case in Florida.

In a 20-page court filing, the lawyers assailed prosecutors in the office of the special counsel, Jack Smith, for seeking to limit Mr. Trump's remarks about the F.B.I. on the eve of two consequential political events: the first presidential debate, scheduled for June 27, and the Republican National Convention, set to start on July 15.

"The motion is a naked effort to impose totalitarian censorship of core political speech, under threat of incarceration, in a clear attempt to silence President Trump's arguments to the American people about the outrageous nature of this investigation and prosecution," the lawyers wrote.

The dispute began last month when Mr. Smith's team asked Judge Aileen M. Cannon, who is overseeing the case, to revise Mr. Trump's conditions of release to bar him from making any public remarks that might endanger agents involved in the proceeding.

The request came days after Mr. Trump made a series of blatantly false statements, claiming that the F.B.I. had been prepared to shoot him when agents executed a search warrant in August 2022 at Mar-a-Lago, his private club and residence in Florida. In that search, the agents discovered more than 100 classified documents. Mr. Trump is now charged with illegally retaining classified information and obstructing the government's attempts to retrieve it.

The distortions arose from a gross mischaracterization by the former president of a recently unsealed order for the Mar-a-Lago search that included boilerplate language intended to limit the use of deadly force when agents execute warrants.

The order, like hundreds of others issued by the F.B.I., instructed agents to use lethal force only in cases of extreme danger. But Mr. Trump and some of his allies flipped those limitations on their head, suggesting that agents had been given the green light to kill him when they descended on Mar-a-Lago.

In their filing on Friday night, Mr. Trump's lawyers soft-pedaled his falsehoods, saying that he had merely "criticized" the Mar-a-Lago search "in a manner that someone in the government disagreed with and does not like."

The lawyers also baselessly sought to connect the attempt by prosecutors to seek accountability for Mr. Trump's false statements to a wholly separate conflict in the case: an accusation they made this past week that the F.B.I. failed to properly preserve evidence contained in the 45 boxes of documents that agents seized during the search of Mar-a-Lago.

The overheated language of the filing notwithstanding, Mr. Smith and his deputies may have an uphill climb in persuading Judge Cannon to keep Mr. Trump from further attacking the F.B.I. by putting liberty on the line.

Although prosecutors have succeeded in placing gag orders on Mr. Trump in other cases, this is their first attempt to bar his speech in the documents trial. And as his lawyers pointed out, prosecutors failed to point to a single example of an agent working on the documents case who has faced threats because of Mr. Trump's falsehoods.

"President Trump and the defense are similarly unaware of any hostility, harassment or risk of harm directed at any agent involved in this case based on President Trump's statements," the lawyers told Judge Cannon.

Still, Mr. Trump's attacks on the F.B.I. have had consequences in the real world in the past.

After Mr. Trump denounced the Mar-a-Lago search as a personal attack against him in 2022, an armed man in Ohio tried to shoot his way into an F.B.I. field office near Cincinnati.

The man, Ricky W. Shiffer, said at the time that "patriots" should head to Florida to defend Mr. Trump and kill F.B.I. agents. Mr. Shiffer was ultimately killed in a shootout with the local police.

In a separate incident, a Texas man was arrested on Thursday and accused of threatening to "slaughter" one of the F.B.I. agents who worked on the case that resulted in the conviction of Hunter Biden on charges related to a gun purchase.

Hours after the guilty verdict was returned, the man, whom the authorities identified as Timothy Muller, called the agent on his cellphone and told him in a voice mail message that he had not gone far enough in prosecuting Mr. Biden. The man vowed to "hunt" the agent down and kill him and his family.

Marquee Race for Democrats Is Shaped by Gaza Tensions

From Page 1

tacks as polls indicate that Mr. Latimer has opened a commanding lead.

Mr. Bowman's allies fear his loss would not merely deprive the movement of one of its most charismatic spokesmen but might also embolden forces trying to pull the party back toward the center on issues like climate change, immigration policy and the war in Gaza.

"I cannot think of a single race that better exemplifies the battle, frankly for our democracy, between everyday people choosing their representation and big money coming in and choosing it for them," Ms. Ocasio-Cortez said in an interview.

The result has been exceedingly ugly, a Democrat-on-Democrat fight rife with competing accusations of antisemitism and racism.

Mr. Latimer, who is white and first took elected office in the Reagan era, has belittled Mr. Bowman's record and dismissed the district's first Black congressman as an extremist more interested in social media stardom than serious governance.

"He doesn't really study government," Mr. Latimer, 70, said at a recent event for seniors. "He doesn't really understand it. He's out there on a soap box, talking what he feels."

Mr. Bowman, a former middle-school principal, has accused his opponent of selling out to "a genocidal organization like AIPAC and racist MAGA Republican" donors in order to silence him for challenging the status quo.

"It's the progressive grass-roots movement, all of us, against the establishment," Mr. Bowman, 48, said in an interview after touring a new supportive housing facility in Yonkers, his hometown.

Mr. Bowman is not the only "squad" member to face a primary challenge this year after speaking out against Israel's war in Gaza. Representative Summer Lee of Pennsylvania prevailed in her own primary in April. Representative Cori Bush faces a more formidable opponent in St. Louis later this summer.

But the New York race has taken on particularly potent symbolism for both sides. The 16th District includes some of the country's wealthiest suburbs and a large Jewish population; it is also majority nonwhite, with many Black and Latino voters.

Those communities helped propel Mr. Bowman to a surprise victory in a 2020 primary against Eliot L. Engel, a longtime incumbent and staunch supporter of Israel. Running in the midst of the pandemic and the killing of George Floyd, Mr. Bowman campaigned on "jobs and education, not bombs and incarceration."

Mr. Bowman appeared to be cruising toward a third term last fall, relying on a record of fighting evictions and gun violence. He condemned Hamas's Oct. 7 attack forcefully, but emerged afterward as one of the leading champions of the Palestinian cause in Congress.

"I can't stomach the bombing of children. Like, I can't stomach it," he said in the interview. "It's cruel. It's inhumane. It's evil."

His allies point to statistics showing that most Democratic voters, including some Jews, support a cease-fire and agree with his criticism of Israel's government under Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

But the hard divisions caused by the attack ended a tenuous truce between Democratic factions, and Mr. Bowman's stance led AIPAC, a group of local rabbis and supporters of Mr. Engel to help recruit Mr. Latimer into the race.

Supporters of Israel have since provided Mr. Latimer with a huge financial advantage. AIPAC has been his top campaign bundler, helping him amass $2.5 million in cash for the race's final sprint, compared with Mr. Bowman's $1 million.

'He's out there on a soap box, talking what he feels.'

GEORGE LATIMER, 70, a challenger with the support of nearly the entire local party establishment.



'Progressive grass-roots movement, all of us, against the establishment.'

JAMAAL BOWMAN, 48, a left-wing darling in the 16th District House race.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY GREGG VIGLIOTTI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

> Party's divide over the Israel-Hamas War is a telling flashpoint.

Spending by AIPAC's super PAC, United Democracy Project, has dwarfed those figures and could make the race the most expensive House primary in history. Another group, Democratic Majority for Israel has spent almost $1 million against Mr. Bowman, and Fairshake, a cryptocurrency-focused super PAC, plans to spend $2 million.

By comparison, groups backing Mr. Bowman on the left — including Ms. Ocasio-Cortez's Courage to Change PAC — have spent roughly $2 million altogether.

Patrick Dorton, a United Democracy Project spokesman, said the group was determined to "shine a spotlight on Jamaal Bowman's atrocious anti-Israel record."

Its ads, though, have mostly been about other topics, including one that casts Mr. Bowman's vote against President Biden's infrastructure bill as an act of disloyalty. Mr. Bowman said he opposed the bill for strategic reasons, to try to ensure the passage of companion legislation addressing climate change.

AIPAC's spending has become a centerpiece of his case against Mr. Latimer. Mr. Bowman and his supporters criticize his challenger sharply for aligning himself with a group that has backed conservative Republicans opposed to abortion rights and that receives a significant amount of funding from Republican donors.

"It is reckless, and it is antidemocratic," Ms. Ocasio-Cortez said.

But even some of Mr. Bowman's allies, including Democratic House leaders who prioritize protecting incumbents, say his electoral woes are at least partially of his own making.

Where other Democrats with large Jewish constituencies or prospective primaries have shied away from inflaming tensions, Mr. Bowman has doubled down on his pro-Palestinian views. He was among the first House Democrats to call for a cease-fire and to accuse Israel of genocide.

He has also endured a string of embarrassing episodes, including the recent resurfacing of old poems and essays dabbling in conspiracy theories about the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. In the middle of it all, Mr. Bowman pulled a House fire alarm that he said he believed would open a locked door, leading to his censure and guilty plea to a misdemeanor charge.

"The best thing and the worst thing about Jamaal Bowman is that he is not a traditional politician," said Rebecca Katz, a strategist who advised his earlier campaigns.

Mr. Latimer has tried to run a more scripted campaign, staking out safe Democratic positions on abortion and gun safety while avoiding detailed positions on issues that could alienate potential supporters.

In the interview, he ducked questions about Israel's wartime conduct and Mr. Netanyahu. He also refused to say clearly whether he supported raising taxes on wealthy people, a popular position with Democrats that Mr. Bowman embraces.

"There's a fatigue with the ideological politics if all it's going to be is bickering and 'if I have a snappy tongue, I'll get attention,'" he said.

Yet Mr. Latimer's own remarks have caused headaches, too. Opponents accused him of race-baiting when he said at a debate that Mr. Bowman's "constituency is Dearborn, Michigan," home to a large Arab population.

Mr. Latimer, who lives in suburban Rye, has accused Mr. Bowman of ignoring the whiter, affluent suburbs that were added to the district when New York redrew its congressional map in 2022.

"You don't mention people who are not Black and brown," he said in another debate last week. "There's a whole district, Jamaal, that you've ignored."

Some local officials say Mr. Bowman does seem less connected to certain segments of his district.

"I deal with thousands of complaints a year and do it personally, and I reach out to every elected official," said Paul Feiner, the town supervisor of Greenburgh. "I practically never get a response from his office."

Mr. Bowman said he would always stick up for Black and Latino communities that he has called "the least, the last" and, he asserted, left behind by politicians like Mr. Latimer. (Mr. Latimer has bristled at any accusation of prejudice.)

"He did in the beginning disturb the status quo," Niki Armacost, the mayor of Hastings-on-Hudson, said of Mr. Bowman, adding: "He may not be spending so much time with politicians. He's with the people, though, I can tell you that."

Polls and interviews suggest voters are also splitting along racial and geographic lines.

At a train station in Pelham, Lawrence King, a small business adviser from New Rochelle who is Black, said Mr. Bowman was "walking on the wild side" challenging his party — but he liked it.

Mr. King, who works at Columbia University, said he agreed with Mr. Bowman's position on Gaza and worried that Mr. Latimer would be "a return to a stale, more traditional kind of politics."

That, on the other hand, was precisely what Paula Frezzo, who helps administer financial aid at Fordham University, was looking for.

Waiting down the platform, Ms. Frezzo, who is white, said she had ignored the "garbage" ads on television but had been turned off by two things: the sluggish response she got when contacting Mr. Bowman's office about a federal funding issue, and his left-wing stances.

"I don't like anyone who's extreme on either side. That's tearing our country apart," she said. "So no for him."

Veterans Testify at Al Qaeda Commander's War Crimes Tribunal

By CAROL ROSENBERG

GUANTÁNAMO BAY, Cuba — A U.S. Army veteran spoke about being left blind by a sniper's bullet in wartime Afghanistan. A Florida father said he lost his best friend when a roadside charge killed his eldest son, a Green Beret. A former bomb squad member described two decades of trauma and anxiety from dismantling a car bomb that could have killed him.

The physical and emotional carnage of the early years of the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan was on display Friday as prosecutors presented their case to an 11-member U.S. military jury hearing evidence in the sentencing trial of a prisoner, Abd al-Hadi al-Iraqi.

Mr. Hadi, 63, sat silently alongside his American military and civilian lawyers, mostly with his head bowed, throughout the testimony. This week he will address the jury about his own failing health and trauma from time in U.S. detention, starting with several months in C.I.A. custody after his capture in Turkey in 2006.

The case is an unusual one at the court, which has focused on terrorism cases, such as the attacks of Sept. 11, 2001. In an 18-page written plea, Mr. Hadi admitted that he served as a commander of Al Qaeda and Taliban insurgents in Afghanistan who had committed classic war crimes, including using civilian cover for attacks, such as turning a taxi into a car bomb.

Friday's testimony cast a spotlight on the invasion by an international coalition assembled by President George W. Bush after Sept. 11 to hunt down Osama bin Laden and dismantle the Taliban for providing safe haven to Al Qaeda. It was America's longest war and ended in a withdrawal of U.S. forces in August 2021, 10 months before Mr. Hadi pleaded guilty.

Sgt. Douglas Van Tassel, an active duty Canadian paratrooper, donned his uniform including his jump boots to testify to the loss of a compatriot, Cpl. Jamie B. Murphy, 26, who was killed in 2004 when a suicide bomber attacked their two-jeep convoy as they drove near Kabul.

Sergeant Van Tassel mopped tears from his eyes as he described how fear and the hardship of his continuing service had harmed his family. "I'm going to do it until I can't do it anymore," he said, declaring himself "afraid of not being busy" once he retires from service.

Under the rules of the court, victims cannot recommend a sentence to the jury of U.S. officers from the Army, Air Force and Marines who will decide a sentencing range of 25 to 30 years. Instead, the witnesses told their stories of loss.

To Maris Lebid, a detective on the police force in Cape Coral, Fla., her big brother Capt. Daniel W. Eggers, 28, was a leader and mentor to his six sisters and brothers by the time he and three other members of his Special Forces unit were killed by a land mine in Afghanistan in 2004.



THOMAS SIMONETTI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Bill Eggers and his daughter, Maris Lebid. His son, Capt. Daniel W. Eggers, was killed when his Humvee hit a land mine.

> *Stories from victims of insurgent attacks in wartime Afghanistan.*

She called him "the solid foundation in our family," the big brother who "always knew the right thing to say, the right thing to do."

Their father, Bill Eggers, a veteran of the Vietnam War, called his oldest son "my best friend and my son and my buddy," a man he shared war stories with between his deployments to Afghanistan.

After learning of his death, Mr. Eggers said, "my PTSD just went right through the roof." It is a condition, he said, that has caused cognitive difficulties and for which he receives treatment at a Veterans Affairs facility in Florida.

Tears ran down the face of retired Master Sgt. Robert Stout, a former National Guard soldier, who struggled to describe the trauma he has experienced since March 2004. His six-vehicle convoy had been shadowed by a suspicious taxi in Jalalabad that the soldier realized was probably an improvised car bomb.

It failed to explode, but Sergeant Stout, who in civilian life served as a bomb disposal expert with a state police unit, later discovered about 500 pounds of explosives packed inside and dismantled it. The episode has haunted him ever since and forced his early retirement from public service.

"I needed to get my calm back," he said, describing himself in a state of constant hypervigilance. Even now, two decades later, he said, "I have a problem with crying over stupid stuff. It's embarrassing as heck."

Colin Rich, a retired sergeant major in the U.S. Army, was led to the witness stand by a prosecution team escort to describe how he had been shot through the head by an enemy bullet on Dec. 29, 2002. By then, Mr. Hadi "directed, organized, funded, supplied and oversaw Al Qaeda's operations against U.S. and coalition forces in Afghanistan," according to his guilty plea.

In time, Sergeant Major Rich lost all but 20 percent of his vision. "My door-kicking days were over," he said, describing how he had continued to serve in an administrative capacity until he was medically retired five years later.

"I haven't driven in 20 years," he said. "I have to have people run my errands. I stay at home most of the time, waiting for another seizure to happen."

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Supreme Court's Leisurely Pace Will Lead to a Pileup of Late June Rulings

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court has been moving at a sluggish pace in issuing decisions this term, entering the second half of June with more than 20 left to go. That is not terribly different from the last two terms, when the pace at which the court issued decisions started to slow.

Over the almost two decades in which Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. has led the court, it has on average decided 72 percent of argued cases by this point in the term, according to data compiled by Lee Epstein, a law professor and political scientist at the University of Southern California. The corresponding number for the previous court, led by Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist from 1986 to 2005, was 78 percent.

But in the last three terms, the court has decided no more than 62 percent of the term's cases by June 14.

There are two main theories for why the court has started moving slowly, and they reinforce each other. The first is that the proportion of blockbusters is high, in this term in particular. In the coming weeks, the justices will weigh in on criminal charges against former President Donald J. Trump, abortion, guns, social media, homelessness, the opioid crisis and the power of executive agencies.

Of the 23 remaining cases, perhaps a dozen of them have the potential to reshape significant parts of American society.

The second theory is that the justices are not getting along very well in the aftermath of the leak of the decision overturning Roe v. Wade in 2022, the decision itself, the drumbeat of ethics scandals, the announcement of an ethics code that seems toothless and the drop in public respect for the court.

The justices themselves, whose party line has long been that they are a collegial bunch, have let slip a darker view in public appearances.

Soon after the leak, Justice Clarence Thomas said it was "like kind of an infidelity."

"Look where we are, where that trust or that belief is gone forever," he said. "And when you lose that trust, especially in the institution that I'm in, it changes the institution fundamentally. You begin to look over your shoulder."

He made a similar point last month, contrasting the current court to earlier ones.

"We may have been a dysfunctional family, but we were a family," he said of the old days. "And it would be inconceivable that anyone would leak an opinion of the court or do anything to intentionally harm one another."

In her own remarks last month, Justice Sonia Sotomayor said the court's direction has reduced her to tears. "There are days that I've come to my office after an announcement of a case and closed my door and cried," she said. "There have been those days. And there are likely to be more."

On Friday, Justice Sotomayor announced a dissent in a case on a firearms law from the bench, a rare move that signals profound disagreement.

The court has said that it will not issue more decisions until Thursday. It will doubtless add days for decision announcements the last week of June, the court's self-imposed deadline for finishing its work before the justices' summer break. But it will be a challenge to issue all of the remaining decisions by then.

The court has only once slipped into July in recent years, in 2021, during the coronavirus pandemic.

The court's pace has slackened even as the size of its docket in argued cases has dropped to levels not seen in many years.

So far this term, the court has issued 38 decisions in argued cases, and it is on track to issue a total of 61. In the 1980s, it was not unusual for the court to decide 150 cases in a term.

"This is the least hardworking court, as measured by the number of cases, since at least 1937," Professor Epstein said.

The court has decided a handful of major cases so far: a pair of unanimous decisions allowing former President Donald J. Trump to remain on the ballot and maintaining access to abortion pills, a lopsided rejection of a challenge to the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau and 6-to-3 rulings on voting and guns.

Two-thirds of the court's decisions so far have been unanimous. That is characteristic of the Roberts court, which tends to frontload those decisions. If history is any guide, there will be little consensus in the coming weeks.

Still to come:

- Whether Mr. Trump will face trial on charges that he tried to subvert the 2020 election
- Whether members of the mob that attacked the Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021, may be prosecuted under a federal obstruction law
- Whether emergency rooms in states with strict abortion bans must sometimes perform the procedure
- Whether the government may disarm people under domestic violence restraining orders
- Three cases on how the First Amendment applies to social media platforms
- Three cases seeking to limit the power of administrative agencies
- An effort to undo the Purdue Pharma bankruptcy settlement that would shield members of the wealthy Sackler family
- A challenge to a law said to make homelessness a crime



TOM BRENNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

James Kane and his partner, Barbie Agostini, brought cash that they found to the U.S. Treasury Bureau of Engraving and Printing.

What to Do With $70,000 Before It Disintegrates

By ALLIE CONTI

James Kane was bleary-eyed as he climbed onto the upper deck of a Megabus, wearing a cowboy hat with stickers and carrying a backpack that contained a small fortune.

He'd only gotten three hours of sleep the night before, as the previous day had been a blur of interviews with news wires, TV stations and radio programs. He was headed to Washington, more specifically to an obscure branch of the Treasury Department that dealt with mutilated currency.

It all started when he hoisted a safe out of a creek in Flushing Meadows Corona Park in Queens. Ever since losing his job during the pandemic, Mr. Kane had been trying to establish himself as a magnet fisherman with a YouTube channel. He had the cops on speed dial as someone who regularly found computer hard drives, gun parts and the occasional live grenade.

But a safe with money in it was the unspoken holy grail, and the responding officers said: finders keepers. The news spread to local reporters, who all wanted a piece of him and his partner-turned-videographer, Barbie Agostini. But then the news of their record-breaking haul began to traverse time zones. The couple even got the honor of asking a question on a celebrity game show in Australia: "Hi, we're James and Barbie from Queens, N.Y., and what did we find in the water last week?"

The answer, as breathlessly reported by The Guardian, the BBC, and The New York Post — and verified only by Mr. Kane himself — was a safe containing maybe $100,000. Technically, this is all he ever hoped for, though he hadn't really planned for what would happen if he ever hit it big. Now long-lost acquaintances were coming out of the woodwork, and strangers were bombarding the family with sob stories on social media. Feeling panicked, Mr. Kane emailed the government.

"All the immediate attention we're receiving from this money is driving us a little crazy and we're a little afraid," he wrote. "We don't have a lot of money so we're going to be using whatever we have for a bus to get down there." He also alluded to the fact that his plight was time-sensitive. The paper money, which had once been preserved in muck, was turning brittle and starting to disintegrate.

Mr. Kane thought there might be $40,000 left, tops, and that the amount seemed to be decaying with each passing day.

Back came what seemed like an automated response, albeit one with a physical address for the Bureau of Engraving and Printing on 14th Street NW. Having little else to go on and a sense that their future was slipping away, Mr. Kane and Ms. Agostini scraped together the $140 round-trip bus fare. And at 6:45 a.m. this past Friday, they boarded the bus to the capital. They figured it would all work out if they got to the bureau, which deals with damaged money, before it closed for the weekend. They had no appointment, but they were hoping for the best.



ALEX KENT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Using a magnet, they found a safe in a creek in Queens that contained tens of thousands of dollars in rapidly decaying bills.

"This is the most significant find in poor-people treasure-hunting history," Mr. Kane said. "I know it's the federal government, but I did expect a little humanity. Give us the red carpet!"

Though the clock was ticking, the couple had never really been outside New York, and they wanted to enjoy what they called a "daycation" in the nation's capital. Mr. Kane marveled at the natural history museum, which looked remarkably similar to the one in Manhattan. He couldn't get over the prevalence of Lime electric scooters, which weren't available in New York. He was certain that every waterway in Washington must be clogged with them and regretted not bringing his magnet.

But the biggest difference was that, in D.C., he felt anonymous again.

"In Queens, we can't walk three blocks without the mailman, the pizza man, some kids on the street being like 'You're that guy!" Mr. Kane said as he made his way toward the Treasury. "They think we have the money in our pockets. But nobody knows us here, which is very strange."

Mr. Kane walked into the Bureau of Engraving and put a two-and-a-half-inch knife, a can of pepper spray and the backpack with his waterlogged money through the metal detector. He hadn't actually rehearsed what he would say to the security guard on the other side.

"We are treasure hunters, and we found a safe full of money that was stolen," is what he went with. "It's squished, and it's been in a pond for about 10 years. It also smells terrible."

Without skipping a beat, the guard said something into his radio, and two professionally dressed Treasury employees, a man and a woman, promptly came downstairs. Both looked unfazed as Mr. Kane repeated his treasure hunter spiel. They rifled through his backpack and pulled out a plastic bag containing a stack of money that appeared to be a solid clump about four inches thick. "Yeah, all of this is currency," said the woman.

"Even the mud," said the man.

Right there in the lobby he estimated that Mr. Kane was holding somewhere in the ballpark of $50,000 to $70,000. They and the rest of their 11-person team would need about nine months to officially count it and replace it with unblemished currency. But when they were done, the money would be his, tax-free.

"America the beautiful!" Mr. Kane said.

The bureau had dealt with much worse cases before, the woman said — people who would mail in the remnants of money their grandparents had buried in the backyard, literal dust in some cases. This prompted Mr. Kane to briefly think of all the money he had just left lying in Corona Park, assuming it was too far gone. It had probably floated all the way out to the East River by now.

"The world doesn't run on money," he said. "But I'm going to search the entire island of Manhattan when I get home. One hundred percent."

After being handed a case number, he and Ms. Agostini walked out of the building and embraced. They wanted to celebrate, but they weren't rich just yet. So they approached a security guard for directions to the nearest Shake Shack.

The officer, who wore a lapel pin that said "Treasury Police," stared at the crazy-eyed people in the plastic cowboy hats who were pointing a video camera at him. Had a colleague at the metal detector informed him about the knife and the pepper spray? An eternity elapsed.

"Where are you guys from?" the Treasury cop asked. He narrowed his eyes.

Mr. Kane stared at the officer's holstered gun.

But then realization struck: The officer had seen those cowboy hats on TV. This was the magnet guy from New York, the one who'd found all that money in the lake.

"Let me take a picture with you, man," he said, reaching for his phone. "My wife is not going to believe this."

Why Is New York Considering Banning Masks on the Subway?

By CLAIRE FAHY

Gov. Kathy Hochul is exploring a ban on the wearing of face masks in New York City's subway amid concerns that such coverings could shield the identities of those committing hate crimes.

Interviewed on CNN Wednesday night, Ms. Hochul was asked whether she supported Jewish leaders' call for banning masks. She said she would consider reinstituting a prepandemic ban on wearing masks on the subway.

Ms. Hochul reiterated her position at a news conference in Albany on Thursday, saying that state officials would "not tolerate individuals using masks to evade being responsible for criminal or threatening behavior."

Her comments came as New York City continues to be the site of steady protests that began after the outbreak of the Israel-Hamas war on Oct. 7 and with antisemitic and Islamophobic hate crimes increasing. Yet, with state lawmakers having adjourned for the year, it was unclear if she could enact such a prohibition.

"My team is working on a solution, but on the subway, people should not be able to hide behind a mask to commit crimes," Ms. Hochul said on Thursday.

Can the governor ban masks on the subway?

The governor acknowledged that adopting a mask ban would most likely require legislative action. But the Legislature ended its 2024 session on June 8, and lawmakers are not expected back in Albany until January.

"I think the governor has gotten ahead of herself," said Michael Gianaris, a Queens Democrat and the State Senate's deputy majority leader. "This is not something that has been seriously discussed with the Legislature. I think it's a very serious proposal with all sorts of ramifications that may be unrelated to what she's trying to get at."

Mr. Gianaris added that the increase in antisemitic acts in the city was troubling but that regulating what people wear when the risk of contracting Covid-19 persists was not the solution. He called questioning what people wear on the subway, "fraught with peril."

Isn't Covid still a concern?

Ms. Hochul acknowledged there being "legitimate reasons" for people to wear masks on the subway, including their religious beliefs and concerns about getting sick with Covid or the flu. People covering their faces for those reasons would be exempt from a ban, she said.

It was not immediately clear how such a distinction would be enforced, since any rider could conceivably claim a religious or medical need to wear a mask.

Covid cases have risen in the city recently, with the number of daily cases doubling over the past month. The increase has been fueled by two Covid-19 subvariants, LB. 1 and KP. 2, both of which are offshoots of the JN.1 strain that dominated cases in the winter and spring and still accounts about 40 percent of cases circulating.

Although rising, case counts in the city are still well below where they were over the winter and last September. The rising numbers — along with the ubiquitous sneezing and coughing that resound across New York each May, when tree pollen fills the air — may have led some subway riders who had stopped wearing masks to start again.

What precipitated the governor's comments?

Last week, vandals attacked the Brooklyn Heights home of Anne Pasternak, the director of the Brooklyn Museum, smearing red paint and graffiti across the entryway at her apartment building and hanging a banner that accused her of being a "white-supremacist Zionist."

The episode followed a demonstration on Monday that began on Wall Street and ended with protesters flooding the Union Square subway station, where an unmasked man asked others on a crowded car to "raise your hand if you're a Zionist." Three people were arrested on fare evasion charges, the police said.

Masks were common at protests on college campuses this spring, with many participants saying they were covering their faces because they feared online harassment and other potential consequences of protesting.

Mayor Eric Adams said in a radio interview that protesters who covered their faces were "cowards." He invoked the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., saying that "Dr. King did not hide his face when he marched and for the things he thought were wrong in the country."

"I think now is the time to go back to the way it was pre-Covid, where you should not be able to wear a mask at protests and our subway," Mr. Adams said.

Grace Ashford and Joseph Goldstein contributed reporting.

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Medical Experts Alarmed by Florida's Out-of-Hospital Cesarean Sections

By RONI CARYN RABIN

A new law in Florida allowing doctors to perform cesarean sections in outpatient birthing centers has raised serious safety concerns among medical experts, who say the procedures carry a small but real risk of life-threatening complications and should not be undertaken outside hospitals.

The proposed new facilities, to be called advanced birth centers, will not be able to rapidly mobilize extra staff, equipment and expertise should complications suddenly occur, as a hospital would, critics noted.

"A pregnant patient who is considered low risk in one moment can suddenly need lifesaving care in the next," said Dr. Cole Greves, the Florida district chairman for the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists.

"Advanced birth centers, even with increased regulations, cannot guarantee the level of safety patients would receive within a hospital," he said.

Florida's law, the first of its kind in the nation, comes as the United States grapples with a maternal mortality rate that far exceeds those of comparable high-income countries.

Florida itself lags behind other states in maternal care, getting a D+ grade in a recent March of Dimes report because of higher-than-average maternal mortality rates and mortality rates among Black babies that are double those of white infants. The state has high rates of C-sections, and rates of preterm births and infant deaths are worse than the national average.

The law stipulates that the new advanced birth centers will have to be equipped with at least one surgical suite and be able to transfer patients to a hospital if necessary. The measure does not say how near the hospital must be.

Yet C-section complications, like bleeding and damage to surrounding tissue, "require immediate attention and assistance from other hospital teams, and resources like an intensive care unit, ventilators and additional surgical assistance," said Dr. Nandini Raghuraman, an assistant professor of maternal fetal medicine at Washington University in St. Louis.

"These are all the kinds of things that when we do need them, we need them emergently," she said. "Any delay may be life-threatening."

The new law also permits advanced birth centers to care for women attempting a vaginal delivery after a previous cesarean delivery, despite the fact that these births can be extremely dangerous if the uterus ruptures and massive bleeding ensues.

"You have 15 to 20 minutes until the oxygen supply to the baby stops and the baby dies or suffers brain damage," said Dr. Aaron Elkin, a Florida obstetrician. He said he supports health care innovation but thinks patients must be informed of potential hazards.

Women in labor, not just fetuses, face risks in these settings, he said: "The uterus gets 20 percent of the blood that the heart is pumping when you are at term pregnancy. In minutes, you can lose your entire blood supply."

KFF Health News reported that a physicians' group called Women's Care Enterprises, owned by the London-based investment firm BC Partners, lobbied for the legislative change. Gov. Ron DeSantis signed the bill into law in March as part of a comprehensive health care package that included initiatives aimed at bolstering the state's health care force.

The law also raised reimbursement rates for Medicaid providers, though it did not expand the program to cover all low-income residents, leaving many Floridians uninsured.

A representative for the investment firm did not respond when asked whether Women's Care Enterprises had lobbied for the new law. Women's Care Enterprises does not currently provide cesarean deliveries outside a hospital setting, the group said in a statement last week, nor does it foresee doing so.

Mathieu Bigand, a director of private equity at BC Partners, and the firm's co-head of health, Michael Chang, did not respond to requests for comment. Aides to State Sen. Gayle Harrell, who sponsored the bill in the Florida Legislature, said she was not reachable.



ERIC FOWKE/ALAMY

A new law allows doctors to perform the procedure, which has a risk of life-threatening complications, in outpatient birth centers.

Advanced birth centers were promoted as a way to expand access to maternity care in the state, where many hospitals have closed their labor and delivery departments in recent years. So-called maternity care deserts have grown in rural areas outside Florida's major cities.

The state lags behind in maternal care, with higher mortality rates.

The trend is a national one: More than 200 hospitals across the country have closed labor and delivery units since 2011, often because they are unprofitable and harder to staff than other hospital services.

Only two of Florida's 21 rural hospitals were still providing labor and delivery care as of April, according to a report from the Center for Healthcare Quality and Payment Reform, a national policy center.

In February, North Shore Medical Center in northern Miami-Dade County, a medically underserved area, abruptly closed its labor and delivery unit amid financial problems.

Whether advanced birth centers will expand access to maternity care in the state is uncertain, experts said. About half of all deliveries in Florida are to women insured by Medicaid, the government health plan for low-income Americans, whose low reimbursement rates cover only a fraction of the costs and put a strain on hospitals.

The new law requires advanced birth centers to accept Medicaid patients, but private equity-owned practices tend to focus on the bottom line and aim to maximize profits.

If the centers were to cap the number of Medicaid beneficiaries they would accept and primarily serve privately insured patients, the facilities might draw well-insured patients from hospitals, adding to their financial challenges and exacerbating inequities.

"I don't think this will have any effect on addressing provider shortages or maternity deserts, which tend to be in rural areas," said Julia Strasser, director of the Jacobs Institute of Women's Health at George Washington University.

Mary Mayhew, the chief executive of the Florida Hospital Association, agreed, but said the association's main objections to the creation of the advanced birth centers involved safety concerns.

"There's no such thing as a low-risk C-section, and they should not be done outside of a hospital," Ms. Mayhew said.

The proposed centers will be distinct from birth centers, which are also located outside hospitals but are based on a midwifery model of care and only accept low-risk patients. Those facilities transfer any woman who may need a cesarean section to a hospital, said Kate Bauer, executive director of the American Association of Birth Centers.

Ms. Bauer said that the term "advanced birth centers" — so similar to the birthing centers run primarily by midwives — would muddy the waters for patients.

Advanced birth centers "are 180 degrees different from what the birth center model is all about," she said. "A birth center is more than just wallpaper and curtains — it's a whole model of care."

Nor are advanced birth centers comparable in any way to ambulatory care surgery facilities, which perform scheduled elective procedures, not emergency procedures, said Kara Newbury, chief advocacy officer for the Ambulatory Surgery Center Association.

Most procedures in outpatient surgical centers "can be done in less than an hour," she said, "with the vast majority of patients leaving the same calendar day." Procedures typically do not involve the risk of excessive blood loss. It is rare for an outpatient surgical center to even have an agreement with a blood bank, she said.

For a small facility, maintaining blood bank inventories on site can be challenging. Blood and platelets must be immediately available but have a short shelf life, according to Daniel Parra, a spokesman for the American Red Cross.

Conditions like postpartum hemorrhage, which may require at least two units of red blood cells, can be deadly if not rapidly recognized and treated, Mr. Parra said. Dozens of additional units may have to be transfused if bleeding continues or worsens, he added.

Physicians at advanced birth centers may be incentivized to perform planned elective cesarean section deliveries more frequently, both because of higher reimbursement rates to providers, compared with vaginal births, and the convenience of advance scheduling, said Dr. Grace Chen, an obstetrician and gynecologist who has written about cesarean sections.

"My worry is it will drive up the C-section rate," Dr. Chen said. About one in three births in the United States is a cesarean section, up from one in five in 1996, even though the surgeries are associated with more complications than vaginal births and can increase the risks of future pregnancies.

Researchers have raised concerns about the quality of care at profit-driven health care facilities owned by investment firms.

A recent analysis of 4.1 million Medicare hospitalizations found that adverse events like falls and infections were higher at hospitals owned by for-profit private equity firms compared with a control group of hospitals, even though the hospitals acquired by private equity had younger and fewer low-income patients, and transferred many of the patients with complicated illnesses to other facilities.

Dr. Amos Grünebaum, a professor of obstetrics and gynecology at the Zucker School of Medicine at Hofstra University who has published studies examining the safety of varying birth settings, said it was the first time that he had ever heard of cesarean sections performed outside hospitals anywhere in the world.

"Pregnancy is not like any other situation, because you have two patients, the baby and the mother, and sometimes they need to be cared for in different ways," Dr. Grünebaum said.

He argued that there is no such thing as a low-risk patient or a low-risk C-section.

"Every C-section is high risk. Period. End of story," he said.

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Rabbi Moshe Kotlarsky, an Emissary for Jews Worldwide, Dies at 75

By JOSEPH BERGER

Rabbi Moshe Kotlarsky, who helped establish scores of outposts around the world for the Chabad-Lubavitch Hasidic movement and served as a global ambassador of sorts to aid its far-flung emissaries in accomplishing their mission of revitalizing Jewish life, died on June 4 at his home in Crown Heights, Brooklyn, the seat of the movement. He was 75.

Rabbi Motti Seligson, Chabad's director of public relations, confirmed the death. He said Rabbi Kotlarsky had been diagnosed with pancreatic cancer.

The 250-year-old Chabad-Lubavitch movement has some 6,000 emissaries, known as shluchim, in more than 100 countries and all 50 states. These include places with few Jewish residents, such as Kathmandu, Nepal, which offers access to Jewish observance for climbers and trekkers in the Himalayas.

Chabad is an acronym for the Hebrew words for wisdom, understanding and knowledge, and Lubavitch is the town, in what is now Russia, where Chabad was centered for a century until World War I.

Rabbi Kotlarsky traveled tens of thousands of miles to respond to requests for an institutional presence in sparse Jewish communities in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and the former Soviet Union. He also scouted out what might be required in an established outpost — in Europe, the United States or elsewhere — to strengthen the mission of an emissary couple, typically a rabbi and his wife.

He might ask representatives of a Jewish community whether they needed help in setting up a school or a mikvah, for taking ritual baths.

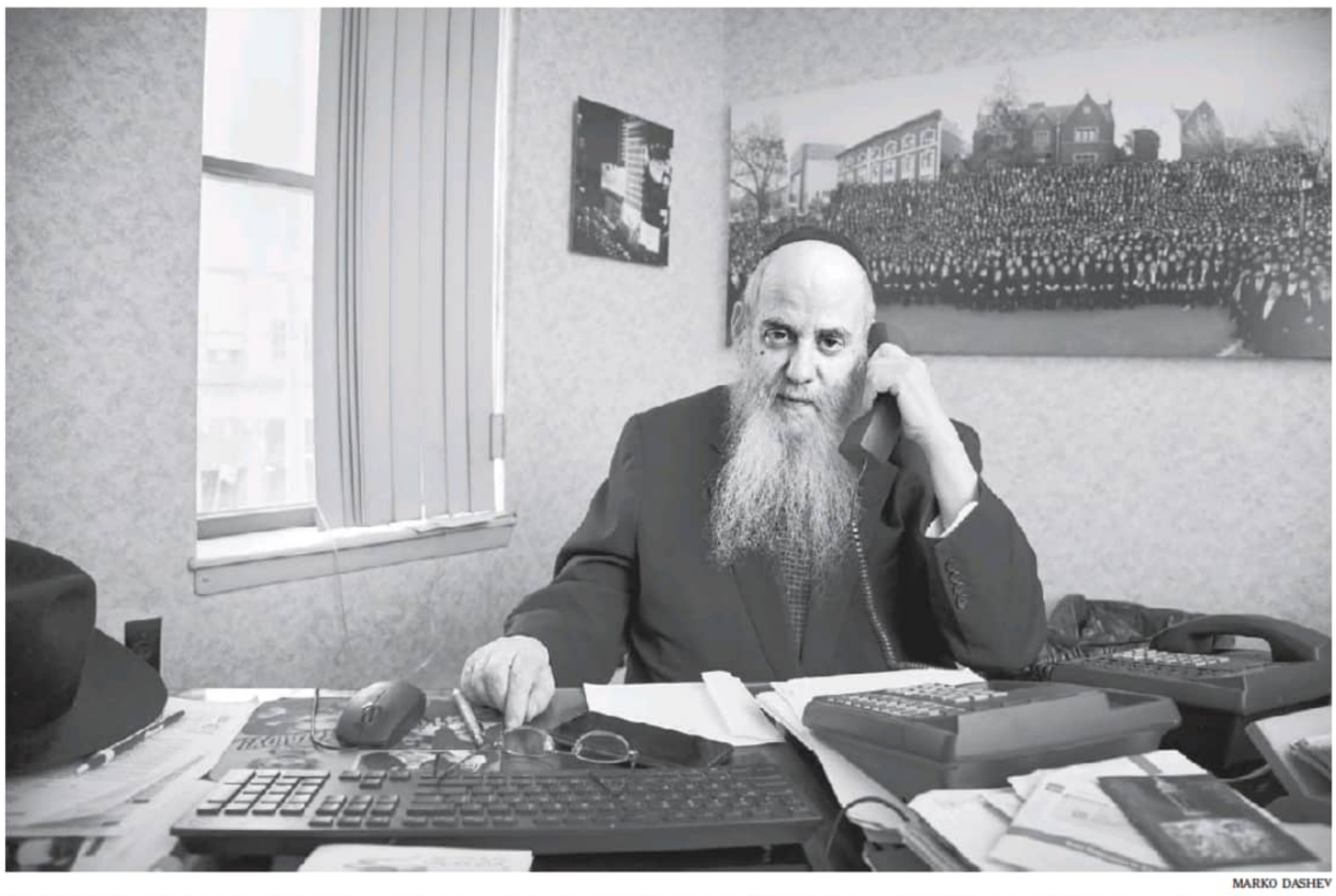
He also functioned as a kind of troubleshooter. When terrorists attacked a Chabad house in Mumbai, India, and killed the emissaries there in 2008, Rabbi Kotlarsky spoke at their funeral.

He was particularly effective — through the campaign Chabad on Campus International, begun in 1999 — in setting up many of the 346 sites now serving 318 college campuses in 23 countries that expose nonobservant Jewish students to the faith's traditions and thought.

For a lonesome student raised in a secular or moderately observant home, hot bowls of chicken soup shared at a table on Sabbath with other students might lead to the regular lighting of Sabbath eve candles for young women or the donning of tefillin (ritual assemblages of leather boxes and straps) for young men.

As a result of such initiatives, Chabad's growth in the past three decades has been explosive, making Chabad far more influential than larger Hasidic sects like Satmar and Ger, which do not proselytize among secular Jewish communities.

"They are in more places in the world than any other Hasidic group and most visible to the world because of their outreach — largely thanks to Kotlarsky," said Samuel Heilman, a distinguished professor emeritus of sociology and Jewish studies at the City University of New York and the author, with Menachem Friedman, of "The Rebbe: The Life and Afterlife of Menachem Mendel Schneerson" (2010), a book about the Chabad movement's revered longtime spiritual leader.



MARKO DASHEV

Rabbi Moshe Kotlarsky in 2021. He traveled tens of thousands of miles on behalf of the Chabad-Lubavitch Hasidic movement.



SHMULIE GROSSBAUM/CHABAD.ORG

A group photo of rabbis in front of Chabad-Lubavitch headquarters in Brooklyn in 2023 indicates the movement's huge growth.

Although Chabad has about 90,000 adherents, fewer than at least two other Hasidic sects, 38 percent of America's 6.3 million Jews participate in one of its activities at some time, a Pew survey found in 2020. When all its outposts are included, Chabad claims to have the largest network of synagogues in America, with more than 1,000 places of worship.

Rabbi Schneerson, who was known as the Rebbe, died in 1994 at 92 and was so revered — many followers viewed him as the Messiah — that he was never replaced as the movement's spiritual leader. Rabbi Yehuda Krinsky, a longtime aide to Rabbi Schneerson, eventually assumed administrative leadership, and Rabbi Kotlarsky was sometimes spoken of as his heir apparent. Rabbi Kotlarsky was the vice chairman of Merkos L'Inyonei Chinuch (the Central Organization for Jewish Education), the movement's educational arm, of which Rabbi Krinsky is chairman.

Making it his mission to help the far-flung and the secular members of the faith.

Rabbi Kotlarsky shrugged off any higher ambitions. "I try to be a very humble servant serving the Rebbe's mission," he told the Jewish newspaper The Forward in 2013, adding, "I just work in the things that I've always been working."

In a statement on Tuesday, Rabbi Krinsky praised his vice chairman: "Rabbi Kotlarsky's dedication to the Rebbe's vision of concern for every single Jew has profoundly impacted the vitality of Jewish life around the world."

Rabbi Kotlarsky's stature was evident in 2010 at the annual gathering of emissaries in New York, highlighted by a colossal banquet. (The dinner, which was attended by 4,500 guests, was held in the cargo area of a Brooklyn cruise ship terminal and required 90 chefs and 340 waiters.) A genial man who loved a good joke, Rabbi Kotlarsky would host these events and, in his booming voice, call on emissaries from each country and state to stand, in a ceremony much like the roll call at a political convention.

He also had a knack for fund-raising and was able to cultivate relationships with wealthy donors, like the investor Sami Rohr and his son, George.

Moshe Yehuda Kotlarsky was a Chabadnik from birth. He was born on May 28, 1949, in Crown Heights and raised in a home not far from 770 Eastern Parkway, the Gothic-style brick building that is the center of the Chabad world and that for a time was Rabbi Schneerson's home.

His father, Rabbi Tzvi Yosef Kotlarsky, a native of Poland, studied at Chabad yeshivas in Lublin and Warsaw and taught at a Chabad yeshiva in the resort town of Otwock, near Warsaw. He survived the Nazi occupation of Poland by obtaining a visa from the celebrated Japanese diplomat Chiune Sugihara and making his way to Shanghai. He then traveled to Montreal and, later, to Brooklyn, where he was a yeshiva administrator. His mother, Goldie (Schimelman) Kotlarsky, managed the household.



CHABAD.ORG/NEWS

Rabbi Kotlarsky in 2022 with his son Rabbi Mendy Kotlarsky, one of his nine children.

Moshe attended a Chabad yeshiva in Crown Heights and also studied in Montreal before returning to Brooklyn to take up Chabad work. According to the website Chabad.org, he and his wife, Rivka (Kazen) Kotlarsky, informed Rabbi Schneerson in the early 1970s that they wanted to be posted to a remote community as shluchim, but Rabbi Schneerson thought that Rabbi Kotlarsky would be more valuable remaining in Crown Heights working at Merkos L'Inyonei Chinuch, whose board he joined in 1998. Rivka took a job teaching at the Beth Rivkah schools for girls in Brooklyn.

She survives him, as do his nine children: Chanie Wolowik, Rabbi Mayer Kotlarsky, Sarah Benjaminson, Nechama Greenberg, Rabbi Mendy Kotlarsky, Rabbi Sruly Kotlarsky, Rabbi Levi Kotlarsky, Rabbi Dovid Kotlarsky and Goldie Perlstein. All of his children are Chabad emissaries except Mendy Kotlarsky, who is executive director of a research program at Chabad headquarters that supports the emissaries. He is also survived by many grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

Like many Chabadniks, Rabbi Kotlarsky frequently quoted Rabbi Schneerson to explain his own decisions. According to the Chabad website, he recalled a time in 1984 when, at the Rebbe's behest, he traveled to the Caribbean island of Curaçao to visit a family whose son attended a Protestant-run school and was being pressured to take part in its religious services. Rabbi Kotlarsky arranged for the boy to attend a Chabad summer camp in the Catskills and a Chabad yeshiva in Brooklyn.

In gratitude, the father wrote a note to Rabbi Schneerson thanking him for caring for "a small Jew from Curaçao." The Rebbe replied in a letter:

"I must take exception to your referring to yourself as a small Jew from Curacao. There is no such thing as a small Jew, and a Jew must never underestimate his or her tremendous potential."

For the rest of his life, according to the website, Rabbi Kotlarsky "would cite these words from the Rebbe as a source of personal guidance and inspiration."

Remo Saraceni, 89; Invented Walking Piano in 'Big'

By ALEX TRAUB

Remo Saraceni, a sculptor, toy inventor and technological fantasist best known for creating the Walking Piano that Tom Hanks and Robert Loggia danced on in a beloved scene of the hit 1988 movie "Big," died on June 3 in Swarthmore, Pa. He was 89.

The cause was heart failure, said Benjamin Medaugh, his assistant and caretaker. Mr. Saraceni died at Mr. Medaugh's home, where he had been living in recent years.

Mr. Saraceni's specialty was "interactive electronics," he told New York magazine in 1976. His other inventions included a clock that could reply aloud when you asked it the time, a stethoscope stereo system that could boom out your heartbeat, and Plexiglas clouds that lit up at the sound of a whistle with a pastel color appropriate for a room's lighting. All were powered by what Mr. Saraceni (pronounced SAR-ah-SAY-nee) called "people energy": the voice, touch and heat of the human body.

The power of this sort of technology to enchant its users became a pivotal plot element of "Big," and in turn the central prop in one of the most fondly recalled scenes in recent movie history.

After wishing to be "big" at a magical Zoltar fortunetelling machine, the movie's main character, Josh Baskin, transforms from a 12-year-old boy into a young adult (played by Mr. Hanks). He gets a clerical job at a toy company whose owner, Mac (Robert Loggia), recognizes Josh as his employee one Saturday at F.A.O. Schwarz. Mac is a shrewd capitalist surveying his industry in action; Josh is a boy exulting in the world of toys (albeit in a man's body).

As Josh impresses Mac with his close knowledge of F.A.O. Schwarz's wares, they happen upon Mr. Saraceni's nearly 16-foot-long Walking Piano. With childlike absorption, Josh begins hopping on it to the tune of "Heart and Soul." Mac, inspired by Josh's un-self-conscious delight, joins him, making the performance a duet. To an awe-struck crowd, the two of them then do a rendition of "Chopsticks."

Mac names Josh vice president of product development at the company, setting the rest of the movie's plot in motion.

"It was like jumping rope for three and a half hours every time we did the scene," Mr. Hanks told Playboy in 1989. "We rehearsed until we dropped."

The film grossed over $150 million and supercharged Mr. Hanks's status as a Hollywood star, earning him his first Academy Award nomination (for best actor). It also inspired decades of visitors to F.A.O. Schwarz, where it was normal for hundreds of people in a single day to line up to play the keys with their sneakers, sandals and loafers.

In a note to himself he wrote, 'America is where everything is possible.'

"Even if you don't know how to play the piano with your fingers, you can play it with your feet," Mr. Saraceni told The New York Post in 2013.

He introduced the earliest form of the piano at the Philadelphia Civic Center Museum in 1970, according to the sports and pop culture site The Ringer. Called "Musical Daisy," it was an interactive sculpture with eight pillowy petals that played different notes when sat on. He kept experimenting with the idea, turning the daisy into a musical carpet before he unveiled the piano concept at his Philadelphia studio in 1982.

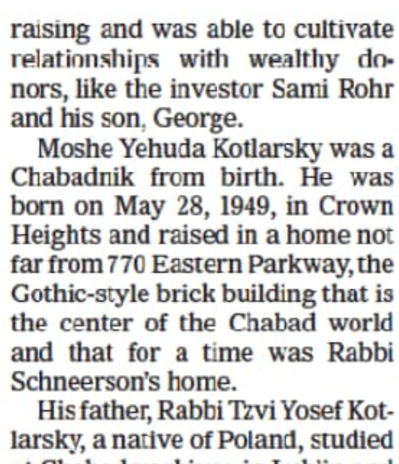
F.A.O. Schwarz acquired a Walking Piano not long after. In 1985, new management at the store sought to make it a destination for film and television shoots. Anne Spielberg, the sister of Steven Spielberg and a co-writer of the "Big" script, paid a visit and "came back raving" about the piano, the other writer, Gary Ross, told The Ringer.

At the request of the director, Penny Marshall, Mr. Saraceni made a new version of the piano with three octaves instead of one and keys that lit up upon being played.



20TH CENTURY FOX, VIA EVERETT COLLECTION

Robert Loggia and Tom Hanks dancing on Mr. Saraceni's creation in "Big," the hit 1988 movie.



THE ESTATE OF REMO SARACENI

Remo Saraceni in 1971. His creations, which he called "interactive electronics," responded to the voice, touch and heat of the human body.

Though no other invention of Mr. Saraceni's became even remotely as well known as his piano, many others inspired similar delight.

Remo Saraceni was born on Jan. 15, 1935, in Fossacesia, a city on the southern coast of Italy. His father, Giuseppe, worked with relatives to make shoes and other leather goods, and his mother, Filomena Carulli, managed the home.

Remo began inventing as a boy. His father got into trouble, he told The Chestnut Hill Local, when Remo turned a poster of Mussolini into a kite.

He took classes in electronics in Milan and worked as a radar specialist in the Italian military, but as a civilian he worked as a television repairman. He also started his own brand of large portable suitcase-like turntables. He came to the United States in 1964 for the World's Fair and to seek a better livelihood — even though he spoke no English and had no American friends and no savings.

He again found work as a TV repairman and affixed a note to his bathroom mirror: "America is where everything is possible."

He married Maria Francione in 1965. They divorced in 1976 but remarried in 1995, when she was ill, and she died shortly after. He is survived by their sons, Ugo and Luca, and two grandchildren.

At the height of his success, in the early 1990s, Mr. Saraceni had his own 20,000-square-foot workshop in Philadelphia with about 20 employees. Children particularly loved visiting, and many of Mr. Saraceni's clients were children's museums around the world. He made them devices like a "musical hand": motion sensors hooked up to a sheet of music. Children could wave their hands like conductors and hear classical music coordinated to their movements.

After "Big," Mr. Saraceni's work exploded in popularity. But he was also forced to spend time chasing down copycat manufacturers and suing companies for trademark infringement.

At the end of his life, he was in a legal battle with a firm called ThreeSixty Group, which acquired F.A.O. Schwarz in 2016. Mr. Medaugh, Mr. Saraceni's heir and executor, said that he will continue the suit, which accuses the store of selling knockoffs of Mr. Saraceni's work without properly compensating him and says that this left him destitute.

Mr. Saraceni's pianos may still be purchased for between $6,000 and $16,500, depending on size, by emailing info@bigpiano.com, Mr. Medaugh said. They represent the possibility of a wholesome, fanciful relationship between people and technology.

"Technology should live and breathe with you," Mr. Saraceni told The Daily News in 1983. "It should respond to you, not you to it."

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Akira Endo, Scholar of Statins, Is Dead at 90

By HISAKO UENO and MIKE IVES

Akira Endo, a Japanese biochemist whose research on fungi helped to lay the groundwork for widely prescribed drugs that lower a type of cholesterol that contributes to heart disease, died on June 5. He was 90.

Chiba Kazuhiro, the president of Tokyo University of Agriculture and Technology, where Dr. Endo was a professor emeritus, confirmed the death in a statement. The statement did not give a cause or say where he died.

Cholesterol, mostly made in the liver, has important functions in the body. It is also a major contributor to coronary artery disease, a leading cause of death in the United States, Japan and many other countries.

In the early 1970s, Dr. Endo grew fungi in an effort to find a natural substance that could block a crucial enzyme that is part of the production of cholesterol. Some scientists worried that doing so might threaten cholesterol's positive functions.

Orlando Mayorquín and Gina Kolata contributed reporting.

But by 1980, Dr. Endo's team had found that a cholesterol-lowering drug, or statin, lowered the LDL, or "bad" cholesterol level, in the blood. And by 1987, after other researchers in the field had published additional research on statins, Merck was manufacturing the first licensed statin.

Such drugs have proven effective in reducing the risk of cardiovascular disease, and millions of people in the United States and beyond now take them for high levels of LDL.

Akira Endo was born on Nov. 14, 1933, in Yurihonjo, a city in a mountainous area near the Sea of Japan. His parents were farmers, and he developed an interest in mushrooms and molds, which would influence his work as a scientist.

He worked in rice fields by day and attended high school, against his parents' wishes, by night. He was partly inspired by a desire to help farmers struggling with agricultural pests, said Kozo Sasada, a spokesman for Endo Akira Kenshokai, a group that honors Dr. Endo's legacy.

Dr. Endo said his career was also inspired by a biography he read of Alexander Fleming, the Scottish biologist who discovered penicillin in the 1920s.

"For me Fleming was a hero," he told Igaku-Shoin, a Japanese medical publisher, in 2014. "I dreamed of becoming a doctor as a child, but realized a new horizon as people who are not doctors can save people's lives and contribute to society."

After studying agriculture at Tohoku University, he joined Sankyo, a Japanese pharmaceutical company, in the late 1950s. His first assignment was manufacturing enzymes for fruit juices and wines at a factory in Tokyo.

He developed a more efficient way of cultivating mold by applying a method he had used as a child to make miso and pickled vegetables, he later told M3, a website for Japanese medical professionals. His reward was a promotion to the company's microbiology and chemistry laboratory.

In the 1960s, he received a doctoral degree in biochemistry from Tohoku University. He also lived for a few years in New York City, where he worked as a research associate at the Albert Einstein College of Medicine.

At the time, he later told M3, he wanted to invent a cure for stroke, the leading cause of death in Japan. Strokes had caused the deaths of his father and his grandparents.

"But when I went to the States," he said, "I learned there were many heart disease cases, so I switched."

Back at Sankyo, he grew more than 6,000 fungi in the early 1970s as part of an effort to find a natural substance that could block a crucial enzyme involved in the production of cholesterol.

"I knew nothing but mold, so I decided to look for it in mold," he said.



JIJI PRESS, VIA AFP — GETTY IMAGES

Akira Endo called Alexander Fleming, the biologist who discovered penicillin, a "hero."

He grew over 6,000 fungi before finding one that could reduce cholesterol levels.

He eventually found what he was looking for: a strain of penicillium, or blue mold, that, in chickens, reduced levels of an enzyme that cells need to make LDL cholesterol.

Dr. Endo's survivors include his wife, Orie; a son, Osamu; and a daughter, Chiga, according to Endo Akira Kenshokai. Complete information on survivors was not immediately available.

After Dr. Endo left Sankyo in the late 1970s, he worked as a professor at several Japanese universities and served as the president of Biopharm Research Laboratories, a Japanese pharmaceutical company. In 2008, he received a Lasker Award, the most prestigious prize in medicine next to the Nobel, for his medical research.

Dr. Endo said in the 2014 interview that he had tried to build a career around solving a problem that was global and not particular to Japan. He likened his work to scaling peaks much taller than Mount Takao in Tokyo.

"If I were to climb a mountain," he said, "Mount Everest would be better."

Mark James, 83, Who Won Song of the Year Grammy

By ALEXANDRA E. PETRI

Mark James, a genre-defying, Grammy Award-winning songwriter whose hits included "Suspicious Minds," "Hooked on a Feeling" and "Always on My Mind," died on June 8 at his home in Nashville. He was 83.

His death was confirmed by his daughter Sammie Zambon.

Among the many stars who lent their voices to Mr. James's catalog of songs over the years were Elvis Presley and Willie Nelson.

His career of powerhouse hits began in 1968 when the country and pop hitmaker B.J. Thomas, a lifelong friend, recorded "The Eyes of a New York Woman," which reached the Billboard Top 40. Mr. Thomas followed it with another song by Mr. James, "Hooked on a Feeling," a celebration of newfound love that hit No. 5 that year. It did even better in 1974, when the Swedish rock band Blue Swede's version reached No. 1.

Mr. James catapulted into a different stratosphere in 1969 when Elvis Presley cut "Suspicious Minds," a song Mr. James himself had recorded and released as a single, to little notice, the previous year. Presley's version became one of his biggest hits, reaching No. 1 in 27 countries. It was his last No. 1 single.

"Suspicious Minds" was twice included on Rolling Stone's list of the 500 greatest songs of all time — at No. 91 in 2004 and No. 70 in 2024.

"Always on My Mind," which Mr. James wrote with Wayne Carson and Johnny Christopher, became one of his most celebrated works. Brenda Lee recorded the first version, in 1972; Presley released his take in 1973; and John Wesley Ryles had a Top 20 country hit with his version in 1979, according to the Texas Heritage Songwriters Association.



CHARLES SYKES/INVISION, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Mark James performing at the Songwriters Hall of Fame Awards in 2014. He was also in Nashville's Country Music Hall of Fame.

But the best-known version of "Always on My Mind" was Willie Nelson's, released in 1982. It earned Mr. James and his collaborators the Grammy for song of the year and best country song, and it was also named song of the year by the Country Music Association. The record was inducted into the Grammy Hall of Fame in 2008.

His hit songs were recorded by Elvis Presley, Brenda Lee and Willie Nelson.

Mr. James's songs have also been recorded by Michael Bublé, Jay-Z, the Pet Shop Boys, Bill Withers, Fine Young Cannibals and others. They have been featured in the films "Reservoir Dogs" and "Lilo & Stich" and in the "Guardians of the Galaxy" franchise.

Mr. James was inducted into the Songwriters Hall of Fame, the Nashville Songwriters Hall of Fame and the Texas Songwriters Hall of Fame. In 1999, Broadcast Music Inc., the music rights management company, included "Hooked on a Feeling," "Suspicious Minds" and "Always on My Mind" on its list of the 100 greatest songs of the 20th century.

Mr. James was born Francis Rodney Zambon on Nov. 29, 1940, in Houston. (The Houston Chronicle reported that he used the name Mark James because, when he began performing, club owners in Houston "didn't like the sound of Francis Zambon.")

In addition to his daughter Sammie, his survivors include his wife, Karen Zambon; another daughter, Dana Zambon; a brother, Rollin; and two grandchildren.

Elvis Presley recorded five songs by Mr. James in all. They were the title tracks of two of his albums, "Raised on Rock" and "Moody Blue."

In an interview with The Tennessean, Mr. James recalled the moment when Presley was booked for a studio in Memphis and he realized that "Suspicious Minds" would be perfect for him.

"I turned around in the chair and it was like seeing a golden number one and I knew that was the song I'd been looking for," he said. He felt, he added, like "shaking Elvis and saying, 'This is a great one for you, man, to record.' But I knew probably everyone in the world had probably said that to him. So all I could do is tell the guys around him, 'Get him to cut this, this is a great one for him!'"

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The New York Times

Deaths

ADLER—John.



John Adler, 96, passed away June 11, 2024 in Greenwich, CT. The son of Helen and Morton Adler, John was born September 29, 1927 in New York City. He grew up in New Rochelle, NY, where he met the love of his life, Viola, who became his second wife. He graduated in 1949 from Dartmouth College and the Tuck School, Phi Beta Kappa. John began his long and successful business career on the Gimbels training squad and ended there as assistant general manager for operations. He also served for two years in the Army, during which time, in Hawaii, his eldest child Lani was born. Following Gimbels, in 1960 John became a consultant for Booz Allen Hamilton. He left Booz Allen to start his own company, AdTel, which measured the effectiveness of television advertising and tested new products. AdTel was ultimately merged into Booz Allen. In 1977 John started his own mergers and acquisitions firm, which specialized in smaller food and beverage companies, and also handled a few leveraged buy-out transactions. In the early 1970's John acquired a full set of Harper's Weekly Magazines (which were published between 1857 and 1912). He ultimately had all 73,000 pages of them manually indexed, over a period of twelve years, creating the HarpWeek database that is now used in more than 500 colleges, universities and libraries. Harper's Weekly published many Thomas Nast cartoons, and John became a Nast expert and went on to write and publish two books about Nast, "Doomed by Cartoon: How Cartoonist Thomas Nast and The New York Times Brought Down Boss Tweed and His Ring of Thieves" (2008), and "Thomas Nast: America's Most Influential Journalist" (2022). For his work on HarpWeek John was awarded the E-Lincoln Prize. John ran a small family foundation that funded more than 500 post-doctoral scientists doing research in Alzheimer's disease, diabetes, eye conditions and certain cancers; and in 1991 John established the Adler Foundation Symposium for Alzheimer's Disease research, held annually at the Salk Institute, which has brought together scientists working in different areas of Alzheimer's research to collaborate and share their perspectives. Some have said that at least a quarter of the advances that have been made in Alzheimer's diagnoses and treatment have occurred as a result of the Adler Symposium. John also served as a Salk trustee for 18 years. John was devoted to his family, and relished time with his children and grandchildren. He was divorced from his first wife, and in 1982 married his childhood sweetheart, Vi. They had a happy marriage for 31 years until she died. He is survived by Lani and his son Johnny (Sherri), his grandchildren, Luke (Kathleen), Ryan, Hannah, Josh (Anna) and great-grandchildren, Theo, Cecilia, Oliver and Violet, as well as by his sister, Daisy Potter, and his companion, Ulla. Donations in John's memory can be made to the Salk Institute in La Jolla, CA. https://campaign.salk.edu/ways-to-give/

BLOOM—Anne R.,
December 24, 1923 - June 9, 2024. Psychologist, loving wife of the late Samuel W. Bloom, mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother.

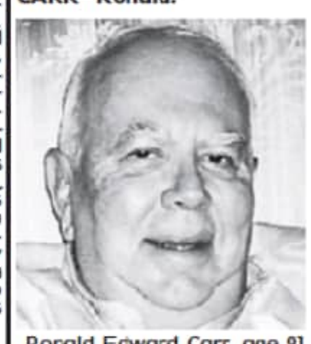
BRILL—Marcia Wanderman.
August 23, 1931 - June 10, 2024. Resident of Manhattan and North Truro, MA. Widow of William W. Brill. Mother of Robin Rosenfeld Davis and the late Tony Brill. Mother-in-law of Mindy Paget Brill. Grandmother of PJ Elbakri, Billy and Emma Brill. Sister of Lisa Wanderman Gottlieb. No funeral nor memorial planned at this time.

BRODHERSON—Dr. Michael S.,
passed away peacefully on June 11 at Lenox Hill Hospital, where he practiced as a urologist for over 40 years. He was 77. Michael is survived by his wife of 54 years, Merry, his son, Marc, and daughter-in-law, Sarah Ryan, and his beloved grandchildren, Eloise, Margot and Henry. They will cherish the memory of his irrepressible optimism, generosity, humor and love for music and for life, as will the hundreds of friends, colleagues and patients whose lives he touched along the way. He is truly irreplaceable and will be sorely missed. Donations can be made in his honor to the Metropolitan Opera's Memorial Gifts fund.

BROWN—W.L. Lyons Jr.,
The Trustees and staff of The Metropolitan Museum of Art are deeply saddened by the loss of Honorary Trustee and Benefactor, Ambassador W.L. Lyons Brown, Jr. Ambassador Brown was a devoted philanthropist, business leader, and civil servant with an abiding passion for art, history, and education. His experience and expertise were invaluable, and it was a privilege to have his insight throughout the decades he served this institution as a friend, supporter, and leader. After first joining the Museum's Business Committee in 1986, Ambassador Brown became increasingly involved with The Met and was elected an Honorary Trustee in 2010. Alongside his wife, fellow Benefactor Alice Cary Brown, he was a longtime member of The Chairman's Council and provided vital support for the new American Wing Galleries for Paintings, Sculpture, and Decorative Arts - we are honored that a gallery in the Wing bears their names. Ambassador Brown was a great supporter of the Museum's special exhibitions program, and, with Mrs. Brown, established an endowment to support these important presentations in perpetuity, which has since made possible some of the Museum's finest recent exhibitions, including last year's critically acclaimed "Manet/Degas." Amidst these and many other extraordinary contributions, Ambassador Brown maintained a thorough understanding of the Museum's most critical needs, which he demonstrated with a tremendous gift to The Met's Emergency Relief Fund at the onset of the COVID-19 crisis. For his service to The Met, his country, and a host of important charitable causes, we will always remember Ambassador Brown, and extend our most profound sympathies to Mrs. Brown and their family.

Candace Beinecke, Co-Chair;
Hamilton E. James, Co-Chair;
Max Hollein,
Marina Kellen French
Director and CEO

CARR—Ronald.



Ronald Edward Carr, age 91, died peacefully in New York City on June 8, 2024. In addition to his wife of 67 years, Nancy G. Carr, Ron leaves behind three children: Peter (Becky) Carr of Frisco, TX, Jackie Carr of Ridgefield, CT, and Tim (Whitney) Carr of Brooklyn, NY as well as seven grandchildren (Peter (Ali), Lucy, Hannah, Emmy, Ben, Alex and Cece), great-granddaughter Elena, and his brother Richard (Diana) Carr. Ron was cherished by each member of his family. Ron grew up in Maplewood, NJ. He graduated from Columbia High School, Princeton University, and Johns Hopkins University before pursuing his studies in ophthalmology at NYU School of Medicine, the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness (NINDB), and the National Institutes of Health. Ron began his teaching career at the NYU Medical Center in 1965, holding the position of Professor of Ophthalmology from 1972 until his retirement in 2014. A pioneer in the use of electrodiagnostic testing for inherited diseases of the eye, he was a scholar of achromatopsia, cone dystrophy, and various retinal diseases and degenerations who presented his work at numerous conferences and was published in many medical journals and books. He was a devoted teacher and mentor to scores of clinical and research fellows and residents. A member and officer of 16 local and national professional societies, he also served on the editorial boards of three peer-reviewed professional journals for two decades. Ron was an esteemed teacher, scholar, mentor, and surgeon in the field of ophthalmology. A widely admired diagnostician, he was often the ultimate referral for the patients of his peers. To his friends and family, Ron was the generous host who enjoyed their company for a meal or for a weekend at his homes in New York and Cape Cod. Ron loved international travel, books and movies of all sorts, ballets, symphonies, operas, photography (including many a slideshow), martinis, and strawberry milkshakes. And he faithfully followed his New York sports teams regardless of their successes. Ron will be missed by family, friends, colleagues. We will miss his companionship, wise counsel, and the humorous observations he delivered with a vocabulary drawn from a refined education enhanced by decades of The New York Times crossword puzzles. His diaphragmatic laugh will resonate on East End Avenue and in the hearts of all who knew him. In lieu of flowers, please make a donation in his memory to a charity of your choice.

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Deaths

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Carr, Ronald
Cassie, Alexander
Coleman, Lucille
Cooper, Anthony
Diemer, Emma Lou
Epes, Travis
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Pattillo, Manning
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Schneider, Audrey
Seldin, Carol
Steckowych, Jayde
Tamagni, Christina
Weir, Jean
Wessels, Bruce

CASSIE—Alexander Andrew.
Alex Cassie, 1950-2024, architectural historian, antiquarian, classicist, historian of 19th Century Boston, antiques dealer, real estate investor, night club owner and all-around bon vivant succumbed to a long-term illness on June 8, 2024. A graduate of Brandeis University and a life-long resident of Boston and Maine, Alex possessed an effervescent intellect, an infectious charm and the inerrant eye of a connoisseur. He was much loved and will be sorely missed. Survived by siblings Lawrence, Brian, Marsha and Eric and five nephews and nieces. Future memorial service to be held in Boston.
Your Friends, Jay, Jim, Ed, Gary, Michael and Richard

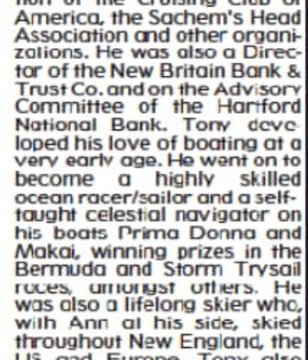
COLEMAN—Lucille.
NewYork-Presbyterian mourns the loss of Lucille Coleman, a longtime friend and generous supporter of the Hospital. Lucille and her beloved late husband of 45 years, Milton, impacted the lives of countless patients and staff through their generous philanthropy. We remain grateful for the legacy Lucille has left at NewYork-Presbyterian, and we extend our sincere condolences to her friends, family, and loved ones. Lucille was predeceased by her son, Mark Terk.
Jerry Speyer, Chair,
Board of Trustees
Steven J. Corwin, MD,
President and
Chief Executive Officer
NewYork-Presbyterian

COOPER—Anthony A.



It is with great sadness that the family of Anthony A. Cooper of Essex, CT (previously of Guilford, CT and New Britain, CT) announces his passing at the age of 95. In his own words: "I have always felt blessed in having had such a happy, productive and fortunate life." Tony was born and raised in New Britain and graduated from the Kent School and Williams College, where he was a member of the Cum Laude Society. Shortly after graduation in 1950, he was drafted at the start of the Korean War and served in Italy managing a large supply depot. Tony rose from recruit to the rank of Sargent First Class in two years, an achievement of which he was incredibly proud. Tony was married for almost 70 years to Ann Murdoch Cooper, whom he adored with deep love and respect. While he handled the finances, he was completely dependent of Ann for all else, especially during his later years. They shared homes in New Britain, Guilford and Brownsville, VT. His career spanned 38 years working for the 8,000 employee Fafnir Bearing Company in New Britain. For several years he and his family lived in England while he served as Director of Manufacturing of their British subsidiary. A community leader throughout his lifetime, he served as Chairman of New Britain General Hospital (Hospital for Central CT) and served as either President or Chief Officer of the New Britain Red Cross, the Mooreland Hill School, the New Britain Redevelopment Commission, the Essex Station of the Cruising Club of America, the Sachem's Head Association and other organizations. He was also a Director of the New Britain Bank & Trust Co. and on the Advisory Committee of the Hartford National Bank. Tony developed his love of boating at a very early age. He went on to become a highly skilled ocean racer/sailor and a self-taught celestial navigator on his boats Prima Donna and Makai, winning prizes in the Bermuda and Storm Trysail races, amongst others. He was also a lifelong skier who, with Ann at his side, skied throughout New England, the US and Europe. Tony also loved cycling, and often rode more than 2,000 miles annually up to the age of 85. He is survived by his wife, his two sons, Stanley (Chip) Cooper of Guilford and Colin Cooper of Guilford, his daughter, Elizabeth Cooper of Clinton, CT and his seven grandchildren, Abbie Cooper, Ashley Cooper, Eli Cooper, Wesley Cooper, Alex Milardo, Margaret Milardo and Sam Milardo. Tony will be deeply missed but forever remembered by his family, friends, and the many lives he touched throughout his remarkable journey. The family will be holding a private memorial followed by a celebration of life in July.

DIEMER—Emma Lou.



Emma Lou Diemer, November 24, 1927 June 2, 2024. Dr (PhD) Emma Lou Diemer, age 96, died peacefully at her home on June 2, 2024. She was preceded in death by her parents, George Willis Diemer and Myrtle Caseholt Diemer, her sister Dorothy Diemer Hendry, and her twin brothers George W. Diemer II and John Irving Diemer. She is survived by a devoted family of nieces and nephews, a large contingent of extended family, friends, former students, longtime companion Marilyn MacKenzie Skiold, and the neighbor's cat Theo, who could often be found purring on a blanket beside Em. Emma Lou played the piano and composed as a young child and throughout her school years in Warrensburg, Missouri. She studied composition with Howard Hanson, Ernst Toch, Roger Sessions and Paul Hindemith, earning degrees at Yale School of Music (BMus, MMus) and Eastman School of Music (PhD, 1960). She studied in Brussels, Belgium on a Fulbright Scholarship. From 1959-61 she was composer-in-residence for the Arlington, Virginia schools under the Ford Foundation Young Composers Project, and then became a consultant for the MENC Contemporary Music Project. In 1965, Dr. Diemer began teaching music composition and theory at the University of Maryland. In 1970, the University of California in Santa Barbara offered her a full-time faculty position, and there she found her home and the climate she loved. She created an electronic music program at UCSB soon after, at a time there were few to be found. She taught composition and theory through 1990, becoming Professor Emerita there in 1991, and continued to compose and publish works for organ, choir, voice, various chamber ensembles, solo piano and orchestra. Her sense of humor often shone through, as with the Pandemic Piano Collection, published in 2021. Over 250 of her compositions have been published since 1956, more than 100 of them recorded. Her organ psalm settings and hymn preludes are considered standard repertoire, as are a number of her choral compositions, including the early and very popular Three Madrigals for chorus. Recognition for her music includes awards from Yale University (Certificate of Merit), Eastman School of Music (Edward Benjamin Award), the National Endowment for the Arts (electronic music project), Mu Phi Epsilon (Certificate of Merit), the Kennedy Center (Friedheim Award for piano concerto), the American Guild of Organists (Composer of the Year), the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers/ASCAP (annually since 1962 for performances and publications), the Santa Barbara Symphony (composer-in-residence, 1990-92), the University of Central Missouri (honorary doctorate), and many others. Dr. Diemer also performed and recorded on piano, organ, harpsichord, and electronic instruments. For years, she played weekly at the First Presbyterian Church in Santa Barbara, with improvisational preludes and postludes. She performed in concert usually as organist, including concerts of her own music at Washington National Cathedral, St. Mary's Cathedral and Grace Cathedral in San Francisco, Cathedral of Our Lady of the Angels in Los Angeles, and elsewhere. During the NPR program "Pipe Dreams" devoted to her work, she was described as the "remarkably prolific, imaginative, energetic and altogether delightful American composer, Emma Lou Diemer." Her published music ranged from music that high school groups could perform to virtuosic, but Em also loved to improvise on the piano at a moment's notice. She delighted grandnieces and nephews and friends, by playing "Happy Birthday" variations just for them in various styles: salsa, tango, waltz, cha-cha, swing she could do them any style, and never the same twice. For composition students who were stuck, she amused them by readily playing many options. Her mind was always in music, even when speaking failed at times in her final year. During that time, family members, former students, and friends of all ages made pilgrimages to sit beside her, talk with her, play their instruments and sing for her. Thanks go to them and her loving caregivers, Delcher, Lola, Marisol, and Jovita. Emma Lou's diminutive ego and physique were belied by her enormous stature, as organist, pianist and composer throughout her long, healthy and fruitful life. After cremation, Em will be interred in the family plot in Warrensburg, MO. A Celebration of Life will be held in Santa Barbara at a later date. In lieu of flowers, please make a donation to your favorite charitable organization, and please honor Emma Lou by voting!

EPES—Travis Francis,
88, of New York City, NY, passed away on June 12, 2024. He was a loving husband, father, and grandfather, devoted to his family. Travis was a brilliant mind, skilled lawyer, and intellectually curious. He was always reading, remained athletic into his later years, and was known for his kindness and wit. Travis is survived by his wife Jean, sons Travis and Chris, daughters-in-law Laurie and Sandra, grandchildren Jeffrey, Robert, Katherine, Christopher and Elizabeth, as well as many nephews and nieces. He was preceded in death by his father William Robinson Epes, mother Alice Madigan Epes, brother William Epes, and sisters Mary Epes, Jacquelyn Walsh, and Virginia Dwyer. Travis attended Iona Prep for high school, and went on to earn a Bachelor of Science at Manhattan College and his law degree at NYU School of Law, where he was a member of the Law Review and Order of the Coif. Travis had a successful career as a tax and securities law attorney at Cahill Gordon & Reindel, later joining Consolidated Edison, eventually becoming Associate General Counsel there. In his free time, Travis loved playing tennis and sailing. Travis served as president of Fieldston Property Owners Association for many years. He was a student of history throughout his life. A private celebration of his life will be held by his family. In lieu of flowers, contributions can be made to a charity of your choice in memory of Travis Epes.

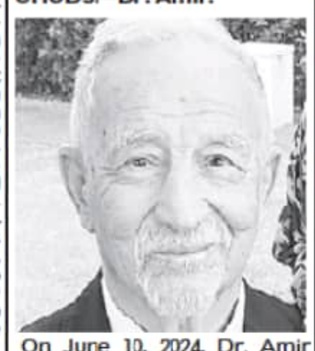
FELSEN—Sidney B.
The Foundation for Art and Preservation in Embassies is profoundly saddened to learn of the death of artist Sidney B. Felsen. Sidney was deeply admired by everyone at FAPE. Our friendship started in 1995 when Gemini G.E.L. agreed to donate the publishing of Roy Lichtenstein's "Composition III" for our Original Print Collection. It was the second edition in the Collection, and it started a wonderful tradition between FAPE and Gemini. They generously donated another nine editions between 1997 and 2016 by artists John Baldessari, Frank Gehry, Ellsworth Kelly, Julie Mehretu, Elizabeth Murray, Susan Rothenberg, Ed Ruscha, Joel Shapiro, and Terry Winters. Sidney was rarely without a stylish hat and suit, and, most importantly, a camera. He was a brilliant photographer and in 2014, we welcomed "The Artist Observed," to our Photography Collection. The portfolio includes a photograph of each artist for which Gemini published a print for FAPE. His work can be seen in U.S. Embassies from London to Singapore. Sidney said about his gift, "The spirit of Gemini is best captured by the word 'collaboration.' It's about artists and printers working hand-in-hand to create works of art. This same spirit prevails when I take photos. There's a trust extended by the artists, allowing me to share so many remarkable moments with them. My greatest thanks go to them for this special permission they grant me." Sidney's work will have a lasting impact and remain an important part of our nation's cultural diplomacy efforts around the world. We send our deepest sympathies to his wife, Joni; his daughter, Suzanne; as well as his entire family and the Gemini team.
Jo Carole Lauder,
Chairman;
Eden Rafshoon,
President;
Darren Walker,
Vice President;
Jennifer A. Duncan,
Director;
Jack Shear, Chairman,
Fine Arts Committee;
Robert Storr,
Chairman, Professional
Fine Arts Committee

GARLICK—Phyllis Deligtisch.



Phyllis Deligtisch Garlick, 90, of New York, NY, and Longboat Key, FL, passed away on June 11, 2024, by her family's side. The youngest daughter of Alma and Dr. Emanuel Deligtisch, Phyllis grew up on NYC's West Side with her sisters Lola Hoenig and Pearl Green. A Teachers College-Columbia University grad, this smart and coquettish 23-year-old summered at Lido Beach, where she met the love of her life of 60 years, her Marine, Howie. And such a full life it was! Spunky, generous, and full of laughter, Phyllis loved her tennis games at Armonk, the Philharmonic, Broadway, The Berkshires, and travels far and wide. She is survived by her three daughters, Elyse Garlick Schneider, Pamela Garlick (Carlos, deceased), and Brooke Garlick; her son-in-law Dr. Samuel Schneider; granddaughters Rebecca (Jared) Shavitz, Molly (Walter) Schneider, and Emily (Logan) Schneider Carr; grandsons Gabriel and Matias Cano; and great-grandson Cooper Shavitz. A graveside service was held Thursday, June 13, at 11am, at Sharon Gardens, 273 Lakeview Ave., Valhalla, NY. In lieu of flowers, donations may be made in Phyllis' memory to HIAS or ACLU.

GHODSI—Dr. Amir.



On June 10, 2024, Dr. Amir (Mohammad Ali) Ghodsi passed peacefully to the other, surrounded by his loved ones. An inspirational educator, author, poet, athlete, and entrepreneur, those who knew him well highlight Amir's dedication to truth, justice and an unwavering faith and trust in God. He epitomized humility in his generosity of spirit, humility, pure heart and kindness. He was blessed with an incredible mind and ability to excel at anything he attempted. Amir was born on May 7, 1936 in Mashad, Iran to Assadolah Ghodsi and Asyeh Deylami. He was the top student in his class at Tehran University (Daneshsara-ye Aali - Institute of Higher Education), receiving his MS in Chemistry. Amir was a member of the Iranian national volleyball team. He was also an accomplished chess player and managed a draw with world champion Boris Spassky when he visited Iran. After his betrothal to Nasrin Kazerani Ghodsi in August 1963, Amir traveled to Paris to continue his studies at the Sorbonne University - CNRS. He received his PhD with honors in Macromolecular Chemistry in 1968. He returned to Iran following his education by taking a teaching post at Ferdowsi University of Mashad, where he was a respected and revered Professor and Dean of Students and later the founder and President of Shabana Ferdowsi University. He taught his students about striving for knowledge and serving their country as he had done. Upon early retirement, Amir, who cherished a love of agrarian pursuits, opened the first modern dairy farm in Mashad. Amir authored multiple publications in his beloved field of Chemistry, including a two-volume Encyclopedia of Chemistry dedicated to the children of Iran, which he presented to the Ferdowsi University of Mashad as a sign of his gratitude and respect. In 1978, in anticipation of a coming revolution in Iran, Amir sent his children abroad to England to continue their studies. He sacrificed his love for his country and own life for his love for his family and, in 1982, moved his family from England to the United States. Amir was a devout believer in and spent years studying and researching the teachings of Rumi. He frequently visited Konya to be closer to achieving the love that he believed would unite all of us with God. In his final years, he authored a book about the life and teachings of Rumi with the sole purpose of bringing this knowledge to the youth. He dedicated his life to the love of his life, Nasrin Kazerani Ghodsi, his faithful companion of 60 years, his children who he often referred to as his biggest jewels, Dr. Abdi Ghodsi, Dr. Newsha Ghodsi, Tamilla Ghodsi and Dr. Zuleika Ghodsi and their spouses, Manijeh Khalaj, Sassan Sefay, Bijan Ayromlou and Dr. Ali Soulati, his wife's siblings who he raised as his own, Ali Reza Kazerani and Nona Kazerani Hunter and their spouses Jodi Kazerani (died 2014) and John Hunter, and countless others that looked to him as a second father. He is also survived by his grandchildren Reza, Andrew, Keion, Saaman, Shayan, Hunna, Heleah, Maire, Anya, Kianna, Jian, and Arya. The family would like to thank Dr. John Mascarenhas and the dedicated physicians and nurses of Mt. Sinai Hospitals and Clinics, and Dr. Muhammad Siddique, April Motovidlak, and the caring staff at Bay Hematology Oncology and University of Maryland Shore Medical Center Infusion Center. In lieu of flowers, the family suggests donations to the Amir and Nasrin Ghodsi Family Medical Scholarship at the University of Iowa Medical School: givetoiowa.org/ghodsi or the American Red Cross or any other charity of your choice that supports orphans, who Amir supported throughout his life.

GLUCK—Laurence.



Laurence "Larry" Gluck passed away June 13, 2024. Born: January 29, 1953. Age: 71. It is with deep sadness, we announce the passing of Laurence "Larry" Gluck, the esteemed founder of Stellar Management. Larry passed away peacefully at home surrounded by friends and family after a courageous decades long battle with ALS. A visionary leader in the real estate industry, Larry's dedication and commitment to excellence have left an indelible mark on New York City's landscape. His legacy of innovation and integrity will continue to inspire all who knew him. With an illustrious career spanning nearly 40 years, Larry built Stellar Management into one of the largest owners and operators of residential and commercial real estate in America. Under his leadership, Stellar Management flourished, becoming synonymous with quality and innovation in property development and management. The company owns and manages properties in many of New York City's most sought-after neighborhoods, including Tribeca, SoHo, the Upper West Side, Midtown East, the East Village, Long Island City, Carroll Gardens, Chelsea, and Park Slope. Larry was a champion of affordable and mixed-income housing, transforming countless properties and enhancing the lives of those who lived and worked in them. His generosity and integrity were well known, exemplified by his efforts in delivering food and household goods to Puerto Rico after severe hurricanes. Colleagues, friends, and family remember Larry as a brilliant real estate developer, mentor, and inspiration. His legacy lives on through the numerous projects he oversaw, which stand as a testament to his vision and dedication. Larry is survived by his wife, Sandi Gluck, daughters, Amanda Gluck, Dana Twomey, and Heather Gluck, as well as his four grandchildren. Stellar Management will continue to honor Larry's legacy by advancing his work and shaping the future of real estate in New York City and beyond.

GLUCK—Laurence.
Congregation Emanu-El of the City of New York mourns the death of our cherished member Larry Gluck. To his wife, Sandi, and their daughters, we express our profound sympathy. May the beautiful memories of his life be a blessing to all he knew and loved.

GOLTRA—Peter Selpp KStJ.



Goltra - Peter Selpp KStJ, of Middleburg, VA, died peacefully at home on June 10, 2024. Born in Chicago on March 11, 1940, he was the elder son of William Brown Goltra and Pauline Selpp Goltra. His grandfather, Edward Field Goltra, was one of the founders of American Steel Foundries, and his great-grandfather Edward G. Uihlein was one of the four original owners of Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company. Mr. Goltra attended Deerfield Academy ('57) and then Princeton University, where he was a member of Cloister Inn, before serving in the US Naval Air Corps as a radioman. He received his degree in electrical engineering from Illinois Institute of Technology and was a member of Tau Beta Pi, the Engineering Honor Society. After conducting research in magnetic techniques for Automatic Electric Laboratories, the research arm of GT&E, he founded Medicomp Systems, Inc., where he served as Chairman of the Board and President. Medicomp develops software used by hospitals and clinicians to facilitate medical documentation and improve care delivery. Mr. Goltra held numerous patents related to the use of artificial intelligence techniques in these areas. Mr. Goltra was a Knight of Justice in the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, served as Treasurer of the Priory in the USA and was a supporter of the St. John Eye Hospital in Jerusalem. He was granted his coat of arms by the College of Arms in London. He was active in other charitable organizations, including service as Senior Vice Chairman of the Board of the National Tropical Botanical Garden, and was a member of the Union Club, The Pilgrims, New York Yacht Club, Royal New Zealand Yacht Squadron, Thursday Evening Club, Huguenot Society, Society of Colonial Wars in the States of New York and Florida and Saint Nicholas Society. He spent summers at his home in Edgartown, where he was a member of the Edgartown Yacht Club and Edgartown Reading Room, and in Newport. Mr. Goltra loved to sail, having grown up crewing for his mother on her sloop Avenir in many races including the Chicago Yacht Club's annual race from Chicago to Mackinac Island, MI. In the 1990s he captained his sloop Presto to many victories at regattas along the east coast. He enjoyed travel, visiting all seven continents and more than 40 countries. He was an avid photographer and music lover, one of his favorite events being the New Year's Day concert in Vienna, but he was happiest at Ferdinand Farm, his home in Middleburg, where he maintained his prized herd of red angus cattle. He was a gentleman, kind, generous and thoughtful and had a great love for his family. He is survived by his wife, Elizabeth Powers Goltra, his sons by his first marriage, Edward Seipp Goltra and Alexis Obolensky Goltra, four grandchildren, Phoebe Livingston Goltra, William Pepper Goltra, Charlotte Louise Goltra and Josephine Zoe Goltra, and his brother, Oliver Renard Goltra. He was predeceased by his second wife, Gail Wright Goltra. Services will be held at St. Columba's Chapel in Middletown, RI on July 23. Burial will take place in the family plot in Edgartown. Memorial contributions may be made to The Order of St. John of Jerusalem for the benefit of the St. John Eye Hospital, 1850 M St., NW, Suite 1070, Washington, DC 20036.

GULICK—June.
Westfield and Princeton, N.J. February 2, 1929 - August 17, 2023. Teacher Princeton Day School, The Hun School; Accountant; Co-founder Wellesley Antique Show for college scholarships.

HASSETT—Margaret "Peggy" Brennan,
83, of North Palm Beach, FL passed away peacefully on April 6, 2024. A Mass in celebration of her life will take place in New York City at the Church of St. Ignatius Loyola on June 24th at 10:30am.

HOUGHTON—Margot.



Margot Dooling Houghton died suddenly on June 8, 2024, in New York. Born in Milton, MA, to Pauline (Rogers) and James F. Dooling, she is survived by her five children, Elizabeth C. Houghton, Francis J., III (Chip) and Megan Houghton, Andrew D. and Karina Houghton, John D. and Mekayle Houghton, James D. Houghton and Jenny Forsell; 11 grandchildren, Duke, Allegra, Jack, Clementine, Oliver, India, Henry, August, Rem, Tobias, and Finn, and three great-grandchildren; her sister, Elizabeth C. Dooling, MD, of Boston; her nieces, Christine D. Rupp and Elizabeth C. Miller; nephews, James G. Dooling, Philip J. Clarke, John D. Clarke, David R. Clarke; and several maternal cousins. She was predeceased by her brother, Paul R. Dooling, and sisters, Anne Dooling Clarke and Katharine R. Dooling and nephew, Geoffrey N. Clarke. After graduating from Hunter College High School, she attended the American Academy of Dramatic Arts. She worked at the United Nations International School, Alcoholism Council of New York, and Freedom Institute, and volunteered her fundraising skills at WNET, for local and national political campaigns, and at many other organizations. Margot was also a film and tennis enthusiast. A vibrant, vivacious, creative, caring, compassionate, concerned, generous, and nurturing person, Margot Houghton was admired and beloved as a goodwill ambassador on East 52 Street for the past 25 years and she will be greatly missed by her family and friends. A Celebration of Margot's Life will be held at a later date. Contributions in her memory may be made to City Harvest, Citymeals on Wheels, or a charity of your choice.

HULLETT—James N. (Jay),



James N. Hullett (Jay) of Cambridge, Massachusetts, died on June 2, 2024, after a brief illness. He was 85 years old. Jay is survived by his beloved wife, Eileen, and daughter, Frances (Frankie). Jay grew up in Hartford, Connecticut, and during his youth, he spent several summers in Maine, on a small island off the coast of Canada. Jay attended Princeton University and graduated from Brandeis with a Ph.D. in philosophy. After some years of teaching philosophy at Boston University, Jay began a working relationship with Bill and Frances Hackett, founders of a tiny publishing company in Indianapolis. The goal of the company was to serve the humanities, producing first-rate translations of classic works at affordable prices. Jay acquired the company, and it grew and prospered under his leadership. He was an astute businessman, a caring employer, and a man of integrity, boundless energy, and generosity. To offer a message of condolence or for a more complete obituary, please visit www.keefefuneralhome.com
A celebration of life will be planned toward the end of the summer.

KRUCKEL—Theodore V., III.



Theodore V. Kruckel III, of Remsenberg, NY passed away on June 13, 2024 at age 61. With a larger-than-life personality and an innate sense of style, Ted lit up the room wherever he went. Ted was born and grew up in Franklin Lakes, NJ, graduated from Bergen Catholic High School and earned a bachelor's degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1985. At Penn, he was a columnist for the Daily Pennsylvanian, a Class of 1985 Undergraduate Essay Award winner, as well as a member of the Friars Senior Honor Society, Sigma Chi fraternity and the varsity swim team. In his career, Ted was involved at the highest levels of fashion, advertising, marketing, and event management beginning with his work in the magazine industry and then with the company he founded, Ted, Inc., which managed events and publicity for high profile clients and luxury brands for over 10 years. Ted's article for the New York Magazine in 2003, "When the Party's Over," chronicles the final months of Ted Inc. After an illustrious career in New York City, Ted moved to Remsenberg, NY, where he became a real estate agent, adopted three terriers, and immersed himself in the community. He cultivated a beautiful garden in his front and back yards, and his flowers decorated every dinner and holiday table. Ted adored his immediate family, his nieces, and many cousins. He was equally devoted to his dear friends from college, business and life on eastern Long Island. He is survived by his mother, Kitty Kruckel, two sisters, Kim Kruckel and Kerry Kruckel and his brother, Christopher Kruckel. Ted, your light will forever shine in our lives! See Legacy.com for information about memorial services.

LANE—Harriet Ann,
nee Hochman, passed away on June 13, 2024 at the age of 87. Beloved wife of the late Herbert G. Lane. Devoted mother of Kenneth and Nancy Lane and Donna and Simon Swaap. Cherished grandmother of Ryan, Harrison, Sylvie, Allison and Herbert. Adored aunt and special friend to all. Funeral service 11am, Monday, June 17, 2024, at Temple Israel of the City of New York, 112 East 75th St., New York, NY.

LANE—Harriet.
The Officers and Clergy of Temple Israel of the City of New York mourn the passing of our longtime member Harriet Lane. We extend our heartfelt sympathy to her bereaved family.
Aaron Casden,
President;
David J. Gelfand, Rabbi

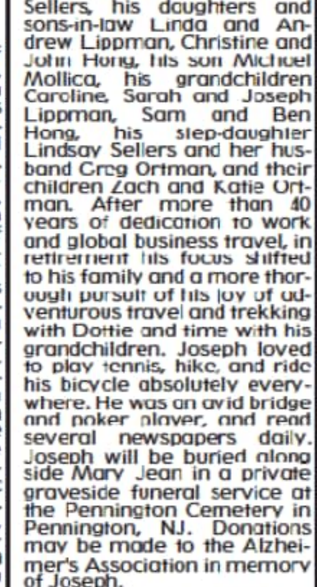
McKENNA—James J. 'Jim'.
May 10, 2024. Survived by his wife Renee, daughter, Laura Mazzaro (Gene), sons Paul (Sarah), Douglas (Katie), David (Tracy) and nine grandchildren. Born and raised in Manhattan, he spent his happiest years in Quogue, NY. He was 88 years old.

MEYER-OERTEL—Heinz,
(Henry), age 91, died peacefully on June 10, 2024 in Sarasota. Born in Germany and educated in Austria, he led publishing concerns in Chicago and New York, representing Gruner & Jahr for many years. In retirement he formed business and cultural organizations that fostered international exchange, including The German Forum, which promotes young artists. Cultured, engaging and quick to laugh, he was an avid fan of opera, the printed page, history, soccer and Democratic causes. He cherished his wife Christine, daughters Tanja (Dan, Alec, Andrea) and Claudia (Swede, Travis, Kevin, Julia), siblings Erika and Friedrich, and the extended family. We celebrate his spirit.

MOLLICA—Joseph Anthony,
October 24, 1940 - June 8, 2024. Joseph was born and raised outside Providence, RI and graduated from LaSalle Academy High School in 1958. He graduated with a BS from the University of Rhode Island in 1962 and in 1966 from the University of Wisconsin with an MS and PhD in Pharmaceutical and Physical Chemistry. Joseph worked at Ciba Geigy in Summit, NJ for 20 years where he pioneered R&D and drug delivery innovations. He joined DuPont in Wilmington, DE in 1987 and in 1991 became the President, CEO and Chairman of the Board of DuPont Merck Pharmaceuticals, a joint venture he built between the two corporations. In 1994 he became the president and CEO and ultimately Chairman of the Board of Pharmacopeia in Princeton, NJ, a biopharmaceutical company specializing in combinatorial chemistry. He also held the position of Chairman of the Board of Directors at Neurocrine and Celator, two other biopharmaceutical companies. He was a director on the boards of USP, Impath, Cytogen, and Genencor as well. He was also a patron of the arts, serving on the boards of the McCarter Theater in Princeton, NJ and the Arizona Theater Company in Tucson, AZ. Joseph is predeceased by his wife of 45 years and mother of his three children, Mary Jean Mollica, who passed away in 2009. In 2016 he married Dorothy Sellers of Wilmington, DE. They resided in Tucson AZ and Bay Head, NJ. He is survived by his wife Dorothy (Dottie) Sellers, his daughters and sons-in-law Linda and Andrew Lippman, Christine and John Hong, his son Michael Mollica, his grandchildren Caroline, Sarah and Joseph Lippman, Sam and Ben Hong, his step-daughter Lindsay Sellers and her husband Greg Ortman, and their children Zach and Katie Ortman. After more than 40 years of dedication to work and global business travel, in retirement his focus shifted to his family and a more thorough pursuit of his joy of adventurous travel and trekking with Dottie and time with his grandchildren. Joseph loved to play tennis, hike, and ride his bicycle absolutely everywhere. He was an avid bridge and poker player, and read several newspapers daily. Joseph will be buried along side Mary Jean in a private graveside funeral service at the Pennington Cemetery in Pennington, NJ. Donations may be made to the Alzheimer's Association in memory of Joseph.

PATTILLO—Manning Mason, Jr.
President Emeritus of Oglethorpe University, died in Atlanta on June 3, 2024, at age 104. He earned a B.A. from the University of the South (Sewanee); and M.A. and PhD degrees from the University of Chicago. The highlight of his career was at Oglethorpe University, Atlanta, 1975-1988, leading improvements especially in the academic quality of students and faculty. He is survived by his children, Martha Pattillo and John Pattillo; five grandchildren; three great-grandchildren; and nieces and nephews.

ROUNTREE—Helen Gray Hill Updike.



Helen Gray Hill Updike Rountree (Helen) died on April 12, 2023 of Covid pneumonia, with loved ones by her side. Born in New York City to actress Helen Gray and engineer Benjamin Hill of Georgia, Helen served with distinction in academic, nonprofit, public and private sectors. In the 1960s, she earned a BA from Hood College and an MA from Georgetown University, both in economics, and wed Charles B. Updike (later divorced). She got her PhD from Stony Brook University in 1978 and joined the economics department of Hofstra University, becoming Chair in 1981, then Associate Dean for Planning & Budgeting at Hofstra College of Liberal Arts & Sciences (1984-1987). In the 1990s she shifted to investment management: first as President/COO of Interfid Capital Corp., then as a Financial Advisor at Bridgewater Advisors (2001-2017). Helen brought her financial acumen to corporate and nonprofit boards, including Rapid-American, Faberge, McCrory, Literacy Inc., New York City Outward Bound and The Madeira School, and to a World Bank mission to Madagascar. In 1994, she married Debevoise attorney Asa Rountree of Alabama, and began dividing her time between New York and Birmingham. Discovery of slave-holding by her forebears led her to deeper engagement in anti-racism work. She brought wit and insight to commentaries for NPR's Morning Edition and elsewhere. Her dissertation, "The National Banks and American Economic Development, 1870-1900," was republished in 2017. In retirement, she returned to Long Island, devoting herself to family, community and pollinators. She is survived by daughter Edith Updike (Ben Santiago) and grandson Nicholas Santiago; daughter Nancy Updike (Dan Ephron) and step-grandchildren Shira Gur-Arieh and Yoav Gur-Arieh; stepson John Rountree (Cheryl) and step-grandchildren Sarah Rose Rountree and Ben Rountree; and stepson Robert Rountree. Memorial services were Saturday, June 15, 2024 at her home in Greenlawn, NY. Send memories to: celebratehghur@gmail.com; donations in her name to Equal Justice Initiative (www.eji.org) or Long Island Native Plant Initiative: (www.linpi.org).

SCHAPIRO—Adam Marc,
age 51, of Mooresville, NC, passed away on June 14, 2024 after a brave and unrelenting fight. Adam grew up in Larchmont, NY, and attended Hobart College, where he was inducted into their Hall of Fame and celebrated as "the greatest tennis player to grace the Hobart courts." A beloved teacher and coach, Adam devoted his adult life to education, passionately guiding young people to recognize their inherent potential. Adam leaves behind a loving legacy survived by his adoring wife, Erika, and their cherished children, Addison and Mya. He is also survived by his parents, Joan and Stuart, and his four brothers, Scott (Janet), David (Stacie), Evan (Maddie), and Max (Jared). Among his nieces, Lindsey, Ali, Riley, Perri, and Rebecca, Adam was affectionately known as the athletic, fun, and intellectually engaging uncle, embodying a perfect blend of wit, wisdom, and irreverence. Memorial donations may be made to the Israel Tennis & Education Centers.

SCHNEIDER—Audrey Carol.
(nee Salzinger) passed away on June 12. Her late husband Irving Schneider, her children Sandra (Bill) Lehman, Barry Schneider and the late Stanley Schneider, her grandchildren Paula (James) Ewing and Joshua Lehman (Jenna Scalmanini) plus three great-grandchildren Isaac, Charley and Scott Stanley have been blessed to have her in our lives. WLY, ACS

SELDIN—Carol West.



Carol West Seldin, devoted spouse to Peter, mother to Matthew and Douglas, daughter to Joseph and Geraldine West. Died on June 6, 2024 after courageously battling lymphoma. Born July 29, 1949 in Cambridge, MA, she graduated from Wellesley High School, Skidmore College and SUNY Albany. Carol taught English, theater and debate at Lakeland High School, Shrub Oak, NY. On sabbatical in San Francisco, she met Peter Seldin, whom she married, June 1980. Carol also taught at the Laboratory Schools at the University of Chicago. The Seldins settled in New Canaan, CT where they resided together for 37 years. There, Carol pursued her passion as a master gardener. Dogwood Hill, her extraordinary garden on Punus Ridge, earned regional and national acclaim. She served as the President of the New Canaan Beautification League. Though Carol loved flowers so much, in lieu of flowers, friends and family can donate to: newcanaan beautification.org.

STECKOWYCH—Jayde.



Jayde Marya Steckowych, age 70, a resident of Chatham, NY since 2017, died May 22, 2024 at Stanford Medical Center in Palo Alto, CA, after a two-year battle with melanoma. Jayde was born in Manchester, NH, in 1953 and raised in nearby Goffstown, NH. After high school Jayde attended Boston University, where she studied medicine and realized that being a doctor was her ambition. In the late 1970s when the doors to medical schools in the U.S. were closed to only the most privileged females, she made the decision to get medical training at the Far Eastern University in Manila, Philippines, from 1977-1981. After graduation, Jayde returned to the U.S. and again found hospital doors closed to female doctors who were trained overseas. But Jayde was relentless. She landed a position as a military doctor practicing otolaryngology at Walter Reed and subsequently found a position at Harlem Hospital in New York. In 1985 she was hired by Columbia-Presbyterian Hospital in Manhattan, where she spent two decades healing patients, performing surgeries and training other doctors, many of whom are practicing medicine around the country today. Jayde was a passionate advocate for fixing the health-care system in America. She fervently believed a national health-care system was needed in this country. She was an early adopter of electronic medical records. She prided herself in listening to her patients. Many annoyed at the thoroughness of her hour-long office examinations left grateful for the time she gave them. She was an excellent diagnostician, and was repulsed by the rushed, cursory examinations that dominate the health care system today. When Jayde went into semi-retirement, she visited nursing home in the Bronx for Essen Medical, caring for people who society had forgotten. Anyone who met Jayde was instantly taken by her energy, her passion, her taste for eccentric eyeglasses, her love of food and drink and travel. She left an indelible impression on everyone she encountered. A true force of nature, Jayde is survived by her husband of 20 years, Marty Schenker, a senior journalist at Bloomberg News, along with her brothers Kerry, Lee and Brent; and her mother Therese; her three children, Perry, Ian and Taylor; stepchildren Cathy and Henry, and six grandchildren, Madison, Autumn, Marcus, Taliesin and twin boys Isaac and Leo.

TAMAGNI—Christina Jordan,
passed away peacefully at home on June 9, 2024. Born in Summit, New Jersey, Chrissy settled as an adult in Glen Rock and then Ridgewood. She attended Summit High School and Northeastern University in Boston. Her career took her from managing bookings at the Blue Note in Manhattan to overseeing internal web communications at Benjamin Moore. She will be remembered for her sparkling wit and intelligence, her love of and advocacy for animals, and her vivacious personality, even in times of challenge. A beloved daughter, sister, aunt, friend, and partner, she is survived by her father, John S. Tamagni and his wife, Judith Orlando, her siblings, Susan Tamagni, Jordan Tamagni and her husband, Michael Schlein, and Chip Tamagni and his partner Melissa Lorback, as well as her nieces and nephews Natasha Kulick and her fiance Ryan Edwards, Michael John Kulick, Jake Schlein, and Zachary Schlein, and by her partner in life, Lawrence Pendergast and his three children, Val, Evan, and Chloe Pendergast. The family thanks our friends for their love and support at this sad and painful time, and requests that donations be made in lieu of flowers to RBARI, the Ramapo-Bergen Animal Refuge.
rbari.org/donate/donate.html

WEIR—Jean McCullough,
age 89, of New York, New York passed away peacefully on June 6, 2024 at The Arbors in Shelburne, VT. Jean was born in Great Neck, New York to Frank McCullough and Hazeltine Dempsey. She was predeceased by her husband, Peter F. Weir, Esq. Jean matriculated at Radcliffe College then worked for several years as a copy editor at Time Life Inc. before opting to become a homemaker. She was an active member of her summer community in Point O' Woods, Fire Island, NY. Jean spent the past several years residing at The 80th Street Residence where she flourished and was loved by all. Many thanks to them for their incredible care. Jean is survived by her children, Bradford Weir and Elizabeth Weir, granddaughter Matilda Kauffman, and niece Leslie McCullough Jeffries.

WESSELS—Bruce,
the Walter P. Murphy Professor Emeritus of Materials Science and Engineering at Northwestern University, passed away at the age of 77 on April 7,

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Sports

The New York Times

Fans, That's Not a Late Foul Call. It's a 'Cadence Whistle.'

Referees' Differing Lines of Sight and Positioning on the Court Mean That Responsibility for a Call Can Shift During a Play

By LAW MURRAY and JOSH ROBBINS
The Athletic

Anthony Edwards of the Minnesota Timberwolves could not understand why the whistle came late. Neither could the defender, Christian Braun of the Denver Nuggets.

It was the second quarter of Game 6 of the N.B.A.'s Western Conference semifinals. Edwards elevated for a turnaround jumper. Braun hit his left arm before Edwards launched a shot. The ball clanked off the side of the rim. Only then did the referee Marc Davis use his whistle.

About 1.8 seconds elapsed between the foul and the whistle. In a sign of irritation, Braun and Edwards raised their arms in protest. Even the play-by-play announcer for ESPN noted the whistle "came late."

It happens almost every N.B.A. game, stirring frustration in players and groans from fans: the dreaded late foul call, otherwise known as a conditional foul. A referee appears to wait to see if a shot goes in before blowing the whistle. If the shot falls, play on. If it misses, the official belatedly awards free throws.

"You see it a lot," Kawhi Leonard of the Los Angeles Clippers said during the regular season. "I think they want to, you know, keep the game going on. So if a guy makes a shot, they keep it going instead of stopping it and giving him free throws. Or they are just seeing it late. That's what I think it is."

When Kevin Durant of the Phoenix Suns was asked about similar late calls, he said: "I wish I could tell you the reason why. If I had to guess, they don't want to continue to stop the game and intervene on the free-flowing nature of the game."

Alas, it is all a big misunderstanding, the N.B.A. says. To understand what is really happening, according to the league executive in charge of officiating, you need to understand referee mechanics — where they are positioned on the court and how their line of sight informs when a whistle is blown. So everyone should purge "conditional foul" from their basketball vocabulary and replace it with something called a "cadence whistle."

"We are not training a result-based whistle, that it's a conditional foul: 'Oh, he missed it, so I'm going to give in to that,'" said Monty McCutchen, a former longtime referee who now runs the league's referee training and development program. "That's bad refereeing, and I don't want any part of it."

Crystal Hogan, a Division I college basketball referee, explained late whistles this way:

"A foul is a foul is a foul. However, something else happens that can appear that the official waited to see if the basket was made when in reality they were giving the primary official the first opportunity to call the foul. After seeing that the primary official maybe had a bad angle, the official with a better look comes up with the foul, which is called having a late or secondary cadence whistle."

McCutchen was asked to review some late foul calls and explain why players and fans should consider them instances of cadence whistles rather than conditional fouls.

Since 2015, the N.B.A. has released to the public a critique of the refereeing in the final two minutes of the fourth quarter and overtime of games that are at or within 3 points during that time. In those reports, every call and noncall is evaluated as either correct or incorrect.

The first late whistle The Athletic asked McCutchen about was Braun's foul on Edwards.

The nearest official, James Williams, did not make the foul call even though, as McCutchen noted, that area of the court was Williams's primary responsibility. Instead, Davis, the trail official, made the call — after the ball hit off the rim.

What happened?

McCutchen said Denver defender Aaron Gordon blocked Williams's view of Braun hitting Edwards's arm. In that instance, McCutchen said, Williams did exactly what N.B.A. referees are trained to do: Rather than guess that there was a foul, he did not blow his whistle.

Davis, on the other hand, had a clear line of sight on Braun and Edwards. After waiting a moment to give Williams an opportunity to make a call, Davis took responsibility.

McCutchen said the sequence is a textbook example of a cadenced whistle. Even though Williams had the primary responsibility to monitor Braun, Williams did not make the call because he could not see the violation. Instead, a secondary official saw the infraction and called the foul.

"This play shows three people that understand our mechanics system to the nth degree," McCutchen said. "That's why they're on Game 6 — is that you have three people trusting each other. I get good discipline out of James Williams, who isn't guessing." He added, "And the whistle comes exactly where it's supposed to come from, with a cadenced whistle."

The second play posed to McCutchen occurred during a March 24 regular-season game between the Los Angeles Lakers and the Indiana Pacers. The Lakers' Anthony Davis fouled the Pacers' Myles Turner, but the whistle came late from the slot official, Gediminas Petraitis, who was standing near the sideline, level with the free-throw line.

This is a complex play from a referee's perspective, McCutchen said, because when the play begins, Petraitis's primary responsibility is to focus on two weakside defenders, LeBron James near the baseline and Austin Reaves at the free-throw line. Because James did not move as the play progressed, Petraitis's responsibility as Turner approached the basket was to find another defender to focus on — in this case, the help defender, Davis.

Petraitis did shift to Davis and ultimately made the correct foul call, McCutchen said, but McCutchen acknowledged the call came late. Why?

"With all these moving parts," McCutchen said, Petraitis "had to have time to process from when he found Davis. There's a certain lag to that, and that lag is what you see here."

McCutchen acknowledged that it was easy for him, with the benefit of replaying the sequence in slow motion, to break down why the delay occurred. To people watching the play live, and to people not trained in referee mechanics, it would have been easy to conclude that the referees — in this case Petraitis and his colleagues Marc Davis and Matt Myers — had been officiating based on the result of the shot.

About 1.5 seconds elapsed between Anthony Davis's hitting Turner and Petraitis's blowing his whistle. The pro-Lakers crowd let out a collective groan.

Despite the N.B.A.'s efforts to be more transparent with officiating, players and coaches often are baffled by the delays. The TV analyst Greg Anthony, a former N.B.A. point guard, said he thought the delays were occurring more often these days.

"I'm a fan of it," Anthony said. "I think it's a good decision by the league and the officials. And the reason I say that is because basketball is a contact sport, and not all contact is equal. Oftentimes, what an official — again from my perspective — is trying to accomplish is did the contact affect the outcome? So that's why, and you see it all the time. You see guys go up for dunks and there's clear contact, but they score and they don't deem it to have been contact that affected the outcome of the play. And so the other aspect of that that I also like is that you give yourself time to get the call right, because if you go early, you have no recourse."

McCutchen would disagree. He insists the league is not teaching its officials to referee on the result of a shot. "There's no teaching involved about conditional fouling," McCutchen said. "A foul is a foul."

Stan Van Gundy has seen late whistles as an N.B.A. coach and now as a commentator for TNT.

"The late call always prompts a complaint from the other team — players, coaches and fans — always, and even when it's the right call," Van Gundy said. "And sometimes it's as simple as, I've had referees say, 'Hey, sometimes it takes us a second to process.'"

Late calls are a fact of life. The league is continually adjusting to players trying to take advantage of what they can get away with, while also trying to ensure that games are not three-hour events bogged down in reviews and trips to the free-throw line. It is a tense moment when fouls are called after shots are missed, but some players understand.

In the modern-day N.B.A., few players have been more adept at drawing shooting fouls than Clippers guard James Harden. To him, the delays do not matter.

"Just get the call right," he said. "That's all I care about."

Law Murray covers the Clippers for The Athletic; Josh Robbins is a senior writer covering the Wizards.



BRAD REMPEL/USA TODAY SPORTS, VIA REUTERS

The Nuggets' Christian Braun defending Anthony Edwards during Game 6 of the Western Conference semifinals.



DARRYL WEBB/ASSOCIATED PRESS

'I wish I could tell you the reason why. If I had to guess, they don't want to continue to stop the game and intervene on the free-flowing nature of the game.'

KEVIN DURANT, Phoenix Suns forward, on why referees sometimes make late calls.



JOHN W. MCDONOUGH/SPORTS ILLUSTRATED, VIA GETTY IMAGES

'The late call always prompts a complaint from the other team — players, coaches and fans — always, and even when it's the right call.'

STAN VAN GUNDY, former N.B.A. head coach and current N.B.A. commentator on TNT.



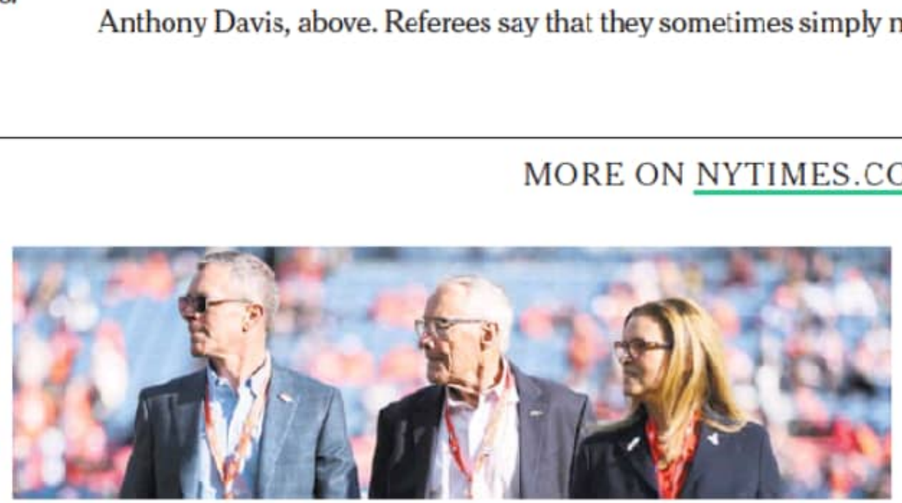
JEVONE MOORE/ICON SPORTSWIRE, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Anthony Davis, above. Referees say that they sometimes simply need a second to process what they have seen.

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BASEBALL

Targets for each contending team before the M.L.B. trade deadline.



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SWIMMING

Chinese Swimmers Failed Multiple Drug Tests, and Kept Competing

From Page 1

able does not have to."

In a statement to The New York Times, WADA confirmed that the three Chinese swimmers had tested positive for what it called "trace amounts" of a banned steroid, clenbuterol. It blamed the 2016 and 2017 cases on food contamination, which it labeled "pervasive." It published its lengthy response online at the same time it was emailed to The Times.

"The issue of contamination is real and well-known by the anti-doping community," the WADA director general, Olivier Niggli, said.

"The athletes in question were three such cases," he added. "They were elite level swimmers who were tested on a very frequent basis in a country where meat contamination with clenbuterol is widespread so it is hardly surprising that they could be among the hundreds of athletes who also tested positive for tiny amounts of the substance."

WADA described the athletes' levels of clenbuterol as "so low that they were between six and 50 times lower than the minimum reporting level." But neither the agency nor Mr. Niggli offered any explanation for why the swimmers were not publicly identified for having any amount in their systems.

World Aquatics, the global governing body for swimming, also confirmed on Friday that the three Chinese swimmers had previously tested positive for clenbuterol.

"We can confirm that there were positive tests for clenbuterol in 2016 and 2017 that involved Chinese athletes," the group said in a statement. The group, previously known as FINA, said it had found records of the positive tests in its archives from a period when it had a different management team.

"If any information comes to light which suggests that the cases should have been dealt with differently, then we will, of course, look at it very carefully," the group said, adding that it expects to publish findings of an antidoping audit review in the next few weeks, including "clear guidelines on how similar cases should be handled in future."

The details about the positive tests in 2016 and 2017 were included in a confidential report written by Chinese antidoping authorities that was used to clear the 23 swimmers in 2021, and given to WADA at the time.

The Chinese argued in the report that the 23 swimmers had been unknowingly contaminated with a heart medication that was somehow present in meals prepared for them at a domestic competition. That theory rested on the claim that two months after the positive tests, Chinese investigators had discovered trace amounts of the medication, trimetazidine, known as TMZ, in the kitchen of the hotel where the swimmers had stayed.

TMZ, which can help athletes increase stamina and endurance and hasten recovery times, is in a category of performance-enhancing drugs that comes with the harshest penalties.

To bolster the argument that contamination was a real possibility, the Chinese document cited other "mass incidents" in which 12 Chinese water polo players and 13 other athletes had been unwittingly contaminated with banned substances because of food they had eaten. Among those earlier cases, the Chinese said, were the incidents in 2016 and 2017 in which the three top swimmers had tested positive for clenbuterol.

But in citing those earlier cases, the Chinese only raised more questions about their history of dealing with positive tests.

Under established protocols for such tests at the time, even if the results were believed to have been caused by meat contamination, China and WADA would still have had to publicly identify the athletes and investigate the source of the contamination. There is no indication that those steps were followed in any of the cases documented by the Chinese.

Clenbuterol was for years popular among athletes because it can reduce weight and promote muscle growth. Because of its effectiveness in boosting athletic performance, WADA includes it in a category of drugs that come with the harshest penalties, including four-year bans from competition.

At the same time, it is also used in some parts of the world to promote growth in livestock. That has led to contamination cases involving athletes who eat meat from animals treated with it — a phenomenon that China's antidoping agency detailed in a presentation that is still available on WADA's website.

The Chinese antidoping agency did not respond to questions from The Times.

WADA — which is supposed to guard against countries that fail to police doping by their athletes — took Chinese officials at their word in 2021 that the 23 swimmers had done nothing wrong. It did not conduct its own investigation in China, and it allowed Chinada, the Chinese antidoping agency, to sidestep rules and processes that others are obligated to follow as it cleared the athletes.

The lack of action from WADA, which has cited coronavirus restrictions as an explanation, paved the way for China to send the 23 swimmers to the Summer Olympic Games in 2021, where nearly half of its team was made up of athletes who had tested positive for TMZ. At the Games, Chinese swimmers who had tested positive won medals in five events, including three golds.

Three athletes eluded suspension before the Olympics in 2021.

After the revelations, WADA and swimming's governing body both announced reviews of the handling of the cases. But that has only raised new concerns. WADA, already under fire from athletes and coaches, was forced to address claims that its handpicked prosecutor lacked independence. World Aquatics, meanwhile, faced accusations from a member of its own antidoping advisory group that it had been "inexplicably and forcibly shut out of the review."

Amid the outcry, WADA officials have sought to defend themselves in a range of public and private briefings, including a conference call with journalists, a forum with hundreds of athletes and a hurriedly scheduled video call with its own board members.

On one such call, WADA's general counsel, Ross Wenzel, looked directly into his computer camera and told board members that there had been no doping by the Chinese swimmers.

While it is unclear how much Mr. Wenzel knew about details in the Chinada report that had been shared with WADA, he and other agency officials have repeatedly supported their decision to clear the swimmers by pointing to a powerful statistic: None of the Chinese swimmers, Mr. Wenzel told the board members, had produced a doping positive result in the three years before the 2021 incident, despite being "subject to significant, if not to say massive, testing."

What Mr. Wenzel did not share in those meetings in April and early May was the swimmers' doping records before 2018. But WADA, which had been given the secret Chinese report in 2021, had by then known for years that China had cleared the three swimmers with clenbuterol positives in 2016 and 2017.

In its report, China even identified the three athletes by name: Wang Shun, who at the Tokyo Olympics became the second Chinese man to win an individual gold medal in swimming; Qin Haiyang, the current world-record holder in the 200-meter men's breaststroke; and Yang Junxuan, who was 14 or 15 at the time of her positive test in 2017 but went on to win gold and silver medals at the Tokyo Games.

In April, Yang set the Chinese national record in the women's 100-meter freestyle.

As WADA noted in its statement on Friday, the issue of contamination positives for clenbuterol ultimately became so common that WADA changed its guidelines in 2019: The drug would still be banned and considered in the category that comes with the harshest penalties, but the threshold for a positive result was raised.

Still, under WADA's rules and procedures at the time, athletes who claimed clenbuterol contamination were required to identify the source of the tainted food they had eaten and to obtain proof that it was indeed contaminated. This was a high bar to clear, and many athletes failed to do so — often leading to multiyear bans.

Even if the Chinese athletes were able to prove the contamination, however, under the rules in place in 2016 and 2017 their country's antidoping agency was required by WADA's code to publicly disclose that they had tested positive. And if the athlete had tested positive during a competition, their results were supposed to be stricken from the official records.

Yet in the case of the three Chinese swimmers, there is no indication that China's antidoping agency followed those rules, nor is there anything in the public record documenting that the athletes tested positive.

According to China's timeline, their positive tests in 2016 and 2017 occurred as the country was faced with an even earlier accusation of unpunished doping among its swimmers.

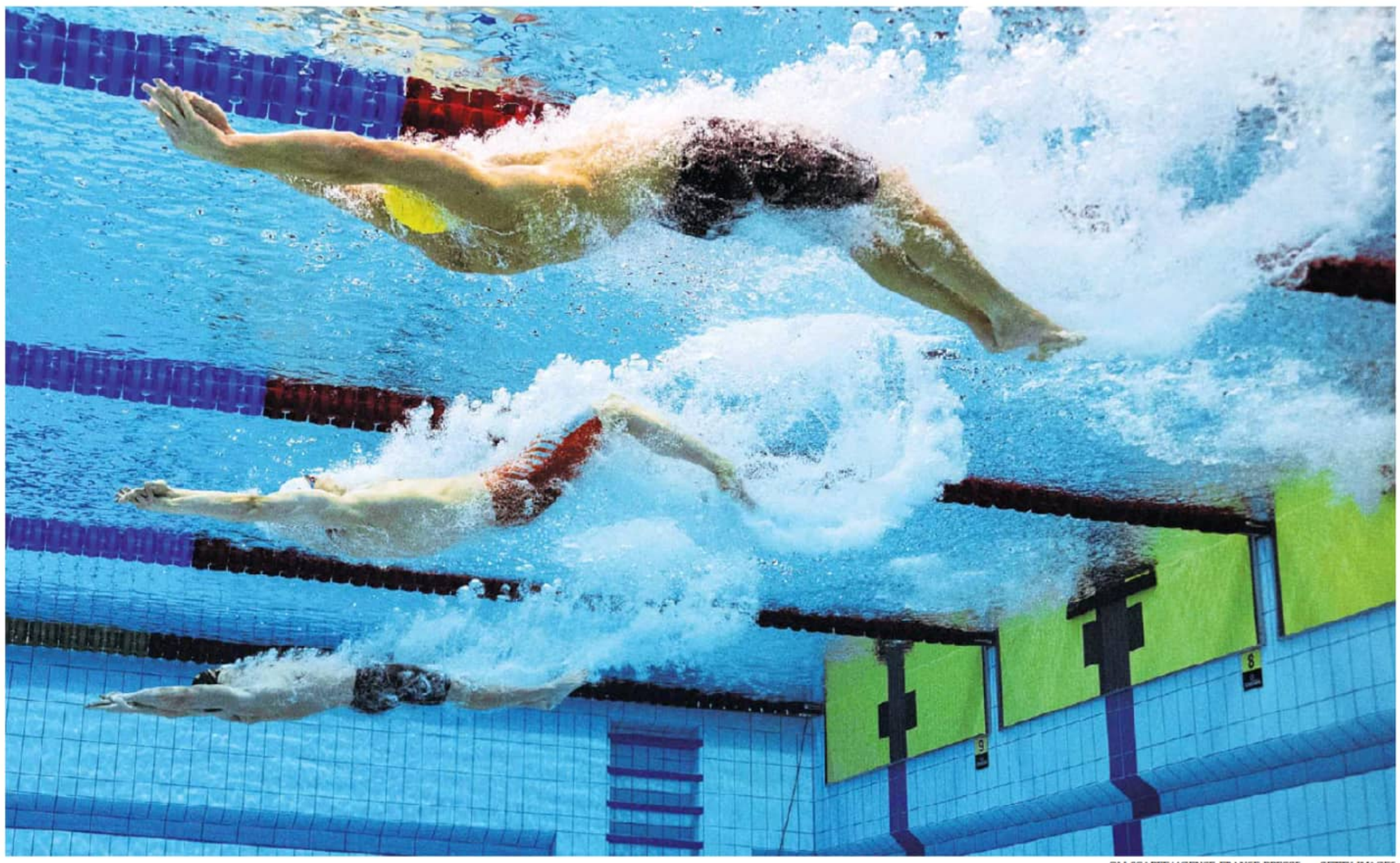
In 2016, The Times of London, citing whistle-blowers in China, reported that the Chinese authorities were covering up five positive doping tests because they wanted to avoid disclosing them before the trials for that year's Summer Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro.

The day after the Times of London article was published, China's antidoping agency publicly acknowledged that six of its swimmers had tested positive for banned drugs. Three of those positives had occurred six months earlier, in 2015, it said, and were for clenbuterol. China declined to identify the other substances or the names of any of the athletes.

At the time, WADA was engulfed in a separate scandal involving Russia's state-backed doping program. It responded immediately, describing the allegations about Chinese positives as "very serious" and vowing to deal with the situation "head on." Yet no known formal action was ever taken.

The discovery of even more hidden positives, and the prospect that some of the athletes involved will compete for medals at the Paris Olympic Games, is almost incomprehensible for other Olympians, said Mr. Koehler, of Global Athlete, who served as a deputy director of WADA until 2018.

"It will bring athletes' confidence in the system to an all-time low, which I didn't think was possible," he said.



OLI SCARFF/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

China's Wang Shun, center, competing in Budapest in 2022. Chinese officials said he was among three top swimmers who tested positive on multiple occasions.

GOLF

Remembering Stewart's Dramatic Open Win in 1999

By **MICHAEL ARKUSH**

The first U.S. Open held at the Pinehurst Resort & Country Club's Course No. 2 produced one of the most exciting conclusions in golf's history.

At the 1999 Open, Payne Stewart, 42, knocked in a 15-foot putt for par on the 72nd hole to outduel Phil Mickelson by a stroke. Stewart, known for his flashy wardrobe — he wore knickers — atoned for the four-shot lead he had squandered on the final day of the Open a year before at the Olympic Club in San Francisco.

The victory in Pinehurst was Stewart's third major title; he had captured the P.G.A. Championship in 1989 and the U.S. Open in 1991.

Just four months later, in October 1999, Stewart died in a plane crash that also killed five others. He had been heading to the PGA Tour's season-ending tournament in Texas.

His widow, Tracey Stewart; his caddie, Mike Hicks; Peter Jacobsen, a friend and former tour pro; and the NBC analyst Gary Koch reflected recently on Stewart and his triumph in 1999. Their comments have been edited and condensed.

The Man

PETER JACOBSEN When he first came out [on the PGA Tour], he was pretty cocky. He had his goal set on conquering the world. I think the game of golf humbled him a little bit and made him focus more on what he needed to do to become a great player, and he did just that. He became a man of tremendous faith, a wonderful father and a wonderful husband.

MIKE HICKS He was definitely a changed man. It was evident the way he handled the loss at the Olympic Club. The old Payne Stewart in the early '90s would have been a little bitter on that loss, probably wouldn't have handled the media the way he did that Sunday after losing. We led the tournament the whole week. He took that disappointment and that loss and turned that into a positive. He proved to himself he could still play at a very high level, especially in a major, and that carried over into 1999.

The Week

GARY KOCH I saw him on the range in the early part of the week, and he seemed very comfortable and very confident. Mike was from the Raleigh area, and Payne had spent time around there with Mike for years, and I wonder if that played into his comfort level a little bit.

TRACEY STEWART He missed the cut in Memphis [the week before], and I think he was planning on coming home, and I said, "Why don't you take Chuck Cook [his instructor] and go up early and get some practice in up there?" So they did that, and I think he and Chuck walked around the golf course maybe with two or three clubs, and he just figured out where not to hit it.

HICKS I felt good and so did he. He was playing well. We were rested. That tournament in Memphis didn't end till Monday, so it was a blessing that we missed that cut. We played Sunday, Monday and Tuesday, and then Wednesday, we hit a bucket of balls and putted for about 15 minutes, and we left the golf course at 11 that morning. We had an early tee time on Thursday, so when he showed up, he was prepared.

The Final Hole

HICKS That was the worst lie [in the rough for the approach shot] all week. He didn't even ask me what we had to the green. He hacked an 8 iron out of there somehow. It was amazing he got the 8 iron on it. [The third shot] was pretty predictable, that he would leave himself a putt but [not] the length of putt you think you're going to make, especially to win a U.S. Open.

STEWART I could see Payne, but I didn't know where the hole was. I was praying that he could make [the putt]. The crowd went crazy. And then I had to make my way out to see him, and it took a couple of minutes because there were people everywhere. He turned around and saw me, and he immediately grabbed me and whispered in my ear, "I did it, lovey."

HICKS I'll be honest with you. He's lining that putt up. I'm thinking, we're going to be playing Monday [in a playoff].

KOCH It's pretty rare when you think about it for someone to make a putt, certainly of that length, on the final hole of a major to win. Tiger's 72nd hole at Torrey Pines [to force a playoff in the 2008 U.S. Open] obviously comes to mind, but you have to rank Payne's right up there with that.

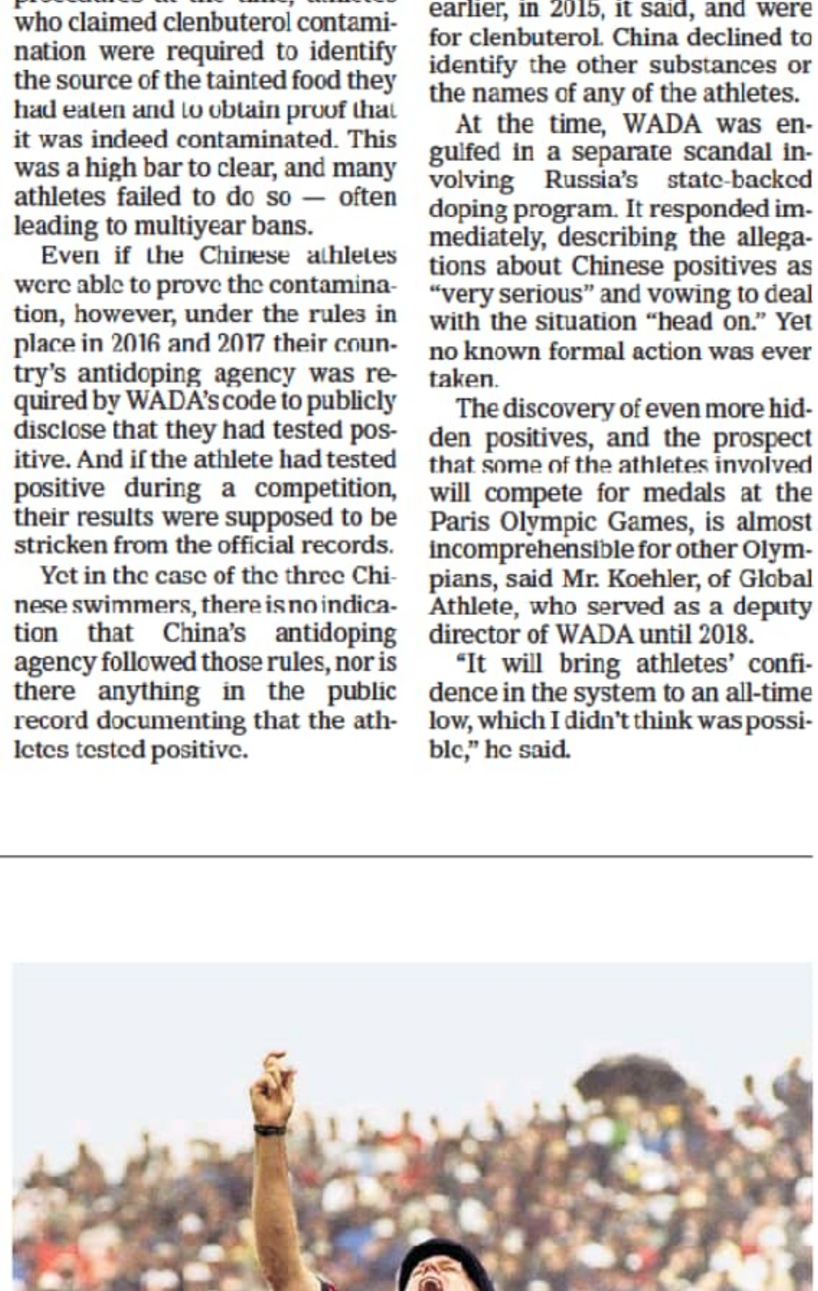
JACOBSEN When that putt went in, I literally couldn't believe it. Making putts like that to win majors, especially for par, is indescribable. I was elated.

HICKS He is immortalized with a statue at Pinehurst.

The Legacy

HICKS Obviously, he would have been a Ryder Cup captain. He was always a decent putter, but he had become a great putter. I feel like he would have contended in more majors for the next four or five years because he was in such good condition. His back was not that great, but he had learned to take care of it.

JACOBSEN I always wonder what Payne would be doing today. He might be doing television. I think he would be one of those iconic individuals in golf.



HARRY HOW /ALLSPORT, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Payne Stewart after his win at Pinehurst Resort & Country Club in 1999, when he sank a 15-foot putt for par on the 72nd hole.

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PRO FOOTBALL

As Watt Pushes 30, Length of His Career Is an Open Subject

By MARK KABOLY
The Athletic

PITTSBURGH — It could be a year, or it could be 10 years.

At this point in his career, T.J. Watt, the most prolific pass rusher in Pittsburgh Steelers history, simply doesn't know how long he wants to, or will, play the game of football.

Watt is a few years removed from being named the N.F.L. defensive player of the year in 2021, when he tied Michael Strahan's single-season sack record with 22.5. He could approach Bruce Smith's career sack record by the second half of his 30s if he stays healthy. Given that, it seems unrealistic that Watt will hang them up anytime soon.

But stranger things have happened, and Watt isn't about to take five years — let alone next year, or even this season, his eighth in the N.F.L. — for granted.

Watt is living in the now and will deal with tomorrow when it comes.

"I don't know if I want to play forever, but who knows? It is too hard to say," Watt said, before adding, referring to his brother: "J.J. always said he didn't want to play super long, then things happened and he ended up playing longer. I won't know until that moment comes. I feel great right now, so I am kind of just living in the moment."

Mark Kaboly is a senior writer for The Athletic covering the Steelers.

Watt will turn 30 in October. His oldest brother, the former Texans and Cardinals defensive end J.J. Watt, retired at 33 after the 2022 season. Their middle brother, the former Chargers and Steelers fullback Derek Watt, retired in March at 31. Neither was playing even close to the level that T.J. is now. T.J. led the league in sacks for the third time in four seasons in 2023 with 19, finishing as the runner-up in defensive player of the year voting for the second time in his career.

But again: Stranger things have happened.

Aaron Donald retired in March at 32 years old, and he was perhaps still the best defender in the N.F.L.

"I don't have forever to play," said Watt, who signed a four-year, $112 million deal in 2021 that runs through the 2025 season. "I have always approached the game as right now, and I have never taken it for granted, and that hasn't changed at all."

Watt would be up for an extension next year that could pay him well over $100 million again. Watt has 96.5 career sacks in 104 career games (0.93 per game). If he maintains that pace and stays healthy, he could pass Smith's record of 200 sacks a little bit after his 36th birthday in 2030.

"I don't ever see him stopping," the Steelers' outside linebackers coach, Denzel Martin, said. "Football lovers like him, I don't ever see him stopping."

Added Cameron Heyward, who is entering his 13th season at age 35: "He's a lifer. Everybody will eventually have to answer that question, but I will be utterly shocked if he retires anytime soon. There is a lot more in the tank there, but we have to keep him upright."



GENE J. PUSKAR/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Steelers' T.J. Watt altered his workouts this off-season, focusing less on heavy lifting and more on his flexibility.

'I don't know if I want to play forever, but who knows?' he says.

That's something that can derail a career quickly: injuries.

Watt has had a few over his career, and most notably missed seven games in 2022 because of a torn pectoral muscle sustained in Week 1. He has missed 12 games in seven seasons, including last year's A.F.C. wild-card loss to the Bills. This off-season, Watt altered his workout regimen, focusing less on heavy lifting and personal bests in the weight room and more on his flexibility.

"Every off-season for him is something different," Martin said.

Watt has incorporated more ankle/knee/hip mobility into his offseason workouts.

"You just have to be smarter," Watt said. "It is about maintaining and staying healthy. That is the most important thing right now. All those things will continue to help me do my job as I get older."

The Steelers are doing their part in keeping Watt as healthy as possible by limiting meaningless reps. And meaningless reps for Watt are pretty much anything other than the ones that come during a game.

There hasn't been a hard-and-fast decision on how that will be done, but his reps will be limited in training camp. The Steelers have used a three-days-on, one-day-off rule for many players over 30 — practice three days, and then take a day off.

"We have to do that with a lot of guys," the defensive coordinator Teryl Austin said. "Even though they may have wanted to practice, that was a way to get them rested and try to save them from themselves, so to speak. We'll make sure to take care of T.J. because we know how valuable he is."

The Steelers did that with Heyward a few years ago.

"Once he got a little bit older, we kind of pulled him back, just because he would take every rep, and he loves it," Austin said. "Sometimes, you just got to try to help them govern themselves so that we have them when we get into November and December, and we're playing some really meaningful games."

When Watt "held in" while looking for a new contract during training camp in 2021, he practiced just once before the season started. It ended up being the best season of his career.

Coincidence?

"I think there is something to fresh legs in general," Martin said. "The fresh legs aspect is never a negative. You don't want anybody to hold in, but ..."

For Watt, more than anything else, it is about winning in the playoffs. He's acutely aware that he's never won a playoff game in his seven-year career. That bothers him, especially considering the other top sack artists in Von Miller, Chris Jones, Cameron Jordan, Trey Hendrickson and Myles Garrett have a combined 35 postseason victories, including five Super Bowl titles.

"For me, it is all about no playoff wins," Watt said. "I am trying to do anything I can do. We have so much turnover year to year and so many new guys that it is trying to learn as much as possible coming from guys from other organizations that have done it and won championships since being in the league.

"I am going to do whatever is possible to win. It is about not taking any day for granted, and when it comes down to executing and working, putting everything aside and getting it done."

BASEBALL

Padres Find Heir to the Legacies of Gwynn and Carew

By DENNIS LIN
The Athletic

SAN DIEGO — Luis Arraez arrived in the majors in May 2019, entering a blowout of the Seattle Mariners as a defensive replacement. Three innings later, he doubled for his first hit with the Minnesota Twins. When he kept hitting, comparisons with a pair of Hall of Famers followed.

"One of my friends called me Little Tony Gwynn," Arraez said. "And then, especially the fans from Minnesota called me Little Rod Carew. That's amazing for me."

Those connections feel as relevant as ever. Last month, hours after being traded by the Miami Marlins, Arraez made his debut for the San Diego Padres, the franchise that built a statue of Gwynn. Arraez, the only player to win a batting title in the American and National Leagues across consecutive seasons, doubled in his first at-bat. He went on to collect three more hits that day. And he later learned that Carew, his mentor, was once a mentor to Gwynn.

"Tony and I were great friends," Carew said in a recent phone interview.

Now, the knowledge of that relationship is inspiring a spiritual successor.

"It's big, big for me," Arraez said.

When Gwynn made his debut for the Padres in 1982, he and Carew resided in different stratospheres. Gwynn was a rookie not far removed from a two-sport career at San Diego State. Carew, a Twins great who had joined the California Angels, was playing in his 16th consecutive All-Star season.

But in a fellow left-handed hitter, Gwynn saw a blueprint.

"He patterned his game after him early in his career, for sure," said the Padres broadcaster Tony Gwynn Jr., whose father died in 2014 at age 54. "He was like, 'That's who I can be.'"

Gwynn won a batting title in his third season, just as Carew did. The two men ultimately combined for 15 batting titles — eight for Gwynn, seven for Carew — cementing their legacies as two of the best pure hitters in baseball history.

Along the way, they went from strangers to regular conversation partners. They bonded over lunches in Southern California and hospital visits to young cancer patients.

"The great thing I think that we had is the quietness about us and the way we approached hitting," Carew, 78, said. "It wasn't a do-or-die thing for us. I've told many people this: God blessed us with the ability to do something that nobody else can do. And do we give those secrets away?"

He laughed.

"But, you know, that's what it's like," Carew continued. "I feel that Tony was a great hitter. He could do things a lot of guys couldn't do, and I feel the same way about myself."

Dennis Lin is a senior writer for The Athletic covering the Padres.



GREGORY BULL/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Luis Arraez, a career .326 hitter, has only 25 home runs but over 65 games of three or more hits.

In a sport that has increasingly valued power production over contact ability, Carew seldom felt that way about anyone else after Gwynn's retirement. Then, during a 2016 visit to the Twins' affiliate in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Carew met a teenager who finished that season hitting .347. A few years later, they reconnected during major league spring training.

Carew began to share his secrets.

"He's like my grandfather," Arraez said. "He's taught me a lot of good things, especially for the game."

Lost arts like using the whole field and letting the ball travel.

Some of Carew's secrets are more lost art than encrypted code. The leaguewide batting average this season is .240, the worst mark since 1968 — the year before the mound was lowered to 10 inches and the strike zone was reduced to its modern size. Arraez, a career .326 hitter, swears by such antiquated practices as using the whole field and letting the ball travel.

"He's really learned how to track the ball," Carew said. "No one can throw a pitch by you, because you know to look at where the ball is coming from and track it all the way until you get ready to hit. It's rare to see a guy that can do that."

Arraez, a leadoff man, is among a dwindling collection of players who pay little attention to metrics like launch angle and exit velocity. He owns the slowest average swing in the majors but also the highest squared-up rate. He has only 25 career home runs but over 65 games of three or more hits.

"I got power, too, but it's not my game," Arraez, 27, said. "My game is just getting base hits and getting on base."

For teammates and coaches, his seeming ability to do so at will is a constant source of amazement.

"I think if more guys could do it, they would," said the pitcher Dylan Cease, who faced Arraez when they both played in the A.L. Central. "Like, anyone would love to hit .340. But there's one that can do it."

"You don't do much," the hitting coach Victor Rodriguez said of his approach to instructing Arraez. "That's the best coaching with guys like that. Not coaching them at all, because they know what they're doing."

Since Arraez joined the team May 4, the Padres have been leading the majors in batting average (above .270) and were ranked second in on-base percentage. Arraez has batted .351 in 35 games

"I try to stay out of his way," said Carew, who has not spoken with his protégé as often since the Twins traded Arraez last year. "I want him to feel that he has accomplished a lot of this by being a good student and learning and understanding what it takes to get up there and be a good hitter."

Yet Arraez, a two-time All-Star, remains a polarizing figure in this era. He does not possess mammoth power or play a premium position. He is not a speedster, and although he has held his own at first base with San Diego, the metrics cast him as one of the weakest defenders in the league. FanGraphs values his contributions this season at a mere 0.8 wins above replacement, the kind of dissonance that can lead to pointed observations about the state of the industry.

"It's a shame how many amateur and lower-level professional hitters have been excluded from continuing to play because they don't meet a measurable," Padres Manager Mike Shildt said recently. "They don't meet an exit velocity or a bat speed or a launch angle or any of those things that this game is now basically recruiting and monetizing blindly. They're just getting hits. And somehow that became out of vogue in our industry in general."

When watching Arraez go about his daily work, certain flashes of recognition come to Gwynn, the son of the Hall of Famer. The habit of scanning the defense before digging into the left-handed batter's box. The patented opposite-field stroke. The casual conversations about hitting that take place around the ballpark.

"When I watch Luis, I can see the '82-to-'91 version of my dad," Gwynn said. "And I can see the clips I've seen of Rod. I can see a lot of those in him."

For Arraez, it is a thrill to be likened to both Hall of Famers. As an overlooked amateur player in Venezuela, Arraez once thought he was destined to become a phys ed teacher. Years later, he found himself receiving special attention each spring from Carew and Tony Oliva, another Twins great.

No one nowadays pays tribute to Carew and Gwynn the way Arraez does. This season, he could become the first major leaguer in the modern era to win batting titles for three different teams.

"It's fun to talk to somebody who has the foundation that he has," Gwynn said. "The basics are the basics I grew up with."

M.L.B. Disciplines Umpire For Breaking Betting Rules

By KEN ROSENTHAL and EVAN DRELLICH
The Athletic

Major League Baseball said Friday that it had disciplined the umpire Pat Hoberg for violating the league's gambling rules, and that he was being held out of games this season while an appeal is considered.

M.L.B. acknowledged the investigation in response to inquiries from The Athletic.

The rise of sports gambling has left a pockmark on baseball all season. Multiple players have been punished for gambling violations, including Tucupita Marcano, who received a lifetime ban for betting on baseball. Shohei Ohtani's former interpreter, Ippei Mizuhara, pleaded guilty to stealing from his client in the wake of losing millions in illegal non-baseball sports bets. Now, an umpire has been punished, with Hoberg becoming the only known umpire in recent history to have been disciplined for a matter related to gambling.

The specifics of the allegations against him were not immediately clear. Glen Caplin, a spokesman for M.L.B., said the league could not provide more details while the appeal was pending. Hoberg, who has not umpired a game since last year's postseason, did not immediately respond to messages seeking comment. He said in a statement to ESPN on Friday night that it would be inappropriate to discuss the case during the appeal.

"I have devoted my adult life to the profession of umpiring, and the integrity of baseball is of the utmost importance to me," Hoberg's statement said. "I look forward to the appeal process, and I am grateful that the Major League Baseball Umpires Association is supporting me in the appeal."

Hoberg, 37, started umpiring baseball games professionally in 2009 and became a full-time major league umpire in 2017, according to M.L.B.'s umpires media guide. He earned praise for how he called balls and strikes during the 2022 World Series; the tracking site Umpire Scorecards gave Hoberg a perfect score during the game he worked behind the plate, his first such assignment at the World Series. That helped cement his reputation as one of the sport's highest-performing umpires.

In a statement, M.L.B. said its investigation of Hoberg began during spring training and that Hoberg "was removed from the field during the pendency of that investigation."

"While M.L.B.'s investigation did not find any evidence that games worked by Mr. Hoberg were compromised or manipulated in any way, M.L.B. determined that discipline was warranted," the statement said.

Commissioner Rob Manfred will hear Hoberg's appeal.

The discipline against Hoberg is just the latest in a line of gambling-related developments to rock a sport whose history has been shaped by various betting scandals.

Ohtani's former interpreter, Mizuhara, recently pleaded guilty to fraud for stealing nearly $17 million from Ohtani to pay gambling debts. David Fletcher, one of Ohtani's former teammates with the Angels, remains under investigation by the league for making non-baseball sports bets with the same illegal bookmaker used by Mizuhara. M.L.B. also recently barred Marcano for life for gambling on baseball and suspended four other players for a year after receiving information about their bets from a legal U.S. sportsbook.



TERRANCE WILLIAMS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The specifics of the allegations against Pat Hoberg were not clear. An appeal is pending.

Other North American leagues have also struggled with gambling allegations since a U.S. Supreme Court ruling in 2018 paved the way for expanded betting in much of the country. Players, coaches and others have been suspended or barred. Still, even before gambling was legalized, allegations of misconduct by referees have been rare. In 2007, N.B.A. referee Tim Donaghy pleaded guilty to sharing inside information for betting purposes. He spent 15 months in prison.

Baseball umpires are covered by the same M.L.B. statute that regulates player gambling, officially known as Rule 21, which has ranges of punishments for numerous kinds of violations.

The most severe is that anyone found to have gambled on a baseball game that person is directly tied to — "any baseball game in connection with which the bettor has a duty to perform," as the rules formally put it — is to be barred permanently from the game. The punishment for gambling on baseball otherwise is one year. There are also provisions covering a wide range of other activities, including bets with illegal bookmakers.

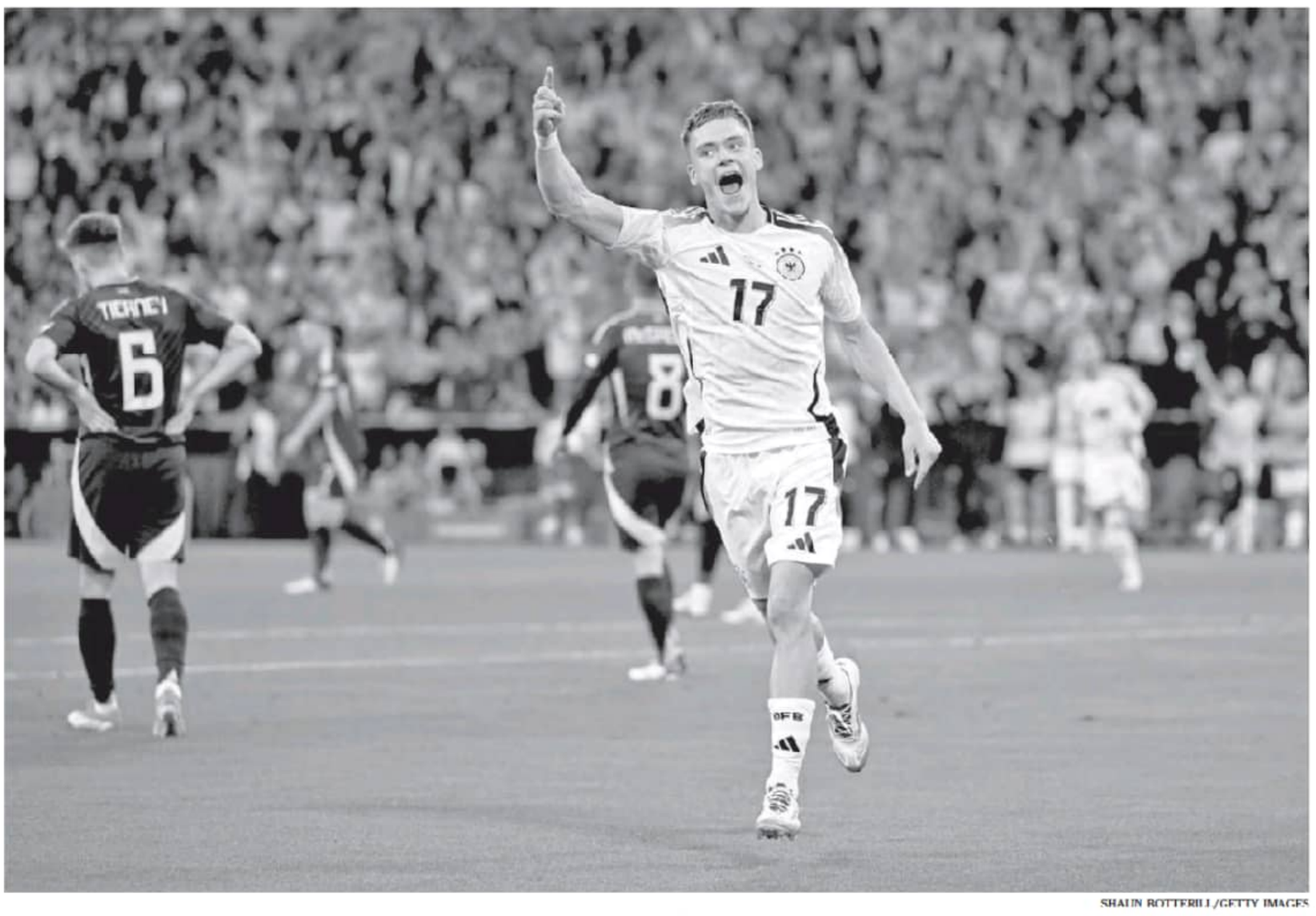
Ken Rosenthal and Evan Drellich are senior baseball writers for The Athletic.

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SOCCER | EUROPEAN CHAMPIONSHIP

Win Over Scotland Gives Germany A Good Omen

Hoping to Recreate Fond Memories Made During the 2006 World Cup



SHAUN BOTTERILL/GETTY IMAGES



SVEN HOPPE/DPA, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Florian Wirtz after scoring in his team's 5-1 rout of Scotland, above. Philipp Lahm, far left, with Chancellor Olaf Scholz of Germany. Lahm scored in the first game of the 2006 World Cup.

RORY SMITH
ON SOCCER

MUNICH — The arc of Philipp Lahm's career had the rhythm of someone meticulously ticking items off a bucket list. He won eight German championships with Bayern Munich, the team he supported as a child. He served as its captain for six years. He led the club to a domestic and European treble. A year later, he captained Germany to World Cup glory.

Now, a few years into retirement, Lahm has become a respected figurehead for German soccer as a whole: smart, thoughtful, discreet by inclination but frank when required. He has occupied a handful of honorary, ambassadorial posts, but in 2020 was given a real job, as tournament director of Euro 2024.

Yet for everything else he has achieved, Lahm will always be remembered in his homeland as the man who ushered in the Sommermärchen, the fairy-tale summer, of 2006. All that year's World Cup became, all it meant to Germany then and all it means to Germany now, started with his goal in the opening game, here in Munich, against Costa Rica.

Germany did not win that tournament, of course. The host's run ended, in a technical sense, in heartbreak. If anything, though, that heightened the meaning with which it was subsequently imbued. For Germany, the 2006 World Cup has always been less about the outcome than — in a surprisingly literal sense — about the friends it made along the way.

After just a single game of this year's tournament, it is much too early to declare that the scorer of the host's opening goal in Euro 2024, the elfin Bayer Leverkusen playmaker Florian Wirtz, is destined to follow in Lahm's path.

Perhaps this dominant 5-1 win against a committed but very obviously overmatched Scotland will prove a false dawn. Perhaps one of Wirtz's teammates will come to dominate the tournament, or at least Germany's portion of it, in such a way that he becomes the central figure in the narrative. (Jamal Musiala, if you want a name.) Perhaps Germany will go on to win the whole thing, the details lost in the tableau.

Tournaments, like butterflies, all have their own distinct colors and patterns, but they start to become clear only once they emerge from the chrysalis. (Please note: This may not be true of butterflies, but just go along with it for the purposes of the metaphor.) Nor do they stay the same. Over time, they can gleam or mottle or fade.

That has certainly been the case with 2006. Its shadow has hung heavy over this tournament, a memory so perfect that the present did not seem able to compete. Germany recalls, keenly, how happy it was then, and how unhappy it seems now, with a war not far from its borders and an economy stagnating and the far right on the rise.

But this is a trick of the light. The country was fretful in 2006, too, unsure how the tournament would go, uncomfortable with the idea of celebrating itself in public. That changed only with Lahm's intervention. It was only then that Germany began to discern the colors of that bright and vivid summer.

The hope, then, must be that — regardless of where Germany's story ends — Wirtz's goal will have the same effect, 18 years later. This tournament will not solve any of the problems roiling both Germany and Europe. No matter how bombastic UEFA's mission statements and slogans, that is a job far too large for sports. It is not a panacea.

That does not mean it cannot provide a welcome palliative over the next month. Wirtz's goal, supplemented by the four that followed, served to soothe Germany's sporting nerves — the haunting sense that humiliation on the field might lie in wait — and that, for now, may be enough.

For all the worries, for all the angst, Germany has a glimmer of hope, a promise that something encouraging and blissful and — in the best possible way — wondrously trivial might be stirring. That may be all it takes to help the country embrace the tournament: a sense that this might actually be a few weeks to remember.

Rory Smith is a global sports correspondent for The New York Times. Sign up for his weekly world soccer newsletter at nytimes.com/rory.

Euro Fever: Patient Observations

A few thoughts as we begin:

PREPARE FOR FUN This is, I think, the first men's tournament in almost a decade that does not represent a major logistical operation for fans of most of the competing nations. The last two World Cups, in Russia and Qatar, were financially draining, practically challenging and morally complex. The previous European Championship, held across the continent, was strangled by travel restrictions.

Not since France, and Euro 2016, has being present at a tournament — not necessarily even attending games — seemed so simple. Germany is, as the tagline goes, in the heart of Europe. The Netherlands and Poland will both pull vast caravans of fans in their wake, but special mention to the Scots, too.

On Thursday morning, I flew out of Manchester Airport (which is not, you will be aware, in Scotland). My flight, like the airport, was full of Scottish fans, a majority of them in full tartan regalia. This was especially striking because my flight was headed to Rome. That was not the only detachment of the Tartan Army to take a circuitous route: By Friday, there were, by some estimates, about 200,000 Scots in Munich. To put it another way, that is 4 percent of the country's population.

HOUSE OF ORANJE Just before I left, my son and I ran into a neighbor who asked which team in the European Championship had the broader support of the Smith household. He was expecting England, of course, or maybe Scotland.

Instead, my son proudly declared that for the next month he would be Dutch. I had to explain: My son is British, of course, but at age 6, a nation is still a fuzzy, indistinct concept. He is, presumably, loyal to it on some level, but he does not feel it as immediately, as keenly, as he does his loyalty to the greater glory of Virgil van Dijk.

COMING HOME? Gareth Southgate's approach to the job of England manager is probably best summed up by the way it might end. Regardless of how his (surprisingly) bold squad fares in Germany, there is a rumbling sentiment that this might be his last tournament.

That decision will not have to be made in haste, though. Southgate's contract expires in December, an unusual time frame for an international coach (generally they work from major tournament to major tournament). This is extremely Southgate: It gives both him and England's soccer authorities the chance to review and reflect on the right course of action once the euphoria/regret has ebbed.

Likewise, the fact that his employers have a succession plan in place is to be commended. Less praiseworthy is the suggestion that they would be more than happy to appoint a non-English manager to replace him. It is one of my few abiding beliefs that major soccer nations should not have foreign coaches.

That sounds bad, I realize, but rest assured it is not rooted in some Neolithic conservatism. International soccer is meant to test the strength of a country's sporting culture. If major nations cannot produce good managers, then that is a flaw they should have to address organically, rather than drafting an import from a country that can. (Yes, Belgium and Portugal, I am looking at you.)

U.S. 1, BRAZIL 1 If the buildup to the European Championship has felt relatively low-key until the very last moment, then it is safe to say that the looming Copa América does not really feature in the European imagination just yet.

But that does not mean the United States' creditable draw with Brazil passed by unnoticed: If it felt like a sign that the Seleção is still something of a work in progress, then it should offer Gregg Berhalter — and his team and his country — considerable encouragement going into the tournament.

His reign, thus far, feels as if it lacks a signature result: a proof of concept, a sign of what might be to come. Drawing with Brazil, even a slightly anemic one, even in a tuneup game, does not quite meet the bar. It hints, though, that the Copa América might be the stage on which the United States can find one.

Bellingham's Speedy Rise to Excellence Reflects England's Overall Improvement

By JACK PITT-BROOKE
The Athletic

There is something uncannily frictionless about Jude Bellingham's progress over the past few years, from a senior England soccer debut at 17 to becoming the star of Manager Gareth Southgate's team, which takes the field Sunday at the European Championship, long before turning 21.

That rise is largely down to Bellingham's talents and character, which would have flourished in any environment. But he is also perhaps the greatest example of the success of "England DNA," a set of policies introduced to ensure that young players could step into the England senior team and never look back.

From Bellingham's first involvement with the England program at age 13, he followed a new pathway designed almost specifically for players like him, giving him experiences geared toward major tournaments.

It all comes back to decisions made by Dan Ashworth and Southgate, then manager of England under-21 squad, more than a decade ago.

When Ashworth took over as the Football Association's director of elite development in September 2012, his goal was to better equip young players for the demands of senior international soccer. Ashworth had studied successful national teams and saw how easy it was for their youngsters to transition into the senior ranks.

What stood out was the quantity and quality of age-group international soccer those players had already played, making for the smoothest transition possible into the seniors. Ashworth wanted to replicate that.

So in December 2014, six months after England's early elimination from the World Cup in Brazil, Ashworth, Southgate and Matt Crocker, the F.A.'s head of player and coach development, introduced "England DNA," the principles that would be the thread connecting England teams of all levels. This would be a new pathway for England players to follow, they explained, from their midteens through to the senior side. "The only thing that changes," as Ashworth liked to say, "is the size of the shirt."

> A set of principles called 'England DNA' enacted in 2014.

In the summer of 2016, the F.A. was putting together its next under-15s group and decided to try something new.

England's outstanding under-14s were pulled into the process, pushing them one year ahead to see how they would fare. There were four names in particular they wanted to try: Chelsea's Jamal Musiala, Karamoko Dembele of the Scottish side Celtic, West Ham United's Amadou Diallo, and a 13-year-old from Birmingham City named Jude Bellingham.

Even then, Bellingham was no secret to the F.A.'s scouts. The group's head of talent identification for youth development, Daniel Dodds, had already been watching Bellingham for years. Dodds suggested to Kevin Betsy, the F.A.'s new under-15s coach, that he should go to see him play for Birmingham's youth sides. And even as one of the smaller players on the field, Bellingham stood out to the coaches for his vision, awareness and ball manipulation skills.

The biggest test would be how Bellingham and the other 2003-born players would fare among the 2002-born generation. But he continued to flourish.

The following season, the 2002 crop moved up to play at the under-16s level, but Bellingham and Musiala stayed for a second full year of under-15s football with Betsy's group. One of Ashworth's innovations was to keep the same cohort of players with the same coach as they progressed through the system, rather than having a new coach for every year group.

It was all about integration and consistency. The F.A. staff knew that, of the 2003 generation, Bellingham and Musiala were the two standouts, youngsters who had the ability to make it to the senior side. The German-born Musiala later chose to play for Germany's national team, and in Friday's Euro 2024 opener, he scored a goal.

The biggest change the F.A. introduced was who its teams played against. When the under-15s side was set up, the F.A. wanted a broad set of opponents from around the world. So the team would play double-headers against youngsters from Turkey, Belgium and the Netherlands, and it sought out tournaments with a better range of opponents than in previous years.

Part of the new England program was working on the young players' leadership skills. The days of coaches simply sitting the players in a classroom and talking to them about tactics were over. Instead, players were asked to lead meetings.

"We wanted to develop more leaders within the pathway," Betsy said. "We gave them the opportunity to communicate with their peers."

After every game, the players would be put into meetings where they would divide into groups to analyze aspects of England's performance and then present the results to the squad. Bellingham shone in this environment as much as he did on the field.

"Jude was always challenged to speak and communicate in front of the group, he was excellent at that," Betsy said. "He was a leader, even at a young age."

Richie Kyle was one of the coaches along with Betsy and remembers Bellingham in the same way. "Jude would just stand up with a piece of paper and say, 'We didn't do *that* well,' 'We should have done *that* better,'" he said. "It was unbelievable, how confident and aware he was of the game. It was ridiculous how confident he was in the classroom. All of the group looked up to him because of it."

So it was no surprise that Bellingham wore the captain's armband on his England under-16s debut, the first of two away friendlies against Croatia in July 2018.

The focus on individual development extended to where Bellingham played on the field.

He was deployed in almost every possible midfield position in almost every formation. "We didn't play him in the higher positions as often as he would have liked," Betsy said. "We thought to mix his positions sometimes would be better for his long-term development."

Bellingham didn't score in his eight appearances for England under-15s, and Betsy said that "played on his mind a little bit." But eventually, the goals started to flow.

Across his under-16s season, Bellingham added something else to take his game to the next level: He started to grow.

"He was a late developer, physically," Betsy said. "Smaller than a lot of the other players in height, with no power or strength in his body yet. He didn't start growing physically until late in his under-16s year."

By the start of the 2019-20 season, having just turned 16, Bellingham was more ready than ever for men's soccer.

Then Birmingham Manager Pep Clotet brought him into the first team, and he made his senior debut in a Carabao Cup match at Portsmouth in August. For England, he started that season with the under-17s. They were scheduled to have their European Championship in Estonia the following May.



ADRIAN DENNIS/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Jude Bellingham stood out to the coaches as a youth player for his vision, awareness and ball manipulation skills.

Preparation for the tournament began in Poland. England entered the Syrenka Cup, an annual tournament; its first game was against Finland, and Bellingham scored in a 5-0 win. Then it was Austria in the semifinals, and he scored again in a 4-2 victory. And then it was Poland in the final: a 2-2 draw, after which England won, 3-1, on penalties.

"Jude was the best player on the pitch by a country mile," Kyle said of that tournament. "He was better, stronger and quicker than everyone else. At that level, at that age, you stand out like a sore thumb."

The Covid-19 pandemic and the global lockdown meant that the European Under-17 Championship in May 2020 never happened. So the Syrenka Cup was Bellingham's last time playing for Betsy and with that age group.

The following season, he was briefly promoted to the under-21s, becoming their youngest ever player at 17. He made four appearances before being fast-tracked to the seniors in November, making his debut off the bench against the Republic of Ireland.

He was playing for Southgate and being readied for the pandemic-delayed Euro 2020 the following summer, which would be his first major international tournament at any level.

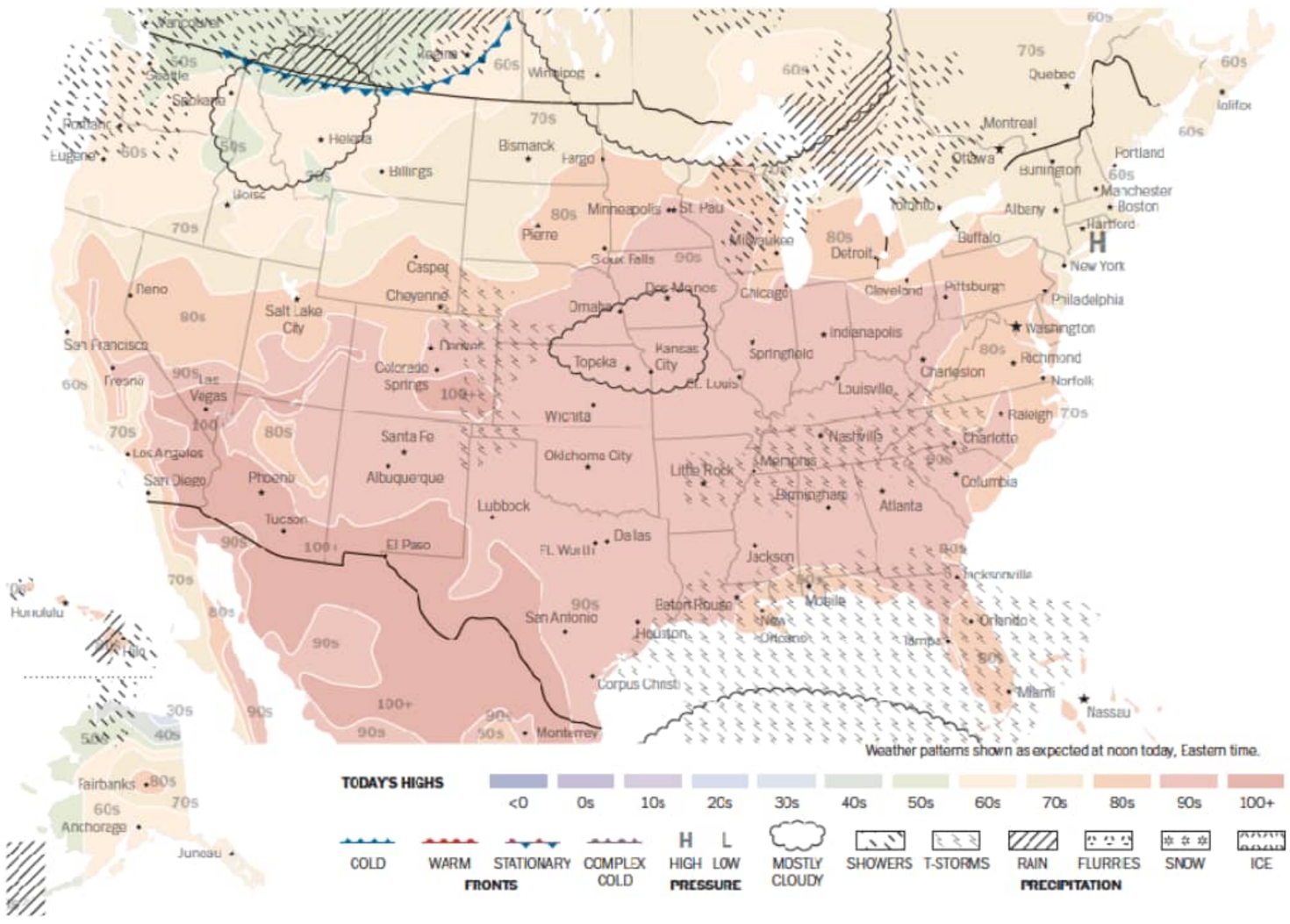
But he had been preparing for life in the England senior side, working toward a place in Southgate's team, since he was just 13.

Jack Pitt-Brooke covers soccer for The Athletic.

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Weather Report

Meteorology by **AccuWeather**



Metropolitan Forecast

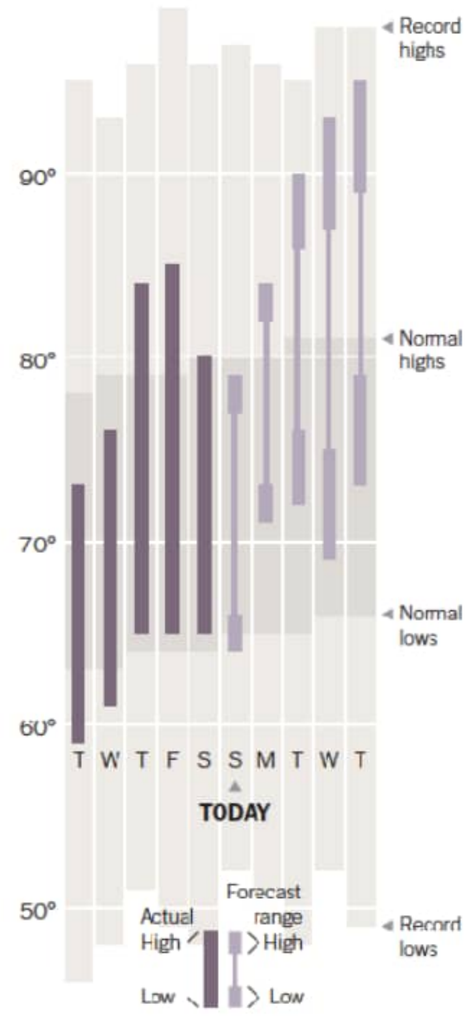
TODAY .....Mostly sunny
High 76. High pressure in place along the East Coast will yield sunshine and low humidity. Winds will be 5 to 10 miles per hour. Temperatures will be near average.

TONIGHT .....Mostly cloudy
Low 65. With high pressure remaining in place, a clear to partly cloudy sky is expected to continue overnight. Winds will become light and variable and temperatures will be near average.

TOMORROW .....Mostly sunny, humid
High 83. It will turn warmer and more humid, but high pressure will remain in place. Expect clouds and sunshine along with temperatures slightly above average.

TUESDAY .....Warm, with some sun
It will be partly sunny and even warmer, with a slight rise in humidity as high pressure begins to move east. The high will be 88.

WEDNESDAY
THURSDAY .....Hot and dry
It will be partly sunny and hot. This will be the start of a heat wave. The high will be 90. On Thursday there will be periodic sun and clouds and it will remain hot. The high will be 92.



Highlight: Heat Wave for the East This Week

As a zone of high pressure settles over the Northeast, widespread heat is expected to spread from the Tennessee Valley to New England this week. Stagnant conditions will lead to poor air quality for some along with power outages.



National Forecast

A powerful disturbance in the northern tier of the country will bring the risk for severe weather to areas from eastern Wyoming to the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. Storms may be able to produce large hail, flooding downpours, damaging wind gusts and even some tornadoes late in the day and at night.

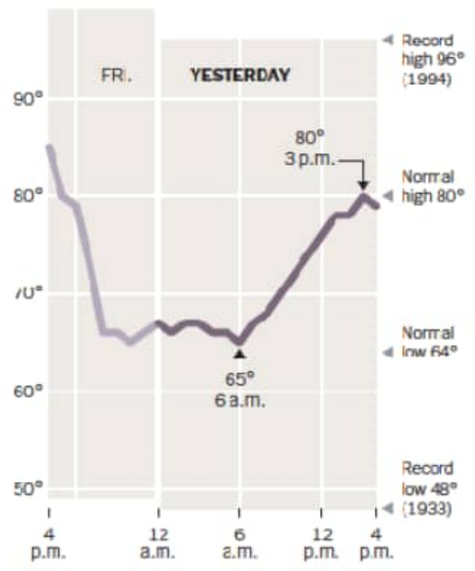
Behind the storm, enough cold air reaches the Northwest for high-terrain snow in far northern Montana, with showers in Washington. Otherwise, a general risk for thunderstorms extends into interior sections of the South, especially from the mountains of the Carolinas across Tennessee.

A separate zone of thunderstorms stretches along the Gulf Coast as tropical moisture lifts northward. Other locations can expect a dry day.

Metropolitan Almanac

In Central Park, for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday.

Temperature



Avg. daily departure from normal this month ..... +2.3°

Avg. daily departure from normal this year ..... +3.2°

Reservoir levels (New York City water supply)

Yesterday 95%
Est. normal 98%

Precipitation (in inches)

Yesterday 0.00
Record 1.13

For the last 30 days
Actual 3.66
Normal 4.47

For the last 365 days
Actual 65.43
Normal 49.48

LAST 30 DAYS

Air pressure
High ..... 30.01 9 a.m.
Low ..... 29.90 3 a.m.

Humidity
High ..... 100% 1 a.m.
Low ..... 59% 10 a.m.

Cooling Degree Days
An index of fuel consumption that tracks how far the day's mean temperature rose above 65

Yesterday 8
So far this month 110
So far this season (since January 1) 219
Normal to date for the season 166

Trends

	Temperature Average Below	Above	Precipitation Average Below	Above
Last 10 days		○		
30 days		●	○	
90 days		●	●	
365 days		●	○	

Chart shows how recent temperature and precipitation trends compare with those of the last 30 years.

Recreational Forecast

Sun, Moon and Planets

Full	Last Quarter	New	First Quarter
June 21 9:09 p.m.	June 28	July 5 6:58 p.m.	July 13

Sun	RISE	5:24 a.m.	Moon	S	1:55 a.m.
	SET	8:30 p.m.		R	3:19 p.m.
	NEXT R	5:24 a.m.		S	2:15 a.m.
Jupiter	R	4:09 a.m.	Mars	R	2:42 a.m.
	S	6:46 p.m.		S	4:16 p.m.
Saturn	R	12:56 a.m.	Venus	R	5:38 a.m.
	S	12:21 p.m.		S	8:45 p.m.

Boating

From Montauk Point to Sandy Hook, N.J., out to 20 nautical miles, including Long Island Sound and New York Harbor.

Winds will be out of the east-northeast at 5-10 knots. Waves will be around 1 foot on New York Harbor and Long Island Sound and 2-3 feet on the open ocean. Visibility will be unrestricted.

High Tides

Atlantic City	3:31 a.m.	4:18 p.m.
Barnegat Inlet	3:46 a.m.	4:33 p.m.
The Battery	4:20 a.m.	5:03 p.m.
Beach Haven	5:04 a.m.	5:49 p.m.
Bridgeport	7:41 a.m.	8:01 p.m.
City Island	8:20 a.m.	8:28 p.m.
Fire Island Lt.	4:32 a.m.	5:17 p.m.
Montauk Point	5:38 a.m.	6:01 p.m.
Northport	7:55 a.m.	8:13 p.m.
Port Washington	8:20 a.m.	8:30 p.m.
Sandy Hook	3:46 a.m.	4:31 p.m.
Shinnecock Inlet	3:47 a.m.	4:20 p.m.
Stamford	7:42 a.m.	7:59 p.m.
Tarrytown	6:09 a.m.	6:52 p.m.
Willets Point	8:17 a.m.	8:28 p.m.

Beach and Ocean Temperatures



High pressure sitting over the East Coast will promote a partly to mostly sunny sky and relatively light winds from the beaches of New England down to Virginia Beach. There may be a bit of patchy fog early in the morning along the Jersey Shore, but that should quickly give way to sunshine.

Cities

High/low temperatures for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday, Eastern time, and precipitation (in inches) for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday. Expected conditions for today and tomorrow.

C ..... Clouds
F ..... Fog
H ..... Haze
I ..... Ice
PC ..... Partly cloudy
R ..... Rain
Sh ..... Showers
S ..... Sun
Sn ..... Snow
SS ..... Snow showers
T ..... Thunderstorms
Tr ..... Trace
W ..... Windy
– ..... Not available

N.Y.C. region	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
New York City	80/ 65 0	76/ 65 S	83/ 72 PC
Bridgeport	81/ 67 0	75/ 60 S	79/ 66 PC
Caldwell	84/ 68 0	80/ 60 S	91/ 70 PC
Danbury	80/ 66 0	78/ 55 S	83/ 67 C
Islip	78/ 68 0	74/ 61 S	79/ 67 PC
Newark	91/ 69 0	79/ 64 S	91/ 72 PC
Trenton	88/ 64 0	80/ 59 S	89/ 68 PC
White Plains	83/ 63 0	74/ 59 S	81/ 69 PC

United States	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Albany	79/ 50 0	75/ 59 S	92/ 69 C
Albuquerque	94/ 67 0	98/ 66 S	98/ 65 W
Anchorage	72/ 53 0	64/ 51 S	62/ 52 S
Atlanta	97/ 76 0	92/ 74 PC	92/ 71 PC
Atlantic City	79/ 64 0	76/ 66 S	77/ 70 PC
Austin	96/ 72 0	94/ 73 S	93/ 75 T
Baltimore	86/ 63 0	86/ 68 PC	92/ 71 C
Baton Rouge	97/ 73 0	89/ 75 T	83/ 76 T
Birmingham	97/ 74 0	97/ 75 PC	91/ 72 PC
Boise	74/ 46 0	70/ 43 PC	63/ 43 W
Boston	77/ 56 0	70/ 58 S	79/ 67 PC
Buffalo	72/ 52 0	84/ 69 PC	87/ 74 C
Burlington	70/ 46 0	76/ 61 PC	87/ 69 PC
Casper	90/ 50 0	83/ 49 W	88/ 42 W
Charlotte	92/ 72 0	90/ 72 T	90/ 70 PC
Chattanooga	96/ 71 0	95/ 75 T	93/ 75 C
Chicago	87/ 69 0	92/ 76 PC	95/ 78 PC
Cincinnati	85/ 61 0	93/ 73 PC	92/ 73 T
Cleveland	76/ 59 0	88/ 70 S	94/ 76 C
Colorado Springs	86/ 58 0.04	95/ 63 W	95/ 61 W
Columbus	83/ 59 0	92/ 70 PC	94/ 72 PC
Concord, N.H.	75/ 43 0	77/ 54 S	84/ 62 C
Dallas-Ft. Worth	95/ 75 0	94/ 75 PC	94/ 75 T
Denver	91/ 62 0.04	97/ 62 S	97/ 56 S
Des Moines	87/ 74 0.86	99/ 75 W	95/ 74 W
Detroit	79/ 59 0	86/ 69 S	97/ 74 C
El Paso	105/ 74 0	107/ 75 S	103/ 73 S
Fargo	78/ 65 0	82/ 55 PC	66/ 61 T
Hartford	82/ 52 0	81/ 56 S	86/ 65 C
Honolulu	87/ 74 0	87/ 76 PC	86/ 77 Sh
Houston	93/ 74 0	93/ 78 PC	86/ 76 T
Indianapolis	87/ 62 0	95/ 74 PC	95/ 74 T
Jackson	97/ 72 0	94/ 74 PC	82/ 73 T
Jacksonville	94/ 70 0	91/ 72 T	89/ 70 C
Kansas City	90/ 73 0.70	93/ 73 W	91/ 74 W
Key West	83/ 78 0.45	89/ 82 T	90/ 81 C
Las Vegas	108/ 80 0	104/ 76 S	101/ 73 S
Lexington	87/ 64 0	96/ 73 PC	92/ 75 T
Little Rock	96/ 74 0	98/ 75 T	87/ 74 T
Los Angeles	84/ 62 0	81/ 60 S	77/ 60 S
Louisville	90/ 65 0	97/ 76 PC	93/ 77 PC
Memphis	97/ 77 0	98/ 76 T	90/ 72 PC
Miami	84/ 77 0.09	88/ 79 T	88/ 78 T
Milwaukee	77/ 67 0	88/ 76 PC	95/ 75 C
Mpls-St. Paul	69/ 67 0.12	93/ 68 PC	86/ 76 T
Nashville	95/ 70 0	98/ 75 T	95/ 75 T
New Orleans	97/ 79 0	88/ 77 T	82/ 77 T
Norfolk	84/ 65 0	82/ 67 S	86/ 67 S
Oklahoma City	92/ 72 0	90/ 72 W	91/ 73 W
Omaha	87/ 73 0.35	99/ 74 W	94/ 78 W
Orlando	86/ 72 0.60	90/ 74 T	89/ 74 PC
Philadelphia	86/ 64 0	85/ 67 S	92/ 70 PC
Phoenix	113/ 83 0	112/ 80 S	107/ 77 S
Pittsburgh	79/ 56 0	89/ 66 S	92/ 71 PC
Portland, Me.	76/ 49 0	71/ 56 S	71/ 62 PC
Portland, Ore.	66/ 50 0.08	65/ 52 C	67/ 51 Sh
Providence	80/ 54 0	75/ 57 PC	77/ 66 PC
Raleigh	92/ 69 0	92/ 66 PC	92/ 67 S
Reno	86/ 53 0	83/ 48 W	71/ 47 S
Richmond	90/ 63 0	90/ 65 S	92/ 70 S
Rochester	70/ 51 0	80/ 67 PC	94/ 71 PC
Sacramento	90/ 59 0	89/ 59 S	88/ 59 S
Salt Lake City	90/ 62 0	81/ 66 S	74/ 49 W
San Antonio	96/ 78 0	96/ 78 PC	95/ 78 C
San Diego	76/ 62 0	70/ 61 PC	70/ 61 PC
San Francisco	72/ 53 0	70/ 55 W	70/ 54 W
San Jose	81/ 56 0	80/ 53 S	81/ 53 S
San Juan	92/ 79 0.04	90/ 79 T	90/ 77 T
Seattle	58/ 46 0.17	58/ 48 C	60/ 45 C
Sioux Falls	81/ 70 0.56	89/ 66 PC	91/ 75 W
Spokane	64/ 42 0	63/ 43 PC	62/ 47 C
St. Louis	94/ 74 0	100/ 78 PC	94/ 77 T
St. Thomas	89/ 80 0.09	89/ 80 PC	89/ 80 T
Syracuse	74/ 50 0	82/ 65 PC	94/ 69 PC
Tampa	88/ 76 0.36	90/ 77 T	93/ 78 PC
Toledo	81/ 55 0	91/ 73 S	99/ 74 PC
Tucson	107/ 75 0	108/ 76 S	104/ 72 S
Tulsa	95/ 74 0	93/ 74 W	92/ 75 W
Virginia Beach	81/ 65 0	79/ 69 S	81/ 69 S
Washington	86/ 66 0	86/ 69 PC	93/ 73 PC
Wichita	96/ 73 0	93/ 73 W	94/ 72 W
Wilmington, Del.	85/ 61 0	83/ 65 PC	92/ 70 PC

Africa	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Algiers	88/ 69 0	90/ 66 S	87/ 69 S
Cairo	108/ 82 0	103/ 77 S	98/ 75 S
Cape Town	70/ 48 0	76/ 54 PC	71/ 57 PC
Dakar	82/ 74 0	86/ 77 PC	85/ 75 PC
Johannesburg	69/ 34 0	67/ 43 S	64/ 45 S
Nairobi	79/ 57 0	76/ 56 PC	77/ 53 S
Tunis	93/ 66 0	87/ 69 PC	93/ 74 S

Asia/Pacific	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Baghdad	116/ 84 0	117/ 86 PC	117/ 85 PC
Bangkok	97/ 82 0	98/ 82 T	98/ 82 T
Beijing	91/ 69 0	97/ 71 PC	101/ 73 PC
Damascus	108/ 72 0	103/ 65 PC	101/ 65 S
Hong Kong	90/ 83 1.42	90/ 84 T	91/ 83 Sh
Jakarta	91/ 77 0.11	90/ 77 T	91/ 75 T
Jerusalem	96/ 76 0	92/ 69 S	91/ 67 S
Karachi	95/ 85 0	95/ 86 PC	95/ 85 PC
Manila	95/ 79 0.29	91/ 80 T	93/ 80 T
Mumbai	89/ 81 0	92/ 82 T	92/ 82 T
New Delhi	111/ 90 0	113/ 93 PC	113/ 92 PC
Riyadh	109/ 86 0	111/ 84 S	111/ 85 S
Seoul	82/ 68 0.09	87/ 63 S	89/ 63 PC
Shanghai	87/ 70 0	90/ 72 PC	83/ 69 PC
Singapore	88/ 81 0.05	86/ 78 T	89/ 79 T
Sydney	59/ 51 0.33	62/ 50 S	62/ 49 Sh
Taipei City	91/ 81 0.05	91/ 78 T	92/ 78 T
Tehran	92/ 68 0	98/ 77 S	97/ 78 S
Tokyo	81/ 72 0.15	85/ 75 PC	86/ 70 C

Europe	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Amsterdam	63/ 52 0.94	64/ 53 Sh	68/ 53 PC
Athens	91/ 77 0	88/ 72 PC	90/ 70 S
Berlin	73/ 55 0.02	74/ 57 PC	76/ 59 PC
Brussels	63/ 52 0.20	64/ 54 C	68/ 54 Sh
Budapest	85/ 50 0	79/ 56 PC	85/ 61 S
Copenhagen	63/ 57 0.73	69/ 56 S	67/ 56 S
Dublin	60/ 46 0.19	64/ 51 PC	63/ 46 R
Edinburgh	60/ 43 0.12	61/ 52 C	65/ 49 R
Frankfurt	72/ 58 0.40	70/ 57 PC	72/ 56 Sh
Geneva	70/ 54 0.90	74/ 58 PC	79/ 59 T
Helsinki	66/ 43 0	71/ 52 C	73/ 55 PC
Istanbul	81/ 66 0	85/ 69 S	88/ 72 S
Kyiv	67/ 57 0.10	72/ 63 Sh	75/ 63 C
Lisbon	70/ 57 0	76/ 60 S	74/ 61 C
London	67/ 50 0.40	69/ 51 PC	71/ 54 Sh
Madrid	85/ 64 0	87/ 57 S	89/ 61 S
Moscow	75/ 55 0	78/ 65 PC	76/ 64 R
Nice	74/ 66 0	75/ 64 S	76/ 67 S
Oslo	67/ 48 0.10	63/ 53 Sh	66/ 51 R
Paris	66/ 52 0.01	67/ 57 R	73/ 58 R
Prague	66/ 54 0.03	72/ 54 PC	76/ 57 T
Rome	79/ 52 0	80/ 61 C	81/ 60 S
St. Petersburg	68/ 55 0.03	74/ 55 C	80/ 61 PC
Stockholm	64/ 48 0	67/ 49 C	70/ 51 PC
Vienna	82/ 54 0	75/ 55 PC	81/ 60 PC
Warsaw	77/ 55 0	78/ 57 R	81/ 61 S

North America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Acapulco	81/ 76 0	90/ 76 PC	88/ 75 PC
Bermuda	81/ 76 0.02	81/ 73 R	80/ 71 PC
Edmonton	51/ 36 0	61/ 37 Sh	57/ 38 Sh
Guadalajara	74/ 69 0.12	95/ 68 S	94/ 66 S
Havana	93/ 77 0.02	91/ 76 T	92/ 77 PC
Kingston	91/ 81 0	91/ 82 PC	90/ 81 PC
Martinique	89/ 77 0	91/ 78 PC	90/ 79 T
Mexico City	68/ 60 0	86/ 57 S	87/ 57 S
Monterrey	81/ 73 0	99/ 71 S	99/ 73 S
Montreal	62/ 52 0	74/ 61 PC	84/ 71 PC
Nassau	83/ 74 0.01	90/ 79 C	89/ 77 PC
Panama City	80/ 77 0.25	86/ 76 T	87/ 75 R
Quebec City	60/ 52 0	71/ 52 PC	72/ 63 PC
Santo Domingo	84/ 74 0	90/ 75 PC	91/ 74 C
Toronto	63/ 54 0	73/ 62 PC	96/ 72 C
Vancouver	56/ 50 Tr	58/ 49 Sh	64/ 52 C
Winnipeg	69/ 61 0	74/ 50 W	70/ 53 C

South America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Buenos Aires	65/ 56 0	61/ 52 PC	60/ 56 S
Caracas	85/ 78 0.05	92/ 77 T	91/ 76 T
Lima	64/ 61 0	67/ 61 PC	68/ 62 PC
Quito	54/ 47 0	64/ 42 PC	65/ 44 R
Recife	79/ 70 1.14	86/ 77 R	85/ 77 S
Rio de Janeiro	78/ 69 0	83/ 71 S	85/ 71 S
Santiago	47/ 38 0	60/ 38 C	57/ 44 C

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Arts&Leisure
The New York Times

The Importance Of Inspiration

Portraits of some of this year's Tony Award nominees, along with their thoughts on the performances they will never forget. PAGES 8-11



"The first time I remember being onstage was playing Sandy, the dog, in a dance recital. I was 4 years old, and they were doing a number from 'Annie,' and I was in a dog head costume, and I remember hearing the audience laugh at me moving my head back and forth, and I was hooked."
JONATHAN GROFF, "MERRILY WE ROLL ALONG"



7 DANCE
American Ballet Theater faces challenges, but its artistic director sees opportunity. BY JAVIER C. HERNÁNDEZ



12 TELEVISION
Ncuti Gatwa of 'Doctor Who' says there 'isn't a mold you need to step into' to play the lead. BY ROSLYN SULCAS



14 ART
Watching the future hatch among tech-savvy artists in the New Museum's 'cultural incubator.' BY FRANK ROSE

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Inside Culture

THIS WEEK FROM THE ARTS DESK

FRAMEWORK



DANA SCRUGGS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Dana Scruggs photographed 42 of this year's Tony Awards contenders, including Celia Keenan-Bolger, above, a five-time nominee (she won in 2019 for "To Kill a Mockingbird"), who is up for best featured actress in a play for her performance in "Mother Play." This year, Scruggs said, "I wanted an extra layer of variety and playfulness, which is why I decided to add the mirror elements to our set design. Even though I only had a few minutes with each actor, they all committed to the process — which is why those images turned out so special." Winners are to be named on Sunday. More pictures: Pages 8-11.

STREAMING

Tales of Hitmakers and Underdogs

By SCOTT TOBIAS

The Disney streaming platform has hundreds of movie and TV titles, drawing from its own deep reservoir of classics and from Star Wars, Marvel, National Geographic and more. And that's not counting the platform's slate of original TV shows and movies. These are our favorites now.

'The Beach Boys' (2024)

One thing that can be agreed upon about the Beach Boys is that they were never simply a band of laid-back Californians harmonizing about surfin' safaris and good vibes on the Pacific. The musicianship was always too sophisticated and the interpersonal relationships too fractured to fit the commercial, clean-cut fantasy that Capitol Records was promoting. Takes on the band's contentious history vary, but "The Beach Boys," a documentary that gathers most of the surviving voices, is a good place to start, chronicling a family operation that revolutionized pop music, even as it gradually chipped apart.

'Let It Be' (1970)

The director Peter Jackson described "The Beatles: Get Back," his three-part, 468-minute film, as "a documentary about a documentary." Now, the actual documentary, Michael Lindsay-Hogg's long-unavailable "Let It Be," finally sees the light of day — in all its excruciating glory. As the band assembles for what will be its final studio album release, Lindsay-Hogg's camera reflects a prevailing mood of exhaustion and irritability, but there's still plenty of creative magic here. When the quartet head up to the roof for that famous, impromptu lunchtime concert in London, you can practically feel the oxygen filling their lungs. At the time, the Times critic Howard Thompson was not alone in finding the 1970 film "artless" but admitted it was also "arresting."

'Doctor Who' (2024)

After 60 years, the venerable British time-space adventure comes to Disney+ for its 14th series — and its fifth under the showrunner Russell T Davies, whose run includes the wildly popular 10th Doctor, David Tennant. This "Doctor Who" gets much of its buoyant energy from Ncuti Gatwa's performance in the title role, here joined by Millie Gibson as Ruby Sunday, a foundling who boards the TARDIS as the Doctor's sidekick. (Her origins were the subject of a Christmas special, "The Church on Ruby Road.") The time machine whisks them to places like a space station operated by genetically developed babies and a studio where John Lennon and Paul McCartney try to record an album while the world has mysteriously lost interest in music.

'Madu' (2024)

Amid the early lockdowns of the Covid-19 pandemic, an Instagram video of an 11-year-old Nigerian boy dancing in the rain went viral, attracting the attention of instructors at Elmhurst Ballet School in Birmingham, England. The beautifully photographed documentary "Madu" follows the dancer, Anthony Madu, from his native Nigeria, where he's mocked and bullied by classmates, to a culture where he's an outsider of another kind, supported by teachers and peers but separated from his family and unsettled in his new home. A sharp decline in Anthony's vision proves a more unexpected threat, but "Madu" mostly celebrates the grit of a child whose love of dance is at once a vehicle for his dreams and a shield from a harsh world.

'Tiger' (2024)

Two words: tiger cubs. There have been plenty of Disney nature documentaries more informative and artful than "Tiger," a feature-length ode to the majestic felines of the Indian forest, but few can match it on cuteness. Narrated by Priyanka Chopra Jonas, the film opens with four hungry, playful cubs stumbling after their tigress mother. Using long-lens, remote-controlled cameras, the filmmakers track the perils and knockabout silliness of family life, sustaining an optimistic note even as the litter's survival is not guaranteed. "Tiger" establishes a strong rooting interest.

'The Rookie' (2002)

Improbable and sentimental without caving entirely to the cornpone, "The Rookie" offers the fanciful premise (though one based on a true story) of a high school baseball coach (Dennis Quaid) who still has a live fastball, despite the injuries and life turns that kept him from the majors. And so, he accepts a bet from his losing team: If they win the district championship, he will follow through on an open tryout for the big leagues. It's not hard to guess where "The Rookie" is going, but grounded performances by Quaid, Rachel Griffiths and Brian Cox make it seem more real than it sounds. Stephen Holden called it "unabashedly lyrical and beautifully photographed."

THE QUEUE

I lead a global breaking news team with hubs on three continents. I love podcasts, movies and TV, games and music on vinyl. I'm also working my way through stacks of books that threaten to overflow the apartment. Here are some things.

PATRICK LaFORGE

COLLATERAL
FILM

I missed Michael Mann's tightly wound thriller when it came out in 2004, probably because I was the father of a toddler at the time, but I stumbled across it on the Criterion Channel and was enthralled. Tom Cruise plays a charming sociopath who both torments and mentors his taxi driver (Jamie Foxx) on a single violent night in Los Angeles.



DREAMWORKS PICTURES

Tom Cruise and Jamie Foxx in the Michael Mann thriller "Collateral."

TEN PERCENT HAPPIER WITH DAN HARRIS
PODCASTS

I listen to podcasts during rowing workouts and chores, and this is one of my favorites, probably because I've been a Zen practitioner for more than a decade. Harris, a former ABC News reporter, interviews Buddhist scholars, teachers, neuroscientists and meditators from all walks of life. He cuts through the spiritual jargon that sometimes turns off skeptics.

STICK SEASON (FOREVER)
ALBUMS

I'm a fan of several Gen Z acts, including boygenius, Billie Eilish and the 1975. But lately I'm fond of the 27-year-old songwriter Noah Kahan, whose wistful lyrics about loss and trauma remind me of my own wasted youth. Sad songs always cheer me up. I'm looking forward to seeing him at Madison Square Garden in July.



JASON KEMPIN/GETTY IMAGES

Noah Kahan performing in Nashville.

TICKET TO RIDE: THE BOARD GAME
GAMES

In the depths of the pandemic, some friends and I started playing the European expansion of this online board game on Zoom calls. We've kept it up, and Marmalade Game Studio has recently released a complete update that has greatly improved the playing experience.

SUGAR
TELEVISION

Mash-ups of detective noir and science fiction go to the top of my list, and that may already be too much of a spoiler for this Apple TV+ series starring Colin Farrell as John Sugar, a private eye whose specialty is finding missing people. Interspersed with old movie clips and elevated by an excellent supporting cast, the show kept me guessing.

APPLE TV+

Colin Farrell in the noir series "Sugar."

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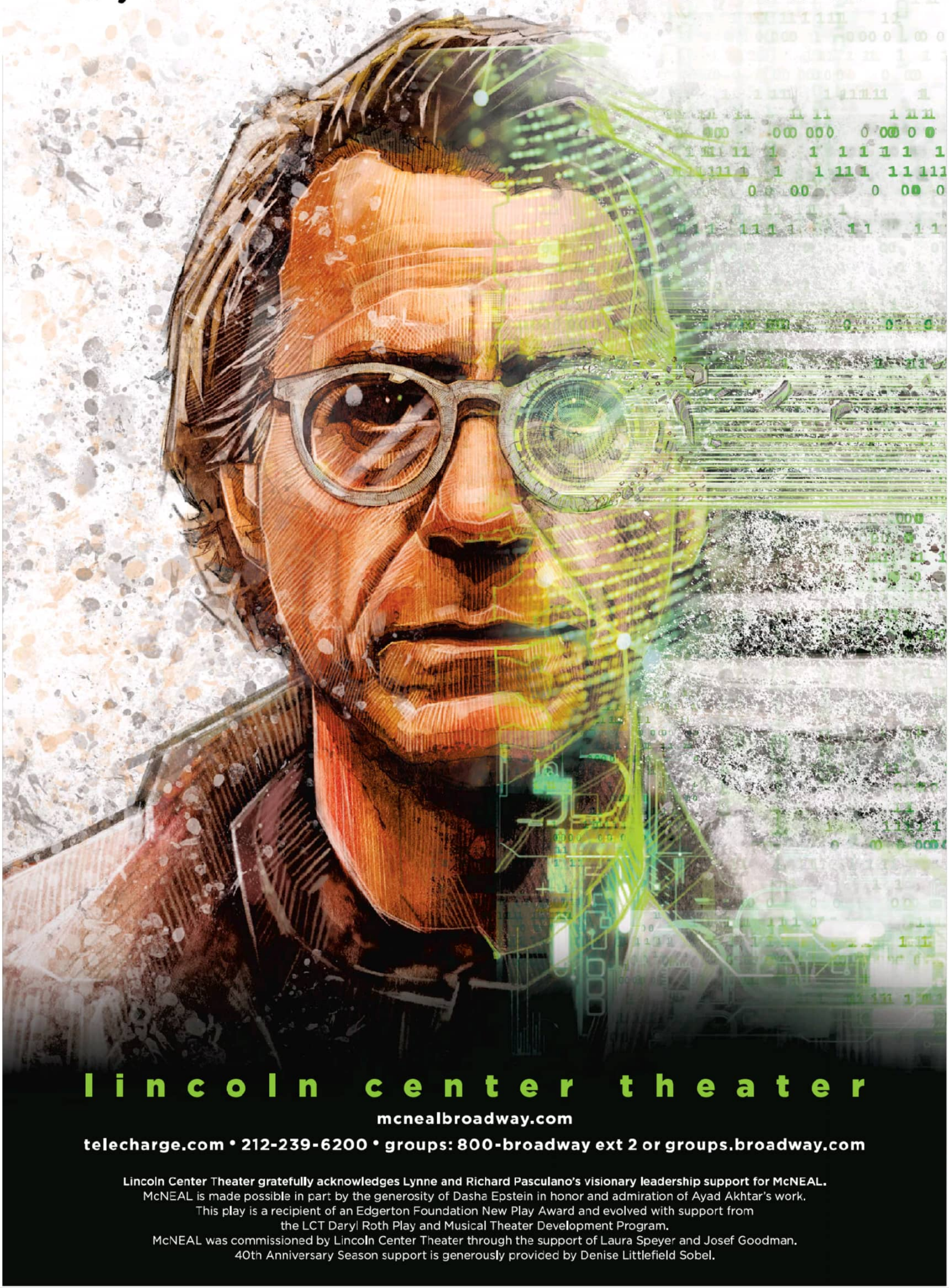
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Headliner
MY TEN

Maya Hawke's Secrets to Ward Off Calamity



KRISTINA BUMPHREY/GETTY IMAGES

The actress and singer-songwriter Maya Hawke is on a self-awareness kick. Lately, she has been making an effort to be sincere and open. Careerwise, she said, she's been striving to foster collaboration and "no-bad-ideas energy." Hawke, 25, plays Flannery O'Connor in "Wildcat," a film co-written and directed by her father, Ethan Hawke. In 2023, she acted alongside her mother, Uma Thurman, in the cinematic caper "The Kill Room." She's filming the final season of "Stranger Things" in Atlanta; her third album, "Chaos Angel," dropped on May 31; and Pixar's "Inside Out 2" — she voices a new character, Anxiety — opened Friday. Hawke got introspective as she talked about being "a little bit of a hypochondriac," her habit of losing things and her love of a loose fit. These are edited excerpts. LEIGH-ANN JACKSON

1 Voice Memos

I'm a person who's pretty constantly creative. That doesn't mean all of the things I create are good. They're mostly bad. But I try to keep track of them because I never know the difference in the moment. I always try to take voice memos of little melodies that I'll come up with or an idea for a scene I'm writing or something I think my character should say that came to me randomly.

2 One-Gallon Water Bottles

When things are big, I lose them less, and I like not having to refill so many times. I was working days on a movie and at night on "Stranger Things," sleeping two hours a night. I did research into how to make yourself function on very little sleep; you've got to eat a lot of food and drink a lot of water.

3 Yes, And

When you're doing a scene, you can't deny your scene partner's choice. That's a pet peeve of mine — people who shut down ideas before they've been incubated. It's really important to take what other people give you and go: "OK, great. You've put this on the table. Now let me talk to you about what I want to do with it."

4 Headphones

My favorites are AirPods, but I like the giant ones because I don't lose them as much. The little ones, they're better for running and walking around. For flights, I like the big ones for falling asleep; I love the sound cancellation. It turns the airport into my little happy place.

5 Charging Cables

I kind of hate technology, but I can't lie about how much I use it — all the time. There are these essential things you need to bring with you, like power cords. I get very frustrated when I'm out in the world and don't have my charger, and I'm like, "Oh no, I've got my headphones in and I've got my little vibe cooking, but my vibe is going to die any minute now!"

'I do get in my head when I feel unwell, and I can get paranoid, so I like to have stuff with me to make myself feel like something's not going to go horribly wrong.'

6 Art Supplies

I have a particular addiction to a watercolor and gouache brand called Kissoh. The colors are so bright, and you can manipulate them with water and layer them really nicely. In my line of work, there's a lot of downtime. There's nothing better than visual arts to inspire your brain and keep you occupied.

7 Confidentiality

I really want to be someone people can trust with their stories. Sometimes, you're in a situation where you're like, "Oh, no one would ever know if I told this story." I've been working on it a lot.

8 First Aid

Band-Aids, Neosporin, hydrogen peroxide and some Advil, especially when you travel. You never want to be in a foreign country and not have your fluconazole if you need it. I do get in my head when I feel unwell, and I can get paranoid, so I like to have stuff with me to make myself feel like something's not going to go horribly wrong. I'm sick right now, and it makes me feel better that I have my liposomal vitamin C and little weird tinctures to feel like I'm participating in my healing process.

9 Keeping Things Honest

I try not to have any secrets. Like, I don't want to have it be a secret when I'm really mad at my brother. I'm just going to call and tell him I'm mad, and we're going to try to work it through.

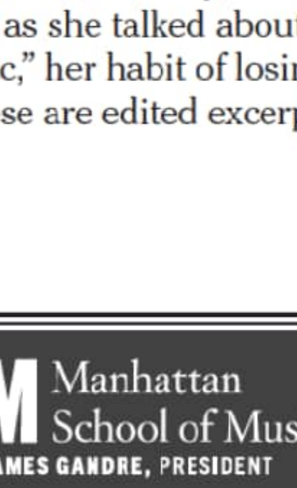
10 Wizard Clothes

I like clothes that are comfortable. I don't want elastic at the waist. I don't want straps making red marks. An essential thing is: How can I look as dramatic as possible and feel as comfortable as possible? You're not just in sweatpants and a baggy sweatshirt; you're kind of witchy, dramatic and fabulous. Nice flowy pants, a loosefitting black dress, and then a big black coat.

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Winner YeongTaek Yang

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YeongTaek Yang (MM '24), bass-baritone

SECOND PRIZE, $10,000
Hannah Jeané Jones (MM '24), mezzo-soprano

THIRD PRIZE, $5,000
Anna Maria Vacca (BM '22, MM '24), mezzo-soprano

FINALISTS, $500
Huiying Chen (MM '23, PS '24), soprano
SeongBeom Choi (MM '24), tenor
Katherine Malone (MM '23, PS '24), soprano
William Velasco (MM '24), tenor

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Michaela Martens, mezzo-soprano, Metropolitan Opera
Brian Speck, Artistic Administrator, Metropolitan Opera
Kensho Watanabe, Conductor, Metropolitan Opera

PRELIMINARY ROUND
Priti Gandhi, Associate Director, Metropolitan Opera Leffont Competition
Lucas Meachem, baritone, Grammy Award-winner
Laquita Mitchell (MM '01, PS '02), soprano, Grammy Award-nominated

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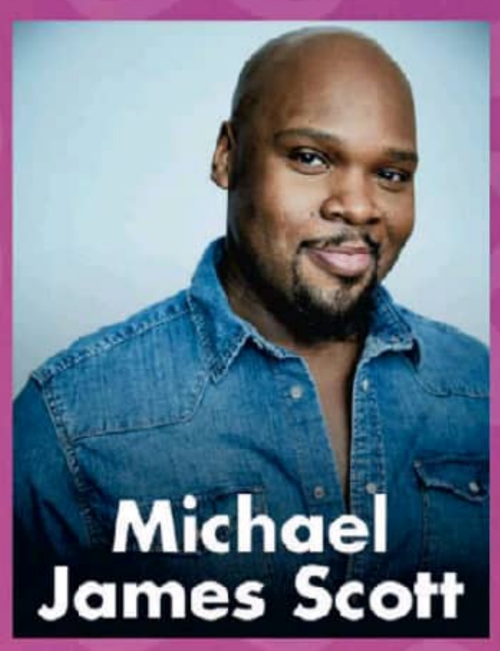
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Classical



FLORENTINA OLAREANU FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

'Your fabulousness. Are the taxpayers getting their money's worth?'



DAVID PAYR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Opera Tradition Evolves in Vienna

The two people shaking the dust off the biggest repertory companies in the city.

By JOSHUA BARONE

VIENNA — In a rehearsal studio built on the grounds of old military barracks outside Vienna's city center one recent morning, the director Barrie Kosky was asking for a touch of vaudeville.

He was working on his new production of Mozart's "Così Fan Tutte," which opens at the Vienna State Opera on Sunday, and was running through a scene with Kate Lindsey and Christopher Maltman, the singers playing the scheming Despina and Don Alfonso.

While Kosky demonstrated a bit of physical comedy, Bogdan Roscic, the general director of the State Opera, walked into the room, and read Mozart's score over the shoulder of the rehearsal pianist. Once they were finished, he walked over to Kosky.

"Your fabulousness," Roscic said, addressing him. "Are the taxpayers getting their money's worth?"

Roscic was joking, of course; his job is to hire directors for their value as artists, not as public utilities. But his question wasn't crazy. In Vienna, as in much of Europe, opera receives substantial government support, and the leaders of houses are chosen by politicians. If, in the United States, arts administrators like to talk about their work as a civic duty, in Vienna, it absolutely is.

And Vienna is one of the busiest opera destinations in the world. Tourists plan entire trips around the storied, immense State Opera. Not far away, the Volksoper has long offered more varied fare, including musicals and operettas.

Such a rich history, though, can be double-edged. In recent decades, the State Opera and the Volksoper, both repertory houses that present a head-spinning number of titles per season, developed reputations as stagnating under the weight of their traditions. At the State Opera this century, the average age of viewers began to increase by one year each year, suggesting that the audience wasn't changing. It was just getting terminally older.

Now, Vienna's opera scene is undergoing a period of rapid, essential evolution. Roscic, 60, took over the State Opera in 2020; at the Volksoper, Lotte de Beer, 42, started as the house's director two years ago. Both entered with a mission to shake the dust off their companies but have taken different approaches: he with a series of small moves, and she with a new ethos.

What they share is the fundamental challenge of how their houses are structured. Repertory seasons are so relentlessly manic, they leave little room to breathe, much less change.

"It feels a bit," de Beer said, "like rebuilding a plane while flying."

The State Opera has one of the broadest repertoires in the world. It presents hundreds of performances a year, of dozens of titles, to an audience both local and international; attendance figures typically range from 99.5 to 100 percent capacity.

Roscic, like many people associated with the house, is proud of its history. Even today, as he pointed out on a recent visit to the theater, the adjustable orchestra pit is unusually shallow, set to a height preferred by Gustav Mahler more than a century ago. (His idea was that the instrumentalists would more easily play with the singers if they could see them, and not just the conductor.)

Roscic, who was born in the former Yugoslavia and moved to Austria as a child, took over the company after a long career in the recording industry; a former academic, he also studied music and philosophy, and wrote a dissertation on the philosopher Theodor Adorno. The primary brief he gave himself at the State Opera, he said, was to truly open the house to the public.

"It's not one nifty move that makes that happen, though," he said. "It's a million little things that you have to be serious about, and energetic about."

He had a few years to plan for his first season. The State Opera didn't have a marketing department, so he developed one, and pushed to let the public attend dress rehearsals. He met with Kosky in Berlin, and asked him to direct a new cycle of Mozart's operas with the librettist Lorenzo Da Ponte ("Le Nozze di Figaro," "Don Giovanni" and "Così"); he reached out to the conductor Franz Welser-Möst, the company's former music director, to bring him back after his public falling out with Roscic's predecessor, Dominique Meyer; and he hired a new music director, Philippe Jordan.

By the time Roscic's tenure started, though, any idea about "opening the house" had a formidable obstacle: the pandemic. The theater was closed for months, the longest stretch since World War II. "The lockdown," he said, "was brutal."

Still, the house worked out an arrangement to broadcast new productions, performed to an empty hall. Viewership was high, about 500,000 for the first show. So, the State Opera continued, in the end reaching millions.

A major change will come in December, when the State Opera opens a new theater nearby, the Französischer Saal, or French Hall, in the Künstlerhaus. Roscic said that the 250-seat space would be for "people who need a path into the world of opera," including children. Its first season will contain five world premieres. (By comparison, only one newly commissioned work, "Animal Farm" has played on the main stage since Roscic started.)

Roscic's time hasn't been frictionless. Although his term was extended, to 2030, his music director Jordan's was not. Shortly before Roscic's extension was announced, Jordan gave a blindsiding interview to the Kurier newspaper in which he announced that he would not be renewing his contract. He blamed the tyranny of Regietheater, or director's theater, which some conservative artists have complained shifts the power of new productions away from the orchestra pit. The State Opera is not broadly seen as avant-garde, but Jordan said that it was on a path that "leads to inevitable failure in the long run."

In the local press, Jordan's interview was described as a hostile way to save face after he had been fired. Roscic suggested as much in a statement at the time, in which he said that Jordan "wanted to extend his contract, but for other reasons this was not possible." (Jordan declined to be interviewed for this article.)

Above from left: Bogdan Roscic, general director of the Vienna State Opera; and Lotte de Beer, director of the Volksoper. Below, Volksoper's production that blended "Iolanta" and "The Nutcracker." Bottom, from State Opera's production of "Le Nozze di Figaro," directed by Barrie Kosky.



ASHLEY TAYLOR



MICHAEL PÖHN/WIENER STAATSOPER

The State Opera won't replace Jordan when he leaves next year. Instead, Roscic said, he will regularly engage a small group of conductors, like Welser-Möst, Christian Thieleman and Pablo Heras-Casado.

A future focus, as Roscic looks toward his second term, will be the repertoire. If his choices draw more from the past than the present, they are mostly new to the State Opera: a first "Un Ballo in Maschera," for example, and "The Fiery Angel." "Norma" hasn't been onstage in over 40 years; "Iolanta," not since the time of Mahler.

"We have to renew the core repertoire," Roscic said. "That's the way you shape a house."

At the Volksoper, de Beer has shaped her house more boldly, with the ease offered by her smaller operation's scale. Her company caters more to locals and rarely sells at full capacity. When she started, she was given "a clear assignment," she said, "to raise the quality while keeping the quantity of shows."

De Beer came to Vienna from the Netherlands, where she had established herself as one of her generation's most promising opera directors. (She also worked at prestigious houses like the Bavarian State Opera in Munich and the Paris Opera.) Today, the Volksoper looks like an extension of her artistry: collaborative, questioning and, in a field dominated by men, rich with women in positions of power.

Lisenka Heijboer Castañón, her former assistant and a director, whose staging of John Adams and Peter Sellars's "The Gospel According to the Other Mary" opens at the Volksoper on Saturday, described de Beer as "someone who has a deep love for the genre, and for the canon, but also experiences the kind of double feelings a person today might get from that."

"There are just things that don't work anymore," she added. "And I see in Lotte's work a really genuine attempt to face that."

De Beer has made moves to evolve the repertoire; "Gospel" is an Austrian premiere, and, for Volksoper's 125th anniversary, the house commissioned "Lass Uns die Welt Vergessen — Volksoper 1938" ("Let Us Forget the World"), a show about the company's Nazi-era history. She also continues to direct, two productions per season, including an idiosyncratic treatment of Tchaikovsky's double bill "Iolanta" and "The Nutcracker" that blended them together and aimed to appeal to audiences of all ages. "The best version of me is in a rehearsal room," de Beer said, adding that she is a better manager "if I work in my own house, if I understand the problems by feeling them when I'm onstage."

Some of her moves have been painful. "If I wanted to up the quality in a way that would be artistically gratifying," she said, "I had to start by changing many of the ensemble members." As she made other structural adjustments, some house veterans took to the new environment, while others left. There are still people, she said, who are "struggling and still resisting, and I'm working very hard to take them along with me." Even guest artists won't be invited, she said, if "they don't fit into the philosophy."

There have been signs that de Beer is on the right track. The average age of audience members is trending downward, while subscribers are on the rise. Not every review has been positive, but that is always the case at a repertory house. Some reviews, like a rave of the family-friendly Disney musical "Aristocats," have surprised her.

De Beer said she still saw "two departments that are absolutely not where I want them," and hoped that they would be worked out next season. She is hoping for an extension on her contract, but beyond that, she, like Roscic, is worried about staying too long in her post.

After all, she said, when you've accomplished what you set out to do, "you should probably just quit."

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Warming Up For Another Turning Point

After a stint running American Ballet Theater, Susan Jaffe can fully focus on creating a vibrant artistry for the challenged troupe.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY SCOTT ROSSI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

By JAVIER C. HERNÁNDEZ

The red carpet was rolled out, the Champagne was flowing and the crowd of financiers, artists, philanthropists and socialites who had gathered in a Manhattan ballroom on a May evening began to cheer.

It was American Ballet Theater's spring gala dinner, and the company had invited several hundred people for a performance — and a plea.

Susan Jaffe, Ballet Theater's artistic director and a former star ballerina with the company, took to the stage and spoke of a new era. She said that Ballet Theater, which was founded in 1939 and remains one of the most prominent dance troupes in the United States, had a beloved repertoire and an abundance of talented artists.

But she also alluded to the company's recent struggles, saying the troupe could not innovate without more financial support.

"I look forward," she told the crowd, "to all the great strides we are going to make together."

It was the 531st day of her tenure, and Jaffe, 62, was drained. For almost a year, she had served not only as Ballet Theater's artistic chief — coaching dancers, hiring choreographers, planning seasons — but also as its executive director after the sudden resignation last year of Janet Rollé. Wearing two hats has meant she is sometimes working 18-hour days, leading rehearsals of "Giselle" and "Swan Lake" one minute, scrutinizing tour schedules and budgets the next.

"I start my day with back-to-back meetings — just back to back to back to back to back meetings — and then I go directly into rehearsal," she said in an interview at her office in the Flatiron district of Manhattan.

Jaffe has a knack for thriving under pressure. In 1980, when she was 18, she made a celebrated debut at Ballet Theater when Mikhail Baryshnikov, then the company's artistic director, plucked her from the corps de ballet at the last minute to dance a pas de deux in "Le Corsaire" with the star Alexander Godunov. Before joining Ballet Theater as artistic director in 2022, she helped guide the Pittsburgh Ballet Theater through the turmoil of the pandemic.

Baryshnikov, a mentor to Jaffe, said she had the skills to be a formidable leader at Ballet Theater, which calls itself America's national ballet company, with annual tours to California, Washington, D.C., and elsewhere.

"I know her as a strong woman with convictions and confidence," Baryshnikov said. "I've encouraged her to trust her instincts and to believe in her abilities."

But the challenges facing Ballet Theater, which begins its summer season at the Metropolitan Opera House this month, are daunting. Costs are rising, donations have declined and audience habits are rapidly shifting. The company, known for lavish productions of story ballets like "Sleeping Beauty" and "Swan Lake," faces pressure to broaden its audience and commission more new work. It recently lost its artist in residence, the star choreographer Alexei Ratmansky, who left after 13 years for New York City Ballet.

Relations between management and the 92-member company have occasionally been tense: The dancers voted to authorize a strike during contract talks earlier this year, accusing the company of not providing a living wage or a robust work schedule. (Ballet Theater reached a deal with the dancers, agreeing to raises and other benefits.)

Isabella Boylston, a principal dancer, praised Jaffe as a compassionate leader and a masterly coach. But she said the dancers were eager for more work. (Performances have fallen to 83 this season, compared with 114 in 2018-19.)

"We're all just hungry to perform," Boylston said. "Everyone wants this to be a sustainable profession, and everyone wants the company to flourish."

Jaffe said she is unfazed by the challenges. She is working to hire more living choreographers, especially women and people of color; to expand Ballet Theater's presence in the New York market, which New York City Ballet has come to dominate; and to line up more tours in the United States, Europe and Asia. Barry Hughson, a veteran dance administrator, joins the company this month as executive director, which will allow Jaffe to focus on her artistic duties.

At the gala, which raised $1.4 million, guests were greeted with a menu of donation options. They could give $35,000 to honor a principal dancer of their choosing; $25,000 to commission a work at Ballet Theater's studio company; $5,000 to support wig construction and maintenance; $1,000 to provide 10 hours of massages for dancers; or $250 to buy two pairs of custom-made pointe shoes for a dancer (they often go through a pair a day).

Jaffe, in a tuxedo jacket, billowy white pants and a pearl necklace, snapped photos with dancers and donors in front of a glittering fuchsia wall festooned with the letters "A.B.T."

"I see so much opportunity," she said. "We can really start dreaming."

But, she added: "We can't rely on 'This is how we've done it in the past. We have to really become creative about everything we do."

Jaffe, who was born in Washington and danced for 22 years with Ballet Theater, worked as a choreographer and educator after retiring from the stage in 2002. She served as dean of dance at the University of North Carolina School of the Arts from 2012 to 2020 before she was named artistic director of Pittsburgh Ballet Theater.

At American Ballet Theater, she took over from Kevin McKenzie, who led the company for three decades. McKenzie, too, inherited a company in trouble, which he helped put back on a healthy financial path.

Critics argued that the company, with a budget of about $51 million, had grown artistically staid, with some exceptions, like Ratmansky. But Ballet Theater has maintained an impressive slate of dancers, including stars like Boylston, Misty Copeland, Herman Cornejo and James Whiteside, even as it moves away from importing the big-name dancers who for so long gave the company its glamorous profile.

When Jaffe joined, the company was still reeling from the pandemic, which forced the cancellation of two seasons and cost the company millions of dollars in anticipated ticket revenue and touring fees. Ballet Theater's subscriber base, which has traditionally been an important source of income, was also eroding; it fell to 2,516 in the most recent season, from 6,251 in 2018-19.

Not long into Jaffe's tenure, Rollé, Ballet Theater's chief executive and executive director, resigned after 17 months on the job. Her departure, a week before the start of the summer season, left Ballet Theater scrambling. But Jaffe helped bring stability.

"The company rallied around her, emotionally, spiritually and financially," said Andrew F. Barth, chairman of Ballet Theater's board. "We're ready for the new era."

Jaffe said she did not hesitate to take on the executive director position. "When something is falling off a ledge, you just grab it," she said. "You don't even think about it."

As executive director, Jaffe has worked to expand the audience for Ballet Theater's offerings and to build a new base of donors.

"We want to create the vibrancy and financial stability that the company deserves," she said.

Ballet Theater suffered a major setback in 2022 when a significant source of revenue — the summer season at the Met — was curtailed after the Met Opera extended its own performances into June. That decision forced Ballet Theater to reduce its season at the Met to five weeks from eight. (The company also performs a brief fall season at the David H. Koch Theater.)

There have been recent signs of hope. Attendance for Ballet Theater's now-slimmer season is averaging about 69 percent of capacity, compared with 63 percent in the 2018-19 season. Story ballets, the company's bread and butter, are still hits: "Swan Lake" had 93 percent attendance last summer and "Romeo and Juliet" had 86 percent. (By contrast Christopher Wheeldon's extravagant new ballet, "Like Water for Chocolate," had 65 percent attendance.)

But ticket revenues only go so far, covering less than half of Ballet Theater's annual budget, making fund-raising essential. During the pandemic, philanthropic gifts declined, and the number of board members fell to 38 from 47. (Donations totaled $17.7 million in 2022, the most recent year for which data is available, compared with $20.2 million in 2019.)

Jaffe has worked to replenish the board. She turned this year's spring gala into a preview of the summer season and moved the event to May, with the hope of drawing more New York-based donors. ("Usually when we're performing in June," she said, "everybody is in the Hamptons or Italy.")

On the artistic side, Jaffe has won praise from dancers for her empathetic approach. She speaks openly about the mental and physical toll of performing and offers advice on building confidence.

"She's an icon in the ballet world," said the principal dancer Gillian Murphy, "but she's so down to earth."

Jaffe has sought to commission a wider variety of choreographers, including Kyle Abraham, Helen Pickett and Gemma Bond. (Pickett's work, based on Dostoevsky's "Crime and Punishment," will be the first full-length ballet by a woman commissioned by Ballet Theater, Jaffe said.)

"I want choreographers to tackle new sensibilities," she said, "along with really creating something that's more classical."







'I know her as a strong woman with convictions and confidence.'

MIKHAIL BARYSHNIKOV ABOUT SUSAN JAFFE

Top, Susan Jaffe, the artistic director of American Ballet Theater. Center left, the dancer Hee Seo; center right, Jaffe rehearsing with James Whiteside and Seo. Left, Whiteside with Seo at the ballet's studio.

The choreographer Wayne McGregor, whose triptych "Woolf Works" will be an anchor of the summer season, said he hoped that Jaffe would get the financial resources to support her vision. He said she retained a sense of joy even under pressure.

"You don't feel like a choreographer for hire," he said. "You really feel that she's passionate about her work and that she wants to invest deeply with her time, intelligence and her blazing articulation."

Ending her year as interim executive director, Jaffe said she was looking forward to spending more time coaching dancers.

On a recent day, she was rehearsing Thomas Forster and Chloe Misseldine in a scene from John Cranko's "Eugene Onegin." Jaffe flipped through a notebook that she kept when she performed the role of Tatiana decades earlier: notes on Russian history and culture, and musings on the characters.

Jaffe stopped Misseldine at one point, asking her to describe her inner monologue at each turn. Why did Tatiana get out of a chair? Why did she turn away from Onegin?

She praised the dancers. "It's really good helping them find their way," she said on her way out of the studio.

Back in her office, Jaffe said she had been obsessed with "Onegin" during her dancer days. She recalled seeking advice from the dancer Marcia Haydée, who originated the role, during a chance encounter at a cafe in Stuttgart, Germany.

After retiring from the stage, Jaffe considered a career outside of dance. But she said she heard a voice that said: "You're so selfish. You learned from all the legends of the field. You have no choice but to pass it on."

Jaffe compared Ballet Theater to a family and said she felt a duty to find a path forward for the company.

"Being able to pass it on — that's what makes me feel useful and alive," she said. "What could be better?"

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The Shows That Shape An Actor

Photographs by DANA SCRUGGS

The Tony Awards are on Sunday at Lincoln Center in Manhattan, and will be broadcast on CBS starting at 8 p.m. Eastern time. Each year



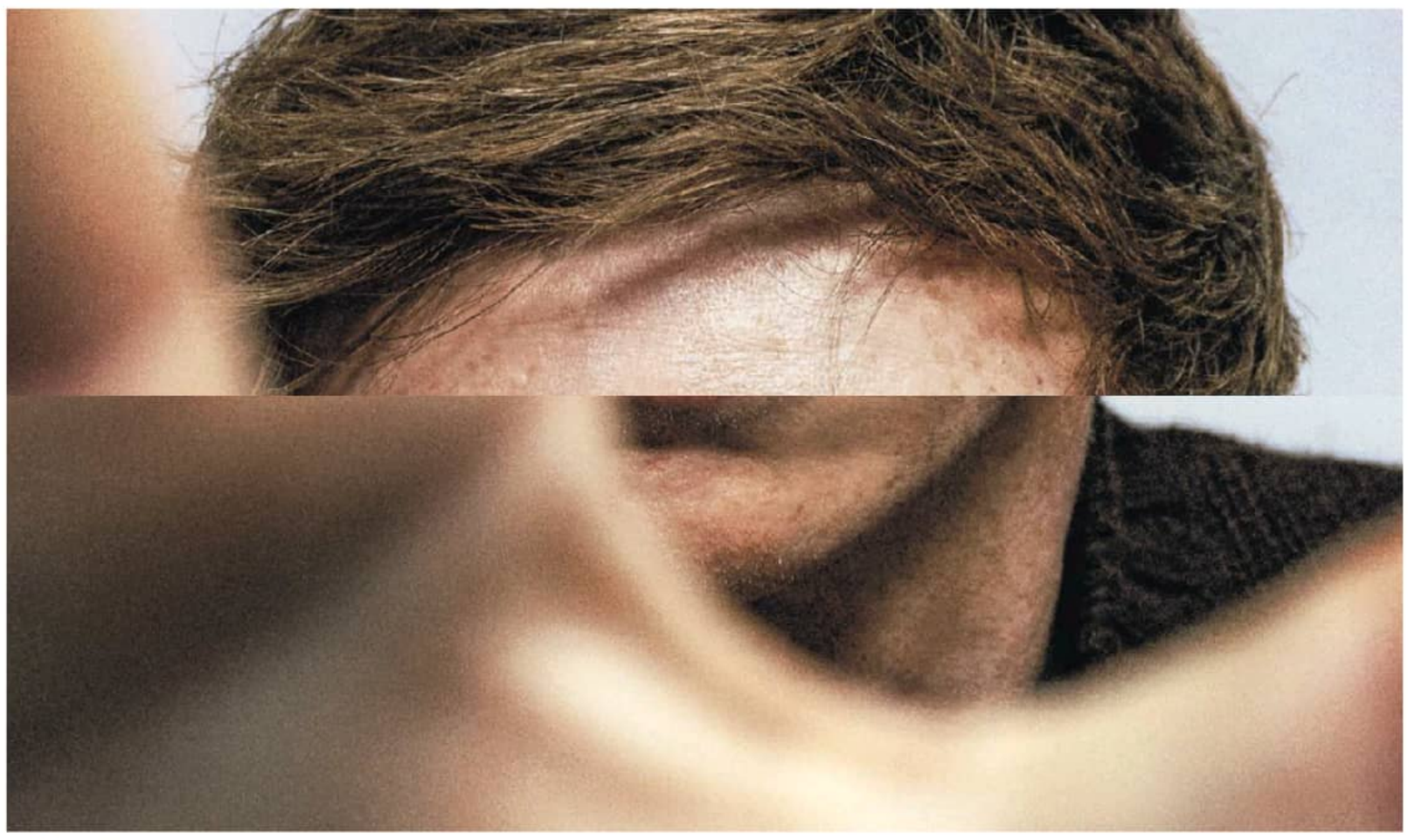
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Theater

The Shows That Shape An Actor



Jessica Lange
MOTHER PLAY



Eddie Redmayne
CABARET



Joshua Boone, Sky Lakota-Lynch and Brody Grant
THE OUTSIDERS

Sarah Paulson
APPROPRIATE

"Janet McTeer in 'A Doll's House' — that was a very early, if not the first, Broadway show that my mother took me to see. I was in the first row of the mezzanine, and I'll never forget the energy with which she came onstage. It was like watching a lightning bolt."



Celia Keenan-Bolger
MOTHER PLAY



Jim Parsons
MOTHER PLAY

"I was very taken with everything Dustin Hoffman did when I was very young. 'Tootsie' is one of my favorite movies of all time. I was 10 years old when it came out, and I remember seeing it in the theater. I was older when I realized that what I connected to at that time was his playfulness."

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Theater

Bebe Neuwirth
CABARET

"It wasn't until I saw 'Pippin,' when I was 13, that I decided that I was going to be a dancer on Broadway and do that guy's choreography. I didn't know I was talking about god [Bob Fosse]. I didn't know anything. It just resonated so deeply for me — I could feel that movement in my body and I knew that I was watching an aspect of myself when I saw that."



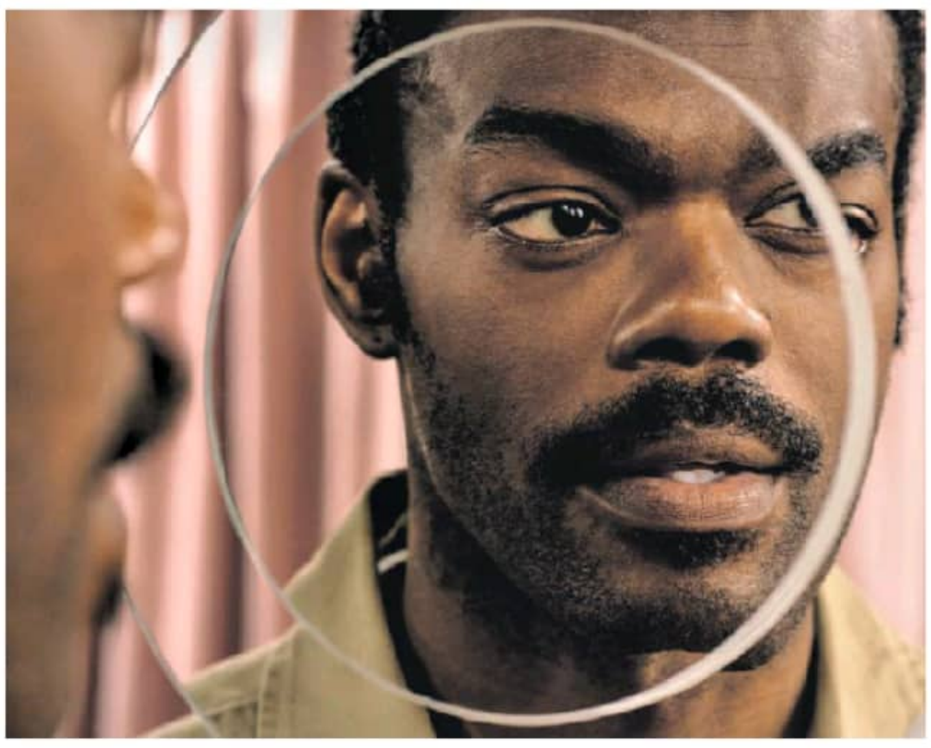








Rachel McAdams
MARY JANE



William Jackson Harper
UNCLE VANYA

Will Brill, Eli Gelb, Juliana Canfield, Sarah Pidgeon and Tom Pecinka
STEREOPHONIC



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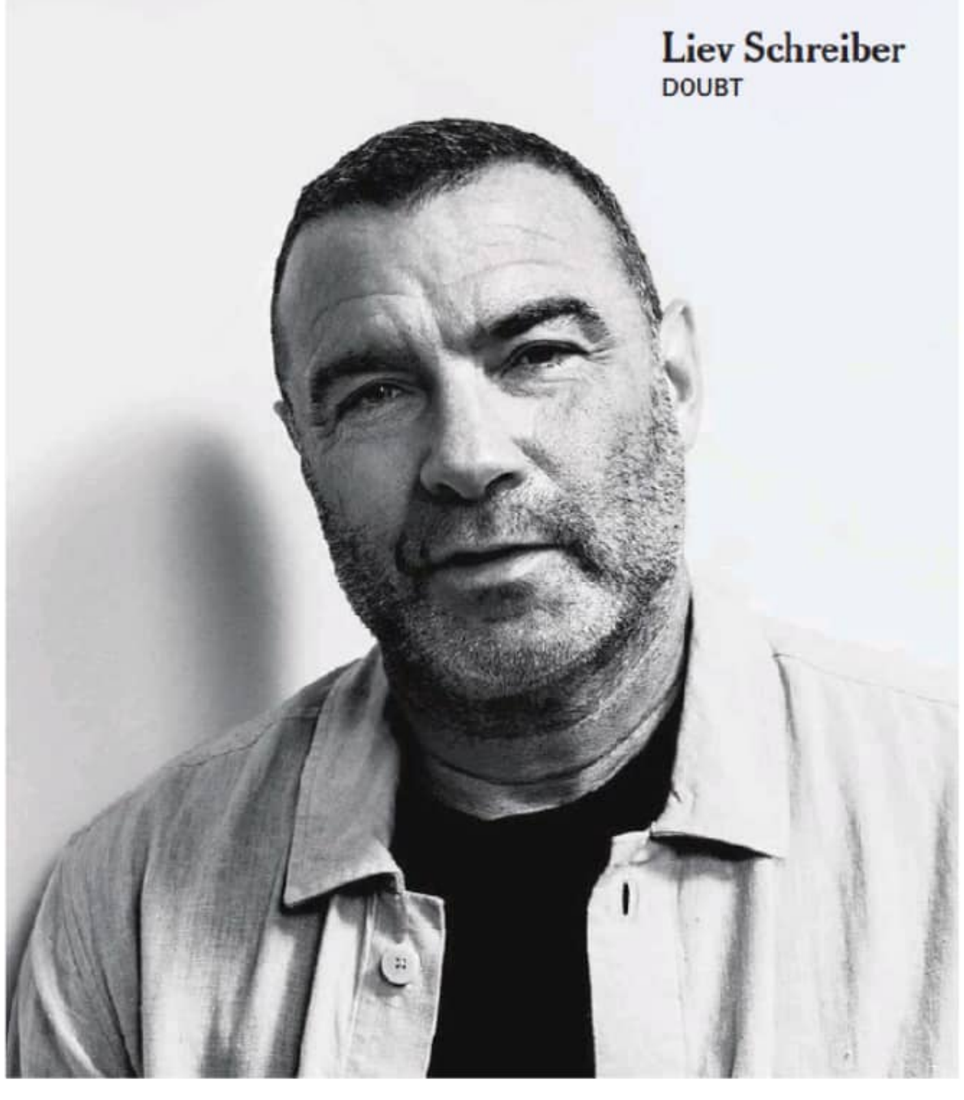
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The Shows That Shape an Actor



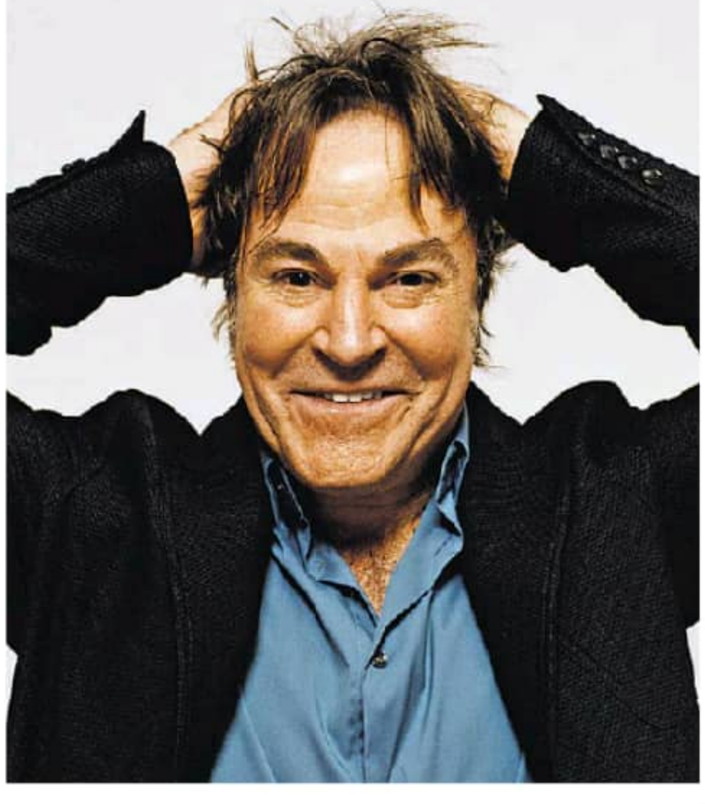
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Alicia Keys and Maleah Joi Moon
HELL'S KITCHEN

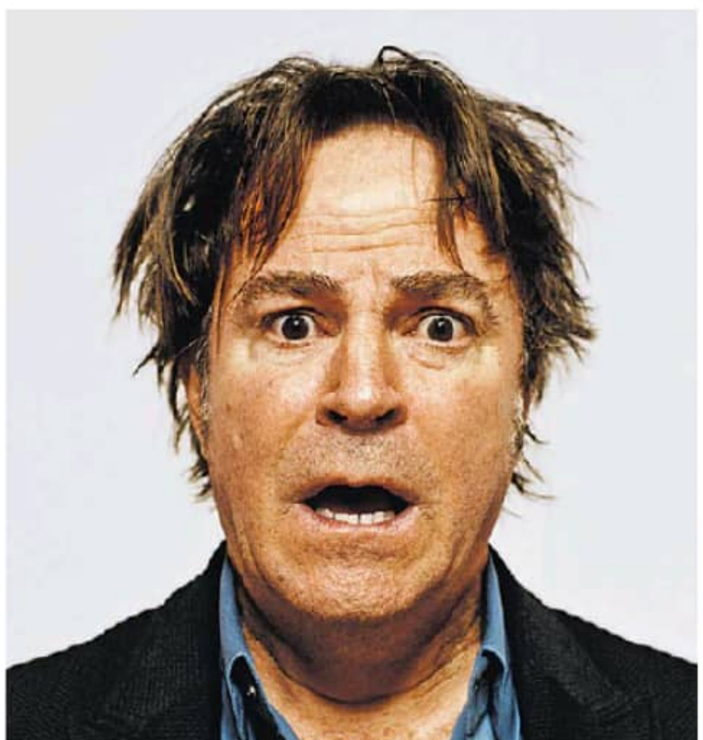


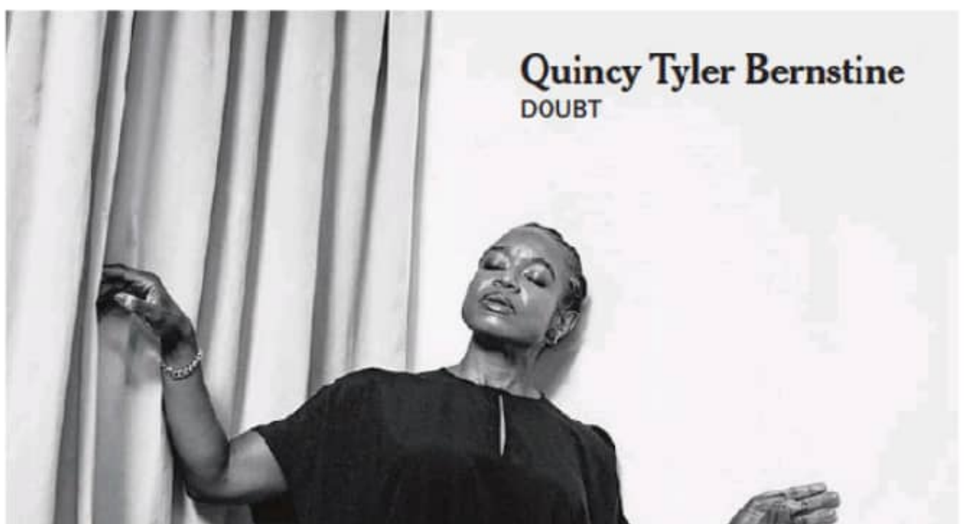
Liev Schreiber
DOUBT











Quincy Tyler Bernstine
DOUBT

Roger Bart
BACK TO THE FUTURE

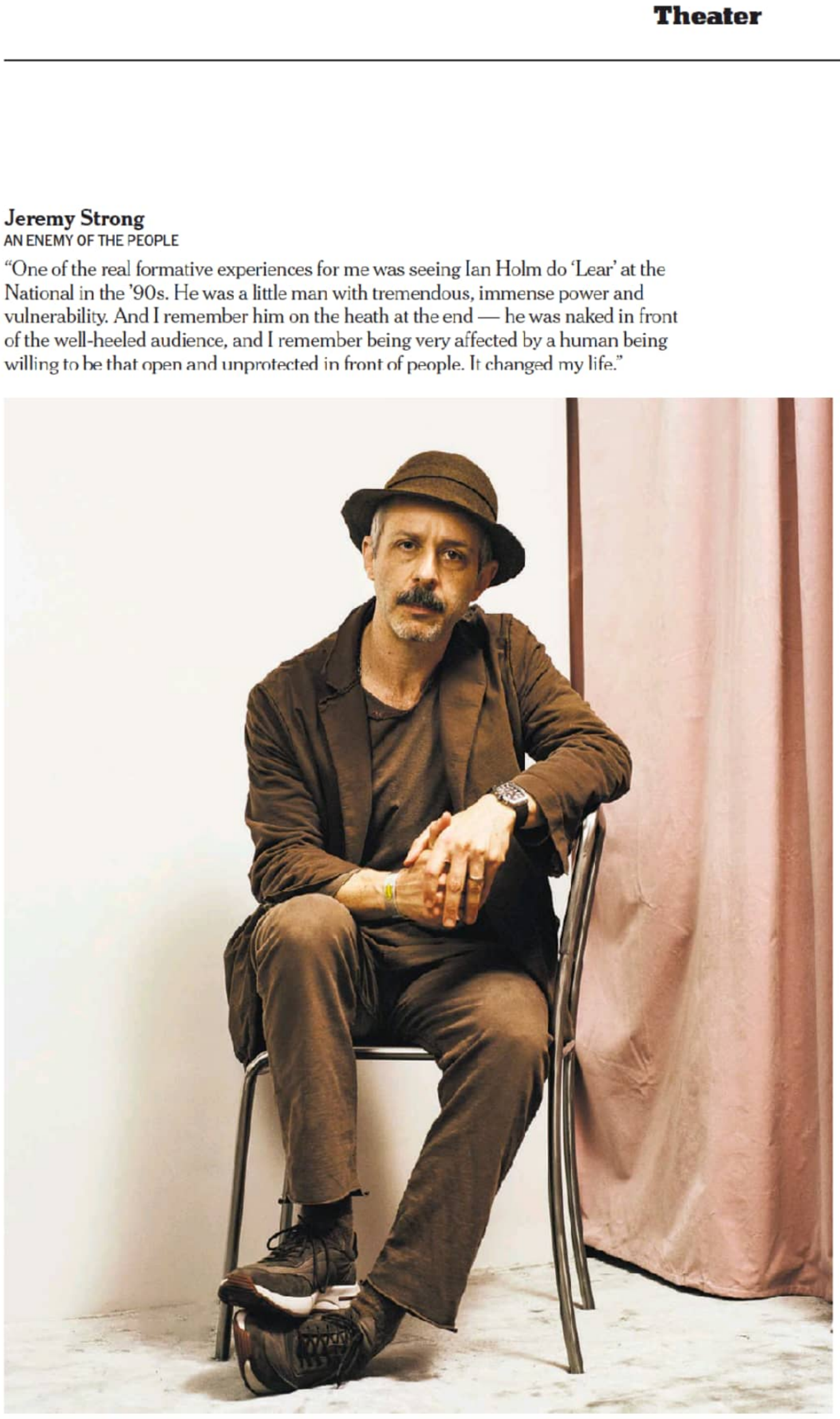
"My very first show was when I was in fifth grade, in an abridged version of 'Oliver' in which I made a dazzling entrance, with a top hat and tails, through the cafeteria. I was [the Artful] Dodger. So my script was much smaller than Oliver's, and it was devastating. And weirdly, it's the role I've gotten all my career. It's always the Dodger. It's never Oliver."

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Theater

Jeremy Strong
AN ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE

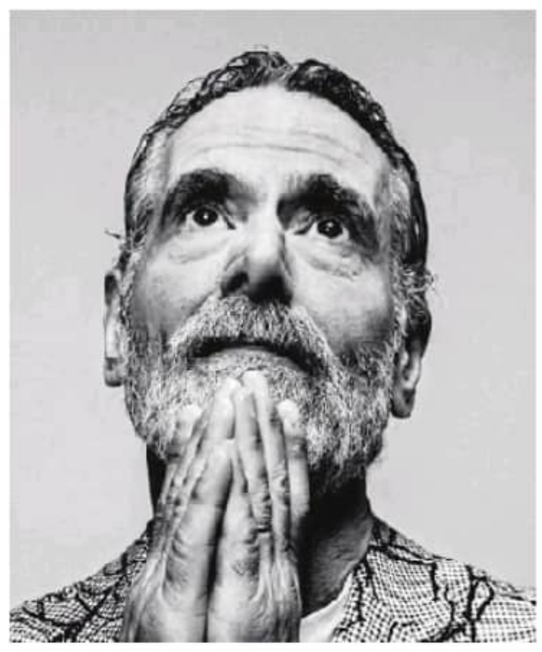
"One of the real formative experiences for me was seeing Ian Holm do 'Lear' at the National in the '90s. He was a little man with tremendous, immense power and vulnerability. And I remember him on the heath at the end — he was naked in front of the well-heeled audience, and I remember being very affected by a human being willing to be that open and unprotected in front of people. It changed my life."



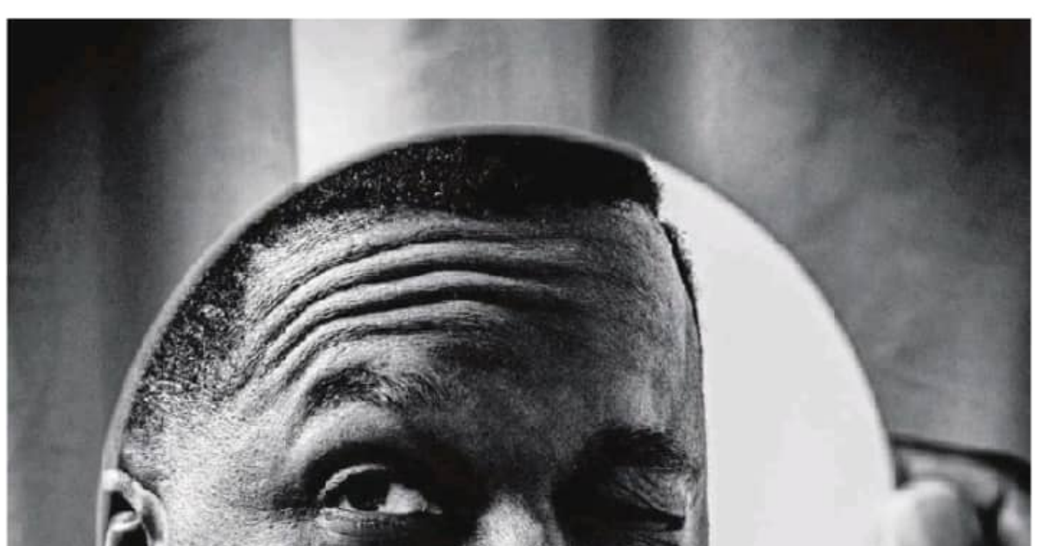


Gayle Rankin
CABARET

"The thing that drew me to theater was I was always fascinated by people. I was really quiet as a kid, and so people watching was like my TV. I remember sitting at a Starbucks in Glasgow when I was like 12 watching people for hours on end."



Steven Skybell
CABARET



Leslie Odom Jr.
PURLIE VICTORIOUS

"I played Martin Luther King in our Black history show in kindergarten. The pictures that I hold the dearest are of my grandmother and my father clapping in the front row. My dad looks like I just won the Nobel. He's so proud that I've memorized my little four lines as Martin Luther King."

Kara Young
PURLIE VICTORIOUS



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Giving 'Doctor Who' a Dose of Emotion

Ncuti Gatwa, now playing the title character, helps usher in a new era for the sci-fi show.

By ROSLYN SULCAS

LONDON — "Give-ING! That dress is giving!" said Ncuti Gatwa with a burst of unbridled laughter. The newest Doctor Who had been shooting the same scene for several hours in Cardiff, Wales, where hangar-like spaces were teeming with crew and filled with sets and equipment for the show. (Yes, Whovians, the TARDIS was parked nearby.) Now, at the director's request, the new Doctor was improvising.

Gatwa (whose first name is pronounced "Shoo-ti") laughs a lot, often at himself. "Why do I keep moving this footstool?" he asked a few minutes later as he tried to get into position for yet another take. "Because the art department isn't here to do it for you," teased Varada Sethu, who joins the Doctor and his current companion Ruby Sunday (Millie Gibson) for some adventures in Gatwa's second season. "I have to do everything myself!" Gatwa cried in a mock-tragic tone, before another eruption of mirth.

Born in Rwanda and raised in Scotland, Gatwa, 31, made his name playing the effervescent Eric in Netflix's "Sex Education." But the lead role in "Doctor Who," a British institution about a time-traveling alien and his human companion that has been a BBC stalwart for 60 years, has taken him to another level of fame.

An actor able to 'pour with feeling' finishes his first season.

(Conveniently, the Doctor periodically dies and is regenerated in a different physical form; Gatwa is the 15th Doctor, following Matt Smith, David Tennant and Jodie Whittaker.)

The show, which first ran between 1963 and 1989, was revived in 2005. Today, it has an exceptionally diverse, intergenerational fan base. But the current season, which ends on June 21, has ushered in a new era for the show, with Disney+ now a co-producer alongside the BBC and Gatwa the show's first Black lead actor, with a distinctly fabulous vibe.

The pressures and expectations surrounding these firsts aren't lost on Gatwa, who grew up in a working-class home in Dunfermline, Scotland. "'Doctor Who,'" he said, "is something I remember as almost over our heads, something we knew was important culturally, like the royals." His audition "was lovely, but I didn't think I was going to get it," he said. "British casting has taken a long time to diversify. Why would it be now, and why me?"

The anxiety he felt about "getting it right, living up to the amazing people who have done this role," lasted through filming the first season, Gatwa said. "Gradually, it became clear to me that there isn't a mold you need to step into to portray the Doctor," he said. "It can come out of you naturally."

Russell T Davies, who is back as the "Doctor Who" showrunner after masterminding the 2005 reboot, said that although the increased production budget had allowed for more special effects, "it's still me sitting with a script, making good dialogue for actors."

In the past, he added, the Doctor "has been marvelously inexpressive and enigmatic and alien, and great actors have done that very well." But in 2024, "I want a young audience watching, and they talk about their emotions, express their emotions in a healthy way."

Then, "along came Ncuti, who is one of those actors who pour with feeling," Davies said. "When he is sad, tears pour from his eyes; when he is happy, that smile lights up the universe."

Viewers who have watched Gatwa's Doctor battle the Maestro (Jinkx Monsoon), perform a song and dance number, stand on a land mine for an entire episode and suit up in Regency attire for a "Bridgerton"-themed episode are likely to agree. He "truly feels like a Doctor Who for the 21st century," Maya Phillips wrote in The New York Times. He is "stylish and liberated," she added, "with a vibe that is sensual and unbuttoned; he's a Doctor who seems much more at home than the others in his body."

The companion's role is usually "to have the human qualities the doctor lacks," Gibson said, but the relationship between this Doctor and the companion she plays feels different. "Ruby's youth allows him to let out his inner child," she said. "You see that Ruby and the Doctor really care for one another; the way they communicate and laugh is very loving." Gatwa "is a force of nature, just magic," she added. "He has this aura about him that everything can feed off."

On a busy day in April, Gatwa, dressed in a flower-embossed red shirt, was demonstrating Gibson's force-of-nature theory in an interview, gesticulating, laughing uproariously and attempting to eat avocado toast while talking about his past and his career. Even an interruption by an assistant bearing forgotten contact lenses was greeted with incommensurate joy: "Yay! Oh, my God, yessss! Hallelujah, aahhhh, great!"

"You need glasses," she told him.

"I know, but I'm so vain," he said plaintively. More laughter.

Born in Kigali, Rwanda's capital, Gatwa was 2 when his parents — a journalist and a bank manager — moved to Scotland with their three children to escape the 1994 Rwandan genocide. Largely raised by his mother, he took drama in high school and had an aha moment playing Commander Khashoggi in his school production of "We Will Rock You."



KEMKA AJOKU FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



BAD WOLF/BBC STUDIOS

Ncuti Gatwa, above, stars in "Doctor Who," now on Disney+. Gatwa, at left in the show, is the 15th Doctor and the first Black actor in that role. "I didn't think I was going to get it," he said. "British casting has taken a long time to diversify. Why would it be now, and why me?" Gatwa made his name in "Sex Education," below with Asa Butterfield.

He roared with laughter. "I must have been SOOOO bad! But at that point, I was like, *thisssss* is what I want to do."

Gatwa said that his family "were one of three Black families we knew in, like, all of Scotland, which I both noticed and didn't notice." But he didn't doubt, he said, that there would be a path for him in the theater: "I always saw a Black actor working."

He spent three years at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland ("I LOVED LOVED LOVED it"), and then a post-graduation year with the Dundee Repertory Theater ("Greek drama to Agatha Christie"). Jobs followed playing Mercutio in "Romeo and Juliet" at the Home theater in Manchester, England ("where I saw a ghost — I swear"), and then roles in "Shakespeare in Love" in the West End and in Emma Rice's "946: The Amazing Story of Adolphus Tips."

Gatwa "is obviously one of the most beautiful, charismatic people you will ever meet," Rice said in a video conversation. "But he also has phenomenal emotional depth he brought to every rehearsal and every performance, an incredible work ethic and an amazing ability to talk to the audience."

After "946," Gatwa was suddenly both out of work and money, temping at Harrods, a department store, to make ends meet. He was in his eighth month of sleeping at his best friend's apartment when he got the part of Captain Jack Absolute in a production of Richard B. Sheridan's "The Rivals." Then came the call to audition for "Sex Education."



JON HALL/NETFLIX

When he got the job, he said, his primary thought was that he could pay his overdue bills. He had hardly done any screen work before, but discovered that the show, with its ensemble cast, didn't feel too different from a theater group.

"I had never really met someone like him before, so full of life and experience and so buoyant," said Emma Mackey, one of his costars. "He took up that space offered and grew into it; we were an alliance, but Ncuti really led us in that frame of mind."

Ben Taylor, the lead director for Season 1, said that at the first table read "there was a sigh of relief and also confidence around the table, because Ncuti knew the show possibly before the show knew itself."

Gatwa said that playing Eric, a lovable gay teenager from a religious British Nigerian family, over four seasons taught him to be braver. "Eric was so dedicated to his authenticity, living his truth. That has permeated into my life," he said.

After "Sex Education" ended, Gatwa played supporting roles in "Masters of the Air" and "Barbie," and one day texted his agent, saying he would "love to play Willy Wonka or Doctor Who." She replied that the "Doctor Who" casting director, Andy Pryor, had just asked him to audition.

"It sounds like a showbiz story, but the last person we saw was Ncuti — and bang!" Davies said. "I knew then and there that was the man."

Gatwa said he and Davies didn't have many discussions about his portrayal of the Doctor. "This is a character that is constantly born again, with fresh eyes," he said. "There is an element of innocence within the Doctor. For me, that's where his curiosity comes from, the confidence to explore the unknown in the way kids do."

When asked whether he consciously incorporated more L.G.B.T.Q. elements into Gatwa's first season, Davies pointed out that he had been putting gay characters onscreen for around 30 years. "We never had a sexuality meeting," he said with a laugh. "And the Doctor is an alien, of course — he's not Ncuti Gatwa, and I think human labels barely apply to him. He loves Ruby with all his heart. He doesn't care what gender people are."

Gatwa had another take. "I feel like 'Doctor Who' has always been a bit camp," he said. "I mean, it's a time-traveling alien in a British police box!"

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Culture

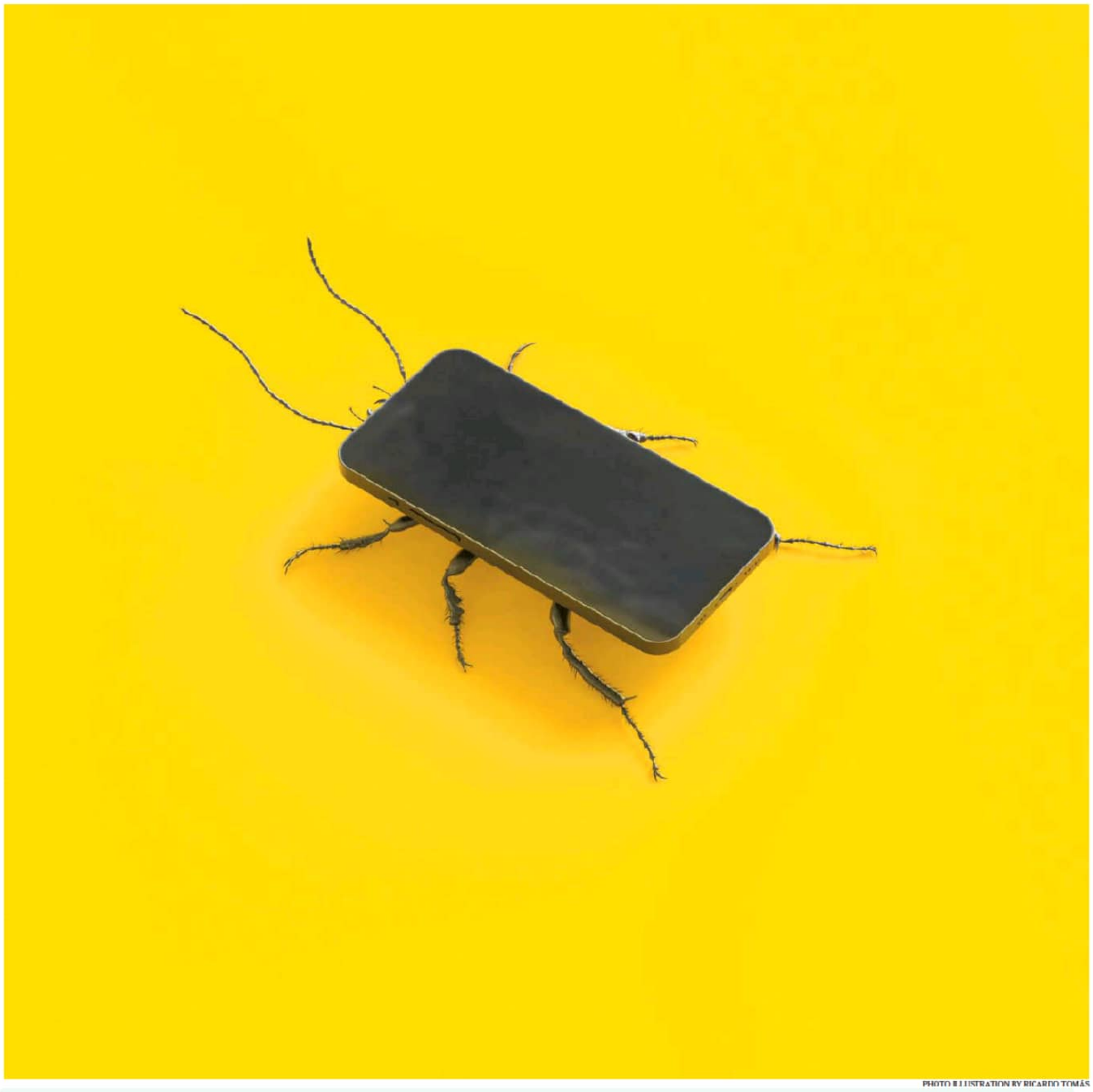


PHOTO ILLUSTRATION BY RICARDO TOMÁS

The Very Online Afterlife of Franz Kafka

A century after his death, the Czech writer circulates as a pop idol of digital alienation.

By AMANDA HESS

On TikTok, a collection of objects sits atop a stack of books: a string of pearls, a Diptyque candle, a Sylvanian Families rabbit figurine in a scallop-collared dress. A woman's hand brushes them aside. She pages through the pile of books below. We see "My Year of Rest and Relaxation" by Ottessa Moshfegh and "The Bell Jar" by Sylvia Plath. Also, "The Metamorphosis" by Franz Kafka, a fat black bug on its cover. A question typed over the scene asks: *What do you conclude about me?*

The video's creator is 25-year-old Margarita Mouka — @aquariuscat444 on TikTok, where she frequently posts about Kafka, integrating his work, his likeness and his life story into her online persona of romantic intellectualism. When her account was publicized last year, alongside those of a handful of other young Kafka-heads, media outlets were not quite sure what to conclude about her.

Kafka "becomes an unlikely HEARTTHROB on TikTok — where Gen Zers are swooning over the Czech novelist nearly 100 YEARS after his death," The Daily Mail said. The article surfaced fancam-style compilations that use his pictures as well as melodramatic readings of his letters. Baffled reactions followed in The Spectator and Literary Hub: Did they think he was . . . hot? Did they know he had a kind of body dysmorphia? Was he the Harry Styles of the Austro-Hungarian Empire?

To Mouka, the appeal was obvious.

"I felt like that bug," she said.

On BookTok, where a flashed book jacket conveys a glimmer of a user's inner life, a classic text can leave a durable impression. It plays like a deep cut, reaching back through time to ground a TikToker's content in a more enduring human experience.

Besides, the personas of dead authors are more fun to play with than those of the living. Some literary TikTokers style their feeds in Dostoyevsky's melancholy ("I now refer to him as my Russian man"), others in Nabokov's mischief ("Such a snarky queen"). Kafka has become shorthand on the app for alienation, which has become the backdrop of a digitally mediated life.

Telling the internet that Harry Styles is your boyfriend is a fantasy. Telling the internet that Franz Kafka is your boyfriend — that is a thesis statement.

Generation K

Franz Kafka was born in 1883 to Czech Jewish parents in Prague. He earned a law degree and worked by day as an insurance officer, investigating injuries from industrial accidents. He wrote at night. When he was 32, he published "The Metamorphosis," a parable known for its opening line: "As Gregor Samsa awoke one morning from uneasy dreams he found himself transformed in his bed into a gigantic insect." His stories and three unfinished novels explored themes of estrangement from others and from the self, and inspired an adjective — "Kafkaesque" — for describing nightmarish encounters with impenetrable bureaucracies. He died of tuberculosis in 1924, at age 40.

Margarita Mouka was born in 1999. She earned a degree in economics and works by day doing social media for luxury hotels and restaurants. She has cinched personal brand partnerships with a perfumery, a Korean skin-care company and a designer of coquette-style dresses. When she was 22, she picked "The Metamorphosis" off a bookstore shelf, and as she read it, she was as surprised to see herself in Gregor Samsa as he was to see himself as a bug.

"His first hardest task was to get out of bed," Mouka said of Gregor Samsa. "So many people my age relate to that. I've been there as well."

I spoke with Mouka over Zoom from her home in Athens shortly before the 100th anniversary of Kafka's death, which fell on June 3. I was curious about how Kafka's image was circulating online, and she told me of her admiration for his work, while also graciously explaining TikTok slang like "thought daughter" to me. (It's a twist on a misogynistic phrase, reclaimed by women who overthink everything.)

After "The Metamorphosis," Mouka read "Letters to Milena," a collection of private letters from Kafka to his love interest, the Czech translator Milena Jesenská, which only heightened his appeal. "You are out here being excited over a stinky ugly uneducated man texting you back when kafka wrote 'i can't hold enough of you in my hands' to milena," Mouka wrote in one video.

The alienation and anxiety that Mouka finds in Kafka have come to define her generation. "We're constantly online and we're constantly connected somewhere, but we still feel disconnected," she said.

The internet, the very place where we are now expected to craft a self, is also an identity-destabilizing machine. When Kafka wrote "I have hardly anything in common with myself," he could have been describing the experience of confronting one's own online persona. Kafka's openness around what Mouka called "his mental health issues" reverberates in social media's therapeutic thunderdome — commentators have variously speculated that he may have experienced anorexia, autism, insomnia, borderline personality disorder and hypochondria, in addition to body dysmorphia.

And his "Letters to Milena" — written over the course of three years, to a married woman he rarely saw in person — has become a rich TikTok text. Kafka fans hold his passionate words in playful contrast to the lazy and pathetic text messages they have received from men. The correspondence offers commentary on the slippery nature of disembodied relationships, too. As Kafka wrote to Jesenská in 1922, "Writing letters is actually an intercourse with ghosts, and by no means just with the ghost of the addressee but also with one's own ghost."

And yet his work also challenges the idea that Gen Z's misery is attributable solely to the smartphone. Presenting his books before the eye of its camera suggests a deeper explanation. The hundred-year gap between Kafka's experience and our own functions as its own commentary on the fundamental dehumanization of modern life, and of the degradations of work under capitalism. Even as Mouka celebrates Kafka, even as she crafts an identity around him, she is performing a job, laboring at a second shift that never ends.

> Fans post things like 'Gorgeous girls lie awake at night mourning kafka' and 'Kafka is my bare minimum and i won't date a man until he is kafka.'

There's something pleasurable about seeing Kafka enlivened in a TikTok comments section, his appeal translated into hypermodern slang. Fans post things like "Gorgeous girls lie awake at night mourning kafka" and "Kafka is my bare minimum and i won't date a man until he is kafka." But it's also uncanny to watch his image proffered as an affective shorthand, his face a gesture toward a fan's Myers-Briggs personality type or dark academia aesthetic.

In one video, Mouka has edited Kafka's photograph into a thought-daughter montage, somewhere between a scene from Vincent Gallo's "Buffalo '66" and a snapshot of Sharon Tate. Amid this roving eye of cultural impressions, Kafka's face plays like a wink toward seriousness. The friction between the images explodes the video's emotional range.

"I always want to cry when I see him," Mouka said of Kafka's photograph. "I'm just sad when I see his face."

'Who Am I, Then?'

Kafka's own relationship with technology was ambivalent.

"Kafka had a fascination with and skepticism of the already rapid developments" that punctuated his lifetime, said Mark Harman, the editor and translator of a new collection of Kafka's works, "Selected Stories." "This anxiety about technology is palpable in his fiction."

In one of his letters, to his onetime fiancée Felice Bauer, Kafka expressed deflation at the modern experience of paging through a set of his own photographs, watching himself transform from a spirited child into what he calls "the ape of my parents" in adolescence.

Harman also pointed me to a moment in "The Castle," an unfinished novel published after Kafka's death, in which the antihero K. tries to phone that bureaucratic fortress. "At first, he hears only what sounds like high-pitched singing," Harman said. But after an official picks up and methodically interrogates K. about his identity, K. is left wondering: "Who am I, then?"

"Kafka was a notoriously severe judge of himself, and would certainly not have wanted completely uncritical admiration," Harman said of the author's online fans. And yet it is precisely Kafka's painful self-awareness that plays so winningly on social media, among generations of readers who have grown up not just picking up a telephone, but staring it down.

What Harman described as "Kafka's capacity for humorous detachment," his "self-irony" and his "impish sense of humor" are now TikTok house style. Keeping up with the platform's tumbling obsessions and inside jokes — and withstanding the heat of viral attention — requires a puckish attitude toward one's own emotional life. One of my favorite Kafka videos jumps off the trending setup "Men only have four moods." In this version, the moods are: "Waking up as a repulsive bug, learning how to live as a bug, being rejected by people, giving up on life."

For more clues to Kafka's contemporary appeal, I called Becca Rothfeld, the nonfiction book critic at The Washington Post. But first I dialed the wrong number several times, repeatedly triggering a voice recording that notified me that I had "reached a nonworking number at the House of Representatives." When we finally connected, Rothfeld said, "Trying to call a nonworking number at the House of Representatives is very Kafkaesque."

Rothfeld wrote the introduction for a new anthology of short stories, "A Cage Went in Search of a Bird: Ten Kafkaesque Stories," which includes works by Joshua Cohen and Tommy Orange. In many of them, Kafka's sensibility is projected into digital labyrinths. In "Hygiene," Helen Oyeyemi imagines a text-message exchange between a man and a woman in a casual relationship that wildly escalates when the woman's friend assumes control of her phone. And in "God's Doorbell," Naomi Alderman explores a utopian human society built atop a class of "machine-thinking tools" that resemble evolved chatbots — a society shaken after the humans tell the machines to build a tower to God.

"Kafka, when he was writing, was describing a relatively new experience," Rothfeld said of his depiction of absurd bureaucratic incidents. Gregor Samsa complains that his job as a traveling salesman is merely a succession of "always changing, never enduring human exchanges." After he transforms into a bug, he lies in bed instead of reporting to work, so his manager finds him at home and delivers a negative performance review through the locked bedroom door.

Harman told me that the Austro-Hungarian bureaucracy quadrupled in size in Kafka's lifetime, as society rapidly industrialized and technology accelerated. Now, "what seemed so new and uncanny when he was writing has become very familiar," Rothfeld said. The once-surprising edge of the Kafkaesque insight is "irrecoverable," she added, "because now it's just our life."

But this familiarity has also allowed Kafka's work to persist, and has freed his persona to circulate in ever more playful ways. Kafka, the TikTok boyfriend. Kafka, the love bomber. Kafka, the dog. As we spoke, Rothfeld sat on a porch with her 2-year-old English shepherd, Kafka. "He's actually a very happy-go-lucky, cheerful dog, and very physically robust, so he's not actually like Kafka at all," she said. "But it gives me great joy to call my dog Kafka."

Since Rothfeld discovered Kafka the novelist in high school, she has found that his work has grown only more relevant. As experiences of bodily and social alienation expand their reach into human life, he keeps pulling her back in. "I think about him all the time," she said. "Maybe even more now that I scream his name a thousand times a day."

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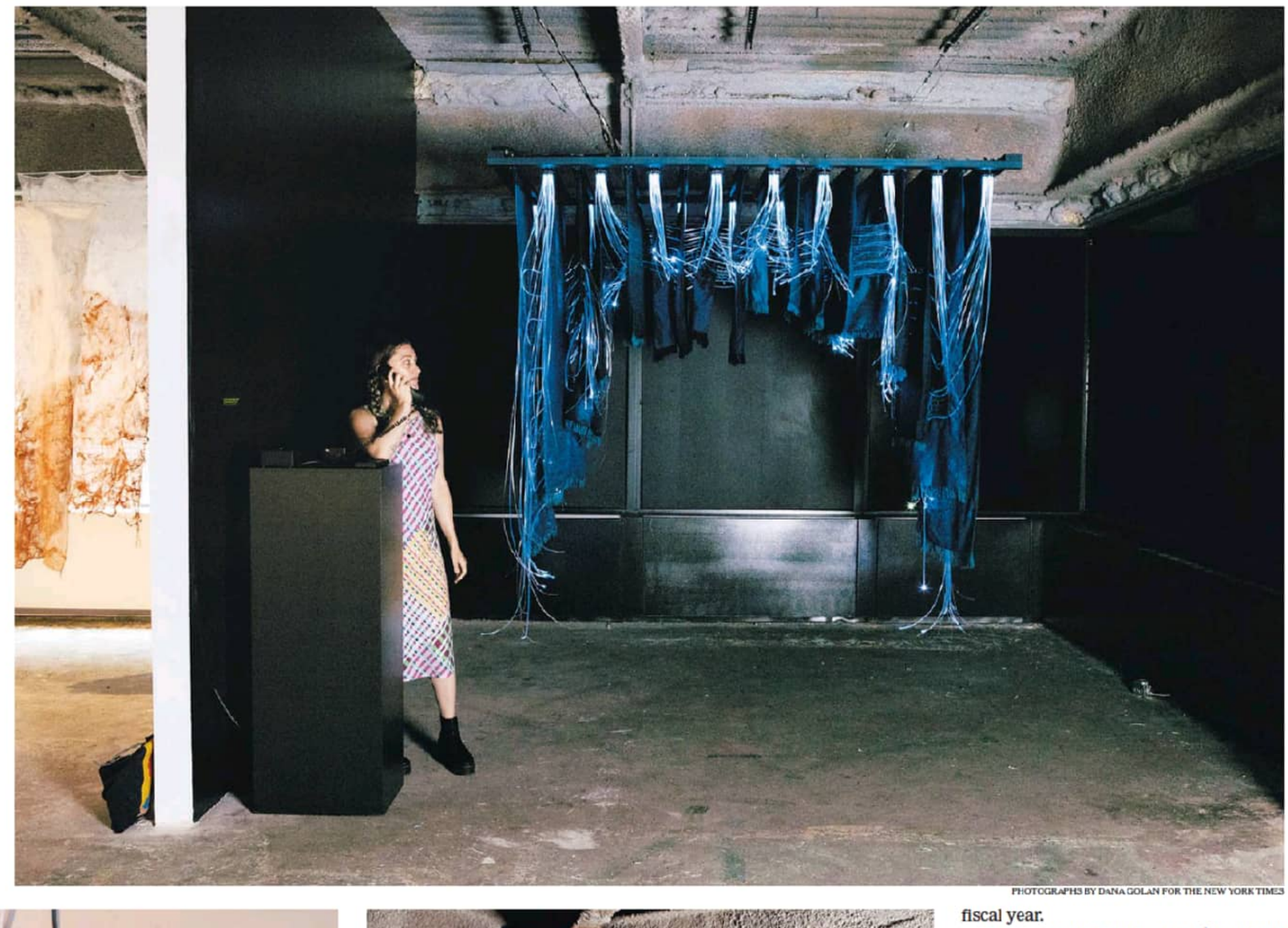
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In This Incubator, Artistic Visions

A New Museum program matches tech-savvy creators with business-savvy mentors.

By FRANK ROSE



PHOTOGRAPHS BY DANA GOLAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Nicole Yi Messier and Victoria Manganiello would like you to talk to their textile. Just pick up the phone and tell it a story. Nothing elaborate — a simple story will do. The textile in question is a few feet away, 18 fabric panels suspended from the ceiling. While you're talking, ChatGPT will decode the emotions, which are then displayed as colors on fiber optics running through the fabric. The system is constantly evolving, but depending on the circumstances, red could mean joy, blue might mean frustration, purple could signal sadness.

"Ancient Futures," as it's called, is one of 33 installations on view through Thursday at 161 Water Street, a financial district office tower that's been recently reborn as a collaborative work space and culture hang. All were created by soon-to-graduate members of New Inc, a "cultural incubator" that's run by the New Museum and will move into the starkly angular addition designed by Rem Koolhaas's firm, OMA, next year.

Participants in the yearlong program pay as much as $150 per month to be part of an art/tech community — New Inc is very big on community — that includes mentors and alumni as well as staff and fellow participants. What they get in return has more to do with career guidance than with making art.

Art is what's on view at Demo2024, New Inc's latest annual showcase of its members' work. This is where Messier and Manganiello, who work together in a studio called Craftwork in Clinton Hill, Brooklyn, show what they can do with cloth and electronics — materials that suggest physical and digital, fuzzy and hard-edge, past and future. Just down the corridor, Dan Gorelick has set up a listening station where you can hear live air-traffic-control chatter from Tokyo, New York, Mexico City or Zurich, superimposed on algorithmically generated soundscapes — dark and moody compositions punctuated by a highly technical patois.



Around the corner, the Mexico City-born artist and virtual reality developer Alfredo Salazar-Caro is showing 3-D-printed maquettes made of clay — prototypes for fantastical houses that might be constructed simply by pressing "print." And the architectural designer Jeremy Schipper critiques the gentrification of the East Village with an elaborate maquette surrounding the 1888 Temperance Fountain in Tompkins Square Park. But at New Inc itself, the focus is less on making art than on making it in a way that provides a living for the artist.

"I think the days of, like, starving artists are gone," New Inc's director, 34-year-old Salome Asega, said with a laugh. "The rent is due!"

Craftwork's experience is typical. "Ancient Futures" was developed with support from CultureHub, a joint program of La MaMa ETC, the Lower Manhattan theater company, and the Seoul Institute of the Arts. Messier and Manganiello joined New Inc the following year.

"We came in with a lot of uncertainty as to what we wanted to get out of it," Manganiello admitted. That began to change when they were matched with their mentor, James Rohrbach, a partner at the real estate firm Alchemy Ventures and an artist. The three met once a month to map out a business plan, a budget and a communications strategy. "There's this myth that the art world perpetuates of lonely visionaries in the studio by themselves," said Manganiello. "But things are often more interesting when many minds are involved."

By the end of this year, New Inc will have graduated 653 people and helped create or sustain 324 businesses since it was formed a decade ago, the brainchild of the New Museum director Lisa Phillips and then-deputy director Karen Wong. It takes its cue from the tech industry, which for the better part of 20 years has had incubators for nascent businesses and accelerators for those that are past the idea-scribbled-on-a-napkin phase. Gone are the days of two geniuses in a garage; companies like Airbnb and Dropbox got their start in a cocoon of know-how — mentorship, partnerships, entrepreneurship, fund-raising — spun by outfits like Y Combinator, Techstars and Betaworks. New Inc offers a similar embrace to tech-focused artists and designers.

As with tech incubators, the goal is to help people develop a sustainable business model. Applicants are told that at a minimum they should come out with basic tools for success: a plan, a purpose, a pitch deck, a mission statement, a website, a way to make money. These are not things you get from an M.F.A. program, where the focus is on making art.

New Inc bills itself as the first cultural incubator to be led by a museum, but it isn't the only such initiative. MIT has an Arts Startup Incubator; cities like New Orleans and Chicago and even Fargo, N.D., have arts incubators as well, usually as part of some economic development program. And there are a number of individuals who have set themselves up as online art coaches. But few if any of these programs operate on the scale of New Inc, which spent nearly $1.7 million in its most recent fiscal year.



Two years ago, New Inc got a boost from the Mellon Foundation — a three-year, $1.5 million grant in support of, as the foundation's website put it, "Salome Asega's vision." A first-generation Ethiopian American who grew up in Las Vegas, Asega had been named New Inc's director in 2021 after four years as a technology fellow at the Ford Foundation — where she was hired by the poet Elizabeth Alexander, who became head of the Mellon Foundation soon after. The vision Mellon is supporting includes

'Things are often more interesting when many minds are involved.'

the three-day Demo festival, previously a one-day affair. But ultimately, Asega's vision involves "reworlding," as she calls it— "to reimagine, to re-envision, to reworld. Which I think is beautiful, because it's thinking about things at a structural level."

"She really looks at what she does as social sculpture, using the community as a medium," Karen Wong said.

Asega has also secured grants and partnerships from the Simons Foundation, which supports efforts in mathematics and basic science, the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, and the global consulting firm EY and its Metaverse Lab. Her predecessor, Stephanie Pereira, partnered with the Onassis Foundation to create Onassis ONX, an art accelerator with a sophisticated digital studio, free for artists to use, in Olympic Tower on Fifth Avenue.

All this has made New Inc attractive not just to fledgling artists and designers but also to those who are well established. One of this year's members is Lauren Lee McCarthy, a professor of Design Media Arts at



Top, Craftwork's installation, "Ancient Futures," at Demo2024 in Manhattan; middle, Dan Gorelick's installation, "ATC Soundscapes," where visitors can listen to air-traffic-control chatter superimposed on algorithmically generated soundscapes; left, Salome Asega at the entrance of the Demo2024 show; above, Lauren Lee McCarthy's installation, "Free Saliva Exchange." McCarthy said, "It becomes this lubricant almost for talking about things like bodily autonomy and data privacy."

the University of California, Los Angeles, whose "saliva bar" at Demo encourages people to leave some spit in a little tube and maybe go home with a stranger's.

"It started out as this sort of absurd idea," McCarthy said, "but it becomes this lubricant almost for talking about things like bodily autonomy and data privacy. So a big part of it is people negotiating, like, what can and can't be done with your saliva? Could it be used for weapons? Could it be used for tracing DNA or making a clone?"

McCarthy credits New Inc with helping her develop the saliva project, but the main reason she signed on was to learn how to run a lab she's starting with a colleague at U.C.L.A. "Just like, how do you think about the legal aspects or the financial aspects or the fund-raising or the outreach or all these different parts of your practice? New Inc did a really good job of supporting all of those."

New Inc has also done well by artists who were less established when they came

CONTINUED ON PAGE 17

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MoMA Pride Celebration
Wed, Jun 26, 6:30–10:00 p.m.

A queer art party with gallery talks, DJs, a pop-up bar, and more. Reserve free tickets at moma.org/pride2024

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ERIC RYAN ANDERSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Jesus Lizard, from left: Mac McNeilly, Duane Denison, David Yow and David Wm. Sims. The band's first studio album in 26 years is scheduled to be released in September.

Loud Underground Men Resurface

The Jesus Lizard, known for raucous early '90s records made with Steve Albini, will have fresh music out soon.

By HANK SHTEAMER

In May, after the death of Steve Albini, the engineer and tastemaker who helped define the aesthetics of independent rock in the early 1990s, a consensus about his past work started to emerge: Among the slew of albums that Albini recorded in those days, few encapsulated his signature sonic wallop — and the potency of the broader scene he championed — better than the early work of the Jesus Lizard.

On triumphs like "Goat" (1991) and "Liar" (1992), the vocalist David Yow, the guitarist Duane Denison, the bassist David Wm. Sims and the drummer Mac McNeilly skillfully wedded the thudding force and lascivious groove of the '70s arena-rock gods they grew up on with the grimy racket of the '80s underground.

Earlier this year, when the band started announcing a new run of festival appearances and headlining dates — the latest chapter in a sporadic reunion that commenced in 2009, 10 years after the band's initial breakup — it seemed like another chance for both old heads and newer converts to salute the band's illustriously chaotic past. What no one could have expected is that this time around, the Jesus Lizard wouldn't just be reaffirming its legacy but adding to it. At the end of the summer, it will unveil its first studio album in 26 years: "Rack," a raucous record that recaptures the lunging momentum, stealth nuance and unhinged Yow-isms of its best work.

The uncanny timing of the announcement, arriving when the band is already being celebrated anew, is pure coincidence: The album, scheduled to come out Sept. 13, has been about five years in the making.

In a video interview from his Altadena, Calif., home, with posters for "Taxi Driver," "Pulp Fiction" and other gritty film classics on the walls, Yow gushed like a proud parent over "Hide and Seek," the album's rampaging lead track. "It's got so many hooks," the 63-year-old vocalist said, his gray goatee framing a wide grin. He added that he'd gotten in the habit of asking both his bandmates and his wife, with a mixture of irony and wonder, "Have we written a pop song?"

Denison, 65, was amused and skeptical. "I don't know what pop music David Yow's listening to," he deadpanned during a video interview from the combination library and music room of his Nashville home. "I don't think Beyoncé or Lil Nas X are going to be jealous."

Pop prospects aside, the Jesus Lizard's distinctive play of chaos and control has long made it a touchstone among peers like Nirvana, who shared both live bills and a rare split single with the band.

"Listen to songs like 'Scentless Apprentice' and 'Milk It' from 'In Utero,'" the Nirvana biographer Michael Azerrad wrote in an email, "with those burly, repetitive riffs and deranged, ranting vocals, they're practically homages to the Jesus Lizard." In "Book," a 2014 tome commemorating the history of the Jesus Lizard to that point, Albini, a notoriously blunt observer, called them "the best musicians I've ever worked with."

Yow, Denison and Sims formed the group in Austin, Texas, in 1987, after the breakup of Yow and Sims's previous band, the nightmarish Scratch Acid. After moving to Chicago, they recruited McNeilly, an Atlanta drummer they'd met when his band 86 played in Texas. The quartet's initial run yielded four indie classics, two inventive, undervalued major-label efforts and a storied trail of live bedlam. They split up amicably in 1999, but remained a touchstone for subsequent generations; in 2022, Keke Palmer wore a Jesus Lizard shirt in Jordan Peele's sci-fi horror film "Nope," sparking a wave of interest.

Austin Tackett, the bassist for the Oklahoma City noise-rock outfit Chat Pile, said in a phone interview that among younger acts aiming for a caustic heaviness, the Jesus Lizard remains "the dragon that everybody's chasing."

Denison has been the most musically active in the years since, continuing on with projects including the alternative-metal supergroup Tomahawk. Yow has collaborated with such bands as the Melvins, Qui, Flipper and the Dicks — an Austin punk outfit whose frontman, Gary Floyd, was a key early influence — while making a serious run at acting, taking on roles including the skeevy antagonist of the 2017 Macon Blair thriller "I Don't Feel at Home in This World Anymore." McNeilly focused on family life and, more recently, began teaching drums and restoring vintage kits, and Sims started a new career as a C.P.A., in addition to devoting time to fatherhood, a short-lived Scratch Acid reunion along with Yow, and a low-profile experimental solo project, un-Fact.

Amid what Yow called the Jesus Lizard's sporadic "re-enactment shows," which continued from 2017 through 2019, the idea of making new music percolated. Denison, Sims and McNeilly — who left in 1996 but returned for the reunion — all quickly got on board.

"I was always into doing it," McNeilly, 64, said in a video interview from his Evanston, Ill., home, his gracious, thoughtful demeanor contrasting sharply with his flailing attack behind the drums. "It had just been too long."

Yow was noncommittal at first. "At one point we just had to decide," said Sims, 60, sipping black coffee outside a Midtown Manhattan takeout spot, sporting black Ray-Ban glasses and close-cropped salt-and-pepper hair. "I said to Duane, 'Look, let's just keep writing songs and sending the tapes to David.'"

"'Is he really going to let us make an album without him?'" he added with a laugh.

Impressed with his bandmates' demos, Yow signed on around 2019 and started workshopping vocals at a mic set up in his home office. "It was embarrassing to do that here with my wife," Yow said, sounding bashful. "I would ask her, like, 'Don't you have some errands you can run?'" Searching for fresh inspiration, he borrowed phrasing ideas on select songs from Lhasa de Sela, the Mexican American singer-songwriter, whose 2003 album, "The Living Road," he called "one of the best records ever made."

The band refined the material during occasional gatherings in Nashville and tracked "Rack" there last fall at Audio Eagle — the home studio of the Black Keys drummer Patrick Carney — with the producer Paul Allen, a local guitarist and session musician. As they had in the '90s, they recorded basic tracks live in the room, without a click track.

A band that once shared live bills, and a split single, with Nirvana.

Sims said that, during the writing and demoing phase, he'd kept his expectations low, allowing for the possibility that the band might decide to shelve the project if it didn't live up to their standards. But within the first few days of recording, after McNeilly laid down take after take of what the bassist called "absolutely monstrous" drum tracks, he felt confident enough to fire off a text to David Viecelli, the band's longtime booking agent, informing him that they were making an album: "Maybe one of our best."

"I never had the slightest glimmer of fear that, like, oh, they're going to make something disappointing," Viecelli said in a phone interview. "That said, the record is astonishing."

One of the greatest strengths of "Rack" is its utter lack of ponderous maturity. "As much as anything," Denison said of his aims for the lean, 37-minute, 11-track album, "I wanted to sound like a kid." Lyrically, beyond a few veiled references to recent history — including pointed lines inspired by Donald Trump — the album plunges the listener back into the same depraved demimonde sketched out in the early Jesus Lizard catalog.

Yow couldn't contain his laughter when recounting a Parisian scatological mishap that inspired a portion of "Moto(R)," one of several hard-driving rockers on the album's back half. ("I had had some French coffee, and I had to poo," he said.) And discussing "Lord Godiva" — the only song on "Rack" with roots in the band's '90s era, which comes complete with a beautifully beefy Sims bass solo — Yow highlighted the perverse misdeeds of its bloodthirsty protagonist. "They're just so stupid and, I think, really funny," he said.

As much as "Rack" reprises the time-tested Jesus Lizard formula of pulpy lyrical filth matched with volatile, menacing rock, it also reasserts that the band was far more versatile than thumbnail remembrances often suggest. "What If?" is pure skin-crawling moodcraft, driven by a cold-eyed Sims bass vamp, with Yow showing off his sharpened dramatic chops as he monologues about a widow who turns out to be "kinda crazy," or worse. "Armistice Day" leans into down-tempo doom-blues, offset by Yow's forlorn-sounding croon and a sparse, piercing Denison lead that Yow said "brings tears to my eyes."

While the LP has a more polished sound than early Jesus Lizard albums, it maintains an admirable rawness that receded on the two records the band made without Albini in the mid-to-late '90s. Reached after Albini's death in May, Yow said that in the band's early days, he "thought of Steve almost as a fifth member." He praised the way that Albini had rendered guitar, bass and drums each in the "absolute most intense possible way," and, his voice choking up, recalled a time when he and the engineer were inseparable, often spending entire days shooting pool together at the Chicago Billiard Cafe.

As documented in "Book," tensions later arose between the band and Albini, and the parties wouldn't work together again. But Yow said that he and the engineer "ended up sort of patching things up." He recalled a recent text exchange where Albini had told him, with typical crude flair, that fans were "going to just [expletive] themselves" when they learned that the Jesus Lizard had made a new album.

Reflecting on "Rack," Denison said that despite his new status as a senior citizen — recently retired from a day job at a branch of the Nashville Public Library, the guitarist is considering when he ought to start collecting Social Security — he was intent on capturing a certain punk-rock abandon. "I'd like to think it's always been this balance between the sophistication" and "the non-sophisticated," he said, "just the pure drive and mayhem."

McNeilly cited the explosive opening of "Hide and Seek," which sets the tone for what follows.

"It's almost like, OK, you're on a ride now," the drummer said, "and you're not going to be able to get off."

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How to Outsmart, and Outlast, a Menacing King

'Firebrand' focuses on the defiant last wife of Henry VIII.

By ROSLYN SULCAS



LARRY HORRICKS/ROADSIDE ATTRACTIONS

Jude Law as King Henry VIII and Alicia Vikander as his sixth and final wife, Katherine Parr, in Karim Aïnouz's film "Firebrand."

Midway through Karim Aïnouz's "Firebrand," King Henry VIII of England takes a break from playing bowls on the lawn to walk with his sixth wife, Katherine Parr. Gripping her arm tightly, limping heavily, the king, played with terrifying menace by Jude Law, offers a threat to those who betray him. "They know what would happen," he says quietly, turning to face the queen. "We'd have to have their head cut off." Alicia Vikander's Queen Katherine smiles faintly. "I'm sure you would come up with something much more creative," she says.

"Firebrand," which is based on Elizabeth Freemantle's novel "Queen's Gambit" and opened Friday, is set during Henry's final months, in 1546-47. Katherine is trying to keep her head on her shoulders while the king, ill, paranoid and angry, grows suspicious of her alliance with religious reformers. Egged on by the poison-drip whisperings of the power-hungry bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner (Simon Russell Beale), who fears Katherine's progressive leanings, a witch hunt begins in an effort to convict her of heresy and treason.

"I thought of it as a thriller," said Aïnouz, 58, by phone last month from the Cannes Film Festival, where his movie "Motel Destino" was in competition. "There are so many stories about the wives who perished under Henry. Katherine was older, politically astute, intellectual, rebellious. She survived. And yet there were no movies about her. This was a way to write history that wasn't about dead women."

Many people coming to the movie will know that Parr survived Henry, but not "what a battle of wills that survival entailed," Tim Robey wrote in The Telegraph, after the film was shown in competition at Cannes last year. "This pungent, meaty historical drama posits them as mortal enemies not just in the domestic sphere: ideologically, they were on different pages of separate Bibles."

A historical drama was an unlikely choice for the Brazilian director's first foray into English-language filmmaking after a career of critically lauded small-scale movies and documentaries. When the London producer Gabrielle Tana approached him in 2020 about "Firebrand," his first thought, he said, was, "Did she really propose this to me?"

But as the pandemic and lockdown hit, he started reading about the Tudors. "I began to understand that this was really about Katherine, a woman trying to change things through soft power," he said. "There are many narratives of the global South from American or English directors, and I started to think it was interesting to reverse that perspective."

He also felt a connection. "There was something very hot-blooded about the Tudors, something operatic and kind of bling-bling which reminds me of Latin culture," Aïnouz said. "It was surprising to me to find out that English identity, as we think of it, is an idea from the Victorian era. There was something dramatic and golden and violent and romantic about the Tudors that really intrigued me."

"Firebrand" was nonetheless a big leap for Aïnouz. On previous movies, he spent weeks rehearsing actors, watching how they used space and paring the dialogue. "It's not about improvising, but about finding the soul of the scene, something theater directors do a lot," he said. "With larger-scale filmmaking, it's hard to do this." But Tana, he said, made it happen.

The film was shot in summer 2022 at Haddon Hall, a well-preserved country manor that dates to the 12th century. "He is like a conductor," said Tana, as Aïnouz, dressed in black and wearing Wellington boots, gave swift directions to two groups playing separate scenes at each extremity of the garden, and to Vikander and Law as they walked between the groups. At another moment, Aïnouz had Vikander and Mina Andala, as a lady-in-waiting, play a scene on a loop, without cutting or signaling a new take.

"I was very precious about my work in the past," Vikander said candidly in a recent video interview. "Now I'm more willing to go with new adventures, try new things, which was one of the reasons I wanted to work with Karim." She had also been drawn to the character of Katherine, she said. "Somehow the person who survives doesn't attract as much attention, but she was the first woman to publish a book in England, a fantastic mother to Henry's children, a thinker, a survivor." She added, "It's one of these female stories that have never had a proper light shone upon them. I wanted to tell that story."

The story revolves around Katherine's support for an old friend, the progressive preacher Anne Askew (Erin Doherty), who argues that the Bible should be published in English so ordinary people can understand its precepts. For Henry — who broke from the Roman Catholic Church over his divorce from his first wife, Catherine of Aragon — and his advisers, it is an issue of power and control. Katherine's courage in maintaining her beliefs is shown as a vital influence on the future Queen Elizabeth (Junia Rees), the daughter of Henry and Anne Boleyn.

"Religion was everything to people in the Tudor period," said Elizabeth Norton, a Tudor historian who was an adviser on the film. "Everybody believes in God, and there is a 'right' way to worship; there isn't the idea of tolerance we have today. It's hard for contemporary audiences to understand, but just one change of word in a doctrine can mean heresy and death, and Katherine faces that charge."

The emphasis on the domestic drama of the relationship between the insecure, volatile Henry and the outwardly calm, inwardly terrified Katherine was a compelling angle for Law, who has virtually defined movie-star good looks and so might seem a surprising choice for the aging, corpulent Henry. (Aïnouz doesn't spare the viewer the sight of his horribly infected leg.) But the actor said he was immediately interested because he couldn't think of other portrayals of Henry at that moment in his life.

"He had been a huge, beautiful, physically powerful, vibrant man, a dancer, a fighter, a jouster, a musician," Law said in a recent video conversation. "To have all this behind him and to be this embittered, blistering, rotting old man seemed full of potential."

Getting Henry's physicality right was vital, Law said, and he zeroed in on the spreading leg infection. "I spoke to doctors about understanding what these wounds are like, the agonies that patients who suffer this are in. He lived with this for 10 years without any anesthetic. The pain obviously affected his personality, became a layer of his behavior." The scenes of scarily violent rage toward Katherine "really emerged from the work with Karim," Law said. "He was almost like a painter, layering up colors, and Hélène Louvart, the cinematographer, was phenomenal at somehow disappearing." He added, "You didn't always know when you were in a shot or not, and it created amazing authenticity and atmosphere."

Those scenes were hard, Vikander said. "Not even the physical stuff, but the mental abuse Henry put Katherine through."

Katherine didn't choose to marry Henry, Aïnouz pointed out. "I had this big fiction thing in my head: What if a hard-core revolutionary was obliged to marry Putin or Trump? They wouldn't give up their mission; they would try to find a way."

In This Incubator, Artistic Visions



DANA GULAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

At Demo2024 in Manhattan, a visitor interacts with Alfredo Salazar-Caro's installation, "Biocompatible Architecture: Indigenous Visions of the Future of Human Dwelling."

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 14

in. The multimedia artist Rachel Rossin was commissioned to do an installation at the Whitney Museum of American Art in 2022 and had another at a recent fundraiser for the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum. John Fitzgerald and Matthew Niederhauser work as innovation director and technical director, respectively, at Onassis ONX and co-founded Sensorium, an extended reality studio whose credits include a dramatization of the George Saunders novel "Lincoln in the Bardo" for The New York Times Magazine. Stephanie Dinkins parlayed her inquiries into bias in artificial intelligence into a $100,000 grant from LG and the Guggenheim Foundation and a role in former Google chief executive Eric Schmidt's $125 million initiative with his wife, Wendy, to make sure AI benefits society.

"I think art is a really interesting and magical space that allows us to think freely," Dinkins said. "Like playing in the A.I. space without a full knowledge of A.I., which allows me to ask a 2-year-old's questions" — questions that are the tech-world equivalent of "Why is the sky blue?"

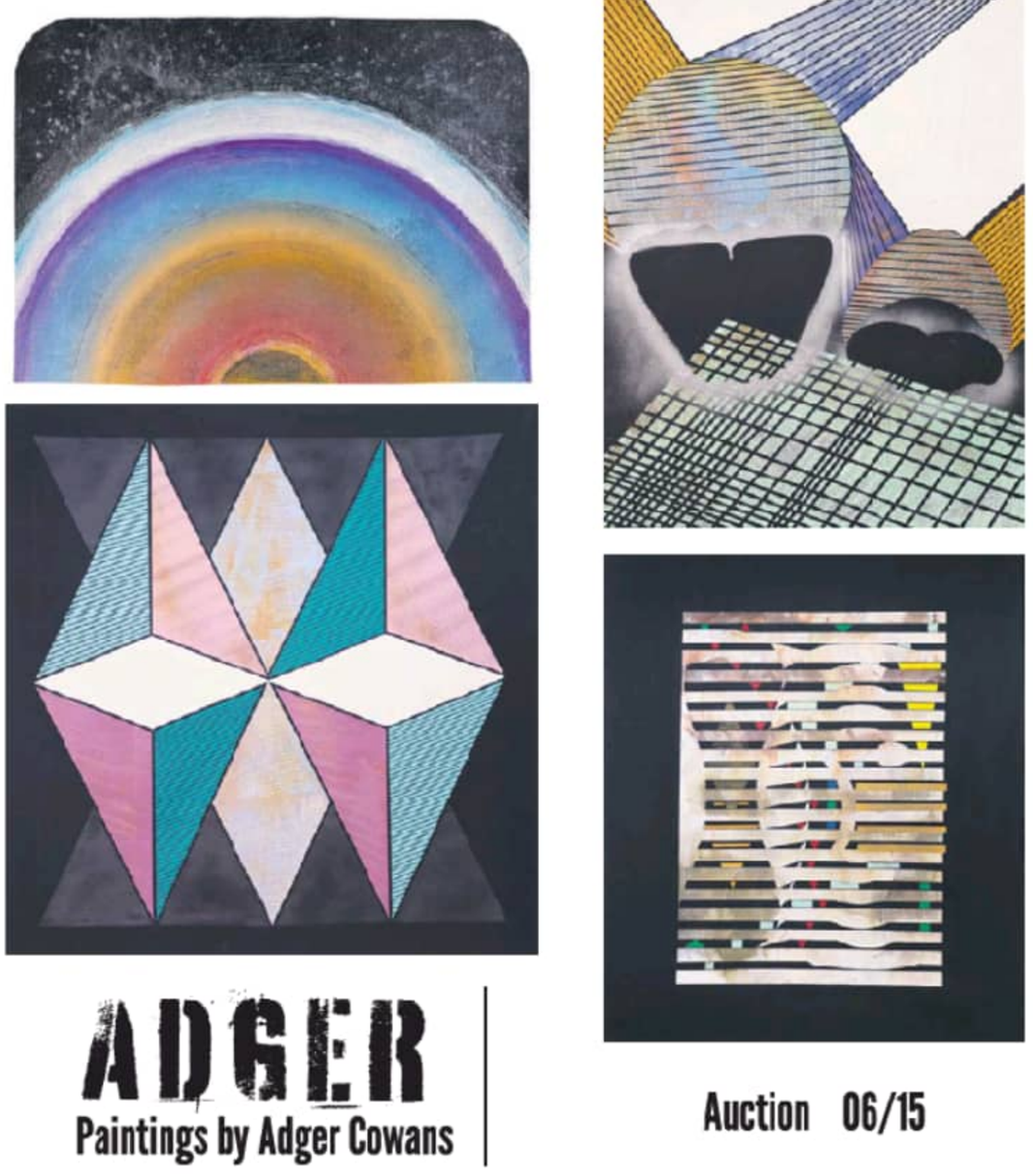
At a time when reality is reshaped on a regular basis by in-your-face billionaires whose claim to humanity can seem dubious, this kind of thing can offer a corrective. "It can help us keep these technologies human-centered, so technology is working for us and we're not working for technology," said John Borthwick, managing partner of the New York tech accelerator Betaworks.

A onetime digital content pioneer who now sits on the board of Rhizome, Borthwick tells a story about going to Jenny Holzer with a very early art-and-technology site he'd helped create. This was in 1994. Internet speeds were painfully slow. Borthwick was strategic: "The reason I chose Jenny was text, right?" Holzer's response was blunt: "I have no idea what the [expletive] you're talking about, but if you're in New York you can show me your internet and I'll cook you some chili."

It's very New York, this kind of cross-cultural exchange, reminiscent of the Bell Labs engineer Billy Kluver working with Robert Rauschenberg in the 1960s. Then it was the pocket-protector set consorting with big-name artists; now it's artists learning technology so they can speak the language of A.I. and data harvesting and digital surveillance and maybe help find the narrow, half-hidden path that leads to those unparalleled rewards we've been promised and not to dystopia.

"San Francisco is very good at building tech companies," Borthwick said. "In New York, we have a different way of doing things."

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baby reindeer is

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“a vital watch.” EMPIRE

“unforgettable.” The Guardian

“a masterpiece.” COLLIDER

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SundayBusiness
The New York Times

Goodbye, Work Friends

What I learned in my four years as your workplace advice columnist.

BY ROXANE GAY

PAGE 6

PHOTO ILLUSTRATION BY MARGEAUX WALTER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The N.B.A. Nurtures Its Hoop Dreams in Africa

Investing heavily, the league is cultivating new fans on the continent and helping to develop future stars.

By TANIA GANGULI

DAKAR, SENEGAL — On an outdoor basketball court surrounded by seashell-scattered sand last month, a man coached a group of teenage girls through a drill. The staccato pounding of their dribbles alternated in the hot air with a tinnier sound in the distance: men hammering nails into wood while a bleating white billy goat looked on.

The coach, Abibou Sall, 34, instructed his players to dribble along the sideline, first with their left hands, then their right. Don't look down at the ball, he told them, wanting the girls to learn to trust their hands.

Sall is a physical trainer for the Pikine Basket Club, which practices at the Jacques Chirac Center. About 600 children play basketball at this recreational center in Pikine, a suburb bordering Dakar, Senegal's capital. The youngest players, ages 6 to 7, are introduced to the game on mini hoops. The oldest are 18. Sall is also a die-hard fan of the National Basketball Association.

It is a picture that would delight the N.B.A. — a devotee of its league teaching basketball to youngsters on a continent in which it sees tremendous economic opportunity.

Recently, after finishing with his club duties, Sall had been staying up late to watch the playoffs — the games often start after 11 p.m. local time — even after the team led by his favorite player, LeBron James, was eliminated in the first round.

"I am passionate, I watch every game," Sall said, playfully offended at the suggestion that he watched only James. "I never sleep," he added jokingly.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4



3 STRATEGIES
Why stock market returns have increased even without rate cuts by the Fed. BY JEFF SOMMER



2 WITH INTEREST
Price increases have slowed, but there's a note of caution: 'It's only one reading.' BY SANTUL NERKAR



3 SHOP TALK
Making plans for a real estate venture may come down to a single question. BY CONOR DOUGHERTY

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WITH INTEREST

3.3%

The rate of inflation in May over the previous year.

The Consumer Price Index, released on Wednesday, found that prices in May increased 3.3 percent from a year earlier. That was lower than the 3.4 percent that economists had forecast and down from the April reading.

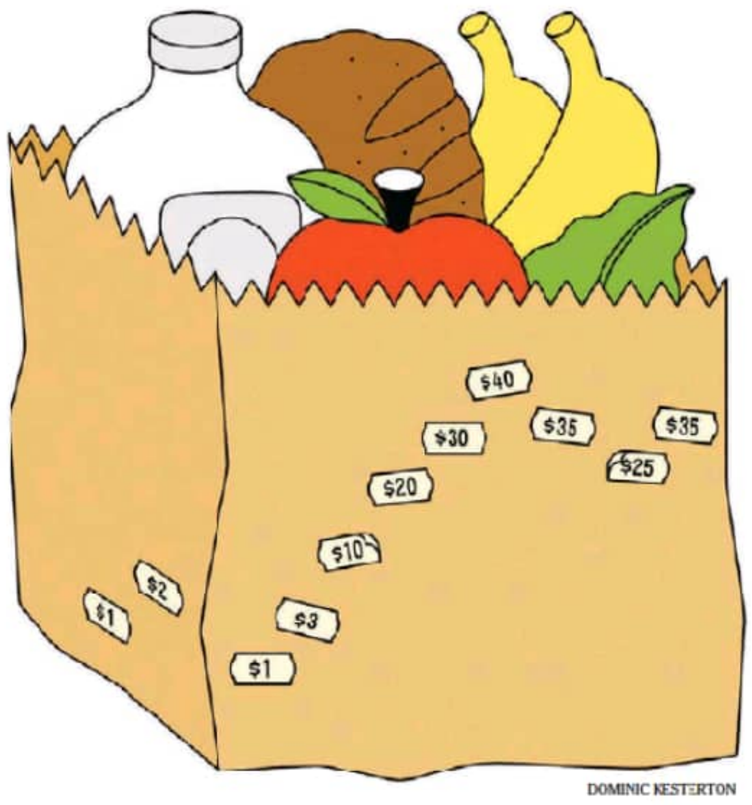
The number is still higher than the Federal Reserve's target of 2 percent, which it defines using a different but related price index. But it was a welcome sign for the central bank and elected officials who had been worried as progress in reducing inflation stalled this year.

High inflation rocked the global economy during the recovery from the pandemic, and year-over-year price increases in the United States peaked at 9.1 percent in June 2022. The Fed had started raising interest rates in March that year to tame inflation — reaching a two-decade-high level of 5.3 percent last July.

The higher rates helped cool inflation significantly in 2023, and Fed officials signaled that rate cuts might be on the way, easing the weight of higher borrowing costs on Americans.

In 2024, that calculus changed. After several months with higher inflation than expected, the likelihood of multiple rate cuts before the end of the year diminished.

But the report for May offered a few signs for optimism. Grocery prices were unchanged from April, while auto insurance prices decreased from a month earlier. Gas prices and airline fares also fell.



DOMINIC KESTERTON

At their meeting this past week, Fed officials predicted one rate cut this year. Still, Jerome H. Powell, the Fed chair, cautioned against making too much of the numbers.

"Readings like today's are a step in the right direction," Mr. Powell said Wednesday. "But it's only one reading. You don't want to be too motivated by any single data point." *SANTUL NERKAR*

SO FAR THIS YEAR

Stocks were up.
S&P 500, +13.9%

Mortgage rates were up.
BANKRATE.COM
30-YEAR FIXED, 7%, +0.04 POINTS

Jobless claims were up.
FOUR-WEEK MOVING AVERAGE, +3.2%

'Sometimes the game ends with a goal-line stand.'

RICH GREENFIELD, an analyst for LightShed Partners, on the suspended negotiations between Paramount and Skydance, which had been in talks to merge.

'Some people will benefit. But for others, their financial situation was already a mess, so the impact on their access to credit will be more limited.'

NEALE MAHONEY, a health economist at Stanford, on the Biden administration's new proposal to remove medical debt from the credit reports of more than 15 million Americans.

CORRECTION

An article last Sunday about Gary Friedman, chief executive of RH (formerly Restoration Hardware), misquoted Mr. Friedman. He said that he pushed the brand to "climb the luxury mountain," not "climb the luxury ladder."

UCC Public Sale Notice

PLEASE TAKE NOTICE that on August 6, 2024 commencing at 11:00 AM Eastern Standard Time (the "Sale Date"), both in-person and remotely outside of the New York Supreme Court located at 60 Centre Street, New York, New York 10007, with access afforded in person and remotely via Zoom or other web-based video conferencing and/or telephonic conference program selected by Secured Party (defined below), the details of which will be provided to interested parties in advance of the Sale Date pursuant to the Terms of Public Sale (described below), based upon the occurrence of one or more Events of Default under certain documents (the "Loan Documents") copies of which are available for inspection as hereinafter described, pursuant to such Loan Documents, as amended, and Article 9 of the Uniform Commercial Code as enacted in the State of New York, AREIT 2019-CRE3 Trust, or a successor and/or assignee (the "Secured Party") shall dispose of, by public sale the right, title, and interest of Pledgor (defined below) in and to the following assets (collectively, the "Collateral"):

(i) The 20.44% limited liability company membership interest of 500 Chestnut LLC, a New York limited liability company ("600"), in Baycrest PLB Realty LLC, a Pennsylvania limited liability company ("Pledged Entity");

(ii) The 48.03% limited liability company membership interests of STPA LLC, a Pennsylvania limited liability company ("STPA"), in Pledged Entity;

(iii) The 1.0% limited liability company membership interests of Baycrest PLB SPE LLC, a Delaware limited liability company ("PLB"), in Pledged Entity;

(iv) The 10.09% limited liability company membership interests of 14th Ave Ventures LLC, a New York limited liability company ("14th Ave"), in Pledged Entity;

(v) The 20.44% limited liability company membership interests of Chestnut 1441 LLC, a New York limited liability company ("1441", individually and/or collectively with 600, STPA, PLB and 14th Ave, "Pledgor") in Pledged Entity; and

(vi) All other assets pledged by Pledgor under the Loan Documents. The public sale shall be conducted by an auctioneer licensed in the State of New York as selected by Secured Party in its sole and absolute discretion.

Based upon information provided by Pledgor, Pledged Entity, and certain other persons and entities affiliated therewith, it is the understanding of Secured Party (but without any representation or warranty by Secured Party as to the accuracy or completeness of the following matters) that: (i) Pledgor owns one hundred percent (100%) of the limited liability company membership interests in Pledged Entity (the "Membership Interests"); (ii) Pledged Entity has good, marketable and insurable fee simple title in and to the West Tower Unit (together with a 48.86% interest in the common elements appurtenant thereto, the "Unit") within the Public Ledger Condominium (the "Condominium"), which Condominium has a street address of 150 South Independence Mall West, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, as more particularly described in the Mortgage; and (iii) the Unit is encumbered by and subject to an Open-Ended Mortgage, Assignment of Leases and Rents and Security Agreement (the "Mortgage") held by Secured Party securing indebtedness under the Loan Documents in the original principal amount of up to $32,500,000.00.

The Collateral is offered "AS IS, WHERE IS", with all faults, and Secured Party makes no guarantee, representation, or warranty (including, without limitation, any representation or warranty of merchantability or fitness), express or implied, of any kind or nature whatsoever.

Secured Party will be permitted to bid at the sale, and notwithstanding any requirement herein that the sale of the Collateral be for cash, Secured Party may credit bid all or any portion of the outstanding balance of the amounts due under the Loan Documents. Secured Party reserves the right, in its sole and absolute discretion, to (a) reject all bids and terminate the sale or adjourn the sale to such other date and time as Secured Party may deem proper, by announcement at the place and on the date of sale, and any subsequent adjournment thereof, without further publication, and (b) impose any other commercially reasonable conditions upon the sale of the Collateral as Secured Party may deem proper in its sole and absolute discretion.

The Membership Interests are unregistered securities under the Securities Act of 1933 as amended. Because of this, each prospective bidder seeking to be a "Qualified Bidder" (as determined by Secured Party in its sole and absolute discretion) shall be required, among other things, to execute and deliver to Secured Party a "Bidding Certificate" certifying, among other things, that such bidder: (i) will acquire the Collateral for investment purposes, solely for its own account and not with a view to distribution or resale; (ii) is an accredited investor within the meaning of the applicable securities laws; (iii) has sufficient knowledge and experience in financial and business matters so as to be capable of evaluating the merits and risks of investment and has sufficient financial means to afford the risk of investment in the Collateral; and (iv) will not resell or otherwise hypothecate the Collateral without either a valid registration under applicable federal or state laws, including without limitation the Securities Act of 1933 as amended, or an available exemption therefrom.

The public sale of the Collateral shall be subject to the further terms and conditions set forth in the "Terms of Public Sale" (including without limitation terms and conditions with respect to the availability of additional information, bidding requirements, deposit amounts, bidding procedures, and the consummation of the public sale), which are available online at www.600ChestnutStWestTowerUCCSale.com and by contacting: James Lang LaSalle Americas, Inc., 330 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10017, Attn: Brett Rosenberg, tel. (212) 812-5926, email Brett.Rosenberg@jll.com.

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Markets Last Week

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Best performers	Friday's close	Week's change
1. Adobe (ADBE)	$525.31	+14.5%
2. Hasbro (HAS)	$61.50	+6.0
3. Gilead Sciences (GILD)	$65.06	+3.6
4. Broadcom (AVGO)	$1,735.04	+3.3
5. ServiceNow (NOW)	$728.58	+2.7
6. Netflix (NFLX)	$669.38	+2.5
7. Brown-Forman Corp 'B' (BF.B)	$43.66	+1.9
8. Jack Henry & Associates (JKHY)	$161.57	+1.9
9. DexCom (DXCM)	$115.95	+1.9
10. NVIDIA (NVDA)	$131.88	+1.8

Worst performers	Friday's close	Week's change
1. Norwegian Cruise Line (NCLH)	$16.56	-7.5%
2. Carnival (CCL)	$15.34	-7.1
3. First Solar (FSLR)	$273.61	-6.2
4. Aptiv (APTV)	$70.30	-5.7
5. Align Technology (ALGN)	$256.01	-5.6
6. Caesars Entertainment (CZR)	$36.03	-4.9
7. Parker-Hannifin (PH)	$503.30	-4.8
8. Howmet Aerospace (HWM)	$78.94	-4.7
9. United Airlines Holdings (UAL)	$49.69	-4.6
10. Royal Caribbean Cruises (RCL)	$148.50	-4.4

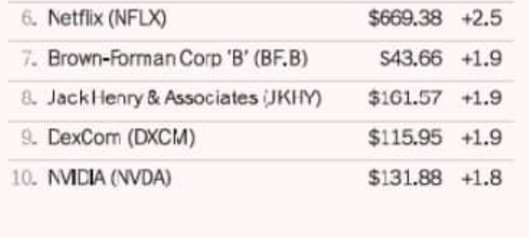
Leading international stock markets — Week's change



Major stock market indexes

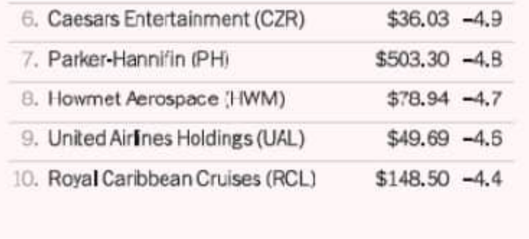
Consumer rates — Last Week

Borrowing Rate (30-year fixed mortgages)	7.3%
Savings Rate (one-year CDs)	2.6%



Price of gas per gallon — As of June 7

Weekly average $3.38



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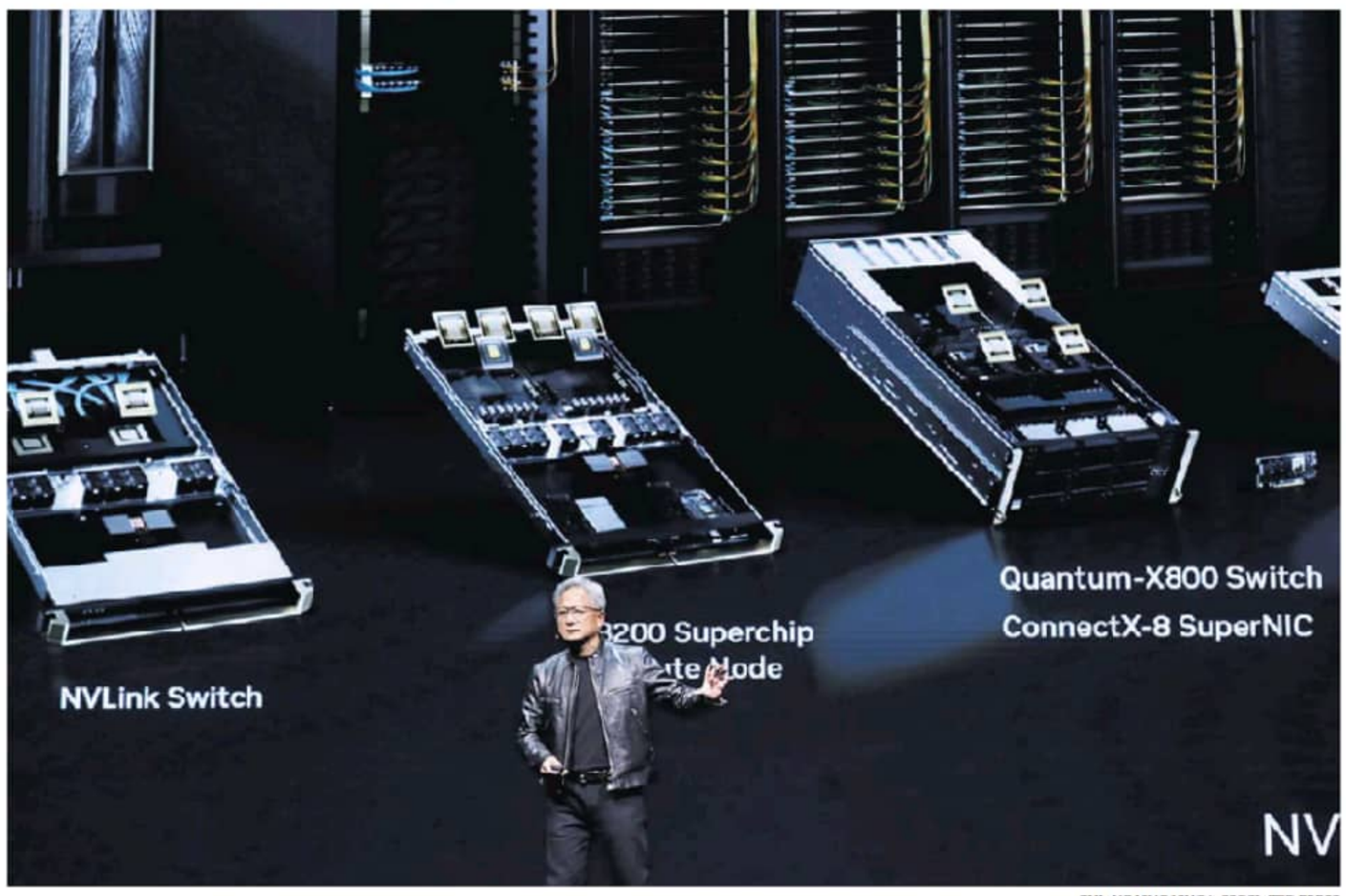
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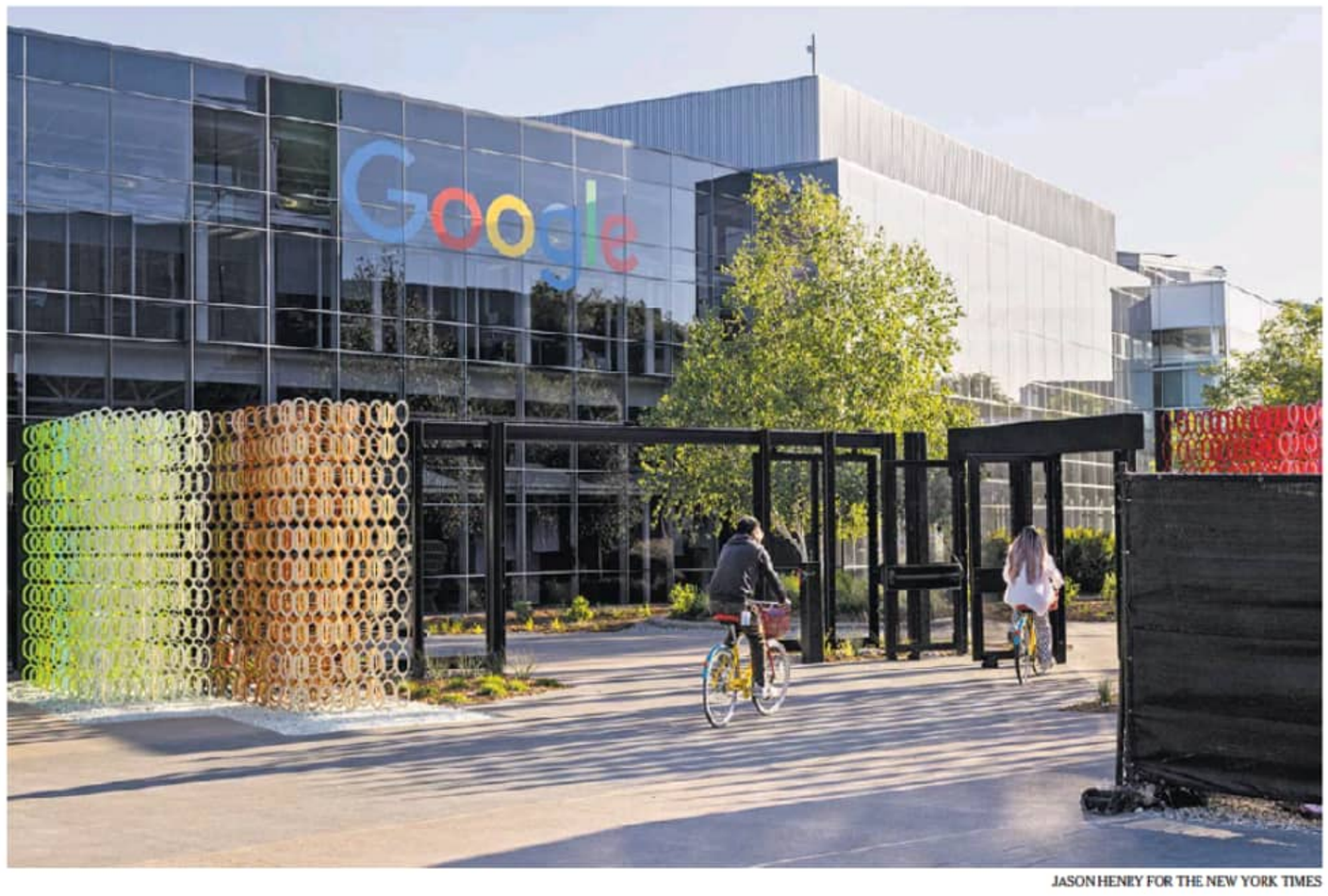
STRATEGIES | JEFF SOMMER

On the Backs of Giants, the Stock Market Rises

The S&P 500 has been buoyant mainly because of artificial intelligence fever.



CHIANG YING-YING/ASSOCIATED PRESS



JASON HENRY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Top, Jensen Huang, the chief executive of Nvidia, speaking this month. Over the past 12 months, Nvidia's shares have risen more than 200 percent. Above is Google's campus in Mountain View, Calif.

THE FEDERAL RESERVE has disappointed investors this year, but no matter. The markets have adjusted.

Even without any interest rate cuts so far in 2024 — and with the likelihood of just one meager rate reduction by the end of the year — the stock market has been purring along. That's quite an achievement, given the expectation in January that the Fed would trim rates six or seven times in 2024 — and that interest rates throughout the economy would be much lower by now.

Buoyant as the stock market may seem, when you look closely, it's apparent that the S&P 500's recent returns rest on a precarious base.

A.I. fever — based on the belief that artificial intelligence is ushering in a new technological age — has been spreading among investors, and that has been enough so far to keep the overall stock market averages rising. But the rest of the market has been rather ho-hum. In fact, strip away the biggest companies, especially the tech companies, and overall market performance is unimpressive.

Concentrated Returns

One stock in particular has led the market upward: Nvidia, which makes the chips and other associated infrastructure behind the talking, image-generating, software-writing A.I. apps that have captured the popular imagination. Over the past 12 months, Nvidia's shares have soared more than 200 percent, vaulting its total market value above $3 trillion, which places it in elite territory shared only with Microsoft and Apple in the U.S. market.

Other giant companies with a convincing A.I. flavor, like Meta (the holding company for Facebook and Instagram) and Alphabet (which owns Google), along with chip and hardware companies like Super Micro Computer and Micron Technology, have turned in superlative performances lately, too.

But the narrowness of the stock market rally becomes clear when you compare the standard S&P 500 stock index with a version that contains the same stocks but is less top-heavy.

First, consider that the standard S&P 500 is what is known as a capitalization-weighted index — meaning $3 trillion stocks like Microsoft, Apple and Nvidia have the greatest weight. So when these giants rise 10 percent, say, they pull up the entire index much more than a 10 percent gain by a smaller company in the index, like News Corp, with a market cap of around $16 billion, can.

The standard cap-weighted S&P 500 has risen almost 14 percent this year — a spectacular gain in less than six months. But there is an equal-weighted version of the S&P 500, too, in which 10 percent gains — for giants like Microsoft and merely large companies like News Corp — have the same effect. The equal-weighted S&P 500 has gained only about 4 percent this year. Similarly, the Dow Jones industrial average, which isn't cap-weighted (it has plenty of its own idiosyncrasies, which I won't get into here), is up less than 3 percent.

A Premium on Size

In short, bigger is better in the stock market these days. A recent study by Bespoke Investment Group, an independent financial market research firm, demonstrates this. Bespoke broke down the S&P 500 into 10 groups, based solely on market cap. It found that the group containing the biggest companies was the only one to have positive returns over the 12 months through June 7. At the same time, the group with the smallest stocks in the index had the biggest losses.

This pattern held true when Bespoke looked only at A.I. companies. Giants like Nvidia had the strongest returns. Smaller companies generally lagged behind.

During just this calendar year, stock indexes tracking the largest companies are trouncing those that follow small-cap stocks: The S&P 100, which contains the biggest stocks in the S&P 500, is up more than 17 percent. The Russell 2000, which tracks the small-cap universe, is up less than 1 percent for the year.

Even among technology stocks, the bull market isn't treating all companies equally. Ned Davis Research, another financial market research firm, said in a report on Thursday that while companies that design, manufacture or make equipment for chips (a.k.a. semiconductors) in the S&P 500 are performing splendidly, all other technology sectors have lagged the index this year.

Implications for Investors

While I pay close attention to these developments, I try not to care about them as an investor. In fact, I view the concentration of the current market as a vindication of my long-term strategy, which is to use low-cost, broadly diversified index funds to hold a piece of the entire stock and bond markets. The overall market's dependence on a small cohort of big companies is fine with me, but that's only because I'm well diversified. So I don't worry much about which part of the market is strong and which isn't.

As far as my own portfolio is concerned, I'm not terribly anxious about the problems that inflation and high interest rates are causing in the bond market, either.

Note that bond interest rates are set by traders who have reacted to the Fed's tight monetary policy and stubborn inflation this year by bidding longer-term interest rates higher — not lower, as had been widely anticipated.

Higher rates are a problem because when bond yields (or rates) rise, their prices fall, as a matter of basic bond math. Bond mutual fund returns are a combination of income and price changes. While higher yields generate more income, they hurt bond prices. Many investment-grade mutual funds are treading water this year, as is their main benchmark, the Bloomberg Aggregate Bond Index.

My own funds track that index. I'm not making any real money from my bond funds, and haven't for several years. But they usually provide ballast and stability in my portfolio. I'm not delighted by what's been happening to bonds, but I can live with it.

On the other hand, if you're an active investor who makes bets on individual asset classes, stocks or sectors, there's a lot to think about right now. You may bet on the continuing momentum of the biggest stocks — or even of just one, Nvidia. Of course, you may believe it's smarter to go the other way

Bond returns have struggled. But all hope doesn't appear lost.

entirely. You may want to seek stocks that have been neglected in this narrow bull market — stocks with lower market capitalizations and what seems to be greater value, based on metrics like their price-to-earnings ratio.

Historically, small-cap value stocks have outperformed large-cap growth stocks over long periods, though they haven't done so recently. Maybe it's time for a turnaround? While you're making changes in your investments, you may also conclude that bonds and bond funds are a waste of time, compared with the stock market and its more spectacular gains.

Make the right decisions on any or all of these issues and you could make a great deal of money. Some people undoubtedly will. But if you make a mistake now — or later, even after making some blazingly lucrative bets — you could easily end up losing most of your money.

What the Fed does next will matter a great deal, too, if you're inclined to make active bets on the market. Persistent inflation convinced policymakers this past week that they needed to hold the federal funds rate at about 5.3 percent — high enough, in the central bank's estimation, to gradually bring inflation down further. There has been a little good news on that front, with producer prices dropping and the Consumer Price Index falling slightly in May, to a 3.3 percent annual rate, down from 3.4 percent — but too high for the Fed's comfort.

The futures market predicts that at the Fed's July meeting, which falls right between the Republican and the Democratic conventions, it will keep rates where they are. But most traders are betting that the Fed will cut rates in September. That could set off a broader rally in the stock market, and one for bonds, too.

With national elections in November, a Fed cut in September would undoubtedly delight President Biden and, I suspect, displease former President Donald J. Trump, who has been known to express his feelings vociferously.

There's a lot to think about, so much that it's impossible to know in advance what the best short-term moves are.

So I'm playing the long-term percentages, based on plenty of academic research suggesting that most people, most of the time, are better off letting the overall markets make their money for them. Keep costs low with index funds; hold stocks and bonds all the time, in a reasonable proportion for your needs and risk tolerance; and try not to worry too much about all of these complex issues — not in your investing life, anyway.

I don't know what the Fed will do next, and while I do care, I won't let it sway me financially. The bond market has been weak. The stock market isn't entirely stable, but that's all right, too. I expect that there will be some painful losses ahead, but greater gains for those who simply stay the course.

SHOP TALK | CONOR DOUGHERTY

'Does It Pencil?'

/duz ĭt pĕn-səl/

A real estate term used by developers when they're assessing whether a project makes financial sense.

The exploding cost of housing has prompted cities, states and the Biden administration to create a raft of programs aimed at getting developers to build housing people can afford.

Why aren't developers doing this on their own? Why do they keep churning out McMansioney farmhouses and luxury apartment towers when so many Americans desperately need a budget-friendly place to live?

When public officials ask these questions the answer is often delivered through a real estate cliché: It doesn't pencil.

A project that pencils is one that makes financial sense. Real estate is a risky industry, subject to heavy regulation, a boom-and-bust cycle and floating interest rates that can take a project from successful to bankrupt in the space of a Federal Reserve meeting. When developers say something pencils, they are saying that whatever they want to build has a chance of making enough money to overcome the many chances of failure.

"The essence of 'Does it pencil?' is that you can take a large swath of information and reduce it to a one-number answer," said Joe Still, a broker who runs a series of real estate courses called "Does It Pencil?" (Prices begin at $199 for five hours of instruction.)

Most of the time, a project that pencils is more than just profitable. Investors in a new apartment or condominium project often expect to double their money — or more — in four to five years.

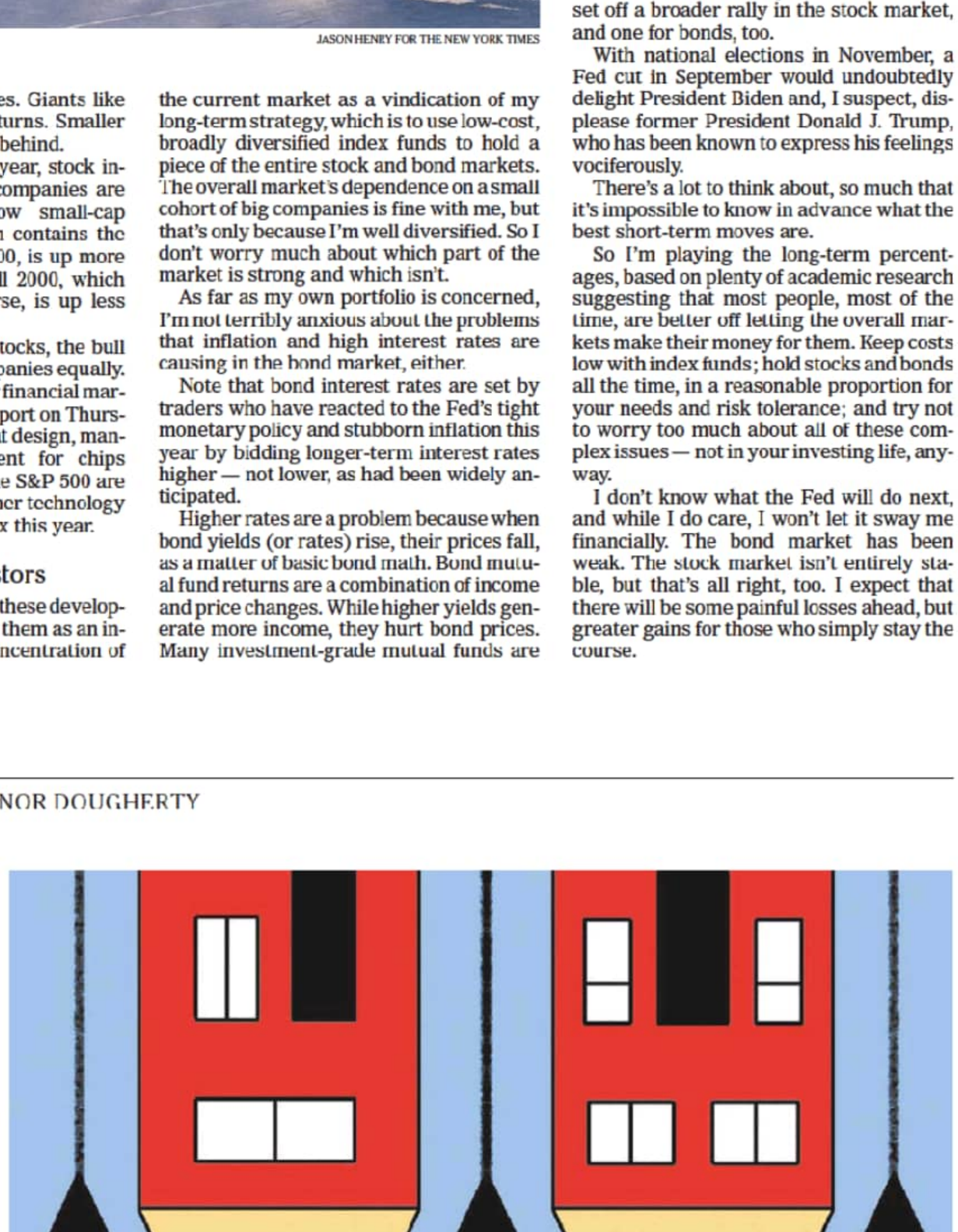
Builders rarely break this down in public meetings. The pencil metaphor often comes out when the developer is asking for public assistance or heading off a request to do something expensive, like change the design or lower the rents.

Over the past five years, the combination of rising inflation and higher interest rates has made development far less lucrative than it was in the run-up to Covid. Rent and home prices are still too high for many Americans, but they have stagnated somewhat. This has slowed development because developers are worried about their future profitability — that is, they worry that they no longer pencil, according to a recent report by the Terner Center for Housing Innovation at the University of California, Berkeley. (The report was titled "Making It Pencil.")

Given that the vast majority of new housing is built by private developers, most of the government's housing programs are attempts to make things pencil. Section 8 rental vouchers pay a portion of the market rent for low-income tenants, making those tenants pencil. The low-income-housing tax credit gives corporations a break in exchange for an investment in low- to moderate-income housing developments that can't pencil without help.

As rental burdens move upward, states have started creating "work force housing" programs that target richer renters. A number of state and local governments have also started to float the idea of building new public housing. Public housing doesn't pencil, of course. That is, in fact, the point.

Shop Talk explores the idioms of the business world. Want to nominate a word or term for the column? **Email shoptalk@nytimes.com**



MELANIE AMRICK

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In Africa, the N.B.A. Nurtures Its Dreams And a Continent's

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

The N.B.A. has been promoting basketball in Africa for more than 20 years, pouring hundreds of millions of dollars into the effort. The aim is to cultivate an immense potential fan base, the way it has in China, while tapping into the rich talent pool on the continent. Much of the league's work is concentrated in Senegal, where it operates an academy for high-school-age players, an N.B.A. Africa office and the headquarters of the Basketball Africa League. N.B.A. Africa's investors include former N.B.A. players and former President Barack Obama (who also has an equity stake). The B.A.L. was announced in 2019 with FIBA, the sport's international governing body. Its first season was in 2021.

Although N.B.A. Africa is not yet profitable, the investment seems to be producing results. Soccer may still be the king of sports on the continent, but basketball is becoming increasingly popular. People throughout Africa play on local club teams and in after-school programs. The N.B.A. has generated plenty of good will by building courts, libraries and homes; administering basketball camps and other development programs; and supporting gender equality. But some wonder about the league's long-term commitment and whether the support needed for basketball to flourish can be sustained.

"As much as we are investing in Africa, the opportunity is so enormous I worry that we're underinvesting," Adam Silver, the N.B.A. commissioner, said in an interview. "There's so much opportunity, but it's not always easy to know how to deploy capital, which government you should be dealing with, who the honest brokers are. And so we're learning as we go."

The Start

The league's — and Silver's — connection to Africa goes back decades.

Silver, 62, spent a month in Malawi after college with a friend whose father led the United Nations' mission there. Bill Russell, the Boston Celtics great, visited the continent on a trip sponsored by the State Department in 1959. In 1993, David Stern, the N.B.A. commissioner at the time, led a trip to South Africa, where league executives and players met with Nelson Mandela.

Today, about 10 percent of N.B.A. players are either African or have at least one parent from Africa. A vast majority of its players are African American.

The league is also conscious of population growth figures, which say that by 2050, one in four people on the planet will be African.

The league's first African office opened in Johannesburg in 2010. Eleven years later, a second was opened in Dakar, followed by others in Lagos, Nigeria; Cairo; and Nairobi, Kenya. Investors and strategic partners like Obama were tapped in 2021 to help make N.B.A. Africa a stand-alone entity that operated its offices and the B.A.L.

> **'As much as we are investing in Africa, the opportunity is so enormous I worry that we're underinvesting.'**
> *ADAM SILVER*
> *N.B.A. COMMISSIONER*

Beyond money, the N.B.A. emphasized connection and expertise. Most investors in N.B.A. Africa and the B.A.L. either are African or have conducted business or humanitarian work in Africa.

Luol Deng, who played at Duke University and then spent 15 seasons in the N.B.A., was among the former players who invested. Deng, 39, was born in what is now South Sudan and fled with his family to Egypt as a child. He is the president of South Sudan's basketball federation, which earned Africa's automatic qualifying berth to this year's Summer Olympics in Paris.

On a recent evening, Deng was in Dakar Arena, watching as the stands filled up with fans before a B.A.L. game.

"I went from being a refugee in Egypt, never seen a basketball game, to being in the N.B.A.," he said. "So now imagine for these kids. This is in their backyard."

With the B.A.L., the N.B.A. accomplished something it couldn't do in China: help establish a league that it could operate. The 12 teams in the league play in three conferences, which include the six champions from leagues in Angola, Egypt, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal and Tunisia. Six teams earned their spots this year through a qualifying tournament. Seeding games were played in Pretoria, South Africa; Cairo; and Dakar, with eight teams advancing to the playoffs in Kigali, Rwanda.

Silver remembers meeting with President Paul Kagame of Rwanda and selling him on the positive economic impact that building a basketball arena could have on a city, citing examples from the United States in which arenas helped revitalize urban centers.

"President Kagame, he then, right in a meeting with us, made a decision to build a new arena," Silver said.

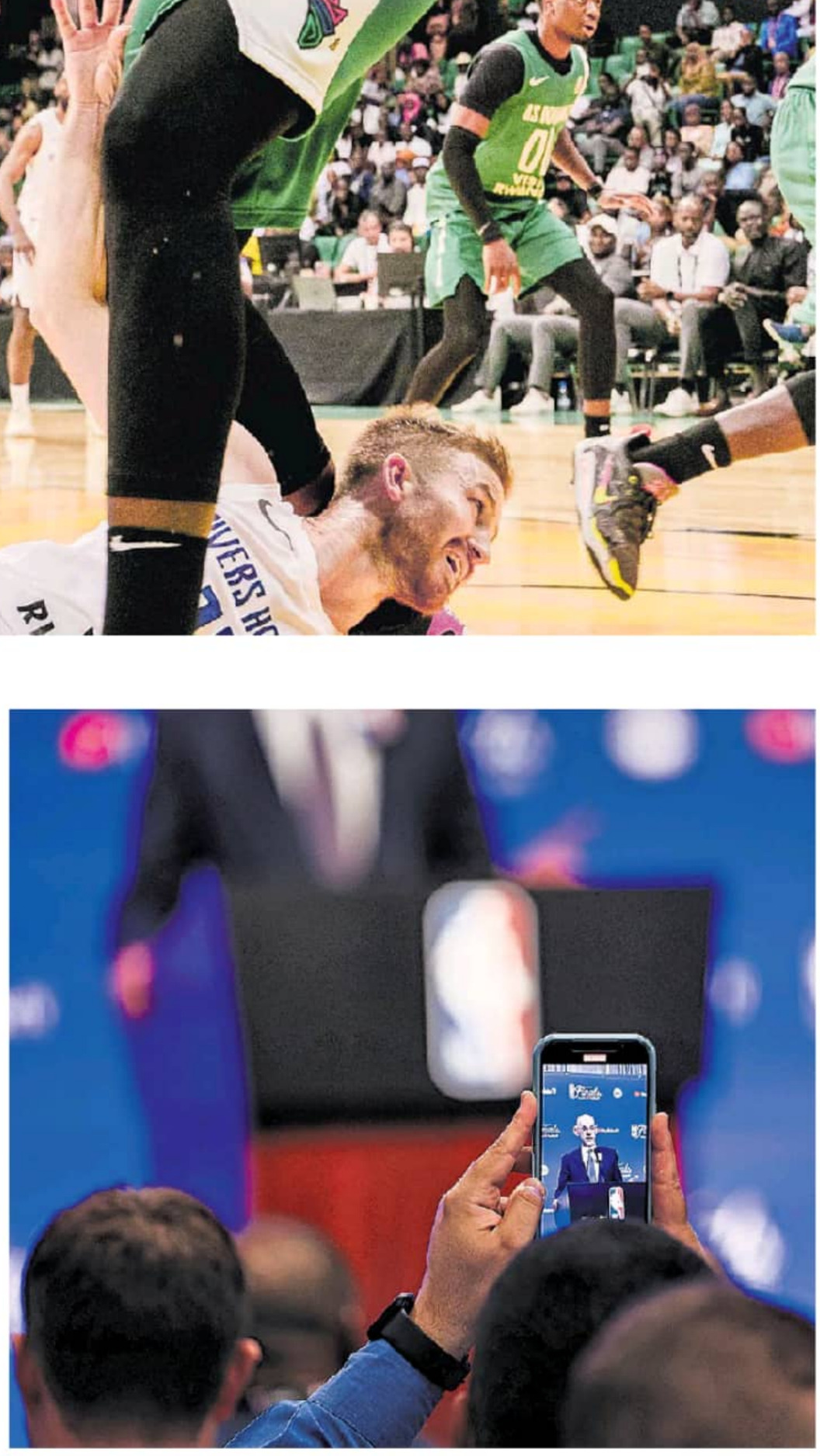
AS Douanes, a team from Dakar, was playing the night that Deng spoke about basketball in Africa. The team won on a buzzer beater in front of a nearly full arena. Fans roared, danced and banged Senegalese drums in celebration. The crowds were more sparse when the local team wasn't playing.

When APR Rwanda, a team from Kigali, played earlier that day, a group of women blew horns behind the courtside seats. One of them, Denise Uwase, said that her country's interest in basketball "grew after the genocide against Tutsi," a reference to the 1994 mass killings during Rwanda's civil war.

"Everyone wants to join because it's a smart game," she added. "It's a game that healed many people."

Amadou Gallo Fall, the president of the B.A.L., hopes the league can one day become one of the best in the world. He'd also like to see it be profitable.

At the moment, it's hard to know which goal is more challenging. There have been reports of teams not paying their coaches



Ousmane Balde contributed reporting.

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CARMEN ABD ALI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Basketball is gaining popularity in Africa. In a recent Basketball Africa League game, left, teams from Senegal and Nigeria competed. Below, top, Luol Deng, a former N.B.A. player and now the president of South Sudan's basketball federation, trained South Sudanese players. Below, bottom, Fatou Bintou Mangane, 19, hands on hips, joined other girls at a basketball camp in Senegal.



AKUOT CHOL/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES



CARMEN ABD ALI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



ADAM GLANZMAN/GETTY IMAGES



CARMEN ABD ALI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

and players. Often, the teams with the financial resources to compete are tied to national governments, which creates other complications. A team from Burundi had to forfeit its games because it refused to wear jerseys with sponsorships from Visit Rwanda. On Instagram, players on the team said the government of Burundi had forbidden them to wear the jerseys.

As for attracting young fans — who may dream of playing in the N.B.A. — Deng thought back to his own childhood.

"When I was growing up and I was back on the continent, there's no way I would make my mom pay $10 for me to come watch an N.B.A. game," he said. "That's a lot."

He added: "We're asking Africans and people that are struggling day to day to actually spend money to come watch this, which, in the Western world and Europe and so on, it works. But in Africa it's not going to work."

Deng would like to see sponsors buy tickets to the games and distribute them to local families. Perhaps they could even help with transportation to games, he said.

"These companies in Africa are making so much money," he said. "For me, I always challenge all these companies in Africa, on the continent, what's the impact for the work they're doing?"

Creating a System

About 40 miles inland and east of Dakar, the coastal breeze disappears and gives way to a choking heat. Bougainvillea grows near the highway, like beautiful pink, orange and red flowering weeds, and goats loll around the vegetation and red sand.

This is Thies, one of the largest cities in Senegal and home to the SEED Project, a basketball center that Gallo Fall founded in 1998. Its logo is a baobab tree — also known as the tree of life — sprouting from half a basketball. Gorgui Dieng, a first-round N.B.A. draft pick in 2013, trained here before finishing high school in the United States.

"Most of our kids come from underprivileged backgrounds, and we bring them into the system and give them an education," said Joseph Lopez, president of the SEED Project. "You give them basketball skills for them to hone further in other countries like the U.S., Europe, Asia."

"After they get their degrees and their basketball experience, they come back to their home countries, where they become contributors to their systems and they create jobs," he added.

SEED, one of the numerous organizations whose interest in promoting basketball in Africa predate the N.B.A.'s push, opened its boys' academy in 2002 and now also has a girls' academy. It served as a blueprint for the N.B.A. Academy, which started in Thies before moving to Saly, a coastal town about an hour south of Dakar. In a nod to its roots, a SEED banner still hangs in the academy's gym.

About two miles from SEED, a man rode a scooter into a gym to drop off water for women participating in a camp for referees and coaches. It was 97 degrees outside and only slightly cooler inside.

Syra Sylla, a former sports journalist who is now a communications professional working to increase access to basketball in Senegal, especially for women and girls, organized the camp. She said it included 10 women from Senegal, eight from Morocco and two from Mauritania. GIZ, a German governmental organization, funded it.

"In Morocco, it's normal to be in sports if you're a woman," Sylla said. "In Senegal, it's normal but not so normal. In Mauritania, it's really rare. So the idea is also that they can see how it's working in other countries, and sometimes they can see how privileged they are or how not privileged they are."

Fatou Bintou Mangane, 19, used to hang around her brother's basketball practices so often that a coach suggested she join.

"We're taught to be leaders, having self-confidence, to be a role model," she said. "Coming here, I thought they were only going to teach us about coaching, but it's not the case."

Khary Fall, 33, brought her 8-month-old son and his nanny to help care for him while she was at the camp. She started a center to promote basketball in Mauritania, and while some have told her that the sport takes away from her ability to care for her son and her home, her husband supports her involvement.

"I don't have a problem with what people say," Fall said through an interpreter. "The Federation of Basketball of Mauritania, the president, understands now that many women do sports, especially basketball."

Sylla, 40, was born and raised in France but visited Senegal regularly as a child and moved to the country five years ago.

She visits her family village, Gasse Doro, population 150, at least once a month. There is a simple basketball court there with rims attached to wooden backboards. Some children do their homework under the lights on the court because they don't have electricity at home, she said.

Sylla has "mixed feelings" about the N.B.A.'s work in Africa. She likes that its presence shines a light on the places it visits and makes children in those places feel valued. But she wishes the league would work more with the grass-roots groups spreading the game.

"When they leave, this is the organization who's staying with the kids," Sylla said. "And if the kids have frustrations or something, this is the organization who's responsible. And the N.B.A. doesn't know what is happening."

Training the Future

Joel Embiid, who won the N.B.A.'s Most Valuable Player Award in 2023, grew up in Cameroon and didn't start playing organized basketball until he was 15. The N.B.A. believes that if children play when they are younger, it will both give them a positive outlet and increase the probability that talented players develop into professionals.

"When we opened the N.B.A. Africa office in Johannesburg in 2010," Gallo Fall said, "we didn't say, 'Let's launch a professional league.' It was about making it accessible." He added, "We believe that when kids are exposed to basketball, if they have access, they'll love it."

The N.B.A.'s first official event on the continent was a Basketball Without Borders camp for teenagers in 2003. The league has since held Jr. N.B.A. programs for younger children in 19 African countries and opened its N.B.A. Academy in Senegal for elite high-school-age players from the continent.

The academy participants live on a campus they share with a soccer academy. They practice in a large gym that has two basketball courts and some workout equipment. In the summer, the air-conditioning unit doesn't quite cool the whole space.

The players attend school, with both academic and practical lessons. Roland Houston, the academy's technical director, said one goal was to foster camaraderie among people from different African nations.

"I've made a lot of friends, brothers, these guys here in the academy," said Khaman Maluach, a 7-foot-2 center who will go to Duke next school year. "A lot of people from different places have created that bond that will last forever. It's very special."

Maluach was born in South Sudan but grew up in Uganda. He played basketball in part because he became too tall for soccer.

Another academy player, Ulrich Chomche, has entered this year's N.B.A. draft.

"We built that basketball gym on what used to be banana trees," said Chris Ebersole, who leads international basketball development at the N.B.A. "To see that and have players go to Duke and the N.B.A. and G League Ignite, to see where it started to that, is really something."

A Growing Footprint

Silver said that it would be "a while" before the N.B.A.'s ventures in Africa were profitable, and that the league was behind on its projections, in part because the B.A.L.'s start was constrained by the coronavirus pandemic. But he said the league was achieving attendance and viewership goals.

"We're more focused on top-line growth, on the amount of revenue we can generate, than profitability per se," Silver said. "Because our plan for the foreseeable future is to continue to invest any revenue we generate back into the business there."

And the N.B.A.'s footprint does seem to be growing in Africa.

Aziz Sy, 34, grew up in Dakar and runs a business incubator. He started following the N.B.A. as a child so that he could make conversation with the cool kids at school. He soon recognized the league as an example of an arena where Black people set a cultural agenda.

"Michael Jordan in the '90s was such a huge phenomenon," Sy said. "With him came the idea of a Black person basically on top of the world."

Basketball turned into an obsession while he was living in Boston for college. But it was difficult to watch games when he moved back to Senegal. He watched the 2014 finals in a nightclub that agreed to put the game on television at 2 a.m.

Now, Sy has League Pass, which is available in almost every African country. For $75 a year, he can watch every N.B.A. game from home.

As Sy watches companies and foreign governments try to establish themselves in Africa, he worries that some of them, in their efforts to capitalize on the continent's surging population, aren't thinking enough about the challenges African people face. The N.B.A., in his mind, has been different.

"They've really come in and tried to understand the country, understand the people," he said.

But considering the league's altruistic aims could wait for another time. It was close to 1 a.m. in Dakar. The Minnesota Timberwolves were playing the Denver Nuggets in Game 6 of the Western Conference semifinals. There was basketball to watch.



CARMEN ABD ALI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Middle row, clockwise from left: Adam Silver, the N.B.A. commissioner, shown at a news conference, wants the league to increase its investment in Africa; an enthusiastic crowd for a game in Senegal; and Aziz Sy, right, bought League Pass, which allows him to watch every N.B.A. game at home.

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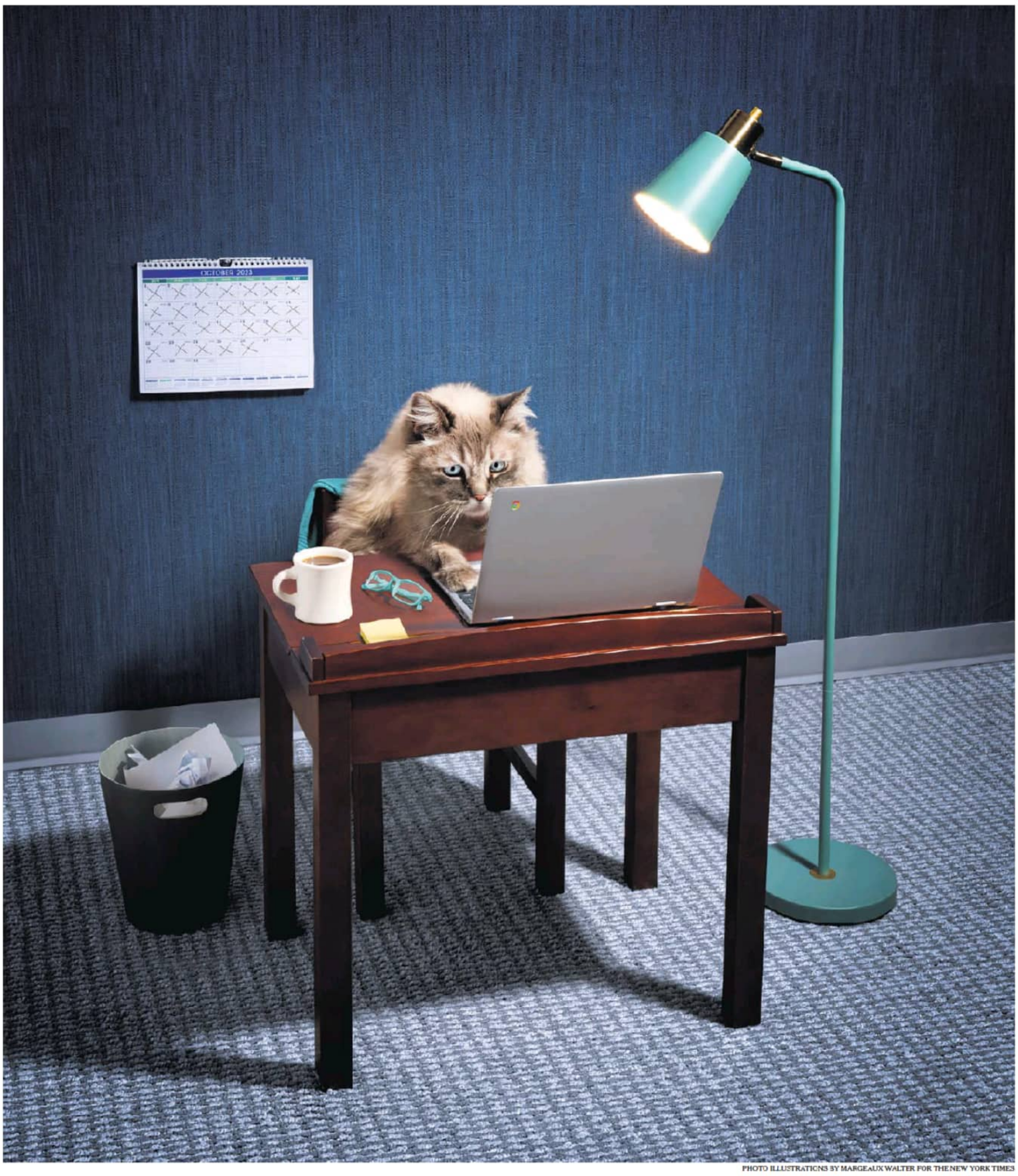


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Lessons Learned By a Workplace Mentor

After four years, and as she prepares to hand off to her successor, an advice columnist reflects on the rewards and the frustrations of office life.

By ROXANE GAY

We spend a lot of our lives working, especially in the United States — 40, 50, 60 or more hours a week. We hold multiple jobs to make ends meet. The candle is perpetually burning at both ends. Hard work, we're told, is a virtue. It allows us to contribute to society and support our families, serve our employers well. It makes sense, then, that for Work Friend — the column I have written for the past four years — the questions you asked reflected both practical and existential concerns.

For those four years, across 95 installments, writing the Work Friend column has afforded me a unique opportunity to reflect on the professional life. It has been a journey, indeed. At almost 50 years old, I have been working for a very long time. I've been paid hourly, on commission, as an independent contractor and on a salary. I've had good jobs, great jobs and terrible jobs. I've had good benefits and mediocre benefits, and there were many lean years when I had no health insurance and prayed I wouldn't need medical care.

I've seen a lot in all kinds of workplaces. I've worked with quirky people and talkative people and folks who were practically invisible, just quietly coming to work, doing their job and minding their own business. At many jobs, I was that person, not antisocial but happy to maintain a separation of church and state.

My first job was working in the dish room of my high school dining hall. My dad suggested this so I could better understand the value of a dollar and the importance of hard work. I was, in retrospect, too immature to really understand the lessons he was trying to impart, but I certainly appreciate them now. Then, I was 13, a freshman. I worked only six hours a week or so, for something like $6 an hour, which is pretty remarkable given that this was nearly 40 years ago and today's federal minimum wage is not much more than that.

The dish room is hot and wet and steamy. It's loud, and the air is thick with disinfectant and institutional food. The pace is brisk. Trays laden with dirty dishes, leftovers, encrusted silverware and much worse slowly inched their way toward me on a conveyor belt. Washing teenagers' dishes is thankless. Every shift, I saw all kinds of small horrors — mountains made of salad bar ingredients, peanut butter smeared along the edges of trays, piles of mashed potatoes dotted with pieces of fruit and, of course, the detritus of eaten meals. I didn't mind the work, necessarily, but I chafed at how difficult my classmates made the task at hand.

My fellow dishwashers and I sorted dishes, glasses and the silverware. We sprayed them down with hot water and put them in the industrial dishwashing machine, where they were cleaned and sanitized. We pulled the clean, hot dishes out of the machine and stacked them to be used again. By the end of each shift, I was sticky and sweaty and tired. The best part of my day was stepping into the much cooler evening air to walk back to my dorm. While washing dishes, I learned a lot about how much we take for granted the invisible labor that makes our lives much easier. And I was beyond lucky. I was doing that job, less than part time, for only a brief period, while for the adults working in the dining hall, it was a more permanent and far less edifying condition.

I aspired to be a doctor when I grew up. The medical profession was one of the Haitian trifecta of acceptable career choices, the other two being lawyer and engineer. I played the dutiful eldest daughter, but in my heart of hearts, medicine was my backup plan. What I really wanted to be was a writer, but that seemed as unfathomable as becoming an astronaut or the president; I never considered it a real possibility. I was mostly enamored with the idea of being a doctor.

As I grew older, I refined the delusion. I would be an emergency room physician, specializing in trauma care. I would walk around with authority, wearing my crisp white lab coat. I would be able to quickly read patients' charts and diagnose whatever ailed them. I would be calm and effective during moments of crisis. I would make lots of money; it would be great. And then I took intro biology in college and quickly discovered, through a rapid series of humbling failures, that a life of medicine was not for me.

As I readjusted my ambitions, I began a circuitous professional journey to where I am today. In college, I worked in a computer lab, offering tech support to my peers. The lab was in an underground library, which felt like the coolest thing, and the job was always a delight because students wanted help logging into their email or getting access to the internet or, most often, printing things out. It was satisfying, doing work that resulted, most of the time, in helping people solve small but irksome problems. I felt capable.

When I wasn't at work or in school, I wrote, very badly, then badly and eventually less badly. I started submitting work to magazines and receiving more lessons in humility by way of relentless rejection. I worked in a series of call centers, of which there were many in Nebraska, where I lived after college. There was a familiar rhythm to those jobs — a week or two in training, where I learned the basics, then on the floor, answering calls about missing deliveries of party decorations and vacuum warrantics and late-night infomercials.

I took orders for all kinds of ridiculous products. I spent a lot of time in cubicles staring at a dim computer monitor, a headset wrapped around my ears. There were always goals to meet and small incentives for exceeding expectations. The work was easy, and I could do crossword puzzles and write. My co-workers and I took smoke breaks and lunch breaks, clocked in and out. Every two weeks, I got a paycheck and marveled at how much I worked to earn so little.

I did a stint in retail and worked the graveyard shift at an adult bookstore while getting my master's degree, selling lonely men racy magazines and movies and other such things at night. By day, I was in class, learning about Victorian literature and modernity and postcolonialism and writing. I worked as a research assistant for a professor, organizing her research materials and whatever else she needed. I made a lot of photocopies that year.

I worked for Gallup, calling people and practically begging them, politely, to take a poll on this or that subject. People had landlines and answered them and often yelled that I was interrupting their dinner. It was a different time.

When my employer learned that I spoke French, I got to do some basic translation work. Later, I worked for a large student loan company processing consolidation applications. Sometimes, I took calls from borrowers who were hundreds of thousands of dollars in debt, working minimum-wage jobs, desperate for any kind of relief.

And then, in my early 30s, I got my first job where I had an actual office. I could close the door and have the space to myself — immaculate vibes, as the kids might say. I worked as a communication specialist at an engineering college. I was writing for a living even though the subject matter was not really of my choosing. I had a wonderful boss who was a generous mentor and taught me a great deal about writing efficiently. I wrote copy, and designed and edited in-house publications. I advised the staff of the engineering student magazine. It wasn't the glamorous writing life I imagined the famous New York writers living, but it was good enough.

Eventually, I would get a Ph.D., so the doctor thing happened without any of the social utility. I became a professor and learned, intimately, about the joys of teaching and the miseries of university bureaucracy and faculty meetings. And finally, I was a published writer, one who wrote books my parents could find in actual bookstores.

I have done my best to take the accumulated knowledge from so many jobs over so many years and bring that to bear on your work-related questions. When I started writing this column, I didn't really know what to expect. I assumed I would receive questions about lousy bosses and deceitful co-workers and how to ask for raises and how to be more assertive in the workplace, which, certainly, I did. But the range of



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questions was much broader, and I was consistently surprised.

And, I quickly learned, most professional questions are also personal questions. We do not leave who we are at the door when we walk into the office or log on to the company Slack or clock in at the warehouse. Wherever we go, there we are with our triumphs and failures, our families and friends, our identities and political affiliations, our faiths — everything that makes us who we are.

A surprising number of you work with people with poor hygiene and bad body odor, people who make annoying or gross sounds (or both) in shared spaces, people who have no understanding of personal space, people who bring unruly dogs into the office. You work in crumbling buildings and tiny cubicles and offices where no one is allowed to close the door. You work with people who talk too much and don't communicate enough. You work with so many incompetent bosses who traffic in favoritism and make clear when they don't want you on their team. You work for family businesses and don't know how to find your place in that kind of intimate structure. You work for major corporations and worry about how to make your mark and climb the professional ladder. Sometimes your boss is also responsible for H.R. because it's a small company, so you have no recourse when things go wrong. You work at nonprofits whose realities contradict their

For so many, work leads to just another four-letter word — want.

stated missions and want to know how to live with the disappointment and disillusion.

The older among you grappled with the painful realities of ageism. The younger among you wanted to make your mark and be taken seriously. A lot of women sought guidance on pregnancy while looking for a job, how to handle maternity leave, how to balance parenthood and professional advancement. Men asked how to best take advantage of paternity leave. In male-dominated workplaces, women struggle to be heard and navigate all kinds of inappropriate behavior. In female-dominated workplaces, men wonder if their contributions will be valued.

During the pandemic, you asked questions about how to best perform in remote working situations. Many of you were troubled by your colleagues' lack of Zoom etiquette. You saw all kinds of things in those tiny boxes on your computer screens — people wearing inadequate or inappropriate clothing on camera, attending meetings while driving or gardening, walking on a treadmill, or refusing to turn the camera on at all.

The pandemic also inspired you to reconsider your professional lives and contemplate career changes. As we learned to live in a new normal, you wondered if workplace norms were going to continue evolving. When your employers mandated returning to the office, you asked if you had to comply or if you could insist on continuing to work remotely. There was a great deal of anxiety about whether businesses could survive the economic turmoil of the pandemic. Several of you lost your jobs and relentlessly pursued new opportunities to no avail.

As we experienced significant cultural changes, their repercussions shaped your questions — another reminder of how our professional and personal lives are always intertwined. You asked for advice on how to discuss fraught topics; how to develop better, more inclusive hiring practices; and how to move your workplace beyond making shallow D.E.I. efforts to creating real, sustainable change. You wanted guidance on how to work alongside people with beliefs you found odious or alongside people who spent more time talking about social justice than fulfilling their professional responsibilities. After Oct. 7, dozens of you wanted to know how to talk about the Israeli hostages and loss of Israeli lives, the war in Gaza, the loss of Palestinian lives. You wanted advice on how to hold space for complexity in environments that preferred simplicity.

To work, for so many of us, is to want, want, want. To want to be happy at work. To feel useful and respected. To grow professionally and fulfill your ambitions. To be recognized as leaders. To be able to share what you believe with the people you're around for eight or more hours a day. To be loyal and hope your employers will reciprocate. To be compensated fairly. To take time off to recharge and enjoy the fruits of your labor. To conquer the world. To do a good enough job and coast through middle age to retirement.

You worry it's too late to pursue your passions or make a drastic career change. You have found your dream job and hope you can stay in your position for the rest of your working life if only you could get rid of one terrible colleague. You want a job that is easy and mindless so you can leave it in the office at the end of the day, or you want work that is meaningful and all-encompassing.

I am not an idealist or much of an optimist, but being your Work Friend pushed me in that direction. I want, too. I want a world where we can all live our best professional lives. I want everyone to make a living wage and have excellent health care and the means to retire at a reasonable age. I want all of us to want this very simple thing for one another.

And, frankly, a fulfilling and equitable professional life should not be the stuff of utopia. This should be our reality. It is astonishing to see how many people are so deeply unhappy at work, so trapped by circumstances beyond their control, so vulnerable to toxic workplaces and toxic cultural expectations around work. As I read your letters I mostly thought: "It shouldn't be this way. It shouldn't be this hard."

We shouldn't have to suffer or work several jobs or tolerate intolerable conditions just to eke out a living, but a great many of us do just that. We feel trapped and helpless and sometimes desperate. We tolerate the intolerable because there is no choice. We ask questions for which we already know the answers because change is terrifying and we can't really afford to risk the loss of income when rent is due and health insurance is tied to employment and someday we will have to stop working and will still have financial obligations.

I was mindful of these realities as I answered your Work Friend questions. Still, in my heart of hearts, I always wanted to tell you to quit your job. Negotiate for the salary you deserve. Stand up for yourself. Challenge authority. Tell your rude co-worker to shut up. Report your boss to everyone and anyone who will listen. Consult a lawyer. Did I mention quit your job? Go back to graduate school. Leave some deodorant and mouthwash on your smelly co-worker's desk. Send that angry email to your undermining colleague. Call out your boss when he makes a wildly inappropriate comment. No, your boss should not force you to work out of her kitchen. Mind your own business about your colleague's weird hobby. Mind your own business, in general. Blow the damn whistle on your employer's cutting corners and putting people's lives in danger. Tell the irresponsible dog owner to learn how to properly care for the dog. No, you don't owe your employer anything beyond doing your job well in exchange for compensation. No, your company is not your family. No, the job will never, ever love you.

This is all to say that I wish we lived in a world where I could offer you frank, unfiltered professional advice, but I know we do not live in such a world.

In "The Writing Life," Annie Dillard says: "How we spend our days is, of course, how we spend our lives. What we do with this hour and that one is what we are doing." Every moment, of every day, we are spending our finite lives. As a new, fiercely intelligent and wise Work Friend takes over this space, my hope for all of you is to be given the grace of spending your finite life, both professionally and personally, without compromise. It would seem you have made me an optimist after all.

Anna Holmes's first Work Friend column will appear June 23.



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Assistant Director – Software Engineer at Moody's Analytics, Inc. (New York, NY). Plan, design, and utilize programming languages and related technologies to write new code or modify existing code. Reqts: Bach's deg or foreign equiv in Comp Engs, Comp Sci, Engg, or a rel techl fld + 5 yrs of exp as a Software Engineer, Software Developer, or in a rel position performing software development and designing technical solutions. Telecommuting Permitted (100% telecommuting position). For US-based roles only: the anticipated hiring base salary range for this position is $169,229 - $184,950. To apply, please submit resume through careers.moodys.com, via e-mail at hrbox28@moodys.com or by mail to: Moody's Analytics, Inc., Attn: HR Box 28, 7 World Trade Center, 250 Greenwich Street, New York, NY 10007. Please refer to Job Ref. 4935.

Associate Attorney - Restructuring (Mid-level) - Multiple Positions (NY, NY) Prvde prfssnl legal representation in cnnction w/ lrg & cmplx corp. restructrgs & bnkrptcies, out-of-court wrkts, debtor-in-possession & exit financ'g transctns, asst sales, bnkruptcy litigation, cross-border insolvencies, & liability mngmt transctns. Revw & comment on core restructr'g docs. Rep clients in all aspcts of ch. 11 restructrgs. Structre & docmnt liability mngmt transctns. Coord due dilgnce reqsts. Anlyze corprte governance issues. Reqs: JD, LLM, or foreign eqvlnc equivlnt + 2 yrs legal exp anlyz'g issues in/w/'g U.S. bnkruptcy code. Ch. 11 proceedings & liability mngmt transctns. Admitted to prctice law in NY state. 2 yrs legal exp r/view'd docmntation in cnnction w/ Ch. 11 cases, incl 1st day mtions, restructr'g support agrmnts, plns of reorg, disclsre statemnts, plan supplmnt docs, & sales procs docs. Legal exp reprsnt'g debtors or cmpnies in bnkruptcy litigation mttrs, incl cndct'g legal rsearch, drft'g mtions, objctns, rsponses & prep'g for contested hearings & trials; reprsnt'g clients, incl ad hoc crdtor groups, in anlyz'g liability mngmt trnsctn structres & all aspcts of Ch. 11 financ's, incl DIFS, bckstp, rights offerings, & exit facilities. Local/Int'l bnkruptcy courts, up to 5%. Res: Davis Polk & Wardwell LLP, kristen.schult@davispolk.com.

Senior Associate: NY, NY. Lead, manage, & drive due diligence processes, strategic growth initiatives & exit preparations across the portfolio while working w/ Sr. leadership to define & strengthen key focus areas of investment, specifically across the Healthcare & Life Sciences sectors. Reqs Bachelor's or foreign equiv in Finance, Economics or a rltd field. Must have 2 yrs of exp: working at a top-tier mgmt consulting firm; & working w/ teams, assisting, dvlpg, implmtng & overseeing strategic projects for companies, w/ a focus on growth & the technology sector. Exp must incl working in a leadership or mgmt role; working w/ C-level Executives across cross-functional teams incl Finance, Mktg, Product, Sales & Engg; handling all aspects of investment opportunity analysis, incl due diligence, company & mkt research, & fin'l modeling; & advising clients on critical strategic, operational & organizational decisions, incl cost-saving initiatives, M&A, & growth strategies. Frequent national & int'l travel req'd. $225,000/yr. Send resume to Katie Malen-Gormley, Insight Venture Management LLC, 1114 Ave. of the Americas, Fl. 36, NY, NY 10036 or HumanCapital@insightpartners.com. Ref to Requisition # 804.

Associate; Corporate Planning sought by Bank of America N.A. to perform fin analysis, incl. valuations & merger consequences. Perform comprehensive valuation analysis using comparable companies & precedent transactions. Remote work may be permitted within a commutable distance from the worksite. Reqs: Master's or equiv. & 2 yrs exp. in: Developing & maintaining fin models to analyze trends, incl. discounted cash flow, leverage buyout, cost of capital analysis, merger models, ability-to-pay, value-creation, operating models, & 3-statement models; Performing comprehensive valuation analysis using comparable companies & precedent transactions. Salary: $220,000 - $230,000 /yr. Job Site: New York, NY. Req# 24021233. If interested apply online at www.bankofamerica.com/careers or email your resume to hafaighe@bofa.com & reference the job title of the role & requisition number. No phone calls. EOE.

Associate Director, Credit Analyst (Standard Chartered Bank, NY, NY; FT). Ensure compliance of all internal & regulatory credit/other portfolio rltd policies in conjunction w/ the GAM. Must have a Bach deg or foreign equiv in Finance, or a rltd field, + 3 yrs of exp in the position offd or in a rel occupation. Must have 3 yrs of exp w/: Emerging mkts capital products & svcs incl lending products, trade products, corporate finance offerings, fin'l mkts business to analyze credit risks; Assessment & calibration of credit risk using knowl of client & industry/sector, especially in emerging mkts, allied to knowl of credit process & policies. Proficiency & fluency in Portuguese & Spanish. EOE. Salary: $185,000 - $185,000/yr. Apply at https://jobs.standardchartered.com/job-invite/753/ or email resume to SCFAmericas.TA@sc.com.

Assc Dir-Sr Product Strategist at Moody's Analytics, Inc. (New York, NY). Design, create, and implement pioneering data solutions for a diverse array of internal stakeholders. Reqts: Mast's deg or foreign equiv in Data Science, Business Analytics, Statistics, or a closely quant fld & 2 yrs of exp as a Data Scientist or in a rel role working on advanced data analytics & machine learning modeling to extract actionable business insights. For US-based roles only: the anticipated hiring base salary range for this position is $108,306 - $227,950. To apply, please submit resume through careers.moodys.com, via e- mail at hrbox2@moodys.com, or by mail to: Moody's Analytics, Inc., Attn: HR Box 28, 7 World Trade Center, 250 Greenwich Street, New York, NY 10007. Please refer to Job Ref. 4912.

Associate Director Manager - Software Engineer at Moody's Analytics, Inc. (New York, NY). Participate in design sessions to understand business needs, functional and non-functional requirements. Reqts: Mast's deg or foreign equiv in Comp Sci, Engg, or a rel techl fld + 3 yrs of exp as a Software Engineer, Technical Consultant or in a rel IT position. Telecommuting permitted (100% telecommuting position) For US-based roles only: the anticipated hiring base salary range for this position is $169,229 to $221,950. To apply, please submit resume through careers.moodys.com, via e-mail at hrbox28@moodys.com or by mail to: Moody's Analytics, Inc., Attn: HR Box 28, 7 World Trade Center, 250 Greenwich Street, New York, NY 10007. Please refer to Job Ref. 4957.

Associate, Morgan Stanley Investment Management Inc. hiring for following roles thruout facilities in NY, NY: Associate to conduct due diligence on investmt opptys in priv equity secondary mkt (salary range $143,000 to $143,000). Position req's rel degree &/or exp &/or skills. For more info & to apply, visit https://ms.taleo.net/careersection/2/jobsearch.ftl?lang=en Scroll down & enter 3251036 as "Job Number" & click "Search Jobs." No calls pls. EOE

Audit: The Bank of New York Mellon seeks Audit Director in NY, NY to coord specialized audit/risk group(s) for bus. (i.e., Credit, Modeling, AML). Aid audit teams using analytics & automation in delivering audit plan to internal & external stakeholders incl technology/ bus. mgmt. Board audit committee members, & regulators. REQMTS: Bach or equiv. & 12 yrs exp in: Building, maintaining, & improving bus. intelligence & analytics tools incl using excel & VBA for reporting purposes; Building dashboards using Microsoft Excel & Visual Basic to provide insight on operational metrics & KPI. 10% travel req'd, domestic. In all, emp will accept Master's & 10 yrs exp. Emp will accept pre- or post- Master's exp. Sal Range: $214,909-$214,909/per yr. ied Please apply at https://bnymellon.eightfold.ai/ careers & utilize ref coce #46771. Please indicate "referral source— advertisement— NYT."

Help Wanted 2600

Auditor, Assurance (Audit Services) (Manager) (Multiple Positions) (1501425), Ernst & Young U.S. LLP, New York, NY. Plan and perform audit procedures in accordance with U.S. GAAS, including PCAOB rules and regulations, for private and public company financial statements prepared in accordance with U.S. GAAP. Requires domestic travel up to 30% in order to serve client needs. Employer will accept any suitable combination of education, training, or experience. $131,114 per year. For complete job description, list of requirements, and to apply on line, go to: ey.com/en_us/careers and click on "Careers - Job Search", then "Search Jobs" (Job Number - 1507425).

AYLIN GROCERY STORE INC is looking for a General Manager. 3 +years of experience is amust., Good salary, paid Vacation and Sick days., Apply at: 388 East 169th St., 1FL, Bronx, NY 10456

Banking: Deutsche Bank Securities Inc., seeks Vice President in NY, NY to provide full range of asset financing & structured fin. solutions across Global Mrkts, incl illiquid credit, securitizations, hard assets financings, & rel. across lender fin., unsecured consumer, & alternative Asset Based Securities ("ABS") asset classes. Req's: Bachelor's in Bus. Admin or rel. field or equiv & 5 yrs of exp dsgning & implementing risk calculation methodologies & solutions to meet regulatory req'mts; analyzing term, risk & performance of securitization transactions using issuance docs, trustee reports & mrkt data from sources incl Bloomberg, Intex, Finsights, & Fitchbook; performing value-added analysis to manage position & risk/reward; maintaining, managing, analyzing & reporting on changes in exposure profile from new deal activity, amendments, & syndication; working w/ fin. & operations to ensure proper accounting & accuracy of desk's P&L, & reconciliation of exposure & P&L w/ data from booking syst's (LS2), Tableau & MS Excel Files; performing stress testing, sensitivity analysis & reporting using Excel & VBA; monitoring exposure & collateral concentration against predefined limits, escalating & reporting limit breaches; designing data aggregation & reporting frameworks; coordinating execution of strategic group wise change mngmt programs; & performing Balance Sheet, RWA & capital charges forecast & reporting. **Employer will accept 3 yrs of post-secondary study toward Bachelor's plus 1 yr of rel. work exp in lieu of Bachelor's. Salary: $210,000.00 - $218,800.00/yr.** Apply to https://careers.db.com/professionals/search-roles/#/professional & search by keyword DB6965123.

Banco Santander, S.A. (NY, NY) seeks Associate, Corporate Banking Relationship Manager to lead client presentation prep incl all backgrnd rsrch & anlys, drafting & production of any chnl marketing materials & pitch bks. Reqs Bach in Finance, Business, Economics or Engg (any fld) +3yrs of exp in pos offrd or as Analyst, Sr. Analyst, or Associate in IT bank. 2yrs of recd exp mostly incld mngng & monitoring LatAm debt portfolio incl syndcatd loans, proj finance, acquistn finance & asset finance; partcpatng in commrc'l & legal negotiatns w/ corp clnts globlly govrnd by laws in int'l jursdctns; supprtng due dilgnce process done by int'l teams by applyng undrstndng of legal, operatnl, tchncl, finc'l & insrnce docmntn; obtaining credit risk approvls & prepng credit pckgs for credt submissn; prepng credit rprts on prfrmnce of prtfolio loans; coordng credt processes w/ var int'l teams guarnteeng effctv wrkflw btwn var teams incl Custmr, Rates, Credit Mrkts & Credit Risk; & applyng knwldge of finc'l credit (IFRS & GAAP) & pricng models for cmpnies from var countries incl Brazil, USA, Mexico & Europe, & anlyzng finc'l statemnts to model capitl retrns calcuins & advse on best funding stratgy. #LI-DNI Role entails hybrid wrk w/ time split btwn wrkng in NYC offce & flexblty to telecnmte from another US locatn. Salary $165,000/yr. E-mail res to dseback@santanderconsumerusa.com. Ref #288.

Banking: Deutsche Bank Securities Inc., seeks Associate in NY, NY to contribute to collateral monitoring, asset approvals, portfolio mgmt, & interactions w/ clients & support origination efforts. Req's: Bachelor's in Fin, Bus. Admin, or rel. field or equiv. & 2 yrs of exp updating mrkting materials and dvlping presentations for mrkting AEL lender fin. & trade fin. transactions for private debt (corporates, credit funds & Bus. Dvlpmnt Company managers); drafting term sheets & negotiating terms w/ prospective clients; creating Excel borrowing base models for bi-lateral credit facilities; coordinating w/ external counsel to doc new transactions & amendments; liaising w/ internal functions to coordinate deal approval workstreams; preparing credit memorandums for Credit Risk Mgmt in connection w/ mandated transactions; modeling fin'l transactions for internal risk assessment; assisting w/ syndicating transactions to partner institutions; monitoring portfolio revaluation events, assessing risk profile of these investments, & making recommendations to front office & credit risk mgmt team; & analyzing key trends rel. to high-risk industries & middle mrkt & loan leverage mrkt dvlpmts. Salary: $150,000.00 - $170,000.00/yr. Apply to https://careers.db.com/professionals/search-roles/#/professional & search by keyword DB7750298.

Banking Relationship Analyst (NYC) Utilize centralized banking support team for new client originations & portfolio analysis, incl dvlpg targeted COI list & prep'g fin'l plans for banking relationships. Assist w/ dvlpg & maintaining risk mgmt protocols using industry reps & compliance stds & adhering to internal & regulatory banking reqmts. Utilize fin'l tracking systems to gather mkt intelligence, generate leads, & dvlp fin'l & economic proposals/campaigns. Salary: $46.70/hr. Bach in Bus Admin, Finan, Econ, or Mktg & 1 yr exp in job or 1 yr fin'l support specialist &/or fin'l operations analysis exp in banking, asset mgmt &/or fin'l svcs industries. Interpaudi Bank, Attn: Lisa Tutunjian, 19 E. 54th St., NY, NY 10022.

Bilingual Mental Health Social Worker wanted by community based provider of social services in Brooklyn, New York to provide weekly counseling, psychotherapy, case management, advocacy services for Chinese/English speaking individuals, couples, families, groups in the Sunset Park neighborhood; Interview Chinese/English speaking clients on individual/family basis to assess their situations, capabilities and mental health problems; Determine required services, develop and implement practical focused activities for Chinese/English speaking clients that foster adaptive functioning and development of interpersonal and daily skills; Participate in planning for weekly casework department meeting and lead at least one discussion/activity in the meeting; serve as a School Based Liaison for Beacon programs, facilitating collaboration between family counseling and school-based staff, promoting integrated service model and supporting planning for groups and events. Wage range from $69,368 to $69,615. Required: Master of Science in Marriage and Family Therapy, Social Work, Mental Health Counseling or closely related and 6 months of mental health counseling experience in the field. Foreign language requirement (Mandarin Chinese). Valid license as Master in Marriage and Family Therapy, Social Work or Mental Health Counseling for the State of New York required. Mail resumes to Center for Family Life in Sunset Park, Inc., 443 39th Street, 3rd Floor, Brooklyn, NY 11232.

Block Bond Holdings, Inc. (NY, NY) seeks Sr. Research Assoc. - Company Intelligence to provide cnsltng & advisory svcs to clients on digl assets and trends. Assist in formulating mrktng entry strategies & dsgn rsrch projs within verticals of the crypto ind. Reqs: Bach deg in Fin, Econ, or rltd field plus 1 yr of exp in M&A using either data analytics or s/w dvlpmt, incl experience using acctng, valuation, as well as big datasets & pivot tables in Microsoft Excel. Min Salary $82,285. Mail CV to R. Mirzaie Job Code SRA524, 45 Bond St 5th Flr, NY, NY 10018.

Business: Gregory R. Miller & Company, LLC is hiring in New York, NY a Business Development and New Ventures Associate. Rec.: Undergrad. degr. in CS, or math., or statistics, or bus/finance w/ focus in data analytics. Min. of 2y prof. exp. either in publishing industry, finance, or consulting. Knowl. of AI techniques, including deep learning and neural networks, implement. AI techniques, including in Python or R, international M&As, including due dil., finance, Modeling/valuation, incl. disc. cash flow analysis, IRR analysis, lev. buyout analysis, accounting fundamentals. Travel req.: 30 % both domestic and int. Send resumes to jobsgmarcdco@gmail.com.

Business Response Engineer (Citadel Securities Americas Services LLC — New York, NY; Mult. Pos. Avail. Provide 1st & 2nd level support for fundamental equities incl FM's Analysts, Assoc. & COO teams; front office staff, & other product-oriented franchises across various regions to quickly identify & resolve issues as they arise, ensure continuity & mitigate risk to the bus. Audit & support the productivity of Risk, Research, Order Mgmt, Position, Risk, & P&L tools. Sal range $195,000 to $225,000/yr. Resumes: citadelrecruitment@citadel.com. Ref: JobID: 7595150.

Help Wanted 2600

Business & Integration Architecture Manager (Accenture LLP; New York, NY): Define, analyze, solve, and document the business requirements and processes for Accenture or our clients' program/project specifications and objectives. Must have willingness and ability to travel domestically approximately 80% of the time to meet client needs. Multiple Positions Available. For complete job description, list of requirements, and to apply, go to: www.accenture.com/us-en/careers (Job# 100218661). Pursuant to the New York Transparency Bill, the offered wage for this role is $150,000.00 per year. Equal Opportunity Employer Minorities/Women/Vets/Disabled.

Business Development Manager. Prepare & present management reports. Utilizing knowledge of int'l contracts, secure & oversee opening of new locations around the U.S., Mexico, Canada and Europe. Requires Bach degree in International Business + 4 yrs exp in international business consulting. Wage: $154,325/year. Send apps to Fiaschetteria Ltd, 64 East 11th Street, New York, NY 10009

Business Systems Engineering Manager - Ramp Business Corporation - Develop custom solutions within Salesforce and other object-oriented enterprise applications. Position fully remote (can be based anywhere in the U.S.). Annual salary range $182,750 - $285,000. Send resume to recruiting-ramp@ramp.com and reference BSEM.

Civil engineer (mult. pos.) wanted for (NY) const. mngmt co. to plan, direct, coord. construction & maint. of facilities, review drawings, pert. analysis of proj., time impact analysis & update schedules. Job in NY and various unanticipated locations throughout U.S. Must have MS. or equiv. (BS + 5 yrs exp.) in civil eng., or a related disc. Reply w/ Resume to: HR (Job ID #5345) World Wide Professional Solutions, LLC, 369 Big Bay Rd. Queensbury, NY 12804. Wage Offered: $88,600

Client Relationship Director - Baillie Gifford International LLC (New York, NY) Execute intermediaries rltnshp mgmt & bus dvlpmt w/focus on finan instn clnts & prsncts. Bchlr's dgr or forgn equiv in Fin, Bus Admin, or Econ w/10 yrs prog post-bacc exp in intrmdrs rltnshp mgmt, with gltl investmnt mgmt firm. Exp must incl: C-Suite networking; Mut fund & retail SMA sales; RIA bus dvlpmt; portf mgmt for $1bn+ AUM; Strgc fin mrktg & brand dvlpmt; Glbl distrbtn comm; & Fin comprhnsv prsntns. Must have FINRA Licenses Series 7 & 63 & CFA Lvl 1. Reqs Dmstc (25%) & Intl (20-30 d/yr) trvl. 40 hrs/wk. $250,000/year. Dirct apps only. Apply at resumes@bcilliegifford.com - code HU. EOE M/F/D/V.

Community Management Specialist for Head Boss Babe, inc a beauty and personal care company in New York, NY. Daily management of social media strategy. Jobsite: 75 Varick Street Front Unit B, New York, NY 10013. Reqs: BA in Communications or rel of foreign equiv. +2+ years exp. as Community Management Specialist or rel. managing social media platforms including tracking of KPI's and copywriting for social media and promotional materials. Send resume to Adam Fuller 75 Varick Street Front Unit B, New York, NY 10013

Computer/IT: Tata Consultancy Services Limited seeks a Functional Consultant in New York, NY & various unanticipated locations throughout U.S. to manage EDI test delivery & assurance by ensuring quality & timely test delivery for all User Stories, Bugs & Projects allocated to EDI SQA Team. Report all testing metrics on daily, sprint ending & monthly basis to all major stakeholders. Reqs: Bach deg or equiv in Comp Sci, Mgmt Info Sys, Engg (any), Math, Bus Admin, or rel quantitative field + 5 yrs IT exp. Employer will accept 3 yrs of university-level studies & 1 yr of IT exp in lieu of Bach degree. Must have 5 yrs exp w/: Manual Testing, Automation Testing, SQL Database Administration, Jira, Oracle Database, HP ALM, Jenkins, & Soap UI. All exp may be acquired concurrently. Must be willing to work anywhere in U.S., as position may involve relocation to various unanticipated TCS office locations & client sites; any relocation to be paid by employer pursuant to internal policy. Salary: $143,021 to $203,000/yr. Position may be eligible for or require remote work w/in a commutable distance of worksite. All offers of employment are contingent upon successful completion of background check. Equal Opportunity Employer: disability/veteran. To apply email resume to job.opportunities@tcs.com & reference Job Code: 96NY.

Computer/IT: Tata Consultancy Services Limited seeks a Technical Architect in New York, NY & various unanticipated locations throughout U.S. to provide techf'arch expertise in specific tech, methodology, business, app, or product. Define tailored project lifecycle. Troubleshoot & optimize solution. Reqts: Bach deg or equiv in Comp Sci, Mgmt Info Sys, Engg (any). Math, Bus Admin, or rel quantitative field + 5 yrs post-bach prof'essional IT exp. Must have 1 yr exp w/: Java; JavaScript; Selenium; API Testing; AWS; Git; Apache Spark; Splunk; & Unix. All exp may be acquired concurrently. Must be willing to work anywhere in U.S., as position may involve relocation to various unanticipated TCS office locations & client sites; any relocation to be paid by employer pursuant to internal policy. Position may be eligible for or require remote work w/in a commutable distance of worksite. Salary: $147,285 to $220,000/yr. All offers of employment are contingent upon successful completion of background check. Equal Opportunity Employer: disability/veteran. To apply email resume to job.opportunities@tcs.com & reference Job Code: 97NY.

Computer Systems Analyst: Full-time, Middle Village, NY. Administer computer-controlled scientific equipment; troubleshoot hardware & driver conflicts; Specify & configure operating systems to control desired scientific hardware; Establish/maintain local storage & hi-speed networks for architectural drawings; Develop research domain-specific data analysis software ; Interface instruments w/ ClientNet, private LANs, local VLANs & with Blowulf & shared CIT computing resources; Determine lab data analysis on shared CIT systems; Manage data storage & backup for scientific computers; Collaborate w/ staff on hardware purchases; Configure firewalls & local VLANs to ensure scientific machines communication w/ local &remote resources; Configure network ports & access for custom scientific software or hardware. Reqts: Bachelor's degree in Computer Engineering. Salary: $73,029 per year 40 hrs work per week Mail resume to John Nicholis, President, JGN Construction Corp., 66-40 69th St., Middle Village, NY 11379.

COMPUTER/IT: Software Engineer (multiple openings) at MPG Operations LLC in New York, NY will bld custom sftw solutions to assist in the investmnt rsrch prcs. Telecommuting permitted 2 days/wk. Salary: $175,000-$250,000/yr. Reqs a Master's deg in Cmptr Sci, Cmptr Engg, or a rltd fld, + 2 yrs in a prof'l sftw engg occptn, or rltd occptn, in the fin'l servs ind. Must incl 2 yrs of exp w/ each of the following: dvlpmt w/ Python & Pandas; data visualization, incl Tableau dashboards, matplotlib, highcharts, or Jupyter notebooks; JavaScript & UI frameworks, incl Angular; REST API dvlpmt w/ Flask, Django, or Springboot; DevOps tools, incl Jenkins, Octopus, or Docker; Windows & Linux OS; & SQL, incl schema dsgn, ETL, & query dsgn. To apply please send resume to recruiting@mlp.com & ref job code daily when applying.

Computer/IT: Associate Director, Senior Software Engineer at Moody's Analytics, Inc. (New York, NY). Develop system or application software using Agile methodologies. Reqts: Mast's deg or foreign equiv in Comp Sci, Engg, or a closely rel techl fld + 3 yrs of exp as a Software Engineer, Software Developer, or in a rel position performing software development and designing technical solutions. Telecommuting permitted (100% telecommuting position). For US-based roles only: the anticipated hiring base salary range for this position is $142,563 - $221,950. To apply, please submit resume through careers.moodys.com, via e-mail at hrbox2@moodys.com, or by mail to: Moody's Analytics, Inc., Attn: HR Box 28, 7 World Trade Center, 250 Greenwich Street, New York, NY 10007. Please refer to Job Ref. 4993.

COMPUTER/IT: Constellation Software Inc. seeks a full-time Product Manager based in New York, New York, to plan and manage IT projects as an individual contributor to achieve business metrics by defining and executing features and enhancements within the company's tech platforms using agile and similar methodologies and languages. Remote work from home office in the New York/New Jersey area (some MSA as place of employment) and within commuting distance from the primary place of employment is allowed. Salary: $120,000 to $160,000/year. Please apply online at https://www.hlloconstellation.com/careers/

Help Wanted 2600

Computer/IT: JetBlue Airways Corporation Software Engineer - Long Island City, NY. Perform complex design, dvlpmnt, testing & doc effort of enterprise apps & ard srvs, mainly w/ JAVA tech stack & Azure cloud services. Req's Bachelor's or frgn equiv in Comp Sci, Comp Engg or rltd tech discipline + 5 yrs progressively responsible exp w/ JAVA techn: Java, J2EE, Spring, SpringBoot, SpringCloud, & JDBC. 100% remote; may be performed in any state where JetBlue has a legal presence. Up to 35% travel to JetBlue locations. SALARY: $169,229 - $180,800/yr. TO APPLY: Email resume to jalentacquisitionsupport@jetblue.com & reference JB118. EOE/M/F/D/V

IT: MongoDB has opp'tys in NY, NY: *Sr. Mgr, Biz Ops & Strtgy (#7587065) Lead & coordinate cross fnctnl strtgc initiatives to identfy & execute agnst opps to improve our biz. Must be avail to work in office 3 dys/wk. WFH acceptable 2 dys/wk; $191,000/yr-$210,000/yr. *Data Anlyst (#7594533) (Must oper in office 3 dys/wk. WFH prmsble 2 dys/wk.) Drive data-driven, people-focused decision making for the company; $94,000/yr-$133,000/yr. *Senior Product Designer (#7613352) (Must oper in office 3 days/week. WFH permsble 2 days/week.) Improve the dlbse diagnostics exprnce by picing tgthr the end-to-end jrny in prdct, identifying pain points and unmet needs to hlp grw prdcts and drstcly imprv users prdctvty and happs; $150,000/yr-$180,000/yr. *Sr. SW Engr (#7431641) (Must be in off 3 dys/wk. WFH perm 2 dys/wk.) Lead mdm to larg prjts frm spec to delvry; $180,000/yr-$210,000/yr. To apply for above, email res with Job ID#, to: jrr.migration@mongodb.com

Construction: JAT Construction Group, Inc. (Brooklyn, NY) seeks F/T Construction Projects Manager to mng team of prjct engnrs & site-staff on large-scale construct prjs. Direct cost & time cntrl strategies. Review & cpprv engg deliverables, bid pckgs, contract & trade level sheets. Plan, sched & monitor large-scale construct prjs for cnfrmnc to dsgn specs & safety/sanitation stndrds. Prep monthly prjct rprts, identfy risks & dvlp mitigation strats. Mnge all RFI & Submittals. REQ: Bachelor's in Civil Engg or foreign equiv & 3 yrs exp in any rltd occuptn. Exp must incld 1 yr of exp using Bluebeam, Procore, Primavera P6 & AutoCad software prgrms. Position reqs travel to sites w/in New York, Kings, Bronx, Richmond, & Queens Counties in NY State. Salary is $86,130/yr. Email resume to jl@jatcg.com & info@jatcg.com.

Consultants needed for TransUnion, LLC in New York, NY location to diagnose business needs & architect ways to manage data from multiple sources. Bachelor's in Statistics/ Analytics/ Economics/ related field +2 yrs exp req'd. Req'd Skills: Python, Asana or a related project mgmt platform, Microsoft Excel, PowerPoint, analyzing large data sets, conducting market & economic research, exp w/ Ads Manager for online marketing platforms (e.g. Facebook, Pinterest, TikTok), exp supervising Jr. team members, exp navigating backend of organic & paid marketing channels, understanding of competitive data & social listening (e.g. through platforms like Kantar, Pathematics, Hootsuite), exp leading client calls & deck presentations, exp w/ digital marketing KPIs (ROI, ROAS, CPC, CPM, CPA). Some telecommuting permitted. $85,000/yr.-$107,635/yr. Apply online: https://www.transunion.com/careers, REF-19080258

Consultant/Actuary sought by Aon Risk Consultants, Inc. in NY, NY to perform actuarial analysis. Reqs a Master's deg in Actuarial Sci, Statistics, Math, or a rltd field + 1 yr of actuarial analysis exp. Must have at least 1 yr of exp in each of the following: Conducting actuarial reserve analyses & loss forecasting for property & casualty insurance services; Completing property & casualty actuarial analyses for loss reserving & simulations; Applying knowl of actuarial concepts & reserving methodologies; Reviewing, analyzing, & visualizing data using Microsoft Excel & Access; & Analyzing large scale datasets using R. Local telecommuting available up to 2 days/wk. Annual salary: $119,800 - $199,600. Candidates must send resumes to aonresumes@aon.com & cite requisition number 00730.

Consultants, Data Science & Analytics needed at TransUnion, LLC in White Plains, NY location to analyze results of statistical & empirical data models to assist in the dev of biz solutions for financial services clients. Master's in Comp Sci/ Data Analytics/ Info Sys/ Statistics/related Quantitative field +2yrs exp req'd. Req'd skills: statistical & coding tools (SAS, R, Python); machine learning model dev (gradient boosting machines, support vector machines, decision trees, regression tech); structured databases; anal

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To place your ad in print and online, call (212) 556-8034 or 1-800-238-4637. To post a job online, visit nytimes.com/jobs

Help Wanted 2600

Finance: ICE DATA LP seeks Sr Bus. Analyst in NY, NY, to collab w/Product Mgmt team in defining prioritizing, planning, & executing vision for ICE's Desktop apps, targeting core Data Services customers. Req'mnts: Bachelor's or foreign equiv in Bus. Admin, Mgmt Info. Systs, or rel. field & 5 yrs of progressively responsible exp: eliciting bus. needs from stakeholders & translating into functional req'mnts; creating mockups for user interfaces & workflows using wireframing tools; creating user acceptance test cases for content sets to ensure apps are functioning per specs & meeting user needs; & liaising w/dvlpmnt, quality assurance, & UI/UX teams to communicate product vision & review proposed functionality. Expected base salary for this role is between $147,285 - $147,285. Base salary range does not incl Intercontinental Exchange's incentive compensation. While we provide this range as general guidance, at ICE we compensate employees based on skillset & exp of individual. Telecommuting &/or work from home may be permissible pursuant to company policies. When not telecommuting, must report to work site. Submit resume to recruitingresumes@ice.com & indicate job code ( ) and NYT in subject line.

Finance: The Bank of New York Mellon seeks VP, Metrics & Analytics Mgr II in NY, NY, to produce & report strategic measurements that demonstrate value & effectiveness of CTS organization & formulate math or simulation models of problems, relating constants & variables, restrictions, alternatives, conflicting objectives, & numerical parameters. Remote work permitted w/i commutable distance from worksite. REQ'MTS: Bach or equiv. & 8 yrs exp in designing visualization & reporting solutions to assist in bus. decision making using tools incl Oracle Reports, Tableau, & Power BI; Implementing ETL Layers to source data from multiple sources incl Flat files, Mainframe sys's, Verica dbase into in-house dbase, & performing data transformation using SQL scripts. In all, Emp will accept Master's & 6 yrs exp. Sal Range: $161,201.25-$203,000.00/yr. Pls apply at https://bnymellon.eightfold.ai/careers & utilize ref code #53164. Please indicate "referral source — advertisement — NYT"

FINANCE
Mizuho Securities USA LLC in New York, NY seeks: Vice President: Collaborate with senior traders to analyze markets. Travel 5% of time within the US to visit clients. Telecommuting is permitted. $250,000.00 - $280,000.00/yr. To apply, please send resume to: Mizuho Securities USA LLC. Attn. Sarina DePeri, 1271 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10020. Please refer to the Job Title and this posting for consideration. EOE.

Financial Analyst at RNBW Holdings LLC in New York, NY will develop robust financial analysis and build efficient financial processes to support our business objectives. Position is 100% remote. Salary: $125,000 - $160,000 per year. Position requires a Master's Degree in Finance, Economics, or a directly related field, plus 3 years of experience in a strategic finance occupation, financial planning and analysis occupation, or related occupation at a FinTech company. The 3 years of experience must include 3 years of experience with each of the following: working as finance partner for product, risk, and credit teams; financial modeling and reporting; Google Sheets and Microsoft Excel, including complex scenario analysis, sensitivity tables, three statement financial modeling, cohort analysis, and credit loss forecasting; data analysis and reporting tools, including SQL, Mode, and Databricks; Business Intelligence tools, including Tableau and Looker; and accounting concepts, including GAAP, revenue recognition, and accrual accounting. Interested candidates should e-mail resume to: https://app.ashbyhq.com/jobs/c48ae585-551a-4586-a19d-e76c33a15ceb [app.ashbyhq.com] or to Emily Stewart at emily.stewart@one.app.

Nomura Holding America Inc. (NY, NY) seeks Financial Risk Specialist to prfm credt qualty anlys across commc'l banks, brokr-dealrs, insrnce, CCP, mrtgage orignatrs & REITS. Reqs Bach in Finance or Bus Admin (w/ concntn in Finance) +5yrs progrssv post-Bach exp in offrd pos or as Asst VP, VP or Assoc/Sr Assoc at Investmt Bank. All reqd exp mustv incld using credt risk frmewrks & metrcs to indpndtly analyze & monitr counterpties w/in US finc'l institutns prtfolio incl insurers, banks, brokrs, REITS, CCP & othr finc'l institutns; monitrng prfrmnce of ccuntrpties & tracking evpmts rltd to US finc'l institutns indstry, econmy, regs & mrkts; ratnzng credt limits in conjctn w/ counterpty busnss actvty; extrctng data & info, gathrng registry rqsts, & handling UAT & implmntn; dvlpng early warnng trigger & inventry rating tools undr ratings-based approach issued by OCBS; & prepng finc'l risk models using stress testng frmewrk tools. Must have CFA dsgnatn. Role entails hybrd wrk, w/ time split btwn w/king in NYC office & flexiblty to telecommte from anothr US locatn. Salary: $183,500-$215,000/yr. Email res to jasmine.beatty@[illegible].com, Ref #01480.

Fin'l Srvcs: Morgan Stanley Services Group, Inc. is hiring for following roles thruout facilities in NY, NY: Analyst to support Firm's stress testing programs, incl analyzing stress loss scenarios & results. 3251066, sal range $105,000-$105,000; Analyst to review new trade requests from bus. & origination teams & assess credit exposure impact, tenor details, & structure. 3251044, sal range $103,000-$140,000; Associate to conduct independent model review & validation of portfolio of fin'l models, incl revenue, expense & balance sheet projection models. 3246707, sal range $145,000-$145,000; & Executive Director to partner w/ Firm's Investment Mgmt Bus. Units & Control Groups to proactively identify, assess, challenge & drive mitigation of Operational Risks w/i division. 3245112 sal range $275,000-$275,000. All positions req rel degree &/or exp &/or skills. Multiple open positions at various prof'l levels. For more info & to apply online, visit us at https://ms.taleo.net/careersection/2/jobsearch.ftl?lang=en Scroll down to "Join our team" heading & search for these opp'tys. No calls please. EOE

Fin'l Srvcs: Morgan Stanley Services Group, Inc. hiring for following roles thruout facilities in NY, NY: Vice President to lead & monitor strategic fin'c & technology programs. 3244432, sal range $212,000-$212,000; Associate, Institutional Securities Technology to design, dvlp, & maintain critical bus. apps. 3245083, sal range $144,000-$150,000; Vice President to work closely w/ stakeholders across Bus. & Technology groups to understand bus. objectives, translate req'mts into functional solutions. 3245104, sal range $181,000-$200,000; & Associate, Developer to plan, design, dvlp, test & support cutting edge softw solutions for various bus. problems 3237948, sal range $116,000-$150,000. All positions req rel degree &/or exp &/or skills. Multiple open positions at various prof'l levels. For more info & to apply, visit https://ms.taleo.net/careersection/2/jobsearch.ftl?lang=en Scroll down to "Join our team" heading & search for these opp'tys. No calls pls. EOE

Financial: Standard & Poor's Financial Services LLC seeks a Credit Analyst in New York, NY to analyze a portfolio of assigned entities. Telecommuting permitted within normal commuting distance of New York, NY office. REQ: Master's in Bus Admin, Bus Analytics, or related fin field plus 3 yrs exp in accounting, fin reporting standards, corporate budgeting, and forecasting. The anticipated base salary range for this position is $180,500 to $206,350. Final base salary for this role will be based on the individual's geographic location, as well as experience level, skill set, training, licenses & certifications. In addition to base compensation, this role is eligible for an annual incentive plan. This role is eligible to receive additional S&P Global benefits. For more information on the benefits we provide to our employees, please see: https://spgbenefits.com/benefit-summaries/us. Resume to PeopleMovementSupport@spglobal.com, ref # 303190 (Credit Analyst).

Fin'l Srvcs: Morgan Stanley & Co. LLC hiring for the following roles thruout facilities in NY, NY: Associate, Institutional Equity Division to provide specialized investment advice on co.'s to wide range of institutional investors (3251046, sal range $175,000-$200,000); Associate to use combo of fin'l analysis, math modeling, & CS to analyze data from U.S. rates/inflation mkt (3246669, sal range $200,000-$200,000); & Associate to review models & e-trading algorithms, & produce forecasts & analytics to improve trading, sales & client workflows (3245082, sal range $225,000-$225,000). All positions req rel degree &/or exp &/or skills. Multiple open positions at various prof'l levels. For more info & to apply, visit https://ms.taleo.net/careersection/2/jobsearch.ftl?lang=en Scroll down to "Join our team" heading & search for these opp'tys. No calls pls. EOE

Fin'l Srvcs: Morgan Stanley & Co. LLC hiring for the following roles thruout facilities in NY, NY: Associate, Institutional Equity Division to provide specialized investment advice on co.'s to wide range of institutional investors (3251046, sal range $175,000-$200,000); Associate to use combo of fin'l analysis, math modeling, & CS to analyze data from U.S. rates/inflation mkt (3246669, sal range $200,000-$200,000); & Associate to review models & e-trading algorithms, & produce forecasts & analytics to improve trading, sales & client workflows (3245082, sal range $225,000-$225,000). All positions req rel degree &/or exp &/or skills. Multiple open positions at various prof'l levels. For more info & to apply, visit https://ms.taleo.net/careersection/2/jobsearch.ftl?lang=en Scroll down to "Join our team" heading & search for these opp'tys. No calls pls. EOE

Food Service Manager: Kitchens NY LLC is looking for Food Service Manager. Salary $84,320.00/year, worksite 324 Lafayette Street, 10012, New York, NY 10013. The employee will be responsible for: Coordinate, plan, and direct restaurant activities. Resolve guest issues. Maintain operational records. Manage inventories of products or organizational resources. Organize scale and maintain the standard of servants. Required 12 months of experience required in the Server Manager occupation, and Holiday and weekend overtime work. Contact Havorvale, 324 Lafayette Street, 10012, New York, NY 10013.

FX & Derivatives Associate Director sought F/T by U.S. Bank in New York, NY. Duties: provide strategic direction and execution of our FX capabilities. Must have Bachelor's degree or equiv in Finance or Economics & 5 yrs rel. financial services or banking industry exp. Position requires 10% domestic travel. To apply go to https://careers.usbank.com or email recruiting.excellence@usbank.com, include job req. #2024-0012429 in subject line. Salary: $188,610 to $200,000/year.

Gemini Space Station seeks Senior Data Engineer in New York, NY to develop and implement batch and real time data ingestion solutions, unified web solutions, and data visualization (business intelligence) solutions. Position based at headquarters and may be assigned to unanticipated worksites throughout the U.S. as determined by management. Telecommuting permitted. $205,000-$225,000 per year. Apply @ www.jobpostingtoday.com Ref#37123.

Gemini Space Station seeks Site Reliability Engineer in New York, NY to design and develop Gemini platform services. Position based at headquarters and may be assigned to unanticipated worksites throughout the U.S. as determined by management. Telecommuting permitted. $218,000-$230,000 per year. Apply @ www.jobpostingtoday.com Ref#34860

Gemini Space Station seeks Principal, Credit Risk in New York, NY to set acceptable risk levels and assess credit risk. Teleworking is permitted within commuting distance to worksite. $205,000-$225,000 per year. Apply @ www.jobpostingtoday.com Ref#37118

Global Regulatory Affairs Manager. New York, NY. Salary $130k/yr. Ensure products & packaging comply w/ regulations, including product registration w/ regulatory authorities & compliance w/ environmental & shipping regulations; Maintain dossiers of products; Schedule & manage product annual stability studies; Establish Standard Operating Procedures for Regulatory Process. Req Bachelors in Pharmacy, Industrial Chemistry, or equiv; 2yrs work exp job duties; Knowledge of: US-FDA requirements, process & audit; international management; & quality management systems. Send Resume: IM PRO MAKEUP NY LP, Job#3, 110 Greene Street 2nd Fl New York NY 10012.

Household Manager: NYC family seeks Household Manager, New York, NY — Provide personal assistance, medical attention, and emotional support for children in a private household. Provide support and expertise to parents in satisfying children's physical, emotional, intellectual, and social needs. Running errands, grocery stores, post offices, dry cleaners, etc. Assist/supervise with homework and other educational activities; plan, prepare, and serve nutritionally balanced meals and snacks for children. Reqs. Bachelor's degree, verifiable references and 2 years of exp. In the job offered or a closely related occupation. Salary - $38,626. To apply email resumes to notashacarcano@gmail.com.

HR
Senior Manager, People & Organization, PricewaterhouseCoopers Advisory Services LLC, New York, NY. Asst orgnztns with resting thr talent strtgs & drivng bus results thru the employs. Req. Bach's deg or foreign equiv in HRM, Bus Admin, Orgnztnl Mgmt, Orgnztnl Psychlgy, or rel + 5 yrs rel wrk exp. of which at least 5 yrs are post-bach's, prgrssv rel wrk exp; OR a Master's deg or foreign equiv in HRM, Bus Admin, Orgnztnl Mgmt, Orgnztnl Psychlgy, or rel + 4 yrs rel wrk exp. 80% telecommtng permitted. Must be able to commute to designated local office. Domestic &/or intl trvl up to 60% req. Salary $196,000/yr. Please apply by sending your resume to US.PwC.Career.Recruitment@pwc.com, specifying Job Code NY4226 in the subject line.

INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY
Microsoft Corporation currently has the following openings in New York, NY (opportunities available at all levels, e.g., Principal, Senior and Lead levels). To access job posting, visit website address listed.

Program Manager; Business Program Manager; Operations Program Manager; Technical Program Manager: Dvlp a scalable & effective technical strategy to support the rhythm of the biz & org goals. Telecommuting permitted greater than or equal to 50%, but<100%/wk. http://bit.ly/MSJobs-Proj-Mgr

Data & Applied Scientist Manager: Manipulate large volumes of data, create new & improved techniques &/or solutions for data collection, mgmt., & usage. Require dom & intl travel up to 50%. Telecommuting permitted 50% or more per wk to less than 100% within same geographic location as assigned MSFT office location. https://jobs-microsoft.icims.com/jobs/39131/ga/job

Multiple positions available. Some positions req travel and/or permit telecommuting. For details (if applicable), including job descriptions & min reqs, salary range & benefits info, and how to apply, access job posting using website address listed. EOE.

IT: Better Home & Finance Holding Company has openings in New York, NY for: Senior Software Engineer [SSECC524] to mentor and develop other team members including junior software engineers and define system architecture(s) and explore technical feasibility tradeoffs and capabilities. Allows up to 40% telecommuting within the U.S. Wage: $169,229 per yr. Senior Software Development Engineer [SSDEHP524] to architect and develop functionality in Better's Partnerships codebase and collaborate with Designers, Product Managers, and other Engineers across the company to ensure the success of ongoing and future development projects. Allows up to 40% telecommuting within the U.S. Wage: $169,229 per yr. Closing Team Manager [CTMVH5524] responsible for the overall production, efficiency, and compliance of the loan closing process. Will manage a team of closing associates, as well as training and coaching closing associates in day-to-day functions. Wage: $140,483 per yr. Senior Accounting Analyst [SAARW524] to participate in month-end closing by taking ownership of certain tasks, with a practical emphasis in accounting for a not-for-profit subsidiary. Telecommuting permitted within the U.S. Wage: $137,114 per yr. Senior Software Development Engineer [SSDESV524] to design and develop software applications for our online mortgage system, adhering to internal coding best practices and architectural guidelines. Telecommuting permitted within the U.S. Wage: $169,229 per yr. To apply, submit resume by mail to recruitmentlistbetter.com. Must reference job title and job code.

IT: Saks.com LLC seeks Sr. Manager, Customer Analytics & Personalization in NY, NY to maintain & enhance analytically enriched customer dataset for use w/in owned & paid media channels & optimize existing customer relationship mgmt ("CRM") & personalization programs. Bachelor's or foreign equiv in Analytics, Bus. Admin, Math, Stats, or rel. field & 5 yrs progressively responsible exp in job offered or rel. occupation: Utilizing programming languages incl advanced SQL, Snowflake, MySQL, Postgre, Teradata, Oracle, Python/Pyspark, & SAS; utilizing platforms incl S3, Airflow, GitHub, AWS EC2/EMR, Hadoop, & Microsoft Azure; supporting mrktg analytics, and optimizing existing CRM & personalization programs, & thought leadership for loyalty, growth & retention mrktg; leveraging CRM data & data sci models into personalized mrktg apps & targeting strategies, utilizing Naive Bayes classification, cluster analysis (K-means algorithm), predictive models (linear regression, logistic regression, & decision trees); deploying & evaluating machine learning models & advanced algorithms to drive decisions thruout customer exp. Telecommuting &/or work from home may be permissible pursuant to company policies. When not telecommuting, must report to work site. In alternative, employer will accept Master's or foreign equiv in one of above-listed fields & 3 yrs of exp in above-listed areas. Offered salary is between $222,298.00 - $302,364.00/yr. Submit resume to jobs@saks.com, Ref: PP061028241NYT.

IT: Canadian Imperial Holdings, Inc. seeks a Sr. Analyst, Enterprise Risk Management to develop, maintain, and enhance risk management related tools and applications. Analyze and recommend system changes to improve efficiency and accuracy of risk reports. Define and document requirements through user interviews, use case assessment, and analysis of key risk indicators. Optimize availability and aggregation of risk data through data management, data architecture, and innovative design and development of new data platforms. Analyze large data sets to identify trends and assist management with data-driven decisions. Develop test plans and support testing effort to improve and automate processes. #LI-DNI Position requires a Master's degree in Computer Science, Engineering, Information Systems, or a related STEM field and 1 year of experience with continuous improvement and automation of existing processes using Robotic Process Automation (RPA) tools including Power Automate, Automation Anywhere, and UiPath. Experience must include a minimum of 1 year of experience with application development using Dataverse and SharePoint; 1 year of experience developing user acceptance test criteria; 1 year of experience with visualization tools, including Power BI and Tableau, and 1 year of experience with programming tools, including HTML, Java, JavaScript, XML, and SQL; and 1 year of experience working in banking industry or financial risk management. Telecommuting benefit available. Job location: New York, NY. Rate of Pay: $75,500.00 to $125,000.00 per year. To apply, please visit https://www.cibc.com/en/about-cibc/careers.html and enter Job Requisition ID 2412505 when prompted. Alternatively, please send your resume, cover letter, and a copy of the ad to: CIBC, Attn.: H. Lazzaro, 300 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10017. CIBC is an Equal Opportunity Employer M/F/Disability/Veteran.

IT
Programmer Analysts, Project Managers, Project Directors (Delivery), Technical Analysts, QA Engineers - Location: Edison, NJ & other unanticipated locations throughout US. Some positions require Master's or equiv. with/without exp. & some require Bachelor's or equiv. with/without exp. Positions available for IT professionals with any combination of following technologies/skills: Microsoft .Net, WCF, SQL, IIS, HTML, CSS, JavaScript, Mim, Figma, Azure DevOps, Selenium, Appium, SoapUI, Postman, Protractor, JMeter, LoadRunner, Visual Studio Load Test, Grinder, Gatling, Cucumber/BDD Frameworks, Selenium with JAVA-Test NG/JUnit, IDE, HP UFT, GitHub, SVN, Bitbucket, Jenkins/Bamboo, HP ALM, TFS, JIRA, Pytest, Power BI, API, Burp, TCOE. Certification in respective areas definitely a plus. Mon-Fri. Must be willing to travel/relocate to anywhere in US. Please visit our website to view latest postings. https://www.orioninc.com/careers/. All resumes should include "OSHQ05192024". Email resume to: Career.Americas@orioninc.com. We are an equal opportunity employer and all qualified applicants will receive consideration for employment without regard to race, color, creed, religion, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity or expression, pregnancy, age, national origin, citizenship status, disability status, genetic information, protected veteran status, or any other characteristic protected by law.

IT-Sourcing Technology Services Expert (Jersey City, NJ): Develop & implement detailed category strategy that meets IT Hardware, Maintenance, Data Center, Cloud, Co-location & Low Latency Electronic Trading Infrastructure, other Hosted Platforms/Services, Networks & related IT Outsourcing & Managed Services requirements by conducting spend analytics & further developing scope through interaction with business stakeholders. Understand business requirements & review existing product or service arrangements to recommend alternative strategies for improved efficiencies & cost savings. Work with data center & infrastructure technologies, products, & services, contract & vendor management/stakeholder relationships & strategic sourcing; contract negotiation; developing financial analysis & technology investment business cases; & evaluating new technology offerings for business value & adoption readiness. Position based in Jersey City, NJ. Telecommuting/remote work is permitted within commuting distance 2-3 days per week. Req's Bachelor's degr plus 8 yrs exp or, in the alternative, 10 yrs exp. Salary range: $120,000 - $173,400 per year. E-mail resume to hr-us@chainiq.com or mail resume to Chain IQ US, Inc., Ref# DOTCIQNJ, Attn: HR-US, 10 Exchange Place 21st Fl. Jersey City, NJ 07302. No phone calls.

IT Quality Senior Manager for Citibank, N.A. (NY, NY) Develop and execute software tests to identify software problems and their causes. Test retail banking applications and system modifications to prepare for implementation. Position may telecommut from anywhere in the US, in accrdnce w/ Citi policies & protocols. REQS: Req a Bach degree (or frgn equiv) in IT or rltd fld & 6 yrs of progressively responsible, post-bach exp as a Functional Test Lead, Test Engineer, QA Lead or rltd position involving IT testing for the financial services industry. 6 yrs of exp must incld: Quality Assurance techniques; Agile & Scrum methodologies; Sftwre development & testing lifecycle; Test mgmt. estimations, scheduling, planning, strategy, & defect mgmt; Retail banking systems & apps; GUI, Functional Regression, Database, System & UAT testing on web based apps; Mainframe App Testing; & Cognos & Jira. Salary range: $143,021 to $158,348/yr; 40 hrs/wk. Applicants submit resumes at https://jobs.citi.com/. Please reference Job ID #24410?2 EO Employer.

IT: Staff Data Engineer (Integral Ad Science Inc.)(NY,NY) Actively participate in the software cycle, incl. dvlpmnt, code rev, testing, deplymnt, and documentation. Req. Bach. Deg. or frgn. equiv. in Comp. Sci, IT, or closely rltd fld & 5 yrs exp in a software systems dev role. Exp. must incl: Monitoring ongoing project installations & updating knowledge mgmnt portals for new functionalities. Partner. w/ Product Teams in biz discussions to grasp functional req. & providing ongoing project support. Exec. the complete sftwr lifecycle, encomp. hands-on dev., code reviews, bldng, dplymnt, & doc. for ETLs & RESTful APIs. Dev. App. from scratch using a modern tech. stack, such as Scala, Spark, & NoSQL. Design ETL wrkflws & optimized Spark/Hive ETLs. $169,229 - $200,000. Telecomm. position w/ no geo. limit. If wrkr is based in cont. U.S. Send resumes to Kristen Cantor at kcantor@integrglads.com.

IT: S&P Global Market Intelligence Inc. seeks a Software Engineer in New York, NY to implement efficient automation/performance frameworks. Telecommuting permitted from anywhere in the US. REQ: Bachelors in Info Tech, Comp Sci, Comp Engg or rel IT field plus 5 yrs exp identifying and resolving issues in automation and test suite. The anticipated base salary range for this position is $143,021 to $179,400. Final base salary for this role will be based on the individual's geographic location, as well as experience level, skill set, training, licenses & certifications. In addition to base compensation, this role is eligible for an annual incentive plan. This role is eligible to receive additional S&P Global benefits. For more information on the benefits we provide to our employees, please see: https://spgbenefits.com/benefit-summaries/us. Resume to PeopleMovementSupport@spglobal.com, ref # 302200 (Software Engineer).

IT: The Bank of New York Mellon seeks SVP, Dbase Engr in NY, NY to consult w/ internal bus. groups to provide high-level app softw dvlpmnt srvcs or techni support. Remote work permitted w/i commutable distance from worksite. REQ/MTS: Bach or foreign equiv & 9 yrs exp in Creating reusable techni components in Oracle, Penatho Data Integration Suit, & MongoDB; Transforming source data to various target sys's using ETL Pentaho & Informatica; Transitioning Pentaho ETL to big data echo sys using Hadoop Spark, s3, & Kafka technology stack; Writing complex bus. logic using NoSQL MongoDB aggregation pipelines; Supporting, troubleshooting, & maintaining centralized processing sys using DB2 Cobol Stored Procedures & MVS/JCL. Sal Range: $199,580-$246,000/yr. Pls apply at https://bnymellon.eightfold.ai/careers & utilize ref code #52868. Pls indicate "referral source advertisement— NYT."

IT: Zebra Tech Corp has an opning in Holtsville, NY for Sr. Enterprise Systms Analyst: Sppt & maintn SaaS & entrprs-wide apps. BS+5 yrs reqd. Salary: $110,568-$139,900. Salary offered will vary w/in range based on variety of factors. All Zebra roles eligible for cash incentive programs. Telecom may be permtd. When not telecom, mst rprt to wrkste. To apply email resume to .jobs@Zebra.com & ref job #7278972. If you are an individ w/a disblty & need assnce in aplyng for psitn, contct us at workplace.accommodations@zebra.com. The EEO is the Law. The posters are availble here: https://www.eeoc.gov/sites/default/files/2023-06/22-088_EEOC_KnowYourRights6.12.pdf; https://www.dol.gov/sites/dolgov/files/ofccp/regs/compliance/posters/pdf/OFCCP_EEO_Supplement_Final_JRF_QA_508c.pdf

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IT Professionals
(Multiple positions/openings)
Computer Programmer(Ref#1): Write comp prog to store, locate, retrieve specific docs, data, & info using various techs. Salary $144,000/yr. Computer Programmer(Ref#2): Write comp prog using various techs. Salary $121,500/yr. Software Developer(Ref#3): Participate in all phases of SDLC using various techs. Salary $169,500/yr. For all Job locations in NY, NY & various unanticipated client sites nationally requiring relocation & travel to sites involving short & long term assignments. Specify Ref# & Mail resume: Softpath Systems Inc, 75 Maiden Ln, #331, NY, NY 10038.

IT: Luxoft USA — NY, NY needs a Software Developer (902691) to take part in analysis of production incidents and implementing hot fixes. Requires a BS in Comp Sci or CIS and 1 yr relevant exp. Must be willing to travel/relocate. Salary $142,563/yr Must refer to specific job # for consideration. Send resumes to LuxoftRIT@dxc.com

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International Trademark Association, Inc. seeks a Manager, Member Experience in New York, NY. Duties: responsible to execute the strategic direction for the organization's growth within the membership area, specifically membership Recruitment, Retention & Engagement. This includes strategizing, planning,& managing benefits & services that provide value to members & promote membership growth. Responsible for strengthening membership and to meet targets as laid out in the annual budget & strategic plan. Remote work is permitted. Work can be performed anywhere in the U.S. Rate of pay: $111,288 annually. Qualifications: Bachelor Degree in Business Administration; Supply Chain & Information Systems; or Political Science. Must have knowledge of Impexium, Salesforce or similar technologies; exp w/Tableau or Access. Apply to V. Morgan at vmorgan@inta.org.

IT Advisor, Technology Consulting - Data & Analytics (Data Analytics) (Manager) (Multiple Positions) (1509932), Ernst & Young U.S. LLP, New York, NY. Support client engagement teams delivering professional services that focus on complex client business problems involving the acquisition, validation, and analysis of data in electronic form. Travel required up to 30% of the time of which 10% may be international. Employer will accept any suitable combination of education, training, or experience. $152,974.00 per year. For complete job description, list of requirements, and to apply online, go to: ey.com/en_us/careers and click on "Careers - Job Search", then "Search Jobs" (Job Number - 1509932).

IT Advisor, Technology Consulting - Data & Analytics (Predictive & Prescriptive) (Manager) (Multiple Positions) (1509869), Ernst & Young U.S. LLP, New York, NY. Assist clients to grow, improve, protect and innovate their businesses. Travel required up to 80%, of which 10% may be international to meet client needs. Employer will accept any suitable combination of education, training, or experience. $189,521.00 per year. For complete job description, list of requirements, and to apply online, go to: ey.com/en_us/careers and click on "Careers - Job Search", then "Search Jobs" (Job Number - 1509869).

Legal: Sullivan & Cromwell LLP seeks Sr Associate, Tax Group, in NY, NY under supervision of partners: Assist w/capital mrkts transactions, as well as transactions involving special entities such as RICs, REITs & PTPs. Req'mnts: J.D. or foreign equiv. Exp in job offered or rel. occupation must incl at least 3 yrs of exp in int'l tax practice; analyze tax strategies & structures under U.S. tax law & foreign tax treaties; advising on tax aspects of cross-border mergers & acquisitions transactions, derivatives transactions, partnerships, joint ventures, foreign sovereign wealth fund transactions, controlled foreign corporations, & passive foreign investment companies; negotiating tax-rel. contractual provisions w/ counterparties in stock purchase agreements & merger agreements. Must be admitted to practice law in NYS. Offered salary is $310,000 to $435,000/yr, 40 hrs/wk. Pls submit resumes to LegalPersonnel@sullcrom.com & indicate job code RDJN051224NYT.

Legal: Sullivan & Cromwell LLP seeks Sr Associate, General Practice Group, in NY, NY under supervision of partners: to advise domestic & foreign clients on general corp. & partnership matters, periodic reporting under Securities Exchange Act of 1934, corp. governance matters, takeover defense & preparedness, & ongoing compliance w/stock exchange listing req'mnts, Regulation 13D & other applicable laws. Req'mnts: LLM or foreign equiv. Exp in job offered or rel. occupation must incl at least 3 yrs of exp in general practice, researching, analyze issues, reviewing & drafting memoranda, contracts & other agreements & legal docs relating to mergers & acquisitions; structuring, documenting, negotiating & executing mergers & acquisitions transactions, incl domestic & cross-border public & priv acquisitions, bus. combinations, mergers, divestitures or equity investments in each case, incl cash or securities; negotiating & executing joint venture & other strategic partnership transactions; & representing acquirers, targets, issuers, underwriters, lenders &d borrowers; advising reporting persons on periodic reports under Securities Exchange Act of 1934 & stock exchange listing req'mnts, compliance w/Regulation 13D, corp. governance matters, takeover defense & preparedness, & other legal inquiries relating to corp., partnership & securities law matters. Offered salary is between $390,000 & $435,000/yr, 40 hrs/wk. Must be admitted to practice law in NYS. Pls submit resumes to LegalPersonnel@sullcrom.com & indicate job code RDJN051224NYT.

Legal: ELD U.S., Inc. seeks Strategic Accounts Manager in Long Island City, NY. Establish & define company's long-term strategy for new Customer Experience Center. Must have MS in Law, Legal Studies, Business Admin, or related + 2 yrs work exp. & exp. leveraging & analyzing spend data to optimize service, labor, & hardware costs. Telecommuting is available. $140,483/yr. To apply, send resume to apply@elbalobal.com

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Luxottica of America has an opening for STARS Senior Planning Manager in Port Washington, NY to ensure stock is procured from factory and delivered in a timely and congruous manner, consistent with agreed inventory targets. $163,238.00 - $173,238.00/per year. May telecommute pursuant to company policies. To apply, please mail resume to John Scrino at 4000 Luxottica Place, Mason OH 45040. Please refer to Job# 6734.227.

Machine Learning Engineer @ Bloomberg LP (New York, NY) F/T. Dsgn, dvlop & evluate state-of-the art machine learning models, algorithms, & sftwre for new artificial intelligence prjcts. Pstn reqs a Mstr's degree or the frgn equivlnt in comptr scnce, engnrng, machine learning, mthmtcs, statistcs, physics, quntitative finance, or rltd; fllwed by 5 yrs of progressively responsible exp in the job offrd or as a sftwre engnr, data scientist, or rltd. Must hav 1 yr of exprnce in ecch of the fllwng: Linux or Unix; C, C++, C#, Java, JavaScript, Python, or another high-level prgmmming language; SQL or NoSQL; Big data modeling and analysis; Data structures, algorithms, and object-oriented design concepts; Machine learning and natural language processing; and Distributed systems. Any suitable combo of edu, training or exprnce is acceptbe. Rate of pay: $185,000 - $280,000/year. Send resume to BoombergHR@mail.com. Indicate (BH7-2024). EOE.

Made to Measure Specialist for Ermenegildo Zegna Corporation in Manh promote high-end custom made clothing through Made to Measure program including Bespoke services; execute & build new strategies & new approaches to increase daily revenue of made to measure services; maximize sales; dvlp & retain VIP customer relationships to drive sales. Master's in Business Administration or Legal Studies 6 mos exp in job offrd or in related occupation of Business Development Manager req'd Salary: $180,000 per year Respond MC/Zegna PO Box 4241 NYC 10163

Marketing Specialist (Port Washington, NY) Forecast & track hair fashion product industry's marketing & sales trends, analyzing collected data. Bachelor's deg in Business Admin, Marketing or related field + 1 yr exp as Marketing Specialist req'd. Offered wage: $55,784/year. Res: Model Model Hair Fashion 85 Harbor Rd Port Washington, NY 11050

Media Analyst (CALC Partners LLC, New York, NY): Data pipeling, preprcssg, mdlg & anlys; Create user int'rfces; Trnsite goals into tasks & rules for anlys; Put togther insights, craft stories from data & prsnt to teams/clients; Lead media anlysts; Dvlp rprts, visualztns & indxes to trck effctvness of campgns; Anlyz & press data sets; Bld & maintn MTA mdls; Dvlp measrmnt plans to ensure metrics are clicted; Prvd insghts to enable improvmnt of DSA spprt; Mng rltnshps; Produce presntatnl materials on DSA aspcts of prjcts. Reqd exp: Exp w/ advncd mrktg models: MMM, MTA, TV Attribution; ad-hoc anlys: A/B testg, frquency, & incrmntl mrkt lift anlys; match mrkt anlys, geo-lift, brand & sales lift studies; bldg wrkflws using Python & SQL; Google Campaign Mngr, Google Analytics, Adobe Analytics; media buying plfrms: Display & Video 360, Trade Desk, Meta, Snapchat, TikTok; Knwldg of site tags/pixels used to trck media convrsions (Floodlight/Gtags) & exp w/ Ads Data Hub; Google Big Query, AWS Redshift & BI tools: Tableau & Looker Studio for rprtg & anlys; High fluency w/ SQL on PostgreSQL, MySQL, BigQuery; Fluency w/ scripts (Python, Bash); Exp w/ statstcl prgrmmg langs/pckges (R, SAS, Scipy/Numpy/Scikit-learn); Unix/Linux systms & command-line intrfces & editors; AWS & Google Cloud ecosystms; supervsed learn'g & unsuprvsed clster'g algrithms & applctn to data sets; load'g, cleans'g, & anlyzg datasets. Reqs Master's or frgn equiv in Business Intelligence / Analytics, Data Science or rltd fld & 2 yrs exp as Business Intelligence Analyst, Data Scientist or rltd occ. Optn to WFH hybrid sched (3 days in office). Salary: $139,845 - $180,000. Send C.V. to dipti.kant@colepartners.com.

Nanny needed. Provide care for 2 children, prep meals, school/extra-curricular activities, clean, laundry, vacuum, dishes. US travel reqd. Must have 2 yrs exp, HS dip or foreign equiv, and be auth to work in the US. $31,200/yr. Mail resume to Car Morales: 30 Bayard St. Apt. 11B, Brooklyn, NY 11211.

Operations Manager: Smartlasking, Inc. seeks F/T Operations Manager in New York, NY to direct admin./financial activities & support exec. team in development of core service offerings. Req. Bach. degree in Bus. Admin., Finance, or similar (acad. equiv. ok), plus 2 yrs exp. as CEO, Coerctions Manager, or similar. Telecommuting allowed. Intermittent domestic travel to NYC office, plus unanticipated client sites in US (20% of time). Incidental international travel to HQ in Farnham, England, also unanticipated client sites in UK (5% of time). Mail Resumes to Smartlasking Inc., Attn: GG, 10 East 40th St, Ste 1310, New York, NY 10016.

Palantir Technologies, Inc. seeks Quality Engineer (2867) in New York, New York. Create end-to-end test plans based both on expected uses and functional requirements. Travel required. Salary range $126,000 - $146,000/yr. Email resume to: GM-SA-Pal.obs@Palantir.com. Must refrnc. Job Title/# when applying. EOE.

Palantir Technologies, Inc. seeks Software Engineer (2439) in New York, New York. Architect frontend and back-end features for Palantir's software platform. Travel required. Salary range $168,000 - $188,000/yr. Email resume to: GM-SA-Pal.obs@Palantir.com. Must refrnc. Job Title/# when applying. EOE.

Product Specialist for Citibank, N.A. (New York, New York) Lead creation of a vision and strategy and drive roadmap prioritization and execution for initiatives in the Commercial Lending transformation space, utilizing digital transformation tools and macro and micro-economic trends. A telecommut/hybrid work sched may be permittd w/in a commutible distance from worksite in accrdnce w/ Citi policies & protocols. REQS: Req a Bach deg, or frgn equiv, in Biz Economics, Mgmt, Finance, or rltd fld & 3 yrs of progrssivly responsble, post-bach exp as a Product Mger, Product Specialist, IT Biz Lead Analyst, Analyst, Sr Analyst, Consultant, or rltd position involving digital transfrmtn efforts of biz, products, processes, & systems in the fin services industry. 3 yrs of exp must incld: End-to-end sftware development lifecycle; Digital transformation tools & frameworks; & Agile & scrum methodology. At least 2 yrs of exp must incld: App Programming Interface technologies; Strategic frameworks for corporate innovation & approaches to measure financial KPIs; Advanced knowledge of Jira & Confluence software; Macro & micro-economics trends in relation to commlending & finl services; Industry benchmarking & peer anlysis tools & frameworks; & User exp design systems, incld InVision. 10% US & intermitnl travel req. Salary range: $205,000 to $280,400/yr; 40 hrs/wk. Applicants submit resumes at https://jobs.citi.com/. Please reference Job ID #24746801. EO Employer.

Product Management Group Manager for Citibank, N.A. (New York, New York) Product management activities including strategy & planning, execution, performance tracking using financial analysis & developing financial forecasts. A telecommuting/hybrid work sched may be permittcd w/in a commutable distance from worksite

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Software Engineer - New York, NY. Analyze & gather software requirements & engineer/optimize quantitative computer software systems. Minimum requirements: Bachelor's Degree in Computer Science or related IT field & knowledge of: programming language (Java or C++); ability to write software unit tests & functional tests; SQL & relational databases; ability to design efficient & scalable database schemas; front-end technologies including React & Typescript; data structures & algorithms; engineering web services and designing & implementing REST services based on JSON; Javascript, HTML & engineering basic web front-end UI; scripting in Python or Unix shell scripts; software engineering/developing on Unix-based environments & working with version control systems (Git); engineering user facing software applications; & ability to review code of other software engineers/developers & analyze it for adherence to best practices, design & algorithm choices, API design, test coverage & documentation. Must pass firm's required skills assessment. Base pay: $165k-$225k/year (does not include other forms of compensation/benefits). Note Hybrid work attendance policy: In-office work required at below office address on collaboration days based on each team's requirement; remote work permissible for remainder of the same month. Send resume to TS-Pcstline@twosigma.com or mail to TS/HR Dept, Two Sigma Investments LP, 100 6 Ave, 16 Fl, NY, NY 10013. Reference Job ID # 12585

Software Engineer @ Stripe, Inc. (New York, NY and various unanticipated locations across the US) Build highly scalable platforms that are used across the company & enable management of critical company infrastructure. Job req's Bachelor's degree in Comp Sci or rltd & 4 yrs of Softw Engineering exp. Salary: $191,946-$201,944/year. To be considered, applicants must send resume to ad-reply@stripe.com ref job code 3778218.

Software Engineer (Port Washington, NY) Develop, create, & modify general computer applications software & specialized utility programs for the company. BS in technological systems Management or related field. Must have exp working w/ C, C#, C++, JAVA, SQL, Algorithms & UNIX (may be gained through education, training or exp) Wage offered: $89,253/yr Res: Shaken-go 85 Harbor Rd Port Washington, NY 11050

SOFTWARE
CBS Interactive, Inc., dba Paramount seeks a Sr. Software Engineer (JavaScript Developer) in New York, NY to design, build and support high performance, scalable and innovative frontend components. Telecommuting permitted. $169,229 - $175,800/year. Apply at www.jobpostingtoday.com Ref #98064.

Softw Engineer @ Stripe, Inc. (New York, NY and various unanticipated locations across the US) Design, build, & maintain APIs, services, & systms used by internal Stripe engg teams in Ruby & Go. Job req's Bachelor's degree in Comp Sci or rltd & 2yrs of Softw engg exp. Salary: $197,432-$207,432/year. To be considered, applicants must send resume to ad-reply@stripe.com ref job code 3909466.

Softw Engineer @ Stripe, Inc. (New York, NY and various unanticipated locations across the US) Design, build, & maintain scalable APIs, services, & systms to enhance the payment exp. Job req's Bachelor's degree in Comp Sci or rltd & 3 yrs of Softw engg exp. Salary: $115,918-$125,918/year. To be considered, applicants must send resume to ad-reply@stripe.com ref job code 4438161.

Software Engineer @ Stripe, Inc. (New York, NY and various unanticipated locations across the US) 10% telework permitted. Drive cross-team & cross-org technical initiatives. Job req's Master's degree in Comp Sci or rltd & 5 yrs of Softw engineering exp. Salary: $349,782-$219,782/year. To be considered, applicants must send resume to ad-reply@stripe.com ref job code 3799965.

Softw Engineer @ Stripe, Inc. (New York, NY and various unanticipated locations across the US) Design, build, & maintain APIs, services, & systms across Stripes engg teams using Ruby & Go. Job req's Bachelor's degree in Comp Sci or rltd & 2 yrs of softw engg exp. Salary: $201,870-$211,870/year. To be considered, applicants must send resume to ad-reply@stripe.com ref job code 4154284.

Software Engg Mgr: Bach + 8 yrs. Lead analysis, design, dvlpmt, implementation of cloud-based web app solutions. Presidio Networked Solutions, LLC, NY, NY. F/T. May be remote from w/in U.S. $72k to $200k. For benefits visit https://www.presidio.com/careers/ CV to hrrecruitment@presidio.com & ref #6197. No Calls/Agents. Visa sponsorship not offered.

Software: Etsy, Inc. seeks a Senior Software Engineer II in Brooklyn, NY to build features in the Etsy Seller App. Remote position. SALARY RANGE: $178,000 - $208,000 per year. APPLICANTS: Email resume to apply@etsy.com. Reference code when applying: #7856629.

Specialist, Data Science w/ McKinsey & Co, Inc. US (NY, NY). Build predictive, exploratory & optimization models w/ high-dimensional & large-scale data in order to help companies use data to drive decisions. Telecommuting permitted. Req's a Bachelor's in Econ, Fin, or rel field or foreign degree equiv & 2yrs of exp in a data-driven role. Salary range: $192K-$208K/yr. Email your resume to CO@mckinsey.com & refer to Job # 7399308.

Specialized Analytics Sr. Anlyst for Citigroup Global Markets Inc. in NY, NY to process & analyze lrg & complex data sets utilizing stat methods to eval, recommend, & support implementation of bus. strategies. Telecommuting/hybric work schedule permitted w/i commutable distance from/ worksite in accordance w/ Citi policies & protocols. Req: Bachelor. or foreign equiv. in Data Science, Stats, Math, CS, or rel quantitative field. & 2 yrs exp in job offered or rel quantitative occupation in fin'l srvcs industry. 2 yrs exp must incl: Querying, processing, manipulating, & transforming fin'l mkts-rel data from lrg & complex dbases using SQL or Python or other dbase technologies to perform bus. analytics; & working w/ fin'l products to better eval bus. partner needs & propose & deliver relevant solutions to improve bus. performance. 40 hrs./wk. Sal range: $155,000-$155,000/yr. Applicants submit resumes at https://jobs.citi.com/. Ref Job ID #24/4729. EOE.

Specialized Analytics Lead Anlyst for Citibank, N.A. in NY, NY, to dvlp rigorous testing program. Design, track & analyze performance of various acquisition tests & programs to eval effectiveness. Telecommuting/hybric work schedule permitted w/i commutable distance from worksite, in accord. w/ Citi policies & protocols. Req'ts: MA degree, or foreign equiv, in Stats, or rel field, & 2 yrs exp in job offered, or rel occupation. 2 yrs exp must incl: Stat analysis using SAS, SQL in Unix & Hadoop environ; Responsible for Enterprise Data Warehouse & EAP data retrieval w/ data analysis tool such as SAS, SQ_, HUE & Python. 40 hrs./wk. Sal range: $180,100 - $202,500 / yr. Applicants submit resumes at https://jobs.citi.com/. Ref Job ID #24/4358. EOE.

Stable Attendant (Multiple Positions) in Elmont, New York (NY): Cares for and cleans horses, exercises and inspects them according to instructions. Requires one (1) month of experience as a Stable Attendant. Annual Salary Range $36,400 to $38,480. Mail resumes to: Christophe Clement Racing Stable, Inc., 2150 Herrpstead Turnpike, Elmont, NY 11003.

Staff Product Manager - Core Experience sought by StubHub, Inc. in New York, NY to ship & manage multiple high-impact engineering products. Telecommuting may be permitted up to 2 days per week. When not telecommuting, must report to: 175 Greenwich Street, 59th Floor, New York, New York 10007. Salary: $190k to $250k per year. Apply online at: https://jobs.lever.co/StubHub

STATISTICS: Quantitative Researcher (multiple openings) at MPG Operations LLC in New York, NY will dvlp stats models based on hstrcl data. Telecommuting permitted up to 5 days/wk w/ mgr apvl. Salary: $150,000 - $200,000 /yr. Reqs a Master's deg in Stats, Math, Fin Engg, or rltd fld, + 1 yr in a prof'l fxd incm trdg ocup, or rltd ocup. Must incl 1 yr of exp w/ each of the following: (1) prc trd anlys, trd execution, or hedging; (2) global macro markets to trade on pricing inefficiencies; (3) func programming in Q, kdb+, & SQL; (4) fincl time series anlys; (5) dvlp systematic trading models; (6) stub arbitrage; & (7) factor models, scenario anlys, & stats modeling. To apply please send resume to recruiting@mlp.com & ref job code 0385 when applying.

Strategy and Transactions - Transaction and Corporate Finance (TCF) - Valuation Modeling & Economics - Decision Modeling & Analysis - Business Modeling (Senior Manager) (Multiple Positions), Ernst & Young U.S. LLP, New York, NY. Manage teams analyzing financial information to forecast business conditions and develop financial analytics solutions for tax planning; financial accounting; investment appraisal; and mergers and acquisitions including integrations and divestitures. Domestic and regional travel required up to 75% to meet client needs. Employer will accept any suitable combination of education, training, or experience. $226,005.00 per year. For complete job description, list of requirements, and to apply online, go to: ey.com/en_us/careers and click on "Careers - Job Search", then "Search Jobs" (Job Number - 1509701).

Superintendents: Clune Construction Company, LP. seeks Sr. Superintendents for New York, NY location to manage multiple large & complex construction projects w/high level of quality assurance & quality control. Bachelor in Civil Engr/ Construction Mgmt/related field +7yrs exp req'd. Req'd skills: Exp w/CMC, Phoenix, PlanGrid; surveying logistical challenges associated w/building, such as double-lift elevators, to determine how deliveries will be impacted; identifying the amount of protection & clean up that will be needed for a project & the frequency of debris removal; assessing personnel hours req'd during a project's life cycle, incl overtime; Completing & approving General Conditions Analyses. $182,874/yr - $182,874/yr. Apply online: https://www.cluneac.com/careers/ REF: 2314459

Swiss Re Management (US) Corporation has openings in Armonk, NY (Telecommuting permitted from anywhere in the U.S).

Tax Analyst: Work in close partnership & collaborate closely & collaboratively with other members of the US tax team to support tax compliance & reporting responsibilities. Salary: $101,000 to $132,000/yr.

QA Engineering Lead. Serve as test software applications technical lead in identifying & reporting defects. Salary: $144,000-$180,000/yr.

Applicants submit resume via email to: HumanResources.US@swissre.com

Systems Planning Manager wanted by GridLiance Management, LLC in Irving, TX to serve as tech expert on transmission planning studies, inc development, analysis, & reporting. Work w/ Ops & Engg to manage, direct, & conduct transmission studies for construction, ops & maintenance purposes. Requires: Bach deg or frgn equiv. in Electrical Engg or rltd field & 7 yrs exp in an engg role. Spec Reqs: 5 yrs exp w/ PSS/E or similar power flow s/ware; 5 yrs exp w/ transmission planning & assessment techniques; 5 yrs exp w/ transmission sys reliability standards; & 5 yrs exp w/ MS Word, Excel, Powerpoint, & Outlook. Fully remote work available. Must be able to travel to main transmission office when needed - TX, CA, FL or NY. Resumes: Nadine Guagliano, 700 Universe Blvd, Juno Beach, FL 33408 or resumes@nee.com Ref: "Sys Planning Mgr - Grid"

Tax Advisor, National Tax (Indirect Tax - Value Added Tax) (Manager) (Multiple Positions), Ernst & Young U.S. LLP, New York, NY. Advise clients within the pharmaceuticals, telecommunications, financial services, petrochemicals, and/or media and entertainment industries regarding international value added tax (VAT) matters. Requires travel up to 40%, of which 10% may be international, to serve client needs. Employer will accept any suitable combination of education, training, or experience. $143,565.00 per year. For complete job description, list of requirements, and to apply online, go to: ey.com/en_us/careers and click on "Careers - Job Search", then "Search Jobs" (Job # - 1512432).

Tax Advisor, National Tax (SAP Tax Integration Tax Technology & Transformation) (Senior) (Multiple Positions), Ernst & Young U.S. LLP, New York, NY. Provide business tax services and tax technology services to help client companies meet complex demands for tax reporting, compliance and planning. Requires travel up to 50% in order to serve client needs. Employer will accept any suitable combination of education, training, or experience. $150,690.00 per year. For complete job description, list of requirements, and to apply online, go to: ey.com/en_us/careers and click on "Careers - Job Search", then "Search Jobs" (Job Number - 1480011).

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Tech: Meta Platforms, Inc. (f/k/a Facebook, Inc.) has the following positions in New York, NY:

Software Engineer (Product): Develop, design, create, modify, and/or test software applications or systems for various products or software services. (ref. code REQ-2405-137615: $168,329/year - $200,200/year).

Software Engineer, Product: Develop, design, create, modify, and/or test software applications or systems for various products or software services. (ref. code REQ-2405-137895: $214,032/year - $240,240/year).

Software Engineer, Product: Develop, design, create, modify, and/or test software applications or systems for various products or software services. (ref. code REQ-2405-137780: $139,320/year - $158,400/year).

Business Planning and Operations Lead: Provide sales management with analytic support. (ref. code REQ-2405-137788: $196,162/year-$205,700/year).

Product Policy Manager: Support new product launches by counseling on product risks and providing mitigations through analyzing risks, tools and processes. (ref. code REQ-2405-137792: $185,884/year-$204,820/year).

Software Engineer (Product): Develop, design, create, modify, and/or test software applications or systems for various products or software services. (ref. code REQ-2405-137827: $258,524/year to $290,180/year).

Software Engineer (Machine Learning): Research, design, develop, and test operating systems-level software, compilers, and network distribution software for massive social data and prediction problems. (ref. code REQ-2405-137852: $182,608/year - $200,200/year).

Software Engineer, Machine Learning: Research, design, develop, and test operating systems-level software, compilers, and network distribution software for massive social data and prediction problems. (ref. code REQ-2405-137919: $227,972/year - $240,240/year).

Software Engineer, Product: Develop, design, create, modify, and/or test software applications or systems for various products or software services. (ref. code REQ-2405-137850: $144,349/year - $158,400/year).

Business Planning & Operations Lead: Develop strong collaborative partnerships with key stakeholders and partners within the North America team and across the company, including leading cross-functional task forces on major initiatives. (ref. code REQ-2405-136840: $188,147/year - $205,700/year).

Software Engineer, (Systems): Research, design, develop, build and test operating systems-level software, compilers, and network distribution software for large distributed components that run applications. (ref. code REQ-2405-137437: $258,524/year - $290,180/year).

Marketing Science Partner: Engage with clients and agencies to share research based best practices and spearhead initiatives to measure business value by building and operationalizing data-driven learning agendas to highlight how clients can improve business outcomes and optimize revenue. Up to 20% domestic/international travel required. (ref. code REQ-2405-137712: $213,355/year - $216,700/year).

Software Engineer, Product: Develop, design, create, modify, and/or test software applications or systems for various products or software services. (ref. code REQ-2405-137956: $178,360/year - $200,200/year).

Software Engineer, Systems General: Research, design, develop, build and test operating systems-level software, compilers, and network distribution software for large distributed components that run applications. (ref. code REQ-2405-137916: $144,135/year - $158,400/year).

Individual pay is determined by skills, qualifications, experience, and location. Compensation details listed in this posting reflect the base salary only, and do not include bonus or equity or sales incentives, if applicable. In addition to base salary, Meta offers benefits. Learn more about benefits at Meta at this link: https://www.metacareers.com/facebook-life/benefits. For full information & to apply online, visit us at the following website http://www.metacareers.com/jobs & search using the ref code(s) above.

Tech: Meta Platforms, Inc. (f/k/a Facebook, Inc.) has the following positions in New York, NY:

Software Engineer: Develop, design, create, modify, and/or test software applications or systems for various products or software services. (ref. code REQ-2405-138108: $182,608/year - $200,200/year).

Software Engineer, Systems: Research, design, develop, build and test operating systems-level software, compilers, and network distribution software for large distributed components that run applications. (ref. code REQ-2405-138127: $258,524/year - $290,180/year).

Software Engineer: Develop, design, create, modify, and/or test software applications or systems for various mobile software services. (ref. code REQ-2405-138092: $179,165/year - $200,200/year).

Research Scientist (91.17962.3): Perform research and develop solutions to computer software and computer hardware problems. (ref. code REQ-2405-138078: $189,897/year - $200,200/year).

Software Engineer, Systems: Research, design, develop, build and test operating systems-level software, compilers, and network distribution software for large distributed components that run applications. (ref. code REQ-2405-138085: $148,647/year - $158,400/year).

Software Engineer, Machine Learning: Research, design, develop, and test operating systems-level software, compilers, and network distribution software for massive social data and prediction problems. (ref. code REQ-2405-138050: $221,926/year - $240,240/year).

Software Engineer: Help build the next generation of systems behind Meta's products, create web and/or mobile applications that reach over two billion people and build high volume servers to support content. (ref. code REQ-2405-137948: $221,396/year - $240,240/year).

Software Engineer: Help build the next generation of systems behind Meta's products, create web and/or mobile applications that reach over two billion people, and build high-volume servers to support content. (ref. code REQ-2405-137881: $214,032/year - $240,240/year).

Software Engineer: Help build the next generation of systems behind Meta's products, create web and/or mobile applications that reach over two billion people, and build high-volume servers to support content. (ref. code REQ-2405-137959: $219,221/year - $240,240/year).

Software Engineer (iOS): Develop, design, create, modify, and/or test software applications or systems for various mobile software services. (ref. code REQ-2405-138131: $150,464/year - $158,400/year).

Machine Learning Engineer: Develop highly scalable classifiers and tools leveraging machine learning, data regression, and rules based models. (ref. code REQ-2405-138015: $235,724/year - $240,240/year).

Software Engineer, Systems: Research, design, develop, build and test operating systems-level software, compilers, and network distribution software for large distributed components that run applications. (ref. code REQ-2405-138026: $139,952/year - $158,400/year).

Product Designer: Design digital user interfaces, create graphics, and design new experiences or layouts that evolve and/or define visual systems for web based applications and technologies with a focus on aesthetics and design. (ref. code REQ-2405-138078: $203,276/year - $223,860/year).

Business Engineer: Utilize Meta's proprietary tools, technologies, and products to build solutions to solve problems at scale. (ref. code REQ-2405-137901: $255,663/year - $284,900/year).

Front End Engineer: Develop, design, create, modify, and/or test mobile and desktop web software applications or systems. (ref. code REQ-2405-138691: $180,583/year - $200,200/year).

Software Engineer, Product: Develop, design, create, modify, and/or test software applications or systems for various products or software services. (ref. code REQ-2405-138887: $148,641/year - $158,400/year).

Data Scientist: Collect, organize, interpret, and summarize statistical data in order to contribute to the design and development of Meta products. (ref. code REQ-2405-138685: $180093/year - $196900/year).

Software Engineer, Machine Learning: Research, design, develop, and test operating systems-level software, compilers and network distribution software for massive social data and prediction problems. (ref. code REQ-2405-138073: $219,221/year - $240,240/year).

Software Engineer: Help build the next generation of systems behind Facebook's products, create web and/or mobile applications that reach over two billion people, and build high- volume servers to support content. (ref. code REQ-2405-138137: $220,596/year - $240,240/year).

Software Engineer, Product: Develop, design, create, modify, or test software applications or systems for various products or software services. (ref. code REQ-2405-137825: $178,360/year - $200,200/year).

Individual pay is determined by skills, qualifications, experience, and location. Compensation details listed in this posting reflect the base salary only, and do not include bonus or equity or sales incentives, if applicable. In addition to base salary, Meta offers benefits. Learn more about benefits at Meta at this link: https://www.metacareers.com/facebook-life/benefits. For full information & to apply online, visit us at the following website http://www.metacareers.com/jobs & search using the ref code(s) above.

TECHNOLOGY
Coinbase has the following multiple openings in New York, NY (Job opportunities available at all levels, e.g., Principal, Senior and Lead levels):

Software Engineers (19861): Design scalable systems to solve novel problems with modern cloud technology and industry best practices. Telecommuting permitted. Salary Range: $139,500 to $205,999.

Software Engineers (63468): Design scalable systems to solve novel problems with modern cloud technology and industry best practices. Telecommuting permitted. Salary Range: $174,000 to $205,999.

Product Designers (69433): Design objects, facilities, and environments to optimize human well-being and overall system performance, applying theory, principles, and data regarding the relationship between humans and respective technology. Telecommuting permitted. Salary Range: $155,000 to $205,999.

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Underwriting Mngr 2 underwrite & mng assigned book of biz; mng & monitor overall pricing practices & targets. Sal: $87,818-110k/yr.

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Sr. DevOps Engnr 2 design & implmnt reliability features, ie fault tolerance, error hndlg & monitrng into prdct & srvces. Sal: $169,229-$195k/yr.

Telecommuting from anywhere in US permissible for all. Salary dep on exp, loc, mrkt data & may vary. Competitive bnfts incl med ins, PTO, 401k, parental leave, FSA, HSA, etc. Apply at www.theguarantors.com/careers & select specific job title.

The Guardian Life Insurance Co of America seeks Data Scientist II in NY, NY. $140k-$165k. Collab w/ biz stakeholders to undrstd biz needs & dvlp data-driven approches for biz stratg's & optns. May telecommute. Send resume to resumes@glic.com & ref Data Sci II & Job #21145.149

Thornton Tomasetti seeks Sr. Engineers - Applied Science in New York, NY to perform advanced analysis and research on engineering problems. Salary: $122,000/year. Apply @ jobpostingtoday.com/ Ref #94456.

Tishman Speyer Properties LLC has an opening for a Cost Specalist in NY, NY. Job duties include responsibility for document control, reporting, obtaining agency approvals, financial control, Contract & Change Order Management, and administrative support for construction projects. Salary: $52,413 - $115,000 per year. Mail resume to S. Ricci, Tishman Speyer, 45 Rockefeller Plaza, NY, NY 10111 and reference job 20703.11. EOE: M/F/D/V

Trader- Citibank, N.A. (NY, NY) Dev & mnge the risk & trding infrstrctre, incl prtflio risk, & ensure risks are crrectly rprsentd on bhalf of the entity. A telecommuting/hybrid work schdule may be permitted w/in a commutable dist. from the worksite, in accrdnce with Citi pclcies & prtcols. REQS: Reqs a Bach's deg (or frgn equiv) in Eco, Math or rel field & 2 yrs of exp as a Trder, Sales & Trding Prgrmr Anlyst, or rel positn involv USD Swaps Trdng in a finncial institution. Must have 2 yrs of exp with Calculting risk & prfit of & loss of positions & trde by trde rconciliations; Mng risk in a prfitable way tht genrates rtums for shrholdrs; Pricing & evaluting intrst rate swps & rel drivates accurtely for evry trde & undrstnd the constrction of swap curves; Discounting cash flows, & calculting present values, to dtrmne fair value of swaps; & Prgrmming lngs python, kdb, vba on a daily basis for macros usage in spreadsheets, hstrcl data anlysis & data collecting. Mrkt trding envir & undrstnding mrkt dynmics, macroeocs & fedral resrve behvior. Must have Series 7, Series 63, & SIE licensure. Salary range: $160,000 to $175,000/yr; 40 hrs/wk. Apps submit resumes at https://jobs.citi.com/. Please reference Job ID #24/54082. EO Employer.

Trader (Citadel Americas Services LLC – New York, NY): Mult. Pos. Avail. Monitor & analyze incoming mkt info, econ news, & trading activity to manage portfolio risk, identify investmt opportunities & make trading decisions. F/T. Reqs a Bachelor's degree (or foreign equiv) in Fin, Econ, Applied Math, Eng's, Comp Sci, Physics, Operations Info & Decisions, or a related quant field. Edu, exp, or training must include the following: Working in financial markets with derivative pricing; Analyzing large data sets & other informational input to inform investmt & trading decisions; Arbitrage opportunities in international markets; & Hedging currency & beta exposures. Salary range is $130,000 - $170,000/yr. Send resumes to: citadelrecruitment@citadel.com. Reference Job ID: 7799710.

United Parcel Service General Services Co. has the following jobs available in in Mahwah, NJ. Telecommuting permitted: Sr. Database Analyst (Req.# 21-11809): Interact w/ functional representatives, biz analysts, data analysts, Systems Administration & Programming & Applications Development project teams to apply data operations req's that support effective storage & retrieval of data. Req's: BS(or equiv.)+3 yrs. exp. Salary: $122,952 - $141,394 per annum. Sr Systems Programming Analyst (Req.# 21-11795): Responsible for implementation, configuration & support of apps running on Linux RHEL Operating Systems as well as configuration of ESX Hosts in VMWare environment. Req's: MS(or equiv.)+2 yrs. exp. Salary: $107,760 - $123,924 per annum. Submit resume w/ ref. to: (include Req. No.) at: ATTN: UPS, UPSONLINEJOBPOSTINGS@ups.com.

Veeva Systems Inc. has multiple openings for the following in NY, NY: Health Data Analytics Supervisor (Ref#HC24VVNY) Build erd to end data quality monitring sys, mentr Jr Data Analysts, work w/ Sr PMs on prod features. Sal: $163,240-$173,240. Manager, Crossix Analytics Svcs (Ref#Sfcqmd) Deliver data driven insights & analytics to life sci companies. Work w/ team on data interpretation. Up to 30% domstc and intn'l travel req. Sal: $163,250-$173,250. Telecommuting from anywhere in the U.S. is permissible for all. Salary range listed has been provided to comply w/ local regs & reps a potential base salary range for this role. Actual salaries may vary depending on exp & location. Send CV & cvr ltr to jackie.libertiny@veeva.com w/ Ref#.

Brookfield Asset Management LLC (NY, NY) seeks Senior Vice President to be responsble for oversecing the due dilgnce (DD) and underwriting process on lrg (>$1Bn TEV) trnsctns incl commrc'l DD, fincl DD, legal, functnl, and operatnl. Reqs BS (US or forgn equiv) in Busnss Admin, Finance, Accntng, or a rltd field +5yrs of exp in job offrd or in a rltd role. All of recd exp must have incl'd exp w/ advncd fincl modlng and anlys to evalte potentl investmnts and forecast investmnt prfrmnce; assistng w/ the sourcng of potentl'l investmnt opprtnities (via market rsrch, industry outreach, and busnss dvlpmnt); mngng portflio companies including, monitrng busnss prfrmnce and implmntng operatnl improvemnts; leading all aspects of due-dilgnce on a potentl investmnt opprtnty; negotiatng w/ counterparties and mngng cmplx investmnts / trnsctns; identfyng, assessng, and mngng potentl risks in investmnt decsns; understndng various indstries (incl indstr'ls, busnss srvcs, and sftwre/tchnlgy), enabling the identfcatn of promsng investmnt opprtnities; mngng cross functnl teams; and identfyng and implmntng value creatn opprtunities in prtflio companies, incl operatnl improvemnts and strategic initiatives. Pos recs domstc travel 10% of the tim. Salary: $480,000-$500,000/year. E-mail res to taylor.leonhardt@brookfield.com

Jefferies LLC (NY, NY) seeks Assistant Vice President to mnge phases for multiple prjcts, incl dvlpmnt, testng, & dplovmnt, to ensre accrate clearnnt w/ app architctre & busnss objctvs. Reqs BS (US or forgn equiv) in CompSci, IT, Data Sci, Fincl Engg, or a rltd field +3yrs of exp in pos offrd or in a rltd role. All of reqd exp must have incl'd exp w/: utlzng knwldge of Front Office Fixed Income Sales & Trading systm; utlzng knwldge of Fixed Income Prdcts, Buy & Sell Side mrkt structre, & E-Trading protocols; understnding Sales to Trader wrkflws; utlzng knwldge of bond pricng & anlytcl mathematcl & pricng libraries; wrkng w/ busnss stakehdrs & tchncl team leads to dvlp the precise tchncl & busnss prdct roadmap; facilitatng busnss process integratn efforts btwn divrse arouns; communcatng tchncl concpts to non-tchncl audiences; understnding Fixed Income ION Trading Platfrm; utlzng knwldge of AMPS message bus, utlzng knwldge of Bloomberg TOMS Risk & Pnl system; Atlassn Ste of DevOps Tools, incl Jira, Bitbucket, Bamboo, & Confluence; Python; utlzng advncd SQL knwldge across database platfrms incl Oracle, Postgres, MSSQL, & RedShift; understanding automated testng & dplovment processes; & Linux/Unix & Windows OS. Salary: $1/0000/yr. E-mail res to apply@jefferies.com. Ref #118.

Vice President / Investment Banker sought by BofA Securities, Inc. to Support the origination & execution of investment banking transaction mandates for large-cap corp clients such as buy & sell-side M&A, inclusive of cross-border transactions. Prepare client presentation materials, internal approval memos, & marketing documents such as roadshow materials & confidential info memorandums to execute transactions. Reqs: Bach degree or equiv. & 4 yrs exp. in: Global bank-/bulge bracket M&A transactions, incl executing both public & private buy-side & sell-side M&A transactions; Preparing financial analysis, incl detailed valuation analysis used in M&A transactions, such as: LBO analysis, discounted cash flow, accretion & dilution, M&A transactions pro forma analysis, comparative company analysis, & sum of the parts analysis. The Emp will accept 2 years of fin exp in lieu of a Bach degree in a stated field. 10% domestic & int'l travel, as nec. Salary: $275,000 - $275,000/yr. Job Site: New York, NY. Req#24022078. If interested apply online at www.bankofamerica.com/careers or email your resume to bofajobs@bofa.com & reference the job title of the role & requisition number. No phone calls. EOE.

Sumitomo Mitsui Banking Corporation (NY, NY) seeks VP, Origination to prtfm fincl anlys to provde sr bankrs suppt w/ orgnts, exctn & monitrng of lender finance trnsctns. Reqs MS in Bus Admin, Finance or Accntng +3yrs exp in pos offrd or as Assoc Anlyst or Risk Specialist at bank or fincl srvcs firm or Bach in Bus Admin, Finance or Accntng +5yrs prgrssv post-Bach exp in pos offrd or as Assoc Anlyst or Risk Specialist at bank or fincl srvcs firm. All reqd exp must've incl'd anlyzng credit risk of CLOs & ABS securtzn trnsctns; conductng anlys on undrlyng assets by utlzng histrcl prfrmnce data such as delnquencies, losses & recovries; prfrmng modlng by applyng var statistcl tchnqs incl probability distrbutns & Monte Carlo simulatn to arrive at PD, LGD & EL; monitrng prtfolio prfrmnce of CLOs & securtzn trnsctns by tracking key trnsctn triggrs; & rvwng & enhncng rating criteria & mthdlgs. #LI-DN Role entails hybrid wrk, w/ time split btwn wrking in NYC office & flexblty to telecmmte from anothr US locatn. Salary: $225,000-$230,000/yr. Email res to: Alexandra.Mercado@smbcgroup.com Ref.#489.

VICE PRESIDENT, INVESTMENT BANKING sought by Moelis & Company Group LP in New York, NY. Req Bachelors in Bus Admin, Econ, Fin, Acctg or rel + 3 yrs of financial mgt or rel analysis exp in finance or investment banking industry. Req Series 7 and 63 licenses. Salary for this position in New York City is expected to be $230,000/yr. Base pay is based on many factors & may vary based on exp, skills, educ & other job-related reasons. Submit resume to: www.moelis.com/careers & follow prompts to apply/submit resume online.

Vice President, Healthcare for Luzard-Freres & Co. LLC (NY, NY). Advise major domestic & internatl clients on investments, M&A, divestitures, financings & other strategic decisions w/in the healthcare sector. Min. Reqs: Master's deg or foreign equiv in Bus Admin, Business Mgmt, Finance or Econ & 3 yrs of investment banking exp as an Assoc or alternatively, bach deg or foreign equiv in Business Admin, Business Mgmt, Finance or Econ & 5 yrs of exp in investment banking (2 yrs as an Analyst & 3 yrs as an Assoc). Exp must incl the following: Performing extensive due diligence & in-depth valuation analyses for internatl & U.S. companies in the healthcare & pharm sectors; Working on cross-border transactions incl: Mergers, acquisitions, divestitures, strategic &private equity buy-sides, regulatory-related divestitures & reacquisitions, separation into multiple public companies, complex business valuations & special committee assignments, capital mkts structure advisory assignments as well as strategic investments; Constructing highly complex financial models & performing valuation analyses, incl value creation & scenario planning, leveraged buyout, discounted cash flow, sum of parts, business combination/separation, accretion/dilution, optimal capital structure, proforma impact, comparable companies, & precedent transactions analyses; Conducting negotiations & communication tactics analyses, fairness opinions, mng highly complex sell & buy-side processes involving cash & stock-based instruments, like-like combinations, minority shareholder squeeze-outs & bidding wars, & preparing board, shareholder & investor presentations; Working w/ deal structures & corporate transactions in excess of $10 billion USD in healthcare & pharm sector. Telework permissible w/in commuting distance. Sal: $275,000/yr. Send resume by email to USResumes@lazard.com. Please ref job code VPH2004

Jefferies LLC (NY, NY) seeks Vice President to prfrm entrprse dvlpmnt of trading app site for the Securities Finance (SF) busnss area w/i Jefferies Equities dvsn. Reqs MS (US or forgn equiv) in CompSci or a rltd field +2yrs of exp in pos offrd or a fincl sftwre dvlpmnt role or BS (US or forgn equiv) in CompSci or a rltd field +5yrs of exp in pos offrd or a fincl sftwre dvlpmnt role. All of reqd exp must have incl'd exp w/: dvlpng distributed entrprse trade apps; wrkng in the securities finance supply & demand space focusing on locates & trade lifecycle (pre-trade & post-trade) functns; prjct & stakehldr mgmt; AWS cloud srvcs; Java across both clnt (UI) & srvr-side; & SQL. Role entails hybrid wrk, w/ time split btwn wrkng in our NYC office & flexblty to telecommute from anothr US locatn. Salary: $170,000/yr. E-mail res to apply@jefferies.com, Ref #143.

VP, Sustainable Fixed Income sought by BofA Securities, Inc. to originate, structure, & execute Green, Social, Sustainability & Sustainability-Linked bonds in partnership with debt capital markets groups. Build & demonstrate subject-matter expertise on ESG investor attitudes & responsible investment market. Reqs: Bach or equiv. & 5 yrs exp. in: Supporting investment & corp banking industry groups as the subject matter expert on sustainability issues in Latin America, incl. regulatory developments & maintaining connectivity with relevant local sustainability rating/certification/assurance/data providers in Latin America; Performing comprehensive ESG analysis using comparable companies & precedent transactions. 30% domestic travel, as nec. Salary: $275,000 - $275,000/yr. Job Site: New York, NY. Req#24022065. If interested apply online at www.bankofamerica.com/careers or email your resume to bofajobs@bofa.com & reference the job title of the role & requisition number. No phone calls. EOE.

Yahoo Holdings Inc. has the following job opportunities in New York, NY. Telecommute role, may work remotely from anywhere in the US. *Data Scientist II (Req # L23-142755): Analyze user needs & identify/prioritize the problems, pain points & pleasure points (via Anaytics, behaviors, click-sconversions, funnels). Req's: MS(or equiv.). Salary $138,750-$221,250 per yr. *Sr Data Engineer (Req # L23-142764): Work w/ Manager, Intelligent Automation Engineering, as well as all teams w/in Controller's organization, to understand functional & technical design for any process identified as a potential for automation. Req's: MS(or equiv.). Salary: $124,000-$251,250 per yr. *Sr. Data Engineer (Req # L23-142785): Dvlp & configure automation processes. Duties include evaluate, recommend & implement system automation tools. Req's: BS(or equiv.) + 5 yrs. exp. Salary: $150,750-$251,250 per yr. *Procurement Analyst (Req # L23-142795): Design & analyze biz system data inputs to support procurement & supply chain projects. Req's: MS(or equiv.) + 1 yr. exp. Salary: $78,894-$117,500 per yr. *Global Agency Sr Exec (Req # L23-142751): Dvlp & directly manage executive agency relationships & agency partnerships, ultimately serving as their Yahoo Ambassador & trusted advisor, while driving Yahoo's media, data & platform revenue. Req's: BS(or equiv.) + 3 yrs. exp. Salary: $198,000-$396,125 per yr. *Systems Engineer (Req # L23-142786): Work as an operations representative w/in advertising platforms, speaking to operational reqs, design considerations & production impacts for new dvlpmnt efforts. Req's: BS(or equiv.) + 2 yrs. exp. Salary: $85,625-$156,375 per yr. *Data Scientist II (Req # L23-142760): Analyze user needs & identify/prioritize the problems, pain points & pleasure points (via Anaytics, behaviors, click-sconversions, funnels). Req's: MS(or equiv.) + 2 yrs. exp. Salary: $160,125-$266,875 per yr. *Sr Research Engineer-(AGGUAJ) (Req # L23-142762): Work w/ large- scale datasets & solve complex biz & technical problems through analysis, modeling & platform solutions. Req's: MS(or equiv.) + 2 yrs. exp. Salary: $150,125-$266,875 per yr. Submit resume, specifying Req. # by email to: abby.jones@yahooinc.com.

Yahoo Holdings Inc. has the following job opportunities in New York, NY. Telecommute role, may work remotely from anywhere in the US. *Research Scientist (Req # L23-142782): Dvlp state-of-the-art machine learning approaches & solutions in information extraction, knowledge graph, information retrieval &/or content understanding. Req's: Ph.D.(or equiv.) + 2 yrs. exp. Exp therein to include 2 yrs. of research exp in machine learning & info extraction, natural language processing, knowledge graph, info retrieval &/or recommendation. Req's publications in 1 or more of above subjects. Salary $160,125-$266,875 per yr. *Sr. Technical Product Manager (Data) (GREHS (Req # L23-142789): Oversee all aspects of data intake, integration, hygiene & QA associated

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SundayStyles

The New York Times

SUNDAY, JUNE 16, 2024

Dries Van Noten Takes His Exit

The designer reveals why he is retiring, his fears and why fashion is 'an addiction.'

BY VANESSA FRIEDMAN

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ANS BRYS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



ALI CHERKIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Gathering for a New York Liberty basketball game at Barclays Center in Brooklyn.

Actual Places to Meet Actual People

Stop swiping and start talking to someone new at one of these vetted New York hot spots.

By SADIBA HASAN, GINA CHERELUS and NIA DECAILLE

In 2012, Tinder introduced its swipe feature. Other apps followed suit, making the feature ubiquitous, and matchmaking was never the same. And now, 12 years later, people are tired: tired of transactional swiping, monotonous getting-to-know-you first dates, and conversations that fizzle out in days.

Many people, young people in particular, are open about wanting the spark that can feel missing when mindlessly scrolling an app. There's a yearning to return to the days of meeting someone in person, a longing for human connection.

But, if it's serendipity you crave, where do you go to meet new people in New York? A lot has changed post-pandemic — old staples have closed, new places have opened.

Of course, you could have a meet-cute anywhere in New York. But that doesn't mean it's always easy to figure out where to go to meet other singles. And if you can't figure it out, you might find yourself drifting back to those tiresome apps.

Three reporters combed the city for fun places for all kinds of people — whether you're a book lover, a partygoer, a fitness enthusiast, an introvert or an extrovert. Inside are some of the places to meet people in real life.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

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Actual Places to Meet Actual People

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1



PHOTOGRAPHS BY ALI CHERKIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Good Place To Spin and Groove

RECORD ROOM
Listening bar and lounge
4709 Center Boulevard
Long Island City, Queens
Free

For the audiophile who doesn't want to dance alone at home, Record Room in Long Island City is the right groove. Expect different crowds depending on the D.J., with everything from Afrobeats and R&B to early 2000s and hip-hop, but patrons are typically in their late 20s to mid-30s. Records line the walls of this cafe by day and cocktail bar by night as you walk toward the back room. And that's where the magic happens: Everything is awash in red light, adding a flirtatious flare to the cozy atmosphere of plush couches.

Walé Akin, 32, a Harlem transplant from Atlanta, said the spot came highly recommended by women friends who had found new beaus after a night out there. "New York is really fun," he said, "but you don't always see a lot of places where you can have that intimate conversation." He found that Record Room offered that atmosphere.

If you're looking to make a new friend, try Tuesday nights, their Suede R&B night hosted by DJ Moochie and DJ SVP-PLY. The party is in full swing by 10 p.m., when they come to collect the bar stools to make more room for, say, a breakout dance session of the electric slide to Cameo's "Candy."

Sports Enthusiast Gathering Spot

A NEW YORK LIBERTY GAME
Barclays Center
620 Atlantic Avenue
Prospect Heights, Brooklyn
Ticket prices vary



Women's basketball has been growing in popularity, spawning memes, drama, conversation, headlines and, yes, opportunities for a meet-cute. At a recent Sunday game against the Indiana Fever, the arena roared with energy from the crowd as Ellie the Elephant busted out the worm courtside and Breanna Stewart and her teammates scored basket after basket.

Not only are Liberty games incredibly fun, they have also been gaining a reputation as a matchmaking location for lesbians, with one TikTok user even referring to the Sunday game as "lesbian church" in a video.

Zoe Woolrich, 21, a social media fellow at Business Insider, attended the game hoping to meet other women. "When you're a queer woman that wants to find another queer woman that enjoys sports, it's the best place to go," she said. "And you get to watch the game. So it's a win-win."

And it's not just for queer women. Kiki Luo, a 23-year-old student at N.Y.U. who attended the Sunday game, said she exchanged contact information with a man at the arena who had been locking eyes with her throughout the game.





Book Lovers' Haunt

THE LIT. BAR
Bookstore
131 Alexander Avenue
Mott Haven, the Bronx
Free

This cozy bookstore is nestled in the southern tip of a busy street in the Bronx, housing a curated collection of books with categories like "This is where Black woman and feminism intersect" and "Politickin'," which patrons can browse as R&B music plays in the background.

The bar at the back of the bookstore is a great place to sip wine while connecting with fellow readers. "People get to know each other through their conversation on books," said Noëlle Santos, who opened the Lit. Bar in April 2019. "I see that all the time here."

The bookstore hosts events and book signings where people of all ages mingle. (This coming Tuesday, Taraji P. Henson will be there signing copies of her children's book "You Can Be a Good Friend (No Matter What!).") On weekends, book clubs frequently host meetings there. Sundays are busy with people who browse after brunch.

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Theater Buffs' Hangout

THE DRAMA BOOK SHOP
Bookstore
266 West 39th Street
Midtown Manhattan
Free

In the Times Square area, you can find like-minded souls between the aisles at the Drama Book Shop. An attraction for theater lovers and aspiring actors (Lin-Manuel Miranda is one of the owners), the bookstore caters to a variety of ages.

The booths near the front are where you'll find people with their laptops and high tables facing the windows — a good spot for people-watching. The sweet spot is a seating area in the back. There, you may find eager enthusiasts thumbing through pages, and, if you're bold enough, venture into conversation with someone seated nearby. Xavier Moses, 24, who works at the store, said they were once asked to coffee by a regular customer.

Mx. Moses, who lives in Harlem, said socializing in the theater community can feel like it's "résumés first," which isn't exactly romantic. But the bookstore is "specific enough that people come here with intention," Mx. Moses said, which increases the likelihood of meeting someone like-minded.

Leisurely Haven For Queer Women

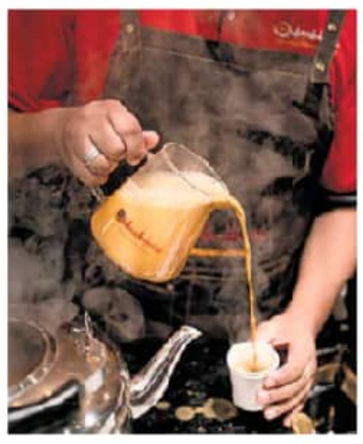
GINGER'S
Irish pub
363 Fifth Avenue
Park Slope, Brooklyn
Free

Inside the bright blue and yellow exterior of Ginger's, beyond the long wooden bar up front and out the back room housing a pool table, lies a backyard where women affectionately sit on one another's laps in lounge chairs.

The bar opened in 2000, and it's now one of the last lesbian bars in New York. Patrons of all ages said they feel comfortable there and have found a community of queer women and nonbinary people.

"We're always chatting with people," said Beth Gilson, 30, a cat sitter. "People are here to get numbers, chat and be a little flirty. It's safe, and it's chill, and if anyone does hit on you, they're very respectful."

From Thursday to Saturday, Ginger's is bubbling with energy, but the music is low enough to let you strike up a conversation with a stranger.



Scouting for Tea And a Love Match

QAHWAH HOUSE
Cafe
Several locations
Manhattan, Brooklyn and Queens
Free

This bustling Yemeni cafe is known among Muslims as a hot spot for scoping out potential mates, and has become a popular subject to joke about on TikTok.

On a typical weekend night at Qahwah House, which serves coffee and tea doused in spices like cardamom, cinnamon and cloves until as late as 2 a.m. during Ramadan, the line creeps out the door. Myesha Choudhury, a 22-year-old student, has been visiting the Williamsburg location since it opened in November 2020. (There are also locations in the West Village and Astoria, Queens.)



"As young Muslims, we don't have that many spaces for us," she said. "It's really cute for debriefs. If you go to an event and then you go back with the girlies for a debrief, Qahwah House is always the spot for that."

She added that she meets new people there all the time: "Everyone there is being social."

And there are plenty of non-Muslims as well — patrons perched in chairs with laptops and chai. It's a warm, welcoming space.

Must Love Art (Or Artists)

HANNAH TRAORE GALLERY
Art gallery
150 Orchard Street
Lower East Side, Manhattan
Free

Searching for fashionable, intelligent art lovers who enjoy discussing brush strokes? At the exhibition openings at Hannah Traore Gallery on the Lower East Side, you can find them. During the opening night of "Don't Touch My Hair" in June, dozens of like-minded 20- and 30-somethings mingled over glasses of wine.

"I would say the best place to meet people that you are potentially romantically interested in are the places where you enjoy spending your life or spending your time," said Kevin Claiborne, a 35-year-old visual artist living in Harlem who is in a relationship, but still vouched for art galleries as a great place to meet potential dates.

The best time to meet the most people is during evening openings, often held Thursdays at 6 p.m. (but best to follow the gallery on Instagram for specifics). They tend to attract large crowds, and often include libations.

"When people are saying that they're trying to find a date or a partner, I'm always like, 'Come to my openings,'" said Ms. Traore, adding that she frequently sees people flirt at her gallery.



Feeling Outdoorsy?

McCARREN PARK
Public park
776 Lorimer Street
Williamsburg and Greenpoint
Brooklyn
Free

McCarren Park is ripe with eye candy on a Sunday morning. At the track, fitness enthusiasts, yogis and running groups congregate — a prime spot to survey the field. If you're not a runner, even a bench warmer can make eye contact with someone cute Rollerblading or a passerby walking a dog.

"Oh hell yeah, this is the spot," said Corey Caldwell, 34, a fitness trainer. "I personally don't like bars, and I'm not on the apps; I feel like a coffee shop or somewhere like this you can find someone with similar interests."

At McCarren Parkhouse, the park's social venue, there is air-conditioning and concession stands with coffee and cocktails. On a nice day, sunbathers with blankets sprawl out in every direction, chatting among groups. The garden near the track may or may not be an adorably intimate make-out spot.

Make Friends In the Park

WASHINGTON SQUARE PARK
Public park
Greenwich Village, Manhattan
Free

Summer is the most vibrant time at Washington Square Park. People lounge on the grass and benches to chat with friends, paint, enjoy a picnic or listen to music. Meeting new people here is commonplace. Need a lighter? Like someone's outfit? There are plenty of ways to strike up a conversation.

Tiffany Chow, 32, a business owner, took a seat on a bench in Washington Square Park by herself one day in May, which she'd never done before. She had decided to visit the park and enjoy the spring weather, and in the 30 minutes she was there, she said she was approached by two men who complimented her respectfully.

"I was pretty surprised, because I feel like it's pretty rare these days for guys to approach girls, especially in broad daylight and at the park," Ms. Chow said. "But then a second guy came up to me like 10 minutes later."

She speculated that perhaps because she was alone, it was easier for people to rack up the courage to approach her. Regardless, she said, she appreciated the two interactions because she seldom meets new people out and about.

"After that experience, I was thinking, 'Oh, maybe I should just go and sit there by myself and see what happens,'" Ms. Chow said.

More spots across the five boroughs: nytimes.com/styles.





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LITTLE GEMS

This Textile Company Wants You to Feel at Home

Nordic Knots, opening its first U.S. store, is meant to feel like the opposite of a design studio.

By THESSALY LA FORCE



PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHLOE TADDIE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Some families take their textiles very seriously.

On a recent morning, Fabian Berglund, one of the co-founders of the Swedish rug and textile company Nordic Knots, carefully arranged a rack of miniature rugs so that each was angled at a perfect 45-degree angle. Liza Berglund Laserow — Mr. Berglund's wife and another co-founder, along with Mr. Berglund's brother, Felix — was adjusting curtain samples, explaining why the green she had chosen had a touch of yellow in it, which cast a golden hue. "A green light is very, very unflattering," she said.

Mr. Berglund, 42, said he preferred to think of a rug in a room as "the fourth wall." Since starting Nordic Knots in 2016, the couple have built the brand quietly but with influence. This includes their first American store, which just opened in SoHo in New York.

What is it about this relatively small rug company (Nordic Knots employs about 40 people) that has made it so beloved among a certain taste-making set? The British home ware designer Matilda Goad is a fan. So is the reality television star Scott Disick.

"We want to make design cool, but also accessible," Mr. Berglund said.

"I think that concept is very Swedish," added Ms. Berglund Laserow, 43. "We don't have an elite view on design. We like to say we have a socialist way of looking at design, that it should be accessible to more people. Because that's what IKEA did, right?"

Of course, the price point for Nordic Knots — rugs in their Grand collection, for example, range from $495 to $3,195 — is much higher than IKEA's. But the brand was born out of the couple's own frustrations in trying to find floor coverings that were of a certain quality but not outrageously expensive. When they started the company in 2016, the market offered only very cheap or very high-end options.

Previously, Mr. Berglund worked in advertising as a creative director at Anomaly and Wieden+Kennedy, while Ms. Berglund Laserow worked with her mother, the furniture dealer and interior designer Karin Laserow, who is an expert in Swedish antiques from 1500 to 1850. Their professional backgrounds may help to explain the brand's savvy strategy.

Scandinavian design also has an enduring popularity in America. But Nordic Knots also understands that consumers these days have too much choice. Its website is organized practically, with offerings grouped under headers such as "solids," "patterns" and "plush." The company plans to release only six new collections this fall. The price point, while not low, is intended to be reasonable for the quality. Many of the company's rugs are made out of New Zealand wool, for example, and all are manufactured in India.

"Our hope is that you take our rugs with you into your next home," Mr. Berglund said. The founders also pride themselves in making their products instantly available. "There's no going to a showroom and ordering a rug, and being forced to wait months," Ms. Berglund Laserow said. Seventy percent of the company's sales are direct to consumers.

The interior and home ware industry has been wise in adapting strategies long embraced by fashion brands. Early on, Ms. Berglund Laserow styled the company's rugs in the well-appointed homes of the couple's friends, with Mr. Berglund photographing the spaces and sharing the images on social media. As the customer base grew, the brand sought out people in industries beyond design, such as fashion, photography, film and art. The company also creates collaborations that have a slightly more artistic bent, such as one with the interior designer Giancarlo Valle or another with the design studio Campbell-Rey.



"We don't have an elite view on design," said Liza Berglund Laserow of Nordic Knots, with Fabian Berglund, her husband and a fellow company co-founder. They just opened their first U.S. store in SoHo.



The new store is minimalist in its design, with leather stools and a couch by Mr. Valle and antique tables by the Swedish furniture designer Axel Einar Hjorth. A painting by Sisson hangs on the wall, part of the pair's plan to introduce new artwork from a rotating roster of contemporary artists. Last year, Nordic Knots expanded into curtains, and the long, billowy textiles, made in Milan, hang along the back wall and in front of the expansive store windows.

The co-founders had wanted to open a store in New York for some time. The United States is their largest market, even though they are based in Stockholm. Greene Street, where the store is, has become a corridor of luxury and design shopping that includes other high-end retailers, such as Tiffany, USM Modular Furniture and Design Within Reach.

The city is like a second home to the couple, Mr. Berglund said. They met at a bar when they both lived in New York, bonding as Swedes abroad. They started Nordic Knots while still working their other jobs but soon realized they wanted to devote themselves to the company full time. They plan on opening a location in Los Angeles next year.

The couple use their rugs and curtains in their own house in Stockholm, and Ms. Berglund Laserow wants their store "to feel not like you're walking into a design building, but that you feel this is our home."



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MODERN LOVE

A Veteran Who Couldn't Admit He Was Hurt

Serving in Vietnam had made my father an angry man. So we went back there together.



BRIAN REA

By CARL SCIACCHITANO

I was born into an angry world. My first lessons as a child involved understanding and avoiding the invisible triggers that permeated our home. My mother was often angry at my father. My brother, upset about our parents' separation — and by my presence, after he'd been an only child for six years — was often angry at me. And my father, a Vietnam veteran, would routinely lash out at any of us.

His anger, arriving in screams and howls, operated on a hair trigger. It could be set off by my brother's unwillingness to drink milk at dinner or me not being ready to be picked up at my mother's apartment. Once, he even raged at my brother's and my amusement at the way he pronounced "subwoofer."

Driving, however, was his surest agitator. A driver might cut us off or forget to use the turn signal, and I would stare out the window, bracing for what would follow — a torrent of rage, of words I was too young to know, strings of creative curses that could have originated only in the minds of men who have had their perceptions of the world fundamentally altered.

I don't remember when I first heard of post-traumatic stress disorder, but growing up I never connected Vietnam with trauma. In my young mind, Vietnam was an exotic locale where my father had spent some time and learned a new language, where he first tasted pho and mi tom thit, his favorite egg noodle soup.

He and I spent countless weekends eating that together at our favorite restaurant, where my father would regale me with stories of the war. But these were fun, innocent stories: my father messing up exercises in basic training, playing with phosphorous grenades, or sneaking off to see Bob Hope perform. He didn't talk about how he had manned a machine gun during the Tet offensive or later evacuated from the country in a boat full of refugees under a hail of gunfire and rockets.

It would be many years before I was able to understand, and he was able to acknowledge, the source of his uncontrollable anger.

My first inkling that there was more to my father's war was in high school when I was assigned to read the novel "In the Lake of the Woods" by Tim O'Brien. When my teacher found out that my father was a veteran, she asked if he would join us to discuss the book. He agreed.

I don't remember most of the questions my classmates asked him, except for one: A girl raised her hand and said, "Do you know anyone with PTSD?"

By then, I was familiar with the term and had asked my father about it. His response had always been the same: "You know, I think anyone who had problems after the war probably had problems going in."

Just that morning, before we left for school, I had woken him up and he'd jolted upright out of a nightmare, as he did nearly every morning. I grew to hate that chore, wishing his alarm would do a better job and spare me the futile task of trying to prevent his panic.

It was in the context of that daily experience that I watched my father recite his canned answer to my classmate's question, and for the first time I thought, *You're lying.*

Now, though, I think he wasn't lying. He was just saying what he believed — that anyone plagued by nightmares, anxiety, a rush of anger, a sickness from the war, was defective by default.

Reading "In the Lake of the Woods" was a watershed moment for us. My father's several visits to my high school were a means of him beginning to tell his story, and the book gave me a new language to understand the war and its resultant trauma, because — apart from the murder mystery at the novel's center — Tim O'Brien seemed to be writing about my father. The lack of sleep, the anxiety, the anger, but also the stories from the war, the camaraderie, the nicknames. It was all there.

One day he said to me: "Yelling like I used to do — I shouldn't have done that. That was abusive."

I didn't know what prompted him to say that. Later I learned he had been reading books on psychology. But in the moment, I didn't know how to respond. I was happy to hear him apologizing for behavior I hated, but I also felt compelled to assure him that he had never hit me, never ridiculed me (which is what I thought abuse was) — just that he got really angry sometimes.

"It was wrong," he said.

Conversations like that were hard for another reason: My father's hearing, damaged by the cacophony of the war, had deteriorated to the point that he couldn't understand me unless I shouted. I dreamed of him getting hearing aids, but we didn't have much money growing up, health care came and went, and it seemed out of the question.

And then on a trip home from college I discovered that he had qualified for health care the entire time through the V.A. but had refused to accept it. Getting his hearing checked, or anything else, would have been admitting that he was wounded, that the war had left a mark on him.

But when I was away at school, he went, got hearing aids, and could hear me again, which was a profound change.

> **Memories of the war swirl in the front of his head, always ready to breach the surface of his thoughts.**

The doctors at the V.A. made other recommendations, such as encouraging him to join counseling and therapy. That also meant that he was back to spending time among veterans, some of whom belonged to an entirely new generation of men changed by wars abroad. When I visited home from New York, he would bring me into his office to show me new photos he had scanned, or a fellow veteran's medals that he helped get reissued. And we would still go out for noodles, and I'd order cha gio and goi cuon while he helped me with the pronunciation.

A few years ago, we went to Vietnam together, his first time back in the country since he served there. I was writing a book, and I wanted to see the country for myself, to see what he saw. When I met him at the airport, he was lugging a huge suitcase, large enough for two people. What was in it? "Jungle boots, Carl. You can't just bring tennis shoes. There's going to be leeches, tall grass, trust me."

His anxious overpacking was easy fodder for ribbing, but the last time he was in the country, that's what he would have needed. Now New Balance sneakers were better than jungle boots, and rather than bullets, he needed pills and capsules for his anxiety and heart.

Past is present for my father. The anger has subsided, but the nightmares persist — they're like old friends, he says — and memories of the war swirl in the front of his head, always ready to breach the surface of his thoughts at the slightest encouragement.

I went to his room to wake him up one morning in an old bed-and-breakfast in Hoi An, the first of several breaks I planned away from old military bases and combat zones. We were getting suits made together, each a shade of dark blue, and it was time to go back in for a fitting. But when I opened the door, he was already awake, crying.

"It just all got to me, I guess," he said later that day. It was only the second time I had seen him like that; the first was at my grandfather's funeral. It was his most honest, raw reaction to the war that I had ever witnessed. Maybe the only sensible one.

I hope it was a beneficial experience for him. It certainly was for me, to smell and taste and hear and see at least a piece of what he still carries with him. He said he felt like Rip Van Winkle, waking up to a new reality after 50 years in a country on its way to some measure of prosperity.

Throughout the trip, if anyone asked why we were traveling together, he would say proudly that his son was writing and drawing a book but mention only that he was in Vietnam "a long time ago."

"I'm really here because of my son," he would say. And I would remind him that it was probably the other way around.

CARL SCIACCHITANO *is a writer and illustrator in Portland, Ore., whose debut graphic memoir, "The Heart That Fed: A Father, a Son, and the Long Shadow of War," is out this month.*

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Tiny Love Stories The Sharp Edge of a Shell



"How will I know?" I asked my father before he died. "Talk to me like we are now and listen," he said. Months passed. I was scared to talk to him. What if I didn't hear him? On Father's Day, running barefoot on the beach, I called out, "Dad?" The sharp edge of a shell sliced my foot. My father's father was a podiatrist. My father was a poet who wrote endlessly about feet. He believed, "The soul is rooted in the foot." Seven stitches, a beautiful scar. I feel hollow with loss, but my father is still with me. *HANNAH SWARD*

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FOR A SHARED SENSE OF STYLE

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‘Fashion Is Not a Profession. It’s a Way of Life.’

Dries Van Noten, more popular than ever, is walking away from his career. ‘It’s scary,’ he says.

By VANESSA FRIEDMAN

ANTWERP, BELGIUM — On a recent afternoon, the designer Dries Van Noten sat in the sprawling old warehouse that houses his Antwerp headquarters, with its bare concrete walls, vintage oak cupboards and views over the city’s harbor. He was altering a jacket for his coming men’s wear show: a nip here, a seam moved there. Then, Mr. Van Noten said, a member of his team pointed out that it was the last piece of the men’s collection this season.

As Mr. Van Noten recounted later, “I said, ‘That’s not the last piece of the men’s collection: It’s the last piece of my career.’ ”

In March, six years after selling the company he founded in 1986 to Puig, the Spanish luxury group, Mr. Van Noten, 66, did something truly rare in fashion: He announced his retirement. This men’s wear show, next Saturday in Paris, will be his last.

Immediately after the news went out, he retreated to his home on the Amalfi Coast in Italy, with his partner in life and fashion, Patrick Vangheluwe, the creative director of his brand, who is also retiring. It has been, he said, “an emotional roller coaster.”

Some days, he said, he thinks: “Oh my god, why? I don’t know why. Some days I’m completely convinced. Some days I’m like, it’s too early.”

His team has begun designing the women’s collection for September, and he has caught sight of samples. “You think, ‘Oh, they’re selecting *that* color?’ But I can’t say anything.” He snorted at his inability to disengage. “OK, it’s not working completely.”

He wore his usual navy sweater, white T-shirt and chinos, sitting in his office, which he is in the middle of packing up. (He is moving into a smaller space in the warehouse.) “I already cleaned up a lot, mentally preparing myself,” he said. “It’s not really a divorce, but it feels quite symbolic.”

Every once in a while, as he spoke, his eyes got glassy, and he blinked and looked away. “After the men’s show, I’m going to have another email address,” he said. “I’m not going to be @driesvannoten anymore. I have to find an Instagram name now, because my Instagram is Dries Van Noten, and that is the brand. It’s strange. *That* I didn’t see coming.”

For almost 40 years, ever since he was 28, he dedicated himself to building his vision of how people should dress: an almost alchemical combination of clashing colors and ideas — masculinity and femininity, salmon pink and cobalt blue, geometrics and irises, the collegiate and the baroque — that in his hands somehow finds harmony. Now he must leave it in others’ care. “It’s scary,” he said. “It’s a big void. It’s like, What is going to happen after, with my name?”

‘It Takes Years to Leave Your Body’

Fashion is notoriously bad at retirement and succession planning. Karl Lagerfeld, the designer of Chanel, Fendi and his own label, died in midwork at age 85 in 2019. Ralph Lauren, 84, and Giorgio Armani, 89, are still firmly in control of the houses they founded. So is Rei Kawakubo, 81; Yohji Yamamoto, 80; and Miuccia Prada and Patrizio Bertelli (75 and 78). Jil Sander, who sold her company to Prada in 1999, ended up returning to the brand that bears her name not just once, but twice, before finally cutting the strings.

Notably, two of the most successful retirements were actually managed by Mr. Van Noten’s peers from Belgium: Martin Margiela, who sold his fashion house to Only the Brave in 2002, left in 2009 and has refashioned himself as an artist; and Ann Demeulemeester, who stepped down in 2013 and is focusing on furniture design.

When you tell someone you want to leave fashion, Ms. Demeulemeester said, “Everybody says: ‘What? No! You can’t do that. You’re crazy. It’s not possible.’ ”

Like Mr. Van Noten, Ms. Demeulemeester belonged to the Antwerp Six, the group of Belgian designers who came to Paris in the 1980s and deconstructed formal notions of beauty and dress. She and Mr. Van Noten are close friends — they live outside Antwerp and share a passion for gardening — and she serves as an example of how to have a happy life after fashion. Still, Mr. Vangheluwe said, she told him the business “takes years to leave your body.”

“In the beginning, it’s hard,” Ms. Demeulemeester said. “I could feel it in my bones when it was showtime in Paris.” Of Mr. Van Noten, she said: “I was not sure he would dare to do it. When he said it, I said, ‘Bravo.’ ”

What makes Mr. Van Noten’s decision particularly striking is that he is more popular than ever. In the 1990s, in Paris, he was a bit of an odd man out: a fabulous colorist in an age of minimalism; a believer in the virtues of wearable clothes when high-concept fashion was more the rage. Now, however, his decision to build his brand his way is revered, and his work seems almost an act of faith, glorious proof that tensions can be resolved — and in the best possible way. He was made a baron for his services to Belgium in 2017, and his picture greets visitors at Brussels Airport, along with other national landmarks. So why retire?

“Fashion is not a profession,” Mr. Van Noten said. “It’s a way of life. And it’s an addiction.” Like most addictions, at a certain point, it gets out of control.

“Patrick and I never went on holiday for more than a week,” Mr. Van Noten said. “Maybe once 10 days.” He was involved in every aspect of his business, down to the chocolate (Pierre Marcolini) served to visitors — retailers, reporters, friends — at the office. “The motion, the fastness, the demands, from early in the morning to late in the evening and often seven days a week — everything’s too intense,” he said. “I can’t come down anymore.”

“There are still so many other things in life I would like to do,” he continued. “I love fashion, and even when I close the door, I’m going to love fashion. But sometimes it’s just too much. Just too much.”



‘Even when I close the door, I’m going to love fashion. But sometimes it’s just too much.’

ANS BRYS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES





ABOVE, LEFT AND BELOW, VIA DRIES VAN NOTEN





RON SACHS/CNP/ABACA PRESS, VIA ALAMY



GARETH CATTERMOLE/GETTY IMAGES

Top, the fashion designer Dries Van Noten with his Airedale, Scott, in Belgium. Second row from left: his 50th show, in 2005, when 500 people were invited for a dinner and then the table turned into a catwalk; and his fall 1996 show. Above, Mr. Van Noten after his 100th show, in 2017. From far left, wearing Dries Van Noten: Michelle Obama in 2016, and Margot Robbie in 2020.

The Courage to Stop

The official retirement age in Belgium is 65. Mr. Van Noten said he began thinking about retiring as he approached 60, talking it over with Mr. Vangheluwe, whose official title may be creative director but who functions more, he said, as Mr. Van Noten’s “mirror,” or gut check.

“He liked the idea,” Mr. Van Noten said. “Being together with your partner day and night, it’s not always easy, but thank you, Patrick, for staying close and helping me through all the good and the less good moments.”

The weight of the company, and the unrelenting seasons, had become “really heavy,” Mr. Vangheluwe said. “Sometimes Dries suffers with not getting the result he wants, and that’s hard to see. And then also, it’s dangerous. What if he had become sick or had an accident? This whole company is depending so much on us.”

Mr. Van Noten said he had no actual health issues, but he sees an osteopath every Wednesday morning at 6:30 because a few months ago he developed two frozen shoulders and couldn’t raise his arms above his rib cage.

“It’s kind of my yoga, my shrink — the whole thing in half an hour,” he said.

First, he considered closing the company, but he was worried about putting his employees out of work. So he started to look for potential partners. Most of them (he would not say which) wanted to move the house to Paris or Milan; he was insistent that it remain in Antwerp.

“It’s part of our soul,” he said, “and the fact that you’re not in the big fashion city creates kind of a healthy distance. You make different clothes.”

After he settled on Puig, he arranged to stay on for five years to ensure a smooth transition. Covid added a year. Now, “it’s a healthy company,” Mr. Van Noten said. “So maybe it’s better to have the courage to stop on the high end, when people didn’t really expect it, and they are sad rather than saying, ‘It’s time he closes his door.’ ”

Besides, he will remain attached, sort of. He will stay involved in the beauty line, which he calls “the soul of the brand,” as well as store design, and act as an adviser. His staff, he said, will wean him off making decisions, asking just enough but not too much.

“For me, it’s quite comforting,” he said. “It’s given me hope that I still can give a bit of guidelines. And once in a while say, ‘Oh, maybe then you go too far.’ ” Still, he knows no one is obligated to act on what he says. And if they don’t? “It is going to hurt,” Mr. Van Noten said. “But that’s part of the game, part of the decision.”

‘The Last Thing I Want’

In Mr. Van Noten’s office, piles of fabric have been replaced by piles of letters from all over the world. One woman wrote that as a girl she loved his work but couldn’t afford it, so her mother saved up and bought her one piece every year. Later she attributed her professional success to her Dries wardrobe and the fact that “people always saw her as a person wearing quite strong clothes,” he recalled. Another had a photo of three generations of women dressed in Dries. The oldest wore a design from his latest collection, the youngest, a vintage piece that had been her grandmother’s.

The letters, Mr. Van Noten said, made him appreciate anew the power of fashion. They also illustrate the stakes for his successor. Though he can provide thoughts on that, he will not be involved in the final decision. Whoever it is, though, “I hope they’re going to surprise me,” he said. He’s interested in the idea that he may think, “Oooh, that’s strange.”

On the other hand, he said, “It would be a pity if somebody just comes in and says, like: ‘Rip everything out. We’re going to do something completely different and just keep your name.’ I think then I would be really sick.”

“A brand is standing for something,” he went on. “Just because you have an ego as a designer doesn’t mean that first names have to be dropped and store designs have to be changed. What a pity, all that material going to waste. The whole thing now of designers changing and changing and changing again worries me a lot. The last thing I want is that my name becomes just a name that is put on different collections. And that happens so much.”

Ms. Demeulemeester’s brand is on its fourth designer since she left. “It took me some years to be able to have distance and not be unhappy,” she said. “But you only have one life. If you want to do something else, or if you want to be free, it’s the only way.”

To prepare himself for the changeover, Mr. Van Noten has been taking a lot of walks with Mr. Vangheluwe and their Airedale, Scott, in the 55-acre park filled with roses and fields of daisies and ancient, towering trees around Ringenhof, the 19th-century house outside Antwerp that the couple rescued from decrepitude. (The gardeners are already getting nervous, Mr. Van Noten said, about having him around a lot more.) He sometimes swims up to five times a day in the bay below his house in Italy. The water is, he said, “very healing.”

Mr. Van Noten is not yet good at relaxation. (“It’s the Jesuit part,” Mr. Vangheluwe said. “It’s ingrained.”) He has meetings scheduled through September about new stores and the expansion of the perfume line. He wants to travel and read the books that sit in piles in his homes.

He doesn’t want to make a book about his work, though. He’s not interested in looking back. He scoffed at the idea of producing homewares, despite the fact that the green brocade tablecloth in his dining room is from his company, and original textiles were part of his signature as a designer. He is plotting a project that involves young people, craft and elevating the virtues of staying small. Other designers have started asking his advice on retirement.

First, he must get through his last show. As to what to expect (other than tears), he said: “I didn’t want a ‘best of.’ I still want to take a step forward. This is my last chance. The only thing that I expect is perfection.”

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EPISODE

My Renter, My Friend



DADU SHIN

By AMY STONESTROM

When I first read the reservation request, I was suspicious. Her last name wasn't visible, and her message consisted of just one sentence saying she was on the road and would be in touch. It lacked capitalization and punctuation, and she didn't add the obligatory look-how-normal-and-trustworthy-I-am note.

She also wanted to stay for 10 days, starting the next day. No one else had rented our home near the Twin Cities for so long on such short notice. I sensed trouble, maybe for us but also maybe for her.

I pictured her typing the message with one hand on the wheel while glancing in the rearview mirror. It was an image I couldn't erase from my mind. I tapped "accept reservation" on my computer screen despite my own, well, reservations.

I was working on trust issues. For one thing, my husband and I had seen short-term rental horror stories on the news. Our 1950s rambler isn't one of many random income properties filled with generic furnishings. It is our much-loved home, filled with memories and personal pieces of furniture, rugs and art. But the risk of damaged or stolen property was worth it, because renting it allowed us to spend the winters in Arizona, where I could avoid the seasonal depression I've had since high school.

But as I've mentioned, everything about this new guest felt different from the others.

The next day, I sent her a message with instructions for the house. Her prompt response was kind and complete and looked like it had been typed with both hands. She had only one question: "Is there off-street parking?" I assured her there was. I sensed a more pressing need behind her request — but I didn't trust my gut, a chronic issue of mine stemming from a past relationship.

Soon enough, decades-old memories of my emotionally abusive ex started to resurface, and I wondered if the renter might be in some kind of danger. In the morning she called to ask a question. She was gregarious and warm. After a few minutes, it felt like I was standing next to her in the living room, rather than 1,500 miles away.

Former guests had been complimentary of our home, but she seemed overjoyed. At one point I thought she must have been staying at the wrong place, since she described our little house as some sort of luxury getaway.

Toward the end of our conversation she said: "I don't want to alarm you, but I think someone should know. I left my husband and am currently hiding from him."

She asked if the plants would be harmed if the shades were closed during the day. A knot formed in my stomach. I asked her to check in with me every day. She promised she would.

Everything about this new guest felt different from the others.

It had been almost 30 years since I was in the bad relationship, but the memory of it probably came back, subconsciously, the moment I received her reservation. Although emotional abuse is the term for what I experienced, it felt more like war games for the mind. The former boyfriend once called to tell me several dogs had died in a house fire near our college campus, knowing I would be upset. Then I saw on the local news that all the pets had been saved. When I asked about it, he claimed he had never said such a thing.

He often berated my appearance and my intelligence while simultaneously love-bombing me. I soon lost the ability to trust myself. Because I didn't understand how the cycle of abuse (tension, incident, reconciliation, calm) worked — or that there was a cycle at all — I believed each negative interaction would be the last. Worse, I often thought I had been imagining things, as he suggested.

I barely slept the night after the phone call with the renter. While we do have a driveway, her estranged husband could still have seen her car from the street. I texted her to ask if she would like access to our garage, so she could hide her vehicle. She replied: "Yes! Thank you!" But my offer was premature. My husband said there was, unfortunately, no space.

I scolded myself for offering this nonexistent perk, but when I texted back she wrote: "No worries!" But telling me not to worry is like telling an elephant to forget. I felt useless from my location eight states away, so I messaged several female friends who lived nearby and asked them to be on the alert.

It was officially spring, but a late snowstorm had downed power lines, leaving the renter without electricity for nine hours. My husband was worried, too. He had been watching the doorbell camera all week and found he couldn't do this without power.

When I called, she said she was fine, adding that her main concern was for the houseplants. She also informed me that the small maple tree next to the house had collapsed under the weight of the snow. This led to a 30-minute conversation about gardening, pets and nothing in particular. Her direct tone and dry humor had me snorting into my coffee cup. Still, a tinge of dismay crept into her voice when she mentioned that she had gone to the lengths of renting a car so her husband wouldn't be able to find her.

"I didn't think this could happen to me," she said. "You know?"

"I really do," I said.

"I thought so," she said.

The morning she checked out, she sent me a photo of the fractured maple. Half of the branches lay mangled in the melting snow. The others were still firmly attached to the trunk. The tree would look different, but it would survive. It might even thrive with its newfound access to the sun.

Slop Is the New Spam

The term is an apt descriptor of artificial intelligence's effluent.

By BENJAMIN HOFFMAN

You may not know exactly what "slop" means in relation to artificial intelligence. But on some level you probably do.

Slop, at least in the fast-moving world of online message boards, is a broad term that has developed some traction in reference to shoddy or unwanted A.I. content in social media, art, books and, increasingly, in search results.

Google suggesting that you could add nontoxic glue to make cheese stick to a pizza? That's slop. So is a low-price digital book that seems like the one you were looking for, but not quite. And those posts in your Facebook feed that seemingly came from nowhere? They're slop as well.

The term became more prevalent last month when Google incorporated its Gemini A.I. model into its U.S.-based search results. Rather than pointing users toward links, the service attempts to solve a query directly with an "A.I. Overview" — a chunk of text at the top of a results page that uses Gemini to form its best guess at what the user is looking for.

The change was a reaction to Microsoft having incorporated A.I. into its search results on Bing, and it had some immediate missteps, leading Google to declare it would roll back some of its A.I. features until problems can be ironed out.

But with the dominant search engines having made A.I. a priority, it appears that vast quantities of information generated by machines, rather than largely curated by humans, will be served up as a daily part of life on the internet for the foreseeable future.

Hence the term slop, which conjures images of heaps of unappetizing food being shoveled into troughs for livestock. Like that type of slop, A.I.-assisted search comes together quickly, but not necessarily in a way that critical thinkers can stomach.

Kristian Hammond, the director of Northwestern University's Center for Advancing Safety of Machine Intelligence, noted a problem in the current model: The information from A.I. Overview is being presented as a definitive answer, rather than as a place to start an internet user's research into a given subject.

"You search for something and you get back what you need in order to think — and it actually encourages you to think," Mr. Hammond said. "What it's becoming, in this integration with language models, is something that does not encourage you to think. It encourages you to accept. And that, I think, is dangerous."

For a problem to be targeted, giving it a name can prove helpful. And while slop is one option, it is still an open question of whether it will catch on with a mainstream audience, or end up in the slang dustbin with cheugy, bae and skibidi.

Adam Aleksic, a linguist and content creator who uses the handle etymologynerd on social media, believes that slop — which he said has yet to cross over to a broader audience — shows promise.

"I think this is a great example of an unobtrusive word right now, because it is a word we're all familiar with," Mr. Aleksic said. "It's a word that feels like it's naturally applicable to this situation. Therefore, it's less in your face."

The use of slop as a descriptor for low-grade A.I. material seemingly came about in reaction to the release of A.I. art generators in 2022. Some have identified Simon Willison, a developer, as an early adopter of the term — but Mr. Willison, who has pushed for the phrase's adoption, said it was in use long before he found it.

"I think I might actually have been quite late to the party!" he said in an email.

The term has sprung up in 4chan, Hacker News and YouTube comments, where anonymous posters sometimes project their proficiency in complex subject matter by using in-group language.

"What we always see with any slang is that it starts in a niche community and then spreads from there," Mr. Aleksic said. "Usually, coolness is a factor that helps it spread, but not necessarily. Like, we've had a lot of words spread from a bunch of coding nerds, right? Look at the word 'spam.' Usually, the word is created because there is a particular group with shared interests, with a shared need to invent words."



ANDREW PATERSON/ALAMY STOCK PHOTO

In the short term, the effect of A.I. on search engines and the internet in general may be less extreme than some would fear.

News organizations have worried about shrinking online audiences as people rely more on A.I.-generated answers, and data from Chartbeat, a company that researches internet traffic, indicates that there was an immediate drop in referrals from Google Discover to websites in the first days of A.I. overviews. But that dip has since recovered, and in the first three weeks of the overviews, overall search traffic to more than 2,000 major websites in the United States actually went up, according to Chartbeat.

But as people become accustomed to A.I.'s increasing role in how the internet works, Mr. Willison, who identified himself as an optimist for A.I. when it is used correctly, thought that slop could become the go-to term for the lesser forms of machine-generated content.

"Society needs concise ways to talk about modern A.I. — both the positives and the negatives," he said. "'Ignore that email, it's spam,' and 'Ignore that article, it's slop,' are both useful lessons."

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A Bookstore Within a Brownstone

High Valley Books' owner draws in customers with his hard-to-find publications.

By T.M. BROWN

On a recent Sunday, few moments passed when Bill Hall wasn't answering his home's buzzer. He led a succession of fashionable Brooklynites through his entryway and into his sunny living room, which is lined with vintage fashion magazines, photo books by Guy Bourdin and Ron Jude and obscure German design quarterlies.

"Three big libraries just came in with 300 copies of The World of Interiors from the 1990s and 2000s, which are kind of hard to find," Mr. Hall, a 60-year-old man in a rumpled shirt with clear-framed glasses balanced on his nose, said to a chic couple, gesturing toward the magazines on a nearby Eames bookshelf.

Mr. Hall's home, in a three-story building in Greenpoint, Brooklyn, doubles as High Valley Books, a shop with more than 50,000 volumes of books and magazines, along with ephemera including a collection of paper-thin wood veneer samples and matchbox-size Lilliput Dictionaries. The store has become a source of inspiration and archival research for fashion designers, photographers and stylists who peruse the stacks that take up much of Mr. Hall's living room and basement. (He lives upstairs with his wife and two daughters.)

Visits, by appointment only, can be made only through the store's landline or via DM on Instagram. First-timers receive a tour of the store, and from there Mr. Hall guides them through the stacks according to their tastes. He also takes photos of willing customers with their finds and posts them on social media.

"I like to know who's here," he said during a rare lull. "I like to know their names, meet them at the door, and I like to introduce people to each other."

Rowan Thompson, a brand strategist at a design firm, stopped in with her friend Wesley Chau, an industrial designer.

"I've been trying to come, but I end up here whenever Bill's busy or the store is closed," Ms. Thompson said. "I got lucky and called to ask if I could come in right now, because I was outside. The collection here is unparalleled."

She walked out with a copy of "Lift," an out-of-print history of plastic surgery by the journalist Joan Kron, on the recommendation of Mr. Hall, who regaled Ms. Thompson with bits of Ms. Kron's biography.

Other usual customers also milled about, thumbing through the new arrivals. Bon Duke, a photographer and director, has been coming to the store since 2020. "Right off the bat, Bill knew exactly what I was looking for," Mr. Duke said, while picking out a few photo books of 1980s magazine portraiture. "I'm always able to walk away with something. It feels weird if I leave without a book."

The space in Greenpoint is the second location of High Valley Books. Mr. Hall opened the store in 1999 and operated it out of a brownstone in south Williamsburg in its





Bill Hall, the owner of High Valley Books, in his apartment and store in Brooklyn.

Social Q's | PHILIP GALANES

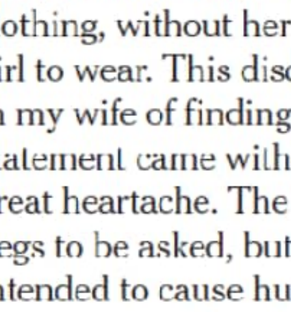
Nostalgic? Not Exactly.

My wife is the second of four children who were raised in a frugal, middle-class household. To supplement her wardrobe, she babysat as a girl to earn money to buy clothes. She also sewed many of her outfits. Out of the blue — 50 years later — her younger sister confessed that she and their mother had often conspired to take my wife's clothing, without her permission, for the younger girl to wear. This disclosure unearthed memories in my wife of finding her things out of place. The statement came without an apology and created great heartache. The question "Why tell me now?" begs to be asked, but since the disclosure seems intended to cause hurt, it's hard to envision the conversation. Your thoughts?

HUSBAND

It's certainly possible that this story is as nefarious as you paint it, but I can also envision a more benign interpretation. My brothers and I often reminisce about our childhood misdeeds (and frequent attempts to pin them on one another other). These are bonding stories and nostalgic, recalling a lost time when we were more present in one another's daily lives. For us, apologies are neither offered nor necessary.

Your wife clearly feels differently, and I absolutely respect her feelings. If she sees betrayal in her mother and sister's working in tandem to trick her, or if the story triggers old feelings of sibling rivalry, then I recommend further conversation. But unless there are bigger issues at play, it strikes me as unusual for an adult to feel "heartache" on learning that her mother gave her sister permission to wear her sweaters 50 years ago.



Your wife could ask her sister: "What prompted you to tell me this story now? It upset me." A helpful conversation may ensue.

Profit-Sharing Among Sisters

My sister decided to rent out her home on Airbnb for the summer. She will make several thousand dollars a week. She has a few vacations planned, but she also wants to stay in town for three weeks while her house is occupied. She plans to stay with friends and family, including me, during that time. Is she obliged to share any of her profits with her hosts during her stays? She has told me clearly that, as my sister, she feels no obligation to pay me.

SISTER

Look, it's Sibling Week! As a former full-time resident of a popular summer destination, I am well acquainted with your sister's plan, though, in my experience, seasonal landlords usually find less expensive digs for themselves while they rent. They don't couch surf or mooch off family and friends.

Now, you may decide, in an act of sisterly generosity, to invite your sister to be a houseguest for part of the rental period. But there are no rules here. You may also emulate her enterprising spirit by asking to share in her windfall: Maybe she can buy groceries during her stay — or even fork over a small piece of her profits.

Gifts (and Resentment) Optional

My family was invited to attend the high school graduation of an acquaintance's child. We shared a nanny when our children were young, but we've rarely socialized with them since then. At first, I felt honored to be invited, knowing how limited seating can be. But then I wondered: Is this a play for a gift, or a real overture for a closer friendship? I am inclined to refuse the invitation. Should I R.S.V.P. or just ignore it?

A.

Gosh, you went from feeling "honored" to possibly used in no time flat! I think your response to this invitation — which is in line with the way many of my letter writers approach invitations — is misguided: You focus on your friends' motives (which you can never know with certainty) instead of the invitation itself. This strikes me as ungenerous. If you want to share in the family's happy day, go! If not, send a polite refusal. But why shroud an invitation in grievance over an optional gift? Aren't we all grouchy enough already?

Ahem!

I sit 10 feet away from a colleague in an open-plan workplace. He clears his throat loudly, every few minutes, all day long. I don't know what to do. He's a nice person, so I don't want to upset him. I tried noise-canceling headphones, but I could still hear him. I am losing my mind! Please help.

CO-WORKER

I have no doubt that your colleague's persistent throat clearing is distracting and annoying. I am also fairly sure that he is not doing it to annoy you. It's probably a symptom of reflux, postnasal drainage or a tic.

Depending on your relationship, it may be fine to raise the subject gently with your coworker. (He should probably see a doctor about it.) But if you're not especially close, it is probably wiser to speak with your supervisor. Part of his or her job is to manage employee issues with tact.

For help with your awkward situation, send a question to SocialQ@nytimes.com, Philip Galanes on Facebook or @SocialQPhilip on X.



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PHOTOGRAPHS BY SCOTT ROSSI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

'When it works well, it's like a little salon where people can meet.'

first years. He named the shop after his grandmother's farm in Western Massachusetts and credits his family with his love of books.

"My mother and father were both big readers," he said. "There were always books and magazines everywhere."

In 1991, after earning undergraduate degrees at McGill and the University of Massachusetts, Mr. Hall was slated to start as an M.F.A. student at Pratt. But a few weeks before the semester began, he decided against it and took a job in the art department of the Strand bookstore.

A couple of years later, Richard Lilly, the longtime manager of the Strand's art department and a family friend, introduced Mr. Hall to Shaun Gunson, a rare book dealer on the Upper East Side. Mr. Gunson's health was rapidly deteriorating because of complications from AIDS, and Mr. Hall started doing small jobs for him, tracking down books and keeping an eye out for particular titles.

As Mr. Gunson's health worsened, he offered to hire Mr. Hall full-time and teach him how to scour for rare fashion and design books. It was a fast — and vital — education, Mr. Hall remembered.

"There was a rapid transfer of knowledge during the AIDS crisis," he said. "I had to do everything for him right away."

Mr. Gunson died in 1993, and Mr. Hall helped manage the remaining collection before it was sold to another bookseller and private library curator, Kinsey Marable. After working with Mr. Marable for several years, Mr. Hall, newly married, decided to set up shop in Williamsburg. He and his wife moved into the parlor level of a brownstone around the corner from Peter Luger's Steakhouse, and Mr. Hall operated High Valley Books from the dining room.

The store's influence has grown steadily over the years. Balenciaga designers have been known to order books from High Valley for their personal libraries, and Thakoon Panichgul of HommeGirls has visited the shop several times. The social media influencer Addison Rae dropped in a few weeks ago to scoop up a vintage copy of Vanity Fair.

Patience Adobea and Theresa Meriam, who together run the online marketplace Adobea Adjei, have been coming to High Valley for a couple of years, and that Sunday the duo were browsing the basement aisles.

"I found a graphic design book that struck me because the cover was familiar from African hair salon photos," said Ms. Abodea, who is also an archivist, holding up a vintage copy of the German design magazine Novum Gebrauchsgraphik.

Like many dealers, Mr. Hall doesn't reveal exactly where he does his book buying. He did say that he still loves to go to bookstores when he travels and that he buys large and small collections, often from longtime clients. With a roguish smile, he declined to elaborate.

He's not so circumspect with his customers, offering a stream of commentary on the provenance of nearly every book he's in the process of selling. As he tallied up bills, he made sure that each person was comfortable with the price of their finds — prices aren't listed on the volumes at High Valley, so Mr. Hall consults a digital database.

Buying a book at High Valley often feels almost like purchasing something from Mr. Hall's personal collection, a sensation that still gives him a sense of joy.

"When it works well, it's like a little salon where people can meet. It's wonderful," Mr. Hall said.



That Summer Beat



VIA GARRY McCARTHY

"The Spark" was a collaboration between two groups of kids from Ireland.

A catchy music video by Irish tweens gains international success.

By MADISON MALONE KIRCHER

It started with the beat, Heidi White said.

On a March day at the Kabin Studio, an arts nonprofit in Cork, Ireland, Heidi, 11, and a group of other children were trying to write a rap with the help of Garry McCarthy, who is a music producer and Kabin Studio's creative director. It was part of a weekly songwriting program.

"It's a safe space for young people in the community to come create music, hang out and just to make bangers," Mr. McCarthy said.

On this day, the group was trying to write an anthem for Cruinniú na nÓg, a government-sponsored day in Ireland devoted to children's creativity, happening this weekend. Everyone was feeling a little shy and the ideas weren't exactly flowing, Heidi said.

"Then Garry had put on a drum-and-bass beat, and suddenly it was like a switch flipped and everyone started getting involved," she said. "It was like magic."

That infectious beat has also captivated viewers around the world. The group's song, "The Spark," has become a sensation on social media, hailed by some on TikTok as an early contender for song of the summer.

What could have easily sounded grating to adult ears — think Kidz Bop — is instead unrelentingly catchy. The song's accompanying music video, which culminates in all of the kids rapping, loudly, in unison on the top deck of a bus, is utterly charming.

Online, people of all ages cannot seem to get enough. The children's television show "Teletubbies" and the luxury carmaker McLaren are among the brands to use the song in recent videos.

"Who is teaching the kids in Ireland to spit this kind of fire," the dancers Austin and Marideth Telenko, better known online as Cost n' Mayor, captioned a video in which they performed a routine they had choreographed to the song.

To write the lyrics, Heidi said the group brainstormed central themes they wanted the song to be about, landing on positive words like "independence," "encouragement" and "spark."

"It was a group effort," said Heidi, whose favorite genre of music is show tunes from musicals like "Heathers" and "Hamilton."

The Cork kids — who perform as the Kabin Crew — collaborated on "The Spark" with another youth rap crew based out of Lisdoonvarna, Ireland, a few hours' drive away. That group wrote their verses separately with Mr. McCarthy's help, said Treasure Kanikwu, 13, who was interviewed alongside her fellow rappers, Mercy Imoniaro, Elene Kurtanidze, Kada Rrudhani and Tuana Rrudhani.

The Lisdoonvarna Crew drew inspiration from their favorite musicians, including Nicki Minaj, Rihanna, Taylor Swift and Olivia Rodrigo, they said.

"I like that first line: 'Think you can stop what we do, I doubt it,'" Treasure said. "It's telling you that no matter what you do, we're not going to stop. Something that you love doing, no one is going to be able to stop you from doing that."

After writing their verses, the Lisdoonvarna kids traveled to Cork to meet up with the Kabin Crew and film a music video to accompany the song, both groups dressing in colorful clothing and accessories. When they gathered in the morning, Heidi said, they were encouraged to decorate themselves with face paint and glow sticks.

Heidi wore a green bucket hat for the video, while Treasure performed with a pair of sunglasses that were perched atop her head before slowly sliding down to the bridge of her nose. "Grooving through my town, people be like 'who are they?' Moving to my music, yeah, that gets me through the day," she raps.

In the final scenes of the music video, the kids perform on a bus. That wasn't a set, Mercy, 9, explained. Instead, they boarded an operational city bus and turned it

'Moving to my music, yeah, that gets me through the day.'

into an impromptu dance party. "The bus was moving so much, and there were people on the bus recording us," Kada , 10, said.

Heidi added: "Everyone was looking at us like: 'What are they up to?' Those people aren't OK.'"

Since it was posted online, the video has elicited reactions that have made the kids local celebrities with their classmates and teachers.

The Lisdoonvarna Crew had previously had a small taste of fame when its 2023 song "Let Me Do My Thing" landed the group a spot on an Irish television special, "The Late Late Toy Show," at the end of last year. Still, the reaction to "The Spark" was on another level, the kids said, explaining that unlike the 2023 tune, this song and video attracted an audience that spread well beyond Ireland.

Mr. McCarthy, the producer, chalked the international success of "The Spark" up to its organic feel. "None of these kids are stage school kids, where they're training to be actors or musicians. This is just their natural selves," he said.

As for what's next, the groups have a few live performances planned for this summer in Cork. Mr. McCarthy is also hoping to release the song on streaming platforms, he said.

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Novel Opens a Door, and Readers Step In to Talk

'All Fours,' by Miranda July, has women discussing sex, marriage and happiness.

By ALYSON KRUEGER



DANA SCRUGGS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Miranda July, left, examines self-discovery and creative freedom in her novel "All Fours."

In group texts, book clubs and coffee shops, sharing hidden desires.

It's the talk of every group text — at least every group text composed of women over 40.

Miranda July's latest novel, "All Fours," is about a 45-year-old woman who upends her seemingly settled domestic life by checking into a motel a half-hour from her house for a few weeks, taking up with a younger married man and then experimenting with an open marriage.

On her journey to self-discovery — and sexual awakening — she asks women she knows to share with her their true desires: Are they happy in their marriages? And if they're not, are they going to do anything about it? What are the other possible arrangements for a life?

In a sort of whisper network, women who have read "All Fours" are taking a page out of the main character's playbook and posing these same questions to one another, opening up about their hidden fantasies and frustrations.

"I've been talking about it more days than not with my friends," said Caitlin Delohery, 43, a writer and content consultant who lives in Portland, Ore. "We've been texting about it, and we've met for coffee and drinks to talk about it."

Ms. Delohery, who identifies as queer and is raising a 13-year-old with her partner, said the book had resonated strongly with her friends who are in long-term relationships.

"I've been in my relationship for 10 years, and my friends have been partnered in similar ways," she said. "We don't want to escape our relationships, but what I saw in Miranda's book is less about literally escaping monogamy and more about creating space within it to have differentiated experiences — a way of living with a partner where you are not defined by this sort of codependent, mind-meld partnership."

Rachel Yoder, 45, an author whose book "Nightbitch" takes up themes of motherhood and creative freedom, said she and her best friend had been sending each other screenshots of passages from the book.

"The other day she sent me a part where the narrator apologized to her husband for something, and was like, 'Why is she apologizing?'" said Ms. Yoder, who lives in Iowa City with her husband and 10-year-old son. "I was like: 'This is what we do as women. We say what we want, and the person we are telling it to gets defensive and pushes back, and then we apologize, and then we think what we want is greedy and wrong.'"

In an effort to have more vulnerable conversations about these themes with women her age, she has been encouraging her new writing group to read "All Fours," too. "I want to start hearing about what is going on for them in midlife, because I think it's fascinating," she said, "and I want to talk about what is going on for me in midlife."

One of them has taken her up on her offer. They will have a phone call soon to talk about the book.

"The book is a doorway to a conversation about these things that are on our mind, things that we have been feeling and not been able to put into words," Ms. Yoder said.

While many middle-age women say they feel this book is for them, younger women say it speaks to them, too.

Dakota Bossard, 29, who lives in New York City and works in e-commerce, read the book on her way to Tulum, Mexico, for a group trip that was supposed to be a bachelorette party — until her best friend, the bride, called off her wedding.

"Nothing dramatic happened with my friend; she just realized this wasn't the life she wanted," she said. "I was reading about this character taking back her agency in such a remarkable way while I was watching my friend do that in real time."

Although Ms. Bossard didn't know anyone on the trip except the bride, she decided "All Fours" was too powerful and pertinent not to share. One night, when they were in the Airbnb drinking champagne and margaritas, she read a saucy part of the book, in which the narrator's lover changes her tampon, to the room. "They were so blown away by it that I read it out loud again the next night," she said. "Collectively I think we were all thinking about that scene all weekend."

Talking about the book led to conversations about what they want from life, including whether they actually want to do the traditional thing and marry. "The book kind of made me think that I don't want to be in a relationship any time soon," Ms. Bossard said. "I also think we all want to reread it in a decade to check in with ourselves."

"The character is just so determined to live the life she wants, the best, most interesting life she can," she added. "We all toasted to that."

In real life, Ms. July had similar conversations with women around her age as she wrote the book, including with the writer Sheila Heti and the artist Isabelle Albuquerque.

"Sometimes it felt like we were trying to create a new society," Ms. Heti told The New York Times last month. "We were talking about the ideas but also trying to live them."

"All Fours" doesn't endorse any one path forward. When faced with large questions about aging and desire, the narrator's friends each have different ideas about what they want their lives to look like and how she should deal with her uncertainties. One woman in a 20-year marriage says her ideal arrangement would be to remain in the relationship but to date someone else on the side. Another woman, now married to her second husband, advises the narrator that you don't have to hate your husband to leave him. A third tells her to just "ride it out" — "it" being the narrator's doubts about her life as it stands.

In the end, it's left ambiguous which path the narrator chooses — whether she continues to explore an open marriage, ends her marriage or pursues some other shimmering possibility.

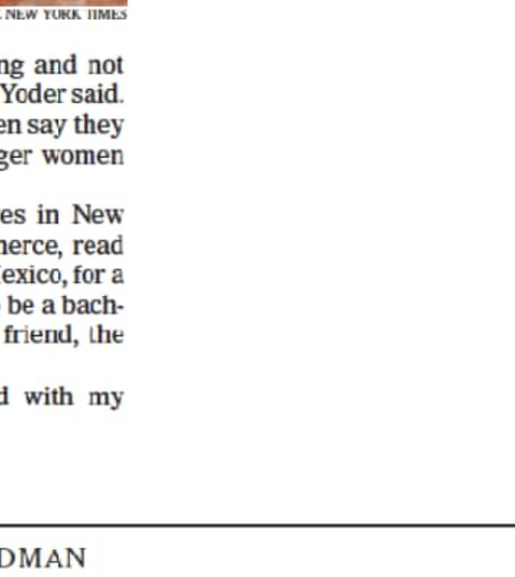
Ms. Delohery said she had found the conversations with her friends about the book refreshing because they pushed her to think about alternatives to a settled, monogamous lifestyle.

"I've experienced an opening up and getting more creative about what the second half of life looks like," she said. "It feels like we are all expanding the way we think."

UNBUTTONED | VANESSA FRIEDMAN

Stars and Stripes Forever, and Then Some

NATHANIEL BROOKS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



ERIK S. LESSER/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

Donald J. Trump presents the U.S. flag so conspicuously as to make himself its embodiment.



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Clockwise from top: Donald J. Trump speaking in April 2016; at the Conservative Political Action Conference in 2019; and at the Republican National Convention in July 2016. He likes to remind people that June 14 is his birthday and Flag Day.

WHEN DONALD J. TRUMP held his post-conviction news conference at Trump Tower after his hush-money trial in May, he did so in his signature red (tie), white (shirt) and blue (suit), standing before so many flags he looked like a head bobbing in an ocean of patriotic hues.

It was a bit of star-spangled scenography for the presumptive Republican presidential nominee, who, more than any of his predecessors, has embraced the flag as his official fashion inspiration, using imagery to make it a synonym for himself. (One of his favorite personal factoids is that June 14 happens to be both his birthday *and* Flag Day, the date designated by Woodrow Wilson in 1916 to commemorate the official adoption of the American flag.)

In almost every major appearance, Mr. Trump stands planted in a forest of flags — 54 of them on the last night of the 2020 Republican convention alone. Descending from Trump Air, he passes beneath an imposing flag waving proudly on the tail, the colors echoed in his clothing as if he alighted from a flying flag himself.

"Most presidents have one flag behind them when they speak, maybe two," said Lindsay M. Chervinsky, a senior fellow at the Center for Presidential History at Southern Methodist University and the author of the coming book "Making the Presidency."

But by loading up on the flags, by hugging and kissing the flag, as Mr. Trump did in 2018 after a speech to the National Federation of Independent Business and again at the Conservative Political Action Conference in 2019 and 2020, Ms. Chervinsky continued, Mr. Trump is taking the tradition a step further. "He's trying to equate himself with patriotism and nationalism," she said. And his dressing to match is, she said, "the most visual representation of that."

As Henry Ward Beecher, the 19th-century clergyman, said in 1861, "A thoughtful mind, when it sees a nation's flag, sees not the flag, but the nation itself."

In Mr. Trump's case, the equation is simple: See him, see the flag, see the nation, get the message. In a visual age, that's a powerful form of Pavlovian conditioning.

Mr. Trump wore navy suits, red ties and white shirts before entering politics, but his use of the uniform has evolved. The blue of his suits has become brighter in recent months — less navy or midnight blue, and closer to what Peter Roberti, the president of the Custom Tailors & Designers Association, called a Neapolitan blue. Alan Flusser, a tailor to the tycoon set and the author of "Dressing the Man," called it cobalt. It was a relatively uncommon choice among his clients, he said.

"Trump's type of blue is something you will now see more prevalently on TV, worn by sports journalists or those who want to stand apart," Mr. Flusser said.

Before Covid, he said, when suits were more common in the workplace, "I would estimate that out of 50 navy suit sales, maybe three were of a cobalt nature." This is still true among politicians, who tend to favor navy or gray suits.

And though Mr. Trump has, and does, wear ties other than red — during his New York hush-money trial, which turned in part on decisions he made as a businessman, blue and gold ties were on display — he almost always reverts to his uniform at his most high-stakes political moments.

He wore his red, white and blue combo when he won the presidency in 2016 and for his first official news conference as president-elect. He wore it during his State of the Union addresses in 2019 and 2020; for his speech at the rally on Jan. 6, 2021; and when he left the White House in 2021. He wore it for his mug shot — the history-making photo that has become a key part of his campaign merch. He even wore it for his first official TikTok post.

Maybe it's happenstance. Steven Cheung, the communications director of the Trump campaign, did not respond to questions about Mr. Trump's choice of dress other than to say, "There has been no president more pro-America than President Trump."

But there is no question that Mr. Trump is an avowed student of what people wear to do their jobs, both the people who have worked for him (his generals, the White House spokesman) and his opponents (Nikki Haley). He also understands the semiology of ties. Just last week, at a rally in Arizona, he announced that he had worn a gold tie on purpose, because "it represents the sun." And flags of all kinds play a large role in his MAGA rallies, not just onstage, but as props and statements of solidarity among attendees.

Add all that together, and it reflects the changing cryptography of the American flag, which began as a symbol of nationhood available to all, no matter their political denomination, turning more fraught both during the Civil War and in the 1960s with the Vietnam War, said Sean Wilentz, a professor of American history at Princeton University.

"It goes from being a source of unity to a source of division," Mr. Wilentz said. "All of a sudden the left and the Democrats basically cede the flag to the right, and the right picks that up and runs with it." President Ronald Reagan, who was also known for his red ties (though they were generally seen as representing the Republican Party), being a case in point. Still, no one has run further with it than Mr. Trump.

"The flag embodies everything he wants to get across," Mr. Wilentz said. "He is the flag, and everyone else is not. We are America, and everyone else is not."

It is, Ms. Chervinsky said, an approach that "is directly out of the authoritarian handbook." Almost cartoonishly so.

Flags, for Mr. Trump, serve as scenography, costume and a sign of allegiance — to him. The theatrics may be most visible during rallies, when everyone gets to participate in the pageantry through dress, but the advantage of embedding them in clothing is that they are also replicable. It is no accident that Mr. Trump's supporters, like Doug Burgum, J.D. Vance and Vivek Ramaswamy, arrived at his New York trial in matching red, white and blue looks.

As it happens, Mr. Trump planned to celebrate his birthday Friday evening with a fund-raiser hosted by Club 47 USA, formed to support his re-election, at the Palm Beach Convention Center. The invitation featured a photo of Mr. Trump hugging the flag and specified a dress code for attendees. Ticket holders were advised, the invitation read, to wear red, white and blue.

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Vows

SHIRA ZILBERSTEIN and EMMANUEL CANTOR

At a Harvest Festival, a Relationship Takes Root

By ALIX WALL

On a July morning in 2022, Shira Avia Zilberstein had a bone scan, a test when dealing with her type of Crohn's colitis, a disease in which the colon is inflamed.

Afterward, she and her boyfriend of nearly a year, Emmanuel Cantor, swam in Mystic Lake, in Boston's northwestern suburbs. Later that night, they went for dinner at one of their favorite restaurants, Oleana, in Cambridge. After they ordered, Mr. Cantor quietly asked, "So this is it?"

Ms. Zilberstein smiled. She agreed it was. Though not quite a proposal, they knew then that their relationship would most likely go the distance.

"I knew I could love him on our first date," Ms. Zilberstein said. "It was a combination of interest and excitement, with a real comfort and ease around each other."

Like every couple starting their lives together, they didn't know yet what challenges lay ahead of them.

The two first met at a Shabbat dinner in September 2019, when Mr. Cantor came to visit his childhood friend Michael Zanger-Tishler in Somerville. Ms. Zilberstein was just beginning a Ph.D. program at Harvard then. She remembered Mr. Cantor asking her interesting questions, and what an attentive listener he was.

It was two years before the two met again, also in Somerville. In September 2021, at a dinner celebrating the Jewish harvest festival of Sukkot, she brought a dish of green beans and cherry tomatoes, both of which she had grown in her community garden plot. The two were seated at opposite ends of the table, but they made strong impressions on each other.

When Ms. Zilberstein asked Mr. Zanger-Tishler, who was at that time Mr. Cantor's roommate, whether his close friend was seeing anyone, Mr. Zanger-Tishler said, "I can't believe I didn't think of it sooner."

He then gave Mr. Cantor her phone number.

Their first date took place several weeks later at a Cambridge bar, Drifter's Tale, now closed, where, because of Covid, they sat outside. They mostly shared about their academic interests, career goals and families.

Ms. Zilberstein, 28, a middle child with two brothers, is originally from Amherst, Mass. She is a Ph.D. candidate in sociology, where she studies the intersection of culture, technology and organizations. Her bachelor's degree is in sociology and history from Northwestern.

Mr. Cantor, also 28, grew up with two younger sisters in New York City. He received a rabbinical ordination this month from Hebrew College, a pluralistic seminary in Newton, Mass. His bachelor's degree is from Yale in women's, gender and sexuality studies.

On their second date at Ms. Zilberstein's apartment in Somerville, they broached their religious backgrounds. While both were raised in strongly identified Jewish homes, Mr. Cantor's was traditionally observant; Ms. Zilberstein's was not.

"It was so clear how much we enjoyed talking to each other," Mr. Cantor said. "There was just a lot of excitement to talk about ideas."

Ms. Zilberstein was reading "On Freedom: Four Songs of Care and Constraint," by the writer Maggie Nelson; soon Mr. Cantor was reading it, too.

They began studying the Torah portion of the week together, with each bringing texts relating to it; he would share a rabbinical commentary one week, and she would contribute a poem or social science text the next.

"It was never like he's the expert and I'm the student," she said. "We both were learning from each other at the same time."

Mr. Cantor said, "One thing that impressed me early on was that Shira told me that every day she strives to stretch her mind, her body and her soul."

This also extended to their Jewish practice.

"A lot of our Jewish life together has been honoring, embracing and also modifying the practices we grew up with," he said. "Our Jewish practice might be different in five or 10 years."

They began holding regular relationship check-ins, naming these Yesod, a term found in the Jewish mystical text, the kabbalah, that together mean a combination of acceptance and striving for change.

In July 2023, rather than a proposal, they invited both immediate families to Ms. Zilberstein's parent's home in Amherst, where each person was asked to share an item that symbolized a quality they appreciated about their family. Among the items shared: family photos, paintings, ceramics, a ritual Kiddush cup and a Lego menorah.

Two months later, they moved in together, into an apartment in Somerville.

Of course, by now, Mr. Cantor was well aware of Ms. Zilberstein's illness. At 14, she was diagnosed with indeterminate Crohn's colitis. For nearly 10 years, it was managed with medication and monthly intravenous treatments. But in early 2020, it began flaring up in a more debilitating way.

Shortly after they moved in together, Mr. Cantor drove Ms. Zilberstein to the emergency room when she experienced extreme abdominal pain. It would be the first of five hospital stays over the next five months. She cycled through various treatment regimens; none of them worked. Finally, her doctors recommended a colectomy, or removal of the large intestine, resulting in an ostomy bag. She had the surgery in October 2023. They hoped that would free her of further symptoms.

But by January 2024, Ms. Zilberstein had developed a painful autoimmune skin condition accompanied by more extreme intestinal blockages. The disease was the fastest and most severe recurrence of Crohn's disease her doctors had seen after a large intestine removal for what they thought was colitis. Once again, she faced decisions about treatments that had not worked previously, side effects from medications and postoperative recovery.

While Mr. Cantor's pastoral training prepared him for dealing with illness, confronting that of his own partner was something different.

"Presence and accompaniment are really important," he said. "It's not always about saying the right thing, it's about being there."

Mr. Cantor realized that he had a role to play in teaching their extended community how to deal with a friend's illness. For many, bringing food was their go-to method to show support. But Ms. Zilberstein's system couldn't handle whatever food they made, no matter how much love they put into it.

Not only did he collect letters of love and support from their friends that she could read when feeling down, but after the colectomy, he gathered donations for a "Shira shopping spree," to buy ostomy covers and clothing that could cover the bag.

"My training in grief work has helped me understand just how many things Shira has lost," he said. "Beyond the concrete, meaning her G.I. system, there are lots of different kinds of loss that come with dealing with chronic illness as a young adult."

There were some incredibly low moments for Ms. Zilberstein and those who loved her.

"The fear overtook me more than it overtook him," said Karen Zilberstein, Ms. Zilberstein's mother. "He was really able to hold onto the hope. They're both such determined people, and he was determined to get her through this."

Ms. Zilberstein said, "Emmanuel was always the first person to cheer me up and assure me how much I'm loved and accepted even if I have some detrimental medical thing or a surgery that will change me forever."

Mr. Cantor said, "Obviously, we were scared," adding: "Yet throughout, I always felt that this is what I want my life to be. There was never any 'Is this too much?' or 'Am I the right person for this?'"

They also kept a sense of humor about it, referring to Ms. Zilberstein's upgraded hospital room on a later stay as a perk of her enrollment in the hospital's "frequent stay program."

Ms. Zilberstein read, studied and planned a wedding from her hospital bed. She also practiced yoga next to it. And she chose their wedding menu from the bed, knowing she wouldn't eat any of it.

They were married on May 27 in front of 225 guests at Temple Beth Elohim in Wellesley, Mass., by Rabbi Dan Judson, a colleague and mentor of Mr. Cantor's. They observed all the Jewish traditions, beginning with the groom being escorted by family members and friends to his bride before the ceremony, and stomping on a glass at the end.

The week after the wedding, while they were partaking in traditional "sheva brachot" — seven blessings, in the form of nightly gatherings hosted by friends for them to extend the celebration — Mr. Cantor was ordained a rabbi on June 2. On June 4, Ms. Zilberstein went back for yet another surgery on her small intestine, one she called a "stoma face-lift."

The couple will move to Washington in July, where Mr. Cantor will serve as community rabbi for the Den Collective, an independent organization in the area that serves young Jews outside the walls of a synagogue. Ms. Zilberstein will be a visiting student at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore while she finishes the Ph.D. program.

Given that the bride had been hospitalized two months before the wedding, being able to dance at it was not at all a given. Yet she was able to. Her parents, Shlomo and Karen Zilberstein, included in their toast, "Thank you to the doctors who made sure you were healthy enough to enjoy this day."



PHOTOGRAPHS BY SILVER AND SALT PHOTOGRAPHY



Shira Zilberstein and Emmanuel Cantor at their May 27 wedding at Temple Beth Elohim in Wellesley, Mass. They met at a Shabbat dinner in 2019, but began dating in 2021.

ON THIS DAY

When May 27, 2024

Where Temple Beth Elohim, Wellesley, Mass.

The Ketubah The couple wrote their own text for their marriage contract. It said, in part: "We commit to love in times of happiness and hardship, to communicate with compassion and curiosity, and to stretch our minds, bodies, and souls. We pledge to find gratitude and joy in community, beauty, and the companionship of one another, even in times of suffering or struggle."

The Reception As is traditional, the couple were hoisted in the air in chairs as people danced around them. While their mothers chose to stay on the ground, the couple's fathers were hoisted in the air, too.

Starting in health, but putting 'in sickness' to the test very early.

WEDDINGS

Dianna Mateos, Edgar Angel

From a Quinceañera Dance Duo to Partners for Life

Edgar Giovanny Angel and Dianna Guadalupe Mateos can't quite remember if they danced to a merengue or a cumbia song when, as 15-year-olds, they were paired as dance partners for a quinceañera in 2012. They do, however, remember hitting it off during rehearsals.

"Edgar's cousin was my best friend during high school," said Ms. Mateos, now 27. "She was matchmaking us, and when it came to her quince, she was like, 'Who should I pair up Dianna with?' And she was like, 'It has to be Edgar.'"

Mr. Angel, 27, had barely met his cousin some months before being asked to take part in her quinceañera. Nonetheless, he agreed.

"At first, I didn't want to be there because I wanted to play soccer with my friends," Mr. Angel said. But after meeting Ms. Mateos, "I was telling my mom that I wanted to go to all the dance practices."

The two continued to see each other after the celebration; both were freshmen at Bell High School in Southeast Los Angeles. Six months after the quinceañera, Mr. Angel asked Ms. Mateos to be his girlfriend. Early dates revolved around dinner trips to Taco Bell, a stroll through the mall and car drives throughout the city.

After high school, they continued their relationship as they both attended California State University, Los Angeles (which they had planned). In 2020, Ms. Mateos graduated with a bachelor's degree in social work and child development; Mr. Angel with a bachelor's degree in business marketing.

Those college years propelled their relationship into something deeper than shared Taco Supremes and high school dances.

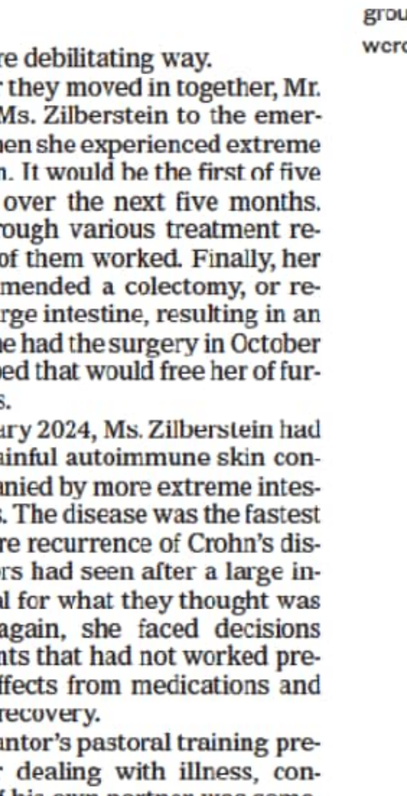
"College was a different type of growing up," Mr. Angel said. "It was more like growing together because we were both going for our degrees."

As the first people in both their families to attend college, they worked to balance their studies with investing in their young relationship.

"Since we were together in college, we weren't just going on dates, we would also help each other," Ms. Mateos said. "So I would help him with his homework and stuff; he would help me with mine."

The two live together in Bell, Calif., and work as substitute teachers for the Los Angeles Unified School District. They also work as social media content creators. Ms. Mateos currently has over 270,000 followers on TikTok; Mr. Angel over 185,000. Their separate accounts highlight Mr. Angel's love for soccer clubs and Ms. Mateos's passion for fashion and styling.

A moment both shared on their social media accounts was Mr. Angel's proposal. On Nov. 1, 2022, the two went out to lunch to mark their 10th anniversary, after which they went to a home that Mr. Angel had rented for the occasion. They walked to the backyard, which overlooked the San Fernando Valley. Ms. Mateos, who had been covering her eyes with her hands, heard a live violin instrumental to Justin Bieber's song "Anyone." (Mr. Bieber had been her other teenage crush.)



BAUTISTA PHOTOGRAPHY

"Once I heard the violinist play the first few strings, I knew," Ms. Mateos said. She said yes in front of their families, who were there as part of the surprise.

Family is a common theme in their relationship, they said — one that would become bittersweet as they prepared to exchange their vows.

Ms. Mateos's grandfather, Rafael Mateos Sanchez, who lived with her and her family in Bell, died in February, and Mr. Angel's grandmother, Herlinda Angel Ponce, who lived with him and his family in Bell, died two months later.

It was a difficult turn for the two as they had planned to have both of them take part in their church ceremony. The couple was conflicted over whether or not to postpone their wedding date; they ultimately found a way to honor both grandparents.

The couple was married June 1 before 200 guests at St. Andrew Catholic Church in Pasadena, Calif., in a ceremony officiated by Marcos Gonzales, the associate pastor of the church. After the ceremony, the couple's family and friends gathered at Glenoaks Ballroom in Glendale to celebrate.

A few moments before the ceremony, Ms. Mateos said she thought about her grandfather. "I knew my grandpa was with me during that moment," she said. She included a charm with his picture in her bouquet.

Mr. Angel incorporated his grandmother with a small picture of her pinned to the inside of his suit jacket.

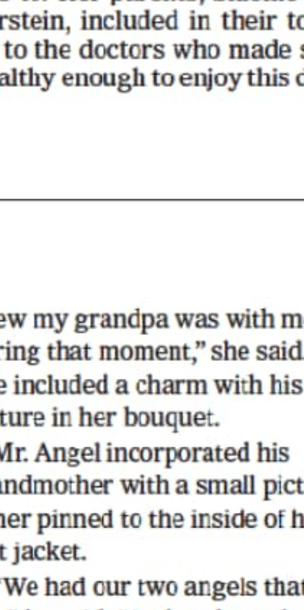
"We had our two angels that day," he said. "And we brought both our families together."

FRANK ROJAS

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Engagements

Kemler - Moloney



Brian & Erica are delighted to announce their Engagement on May 23, 2024 to all of their family and friends!

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A Farm-to-Farm-Table Approach for a Wedding Feast

Some couples are featuring the ultimate in fresh cuisine at their celebrations.

By ALIX STRAUSS

Last October, Matthew Steinberg and Michelle Schwartz married in front of 100 guests in Sunset Park, Brooklyn, atop a thriving roof-deck farm overlooking the Manhattan skyline.

The cocktail hour was held outside, and photos of the couple were taken as they stood between crop beds. "It was cool to see people picking peppers on the property, and knowing hours later we were drinking them with tequila," Mr. Steinberg, 30, a freelance TV editor, said of the pepper margaritas that were served.

Brooklyn Grange, which runs the rooftop facility, hosts around 45 weddings from April through November at its Sunset Park and Brooklyn Navy Yard locations. Rates start at $13,500 for a maximum of 150 people at Sunset Park and $6,000 for 50 or less at the Navy Yard.

The fully functioning, sustainably cultured farms grow botanicals, which are used in cocktails, as well as wildflowers for décor and various produce that is handpicked by staffers and incorporated into catered meals.

"To look at a plant or produce growing, while simultaneously consuming and tasting it in your drink or on your plate, and to look at wildflowers blooming and to see them arranged on your table, brings a deep, intensified full-circle connection between you, nature, and of all of these elements and experiences," said Anastasia Cole Plakias, a founder of Brooklyn Grange. "The idea of farm to table is changing. Now you're coming to the food, and the table is in the farm."



VIA CHATHAM BARS INN

The farm-to-table concept has long meant harvesting agricultural products and distributing fresh, seasonal food locally to retailers, restaurants, farmers' markets, or even directly to customers.

But nowadays couples planning a wedding also "want a location and menu options that reflect their values, while being part of an experience and the environment," said Viva Max Kaley, a senior events manager at Lindsay Landman Events, a boutique firm in New York.

"People want to know where their food has come from, who picked it, what they're eating, and is it fresh," she said.

The Stone Barns Center in Tarrytown, N.Y., has seen a steady increase in on-site weddings, to 88 last year from 64 in 2016. The farm encompasses 250 acres of pastures, woodlands, vegetable gardens, a green house, beehives and farming animals like cows, chickens, goats and pigs.

Integration is a major component of its attraction. In the property's garden, cocktails are infused with foraged ingredients from the farm, such as badger flame beets, jalapeños (breeders remove the heat to produce flavor without the spiciness), and sassafras wood bark from the property's surrounding trees.

"Couples want better-tasting food and flavors, happier experiences around what they are eating while letting the farm dictate the meal," said Dan Barber, the executive chef and an owner of Blue Hill at Stone Barns, the restaurant on the property.

When planning a farm-to-table-wedding couples need to know that not all ingredients will be available when and how they want them.

"Produce is seasonal and depends on weather's cooperation," Mr. Barber said. These conditions, though, can add to the overall experience. "We are hard-wired to want a connection to eating in the place where you can see and experience food ripening in front of you," he said. "There's an intuitive pleasure when that happens."

At a farm wedding in Saratoga, Wyo., planned by Ms. Kaley last year, guests nibbled on fresh baked bread and imbibed sourced cocktails, while a farmer explained how everything was made. Crudités boxes filled with produce picked fresh from the garden, were placed on guests' tables. "The food served at our event was butchered, grown and cultivated on site," said Ms. Kaley, adding that the experience made the meal more enjoyable for guests.

For urbanites, "those experiences are more meaningful," said Sneh Diwan, the owner of Diwan by Design, a destination event planning company in Jersey City, N.J., especially for "people coming from New York, a city that doesn't always allow you to have these experiences like frolicking through the field and then eating in it."

Food served at farms comes with a story, as well as a level of trust, "a sense of home, a natural setting and the opportunity to create something together with the chef, the farmer, the baker, even with the location and environment," Ms. Diwan said.

Those interested in food foraging with the person responsible for creating their wedding meal can be active picking participants at the Ritz-Carlton Orlando, Grande Lakes. The executive chef, Michelle Wick, leads the couple on a tour of the property's farm, which features chickens, quails, ducks, mango and banana trees, herbs and produce. (Wedding dinners start at $275 per person.)



STEPHANIE DISHMAN

Top, the Chatham Bars Inn, on Cape Cod, hosts 75 to 100 weddings annually and has an eight-acre farm on the premises. Above, at Whisper Creek Farm at the Ritz-Carlton Orlando, Grande Lakes in Florida.

Want quail eggs with your canapés? Simply point and pick. Perhaps it's choosing buzz buttons flowers, which have edible petals that tingle when you bite into them, to sprinkle on dishes or muddle in cocktails. The flavor "adds a nice sensation and pairs well with the honey collected from our bees," Ms. Wick said.

"Couples are connecting with nature, and with every element of their wedding," she added. "They are getting joy by seeing where their food is coming from, selecting specific ingredients, and in knowing they helped customize and curate the menu for their guests. It's a very tactile and emotional experience. You can get a ballroom anywhere. Eating on a lawn next to the garden is special."

Ten minutes from Chatham Bars Inn on Cape Cod is its eight-acre farm, which grows more than 180 varieties of produce and an array of botanical and wildflowers, including edible ones, which can also be used for bridal bouquets and table centerpieces. Apples harvested on the inn's orchard are incorporated into vinaigrettes and mignonettes.

The inn hosts 75 to 100 weddings a year and offers educational tours that guests can participate in during the rehearsal dinner. "Guests travel through the farm with a cocktail as we highlight the methods of produce and where things come from," said Joshua Schiff, the inn's farm manager. At the end of the wedding experience, guests get gift baskets filled with harvested produce. (Brooklyn Grange has something similar.)

These curated encounters help "guests get a greater sense of connection with the point of origins," said Mr. Schiff, who added that barns have become desirable wedding locations. "Because you're part of the harvesting, the tastes and textures of everything you're eating create a longer-lasting memory."

"A good vibe and connection to nature" were what Sunday Helmerich, 34, and Sally Rappaport, 29, desired when they booked the Brooklyn Grange at Sunset Park for their wedding on May 18.

"From the minute we got off the elevator and stepped into the farm," said Mx. Helmerich, who identifies as nonbinary, "we knew they were creating a grounding experience that requires you to be present in a society that moves too fast."



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Vows

WEDDINGS

Kana Abe,
Jack Seemer

After a Stationery Start, Things Moved Quickly

Kanako Abe noticed a cute guy with "mysterious, deep-set eyes" on an Amtrak train headed from New York City to Montreal in March 2012. John Christopher Seemer took note of Ms. Abe, too. But neither spoke a word to the other — that is, until their return trip six days later, on March 17, 2012.

Ms. Abe, a junior at Rutgers University who had been on spring break, was doing homework in the cafe car. Too shy to say hello the first time, Mr. Seemer, a sophomore at N.Y.U., didn't want to miss this lucky St. Patrick's Day second chance.

"I was an enthusiast of stationery," Mr. Seemer said. "So, I commented on her pen." He instantly recognized it to be a Japanese Sakura Pigma Micron, a fineliner pen for precise sketching or writing.

Ms. Abe, who goes by Kana, was intrigued, confirming she had gotten it in Japan. (Ms. Abe's parents immigrated from Japan to the United States in the 1980s.)

The two talked until the cafe car closed as the 10-hour trip drew to an end. "It was an abrupt ending," Mr. Seemer, who goes by Jack, said. "But I thought we had hit it off."

When he returned to his seat, his friend asked where he had been. "He said, 'You have to give her your number,'" Mr. Seemer said. So he waited around Penn Station after disembarking.

"Everyone was wearing green," Ms. Abe said, describing a fairly surreal scene (though she was wearing black). "It was a mess."

When he finally spotted her, he said: "I know you come to New York occasionally. Here's my number so we can meet up."

A week later, Ms. Abe sent Mr. Seemer a text, and the two made plans to see the Rapture at the Music Hall of Williamsburg in Brooklyn on April 7. They had a great time. But it wasn't great timing.

"We went over a month texting each other but not seeing one another," Mr. Seemer said. "We were both focused on finals at school."

They finally went on a second date to see the movie "Moonrise Kingdom" at the end of May. And they took a day trip to Long Branch Beach in New Jersey shortly after as a third. "For me, New Jersey was fairly exotic," said Mr. Seemer, who grew up in Rockledge, Fla.

There was an expiration date on their dating, however, as Mr. Seemer was scheduled to depart for a year abroad.

After one more date, he left to study in Berlin on June 2, 2012, stopping first in France, to begin a 42-day walk with his father on the Camino de Santiago, the famed pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela, Spain.

While he was away, the two communicated only via email. "It felt old school in that way," Ms. Abe said. "It was exciting to get an email from Jack."

"We kind of became pen pals," Mr. Seemer said.

The year passed, and Mr. Seemer said, "I didn't have any expectations coming back."

But the two went on their "second first date," Mr. Seemer said, at the end of summer 2013: takeout Chinese food and a movie at the friend's apartment in New York where he was staying.



MILLE ELANGRAM

When they said good night in the lobby, it was Ms. Abe who moved in for a kiss. "I definitely felt like we were back where we left off," Mr. Seemer said.

Still, he said, "I remember Kana wanting to take things slowly." They began texting regularly and going on casual dates. At the end of November 2013, they officially became a couple.

In the summer of 2014, after Mr. Seemer graduated from N.Y.U. with a bachelor's degree in global liberal studies, he moved in with Ms. Abe in Bushwick "for the summer," she said. But he never moved out.

After several more moves together, the two bought a home in the summer of 2021, a "rundown," as Ms. Abe said, 1954 midcentury ranch house in West Orange, N.J., where they now live.

Mr. Seemer proposed on June 9, 2023, during a weekend getaway he planned in upstate New York, which included a visit to Manitoga, home of the industrial designer Russel Wright.

He asked her to join him for a hike at Plaule Catskill, the resort where they were staying, despite the intermittent rain. She said yes, though she was less than thrilled.

"I remember Jack was walking super slow, and he was extremely quiet," Ms. Abe said. "He asked me to sit on a log nearby so he could take my photo." After taking the photo, Mr. Seemer proposed.

Ms. Abe, 33, who grew up in Wayne, N.J., is a senior software engineer at Spotify. She has a bachelor's degree in computer science and visual art from Rutgers.

Mr. Seemer, 32, is the executive editor at Gear Patrol, a digital publication for product enthusiasts.

The couple were wed before 97 guests on June 1 by Jaime Manheimer, a friend of the couple who had obtained a one-day New York license, at the Woodhouse Lodge in Greenville, N.Y.

"Kana and I signed the marriage license with a $3 Micron pen — the same one she was using on the train all those years ago," Mr. Seemer said. "It felt as if we were coming full circle to close one loop and open a new one."

JENNY BLOCK

Yasmin Khorram,
Tyler Eyre

'Soul Mate Connection' Forged From Opposite Coasts

Tyler Charles Eyre believes he never would have met Yasmin Khorram, whom he considers his soul mate, had her family not fled Iran four decades ago. But it was a tragic turn of events that precipitated that move.

As the Iranian Revolution was taking place in 1979, Ms. Khorram's maternal grandfather, a top military commander during the reign of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, was executed. Her grandmother, along with her parents, abandoned their family home and moved to Denver to begin rebuilding their lives.

Ms. Khorram, 36, who grew up in Seattle after her parents relocated there, has never been to Iran. She said she dreams of one day visiting the country her grandmother loved, though not the one she left.

Mr. Eyre, 33, who was raised in Rockaway, N.J., by an American mother and an Australian father, knew little of Iran until he met Ms. Khorram.

Mr. Eyre and Ms. Khorram lived on opposite coasts through college. She attended Whittier College in Whittier, Calif., receiving a bachelor's degree in journalism and world affairs. He has a bachelor's degree in economics from St. John's University in Queens and a master's degree in journalism from N.Y.U.

The two overlapped in New York, when Ms. Khorram relocated for her work as a producer at CNN, from 2015 through 2018. Mr. Eyre was a senior producer at CNBC. Yet they never met.

In 2019, Ms. Khorram joined CNBC as a producer in San Francisco. She caught the attention of Mr. Eyre a couple of years later when she reported on-air during a show he helped produce about Elizabeth Holmes, the founder of Theranos. That appearance began a subsequent career as an on-air reporter — and a budding relationship with Mr. Eyre.

"She was obviously beautiful," he said. "But there was something else."

The two were in a group text with a colleague who was getting married that fall. Mr. Eyre messaged Ms. Khorram separately, using the suggestion of a joint wedding present as his excuse. The following three weeks brought an endless stream of texting and FaceTime calls.

They skipped past small talk. "It felt like we were interviewing each other for the 'job,'" Mr. Eyre said.

Ms. Khorram had high standards for dating. She said her career was her priority, and that she did not have any interest in "wasting time on something that wasn't certain."

Mr. Eyre visited Ms. Khorram in San Francisco that September, arranging to stay in a hotel near her apartment. She suggested they meet at her favorite restaurant, Foreign Cinema, in the Mission District. When Mr. Eyre arrived, he spotted her through the restaurant's window, sipping an espresso martini at the bar.

She said she had wondered whether he would ever show. His plane had been delayed.

Over dinner the two described their connection as "like lightning." The restaurant's host, Dashiell Hillman, noticed as well. In his time as a host, Mr. Hillman said, he has witnessed countless first dates. This one was different, he added.

The couple spent the weekend strolling through



KURT BOOMER

San Francisco and eating In-N-Out Burger.

"It was surreal," Mr. Eyre said. "I kept looking at her and asking, 'Are we really doing this?'"

For the next year or so, Mr. Eyre visited Ms. Khorram every other week. When they were apart, they connected on FaceTime, sometimes falling asleep during the call.

"It felt like a clock was ticking every time we were together," Ms. Khorram said. They packed their weekends with activities, nurturing "a full relationship in half the time." They always returned to Foreign Cinema for dinner.

"Their soul mate connection was evident," Mr. Hillman said.

After a year and a half of flying across the country, the couple boarded a plane to Paris in April 2023. On a rainy first day, Mr. Eyre led Ms. Khorram to the Eiffel Tower, where he proposed.

"I was worried I was doing something wrong," he said. "She wasn't saying anything. She wasn't crying. She was just smiling at me."

The couple celebrated their engagement over dinner with her grandmother, who happened to be in Paris on vacation.

In July 2023, Ms. Khorram traveled to the East Coast for good. The couple moved into an apartment in Englewood, N.J., and Ms. Khorram took a job as a senior reporter for Yahoo Finance, where she continues to work.

On May 31, they wed at the El Encanto, a Belmond Hotel in Santa Barbara, Calif. They were joined by 118 guests for a ceremony at the hotel's lily pond that fused American and Persian traditions.

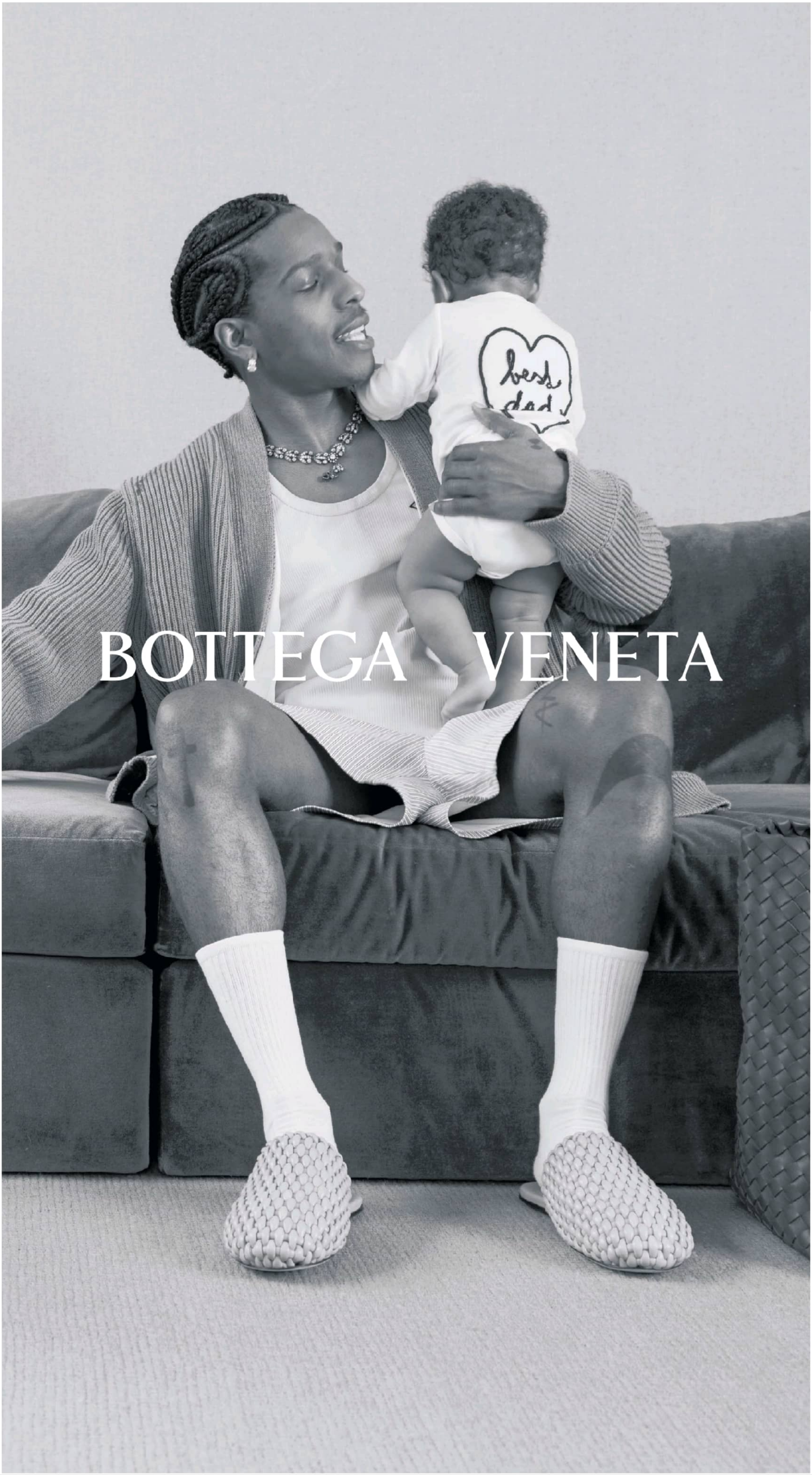
Mr. Hillman, the restaurant host, officiated. He was ordained through the Universal Life Church for the occasion.

Ms. Khorram's grandmother, Nahid Aminiafshar, walked her down the aisle in the same emerald dress she wore to her daughter's wedding in Iran in 1978. Mr. Eyre wore Ms. Khorram's grandfather's cuff links, and Ms. Khorram pinned one of his military medals to her bouquet.

"My grandma brought my parents to this country and made my life possible," Ms. Khorram said. "In some way, she brought me to Tyler."

HALINA BENNET

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J.D. Vance on Jan. 6, liberalism and where he'd take the Republican Party.

BY ROSS DOUTHAT | PAGE 5



Having children has become a conservative issue. Progressives need to reclaim it.

BY ANASTASIA BERG AND RACHEL WISEMAN | PAGE 8

As my father's mind unraveled, I learned to love him in new ways.

BY CORNELIA CHANNING | PAGE 11

IDEAS | CONVERSATION | ANALYSIS

Sunday Opinion

The New York Times

SUNDAY, JUNE 16, 2024

America Needs to Remember How to Forget

After a profound national rupture like Jan. 6, forgiveness may be impossible. But a long-overlooked idea from the ancient world could help us to move forward.

BY LINDA KINSTLER | PAGE 6

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Columns & Commentary

Itemized: The news, in objects.



NEIL WINOKUR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

We have reached peak cicada. This spring, two broods of cicadas, XIII and XIX, emerged simultaneously for the first time in over 200 years. Now many of these insects (and there are more than a billion of them) have entered their mating phase, when they will reproduce and lay eggs. One of the telltale signs of cicada mating season? Their sound — which is known to reach 120 decibels, as loud as a motorcycle — gets even louder.

Footnotes: Why Is Male Birth Control a White Whale?



JANIK SÖLLNER

For decades, scientists have been promising that a male version of the birth control pill is just around the corner, but there is still no widely available oral contraceptive for men. There have been astronomical advances in reproductive science in the past 50 years, but somehow male birth control remains elusive. What's the holdup? And when are we likely to see the first options hit the market? Here are a few things to read, watch and listen to about the science of developing male birth control.

LISTEN

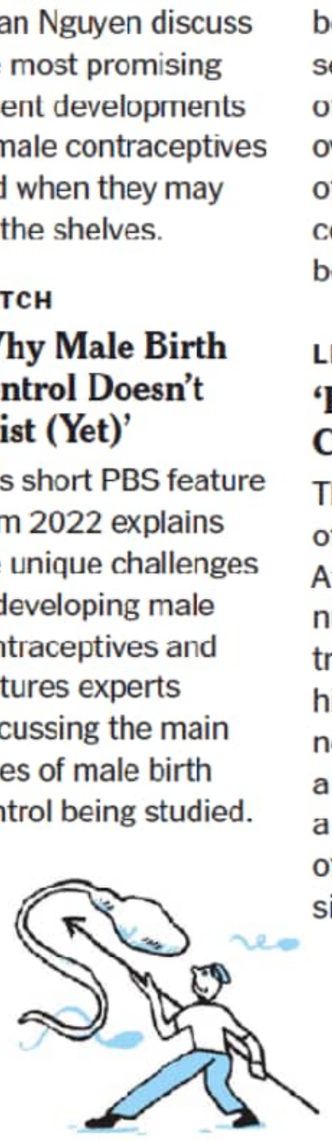
'The Male Pill'

On this 2022 episode of the podcast "Science Vs," the physicians John Amory and Brian Nguyen discuss the most promising recent developments in male contraceptives and when they may hit the shelves.

WATCH

'Why Male Birth Control Doesn't Exist (Yet)'

This short PBS feature from 2022 explains the unique challenges of developing male contraceptives and features experts discussing the main types of male birth control being studied.



READ

'This Is Your Brain on Birth Control'

OK, so this is not about male contraceptives, but this 2019 book by the researcher Sarah E. Hill offers an excellent overview of the effects of hormonal birth control on women's bodies. Men, read up.

LISTEN

'Finally, Male Contraceptives'

This recent episode of the podcast "Radio Atlantic" looks at a number of male contraceptives that could hit the market in the next decade, including a pill, an injection and a topical gel — all of which have minimal side effects.

MICHELLE GOLDBERG

The Trump Movie You May Never See

Last week, I finally got to see "The Apprentice," an absorbing, disturbing movie about the relationship between the red-baiting mob lawyer Roy Cohn and a young Donald Trump. The film, which was received with an extended standing ovation and mostly appreciative reviews when it premiered at Cannes last month, is a classic story of a mentor and his protégé, chronicling how Trump first learned from and later surpassed his brutal, Machiavellian fixer.

Its performances are extraordinary. The "Succession" star Jeremy Strong captures both Cohn's reptilian menace and, eventually, his pathos as he's wasted by AIDS. Just as impressive is Sebastian Stan, who makes Trump legible as a human being rather than the grotesque hyperobject we all know today.

It's not a sympathetic portrayal; this is, after all, a movie that depicts Trump raping his first wife, Ivana. But "The Apprentice" gives you a sense of the glamour Trump projected before he became a caricature, and it makes his decision to pursue Manhattan's Commodore Hotel in the 1970s, when Midtown was a sleazy wasteland, seem visionary. It offers a fresh way of understanding how Trump — under the tutelage of Cohn, who once served as chief counsel to Joseph McCarthy — evolved from an almost charming Queens striver into the lawless predator now bestriding American politics. I wish you could see it.

Unfortunately, you may not get a chance to anytime soon, at least in the United States. Distributors have bought the rights to "The Apprentice" in Canada, Britain, France, Germany, Japan and many other countries. But the filmmakers have yet to secure a deal to release it here, either theatrically or on streaming services.

Negotiations are ongoing, and domestic distribution could still come together. Yet the possibility that American audiences won't be able to see "The Apprentice" isn't just frustrating. It's frightening, because it suggests that Trump and his supporters have already intimidated some media companies, which seem to be pre-emptively capitulating to him.

Some distributors might simply be reluctant to take on "The Apprentice" because they think political films are money losers; as

Distributors are cowed by MAGA supporters seeking to quash 'The Apprentice.'

The Hollywood Reporter pointed out, Adam McKay's 2018 Dick Cheney biopic, "Vice," was considered a "major flop." But "The Apprentice" is a buzzier film than "Vice," and it appears from industry reporting that the movie industry is less worried about finding an audience than about poking the MAGA bear.

As Puck's Matthew Belloni wrote after talking to potential buyers, "several that really liked the film are still out on 'The Apprentice,' in part because of the politics of the moment — which is to say fear of the politics of the moment." Emanuel Nuñez, president of the production company Kinematics, one of the film's investors, told me, "Trump attacked the film and, unfortunately, it appears that Hollywood right now doesn't have the stomach to release this film and take him on."

The fear seems to be twofold. Few want to end up in the MAGA movement's cross hairs the way Bud Light and Disney did. And as one distribution executive told Variety, any company that wants to be sold or to merge with or buy another company, would be hesitant to touch "The Apprentice" because of the possibility that, should Trump be re-elected, his "regulators will be punitive."

After all, when Trump was president, his Department of Justice tried to block AT&T's acquisition of Time Warner, the company that owned CNN. As The New Yorker's Jane Mayer reported, the government's opposition to the deal was widely seen as retaliation for CNN coverage that displeased Trump.

In a second Trump term, the Department of Justice is expected to be far more aggressive in persecuting Trump's foes. Kash Patel, a former Trump administration official who has been floated as a possible acting attorney general in a Trump restoration, boasted to Steve Bannon of plans to target journalists for rejecting Trump's lies about a stolen 2020 election: "We're going to come after you, whether it's criminally or civilly," Patel said.

They could go after anyone involved with "The Apprentice" in the same way. In a cease-and-desist letter to the filmmakers, a lawyer for Trump claimed, absurdly, that the movie is "direct foreign interference in America's elections," noting that its director, Ali Abbasi, is Iranian Danish and that the movie received funding from Denmark, Ireland and Canada.

It's common to read about movies that are shown in most of the world but not released in, say, Russia or, more often, China. Should "The Apprentice" end up widely available globally but not, for political reasons, in the United States, it will be a sign of democratic decay, as well as an augur of greater self-censorship to come. After all, if anxiety about enraging Trump is already shaping what you can and cannot watch, it's probably bound to get even worse if he actually returns to power.

In 2017, when he was frustrated that his attorney general, Jeff Sessions, wasn't protecting him from the investigation into his Russia ties, Trump exclaimed, "Where's my Roy Cohn?" The uncertain fate of "The Apprentice" demonstrates that he no longer needs to replace the man, because he's got a whole movement instead.

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Columns & Commentary

NICHOLAS KRISTOF

What Have We Liberals Done to the West Coast?

PORTLAND, ORE.

As Democrats make their case to voters around the country this fall, one challenge is that some of the bluest parts of the country — cities on the West Coast — are a mess.

Centrist voters can reasonably ask: Why put liberals in charge nationally when the places where they have greatest control are plagued by homelessness, crime and dysfunction?

I'll try to answer that question in a moment, but liberals like me do need to face the painful fact that something has gone badly wrong where we're in charge, from San Diego to Seattle. I'm an Oregonian who bores people at cocktail parties by singing the praises of the West, but the truth is that too often we offer a version of progressivism that doesn't result in progress.

We are more likely to believe that "housing is a human right" than conservatives in Florida or Texas, but less likely to actually get people housed. We accept a yawning gulf between our values and our outcomes.

Conservatives argue that the problem is simply the left. Michael Shellenberger wrote a tough book denouncing what he called "San Fransicko" with the subtitle "Why Progressives Ruin Cities." Yet that doesn't ring true to me.

Democratic states enjoy a life expectancy two years longer than Republican states. Per capita G.D.P. in Democratic states is 29 percent higher than in G.O.P. states, and child poverty is lower. Education is generally better in blue states, with more kids graduating from high school and college. The gulf in well-being between blue states and red states is growing wider, not narrower.

So my rejoinder to Republican critiques is: Yes, governance is flawed in some blue parts of America, but overall, liberal places have enjoyed faster economic growth and higher living standards than conservative places. That doesn't look like failure.

So the problem isn't with liberalism. It's with West Coast liberalism.

The two states with the highest rates of unsheltered homelessness are California and Oregon. The three states with the lowest rates of unsheltered homelessness are all blue ones in the Northeast: Vermont, New York and Maine. Liberal Massachusetts has some of the finest public schools in the country, while liberal Washington and Oregon have below-average high school graduation rates.

Oregon ranks dead last for youth mental health services, according to Mental Health America, while Washington, D.C., and Delaware rank best.

Drug overdoses appear to have risen last year in every Democratic state on the West Coast, while they dropped last year in each Democratic state in the Northeast. The homicide rate here in Portland last year was more than double that of New York City.

Why does Democratic Party governance seem less effective on the West Coast than on the East Coast?

Sometimes I wonder if the West is less serious about policy than the East and less focused on relying on the most rigorous evidence. There's some evidence for that. But I'm not sure, for it's also true that West Coast states have managed to innovate exceptionally well in some domains. Oregon pioneered "death with dignity" through physician-assisted suicide and led the way to vote by mail, an important step for democracy. California has some of the smartest gun safety laws in America, championed by Gov. Gavin Newsom. As a result, California has a firearms death rate 40 percent below the national average.

So my take is that the West Coast's central problem is not so much that it's unserious as that it's infected with an ideological purity that is focused more on intentions than on oversight and outcomes.

I ran for governor in Oregon two years ago (I was ousted from the ballot by Oregon's secretary of state at the time, who said I didn't meet the residency requirement). While running, I'd meet groups of liberal donors in Portland, as the city's problems cast a shadow over all of us; we'd all be wondering nervously if our catalytic converters were in the process of being stolen. The undercurrent in such a liberal gathering would be the failures of Republicans — but Portland was one mess we couldn't blame Republicans for, because there simply aren't many Republicans in Portland. This was our liberal mess.

Politics always is part theater, but out West too often we settle for being performative rather than substantive.

For example, as a gesture to support trans kids, Oregon took money from the tight education budget to put tampons in boys' restrooms in elementary schools — including boys' restrooms in *kindergartens*.

"The inability of progressives, particularly in the Portland metro area, to deal with the nitty-gritty of governing and to get something done is just staggering," Representative Earl Blumenauer, a Democrat who has been representing and championing Portland for more than half a century, told me. "People are much more interested in ideology than in actual results."

Consider a volunteer group called the Portland Freedom Fund that was set up to pay bail for people of color. The organization raised money from well-intentioned liberal donors, and the underlying problems were real: Bail requirements hit poor people hard.

In 2022, the Portland Freedom Fund helped a Black man named Mohamed Adan who had been arrested after allegedly trying to strangle his former girlfriend, holding a gun to her head and then — in violation of a restraining order — cutting off his G.P.S. monitor and entering her building. "He told me that he would kill me," the former girlfriend, Rachael Abraham, warned.

The Freedom Fund paid Adan's bail, and he walked out of jail. A week later, Adan allegedly removed his G.P.S. monitor again and entered Abraham's home. The police found Abraham's body drenched in blood with a large knife nearby; three children were also in the house.

Adan was charged with murder — no bail this time — and the incident prompted soul-searching in Portland. But perhaps not enough. A well-meaning effort to help people of color may have cost the life of a woman of color.

One of the passions of the left, drawing partly on Ibram X. Kendi's book "How to Be an Antiracist," has been that if a policy leads to racial inequity, then it's racist even if it wasn't meant to be. But by that standard, West Coast progressivism abounds in racism.

We in the West impeded home construction in ways that made cities unaffordable, especially for people of color. We let increasing numbers of people struggle with homelessness, particularly Black and brown people. Black people in Portland are also murdered at higher rates than in cities more notorious for violence, and Seattle and Portland have some of the greatest racial disparities in arrests in the country.

I don't actually agree with Kendi. I think intentions and framing can matter, but it's absolutely true that good intentions are not enough. What matters is improving opportunities and quality of life, and the best path to do that is a relentless empiricism — which clashes with the West Coast's indifference to the laws of economics.

The basic reason for homelessness on the West Coast is an enormous shortage of housing that drives up rents. California lacks about three million housing units, in part because it's difficult to get permission to build.

As long as there is such a vast shortage, housing is like musical chairs. Move one family into housing, and another won't get a home.

Public sector efforts to build housing are often ruinously expensive, with "affordable housing" sometimes costing more than $1 million per unit, so the private sector is critical. Yet one element of progressive purity is suspicion of the private sector, and this hobbles efforts to make businesses part of the solution. Business owners who earn an income from their company are effectively barred from serving on the Portland City Council.

Ideological purity is beating out sound policy.

Perhaps on the West Coast we have ideological purity because there isn't much political competition. Republicans are irrelevant in much of the Far West, so they can't hold Democrats' feet to the fire — leading Democrats in turn to wander unchecked farther to the left. That's not so true in the Northeast: A Republican, Charlie Baker, was until recently governor of Massachusetts, and Republicans are competitive statewide in Maine, Pennsylvania, Maryland, New Hampshire, New York and New Jersey.

Maybe a healthy Republican Party keeps the Democratic Party healthy, and vice versa.

Without opposition party oversight, problems aren't always fixed expeditiously. For example, some blue states have well-intentioned laws meant to protect citizens from involuntary commitment to mental institutions — but these days, with drugs and untreated mental illness interacting to produce psychosis, such laws can crush the people they're supposed to help.

One of my school friends in my hometown, Yamhill, Ore., Stacy, struggled with alcoholism and mental illness. She became homeless and lived in a tent in a park, but it is almost impossible in such cases to move someone involuntarily into an institution. So she froze to death one winter night.

I think of Stacy suffering and dying unnecessarily, and I believe that instead of protecting her, our liberalism failed her.

One encouraging sign is that the West Coast may be self-correcting. I've been on a book tour in recent weeks, and in my talks in California, Oregon and Washington I've been struck by the way nearly everyone frankly acknowledges this gulf between our values and our outcomes, and welcomes more pragmatic approaches. California and Oregon have taken steps to boost housing supply, and Oregon ended an experiment in drug decriminalization. Homelessness seems a bit better in San Francisco and other cities, and homicides have dropped.

I'm still a believer in the West Coast. Partly it's the physical beauty of the region and the outdoor opportunities, and partly it's that the West has a history of reinventing itself. I remember Seattle's struggles in the 1970s, when a billboard near the airport read, "Will the last person leaving Seattle — turn out the lights." The West Coast has always rescued itself by seizing new ideas, from personal computers to the internet, and building on them. The Bay Area may be doing that again today with artificial intelligence.

On a visit to San Francisco in May, I took a Waymo self-driving taxi. It eerily stopped in front of me, unlocked itself and then drove me smoothly to my destination. That did feel like a futuristic journey in a futuristic city.

We need to get our act together. Less purity and more pragmatism would go a long way. But perhaps the first step must be the humility to acknowledge our failures.



MASON TRINCA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

JAMELLE BOUIE

There's a Reason Trump Has Friends in High Places

Among the features that distinguish capitalist society from its predecessors, the political theorist Ellen Meiksins Wood once observed, is "the differentiation of the economic and the political."

The state, Wood pointed out, "stands apart from the economy even though it intervenes in it," so that everyone — boss and bossed — can claim ownership in it "without usurping the exploitative power of the appropriator."

Or as the philosopher Nancy Fraser put it, "The power to organize production is privatized and devolved to capital" while the "task of governing 'noneconomic' orders, including those that supply the external conditions for accumulation, falls to public power, which alone may utilize the 'political' media of law and 'legitimate' state violence."

The upshot of this dynamic is that democracy under capitalism is necessarily of limited scope. We have the power and capacity to regulate and structure the market, but the fundamental questions — of production and surplus, of ownership and social reproduction — are beyond the reach of democratic decision-making as now constituted.

But even the weak grasp of capitalist democracy is too strong for, well, capitalists. "Capital," Fraser wrote, "tries to have it both ways." On one hand, "it freeloads off of public power, availing itself of the legal regimes, infrastructures and regulatory agencies that are indispensable to accumulation." On the other, "the thirst for profit periodically tempts some fractions of the capitalist class to rebel against public power, to bad-mouth it as inferior to markets and to scheme to weaken it. In such cases, when short-term interests trump long-term survival, capital once again threatens to destroy the very political conditions of its own possibility."

We can see this phenomenon during key junctures in American history. The Great Depression saw some sections of the business and corporate class contemplate dictatorial rule in an effort to save capitalism from a "socialist" or "communistic" New Deal. There was, in the view of Franklin Roosevelt, "an impulse among a good many 'strong' men, men used to having their way, mostly industrialists who directed affairs without being questioned, a feeling that democracy had run its course and that the totalitarians had grasped the necessities of the time."

Examples abound, as well, when we turn our eyes abroad. Among the strongest supporters of the American-backed military overthrow in 1973 of Salvador Allende, Chile's democratically elected socialist president, were conservative business leaders who feared Allende's program of egalitarian redistribution. What followed, in the next decade of Chilean politics, was a crash course in neoliberal governance that placed economic life beyond the reach of popular institutions.

Even weak regulation is too strong for capitalists.

That some capitalists will turn on democracy when it seems that democracy might impede the accumulation of wealth is useful context for recent developments in the 2024 presidential election.

According to Sam Sutton, writing in Politico, several Wall Street executives and Silicon Valley venture capitalists who backed Donald Trump and then spurned him after the Jan. 6 insurrection have now returned to the fold, with open arms and open wallets. They are, he writes, "looking past qualms about his personality and willingness to bulldoze institutional norms and focusing instead on issues closer to the heart: how he might ease regulations, cut their taxes or flex U.S. power on the global stage."

For these donors, President Biden's efforts to enforce antitrust law and "tighten rules around markets and mergers" are such a threat to their financial interests that they've abandoned the misgivings they entertained in the wake of Trump's attempt to overturn the results of the 2020 election. One must also imagine that there is some unhappiness with Biden's efforts to create and preserve a tight labor market that puts more income into the hands of ordinary workers. Whatever their grievance, these business leaders have come to believe that "the threat to capitalism from the Democrats is more concerning than the threat to democracy from Trump."

Of course, this idea is nonsense. There is no way in which the Democratic Party constitutes a threat to capitalism. At most, the party's program of regulation, redistribution and higher taxes may shrink, ever so slightly, the profit rate for some of the nation's wealthiest shareholders. But when compared with Trump's promise to destroy the regulatory state and siphon the public coffers into the accounts of his billionaire allies, even modest intervention on behalf of consumers and labor looks like the harbinger of a dictatorship of the proletariat.

The truth is that regimes of corrupt, personalist rule — in which authoritarians wield the state to reward friends, punish enemies and secure fortunes — are less prosperous than the alternative. It's not as if Viktor Orban's Hungary can claim to possess anything like a dynamic, growing economy. And the big-ticket items on Trump's supposed second-term agenda — large tariffs on most goods entering the United States, the politicization of the federal bureaucracy, including the Federal Reserve, and a plan to systematically deport undocumented immigrants — would plunge the country into turmoil and economic disarray.

As Anthony Scaramucci, onetime communication director for the former president, told Politico in a critique of Trump's billionaire supporters: "You need a democracy to have effective capitalism. If you don't, you get cronyism. You get oligarchy. You get crony capitalism. You get arbitrary and capricious administration to the law, which reduces people's tendency to invest in your country."

The irony of capitalist discontent with democracy is that democracy has been a very good deal for capitalists. Roosevelt understood, as he spearheaded his defense of the constitutional order, that a measure of modest egalitarianism — facilitated through the formal institutions of democracy — is a small price to pay for stability and the rule of law.

There was a song that Trump liked to recite during the 2016 presidential campaign. It was "The Snake," by Al Wilson, a 1960s retelling of the fable of the scorpion and the frog. In the song, a woman saves a half-frozen snake from death only to be bitten.

> "I saved you," cried that woman. "And you've bit me even, why? You know your bite is poisonous and now I'm going to die."
>
> "Oh shut up, silly woman," said the reptile with a grin. "You knew damn well I was a snake before you took me in."

For Trump, this was an anti-immigrant parable: a warning that migrants and refugees are, as he now says, "poisoning the blood of our country." But it could just as easily be a warning about the former president and the capitalists who hope to bring him back to power. They'll carry him, he'll bite, and his poison will flow through the body politic, to their ruin as well as ours.

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OPINION

America Isn't Leading the World

Stephen Wertheim
The author of "Tomorrow, the World: The Birth of U.S. Global Supremacy."



DEBORA SZPILMAN

AFTER four years of Donald Trump, Joe Biden was supposed to restore the United States to a position of global leadership. By many of the conventional standards of Washington, he has delivered.

He anticipated Russia's invasion of Ukraine and adroitly rallied NATO to stand up to it. In Asia, he shored up old alliances, built new ones and fanned China's economic headwinds. After Israel was attacked, he managed to support it while avoiding all-out regional war.

Yet there is more to global leadership than backing friends and beating back foes. Leaders, in the full sense, don't just remain on top; they solve problems and inspire confidence. Mr. Trump barely pretends to offer that kind of leadership on the world stage. But precisely because most U.S. officials do, it is all the more striking where American power stands today.

Never in the decades since the Cold War has the United States looked less like a leader of the world and more like the head of a faction, reduced to defending its preferred side against increasingly aligned adversaries, as much of the world looks on and wonders why the Americans think they're in charge.

When Russia invaded Ukraine, a familiar frisson shot through Washington. After decades of dubious warmaking, the United States would become the global good guy again, uniting the world to resist the Kremlin's blatant affront to law and order. In the opening months, the White House scored brilliant tactical successes, enabling Ukraine's defense, organizing aid from allies and smoothing Finland's and Sweden's entry into NATO. Yet if Russia is paying a steep price for its invasion, the conflict is also dealing a strategic setback to the United States.

The United States now must contend with an aggrieved and unpredictable nuclear peer in Moscow. Worse, China, Iran and North Korea have come closer together to supply Russia's war effort and resist what they call U.S. global hegemony. This anti-American entente has already proved strong enough to mitigate the effects of Western aid to Ukraine, and it is raising the price of U.S. military dominance. Russia directly borders six countries that the United States is treaty-bound to defend. The Pentagon, meanwhile, is preparing for a Chinese invasion of Taiwan. The United States is not outmatched, exactly. But it is badly overstretched.

Nor is the rest of the world flocking to America's side. Most countries are casting a plague on both houses, finding fault in Russian aggression but also in the West's response. Mr. Biden hasn't helped matters. By couching the conflict as a "battle between democracy and autocracy" and making few visible efforts to seek peace through diplomacy, he has appeared to ask other countries to sign up for an endless struggle. Hardly any nations besides U.S. allies have imposed sanctions on Russia. Isolating China, if it attacked Taiwan, would be an even taller task. In Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East, perceptions of Russia and China have actually improved since 2022.

The Gaza war came at the worst possible time, and Mr. Biden responded to this calamity by plunging in. He immediately pledged support for Israel's merciless military campaign rather than condition U.S. aid on Israel finding a strategy that would protect civilians. Having chosen to follow, not lead, Mr. Biden was left to tut-tut about Israel's behavior from the self-imposed sidelines. In a defining conflict, the United States has managed to be weak and oppressive at once. The costs to America's reputation and security are only beginning to appear.

Not long ago, the United States tried to mediate between Israelis and Palestinians on terms both parties might accept. It used diplomacy to keep Iran from going nuclear and encouraged the Saudis to "share the neighborhood," in Barack Obama's words, with their Iranian rivals.

But as of now, the Biden administration apparently aspires to do little more than consolidate an anti-Iran bloc. In return for Saudi Arabia normalizing relations with Israel, it seeks to commit, by treaty, to defend the Saudi kingdom with U.S. military force. This deal, if it happens, has a tiny chance of bringing peace and stability to the Middle East — and a large chance of further entangling the United States in regional violence.

Part of the problem is the president's inclination to overidentify with U.S. partners. He has deferred to Ukraine on whether to pursue peace negotiations and has avoided contradicting its maximalist war aims. He fast-tracked aid to Israel even while publicly doubting its war plans. Mr. Biden also vowed four times to defend Taiwan, exceeding the official U.S. commitment to arm the island but not necessarily fight for it. His predecessors were not always so one-sided, maintaining "strategic ambiguity," for example, over whether the United States would go to war over Taiwan.

Never has the country looked less like a leader and more like the head of a faction.

Yet Mr. Biden's instincts reflect a deeper error, decades in the making. Coming out of the Cold War, American policymakers conflated global leadership with military dominance. The United States had sure possession of both. It could safely widen its military reach without encountering deadly pushback from major nations. "The world is no longer divided into two hostile camps," Bill Clinton declared in 1997, the year he championed NATO's eastward enlargement. "Instead, now we are building bonds with nations that once were our adversaries."

But bond-building never overcame mutual suspicion, in part because the United States continued to prize its own global dominance. Successive administrations expanded U.S. alliances, started frequent wars and aimed to spread liberal democracy, expecting potential rivals to accept their lot in the American order. Today that naïve expectation is gone, but the dominance reflex remains. The United States keeps extending itself further and finding formidable resistance — which in turn tempts Washington to double down even as much of the world recoils. This is a losing game, and Americans will have to risk and spend more to keep playing it.

A better approach is available. To reclaim global leadership, the United States should show a suspicious world that it wants to make peace and build resilience, not merely bleed an enemy or back up an ally. That would mean supporting Ukraine but working just as hard to end the war at the negotiating table — along with gradually shifting to a smaller role in NATO and insisting that Europe lead its own defense. Mr. Biden's recent proposal for a cease-fire in Gaza was laudable, except that it lacked a threat to stop sending arms to Israel if Israel refused.

Pulling back from Europe and the Middle East would improve American engagement where it matters most — in Asia. It would clarify that America's purpose is not to pursue hegemony, as Beijing's propaganda alleges, but rather to keep China from establishing an Asian hegemony of its own. From this standpoint, the United States could be a confident leader in the Indo-Pacific even if China continues to rise. China is today far from capable of imposing its will throughout the region, nor would seizing Taiwan, risky in the extreme, enable it to do so.

None of this would be easy, of course. But compare it with the alternative. Leading only a faction of the world turns the United States into a fretful follower. It puts Americans perpetually on the cusp of war in the Middle East, Europe and Asia alike, afraid that losing ground anywhere will set off catastrophe everywhere. The real danger, though, is to stake so much of global security on one country's willingness to overcommit itself. True leaders know when to make room for others.

France Is on the Brink of Something Terrifying

Cole Stangler
A journalist based in France and the author of "Paris Is Not Dead: Surviving Hypergentrification in the City of Light."

WHATEVER happens next, it'll go down as one of the wildest gambles in modern French history. President Emmanuel Macron's decision to dissolve the National Assembly and hold snap legislative elections on June 30 and July 7 has given the far right its best shot at governing France for the first time since the Vichy regime of World War II.

The move stunned the country's political class, including high-ranking Macronists from whom the president's plans were reportedly heavily guarded. And for much of France, the decision remains perplexing. For those with the most to lose from the far right in power — above all, immigrants and the descendants of recent immigrants — the news is downright terrifying.

Mr. Macron, who has a habit of disregarding conventional wisdom, will surely hope the move redounds to his benefit. But make no mistake: France is in danger.

In many respects, Mr. Macron's domestic agenda was already in crisis. Since the 2022 legislative elections denied his electoral alliance a majority in the National Assembly, his coalition has been forced to seek support from other parties, namely the right-wing Republicans. At times, the government bypassed Parliament altogether. But for the bulk of its work, the administration was dependent on the Republicans' backing.

The historic triumph of Marine Le Pen's National Rally in last Sunday's elections for the European Parliament — in which her party took 31 percent of the vote, more than double that of the president's party, Renaissance — threatened this arrangement. Without a dissolution of the National Assembly, the National Rally would have continued to ramp up pressure on the Republicans, aiming to woo conservative voters and punish Republican leaders for their tacit support of the president. The prospect of a lame-duck presidency would have only grown.

The new elections are an attempt to salvage Mr. Macron's second term. And he may genuinely believe voters will deliver him a fresh parliamentary majority, hoping his base of old and wealthy voters will once again show up to the polls in much greater numbers than the young and working-class voters who are less sympathetic to his presidency. Lingering animosity among various left-wing parties and a generalized fear of the far right coming to power could also play in his favor.

But there is a more cynical way of viewing Mr. Macron's wager. As France's far right continues to gain traction — its various obsessions propelled by a newly sympathetic media landscape and, in some cases, even inspiring pieces of legislation — it is increasingly favored to win the 2027 presidential election. Against this backdrop, Mr. Macron's tactic can also be seen as an effort to derail the National Rally's march to the Élysée Palace by, counterintuitively, forcing the party to govern.

In other words, the move could be a last-ditch bid to demystify the party's anti-establishment allure by bringing it into the messy real world of policymaking, probably as part of a wider coalition. Under this theory, even the prospects of the National Rally securing an absolute majority and naming a prime minister of its own can be seen as a kind of worthy sacrifice: better to have Prime Minister Jordan Bardella, the rising star of the National Rally, than President Le Pen.

Such a scenario is far from unlikely, as there is ample reason to believe Mr. Macron's party will suffer at the polls this summer. For one, he is extremely unpopular. Much of the country views him as an out-of-touch leader who favors the interests of the wealthy, and the past two years have not helped his case. After a tempestuous first term in office, he kicked off his second by ramming through a fiercely contested rise in the retirement age and clamping down on unemployment benefits. Today his approval ratings hover around 30 percent, even lower than President Biden's.

In calling snap elections, Macron has taken a dangerous gamble.

What's more, France's so-called republican front — the tradition of voters and parties joining forces to support whichever candidates take on the far right — is in its death throes. Much of the responsibility lies with Mr. Macron. He and his allies opted not to endorse left-wing candidates en masse against the National Rally in the last legislative elections, making it far less likely that left-wing voters will turn out for Macronists this time around. His government has cracked down on civil liberties, smeared progressives and passed an immigration bill that Ms. Le Pen cheered as an "ideological victory."

Now he appears willing to accept the possibility of handing over the keys of government to a party founded by a former Waffen SS section officer and a colonial nostalgist who infamously downplayed the Holocaust. Many voters may wonder: What's the point of a republican front if the president has already decided the republic can accommodate the far right? On Tuesday the leader of the Republicans, Éric Ciotti, seemed to come to an answer when he called for an alliance with the National Rally.

Mr. Ciotti was widely rebuked and expelled from the party, but he is swimming with the tide. The National Rally is expected to win more votes than any other party. In addition to its various victories in the battleground of ideas, the party showed last Sunday that it is more than capable of turning out its base in high-stakes elections. It may also benefit from a potential alliance with Reconquest, an even more extreme party that rails against the ravages of wokism and openly embraces the "great replacement" conspiracy theory.

But there is a wild card. While Mr. Macron's strategy appeared to rule out the possibility that France's four major left-wing parties would join forces, they announced within 24 hours their intention to do just that. The parties aim to run single candidates in each legislative district under the banner of a new Popular Front, a nod to the 1936 electoral alliance that was forged amid fears of mounting fascism.

The most recent legislative elections demonstrated the strength of the French left when it unites. In 2022 a similar alliance won more seats than the National Rally and defeated Mr. Macron's coalition in scores of districts. This time around, left-wing parties may also benefit from their more uncompromising opposition to Ms. Le Pen and Mr. Bardella. A strong showing by the left could alter the complexion of the campaign. At the very least, the far right can expect no simple procession to power.

In 2017 Mr. Macron, then a candidate, boldly announced his intention to "eradicate the anger" fueling support for the National Rally. Seven years later, it appears safe to say he has failed. He may well be remembered for a very different reason: not as a principled opponent of the far right, but as a reckless enabler in chief.



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OPINION

COLUMNIST | ROSS DOUTHAT

J.D. Vance on Where He'd Take the Republican Party

In 2016, J.D. Vance's best-selling memoir, "Hillbilly Elegy," made him one of America's leading interpreters of Trumpism, offering a personal narrative of populism's origins in working-class disarray.

In 2024, as a first-term United States senator from Ohio, Vance is arguably America's leading Trumpist: a staunch ally of Donald Trump, a potential vice-presidential candidate and a likely populist agenda-setter for a second Trump term.

The Vance of eight years ago was read with appreciation by Trump opponents looking for a window into populism. The Vance of today is despised and feared by many of the same kind of people.

I've known Vance since before he assumed either of these identities. For this conversation, I spoke to him about how he sees his own evolution, his relationship to Trump, his views on populist economics and America's support for Ukraine. He also offered a combative (and, to my mind, unsupported and unpersuasive) defense of Trump's conduct after the 2020 election. Our conversation has been edited for length and clarity.



JEFF DEAN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

1. After 'Hillbilly Elegy'

J.D., the first time I realized that your book, "Hillbilly Elegy," was going to be a phenomenon was in August 2016. I was in Maine in a cozy little tourist bookstore. I tried to buy the book for my wife, and they said, "Oh, we had four or five copies and they all sold out in the last week."

Looking back, almost certainly most of the people who bought the book in that little bookstore were liberals who liked your book not just for its literary merits but also because they felt like you were sympathetic to people voting for Trump but who was also at that time vehemently opposed to him.

So I thought it would be interesting for you to imagine talking to a "Hillbilly Elegy" fan from 2016, and talk him through how your perspective has changed.

There was one really good thing about "Hillbilly Elegy," meaning the response to it: People were genuinely trying to understand something about a part of the country they didn't understand. But there was something that wasn't so good, which is that people were looking for some interpretive lens for Trump's voters that never really asked them to rethink what they felt about those people. I was being used as this whisperer of a phenomenon that some people really did want to understand but some people didn't. And the more that I felt like, not an explainer and a defender, but part of what was wrong with the liberal establishment, the more that I felt this need to go very strongly away from it.

Let me give you one story: In 2018, I was invited to an event hosted by the Business Roundtable, an organization of C.E.O.s.

I was seated next to the C.E.O. of one of the largest hotel chains in the world at dinner. He was almost a caricature, complaining about how he was forced to pay his workers higher wages. He said: "The labor market is super tight. What Trump has done at the border has completely forced me to change the way that I interact with my employees." And then he pivoted to me: "Well, you understand this as well as anybody. These people just need to get off their asses, come to work and do their job. And now, because we can't hire as many immigrants, we've got to hire these people at higher wages."

The fact that this guy saw me as sympathetic to his problem, and not the problem of the workers, made me realize that I'm on a train that has its own momentum and I have to get off this train, or I'm going to wake up in 10 years and hate everything that I've become.

So you reach a point where you don't want to be on the same side as some fans of your book. How do you go from there to being actively pro-Trump?

I was confronted with the reality that part of the reason the anti-Trump conservatives hated Donald Trump was that he represented a threat to a way of doing things in this country that has been very good for them.

Like a lot of other elite conservatives and elite liberals, I allowed myself to focus so much on the stylistic element of Trump that I ignored the way in which he substantively was offering something very different on foreign policy, on trade, on immigration.

For a lot of Republicans, the process of becoming a Trump supporter was not about deciding that they could live with Trump's persona because they agreed with his populist critique. It was more that they decided that Trump's liberal opponents were so terrible that they needed to support Trump. People talk about the Kavanaugh hearings as a radicalizing point, or the rise of wokeness. I'm curious what you think.

It's hard to reconstruct this stuff, it's so gradual.

The thing that I kept thinking about liberalism in 2019 and 2020 is that these guys have read Carl Schmitt — there's no law, there's just power. And the goal here is to get back in power. Seemed true in the Kavanaugh thing, seemed true in the Black Lives Matter moment.

I think most of us who are socially aware have a voice in our head that says: "You shouldn't say this; you should try to say that. Maybe you believe this, but you should try to put it a little bit more diplomatically." And in 2020 that voice had become absolutely tyrannical. There was nothing you were allowed to say. I think a lot of us just said: "We're not playing this game, and we refuse to be policed in what we think and what we say."

Then you recognized that a lot of the pushback to Trump was that kind of social pressure. And I think that some of us started to ask ourselves — there's a voice in your head that tells you what you're allowed to say and who you're allowed to vote for. It was clearly deranged in 2020. Well, maybe it was deranged in 2016, too?

One interpretation of your Senate campaign was that you were consciously trying to piss liberals off to make yourself seem more trustworthy to Republican voters. Did you think about it that way?

I didn't think about it quite that way, but before I ran, I had this conversation with myself and my wife that if my underlying critique is correct, there's no way to run the campaign without burning bridges. You have to accept that previous friends are going to think you're a bad person. Famously, my first TV ad ——

Why don't you describe that ad?

Most TV ads are written by consultants; this was written by me. I picked up on the campaign trail that there was a strong undercurrent of people who cared about immigration, who didn't like being called racist for it, and so I decided to do a direct-to-camera ad: "Are you racist? Do you hate Mexicans?" And then I go into: "No, we're not. This is why we care about the border; this is why I care about the border." Am I trying to trigger the libs? No. But am I consciously not allowing myself to be filtered by them? Absolutely.

When did you decide that you actually like Donald Trump?

I first met Trump in 2021. One of the stories he told me was about how some of our generals were changing the timings of troop redeployments in the Middle East so that they could tell him troop levels were coming down when they were just changing the way levels jump up and down in the short term.

The media has this view of Trump as motivated entirely by personal grievance, and the thing he talked the most about — this was not long after Jan. 6 — was "I'm the president, and I told the generals to do something, and they didn't do it." And I was like, OK, this guy's deeper than I'd given him credit for. And also *I* was deeply offended. Talk about a threat to democracy — the generals not listening to the president of the United States.

But just personally, I like him. People think that he just wants to become president so that he can destroy American democracy. That's not at all who he is.

2. Can Economic Populism Work?

I want to come back to the democracy question, but first let's talk about policy. Do you think that there is a populist economic agenda?

Well, I have one. The thrust of the postwar American order of globalization has involved relying more and more on cheaper labor. The trade issue is cheaper labor overseas; the immigration issue is cheaper labor at home.

The populist vision is an inversion of that: applying as much upward pressure on wages and as much downward pressure on the services that the people use as possible. We've had far too little innovation over the last 40 years, and far too much labor substitution.

You raise the minimum wage to $20 an hour, and you will sometimes hear libertarians say this is a bad thing. "Well, isn't McDonald's just going to replace some of the workers with kiosks?" That's a good thing, because then the workers still there are going to make higher wages; the kiosks will perform a useful function; and that's the kind of rising tide that actually lifts all boats. What is not good is you replace the McDonald's worker from Middletown, Ohio, who makes $17 an hour with an immigrant who makes $15 an hour.

Or the hotels example. If you cannot hire illegal migrants to staff your hotels, then you have to go to the seven million prime-age American men who are out of the labor force and find some way to re-engage them.

The first Trump term did raise wages at the bottom. But Trump ran the economy hot — low interest rates, low taxes — and we're in a landscape now where policymakers seem stuck choosing between high interest rates, spending cuts and tax increases.

The populist move has been to rule out the idea of cutting entitlement spending. Can populists ever raise taxes?

Well, as the libertarians always say, a tariff is a tax. [laughs]

That's an answer.

I just think the financial problems here are downstream of much deeper problems. If the argument here is we have to cut Social Security, then what you're effectively saying is we just have to privatize what is currently a public problem. And I don't know why people think that you solve many problems by taking a bunch of elderly people and saying, "You're on your own."

OK, but Social Security's going to need more money.

Take those seven million prime-age men not in the labor force. Those people are supported, very often, by public resources. You shift millions of those men from not working to working; you increase wages across the board; you increase tariffs; and I think that you buy yourself a lot more than the nine or 10 years that the actuaries say that we have.

Could you get money by raising taxes on the rich guy who complained to you about his workers?

I'm not philosophically against raising taxes on anybody.

But there's no way that you can run an economy at a structural growth rate of around 1 percent with demographics that are getting worse and worse, and solve the problem by taxing rich people. You have to fix the underlying issue.

3. How to Deal With China and Russia

How would you describe your foreign policy perspective?

I'd say there are three pillars to realism in the 21st century: The first is that moralism about "This country is good," "This country is bad" are largely useless, and we should be dealing with other countries based on whether they're good for America's interests.

No. 2 is the most important lesson of World War II: Military power is downstream of industrial power. We are still the world's military superpower, largely because of our industrial might from the '80s and '90s. But China is a more powerful country industrially than we are, which means they will have a more powerful military in 20 years.

And No. 3 is acknowledging that we're in a multipolar world, and we need allies to step up so that we can focus on East Asia, where our most significant competitor is for the next 20 or 30 years.

Should we defend Taiwan if it's attacked?

We should make it as hard as possible for China to take Taiwan in the first place, and the honest answer is we'll figure out what we do if they attack. What we can control now is making it costly for them to invade Taiwan, and we're not doing that because we're sending all the weapons to Ukraine and not Taiwan.

> 'The thing that I kept thinking about liberalism in 2019 and 2020 is that there's no law, there's just power.'

In the opinion piece you wrote for us, you were very critical of the aid that we were giving to Ukraine. But you seemed open to the idea of supporting Ukraine in a defensive posture.

What I'd like to do, and what I think is achievable with American leadership is you freeze the territorial lines somewhere close to where they are right now. No. 2 is you guarantee both Kyiv's independence but also its neutrality. I think the Russians have asked for a lot of things dishonestly, but neutrality is clearly something that they see as existential. And No. 3, there's going to have to be some long-term American security assistance. Those three things are certainly achievable.

The critique of you and everyone else who opposed the recent appropriation was that if you can't demonstrate a durable commitment to Ukraine, Russia doesn't have any incentive to make peace. How do you give Putin an incentive to make a deal if you're cutting funding?

There is no way with our capacity and what Russia has been doing that we can hold off the Russians indefinitely.

There are two big points of leverage that we have. One, they could take over Ukraine, but they can't govern Ukraine. We're talking about multiple hundreds of thousands of troops to govern the country effectively as a Russian subsidiary. The second point of leverage that they have re-engineered an economy around fighting a war instead of around improving the lives of your people. That has some real problems over the long term.

You agree it's not in our interest right now for the Russians to roll through the rest of Ukraine?

No, it is not in our interest.

4. The 2020 election and Jan. 6

Let's go back to Trump. You used the term "stylistic" to describe the things you didn't like about Trump in 2016. Obviously, people who oppose Trump think that Trumpism is a substantive threat to democratic norms. That argument got a really big boost on the 6th of January, 2021. What's your take on the legitimacy of the 2020 election?

I have two basic critiques of the 2020 election.

First, there were a host of institutional actors, technology companies, various forms of censorship, that mobilized in 2020 in a way that they hadn't in 2016. There was tech censorship. People were primed to push back against any October surprises. And look, October surprises are part of American democracy, and whether you think Hunter Biden is as major an issue as I do or disagree, in American democracy you let the voters decide.

I don't see any reason to think that Dominion voting machines switched ballots, but there was a breakdown in democratic will.

Point No. 2 is that the rules of the game were changed in the middle. When does a ballot have to be mailed in Pennsylvania to count under the election rules? That was changed for Covid reasons, in a way that partially is the fault of the Republican National Committee — we weren't prepared for it, Democrats were, and they took advantage of it.

OK, but Donald Trump was president while those changes to voting rules were being made. And Rudy Giuliani was not complaining about, say, Mark Zuckerberg's funding for get-out-the-vote efforts. They went for the voter fraud narratives, which yielded the idea that Mike Pence was going to send this back to the states to be relitigated, which yielded Jan. 6.

Did it make any sense to use the office of the vice presidency to shift the outcome of the election?

I think the entire post-2020 thing would have gone a lot better if there had actually been an effort to provide alternative slates of electors and to force us to have that debate. Do I think Joe Biden would still be president right now? Yeah, probably. But at least we would have had a debate.

For those of us who don't think that Donald Trump is about to become a dictator, it still seems like he has an appetite for constitutional crisis. Pursuing the Pence strategy might not have ended with Trump back in the White House. But it would have pushed America into a crisis.

Even under a circumstance where the alternative-electors thing works, Trump would have served four years and retired and enjoyed his life and played golf. The idea that this sets off a sequence where Donald Trump becomes the dictator is completely preposterous. He was using the constitutional procedures. Your argument is that he was using them ineffectively, or maybe even illegitimately, but he was trying to take a constitutional process to its natural conclusion.

My argument is that he was using them recklessly, without concern for the effect on the body politic of him becoming president because he got state legislatures to vote in alternate electors.

My counterargument to that is that what was reckless was the effort to try to take this legitimate grievance over our most fundamental democratic act as a people, and completely suppress concerns about it.

There are meaningful improvements that have been made on election integrity, like the Georgia voter ID law, which would never have happened without this public debate. I think it would have been extraordinarily disappointing to a host of people that I care a lot about if Trump had just taken it. In his unique way, he gave voice to a series of concerns.

If Donald Trump asked you to be his running mate, would you accept?

I'll give you the stock answer: I've never talked about it with him, which is genuine. If he asked me, certainly I would be interested, but I'm trying not to think too much about it until he actually asks.

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OPINION

In Search of the Lost Altar of Oblivion

Linda Kinstler
The author of "Come to This Court and Cry: How the Holocaust Ends."

ON MARCH 4, Judge Tanya Chutkan presided over jury selection for a criminal trial in a Jan. 6, 2021, case. That date had long been scheduled, though there was a different defendant seated before her than had been planned: In the place of former President Donald Trump sat a 57-year-old Pennsylvania man named Lynnwood Nester.

On Jan. 6, 2021, Mr. Nester had traveled to Washington with a group of fellow insurrectionists to attend the former president's rally at the Ellipse, then walked, carrying a cane, toward the Capitol, where the group stopped to pose for photographs. He then proceeded inside through an opened door, wandered around the building for 10 minutes and left. He caused no damage and took nothing with him.

On his first day in court, Mr. Nester sat next to his attorney wearing a collared shirt and a tie, his glasses perched atop his gray hair. He glumly surveyed the potential jurors seated in the benches behind him, 12 of whom would later that week determine his fate. Mr. Trump, whose criminal trial has been put on hold pending Supreme Court review, spent that week on the campaign trail.

Mr. Nester is the among the latest in a long string of Jan. 6 insurrectionists who have over the past three and a half years sat for trial in the E. Barrett Prettyman U.S. Courthouse in Washington, D.C. Over the past several months, I have spent countless hours observing these trials: While early and high-profile cases attracted media attention, these days many unfold in nearly empty courtrooms. The corridors are hushed, the opposing attorneys collegial, the judges well acquainted with their routines.

Some of the trials have delivered long-delayed justice: The week before Mr. Nester appeared, a Kentuckian named Michael Sparks — the very first rioter to have broken into the Capitol building on Jan. 6 — was found guilty of all six charges. Members of the Oath Keepers and the Proud Boys have been sentenced to significant prison terms.

Yet for every violent rioter justly tried and punished, there have been many nonviolent offenders summoned to court. A few weeks ago, I watched as a 59-year-old woman stood weeping before a judge as she apologized for participating in the riot and pleaded guilty to two misdemeanors, her first criminal offenses.

Nearly every week, several more rioters are sentenced for their roles in the insurrection and the F.B.I. makes a new spate of arrests. Well over a thousand participants in the events of Jan. 6 have been arrested and charged. Many have already completed prison sentences, paid restitution and returned to normal life.

I have observed one rioter after another being tried and sentenced, and watched as footage of that day is played and replayed for one jury after the next, and as the same witnesses are summoned to recount the same events. Some defendants seem to recognize the harm of their actions; others are stubbornly unrepentant. I have heard defense attorneys argue that their clients were there because they believed they needed to protect the Constitution, because their president told them to be there, because their friends asked them to tag along. In court, the defendants have been likened to British troops during the Revolutionary War; in the media, they have been compared (by their own invitation, given some of the flags they carried into the Capitol) with Confederate rebels during the Civil War.

Each case is part of the ongoing national effort to establish what occurred that day and to hold the perpetrators responsible, a process that will remain unfinished until those who were chiefly responsible for the riot — Mr. Trump and his closest accomplices — are held accountable for so nearly bringing American democracy to its knees.

The coming Supreme Court ruling in Fischer v. United States, which could strike down the convictions of more than 300 Capitol rioters for obstructing an official proceeding, is evidence that our nation is still sorting out how to think about what happened that day and how the judicial system ought to exercise its powers of punishment and mercy to ensure that the union heals. Another forthcoming decision from the court, on whether or not Mr. Trump is immune from criminal prosecution for official conduct undertaken as president, could create further obstacles to his already delayed Jan. 6 trial. This will keep the issue alive in our fractured public life.

Jan. 6 exacerbated an already accelerating cycle of political vengeance and recrimination, one that Mr. Trump has repeatedly vowed to continue if he is re-elected. His recent conviction in New York appears to have only strengthened his commitment to pursuing political retribution.

President Biden has urged Americans to reject the former president's vendettas, to look to the future instead of the past. "We look in the mirror and ultimately never pretend we're something we're not," he said in a speech marking this year's anniversary of the attack, adding: "We speak of possibilities, not carnage. We're not weighed down by grievances. We don't foster fear. We don't walk around as victims." He was inviting voters to imagine a future in which Jan. 6 no longer weighs so heavily upon the public mind, a future in which the nation has fully reckoned with what occurred that day and who was responsible, and where we can finally move on.

That future will not and should not arrive before Mr. Trump himself goes to trial for his role in the insurrection, and possibly for some years after that. And there remains the distinct possibility that he may, in fact, never face real accountability.

But at some point — perhaps after all the Jan. 6 trials end, perhaps after a plaque honoring all those whose actions allowed Congress to resume functioning that day is at last erected — the kind of reorientation that Mr. Biden has called for, the rejection of vengeance and the embrace of the future, must come to pass. We have a duty to consider what it might take to bring it about and to envision a form of politics that is not premised upon seemingly endless recrimination.

This is not the first time our nation has survived a profound internal rupture, but it may be the first time in which the political ringleaders of the revolt may very well escape much accountability while hundreds of their followers serve jail time. In previous times of national crisis, the same spirit of mercy that Mr. Biden conjured generally applied to lower-level offenders, while those who had committed the worst crimes were the first to be arrested and tried for their treasonous acts.

Bernadette Meyler, a Stanford legal historian, has shown that after the Revolutionary War, the Continental Congress passed a resolution recommending that states treat loyalists with leniency, "to receive such returning penitents with compassion and mercy, and to forgive and bury in oblivion their past failings and transgressions." Punishments for loyalists were, according to the scholar Mugambi Jouet, "particularly mild" for the era. After the Civil War, a series of amnesties were passed, eventually encompassing almost all Confederate soldiers.

In the aftermath of these crises, the impulse to bury past wrongs won out over the desire to avenge. There were moral as well as practical reasons for this: The complicit were so great in number that identifying and trying every one of them would come at significant cost, but more important, no law could sufficiently condemn what they had done, and no criminal procedure could adequately consecrate the memory of their wrongs.

In those times of profound division, hatred and ill will, politicians remembered the power of the "act of oblivion," an ancient, imperfect legal and moral mechanism for bringing an end to episodes of political violence. These acts were invoked when forgiveness was impossible, yet when pragmatism demanded a certain strain of forgetting — a forgetting that instead of erasing unforgivable transgressions, paradoxically memorialized them in the minds of all who had survived their assault. Rather than relying upon the courts to deliver impossible and unattainable forms of reckoning, oblivion provided opportunities for the extralegal recognition of political and moral wrongs, and reminded its subjects of the desire for, and necessity of, coexistence.

For centuries, legislative "Acts of Oblivion" were declared in times when betrayal, war and tyranny had usurped and undermined the very foundations of law; when a household or nation had been torn apart, its citizens pitted against one another; when identifying, investigating, trying and sentencing every single guilty party threatened to redouble the harm, to further fracture already divided societies. As a legal mechanism, oblivion promised the return to a past that still had a future, in which the battles of old would not predetermine those still to come. It did not always achieve its lofty aspirations, nor was it appropriate for all conflicts. But the ideals it grasped for had an enduring appeal.

Under the oblivions of old, the ringleaders of riots, insurrections and tyrannical reigns were prosecuted for their crimes and in many cases were forced out of the cities and states they had once claimed to rule. Treasonous leaders were prohibited from holding public office. Oblivion demanded accountability for those who bore primary responsibility for political rupture and often required material compensation and restitution for the harms done. It also had an important memorial function, consecrating the facts of what had occurred while refusing to allow the misfortunes of the past to dictate the future. This beguiling legal idea long undergirded attempts to restore rived relations in private and public life.

But over the course of the 20th century, as the cultural tide gradually turned toward an embrace of remembrance and recrimination, oblivion fell out of favor, and out of collective memory. Today we stand to benefit from remembering this forgotten kind of forgetting.

The oldest act of oblivion is usually dated to 403 B.C., when the Athenians, having survived the bloody reign of the Thirty Tyrants, swore to never remember the wrongs of a war within the family, a civil war that had divided Athens.

Citizens took an oath promising not to remember what had occurred, to not remind their neighbors of the evils of the tyranny. This did not mean that prior transgressions were simply forgiven and forgotten. Far from it: The Thirty Tyrants and their main accomplices were forced to choose between exile or prosecution for their crimes. Everyone else — even those who had fought for the losing side — was restored to full rights and received restitution for losses. Together, former enemies who would live side by side swore to never again recall the brutal reign of the Tyrants, at least not in public.

It was not a simple promise. As the French historian Nicole Loraux argued, by professing never to remember, they also made a binding commitment to never forget. This element is what fuels my obsession: At one of the supposed origin points of democracy, there is at once a disavowal of memory and an embrace of its power.

For centuries, this ancient episode captured the imagination of emperors, kings, queens and legislators, who sought to emulate it in bringing an end to their own conflicts. Cicero declared an "eternal oblivion" in Rome after the assassination of Caesar. Desire for oblivion proliferated in diplomatic exchanges and eventually became a fixture in international peace treaties. The 1648 Treaty of Westphalia, the supposed origin point of our world of sovereign states, promised that all the violence, hostility, damage and expenses that had been incurred "on the one side, and the other" . . . shall "be bury'd in eternal Oblivion." In 1660, the Indemnity and Oblivion Act restored the British monarchy after the English Civil War; in the period leading up to the Revolutionary War, British colonial governments passed Acts of Oblivion to try to quell the rebellions of their American subjects.

After the Revolution, several states passed Acts of Oblivion to reintegrate residents who had fought for the losing side. Like the Athenians before them, early American state legislatures extended the grace of forgetting to all but a select few offenders, such as those who had served as officers in the British Army and those who had committed "willful and deliberate murder, robbery and house-burning." In this way, a tradition of oblivion was a critical element in the creation of the United States, and this paradoxical strain of forgetting — but not forgiving — part of the foundation of our union.

In times of seemingly insurmountable division, it is to oblivion that prior generations have turned. In 1946, Winston Churchill dared to call for an oblivion to help the European continent recover from the ravages of war. "The guilty must be punished," he proclaimed. But when the trials had concluded and Germany had thoroughly disarmed, he argued, "there must be an end to retribution." In 1975, the editorial board of this newspaper, quoting Churchill, advocated a "blessed oblivion" for resisters of the Vietnam War, arguing for "a simple act of slate-wiping" to allow them to return to their normal lives. "No nation can afford to keep alive the bitterness of its past wars," the board argued.

To remember the power of oblivion is not to naïvely wish away the wrongs of the recent past, but rather quite the opposite: By marking certain transgressions as unforgivable and unforgettable, it recognizes the depth of the loss while also opening a path toward political pragmatism. Historically, appeals to oblivion acknowledged that at the end of the day — or at the end of the war — participating in political life meant living among one's former adversaries and offered a vocabulary with which to navigate that uncomfortable yet inescapable relation.



EARLIER this year, I went looking for the lost altar of Oblivion that is said to have once adorned the Acropolis in Athens. I wandered around the Erechtheion, the shared temple of Athena and Poseidon where it is said to have stood, looking for what might remain. The temple was under construction, one of its sides embraced in scaffolding: A woman with the Acropolis Restoration Service stood on an elevated metal platform looking over blueprints before she began cleaning soot and dust from its pockmarked columns. I peered into the temple base, its floors long ago destroyed, what remains now overgrown with grass and populated with artificial lights.

I allowed myself to speculate about whether some part of the missing altar might still lie anonymously among the many unmarked stones stacked across the Acropolis grounds. Yet no archaeological evidence of the altar has ever been found, and, as a kindly archaeologist told me, somewhat pityingly, "it will never be found." Like the idea it represents, it has been al-

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most entirely lost to time, reduced to little more than a historical curiosity.

In its absence, so much has been forsaken. As I circled the Erechtheion snapping photographs with my iPhone — images meant to remind me of what I did not find there, of what was long ago forgotten, images that my phone automatically backed up to the cloud in a bid to preserve them for all time — I wondered what it would mean to revive the old idea of oblivion in our age of seemingly unending memory.

Over the past several decades, our society has become oversaturated with memory. In our legal system, a single, low-level crime can ruin an individual's life forever, people are forced to serve sentences for acts that are no longer illegal, and even a sealed conviction or an arrest with no charge can jeopardize job, housing and volunteer opportunities. One in three U.S. adults has some kind of criminal record. Outside the legal realm, online mug shot repositories preserve often embarrassing records of decades-old arrests and minor violations; social media ensures that accounts of even the slightest mistakes and violations can circulate endlessly online. This virtual culture of incessant, uncompromising remembrance and recrimination has seeped from our screens, affecting the kinds of conversations we are willing to have in public, and with whom.

Forgiveness for Jan. 6 may be impossible, but vengeance alone will not deliver us.

Politically, we cannot bring ourselves to look away from the past, even as we hope that it will not recur. Over the past several months, the Republican-controlled Committee on House Administration has released thousands of hours of security camera footage from Jan. 6 to the public. In a March statement announcing the release of 5,000 hours of footage, House Republicans explicitly sought to undermine the final report of the Jan. 6 Committee, which laid responsibility for the riot squarely on the shoulders of the former president, arguing that it was neither nonpartisan nor transparent. With every new tranche of footage posted, the national wound that was Jan. 6 is gouged open.

The release of that footage — including hours of tape that shows nothing more than a closed door or a vacant parking lot — is emblematic of a related memory crisis. Somewhere, a computer server labors to contain the terabytes of data those videos require. Every day, we depend on our devices to store every photograph, every video, every file. We store all these things because we have learned a bit too well that it is important to remember, to archive, to keep receipts and screenshots. To create a faithful, digitized log not only of our own lives but also of those around us. To "never forget," and to allow ourselves to believe that merely repeating these words is enough to protect us from the world's horrors.

For the past many decades, we have been very good students of memory. So good that we have, I think, forgotten what all our memory is *for* — that it can guide us to choose justice over vengeance, even if the desire for the latter often far outweighs the former.

Revisiting the forgotten idea of oblivion would give us permission to reconsider our unthinking overdependence on memory and perhaps to begin to let go of all the data, digital and otherwise, that we do not need. Memory, after all, is not infinite: It mutates with time, a fact I am reminded of whenever my phone tells me I have run out of cloud storage space or when my computer informs me that an old document can no longer be opened. The same is true of our personal and political memories, which, left to fester for too long, can corrode and transform, causing us to lose sight of their original force and feeling.

Gripped too tightly, memory can become a vengeful and violent force.

WHILE oblivion has been all but forgotten, there are some heartening signs that it is being rediscovered and transformed, its spirit marshaled toward granting individual clemency. To date, 12 states have passed Clean Slate laws that allow for the automatic sealing of misdemeanors and other charges after a set period of time. Over one million Pennsylvanians have benefited from the bill, and over 45 million records have been sealed as a result. Under New York's Clean Slate Act, which was passed last year, many individuals who have fulfilled their sentences and stayed out of trouble for a set period of time will have their convictions automatically sealed, removing a major obstacle to securing steady employment, housing and benefits. Like Acts of Oblivion, Clean Slate laws neither undo the crimes of the past nor erase the damage wrought, but they do ensure that punishments are not perpetual.

We are seeing a hunger for forgetting elsewhere, too. The European Right to be Forgotten gives individuals the ability to demand data erasure and to request that search engines remove personal data that is no longer relevant and not in the public interest. In the United States, the proliferation of data privacy laws — some of which enshrine the "right to delete" personal data collected by businesses — promises a similar strain of digital oblivion. These measures give individuals a chance to pursue futures that are not circumscribed by the missteps of the past.

The same opportunity will soon confront our nation. We can decide whether or not we will allow Jan. 6 to shape the contours of our country for many years to come. It is clear that we have not yet figured out how to collectively confront and memorialize what was at risk that day, nor have we adequately protected our democracy from the possibility of its violent repetition. Trying and sentencing all of the participants will not alone deliver the moral reckoning that our country sorely needs.

Mr. Nester, the man who stood trial instead of the former president in March, was convicted of all four charges against him. He is set to be sentenced in July. It is unlikely that Mr. Trump's criminal trial for inciting the riot will have even begun by then, if it ever does get underway.

If we had not forgotten the tradition of oblivion, it is possible to imagine that we might have had been quicker to recognize and deal with the violent effects of that terrible day: If we had followed the ancient blueprint for political oblivion, the former president and his inner circle would have been the first to be tried and punished for their roles on Jan. 6, and the fate of the rioters might not have become the political football that it is today. Instead, the former president has so far been able to campaign on a platform of grievance and recrimination, capitalizing on the vengeful spirit that propelled him to power in 2016 and may very well do so once more.

ILLUSTRATION BY DEANNE CHEUK; SOURCE PHOTOGRAPH BY REUTERS

The unique power of oblivion is that it does not forgive the crimes committed on one side or the other but rather consecrates and memorializes the profound gravity of the wrongs. It demands accountability and refuses absolution, yet it rejects the project of perpetual punishment. Where forgiveness is impossible, the only viable option is to look past the wrong, to bury it in oblivion, but to always remember where it lies and the harm that it caused. Historically, appeals to oblivion offered political communities the prospect of rethinking the present, presenting a rare opportunity to re-evaluate and confront societal divisions.

These efforts were not undertaken as wishful attempts to prevent the past from recurring, but out of the terrifying conviction that to proceed with business as usual would be to ensure that it would. While we cannot change the past, rediscovering the civic possibilities of oblivion might open pathways toward lasting democratic renewal in the future, however far-off it may seem.

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Safe, But Lost, In Rural England

Photographs and text by Frankie Mills
A photographer and journalist who lives in London.











FOR ALMOST two years, Tania Drobot, a 53-year-old math teacher from Kyiv, Ukraine, has lived in the home of Fiona and David Ion, in Moorhaven, Devon, on the southwest coast of England.

They have questions about each other's cooking. Ms. Drobot likes steamed meatballs, considers a plate of hot vegetables a salad and uses a lot of sumac; Fiona and David disagree on all counts. They have different tastes in clothes. She likes faux leather; they like comfortable rainwear. And they navigate daily life without really sharing a common language, occasionally gesturing to be understood.

On a weekend in March, I sat in the Ions' kitchen while Ms. Ion made a cup of tea and talked about their plans to renovate Ms. Drobot's bedroom when she leaves, though they don't know when that will be.

Ms. Drobot sat at the kitchen table, stroking one of the household's tortoiseshell cats, unable to understand much of our conversation.

In March 2022, a few weeks after Russia crossed into Ukraine, the British government, like those of several other countries, asked members of the public to volunteer to host Ukrainians in their homes. It was one of the first times that ordinary Britons had been given the opportunity and the financial assistance to house refugees. Sponsors had to commit to hosting for at least six months and agree to a home inspection. By September, 72,000 households had applied.

Six months has stretched, in some cases, to more than two years. By January 2024, more than 140,000 Ukrainians had come to stay in Britain. The British government maintains that its position is for them to eventually return — many were initially granted visas for up to three years, and those were extended by 18 months in February. For Ukrainians and their hosts, it's been two years of being stuck in a liminal place between waiting and beginning, of plans made and abandoned, and expectations adjusted.

Moorhaven's imposing, gothic architecture juts out of the rugged and open moorland of Dartmoor. The population is around 350. There is no school, no supermarket, no post office. Some locals are retired; some work in agriculture, law or education. The nearest bus stop is about a 20-minute walk.

About a dozen households in Moorhaven decided to offer their homes at the same time so that new arrivals wouldn't be isolated, and Ukrainians, mostly women and children, started arriving in March and April of 2022. The children began attending a school in a nearby town. Some people found jobs, bought their first cars and found their own homes in nearby towns. Some went back to Ukraine. Some are still living with sponsors.

I've visited Moorhaven and the surrounding towns and villages several times in the past couple of years. At first I met women who were relieved to be out of harm's way. On more recent visits, I could see that they were worn down by life lived in limbo — waiting for the war to end while not knowing if home is here or back in Ukraine.

"My soul is in Ukraine," Olena Bilokrenytska said. "But physically, it would be easier to stay here."

Ms. Bilokrenytska, 48, came to Ivybridge, a small town next to Moorhaven, with her 74-year-old mother, Polina Zherdieva, and her dog, Asia, just over two years ago. They live with their sponsors, Jane Hitchings and

Liberal Narratives Leave Little Room For Having Kids

Anastasia Berg and Rachel Wiseman
Ms. Berg and Ms. Wiseman are co-authors of the forthcoming book "What Are Children For? On Ambivalence and Choice."

FOR young, secular, politically progressive men and women, having children has become something of an afterthought. Liberal conventional wisdom encourages people to spend their 20s on journeys of personal and professional self-discovery and self-fulfillment. Children are treated as a bonus round, something to get to only after completing a long list of achievements: getting a degree, forging a satisfying and well-established career, buying a house, cultivating the ideal romantic partnership.

The standards of readiness for family are at once so high and so vague that it's hardly a surprise when people fail to reach them. Indeed, the data suggest that people are having children later than they used to and are having fewer than they'd like.

For progressives, waiting to have children has also become a kind of ethical imperative. Gender equality and female empowerment demand that women's self-advancement not be sacrificed on the altar of motherhood. Securing female autonomy means that under no circumstances should a woman be rushed into a reproductive decision — whether by an eager partner or tone-deaf chatter about ticking biological clocks. Unreserved enthusiasm for having children can come across as essentially reactionary.

Over the past four years, we've conducted interviews and surveys with hundreds of young Americans about their attitudes toward having children. These conversations revealed that the success narratives of modern liberal life leave little room for having a family. Women who want kids often come to that realization belatedly, at some point in their early 30s — the so-called panic years. If they are lucky, their partner (if they have one) will fall in line. If they are not, they face a choice of returning to the dating pool, freezing their eggs (if they haven't done so already), single parenting or giving up their hope of having kids of their own.

In this way, the logic of postponement that has been promoted by liberals and progressives — and bolstered by overblown optimism about reproductive technologies — robs young people of their agency. How many children they have, and even whether they have them at all, is increasingly a decision made for them by circumstance and cultural convention.

This is not just a recipe for unhappiness; it also reflects a deep confusion. There is nothing inherently unprogressive about embracing the prospect of children. Even Simone de Beauvoir, the philosopher who was among the first to critique reproduction and family as instruments for the oppression of women, acknowledged that shaping the character and intellect of another human being was "the most delicate and the most serious undertaking of all." While certain conservative visions of family life — such as

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Jonathon Haigh, who are retired.

Ms. Bilokrenytska speaks English well. But Ms. Zherdieva has found adapting particularly tough. Her attempts to learn English have been slow going, and her days consist of cooking, walking Asia and keeping up with news from Ukraine.

I first visited them in the summer of 2022. On that visit, I sat on the living room sofa with Ms. Zherdieva, who told me in English that she was "waiting Putin kaput," letting her hands, clasped in her lap, fall open.

On a more recent visit, in the spring, Ms. Bilokrenytska was shut in her room preparing for an English exam, and Asia yapped at my ankles while Ms. Hitchings and Mr. Haigh cooked. Ms. Zherdieva was sitting on the sofa listening to Ukrainian news.

Clockwise from top left: Alla Kovstun in the window of her sponsor's home in Ivybridge, England; Olena Bilokrenytska (second from left) and her mother, Polina Zherdieva (left), with Jane Hitchings and Jonathon Haigh in their home; a spread prepared by Valentyna Odnoviun, who is from Kharkiv, Ukraine; Tania Drobot (center) preparing a meal for her sponsor Fiona Ion (second from left) and Ms. Ion's grandchildren; Ms. Drobot and Ms. Ion walking on Dartmoor; Ms. Odnoviun at her shared home in Plymouth.

For some people, the fatigue of enduring a life away from home is too much. Many of the Ukrainians who fled the country in the wake of Russia's invasion have returned in spite of the war. From what I've seen, those who don't go back seem to reach a turning point, when home stops being the memory of a place that is out of reach and becomes the accumulation of recent experience. Questions people don't have answers to are abandoned in favor of what is possible right now.

Valentyna Odnoviun, 61, arrived in Moorhaven from Kharkiv in April 2022 and stayed a little over a year before moving to the seaside city of Plymouth, about 15 miles away.

Her days are often spent on long walks past the gray stone buildings on the harborside. I joined her for a walk one weekend this spring. Despite the language barrier, we managed to talk a bit about her daily life: her English lessons and her new neighborhood, with its large warehouses that remind her of Kharkiv.

She volunteers in a nearby garden and sings with a local choir. Her main goal is to improve her English. It is the only goal that makes any immediate sense for someone who doesn't know how long she will be here.

Back in London I got a WhatsApp message from her in Russian, which is commonly spoken in Kharkiv and which I had translated. "If you think about the future, you can drown in fantasies," she wrote. "When you live in the past, the people around you hate you, don't understand and don't accept you. Therefore, there is only one way out: step by step, drop by drop, squeeze your past out of yourself. Replace it with new daily skills and work. Eventually, accept it, come to terms with it, find the positives, and enjoy life. Unfortunately, this process takes a lot of time."

Homes for Ukraine, as the program is known, has not been perfect. Some relationships between sponsors and refugees have broken down. Some Ukrainians have even been left homeless. Yet it remains an example of something in recent British history that has largely worked well. Just weeks after the war began, and after years of polarizing debate about migration and tens of thousands of lives lost in the Mediterranean and English Channel, the British government asked ordinary people to open their homes to people fleeing conflict, and they did. The conflict in Ukraine has seen some seven times the number of refugees coming into Europe than during the 2015 refugee crisis, without the same fatalities en route or political backlash. And, according to a study, many sponsors say they are up for doing it again — regardless of from where that person is fleeing.

'My soul is in Ukraine. But physically, it would be easier to stay here.'

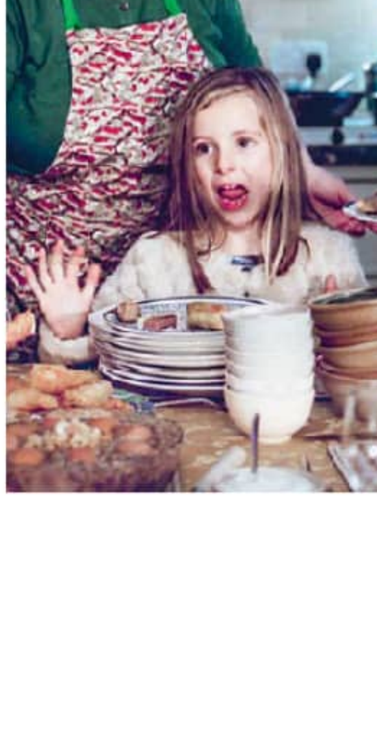
One of the chief criticisms of the program is that it has been offered only to Europeans and that nothing similar has been offered to the refugees fleeing brutal wars in Gaza and Sudan, despite calls to do so. In May the government passed a controversial law to allow it to permanently deport thousands of asylum seekers who arrive in Britain by illegal means to Rwanda, regardless of whether they've ever been there.

Is the response to Ukraine an example of how differently refugees are treated when they look like the people who help them? Or an example of how far people will go to help others when they are given a direct means to do so? Either way, now that we know what a successful program looks like, shouldn't we use it to help more people?

After more than two years of missing her sons and grandchildren in Ukraine, Ms. Drobot, the math teacher in Moorhead, lives in moments. I have seen her chase sheep on the moorland and splash in the cold, dark sea. Her phone is never out of reach, documenting the small details of her day. She continues her painstaking efforts to learn a language that doesn't come easily and that she might have no use for in the future.

Her relationship with her host, Ms. Ion, is not uncomplicated. But when I asked Ms. Ion how she thinks she'll feel when Ms. Drobot leaves, she didn't waver.

"I know I'd miss her very much," she said.



ANDREA SETTIMO

"trad wives" and Silicon Valley pronatalism — no doubt have little to offer those on the left, our fellow progressives need to stop thinking of having children as a conservative hobbyhorse and reclaim it for what it is: a fundamental human concern.

The family — recognized as the seat of customs and traditional values — has long been central to the appeal of conservatism. Yet it wasn't that long ago that Republicans and Democrats fought over who could rightfully claim to be the party of "family values." Bill Clinton, while campaigning for president against George H.W. Bush in 1992, assailed the Republican Party's commitment to families as little more than hypocrisy. "Where are they," he asked, "when there is no health care for pregnant women? When too many children are born with low birth weights?" Mr. Clinton went on to announce a 14-point "American Family Values Agenda."

But in time, liberals and progressives came to shy away from publicly embracing the American family as a symbol and an ideal. After Mr. Clinton was impeached in the wake of his own family-values hypocrisy and George W. Bush was elected with the help of energized evangelical voters, family-friendly language became anathema to liberals — perceived as phony, intrusive and toxic. (The notable exception was gay marriage, whose legalization was won with the help of arguments that promoted the virtues of families.) Today, the left proudly defends the sacrosanct right to abortion and reproductive justice while almost entirely sidestepping the question of whether having children is a worthy project to begin with.

The stark polarization of today's public discourse has only heightened the left's wariness of children, both privately and politically. Progressive policy defeats are often met with anti-natalist grandstanding. Members of the ecological activist group BirthStrike, founded in 2018, declared that they were protesting climate inaction by refusing to have kids. The following year, shortly after proposing legislation for a Green New Deal, Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York broadcast progressives' hesitancy to reproduce in the face of climate change to her 2.5 million Instagram followers when she said, "It does lead young people to have a legitimate question: Is it OK to still have children?"

Progressives need to stop thinking of family as a conservative hobbyhorse.

The Supreme Court's Dobbs decision, which overturned the constitutional right to abortion in 2022, has also made liberals and progressives more uneasy with the idea of starting a family. A year after Dobbs, the reproductive-rights journalist Andrea González-Ramírez wrote that she had been contemplating having children in her early 30s, before the Supreme Court's decision put an end to all that: "I have never been sure that I desire to be a mom, let alone that I desire it enough to assume the risks. These days, however, that door is shut. I choose myself."

That choice is not uncommon. In a recent study, 34 percent of women ages 18 to 39 reported that they or someone they know had "decided not to get pregnant due to concerns about managing pregnancy-related medical emergencies." That might sound like a worry about abortion access, but the study suggested that Dobbs intensified ambivalence about having children more generally. Indeed, of the women who said they were forgoing having children because of the Dobbs ruling, about half lived in states where abortion rights were still protected.

One can't help noting the irony: In permitting the conservative movement to alienate them from the question of whether they want to have and raise children, these liberals and progressives are allowing the right to shape their reproductive agendas in yet another way.

But the partisan framing of the issue is flawed at a more fundamental level. The question of children ultimately transcends politics. In deciding whether to have children, we confront a philosophical challenge: Is life, however imperfect and however challenging — however fraught with political disagreement and disaster — worth living?

To be sure, having children is not the only way to address this question. But having children remains the most basic and accessible way for most of us to affirm the value of our lives and that of others. This is in part because becoming a parent represents one of the greatest responsibilities one human being can assume for another. And it is also because the perpetuation of human life is the condition of possibility for every other thing we care about.

Committing oneself to long-term leftist causes like economic, environmental, racial and social justice is more than just compatible with embracing children and family life. It presupposes a willingness to take personal and collective responsibility for the next generation — raising, nurturing and educating those who will decide the fate of our country and our planet.

Surely, progressives and conservatives will give as vastly different answers to the question of what raising children ought to look like as they will to the question of how American society ought to be governed. But progressives must not let partisan loyalties stop them from thinking about the ways in which having children does or does not express their values, and what shape they really want their lives to take. Children are too important to allow them to fall victim to the culture wars.

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OPINION

The Poisoned Dream of the American West

Maxim Loskutoff
The author of, most recently, the novel "Old King," about the Unabomber and the American West.


SALLY DENG

The mythology surrounding the Unabomber ignores a more complex reality.

ON JUNE 10 of last year, Ted Kaczynski, the homegrown terrorist known as the Unabomber, was found dead in his cell in Butner, N.C. Mr. Kaczynski, who had spent 25 years in federal prison for murdering three people and injuring 23 others with mail bombs, had reportedly died by suicide.

The news jarred me. I was writing a novel about Mr. Kaczynski.

One year later, the book is finished and the news has faded, but I'm still untangling the mythologies that surrounded the Unabomber's life — of the tortured outcast who sought refuge in the American West — from the ones that influenced my own.

I grew up in Missoula, about 80 miles from the Unabomber's shack in the Montana wilderness and was 11 at the time of his capture. What I remember most from those days is a sense of disturbance. I saw helicopters in the sky and heard the hushed anxiety in my parents' voices. I didn't know who the Unabomber was or what he had done, but I could tell it was important — and dark. So much so that my home state was suddenly the center of national attention.

Until then I'd felt about as far from the center as a kid could be. Western Montana in the 1990s was not a place that made the national news, save for an occasional environmental disaster and the annual Testicle Festival — a days-long debauch of fried steer genitals that attracted seedier press. To me, home meant the patchy fields behind the hospital where my soccer team practiced in the spring, the green rattletrap chairlift at the three-run ski hill the school bus brought us to every Friday afternoon, the dismal mall my friends and I wandered in endless loops.

At first I was confused about who the Unabomber actually was. Was he an environmental avenger striking back at timber companies, or a madman blowing up computer rental stores? People seemed to think he was smart. He'd gone to Harvard. I knew what that was. Then I saw his shack. Why would a smart person live that way? And why *here*?

The sudden media attention hinted at the answers. I heard the words "cabin," "remote" and "wilderness" repeated on the evening news with an increasingly romantic luster. I began to see how people on the coasts viewed my home state: as a wilderness of possibility. A refuge for ruffians, seekers, dropouts, dreamers and the occasional psychopath. Someplace you could go if things didn't work out. T-shirts and coffee mugs bearing the slogan "The Last Best Place to Hide" popped up in local souvenir stores.

My life in Montana wasn't romantic. It was distinctly suburban. I lived two blocks from the local high school. We shopped at Kmart, rented movies at Blockbuster and ate at a pan-Asian fast food place called the Mustard Seed. I listened to Nirvana and wore clothing emblazoned with Michael Jordan. I had never been hunting, and had fished exactly once. Newspaper headlines first alerted me that I lived on the frontier. I wondered what this meant.

Thinkers like Emerson and Thoreau made the idea of the wilderness aspirational, as a place to purify one's spirit and find one's true self. Our heroes and outlaws have often played out their destinies there, from Lewis and Clark to Billy the Kid to Kerouac and Cassady. But the West is a place like any other place. We just use it as a mirror for the dark, untamed aspects of our national character.

Mr. Kaczynski's story followed this blueprint. He left behind a successful career in academia to test himself in nature. Once there, he became an avatar for a much older myth — of the monster lurking in the woods, terrorizing a complacent society. His postal delivery bombs were a warped modern twist.

Absorbing his story over time, I began to wonder if my purpose lay elsewhere. If Montana was a playground for malcontents with pioneer fantasies, I'd get out, become a screenwriter in Los Angeles, washed clean of my youth.

Mr. Kaczynski's capture was my first encounter with the poison pit at the center of the American dream. I suddenly felt like a stranger in the only place I'd ever really known.

We are all homeless here. Our manic national ambition makes every horizon a proving ground. To stay in one place doing one thing is to fail.

Propelled by our ambition to remake ourselves, we careen past one another, oblivious to the fact that we're following a pattern as old as our country.

So it was with Mr. Kaczynski. Homeless and lashing out, confused, pedantic, reactionary, he pretended to have new ideas to mask his old ambitions, cherry-picking from French philosophers, Luddites and environmentalists. But the truth is, he was just trying to justify what he and so many other boys here want — to get away from their parents, transcend their peers and remake society in their own image.

The media got him wrong. In seeking to romanticize Mr. Kaczynski, reporters gave him Thoreau-like qualities — framing him as a philosopher who found purpose in the woods, dark as it was. But his only innovation was a new, cowardly kind of violence. Mr. Kaczynski never really saw Montana, the wilderness or the West itself, as it truly was. For him, its main attribute was its lack of people. He was a twisted embodiment of the dream of the frontier that was poisoned from its inception.

Strangely, Mr. Kaczynski's mythology seems only to have grown since his death. Young people still spread messages from his manifesto across social media, creating their own story of "Uncle Ted" as a fiery anti-technology prophet. We must hate ourselves, I thought, reading their posts, for the way we seek heroes from the worst among us.

We are all fed myths about our homes, whether it's Montana as the last best place to hide or New York City as the cultural capital of the world. But these are just stories, often relying on outliers like Mr. Kaczynski. Our hometowns are far more complex than these mythologies, but seeing them as they really are — and loving them in all their tragic beauty — leads us away from destruction and isolation, to community and stewardship, a form of deeper purpose.

I spent my late teens and 20s on the move, anxious and driven and confused. I thought I was searching for purpose and home, but I was rebelling against the very idea. Like a good American boy, I was chasing the American dream: not a house and a two-car garage, but rebellion itself.

Last year, weary from the lonely and grief-stricken years of the pandemic, I moved back to Missoula and began life anew. The three-run ski hill is gone and the town has spread to fill the valley, but there are still towering mountains and looming trees and plenty of places to get lost.

Each day, I wake up and try to see Montana for what it is. Golden grass on the dry hills, a big sky that generally runs from gray to darker gray, clear-cuts and abandoned mines and meth-ridden towns and glittering stands of wilderness so stunning they bring me to tears. It's complicated and beautiful and older than I can possibly imagine. One day, in the marrow of my bones, I hope to know it only as home.

ADVERTISEMENT

WHAT MATTERS MOST

Why unions are having a renaissance

Randi Weingarten
President, AFT

What do performers at Disneyland, editorial staff at the publisher Dotdash Meredith and players on Dartmouth's men's basketball team have in common? They all have recently chosen to join a union. (And that's just the D's.) Kidding aside, working people get it: We can accomplish things together that would be impossible on our own, which is why unions are having a renaissance.

The AFT represents workers who make a difference in peoples' lives—in education, in healthcare and in public services—and they are joining the AFT at a record pace. In just the last month, we have welcomed librarians in Ohio, professors in New Mexico, hospice professionals in Washington and resident physicians in Michigan. And last week, after a nearly 50-year fight to win collective bargaining, more than 27,500 teachers and staff in Virginia's Fairfax County Public Schools voted to join the AFT and the NEA in one of the largest union elections in modern history.

The economic advantages of belonging to a union are clear. Union members enjoy higher wages and better benefits than nonunion workers. Union households have nearly four times the wealth of nonunion households, and they are more likely to own a home and have a retirement plan than nonunion households.

Collective bargaining is the not-so-secret sauce, and the AFT supports our members with the tools to bargain to increase wages, achieve a better life for themselves and their families, and improve the quality of their services, whether in education, healthcare or public employment.

After the United Federation of Teachers in New York City and the faculty union at Portland State University in Oregon blazed the trail for paid parental leave, others have followed. The Cleveland Teachers Union's new contract includes 12 weeks of paid parental leave for educators as well as a first-in-the-nation cellphone policy that will decrease distractions from social media in the classroom.

The Newark (N.J.) Teachers Union's new contract permits teachers to design curriculum, an acknowledgement of their professional expertise. The Saint Paul Federation of Educators in Minnesota negotiated mental health teams in every school, including social workers, counselors, nurses and psychologists.

The Oregon Nurses Association's new collective bargaining agreement for nurses at Oregon Health and Science University establishes staffing plans that build on the new state law to improve patient care and combat nurse burnout.

All these contracts also include substantial pay increases.

We can tilt the balance of power so working people can forge a path to a better life.

Support for unions is at the highest level since 1965, with two-thirds of Americans approving of labor unions, including nearly 90 percent of Americans under age 30. Nearly half of nonunion workers say they would vote to join a union if they could. Yet only 1 in 10 workers in America is in a union.

One cause is five decades of efforts to decimate unions in the United States by billionaires and businesses. Research by the Economic Policy Institute shows that de-unionization is a significant factor in the surge in inequality and the decline of the middle class over the last 40 years. Working people are now losing about $200 billion per year because of the erosion of union coverage—with that money being redistributed upward, to the rich.

Such rapacious corporate greed is behind current efforts by Amazon, Starbucks, Tesla and other hugely profitable corporations to crush unionization drives. Under current law, there are few or no consequences when employers intimidate or retaliate against workers exercising their legal right to form a union. That is why Congress must pass the Protecting the Right to Organize Act and the Public Service Freedom to Negotiate Act, which will level the playing field by holding employers accountable for violating labor laws and by empowering workers to collectively bargain.

It's not just billionaires who try to snuff out workers' rights. Florida Gov. Ron DeSantis is using the same tactics former Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker used to kill public employee unions. In Fairfax County in Virginia, the fight for the right of teachers and other public employees to bargain collectively goes back nearly half a century, to a 1977 law banning public sector bargaining. It took the AFT and others until 2020 to win legislation there granting local governments the option to recognize and negotiate with unions. As the great American abolitionist Frederick Douglass observed, "Power concedes nothing without a demand."

Perhaps the strongest argument for unions and collective action is also the simplest: Individuals seeking change can be powerless alone; together we can tilt the balance of power so working people can demand—and forge—a path to a better life. That's the American dream.


Photo: Brett Sherman

Weingarten, center, at Kings Park Elementary School in Fairfax County, Va., on June 7.

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OPINION

A Catalog of Losses — and Laughs

Cornelia Channing
An editorial assistant in Opinion.

WHEN I was around 10 years old, my father started hiding bananas in our house.

We found them in the dishwasher, in the junk drawer, behind the potted plants. I once came upon an entire bunch hanging from the shower head. Too often, he hid them so well — tucked beneath a pile of blankets in a rarely opened closet, say — that we found them only when they started to rot. When confronted, Dad denied it, but we knew it was him.

On their own, the bananas might have been amusing. Like a surrealist art project. But they were part of a more troubling pattern.

He had started acting strangely in other ways, too: making jokes that no one could understand and forgetting things, like where he'd parked or the name of the owner of the diner where he'd been a regular for years.

A wood sculptor, he had always been obsessive, almost rabid, about his work. He was up at 5 every morning. Any chance he got, he would be in his studio, pausing only to eat, usually standing up over the kitchen sink. But now it was as if someone had yanked out his batteries.

He took to spending large parts of each day sitting in his car in the driveway, poring over the newspaper, circling seemingly random words and scribbling notes that said things like "Welcome to the information age" and "There's only one way to find out!" When we asked him what he was doing, he brushed us off.

My mother took him to a doctor who ran some tests and said he was fine, but he was not fine. He was agitated all the time. He was both listless and restless. He would pace nervously, as though looking for something. Or else he'd sit and stare blankly at some point in the middle distance, disappearing into himself for whole afternoons.

After a long time, and innumerable doctors' appointments, we learned what was wrong. He had a rare form of early-onset dementia. He was in his mid-60s when it started.

Dementia is a bizarre and brutal disease. It strips a person down piece by piece. They lose their confidence. Their clarity. Their personality warps until they become unrecognizable.

The doctors encouraged us to keep track of my father's symptoms, a task I, at 12, took on with journalistic seriousness. I got a notebook and began writing down everything he did:

Wrapped his wallet in Saran wrap and buried it in the yard.
Asked the same question ~~thirteen~~ fourteen times in a row.
Put a pile of mail in the freezer.

In a way, the notebook became a catalog of losses. Every entry felt like another blow, and I took them all personally. The first time he struggled to remember my name, I didn't speak to him for a week. It wasn't his fault, I knew. But, still, I was heartbroken.

For as long as I could remember, my father and I had been inseparable. When I was 5, he took me to work with him so often that my kindergarten threatened to hold me back.

How to describe him? He was one of those annoyingly multitalented types — a businessman, an artist, a winemaker, a sailor and skier and distance swimmer. He made monumental sculptures — some more than 50 feet tall — that he erected with giant machines he operated himself. He was almost freakishly capable. It seemed there was nothing he could not do, and suddenly he wasn't able to work the microwave.

As his illness progressed, it changed me and our family. We dealt with it in different ways. My mother, from the beginning, exhibited a grace and resolve that were difficult for me to make sense of at the time, and which, even in hindsight, are mind-boggling. My three older sisters were light years more mature about it than I was. Though each was grieving in her own way, they related to him with a gentleness and generosity that felt inaccessible to me.

I retreated into an angry grief. I started to avoid him in the house. I would barely look at him during meals, and whenever he said something weird or confused — which he did all the time — I would recoil. It was all too sad, too much.

But the thing about grief is that it's exhausting. And dementia is nothing if not a test of endurance. People can live with the illness for years, for decades. And over time, it wears you down.

It's hard for me to stick a pin in the moment when my feelings toward him started to shift. Perhaps I simply grew out of some of my preadolescent surliness. But over time, we got closer.

In his illness, my father existed in a kind of eternal present. Uncertain about the past, and apprehensive about the future, he was only fully able to occupy the moment he was in. And I learned ways of occupying it with him. We would walk our family dog, Blue, together after school. I'd sit next to him at the kitchen table while I did my homework and he made little sculptures out of rubber bands and paper clips. Sometimes I'd talk to him about my day or tell him something I'd learned in school. Sometimes we'd just sit in companionable silence.

When my last sister left for college and it was just us in the house, we developed new routines: On Monday nights, when my mom had choir practice, I would make two bowls of Cheerios — one for each of us — and we would watch "South Park" together. He wouldn't really watch, but he liked to mimic the characters' squeaky voices. He was actually pretty good at it.

I started a new notebook, this one not to track his decline, but simply to record, for myself, all the interesting things he did so I wouldn't forget them:

Draped mom's necklaces across the mantle of the fireplace and then stood back to admire them; whispered "now, that's really something."
Taped $9.75 in quarters to the bathroom door.
Put oven mitts on both hands, lay down on the couch, and promptly fell asleep.
Ate six popsicles in a row, chewing them with his teeth.

He would frequently say mysterious and profound-sounding things. Once, after surveying the contents of the medicine cabinet, he reflected, "a lot of serious equipment." He excitedly described a bite of oatmeal as "a galaxy of wow" and a strawberry as "the flavor of being born."

For about a year, he had an intense fixation on the word "supercalifragilisticexpialidocious" and would repeat it — I promise I'm not exaggerating — hundreds of times a day. We begged him to stop. We offered handsome rewards and threatened heinous acts of violence. But once he got going, he would enter a kind of trance, and nothing could keep him from repeating the word over and over and over. This was funny at first, then tiresome, then maddening and then, finally, when we had all grown delirious with frustration, it became funny again. (To this day, any time anyone in my family hears this word, we groan.)

The experience of living with my father in these years ranged from tragic to tragicomic to absurd, often within the span of a few minutes. And I found that appreciating the humor in his illness made things feel, if only briefly, less hopeless. It didn't take away our grief, but it made it more endurable.

That's another thing about dementia. It is, in certain moments, incredibly funny.

I know, I know. It's not. But also? It is.

Try not to laugh when your father walks into the living room wearing a purple velvet party dress and a pair of swim fins on his feet. Or when he tells your math teacher, without a trace of malice, that he has "an evil face." Or when — having recently had his car keys taken away — he drives the lawn mower three miles into town to get a cheeseburger and three miles back.

My mother cared for my father at home for years. Even in the best moments, this was an arduous job. But as his condition worsened, it became untenable. If she took her eyes off him for a minute, he would wander off, and she would have to go out looking for him, sometimes with the help of neighbors or the police.

One day, while she was helping him out of the bathtub, he suddenly let go of her arm, and she fell backward. It was just an accident. He was not aggressive. But she needed stitches.

When I was 16, he moved into a long-term care facility 20 minutes from our house. It was a loud, gray place. There were fluorescent lights and bars on the windows, and the other people were sicker than he was — or at least seemed to be. There was a patient there who never stopped running. I mean to say that he jogged up and down the hospital corridors all day and night. He looked like an ultramarathoner. Many yelled out in wails or screeds. Others were utterly catatonic.

It was unimaginable that my father would live in such a place. But by that point, we were familiar with the unimaginable.

My mom visited my father every day. She papered the walls of his room with photos: of my sisters and me, of his artwork, of our house. On weekends, I would join her. We talked to him and read to him. My sisters brought scrubs and lotions and gave him "spa treatments." We brought in speakers and played him symphonies. We sat with him and made tiny sculptures out of the tinfoil lids of the pudding cups he was served at meals. I taught him how to shoot spitballs, which, much to his nurses' dismay, he got quite good at.

On days when he was especially hard to reach, I would resort to physical comedy. Slapstick was effective. I would twirl around and then fall to the ground in a melodramatic swoon, as if stricken. This usually got a chuckle, and there would be the briefest flash of something — awareness? — behind his eyes. I lived for that flash.

These are not, I realize, normal things for a teenager to do with her father. From the outside, it probably sounds depressing. And, of course, in a way, it was. But in another way it wasn't. Here we were, father and daughter, laughing together.

When dealing with a terminal illness, so much of life feels profoundly, almost desperately, sad — a steady march toward an inevitable demise. It's easy to feel sorry for yourself, to focus on everything you're losing. If you're not careful, it will consume you.

Finding a way to revel in the moments of joy or weirdness or humor, however small, was, for me, a matter of survival.

And there were moments when the silliness gave way to something almost sacred, a kind of wordless filial language. It allowed me to reach across the chasm of his illness and grab hold of something tangible.



LIANA FINCK

My father's dementia was heartbreaking. Humor helped us survive it.

Dementia is a degenerative disease, which means, essentially, that it works by eroding the brain. This is an oversimplification, but in general the atrophy begins in the outer cortices — the inhibitions and control mechanisms. Then it moves deeper, into the hippocampus, where it starts to eat away at memory: dates, faces, experiences, language.

Some things inexplicably hold on longer than others. But eventually, it gets all the way to the brainstem. It is at this stage that the body quite literally forgets how to perform even the most primitive functions: how to chew, how to swallow, how to breathe. This process of erosion happens agonizingly slowly and still, somehow, far too fast. My father died in March of 2015 when I was 18.

A few months before, we had brought him home to visit for the day. That night, after we had blown clean through the care center's curfew, I volunteered to drive him back. He would often get nervous in the car, so my sister suggested I put on his favorite album, which — like all dads everywhere — was Paul Simon's "Graceland." How many times had I heard that opening accordion riff float out the window of his studio?

It was late August, and the air was warm. I thought he might fall asleep in the front seat, but when "Diamonds on the Soles of Her Shoes" came on, he started humming, and then, slowly, he began to sing. I hadn't heard him say more than a word or two in many months, but his voice sounded clear and sure. He knew most of the words, and he howled happily through the ones he didn't.

I knew by then that he wouldn't live much longer. He wouldn't see me grow up, or teach me how to drive a stick shift. He wouldn't walk me down the aisle, or meet my children. There were a thousand things we would never do together, but at that moment none of it mattered. I was driving with my dad, the wind in our hair, singing along to his favorite song.


TIM LAHAN

LETTERS

Reflections on Growing Old, With Grace and Aches

Older readers offer a range of perspectives in response to a column by Charles M. Blow.

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "The Beauty of Embracing Aging," by Charles M. Blow (column, June 6):

I admire Mr. Blow's elegiac paean to growing old, especially as my own experience has been quite different.

At 80, I find myself riding a roller coaster of emotions. One day I am filled with gratitude for all the material and social resources from which I have benefited. On the next I find myself raging against a body that can no longer be relied upon and is clearly wearing out.

Sociologists tell me that some who reach old old age experience a calming withdrawal from the kinds of complicated emotions marking the start of my ninth decade. Till then, I'm holding on tight, still thankful that the exhilarating, sometimes scary ride is not yet over.

JONATHAN SILIN, TORONTO

The writer is the author of "Early Childhood, Aging and the Life Cycle: Mapping Common Ground."

TO THE EDITOR:

Charles Blow is correct about how we should handle aging. But each year it becomes more difficult to do so.

The change in our appearance is shocking, as are the physical limitations that come with being old. But it's not just the infirmities. It's the losses. As we age we lose beloved family members, friends, neighbors, work colleagues and finally our independence.

The best advice I have received on how to age successfully was from my gynecologist. We discussed this about 15 years ago as I was approaching retirement age. Here is what she said:

Don't gain weight.

Exercise, exercise, exercise.

Make friends with younger people.

My own suggestion is to fight against it with grace and tenacity.

VICTORIA HUDES CAVASENO
BROOKLINE, MASS.

TO THE EDITOR:

Charles Blow's lament, "No one really tells us how we're supposed to age," could hardly be more out of line with my experience. Scarcely a month goes by without my reading somewhere that I should welcome my gray hair and accept my physical decline along with the wisdom old age brings.

I've been welcoming my gray hair by using it as an opportunity to realize my lifelong dream of being a redhead, and I figure that muscle aches are bad enough without my going through mental contortions in an attempt to "embrace" them.

As for "growing in wisdom," I hope to remain wise enough to recognize that attempts to find a silver lining in the problems of old age are simply unsuitable for me.

FELICIA NIMUE ACKERMAN
PROVIDENCE, R.I.

TO THE EDITOR:

I read Charles Blow's column about aging with interest, but allow me, at 88, to offer a different perspective. Mr. Blow, at 53, may be contemplating aging, but trust me, it's not something we "embrace." Aging embraces us.

This might sound daunting, but hear me out. Here's what I've done to reach 88, yes, with some bumps in the road (a full-blown cardiac arrest, for one!). After my retirement as a doctor, I refused to be defined by age. I reinvented myself. I became a writer; good or bad is beside the point — it's the joy of creating that matters.

My body changed, so I changed my exercise routine. Now, I conquer the pool — over an hour of swimming, six days a week. My taste buds craved something new, so I asked my wife to ditch the old menus and experiment with exciting new dishes. My mind craves stimulation, so I devour books and connect with loved ones through heartfelt emails.

Aging is a gift, a chance to keep growing, learning and experiencing life in new ways. It's about defying limitations and embracing the possibilities that lie ahead. So, for anyone else pondering the future, remember: It's not about passively accepting age, it's about actively living each day to the fullest, wrinkles and all.

DAVID S. CANTOR
LOS ANGELES

The writer is the author of "The Book of Good Health — Destroying Myths, Lies and Deceptions. Reaffirming Truths to Achieve Total Wellness."

TO THE EDITOR:

I can relate to Charles Blow's column, and as he suggests, I frequently remind myself to relish the moment.

I am almost 72, and have two young grandsons. Brendan is 7, and Nolan is 22 months old. I recently watched Nolan because he was home sick. We spent part of our time making bugs out of Play-Doh. The smell of Play-Doh is unmistakable, and it brought back memories of making creations with my own daughters, now 41 and 39.

At home that evening, I sat down to remove my sandals and found yellow Play-Doh stuck in the tread of my shoes. As a young mom, oh how I used to hate Play-Doh stuck not only on my shoes but also on the kids' shoes, the carpet and random pieces of clothing.

But this time, it brought a tear to my eye. As Mr. Blow so eloquently suggests, how many times will I play like this with my grandson? How much longer will he want to play with me? At my age, it is a gift to play.

I smiled to myself as I dug the intrusive clay out of my shoe and relished the moment. I choose to have and appreciate as many such moments as I can fit into this summer. Thanks for reminding me to be grateful for gunk stuck on my shoe.

KATHLEEN BURNS
PLEASANT PRAIRIE, WIS.

TO THE EDITOR:

You will probably get many letters from us old folks in response to Charles Blow's column, saying that aging is the hardest job we've ever had. What can you do? You can kvetch to your fellow agers who will kvetch back, or you can do the best you can with the knees that you have.

Walking is the joy of my life, with friends or solo. I go where my feet take me. Except for rain, the weather doesn't stop me. I walked every day during Covid, despite not finding many who would leave their homes.

I'm 91 and still manage to walk about two to three miles per day. Life is not as great as it used to be, but complaining about it makes it worse.

SHIRLEY SMITHBERG
NEW YORK

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Birding My Way Through Chemo

Illustration by Andy Rementer. Text by George Rementer.
Andy Rementer is an artist and illustrator. George Rementer is a retired wallpaper hanger and a great dad.

Even before my first dose of chemo, I spotted two birds ...

WELL, TURKEYS.

Two giant males slowly strutting across the treatment center parking lot.

It was a chilly November morning, and I saw the two of them as a good omen.

IT WILL

BE OK

It was also my birthday.

TWO MONTHS EARLIER

I was completing a personal birding milestone.

A 10-day group birding tour of the Hawaiian Islands.

Hawaii wasn't the best of my birding trips. That was my one to southern Arizona, where I saw my favorite bird, the roadrunner.

Hawaii was different,

the final piece of a yearslong personal quest

to go birding in all 50 states.

It was also my first birding trip after my diagnosis. My oncologist wanted me to cancel and begin chemo instead.

Sorry, Doc, I'm going to Hawaii.

PHL → HNL

CHECK IN

During those 10 days, I saw 60 life birds — species I hadn't seen in the wild before. A huge number, even for an avid birder like me.

Perhaps it was important for me to complete this challenge, knowing what was ahead when I returned.

Chemo appt. Nov. 15 @ 8 a.m.

Regardless, sorry, Doc, but I had to go.

CONGRATS DAD! 50 STATES

ALOHA

A FEW WEEKS LATER

I started chemo in my hometown, Cape May, N.J., which is a renowned birding destination.

Crow

Unlike the roadrunner, I chose not to run away from a threat.

You OK?

Yeah

To my surprise, my chair looked out to the trees, probably where those turkeys lived.

A perfect birding spot!

Yellow rump

Even without my binoculars, I spotted plenty of common birds.

Starling

Chickadee

BUT

The first dose hit me pretty hard, and my usual busy birding routine was quickly curtailed. I did have enough energy to make the hourlong drive to see something incredible, though.

BIRD ALERT

The extremely rare red-flanked bluetail, a migratory bird from Asia, appeared for the first time in central New Jersey last December.

The little bird's 4,000-mile journey reminded me that I, too, had a long journey ahead of me.

UNFORTUNATELY

I was hospitalized for many weeks shortly after my second dose of chemotherapy.

From my fifth-floor room in Camden, N.J., I couldn't even see a pigeon.

That changed when my daughter-in-law in North Carolina installed a bird cam feeder on her porch.

LIVE

GEORGE F.R.

R.B. WP ++++

Bluebird II

Cardinal III

Downy IIII

COOPER

Between treatments and doctor visits, I was able to bird from my phone for brief periods.

The staff was interested to hear about my 676 life birds. At 72, I'm pretty proud of that number.

Hope to get to 700

Wow

EVENTUALLY

I returned home. I was much closer to my favorite local birding spots but too weak to leave the house.

Easy, Dad

Lower

My son set up feeders so I could bird from my living room.

ONE DAY

I made it to the front porch. The first thing I saw was a Baltimore oriole.

George, look!

The ancient Greeks believed the mere sight of an oriole had the power to heal jaundice.

I was hoping it would bring some good health, but I worsened.

Dad, I saw a morning dove.

No, not "morning"

It's named a mourning dove for its somber call.

Like the cry of someone who lost a loved one.

SO

I made it out of the I.C.U. and returned to Cape May.

I baked the cookies you like, Dad.

My kids say I'm like a migratory bird with all these transfers.

Wouldn't that be nice?

People have asked me why, with so much going on with my health, I insist on keeping up this hobby.

My son thinks it's because the birds keep me in touch with the life I had before cancer — and that watching their freedom gives me a familiar thrill.

Maybe.

I just know the future is uncertain. But it feels less scary surrounded by my friends.

END

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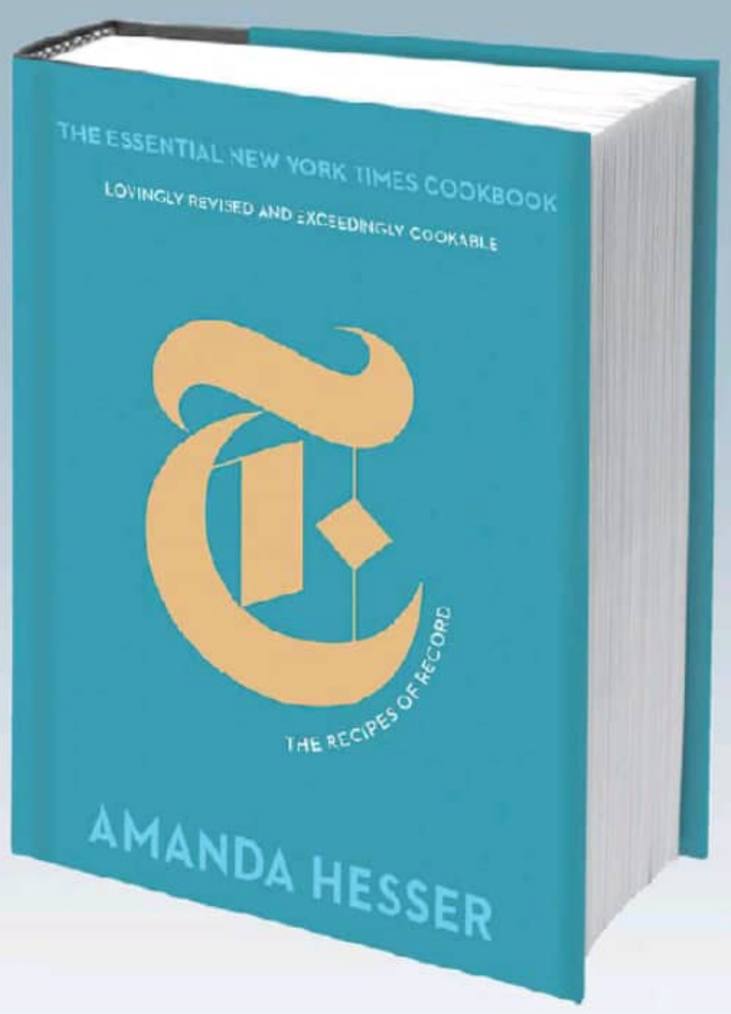
Everything He Could Want

The Tony nominee Brian d'Arcy James gets a warm glow doing what he loves in his country house — and not just from the bluestone fireplace. BY JOANNE KAUFMAN | PAGE 4

TONY CENICOLA/THE NEW YORK TIMES

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David Eyre's Pancake
Pamela Sherrid's Summer Pasta
1940s Caesar Salad
meets
Samin Nosrat's Sabzi Polo
Todd Richards's Fried Catfish with Hot Sauce
J. Kenji López-Alt's Cheesy Hasselback Potato Gratin



"A gift from heaven."
—INA GARTEN

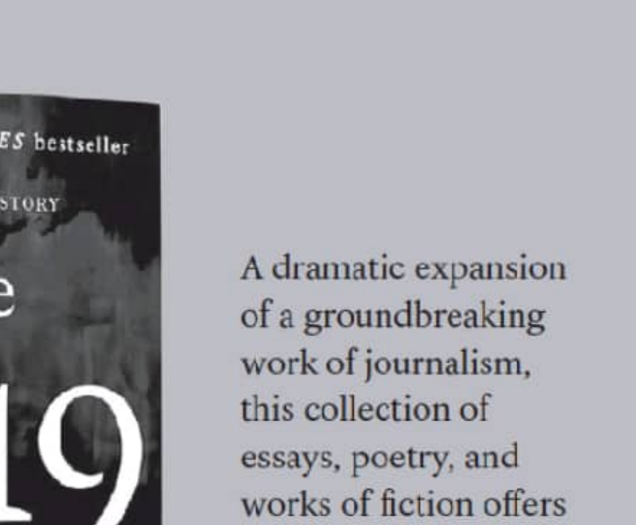
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I find comfort in a book celebrating the delicious."
—YOTAM OTTOLENGHI

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Calculator Fictional Digs



LIAM DANIEL/NETFLIX

Nicola Coughlan as Penelope Featherington and Luke Newton as Colin Bridgerton in Season 3 of "Bridgerton."

Put a Price Tag on 'Bridgerton' Homes

As the third season of Netflix's period drama "Bridgerton" resumed Thursday, we found Penelope Featherington dizzy from Colin Bridgerton's sudden marriage proposal. Will these old friends make it to the altar? Will Colin discover Penelope's earth-shattering secret? And most important of all: Who's their real estate agent?

While the show is set in London, astute fans may recognize the stately Featherington house as No. 1 Royal Crescent, an 18th-century rowhouse in Bath, England. And while the Bridgerton house is meant to be just across the street, in real life it's Ranger's House, a museum in London's Greenwich neighborhood.

So, what do the Bridgerton and Featherington property portfolios look like? AgentAdvice, a service providing research and education to real estate professionals, calculated the values of the real-life buildings depicted as "Bridgerton" residences by using local median prices per square foot.

The market price of the 14,000-square-foot No. 1 Royal Crescent is $6.3 million, based on the current median of $448 per square foot in Bath. Ranger's House is a bit more valuable: $8 million, at $560 per square foot. Obviously, Queen Charlotte takes the crown for home value: The 16th-century Hampton Court Palace, in the London borough of Richmond, was home to King Henry VIII and all his six wives. Its estimated worth, at $790 a square foot, is over $560 million.

Like all the locations in this week's chart, Hampton Court Palace is a preserved national treasure, and not coming to market anytime soon. But you don't need to buy it; all the properties here are open to the public for visits.

MICHAEL KOLOMATSKY

Where TV Nobility Pretend to Live

Local median price per square foot was used to calculate an estimated value of the homes used as "Bridgerton" shooting locations.

Location	In residence	Square feet	Price per square foot	Estimated value
Hampton Court Palace	Queen Charlotte	712,062	$790	$565 million
Wilton House	Duke of Hastings	124,582	$380	$47 million
Castle Howard	Duke of Hastings	88,888	$303	$27 million
Ranger's House	The Bridgertons	14,622	$560	$8 million
Holburne Museum of Art	Lady Danbury	16,148	$438	$7 million
No. 1 Royal Crescent	The Featheringtons	14,338	$438	$6 million
Kingston Bagpuize House	The Mondriches	9,821	$434	$4 million

Source: AgentAdvice

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ask Real Estate Partial Disclosure



NADIA PILLON

How Can You Get a Closer Look At the Expenses of Your Co-op?

I am a shareholder in a Brooklyn co-op. One year ago, the board suddenly fired our super, who had worked here for more than 21 years. He immediately began legal action against the co-op, and the matter was settled out of court with a payment to the super. We respectfully asked for more information during a shareholder meeting but were told that the matter was strictly confidential. All the board has said is that the final cost to the co-op was approximately $15,000. This seems low, considering a year of legal fees, mediation and the settlement itself. Our co-op documents imply that the board must account for its use of funds, but there is no specific language. Is the board required to explain how much this cost?

Your co-op's board of directors has a right to enter into a confidential settlement with the super. But that doesn't mean you can't find out more.

"While there's no explicit requirement for the board to detail every expense, they are obligated to provide a general accounting of how funds are used," said Joseph Colbert, who practices real estate law at Colbert Law, LLC, in Manhattan.

Settlements with confidentiality provisions are common, and the terms of this settlement, including the amount paid to the aggrieved super, can remain secret — it depends on what the lawyers negotiated. But even if shareholders don't have the right to know about all of the settlement's terms and conditions, the co-op board is still accountable to them, and it cannot hide the financial impact of the entire lawsuit.

Shareholders can review the co-op's audited financial statements, said Leni Morrison Cummins, chair of the condominium and cooperative practice at Cozen O'Connor in Manhattan. These statements will reflect the cost of the legal action. There should be a footnote explaining this, but it might be vague. The auditor reviews the books and records, and also requires a legal confirmation letter from the board's attorney describing all pending or threatened litigation, claims and assessments, during the audit period, Ms. Cummins said.

If the audited statements are not available yet, shareholders have a right to request to review the co-op's books and records, as long as the request is in good faith and for a proper purpose.

The $15,000 cost of this lawsuit might seem low, but it's possible that figure was the co-op's deductible, and the rest was covered by the building's insurance.

JILL TERRERI RAMOS

To submit your questions or comments, email realestateqa@nytimes.com

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On the Market

HEATHER SENISON







PHOTOGRAPHS BY DIGITAL HOMES

STAMFORD CONTEMPORARY COLONIAL

$1,990,000

CONNECTICUT 45 Golden Farm Road
A four-bedroom, four-and-a-half-bath, 5,986-square-foot home built in 2005, with a two-story foyer, a family room opening onto a deck, a bright breakfast nook, an office, a recreation room, an in-ground pool, a firepit and a three-car garage, on 1.1 acres. John Oliveira, Douglas Elliman, 914-447-2081; elliman.com

TAXES $34,174

PROS There is abundant space for relaxing and entertaining; the yard is level, landscaped and private. It is about an hour and a half drive to New York City.

CONS The taxes are high. The basement is unfinished, and two bedrooms share a Jack-and-Jill bath.





PHOTOGRAPHS BY DANIEL GALE SOTHEBY'S INTERNATIONAL REALTY

SMITHTOWN FARMHOUSE-STYLE HOME

$849,000

SUFFOLK 76 Edgewood Avenue
A four-bedroom, one-and-a-half-bath house built in 1900, with a circular driveway, a formal dining room, a sunroom, an updated kitchen, a laundry on the main level, an unfinished basement, and a two-stall barn and tack room, on 0.85 acres. Marianne Koke, Daniel Gale Sotheby's International Realty, 631-335-7111; danielgale.com

TAXES $10,323 a year

PROS Skylights brighten the interior. Mature trees surround the property.

CONS Only a curtain covers the laundry space next to the kitchen. There is no central air-conditioning and no garage. One full bathroom is shared by all four bedrooms.

ADDITIONAL REPORTING BY ALICIA NAPIERKOWSKI AND CLAUDIA GRYVATZ COPQUIN.

Given the fast pace of the current market, some properties may no longer be available at the time of publication.





PHOTOGRAPHS BY VHT

LOWER EAST SIDE CONDO

$1,650,000

MANHATTAN 62 East First Street, No. 2S
A two-bedroom, one-bath, 1,027-square-foot apartment with a breakfast bar, a primary suite with a walk-in closet, a den, a washer/dryer and a terrace, in a six-story building with a virtual intercom, a roof deck and a super. Krista Nickols and Noah Kollar, Serhant, 312-788-7881; serhant.com

COMMON CHARGES $1,078 a month; taxes, $1,696 a month

PROS There are two units per floor, and the apartment has no shared walls with neighbors.

CONS The building lacks extra storage and a bike room.



LINCOLN SQUARE CO-OP

$850,000

MANHATTAN 255 West End Avenue, No. 7B
A two-bedroom, one-and-a-half-bath, roughly 1,000-square-foot apartment in a 14-story, 1916 doorman building with a live-in super, a bike room and shared laundry. Susan Rubin and Barbara Fox, Fox Residential, 914-393-6517; foxresidential.com

MAINTENANCE $3,008 a month

PROS In-unit washer/dryers are permitted on a case-by-case basis.

CONS The refrigerator is not full-size. The kitchen lacks space for a table, and counter space is limited. Pieds-à-terre and guarantors are not permitted.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY KRISZTINA CRANE





PHOTOGRAPHS BY VHT AND DOUGLAS ELLIMAN

JACKSON HEIGHTS FOUR-BEDROOM

$1,075,000

QUEENS 37-30 83rd Street, No. 4EF
An updated four-bedroom, two-bath, roughly 1,800-square-foot co-op with a large primary bedroom and ample closets, in a seven-story 1955 building with a live-in super, shared laundry and a deck. Glen Fox and Kristin Altfather, Douglas Elliman, 516-850-6437; elliman.com

MAINTENANCE $1,739 a month; assessment, $155 a month through September for exterior maintenance

PROS The kitchen has marble countertops and ample storage. Both bathrooms have windows.

CONS In-unit washer/dryers are not permitted.

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AT HOME WITH
BRIAN D'ARCY JAMES

A Place to Breathe, Far From Broadway



By JOANNE KAUFMAN
Photographs by TONY CENICOLA

From late January of this year until the end of March, Brian d'Arcy James got loaded eight times a week, turned his teetotal sweetheart into a lush and then struggled for sobriety, in the limited-run Broadway production of "Days of Wine and Roses."

Come Sunday matinees, Mr. James, a Tony nominee for his performance as Jack Daniel's best friend (the awards ceremony is Sunday), could have been forgiven for an eagerness to hit the road instead of the sauce.

Destination: Fairfield County, in Connecticut, where he and his wife, Jennifer Prescott, an actor and documentary filmmaker, own a weekend home.

"I wouldn't say that I counted the minutes," said the very affable Mr. James, 55, whose Broadway credits include "Hamilton," "Something Rotten!" and "Into the Woods," and who had a principal role in the 2015 Oscar-winning movie "Spotlight."

But, he added, "everything about the show was so demanding — emotionally, technically and physically — that when the Sunday matinees were over, the idea of having a place to go and just recoup . . . it was just, 'Oh, my god, thank god.'"

THE SETTING





The object of his gratitude is a midcentury-modern house set on five bosky acres.

"I think back to one of our early days at the house," Mr. James said. "I was reading a script that someone had asked me to look at. And I remember feeling, 'This is everything I could ever want. I'm doing the thing I love while sitting in *my* house. And I have this really warm fireplace.' I'll never forget that feeling."

He and Ms. Prescott, parents of a 22-year-old daughter, began their hunt for a place in the country in 2008, motivated, Mr. James said, by the desire to have somewhere to go "and breathe a little bit."

At the time, he was starring in "Shrek the Musical," so he left the winnowing to his wife, looking at the top prospects on Mondays, when the theater was dark.

The couple, whose primary residence is a two-bedroom rental on the Upper West Side, quickly fixed on 90 minutes as the outer limit acceptable for a commute. Conveniently, that parameter placed them in an area where they had friends from the theater community.

"And then we found this great place," Mr. James said, ticking off some points of appeal: Inside, there's the bluestone hearth and the walls covered in knotty cypress planks; outside, there are trees — lots of trees.

"As my wife says, even if the house had been a teardown, we would have probably bought it because the land is so great," said Mr. James, who walked the perimeter while memorizing his lines for "Days of Wine and Roses."

"Fortunately, that wasn't the case. It's a really nice, sweet little house for the three of us."

THE MAIN ROOM





But few places are so nice that they couldn't stand some improvement. Among other things, Mr. James and Ms. Prescott added insulation, upgraded the floor-to-ceiling windows and transoms, had an additional window installed to bring in more light, expanded the bathroom on the second floor and renovated the galley kitchen, extending the countertop so there would be room to sit and eat.

THE ENTRANCE

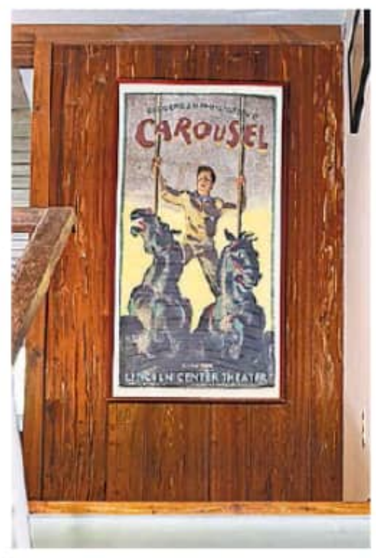
They also bumped out the patio and lengthened the deck, painting the front door a particularly fetching shade of blue.

Ms. Prescott served as chairman of the decorating committee. Inside, she hewed to the house's midcentury-modern design, buying pieces from Design Within Reach and CB2, and earth-toned rugs from West Elm.

"It isn't expensive stuff," she said. "But it's in the right style."

THE STAIRS





The couple met when they were cast as members of the ensemble and as dance partners in the 1994 revival of "Carousel" at Lincoln Center.

"It was fun for me, but not so fun for Jen," Mr. James said. "Because she's a dancer, and I'm not."

Never mind all that. Clearly, the partnership stuck. And to celebrate its beginning, a poster from the production hangs on the second-floor landing.

THE SHED



Across the driveway is a 16-by-22-foot prefabricated shed. This space serves alternately as a workout-and-yoga studio, a guest room, an office, a place for vocalizing and — not that Mr. James would admit this publicly (his wife would cringe if he did) — a man cave.

The shed holds the Baldwin upright piano that he played as a child and that his mother sent him as a wedding gift some 25 years ago.

Atop the piano are the Grammy for the cast recording of "Into the Woods" and a Screen Actors Guild award that Mr. James received as part of the ensemble of "Spotlight."

Nearby hangs a gift that John Lithgow gave his co-star Mr. James on the closing night of the 2002 Broadway adaptation of the movie "Sweet Smell of Success": a print of Al Hirschfeld's caricature of the principal performers.

"It was wonderful, and something I never would have had the wherewithal to get on my own," said Mr. James, who played Sidney Falco to Mr. Lithgow's J.J. Hunsecker. Also in the cast: his "Days of Wine and Roses" leading lady, Kelli O'Hara.





THE OFFICE



A small alcove holds a desk.

Behind the desk are shelves that hold several other awards, as well as a cache of Toby mugs. Mr. James's father collected them, "and I've kind of stolen them from my parents' house as time has gone by," he said. "They pop up all over our apartment and house, perhaps to my wife's chagrin."

One shelf below is a photo of a 10-year-old Mr. James with his father, both dressed as riverboat gamblers.

"I lost my dad when he was 50," he said quietly. "He was a great guy, and he was my hero. So I love having him around whenever I can."





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Exclusive

Near the High Line, a Triplex With Lots of Outdoor Space for $2.795 Million

A top Louis Vuitton executive is selling his three-bedroom co-op on West 23rd Street.

By VIVIAN MARINO

In his search for a new home, Darren Spaziani, a top executive at the fashion house Louis Vuitton, was immediately drawn to the 19th-century Fitzroy Townhouses in West Chelsea.

The apartment he and his partner, the jewelry designer Philip Crangi, settled on 11 years ago, a townhouse triplex at 450 West 23rd Street, had scenic views of the historic neighborhood and its verdant gardens, not to mention ample outdoor space. It was also where the renowned poet Edwin Arlington Robinson had once lived.

"We wanted something with a lot of character and history — that's what drew us there," said Mr. Spaziani, Louis Vuitton's creative director of leather goods. Mr. Crangi added, "It was like the second place we looked at."

Mr. Spaziani paid $2 million for the co-op in the summer of 2013. He and Mr. Crangi then commenced a gut renovation, modernizing the unit with new central air and HVAC systems and adding and retaining period details. It took around 18 months and "$1 million plus" to complete, Mr. Spaziani said.

"It was very dated, probably redone not on a big budget in the early '80s," he said of the apartment's condition. Mr. Spaziani and Mr. Crangi decorated the home with an eclectic mix of furnishings and artwork. This includes paintings and photography from New York in the '80s and British Surrealist art from the '60s and '70s, as well as furniture by Italian designers like Gae Aulenti and Afra and Tobia Scarpa.

The result: "It's like you're transported out of the city," said Calli Sarkesh, an agent at Compass who is now marketing the property with his colleague Esteban Gomez. "It has that feeling of grandeur that you would find in Paris."

Mr. Gomez added, "Like living in a townhouse within a townhouse."

The apartment, which occupies the top three floors of the five-story walk-up townhouse, is being listed for $2.795 million. Monthly maintenance is $3,185.

At about 1,500 square feet, the unit has three bedrooms and two and a half bathrooms. Exterior space, which includes two landscaped and irrigated terraces with a wide range of potted plants, totals around 400 square feet.

As part of the renovations, the couple reconfigured the middle floor to enlarge the primary bedroom suite and include a home office/guest bedroom. They expanded the great room on the lower level by removing a drop ceiling and reducing the size of the kitchen and closing it off. Several windows were also replaced.

"We wanted to architecturally create an almost symmetric space where the fireplace became the central focal point — before, it was set way to one side," Mr. Spaziani said of the changes in the great room. "There was a lot of rebalancing."

There are ebonized wood floors and classic moldings throughout the home.

The main entrance is on the lower level. A foyer with a powder room opens to the 23-foot-by-16-foot great room, which is anchored by a wood-burning fireplace with an ornate marble mantel and has built-in bookcases in the dining space. Three French doors lead out to a terrace.

Off the great room, the kitchen, with sliding pocket doors, is outfitted with marble countertops, wood cabinets and a solid brass backsplash.

The primary bedroom suite on the second level features two walk-in closets, a laundry area and an en suite bathroom clad in Moroccan tiles. There's a third bedroom with another bathroom and a large walk-in closet on the top floor that is currently being used as a lounge. Just outside is the 24-foot-by-12-foot rooftop terrace.

"Having the two outdoor spaces has been incredible," Mr. Crangi said, noting that he and Mr. Spaziani would often drink their morning coffee on the lower terrace and entertain guests on the roof. "We've had some very memorable moments."

The four-unit co-op at 450 West 23rd Street, between Ninth and 10th Avenues and near the High Line, is part of a row of Italianate-style buildings erected in the mid-1800s that make up the Fitzroy Townhouses.

While the couple will miss their West Chelsea townhouse apartment, they have been spending less time there. They also have a Paris home, now undergoing renovations, and have been traveling a lot.

The pair hope to eventually buy another place in Manhattan, perhaps farther downtown, to use as a pied-à-terre.

"A loft would be cool," Mr. Spaziani said. "Someplace where we can showcase our art with more wall space."





PHOTOGRAPHS BY SHANNON DUPRE/DD REPS



LAILA STEVENS







Above center, Philip Crangi, left, and Darren Spaziani were looking for something "with a lot of character and history" when they purchased their triplex in 2013. Top, their renovation closed off the kitchen, far right, to center the fireplace in the great room. Center right, the dining space has built-in bookshelves. Above, the primary bedroom, left, and the 24-foot-by-12-foot rooftop terrace.

The Hunt

This Couple Wanted to Buy a Small House on a Quiet Street in Brooklyn

With a $1.4 million budget, they hoped for a music studio, a guest room and outdoor space.

By JOYCE COHEN

Zulema Mejias and Oscar Peñas first lived together in Ms. Mejias's rent-stabilized one-bedroom near her alma mater, Pratt Institute, in Clinton Hill, Brooklyn.

She had moved there in 1999, a few years after immigrating from Cuba, and met Mr. Peñas at a dinner party in Morningside Heights, in Upper Manhattan, thrown by a mutual friend from Spain. Mr. Peñas, 51, a jazz guitarist, instructor and composer who is also from Spain, had studied music in Boston and was living with a roommate in Crown Heights, Brooklyn.

"Oscar arrived late because he got lost in the subway," Ms. Mejias said. "He sat next to me, and we started talking. I am very talkative. We had so much fun."

The couple, who married in 2008, still speak Spanish with each other. "When people see us on the street, they think we are tourists," said Ms. Mejias, 61, who is now her husband's manager.

They later moved to a Harlem co-op but were driven out by intolerable noise. The apartment, which they had gut renovated, sold quickly, so they bought a tiny duplex studio condominium in South Slope as an interim measure, glad to return to Brooklyn.

At first, with a budget of $1.4 million, the couple thought they could buy a bigger condominium. They wanted a music studio for him, an office for her, a guest room for visiting relatives from Barcelona and a spot for sitting outside.

"We used a few real estate agents and changed our minds a few times during the process," Mr. Peñas said.

The couple yearned for a small house in a tranquil residential neighborhood. They contacted Elisa Seeger, an associate broker at the Agency.

Among their options:

1. WINDSOR TERRACE ROWHOUSE

This two-story rowhouse, around 1,250 square feet, was on a quiet street half a block from Prospect Park. The interior needed plenty of work. The living area was on the ground floor, with mirror covering one wall, and two bedrooms were upstairs. The unfinished basement, ideal for a music studio, had front and back entrances, and there was a small dirt backyard, shaded by trees. The asking price was $1.3 million, with annual taxes in the low $4,000s.

2. SOUTH SLOPE FIXER-UPPER

This cute two-family rowhouse, about 1,600 square feet, was between Prospect Park and the Green-Wood Cemetery, facing the exit ramp from the Prospect Expressway. It had dated paneling and ugly cabinets in semi-functional kitchens. But there was potential, and Mr. Peñas liked the idea of having a two-family house that would generate rental income. The small, fenced backyard was mostly dirt. The price was $1.299 million, with taxes of just under $4,000.

3. WINDSOR TERRACE DETACHED HOUSE

This fully detached house was almost 1,500 square feet and had nicely renovated bathrooms and a two-car garage that could work well as a music studio. The downstairs living area had an eat-in kitchen and recessed lighting but low ceilings. Upstairs, there were three bedrooms and a back deck with stairs leading to a patio and a shared driveway. The price was $1.5 million, with taxes in the low $4,000s.

THEIR CHOICE

Ms. Mejias liked the South Slope fixer-upper for its design potential. But while the idea of renting out the second unit was appealing, Mr. Peñas concluded that "it's not a good idea to live in the same place as your tenants." And they weren't keen on the highway noise in front.

They loved the Windsor Terrace house with the garage, but he deemed it too expensive. "He was the one with the head on his shoulders, and I had the vision," said Ms. Mejias, who studied graphic design.

The Windsor Terrace rowhouse was just the right size, with the right layout: Visitors and music students could enter the basement without walking through the house.

The couple offered $1.2 million — $100,000 below the asking price — after the inspection revealed various defects, including old lead water pipes and termite damage in the basement beams. They held firm and closed at that price last fall.

The two are still living out of boxes. "There's many things that need to be done," Mr. Peñas said. "The house is not a charming place. In one or two years, it will look completely different. It needs to be upgraded in many ways, but we like it anyway."

On their residential street, they have found what is most important to them: tranquillity. "We passed through so many loud apartments and urban noise," Ms. Mejias said. "We love that here you can barely hear anything besides the birds."

EMAIL *thehunt@nytimes.com*

The Buyers Zulema Mejias and Oscar Peñas at home in Brooklyn.



KATHERINE MARKS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

'There's many things that need to be done,' Mr. Peñas says. 'In one or two years, it will look completely different.'

The Options

1. A two-story rowhouse near Prospect Park in Windsor Terrace was 1,250 square feet. It needed lots of work and had an unfinished basement.



2. A 1,600-square-foot two-family house in the South Slope was a fixer-upper but had potential, including for generating rental income.



3. A detached house in Windsor Terrace was 1,500 square feet, with three bedrooms, a two-car garage and renovated bathrooms.



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IN THE GARDEN

Treat Your Palate and Feast Your Eyes

These lush perennials can go in a soup or be added to a salad. And replanting year to year is not necessary.

By MARGARET ROACH

Many weeks before tomato seedlings can be safely transplanted outside — or almost any freshly seed-sown vegetables dare break the surface of the slowly warming soil — harvest is underway in John Forti's Maine garden.

When you grow a range of perennial edibles, you have what Mr. Forti calls "the shoulder seasons" covered, and then some, with no replanting year to year required.

"They tell great stories of resilience," he said of the perennial crops. "I think it's partly why our ancestors grew them, because they're there when your annual vegetables aren't."

As March turns to April, his reaping begins with the lemony leaves of common sorrel (Rumex acetosa). Such stalwarts were a lifeline, especially in the days before supermarkets, said Mr. Forti, a horticulturist, garden historian and ethnobotanist. Some even delivered bravely before and after frost. Exceptionally long-lived, they were the definition of sustainability, before that word was trending.

"But it's also this really delicious taste of all the vital energy that was stored up underground over winter that lets us take nourishment and enjoy the first greens," Mr. Forti added.

In the case of sorrel, he said: "Your mouth just goes crazy. It's so citrusy and green. Eating the first leaves every spring, it's almost like a little rite of passage."

He adds the first flush of leaves to salad. When there are enough, he'll make sorrel soup, or a green sauce for fish.

And those sorrel plants keep on giving: When they start to stretch up, and the older leaves have grown bitter, cut them back "flat to the ground," Mr. Forti said. Do this about once a month for flushes of fresh foliage that continue through frost.

Why isn't sorrel in every vegetable garden where it's hardy (Zones 3 to 7)?

Mr. Forti, whom gardeners may know as "The Heirloom Gardener," after the title of his 2021 book and popular Facebook page, has directed gardens for Plimoth Patuxet Museums (formerly Plimoth Plantation Museum), in Plymouth, Mass.; Strawbery Banke Museum, in Portsmouth, N.H.; and the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. These days, he is the executive director of Bedrock Gardens, in Lee, N.H., just across the Piscataqua River from his Maine home, a 30-acre historic former farm transformed into a public garden and art space.

An enthusiastic cook and preserver of various concoctions — including chive vinegar, ramp salt and rhubarb chutney — Mr. Forti is also a longtime force in the Slow Food USA movement and the Herb Society of America. No surprise, then, that he has a special relationship with the edible portions of the "long, deep acre" of garden around his home of 23 years.

"Every day kind of starts off with a walk around my gardens with a cup of tea or coffee," he said, "seeing what's come up, what I might be adding to dinner and just what makes my eyes happy."

A Bounty of Garden Stories

Edible perennials have a "cultural resonance with victory gardens," Mr. Forti said. When the edibles are native, he added, there is a particular satisfaction, because growing natives is "one of the first layers of heirloom gardening."

As spring gets going, seven patches of ramps (Allium tricoccum) are also ready. He planted them in woodsy spots down behind the house, wanting to grow his own supply rather than pressure wild local populations by foraging. He likewise gathers fiddleheads, the unfurled croziers, from some of his ostrich ferns (Matteuccia struthiopteris), another woodland native he planted that weaves romantically around the garden.

But his morning walkabouts aren't just about harvesting ingredients. They're also redolent with stories.

One energetic swath of rhubarb (Rheum rhabarbarum) — another early riser — erupts from roots inherited from his grandparents' garden, where he knew the plant as a boy. A second was given to him by an old gardening mentor he knew at Plymouth, who died at 97.

Mr. Forti regards his home landscape — and any garden — as he did the museum gardens he directed: as "a living history."

"It's a storied place," he said. "And I build on the story, because I think we all inherit landscapes when we move into a house, and then we put a piece of ourselves and our stories into that landscape. And I've always loved being a part of a continuum like that."

He added, "They're all part of an annual revisiting with people you loved."

When asked about "his" horseradish, a perennial Brassica grown for its spicy roots, he is quick to clarify: It is, in fact, Shiva Shapiro's horseradish. That Ukrainian Jewish immigrant's early 20th-century garden was unearthed during the restoration and recreation of the historic community at Strawbery Banke — and with it, her horseradish. He inherited a piece.

These hand-me-down plants weave narratives as they knit the garden together.

"I love it when they merge and have a party, and there isn't space between them to weed," Mr. Forti said.

Can there be too much of a good thing? All that's needed with perennial edibles is some judicious harvesting.

"If I need to control that population," he said, "that's me making a pot of tea, a liqueur or a salad for a party."

Double Duty: Ornamental Edibles

Yes, these perennials are grown for culinary use, but that doesn't mean their ornamentality won't be taken into consideration when siting them.

"I have rhubarb growing like somebody else might grow hosta," Mr. Forti said. "I think it's a beautiful foliage plant with a lot of character, so I just mix them right in where it makes sense in my landscape."

He harvests plenty of tender stalks, transforming some into batches of his chunky rhubarb sauce laced with candied ginger. But eventually he lets the plants flower. To him, they "resemble ridiculous cauliflower clouds" rising up above the extrabold foliage.

Conversely, his hostas do edible duty, not just ornamental service. He first tasted unopened hosta shoots, or hostons, in Japan, where they are savored as a springtime "mountain vegetable," along with ostrich fern (an Allium cousin of our ramps), bamboo shoots and more.

"And who doesn't have spare hosta?" Mr. Forti said. "It's easy to go through and cut out some shoots where it's thickest, and have an early spring green to cook, as you might prepare asparagus."

He was among many homebound gardeners who used a pandemic spring to plant a bed of asparagus, a crop that arrived in America in the 17th century, he said. Store-bought asparagus, which loses vitality after picking, pales against the succulent homegrown version.

"I can hardly get myself to cook it, it's so delicious raw," he said.

Like the rhubarb, he sited it carefully, taking advantage of an often-overlooked trait. "I placed mine where it offers a tall focal point beyond the other gardens," he said. "So that later in the season, when it sends up fronds that look like your living room asparagus fern, and they're all covered with the coral berries, it makes a nice backdrop. It's very ethereal and airy looking."

Even more ornamental is a little-known native vine, the American groundnut (Apios americana), which has fragrant, pinkish-brown summer blooms on vines that can reach 10 feet or more. It's a favorite of the flat-tailed leaf-cutter bee, and a host plant for silver-spotted skipper butterfly caterpillars, said Ulrich Lorimer, the director of horticulture for Native Plant Trust.

Give it room, Mr. Forti recommended — perhaps its own fence to cover. Established vines produce underground tubers that resemble small potatoes but are much higher in protein, a favorite ingredient for adding to soups.

Like the native perennial sunflower, the Jerusalem artichoke (Helianthus tuberosus), the groundnut is "very assertive," Mr. Forti said. But he savors its knobby tubers, so he makes room for it, knowing that native plants also support pollinators and other wildlife.

Making Room for Edible Flowers

Throughout the season, edible flowers enliven Mr. Forti's garden and cuisine: violets, chives, daylily and two species of native Monarda, among them.

The foliage of Scarlet beebalm (M. didyma), which bears the vibrant flavor of Earl Grey, is used for tea; its blooms, eaten straight from the hand, are sweet and minty. Lavender-colored wild bergamot (M. fistulosa) is "spicier, more like oregano or marjoram," he said.

But the prize for the most delicious flowers goes to an unexpected native: the smooth Solomon's seal (Polygonatum biflorum), a shade perennial with arching stems dangling pairs of little greenish-white, tubular spring flowers.

Their flavor? "Like garden peas blended with the sweet nectar of flowers," Mr. Forti said. "They offer a juicy, succulent garden candy."

Reach under the arching branch and pull off a handful to pop in your mouth, he suggested — or use them to garnish a salad or a bowl of sorrel soup. The emerging shoots can also be eaten like asparagus.

And too few gardeners have discovered the power of lovage (Levisticum officinale), Mr. Forti thinks. It's another 17th-century import that never caught on as well as chives (Allium schoenoprasum) or sage (Salvia officinalis), but which he cannot imagine being without.

He likens it to a perennial celery, but with a less delicate taste. Its leaves go into green and egg salads, or pots of beans. "I wouldn't make soup without adding lovage," he said.

The hollow stalks delight him, too. Cut sections can be used as drinking straws that give "an incredible celery flavor to every sip."

Bloody Mary, anyone?



PHOTOGRAPHS BY JOHN FORTI; BELOW, MARGARET ROACH; BOTTOM LEFT, ULRICH LORIMER





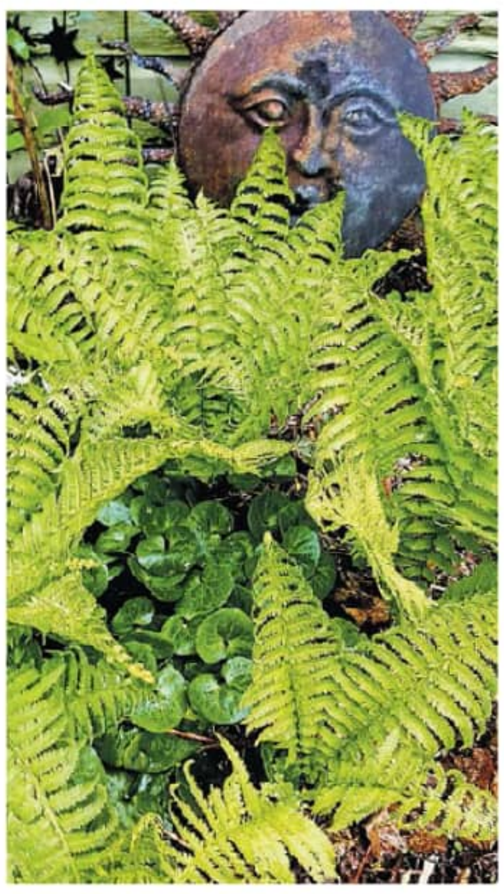












Top, a salad of sorrel, sweet cicely and dandelion greens garnished with violas, part of the spring harvest from the garden of John Forti in Maine. Second row, from left: his harvest season begins with the lemony leaves of common sorrel (Rumex acetosa); he planted seven patches of ramps (Allium tricoccum) in woodsy spots; besides producing stalks for use in sauces and pies, rhubarb is boldly ornamental and can command a prime spot in the garden. Third row: Edible flowers enliven Mr. Forti's landscape as well as his cuisine; the foliage of Scarlet beebalm (M. didyma) can be used to make tea, and the flowers taste sweet and minty; Mr. Forti's hostas do edible duty, not just ornamental service. Above, American groundnut (Apios americana) produces fragrant summer blooms favored by flat-tailed leaf-cutter bees. Above right, early in the spring, he gathers fiddleheads, the unfurled croziers, from his ostrich ferns (Matteuccia struthiopteris).

Tending 'a living history' with John Forti, 'The Heirloom Gardener.'

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Renovations in London That Brought Home the Honors

An architectural group hands out awards for exceptional work upgrading houses.

By JOANN PLOCKOVA

If you've been thinking about moving, London's built-environment community wants you to consider staying put.

Last month, the New London Architecture group (N.L.A.) held its 15th annual Don't Move, Improve awards, showcasing the most innovative and sustainable home renovations around the city.

This year's Home of the Year prize, selected from more than 150 entries, was awarded to Aden Grove, a house in the borough of Hackney. The project, by Emil Eve Architects, added 765 square feet to what had been a 1,065-square-foot mid-terrace home using two colorful terra-cotta tiled additions — one at the rear, one on the roof — and maximized space by using the full width of the narrow lot where possible, including in the new kitchen and dining area.

"Growing up, I always lived in a house and had a nice big garden, so I spent a lot of time outside," said Matjaz Cuk, who lives in the house with his partner, Tess Bridgman, and their 5-month-old daughter. "Since then, it was always a struggle. You were in small flats and you never had space. And then being able to finally have a nice space where you can access the garden, and you can be in the house and enjoy the garden as well, so kind of bringing everything together, that was such a big change."

Aden Grove also won the prize for Materiality and Craftsmanship, "for its exquisite use of materials and commitment to quality construction, utilizing tiles in a way that we don't see often in an exterior environment," according to the judges' comments.





LEFT AND ABOVE, TARAN WILKHU





LEFT AND ABOVE, TARAN WILKHU

Above, the Aden Grove house, before and after renovations were completed. The project, undertaken by Emil Eve Architects, added more than 750 square feet of space to the home.

The use of natural materials contributed to the home's sustainability upgrades, such as the addition of an air-source heat pump, improved insulation including new windows, and a smart heating system.

"It was definitely right up there in our original project brief that we wanted to improve the sort of sustainability credentials," Ms. Bridgman said. "It's obviously difficult being, you know, a 19th-century, mid-terrace London property. But we're in the 21st century, and it's a real missed opportunity to not do that."

Other winners among this year's nine categories included Hillside House, in Waltham Forest, which took the Unique Character prize for its design by Mike Tuck Studio. The project, a reimagining of a postwar family home that the owners had initially wanted to sell but reconsidered, was recognized for its "distinctive design and dedication to delightful detailing."

"We wanted a single living space where we could cook, eat, relax, play and create as a family," said the homeowners, Nina and Benji Davies. "Our home is now bold and playful, yet practical and comforting."

A compact triangular house in West Hampstead, Camden, won the prize for Best Project Under £100K. The architect Richard Brown of Brown Urbanism and the homeowner Katrina Damigos collaborated to transform a triangular former mechanic's garage into a surprisingly spacious live-work home. The house is a "small but remarkable example of efficient design and thoughtful use of space, without comprising quality and character," noted the judges.



JOHAN DEHLIN



LUCA PIFFARETTI

Middle, the refurbishment and extension of a 1960s townhouse in Chelsea by the firm Pricegore won the Urban Oasis award. Above, the separate kitchen and dining room of the Hillside House, in Waltham Forest, were reimagined.

Above, before and after kitchens in Aden Grove, a house in the London borough of Hackney that won two prizes at the Don't Move, Improve awards: Home of the Year and Materiality and Craftsmanship.

Other winners included the "Green Machine" house, designed by SUPRBLK Studio and recognized for its "innovative approach to compact living, with perfect detailing and a little touch of color," in the Compact Design category; "House Made by Many Hands," designed by Cairn Architecture, which won the Environmental Leadership prize for its pioneering use of low-carbon LC3 concrete ("It uses 40 percent less emissions," said Federico Ortiz, who heads N.L.A.'s programs.); and the "Chelsea Brut" house, by Pricegore, which won the Urban Oasis prize for its "refurbishment and extension of a 1960s townhouse, including the total renewal of the building's services and thermal fabric."

The member-supported New London Architecture group, which will mark its 20th anniversary next year, began the Don't Move, Improve awards to celebrate home-improvement projects that, like the architects who design them, often go unnoticed but have big value.

This year's theme was "Reimagine the Home," which ties into the 2024 "Reimagine" theme for N.L.A.'s London Festival of Architecture, held every June. The awards also reflect N.L.A.'s New London Agenda, a framework for the city's future development.

Retrofitting existing housing stock is a critical step for cities around the world, Mr. Ortiz said, especially with the growing threat of climate change to homes and communities. "But for London in particular," he said, "because of the type of housing that we have, which is usually Victorian, smaller housing, lower density. We think that by celebrating this kind of best practice, we can all learn different ways of retrofitting homes, thinking of ways of improving."

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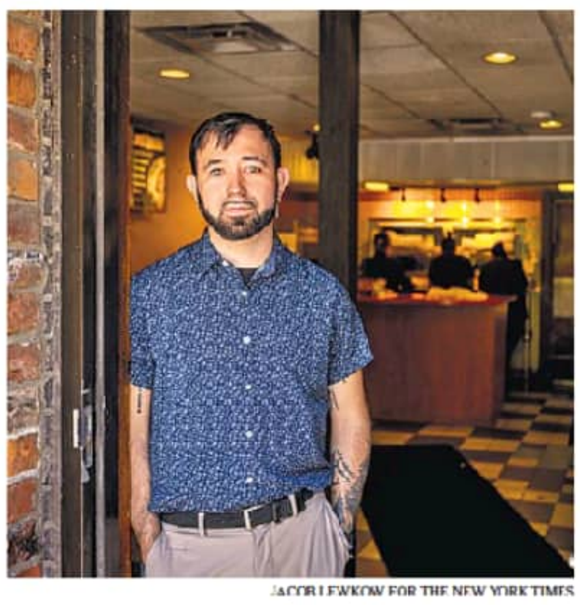
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Above, the Michigan Central Station restoration in the Corktown neighborhood of Detroit included replacing or refurbishing 102,000 square feet of windows. Below, from left, are: Cristian Rubio, who grew up near the station; the outside of the station in 2010; the interior before renovations began.

SYLVIA JARRUS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



JACOB LEWKOW FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



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Windows Onto a Revitalized Detroit

Ford's plan to create a hub includes a grand train station that had fallen into ruin.

By ALLAN LENGEL

When he was growing up in Southwest Detroit, Cristian Rubio was never all that curious about the shuttered train station that loomed over his neighborhood. The building, a couple of miles west of downtown, was among the city's most visible symbols of urban decay and a go-to for photographers who wanted to capture its decline.

Mr. Rubio's interest intensified in high school, after he watched the 2009 music video "Beautiful," which showed the hometown rapper Eminem walking through the ravaged Beaux-Arts building with its vaulted ceilings and tall columns, broken windows, rainbow graffiti and smashed fixtures.

Ever since, "I wanted to go in whether it was abandoned or not," said Mr. Rubio, 29, the manager of a Mexican restaurant, who moved to Southwest Detroit from Jalisco, in west central Mexico, 20 years ago. "Now we have a chance to do it."

The Ford Motor Company bought Michigan Central Station in 2018 from the Moroun family for $90 million and has since spent hundreds of millions of dollars to restore it to its original beauty. Ford's plan is to create a hub of collaboration and innovation with its workers and independent startups and businesses involved in mobility and transportation issues. Additionally, it hopes to make the station a community gathering place with retail shops, a destination restaurant, an event space, a hotel and possibly Amtrak service nearby in the future.

On June 6, 20,000 people attended an outdoor concert, with Diana Ross, Eminem and others appearing, to celebrate the official reopening.

The station, which was completed in 1913, had more than 4,000 passengers daily at its peak in the 1940s. It closed in 1988, eventually becoming a magnet for scrappers, vandals, graffiti artists, urban explorers and the homeless.

William Ford, the executive chairman of Ford, now runs the company his great-grandfather started in 1903. "Our industry is about to change radically, and that change ought to be invented here," Mr. Ford said. "It clicked for me that was the perfect purpose for Michigan Central Station."

He added, "We want Detroit to once again be a destination where the future is invented, and preserve its title as the Motor City for generations to come."

In all, Ford will spend nearly $1 billion to create a 30-acre campus, ultimately with thousands of workers, with the station as the centerpiece — along with other buildings the company owns, including Newlab, a former book depository next door that opened last year and currently houses 97 startups and about 600 workers.

The company hopes the station, in its vibrant urban setting, will lure top-notch talent at a perplexing time for the fiercely competitive auto industry, as it sorts out its future with autonomous, electric and hybrid vehicles. The company expects most of the campus to come online in three to five years, with the first tenants moving into the station in June and some Ford workers moving in this fall.

But amid the excitement about the renovation and opening, and the opportunities for businesses and investors, longtime residents like Mr. Rubio are concerned about how this will affect the surrounding neighborhoods.

"A lot of people are worried about gentrification," he said, particularly with property values, taxes and rents rising since Ford bought the station, and outsiders trying to buy properties. Some residents complain that they have been approached repeatedly by real estate agents and investors looking for houses to buy, prompting at least one, on nearby St. Anne Street, to post a "Not for Sale" sign on his property.

The station is in Corktown, an old but now trendy area, at the border of Mexicantown, a more working-class neighborhood that some refer to as Southwest.

Corktown was once home to Tiger Stadium and a number of Irish pubs. In recent years, it has become a spot for new restaurants and bars, while it holds onto traditions like the St. Patrick's Day parade and remains home to the Gaelic League of Detroit, an Irish-American social club. New, modern apartments have added to the housing stock of mostly older single-family homes and duplexes.

Mexicantown, just behind the station, maintains a strong Latino presence with ethnic restaurants, tortilla factories, taco and burrito food trucks, bakeries and mu-



PHOTOGRAPHS BY SYLVIA JARRUS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES









ABOVE AND BELOW, JACOB LEWKOW FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



Above top, a clock was restored, and the chandeliers on the main floor were recreated. Above left, from top, are new lights, reconstructed ceiling details and ornate fixtures at an old ticket counter. Above right, Susana Villarreal-Garza, top, a second-generation restaurant owner, and Bob Roberts, a pub owner, worry about the Corktown area's gentrification.

'I was getting calls left and right from Realtors,' one business owner says.

rals, and the annual Cinco de Mayo parade. Over time, people of various ethnic and racial backgrounds have moved into the community, resulting in a more eclectic population.

Susana Villarreal-Garza, 63, a second-generation owner of Tamaleria Nuevo León, a tamale shop in the shadow of the station, echoes sentiments similar to those of Mr. Rubio, the restaurant manager.

"What I worry about is that people who live here, who have been here 30, 40, 50 years, they're not going to be able to afford that hike in taxes, and they're going to get pushed out," Ms. Villarreal-Garza said. After Ford bought the station, "that first two weeks," she said, "I was getting calls left and right from Realtors." They were all interested in listing her home.

She has also received calls from people in Florida and New Jersey interested in buying her restaurant. "They came at least seven times in one week, knocking," she said. One offered $800,000.

"I said, 'No.' They said, 'What's your price?' I said, 'I don't have a price, I'm not for sale.'"

Real estate agents have told her they could get $300,000 for her home, which was worth about $35,000 a decade ago.

Robert Warfield, 75, who has lived in a townhouse near the station since 2005, sees it differently. He welcomes Ford's renovation and the resulting increase in property values. He said the deteriorating station depressed home values.

"It looked so decrepit, it was depressing," said Mr. Warfield, the chief operating officer of the Bing Youth Institute. "It was like an elephant in the room: Sitting in the middle of the community was this monstrosity of nothing."

Mr. Warfield doesn't expect an exodus of residents selling at escalated prices. "These people are grounded in this community," he said. "And I think they appreciate the fact that the value of the community is now being recognized."

Richard Gonzalez, 53, a truck mechanic who grew up in Mexicantown and posted the "Not for Sale" sign, also welcomes the change, including the residents who have moved in since Ford's announcement. "I love it," he said. "They're trying to take care of their property. That's what I like."

Joshua Sirefman, the chief executive of Michigan Central, a wholly owned subsidiary of Ford, said the company is sensitive to the community's needs and is regularly engaged in dialogue and collaboration with residents and organizations. "We're extremely aware of the needs, that our growth needs to fuel everybody's growth."

As for Detroit's mayor, Mike Duggan, he acknowledged that change "makes people anxious in general" but added, "I would say most people would think the fact that their property values are rising is a good problem."

He continued: "Over the last decade, no area of the city has grown faster in property values than Southwest Detroit. The price of houses has tripled, and it's built a huge amount of wealth for the residents. That, to me, is your best protection of the neighborhood changing."

Renters haven't been so fortunate, Mr. Duggan said, with some prices in the area rising sharply.

He said the city received a $30 million grant from the Department of Housing and Urban Development to build 550 affordable rental units in the area, and there are other projects with affordable units in the works.

Bob Roberts, the owner of McShane's Irish Pub and the president of the Corktown Business Association, said he had spoken to more than half a dozen customers who have moved out of Corktown in the past two years because of rising rents. And while he hails the train station renovation, he said his own rent jumped 30 percent this year. He worries it may keep going up.

Other developments have followed since Ford's announcement. A boutique hotel and higher-end apartment buildings have been built nearby. And in May, the city's pro soccer team, Detroit City FC, announced it was building a stadium in Corktown, where it would be moving from its current home in Hamtramck.

For Mr. Ford, the station is a proud accomplishment, and one likely to become part of his family legacy in Detroit.

"I remember coming to this station as a young man and thinking this was the grandest building I had ever seen," he said. "Over time, it became a symbol of Detroit's decline. Every day, I would drive by the station and have a 'what if' discussion with myself and say, 'What if I could find a way to bring it back to life in a relevant way?'"

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She's Holding the Talking Stick Now

The newly elected leader of the Shinnecock Nation has an edge in dealing with its neighbors.

By COREY KILGANNON

Taking her new seat at the head of the tribal council table, Lisa Goree spied among some office items a desk nameplate that read "Chaos Coordinator."

"I guess that will go in front of me," chuckled Ms. Goree, 60, who in April was elected as the first woman to lead the Shinnecock Indian Nation on Eastern Long Island in more than two centuries.

While the United States has never elected a female president, and Mexico did only this month, female Native American chiefs are not rare. The Shinnecocks had female tribal leaders until 1792, when they adopted an all-male governing structure, Ms. Goree said. They had not had a female leader since then.

Now Ms. Goree's supporters are promoting her election as a return to its matriarchal leadership roots and a departure from centuries of male leadership sometimes marked by internal division and antago-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 5



Lisa Goree is the first woman to lead the Shinnecock Indian Nation on Eastern Long Island since 1792. She also serves as town assessor for the Town of Southampton. Left, young people take part in activities at the Boys & Girls Club of Shinnecock Nation, which teaches tribal culture.

A Morality Tale Unfolds at a Corner Cafe in the Village



BENJAMIN NORMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Sabrina Rudin with her father, Anthony Leichter, at the Spring Cafe Aspen, which she opened in Greenwich Village three years ago. On May 17, the cafe survived a fire thanks to the efforts of a trash collector working his usual route.

After a man started a fire one morning last month, a passing trash collector put it out.

By MICHAEL WILSON

The firefighters were gone, the police were on their way, and all around was the aftermath of whatever had happened a couple hours ago. Sabrina Rudin and her father peered at a video on her phone's screen for some clue.

Ms. Rudin had opened the Spring Cafe Aspen on West Fourth Street in Greenwich Village three years ago, a bright corner spot for fresh juices, coffee and breakfast through dinner. The cafe had sidewalk seating, huge windows and lots of flowers beneath an aqua awning.

But now, early on the morning of May 17, the place was a wreck.

A plate-glass window was shattered, the awning scorched and melted. Flower arrangements, burned crisp. Inside, a film of white chemical from fire extinguishers covered the countertops, the floor, the fruits and vegetables.

The fire, they learned that morning, had been intentionally set by a passer-by. There he was on the video; he pulls something out of a trash can, lights it on fire, then holds the flame against a flower box mounted outside the cafe. The fire catches on the box and races upward.

Since the pandemic, things hadn't felt the same in the neighborhood, where Ms. Rudin lived with her husband and young children. And now this.

It's hard enough having three kids and running a restaurant in 2024, Ms. Rudin thought. Now to wake up and find out that someone had set the place on fire.

Maybe, she thought, I'm done with this city.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

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The New York Times

SUNDAY ROUTINE

REGINA ROCKE



PHOTOGRAPHS BY JANICE CHUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Invigorated by Saunas and Snowballs

Regina Rocke has been teaching New Yorkers how to live more comfortably in their bodies for more than 20 years: She's a certified personal trainer, a yoga and group fitness instructor, an ayurveda wellness counselor and a certified breathwork facilitator. This spring, she added another offering to her wellness menu when she climbed aboard the Othership, a social ice bath and sauna studio. Ms. Rocke, 42, is among 16 guides at the studio, which plans to open a new location this month in the Flatiron district. Guides lead visitors, whom they call "journeyers," through 75 minutes of cold plunges, sauna meditations, breathwork lessons and aromatherapy. "I do this work because connecting to my body this way can be incredibly healing," she said. "I enjoy leading people through the same experiences." Ms. Rocke lives in East Harlem with her fiancée, Kirsten Huber (above left), 35, a graphic designer, and their two cats, Bossy and Buffy. *TAMMY LaGORCE*







DOUGH FIRST, BREAD SECOND I have a morning routine I do not diverge from. Upon waking, at 6:30 or 7:30, I have a little snuggle session with Bossy. She usually comes and sits on me, makes dough on me, and I pet her and then she makes it clear she's done. When she's done, she's done.

Before I get in the shower, I turn on the stove and get the kettle ready for pour-over coffee. After I'm showered and moisturized, it's time to feed both cats. They're equally begging by then. While I have my coffee, it's playtime for Buffy. I'll wave a string around, and she'll go after it. It gets pretty rowdy. She'll start banging into furniture and stuff. Breakfast is bread with almond butter. Then it's time to go.

KEEP IT MOVING I like to start my day with movement, and I like a wide variety of classes. I won't go to the same place, always doing the same class. What I decide to do on a Sunday morning is very much mood-based. If I want something low impact, I might do mat Pilates at East River Pilates. I like the space. Or maybe I'll do Solidcore. But I pretty much visit places where I have friends who teach. The fitness and yoga world can be pretty small, and a lot of people work at multiple places. One of my friends teaches at Aarmy in SoHo. If my body is up for it, I'll take her class.

SNACK MIX Starting my day with movement helps me teach a better class. Before I go to teach at Othership, I'll definitely grab a snack. Usually I bring food with me. I don't spend a lot of money eating restaurant food. My snacks are a big mix, because I get bored easily. I like this one brand of pretzels with almond butter inside. Sometimes it's a grass-fed-beef stick or a protein bar.

SCENTED SNOW I get the subway to Union Square to teach. There's a whole routine at Othership, a way we prepare for class. We have a uniform — a swimsuit and a little sarong we tie around our waist. Most of us take a shower or a quick dip in the cold bath to prepare ourselves. We make snowballs mixed with essential oils for the sauna. The scent is going along with the theme of the class: Some classes are relaxing; some are more energizing. If it's a deep stretch class, there may be grounding scents, like various pines and cedar and eucalyptus. We might start the class with those, and then at the end of class it might be floral scents, like geranium or rose. The snowballs are dripped onto the hot rocks in the sauna, and the smell really permeates.

TOWEL DANCE During the interview or audition process for Othership, they talked a lot about towel waving. I was thinking you wave a towel around, that it's pretty straightforward. But it's very different. The towel is heavy; it's a weighted material. We've learned different techniques. Some are performative, like putting on a show. Some of the function of it is to get a sense of the heat in the sauna for the journeyers in the class. It's a very serious thing. Learning more advanced moves has been a huge part of the training. It's very fun. I've started to experiment with choreographing a towel dance.

Before work, a fitness and wellness instructor takes care of her cats.

HOT AND COLD Then it's time to meet the journeyers and start class. When enough people have accumulated, you greet them and give them a rundown of class safety tips. Journeyers do 20 or 25 minutes in the sauna and spend two minutes max in the cold bath. There's a small component of teaching in the cold bath, instructing people to take slow, deep breaths. And after, you can go back in the sauna as much as you like.

Q. AND A. After class, people are given the option to stay a little longer or go. I'll hang out in the commons area for questions or comments. It's up to me if I want to stay and do a sauna or an ice bath on my own. What I hear most from people when I tell them I'm a guide is, "I need to try that."

NO SURPRISES When I'm done at Othership, I might meet up with Kirsten and we'll go to dinner or maybe it's just, let's enjoy a Sunday evening at home. If we're going out, we'll go to the famous Red Rooster, Marcus Samuelsson's restaurant, or this other place called Clay on the West Side. Kirsten and I text a lot during the day. A lot, lot, lot. Once I meet up with her, she already knows everything that happened that day.

BUENAS NOCHES At home, we have our me time. Kirsten's more of a night owl, and I'm more of a morning person. For me, anything past 6 p.m. requires a lot of concentration. So I'll go into the bedroom and do my Duolingo or read a mystery. I'm trying to turn my brain off. By 9 or 10 o'clock, I'm falling asleep.

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GINIA BELLAFANTE | BIG CITY

Discord Follows Museum Officials Home

ON WEDNESDAY MORNING, Anne Pasternak, the director of the Brooklyn Museum, awoke to find that the front of her co-op building had been defaced with red paint and accusations — attacks inscribed on a large banner — calling her "a white supremacist Zionist." Trustees and the museum's president also found their morning colored by similar angry disparagements in front of their own apartments.

These apparently coordinated attacks came nearly two weeks after 34 people were arrested at a pro-Palestine rally in front of the museum. Protesters, who assaulted security staff members and damaged artwork in the plaza outside, were calling for Israeli divestment from a museum facing budget cuts and lumbering along with an endowment smaller than, say, Harvard's by a factor of 407.

Outraged over the latest bout of vandalism, Senator Chuck Schumer, the majority leader, stood on the Senate floor on Wednesday and slammed the "invasive attacks" as dehumanizing, "loaded with the threat of looming violence," "vile," "nasty," "un-American."

To those who were targeted it must have also seemed confusing on an existential scale. Seven months ago, the museum was criticized not for a sympathetic view toward Israel but instead for antisemitic leanings. The turmoil in which so many universities and cultural institutions were now engulfed was playing out at the museum as whiplash.

At a fair held in conjunction with the opening of an exhibit called "Copy Machine Manifestos: Artists Who Make Zines," printed materials had been sold bearing the controversial slogan "River to the sea, Palestine will be free." The museum apologized, issuing a statement that said it was "giving care to reviewing our policies while remaining committed to freedom of artistic expression and striving to create spaces for all to see themselves and others with dignity."

These have become increasingly ambitious if not unachievable goals for those in the business of upholding the country's liberal humanist traditions. From this vantage, it is all too easy to imagine a crisis of talent supply in the coming years, if not tomorrow — a pool diminishing to nonexistence of those inspired to govern academic and cultural outlets amid the seemingly irreconcilable conflict and chaos that each new week seems to bring. Just a few days ago, Collegiate, the 396-year-old Upper West Side school, announced the departure of its leader, David Lourie, after only four years, following an internal report that found "disquieting problems of religious and cultural bias."

The average tenure for a private school head declined from 10 years in 2012 to seven in 2020. The National Association of Independent Schools predicted that one in five leaders who started during the 2021-22 academic year would be gone in three years. For any nonprofit institution, that kind of instability comes with problems around staff retention, enrollment, subscriptions, fund-raising. And this is unfolding against rising anti-intellectualism and a financial free fall that has caused at least 16 four-year colleges to close since last year, the most recent of them Wells, in Aurora, N.Y., which cited "an overall negative sentiment towards higher education" as one of the many insurmountable challenges it faced after 156 years.

Situated in a Beaux-Arts building on Eastern Parkway since 1897, the Brooklyn Museum is the second-largest museum in New York City and an especially unusual target for progressive activists. It is a promoter of art loathed by conservatives, with a celebrated history of championing racially and ethnically diverse painters and sculptors and videographers who had often operated at the margins. Fundamental to its imaging is the 1999 exhibit "Sensation," which left the museum battling Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani and the Roman Catholic Church, joined in fury over Chris Ofili's "The Holy Virgin Mary" among other works of art that were anathema to conventional tastes, which depicted a Black woman as the mother of God, surrounded by imagery cut from porn magazines. The city threatened to cut the museum's funding, and Mr. Giuliani tried to evict it from its premises.



NATE SCHWEBER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Accusations directed at Anne Pasternak, the Brooklyn Museum's director, were painted in front of her apartment building last week. Pro-Palestinian activists have been critical of the museum.

A progressive cultural institution in Brooklyn faces scorn related to the war in Gaza.

Arnold Lehman, then the director of the museum, ran it for another 16 years, retiring in 2015 as a populist, the vein in which Ms. Pasternak, his successor, has continued to operate. One of last year's exhibits, "It's Pablo-matic: Picasso According to Hannah Gadsby," was conceived to appeal specifically to post #MeToo leftist predilections. It didn't — and not because it was considered insufficiently radical but rather because it was widely regarded as intellectually facile, politically knee-jerk.

After the 34 protesters were arrested in front of the museum earlier this month, the institutional response hardly tilted toward vengeance. A museum representative, in an interview with the arts site Hyperallergic, acknowledged a "devastating" use of force by the police but made a point of saying that administrators had not called them in — that officers were authorized to come because the museum was city property. The museum promised not to press charges and hoped to work with law enforcement on de-escalation efforts in the future. But this was not mollifying. Protesters went ahead and painted the words "Blood on Your Hands" on the pathway to Ms. Pasternak's building anyway.

EMAIL *bigcity@nytimes.com; follow Ginia Bellafante on X: @GiniaNYT*

READER COMMENTS

Lower East Side Fights Sprouting of Illegal Weed Shops

Readers responded at nytimes.com to Colin Moynihan's article last Sunday about how residents have banded together to push for the authorities to shut down the businesses. Comments have been edited.

IT IS ABSURD THAT New York City law enforcement cannot shut down people breaking the law when they literally put a sign on the street showing their criminal activity. New York needs to seriously reflect on its ability to govern and police itself. We've already seen the streets (and sidewalks) taken over by scooters, e-bikes and misbehaving motorists with no consequence. What is next to be sacrificed due to our leaders' ineptitude and lack of action?

BRIAN GOLDBERG, BROOKLYN

IT'S AMAZING HOW frequently we see the same story play out again and again in America: unambiguous crimes committed in plain sight, not just shamelessly but often even boastfully. The police refuse to enforce the law, city attorneys refuse to prosecute, local politicians make empty promises of eventual results while begging for patience. It feels like an unraveling of America. There are no consequences for lawlessness, and our cities are characterized by their flavor of local lawbreaker.

ANDREW LATHAM, SEATTLE

I'M GLAD I DON'T LIVE on the Lower East Side. And not because of these illegal pot shops. I wouldn't want to live around this many "activists" with a shocking amount of free time on their hands.

MATTHEW MACKENZIE,
VANCOUVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA

IN TERMS OF CLOSING illegal shops, why would it take so long if that is required?



VICTOR J. BLUE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Unlicensed shops are inundating some neighborhoods in New York City.

Send three, four law enforcement officers into a shop and ask for the license; if there's no license, escort the workers out, confiscate the items, padlock the door and put up a sign. Then go to the next place. Seems like a lot of excuses from the bureaucracy.

LAWRENCE ABBOTT, BELMONT, MAINE

ADVOCATES OF marijuana legalization promised that it would eliminate the criminal drug dealer element just as the repeal of alcohol sales prohibition eliminated bootleggers. Now we see that it brought illegal sales into the open, apparently strengthening its position in the local economy. Respect for governance declines as illegal sellers shrug off feeble enforcement efforts and openly flout the law.

PETER REISMAN, MALVERNE, N.Y.

MY SON AND I WERE IN New York City for an Eagles concert last fall and stayed for a few days at a hotel in Chelsea. We wandered around the area and noted that there were weed shops on many, if not most, blocks. We just assumed that anything that public and widespread must be legal. Surprise for us when we later read about the actual situation. I just can't get my mind around the fact that illegal operations can operate so openly with few, if any, consequences.

BOB HEIN, EAST HAMPTON, CONN.

A College Widens Its World

A reader responded by letter to the June 2 article by James Barron about the merger of Marymount Manhattan with Northeastern University. The comment was edited.

IF THE PLAN RECEIVES approval, my alma mater, Marymount Manhattan, will be renamed Northeastern University-New York City. While the agreement contains "a center that will bear elements of the Marymount Manhattan name," I entreat Northeastern to reconsider the proposed renaming of the college as it erases any clear reference to Marymount's nearly 90-year history in New York.

Marymount Manhattan College, a liberal arts school, is a gem that seems even rarer now given the recent news about Marymount Manhattan and the closure of the University of the Arts in Philadelphia. While Marymount is small, its influence is mighty, with notable alumni including America's first female vice-presidential nominee, Geraldine Ferraro, and the Broadway actors Annaleigh Ashford and Andrew Rannells. Representatives for Northeastern and Marymount Manhattan have emphasized their shared values, so a campus name encompassing both schools, such as "Northeastern University-Marymount Manhattan," would convey that.

AIMÉE La FOUNTAIN, NUTLEY, N.J.

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DODAI STEWART | STREET WARS

High-Speed Internet, Yay. But 'Smartpoles'? Uh-Oh.

Hundreds of 5G towers are coming to New York, and not everyone is happy about it.

A THRILLING GLIMPSE of New York City history is on display at the intersection of West 12th Street and Washington Street in Manhattan. Cobblestone-like Belgian blocks, most likely dating to the 1870s, line the street. The three-story Federal-style brick building on the southeast corner was built in 1842. It's easy to imagine pulling up in a horse and carriage — or even in a Model T, since there's a 1920s Art Deco building on the northeast corner.

So when the city proposed placing a shiny new 5G tower on a corner there, neighbors were not happy.

"Greenwich Village is known and loved around the world for its charming architecture," said Andrew Berman, executive director of Village Preservation, an organization devoted to safeguarding the heritage of Greenwich Village, the East Village and NoHo.

"There is a harm to having these 32-foot-tall futuristic towers, often with large video display terminals on them, in residential neighborhoods in historic districts," he added.

Thousands of residents participated in a letter-writing campaign against the proposed tower, Berman said. And the state's Historic Preservation Office recently warned that tall towers would have an adverse effect on landmark blocks in the in the Greenwich Village Historic District. The "incompatible design" of the poles would "create a visual distraction," officials said.

The fate of the West 12th Street tower is still under review by the Federal Communications Commission. But plenty of 5G "smartpoles" are on the way.

The towers, which have been popping up around the city since 2022, are part of its effort to upgrade wireless service. More than 150 of the 32-foot towers have already been installed, and about 2,000 more are coming, said Nick Colvin, the chief executive of LinkNYC, the communications network responsible for the Link5G towers.

These days, most people's phones do so much more than just make voice calls, Colvin said. If you have had trouble doing a search in a map app, or experienced any kind of dead zone in smartphone service, Colvin explained, it's because the city's network is in desperate need of an upgrade.

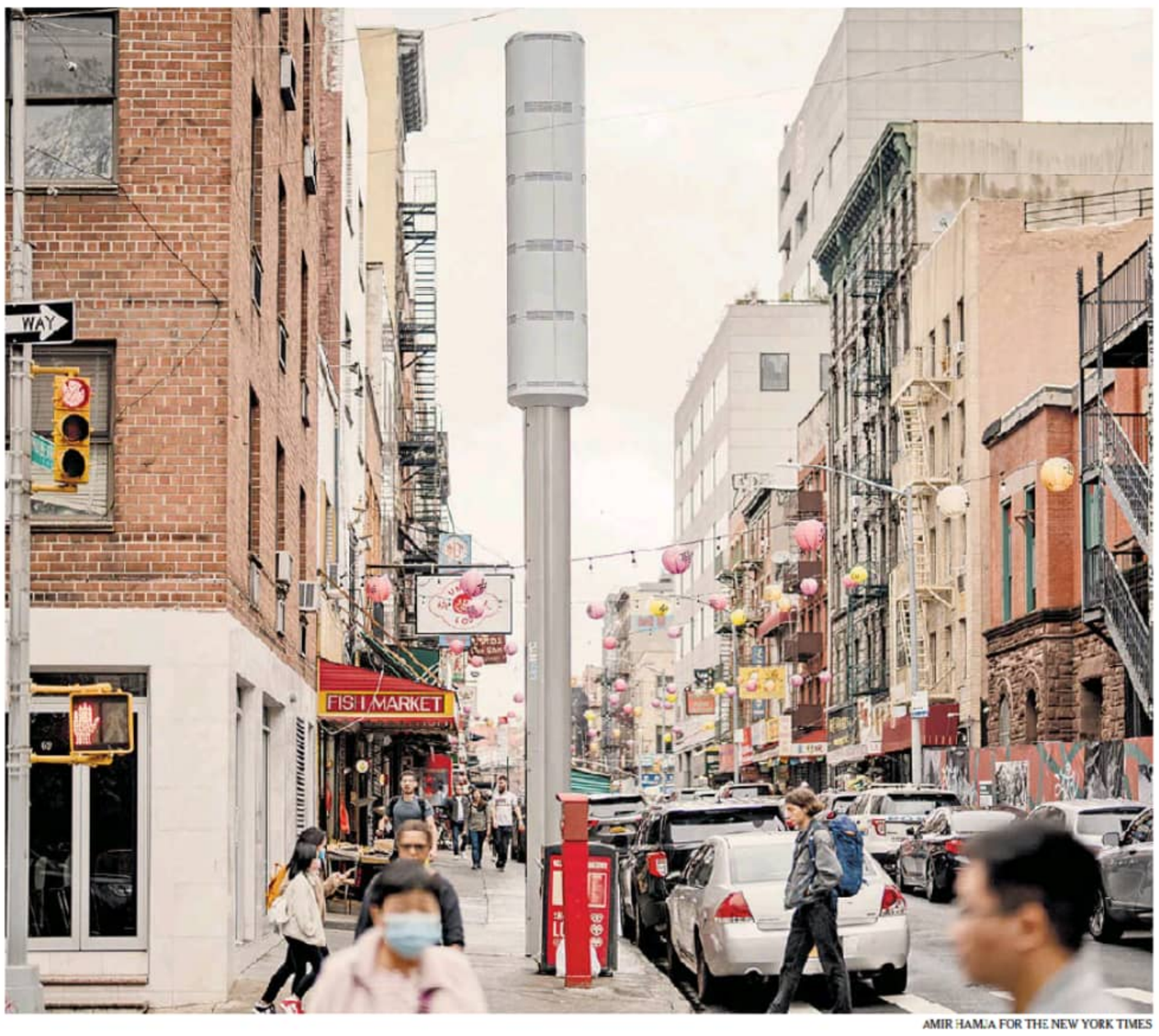
"The demand being placed upon the existing infrastructure is outstripping the capacity of that network that was built," he said.

Colvin bristled a bit at the design complaints. "I'm a New Yorker," he said, "I care about the public space."

He noted that display screens are not permitted to be installed on Link5G smart poles in the city's residential zones.

The towers are silver and gray, much like New York's streetlight poles. Their tops are full of transmitters, which get covered by a "shroud" to keep them looking sleek.

Colvin said other designs had been rejected. "They were ugly," he said. So Link5G worked with Antenna Design, the same firm that designed the MetroCard vending machine and the new subway cars, and towers were designed just for New York.



AMIR HAMJA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Needless to say, not everyone admires them.

"People don't want, first of all, to have this monstrosity in their neighborhoods," said Odette Wilkens, the executive director of NYC Alliance for Safe Technology.

She is concerned about the plan to add what she calls "gargantuan" towers in Jamaica, Queens, near the historic neighborhood of Addisleigh Park.

At least 16 community boards across the city — representing approximately two million New Yorkers — have voiced concerns about the 5G tower rollout. City officials, including Mark Levine, the Manhattan borough president, and Representative Jerry Nadler have written letters of support.

And while the F.C.C. has declared that 5G technology is safe and not a health hazard, Wilkens nonetheless worries that the towers are a threat to public safety. In an email newsletter, she urges New Yorkers to speak up against the towers. "You need to act now!" she wrote in all capital letters. "You're getting clobbered with 5G towers."

The city government, however, insists that the towers are part of a "critical" effort to give all New Yorkers access to high-speed internet.

"This administration will not be deterred by NIMBYism and will continue to prioritize democratizing access to technology, building a more connected and livable city for New Yorkers," said Ray Legendre of the city's Office of Technology and Innovation.



LEON EDLER

Technology along New York's sidewalks, then and now: a Link5G tower in Manhattan's Chinatown, top; and a telegraph pole on lower Broadway in 1880, top right.

Many of the locations of Link5G towers (as well as LinkNYC Wi-Fi kiosks, which do not have towers) were previously home to public pay phones.

Years ago, if you wanted to allow for six people to make phone calls, Colvin said, you would need 15 to 20 feet of sidewalk for a bank of pay phones.

So far, he said, 8,000 pay phones have been removed from New York sidewalks, and the new 5G towers will take up much less space. Colvin said the design is as "future-proof" as possible: "Like the pay phones, we expect these to be there for decades to come."

Can the city move into the future while still preserving parts of its past? Colvin hopes so.

"The mission of LinkNYC — and of the 5G program — is to provide digital connectivity for free to everyone in the city," he said.

Being connected, he said, is "more and more necessary to be able to participate in the economy, apply for jobs, interact with government, pay a parking ticket, things like this. It's just essential for life."

But he knows what he's up against: "It's always hard, in a city like New York, to change things."



ARCHIVE PHOTOS, VIA GETTY IMAGES

The Tower's Invasive Ancestor

While 5G towers are new, the idea of streetscape clutter to accommodate technology is not. In the 1880s, New Yorkers had to deal with a different pole on the sidewalk: the telegraph pole.

An 1881 New York Times article described in detail the startling arrival of "unsightly" telegraph poles on Pine Street in Manhattan, explaining that "gangs of laborers" proceeded to "tear up the pavement" and erect telegraph poles "the size and clumsiness such has rarely been seen outside of the Maine woods."

The poles were not just called "crooked and rough" but "huge, ugly excrescences" that took up space on the sidewalk, "thus forcing the unfortunate pedestrians into the mud-filled gutter." The state attorney general filed a suit to have them removed. In 1882, The Times reported on another lawsuit aimed at removing telegraph poles from West 21st Street.

In 1876, a Times reporter wrote: "One of the first surprises which greet the foreigner on landing in New York is the dense growth of telegraph poles which obstructs the streets."

But after 1900, telegraph poles were so common that this reporter found not one but two reports of men falling asleep on top of them. (In both stories, the men had been drinking.)

David Schley, a professor at Durham University in England who specializes in urban history, has been researching 19th-century New York for a project and noticed a lot of telegraph pole discourse. In the media, he said, "they used it as one of many analogues for the workings of power." For instance, he saw articles comment on how the volume of telegraph wires "became thicker as you approached Wall Street, because that's where all the wires are converging, and that's the financial hub of the city. That's the street that is connected to London and connected to places all around the world."

Schley also said there were discussions about connectivity that resemble the ones we have now. "A major storm hit New York in December of 1874," he said, "and The Times took this as an opportunity to reflect on the interconnectedness of modern life, writing, 'Before the invention of the railroad and telegraph life was much simpler than now, and each household was less dependent upon its communication with the external world.'"

Were those the good old days?

Tensions Over the Use of a Public Housing Playground

Efforts to bar nonresidents from the Wise Towers park upset its Upper West Side neighbors.

By MIHIR ZAVERI

At the new playground on the Upper West Side, children clamber over a rocket-shaped jungle gym, spin on a tire swing and splash and scream among water sprinklers.

It is hard to believe that the scene is anything other than New York City at its summer best. The playground, however, is at the center of a controversy over questions of race and privilege in one of Manhattan's affluent, liberal neighborhoods.

The turmoil was prompted by a simple question: Who should be allowed to play there?

The playground, which was recently reopened after an extensive makeover, is part of a 60-year-old public housing complex known as the Stephen Wise Towers and is nestled at street level between two tall apartment buildings.

People who think everyone should be allowed to play there want it to reflect what they believe the city should be known for: incredible diversity and a spirit of openness. But some residents of the housing development want the park, which is legally private property, to be exclusively for them and their children, and they resent others who take up the space.

The renovations, which included repairing a set of horse sculptures made in 1964 by the Italian modernist Costantino Nivola, had delighted both Wise residents and others living in a neighborhood of brownstones and luxury condos and apartments.

Now, those groups seem increasingly at odds. Some neighbors from the surrounding blocks have argued that the renovated playground should be open to all because the New York City Housing Authority — and the upkeep of its properties — is mostly funded by the public. But people who live at the development, who are mostly Black or Latino, say that white and wealthy outsiders are being disrespectful.

Sierra Byrd, who has lived in Wise Towers for 31 years, takes her grandchildren to the playground sometimes. She said nonresidents, who had avoided the development for years, had swamped the playground and stoked the conflict with the Wise Towers residents, even though residents pay rent to live in the complex.

"They play with their color," she said. "They don't play nice."

Building officials recently put up signs reading "No Trespassing" and "For Wise Towers Residents Only." Then the Trinity School, a nearby elite private school, announced that it would stop taking students to the playground for recess.

Residents on all sides complained to the local councilwoman, Gale Brewer, who has not appeared to take a side. She referred questions about the conflict to a letter she sent to the Housing Authority last month, in which she asked if the playground was "now restricted to Wise Towers residents and their guests."

NYCHA officials say that the law about the property is clear.

"NYCHA campuses are private property," said Michael Horgan, a spokesman for the agency.

Residents and visitors recounted stories of tense interactions between the two groups — including in situations where the visitors weren't white — that have exacerbated the conflict. One story described a time when a white parent pulled their child away from a Black child. Another story was about how people who visited the playground called the police on public housing residents. And in at least one episode, a dog was brought into the play area, scaring children.

People who live outside the development are also divided. In heated comments on social media, some neighbors said those who use the playground over residents' objections are acting entitled when they treat it as public space. They have noted that Central Park and Riverside Park are both about a quarter mile away.

Those who visit the playground defend themselves by saying that everyone benefits when children of different backgrounds play together.

"I don't know what's right," said Marian Goldberg, who does not live in the development but was sitting in the park on a recent afternoon watching her granddaughter play. Ms. Goldberg had walked in past the signs but thought it was OK since the playground seemed underused. "I feel very confused," she said.

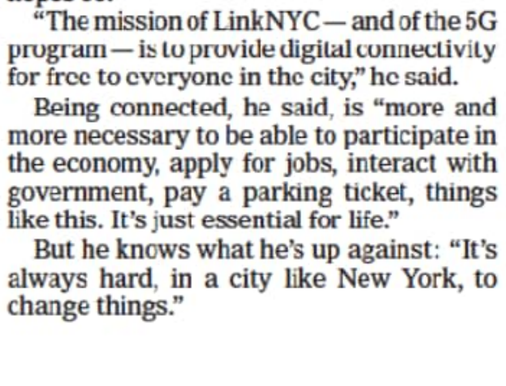
The Wise Towers, completed in 1965, take up a large city block between 90th and 91st Streets. Almost 750 people live there, according to the Housing Authority. Wise, like other public housing developments, fell into disrepair over the years.

In 2021, the development was shifted over to private management as part of a contentious plan, known as PACT, to finance repairs for public housing through a special pot of federal dollars.

The playground was landscaped and new







PHOTOGRAPHS BY SARA NADMI LEWKOWICZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Top, signs recently added to the Wise Towers park. Above, Lisa Mosley with her granddaughter Skylar; above right, Sierra Byrd and Odyssey McMillon, both Wise Towers residents, believe the playground should be for residents only.

An amenity that a development's residents would like to keep to themselves.

play equipment was added. The horse sculptures, many of which had chipped noses, were fixed.

The park's popularity exploded.

"It was just packed," Ms. Goldberg said. "But it did not look like it was the Wise Towers folks."

The park is separated from the street by a small, unlocked gate — anyone can walk in. Ms. Goldberg said she liked how the apartment buildings channeled the breeze and how the park felt spacious and safe.

She said she had been living nearby since the late 1990s. Before the upgrades, she said, the park was "raggedy." Now, she said, it is a "beautiful playground."

It is not clear if this type of situation — where throngs of nonresidents flock to a NYCHA property — has happened before. As more developments receive similar upgrades, particularly in more affluent areas, it could become something the agency has to deal with.

NYCHA is a public benefit corporation that is not technically part of the city or state government, though the mayor appoints all the members of its board. As a result, the agency has control over its land.

Mr. Horgan, the spokesman, said that the agency supported "Wise Towers' residents and their desire to restrict use of the space to residents of the development and the property managers' signage to notify nonresidents that the courtyard is not a public space."

Tom Corsillo, a spokesman for the PACT Renaissance Collaborative, which manages the building, said in a statement that the Wise Towers residents were "our top priority" and that "it has been a privilege to help make their homes, including their outdoor open space, a place they can be proud of."

Kevin Ramsey, a spokesman for Trinity School, said that the school would abide by the signs restricting access to the playground. He added that the school was "recommending that members of the Trinity community do the same."

On the recent afternoon, Ms. Byrd sat among a group of Wise Towers residents near the entrance of the playground, watching as people paused in front of the "no trespassing" signs affixed to the fence. Ms. Byrd or others from her group confronted a few people who walked in, asking if they lived in the development.

But mostly, the residents said they had started to avoid bringing their own children and grandchildren to the playground because it was too crowded.

Ana Delcroix, who lives near 86th Street and Columbus Avenue and brings her daughter to the playground, said she had been stopped by residents as she was walking in. She had told them she was meeting someone inside.

She said New York City, in particular, should be a place where people of different backgrounds and cultures mixed.

"That's what we're known for," she said. "We are not exclusive— 'This is ours, this is yours.'"

Ms. Delcroix stood next to Lisa Mosley, whose 8-year-old granddaughter attends the same school as Ms. Delcroix's daughter. Ms. Mosley does not live in Wise, but uses a housing voucher to help pay her rent. She said that "kids come from all over" to play at the playground, and that it shouldn't be restricted.

Shein Little, 39, and Shona Hairston, 35, a couple, agreed. They live in a nearby public housing development, the De Hostos Apartments, and had brought their children to the park on a recent Saturday.

Mr. Little said that if the playground were on a private development, "it would be locked up." But he said he thought it should be a "public place."

"The sign says what it says," he said. "But it's not a private park."

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PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANNA WATTS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

She's Holding the Talking Stick Now

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

nism with local, state and federal government officials.

Ms. Goree likened her election to "a changing of the guard" in how the Shinnecocks approach relations on and off the reservation.

"Women are nurturing and maybe more sensitive to people's issues," she said, "so maybe there's a different way of going about how to handle things and be more responsive."

She takes over at a pivotal moment for the Shinnecocks, who are busy with several projects meant to generate much-needed revenue, including a contentious bid to build a travel plaza with a large gas station.

Mere blocks away from sprawling mansions swarming with work crews primping them for summer, the Shinnecock reservation is a rural, unassuming 1.5-square-mile mix of modest houses and ramshackle trailers. The tribe has a median household income far below that of the wealthy neighboring Hamptons towns.

Roughly half of the tribe's 1,600 members live on the reservation, Ms. Goree said, where basic infrastructure concerns include raising money to upgrade the powwow grounds in time for an annual Labor Day event, the source of one of the tribe's biggest income infusions of the year.

The glaring inequity between the reservation and the surrounding areas has figured in the tribe's often-adversarial relationship with the Town of Southampton, but Ms. Goree said she had a built-in advantage in dealing with town officials: She is one.

For more than a decade, she has served as town assessor, an appointed position that oversees the valuation of property for taxation purposes. She said she is the first Shinnecock chair to also serve as a Southampton official.

Ms. Goree said she was one of five girls raised by a single mother on the reservation before moving to nearby Riverhead at age 10. She returned in 1990 to live in a house built by her husband, Kristin Goree, a carpenter who helps maintain several reservation buildings and does private contracting work on homes there.

Two of their three daughters also work for Southampton. The youngest, Kesi Goree, became the first female Native American member of the town police force.

As Shinnecock Nation chairwoman, Ms. Goree also oversees daily tribal operations and land issues, business and economic matters; presides over leadership and public meetings; and casts a deciding vote on deadlocked tribal council decisions.

"Having a woman as the face of our nation for the first time since 1792 is remarkable," said Bryan Polite, the tribe's previous chairman. Mr. Polite had a year left on his two-year term when he stepped down in April, citing exhaustion from the demands of the position.

"She comes with the connections and knowledge of the town government and knows all the players, so having a foot in both worlds is a real asset," he added.

Southampton's town supervisor, Maria Moore, who was elected in November, said she had already met with Ms. Goree and was "looking forward to working with her to further a relationship of mutual trust and respect between the town and the tribe."

Ms. Goree said her role with the town could prove useful in navigating land-use issues, whether shepherding tribal projects on their own property, or monitoring development by others on nontribal land that might disturb Shinnecock burial grounds. The job also provides a unique view of the wealth gap between the tribe and its neighbors.

As assessor, her purview of more than 50,000 parcels includes some of the highest-priced homes in the United States, including in Sagaponack, a village with a median home sale price of well above $5 million.







Top, a classroom at the Shinnecock reservation preschool. Clockwise from above: Lisa Goree, the newly elected chairwoman of the Shinnecock Indian Nation, with a talking stick used in tribal meetings; a wall being painted by children at the local Boys & Girls Club; a smoke shop operated by the tribe along Montauk Highway.

On the reservation, tribal members pay no property taxes because it is sovereign land. When they turn 21, members are eligible for a free land allotment to build on, but financing a house can be difficult: Banks will not offer mortgages because the land cannot be resold.

"Southampton has a $76.7 billion tax base, and we're here trying to come up with $70,000 for our weekly payroll," Ms. Goree said.

The tribe has roughly 80 full-time employees to deal with matters like maintenance, housing, security, child and health care, and financial affairs, she said. The wealth gap has long been cited by the tribe partly as a historical consequence of centuries of losing its land over the nearly four centuries since English settlers first arrived in 1640. A 2005 land claim the tribe filed to regain roughly 3,600 acres near its current reservation was dismissed on appeal in federal court in 2016.

Ms. Goree called it "quite ironic" that she is responsible for providing valuations for land that she described as being "stolen by false agreements" with the Shinnecocks. Some of the most valuable parcels date to founding families who "negotiated" leases with tribal representatives in the late 1600s, she said, "and now it's come full circle because they contact me if they feel their assessment is too high."

The tribe has undertaken several contentious projects on a nearby 100-acre parcel known as Westwoods. It is in a legal battle with state officials over its 2019 construction, despite local and state opposition, of two digital billboards along Route 27 leading into the Hamptons.

'Having a foot in both worlds is a real asset,' the Shinnecock leader's predecessor says.

The Shinnecocks have been blocked in the past from opening a casino on the Westwoods parcel, and the tribe's current plan for a gas station and eventually a hotel complex there has already drawn scrutiny from neighbors and government officials.

Gail Murcott, whose Hampton Bays house abuts the Westwoods property, heads a local homeowners group that supports the tribe's right to profitable projects as a financial lifeline but disputes its ownership of the parcel and has pressed the town to take legal action to claim it.

Ms. Murcott said the tribe had acted unneighborly by not consulting town officials or local homeowners before abruptly clearing Westwoods land in February for the gas station project. She said she hoped Ms. Goree would be less "in your face" than previous leaders and more considerate of the homeowners.

"She's obviously a smart woman," Ms. Murcott said, "and hopefully this is something where cooler heads will prevail, just like if the world had more women in charge, we probably wouldn't have as many wars."

Ms. Goree said: "No matter what we do, we always face challenges and roadblocks. Someone is always trying to stop us."

That has been a familiar tribal refrain over decades of failed attempts to open a casino. After many unsuccessful plans at more lucrative locations elsewhere, the tribe, under the previous administration, settled for a scaled-back version built as of right on the reservation.

But that plan also encountered opposition and is on hold. Ms. Goree hopes the tribe can find a better plan and location.

"The casino on the reservation was not ideal," she said. "We don't want it to upset our living conditions here right now."

That Ms. Goree is in a position to navigate such problems on behalf of the Shinnecock Nation is notable.

After the tribal leadership restructuring in 1792, female members remained influential as matriarchs of large families and by running some tribal programs. But they were denied formal input on governing and gained the right to vote on tribal issues only in 1994. Before then, "we couldn't even talk at some meetings; we weren't even part of the discussion," Ms. Goree said.

Natahne Dennis, 39, a female tribal member, said, "Having come from a point in our history when women had no voting rights and now having a chairwoman, it's a very big milestone."

In the past decade, several women have served on the seven-member council of trustees that leads the tribe and includes the chair position. Ms. Goree is one of three female members.

Among her other goals is heading off what has become a recurring dispute with the Shinnecock Hills Golf Club, where the U.S. Open will be held in 2026 for the sixth time since 1896. The event inevitably sets off controversy with the tribe, which says it once owned the land the club now occupies and maintained burial mounds there.

To avoid the usual bitter standoffs once the tournament approaches, Ms. Goree said she had begun talking with club officials. That aligns with her broader plans to organize regular informational meetings between tribal and nearby town leaders, "just so it's not always us versus them."

"Maybe it's time," she said, "to try a new way."

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Metropolitan Diary



ILLUSTRATIONS BY AGNES LEE



Windy Day

DEAR DIARY:

I recently spent an hour with a man I had just met and will probably never see again.

It was windy, and we walked from the West Village to the Whitney Museum. I asked him if he liked Edward Hopper. Of course he did.

Before he caught his flight, we had time to see the Whitney's seventh floor, and then we walked to the A train at 14th Street, where we said goodbye.

I happened to be passing by that spot today, and touched the 14th Street subway sign for luck, or something.

I looked up and saw it was right next to the Museum of Illusions.

ALICE WALKER

Chess in Bryant Park

DEAR DIARY:

On a day less wet
I was inclined to finance a
  rematch
I felt good
Pieces landed on proper squares
I felt good
Giving my combatant reason to
  pause
But in the end, I was going up
  against
A champion
A legend
I was going up against
Moses
A man who when asked
When is the last time you've lost
Smiled kindness
While softly saying
It's been awhile
I can't quite remember

DANNY KLECKO



Observations for this column may be sent to Metropolitan Diary at diary@nytimes.com or to The New York Times, 620 Eighth Avenue, New York, N.Y., 10018. Please include your name, mailing address and daytime telephone number. Submissions become the property of The Times and cannot be returned. They may be edited, and may be republished and adapted in all media.

Stuck

DEAR DIARY:

I was leaving a friend's apartment in Midtown when the elevator got stuck.

The lights shut off. So did the air conditioning. We were stalled on the 17th floor.

There was a man in the elevator with me. As soon as we came to a halt, he turned to me with a serious expression and a calm demeanor. "It's best not to panic in these situations," he said. "They will pass."

A minute went by, and my breathing intensified. Claustrophobia was beginning to set in. My mind raced.

Again, the man spoke to me gently.

"We'll be down in no time," he said. "I'm sure."

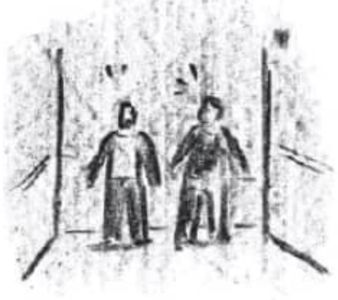
Another excruciating minute went by. The summer heat continued to rise in the tiny elevator.

Finally, the lights shot back on and so did the air-conditioning. The elevator descended to the ground floor.

The man let out a yelp of relief and cursed gleefully. He placed a trembling hand on my shoulder.

"See?" he said. "You did it."

SAMUEL WILLINGER



Coney Island in Winter

DEAR DIARY:

If I had a few bucks and the weather wasn't terrible, I would bundle up and take the subway from Bay Ridge to Coney Island.

Truthfully, this was about all I could manage. I was 17, and my mother had just died. Soon, I would be on my own.

At some point along the way, the train exited the tunnel's darkness into dazzling daylight. Then on to Coney Island and Stillwell Avenue, the end of the line.

Downstairs, Philip's Candy was my source for chocolate licorice. The windows were darkened with dust from the station above.

Across the street was the Cyclone. According to a childhood legend: "Once kids were playing with the controls in the first car, and the coaster left the track and got chopped up in the Wonder Wheel!"

To the right was the original Nathan's. They had crinkle cut French fries and hot dogs with snap. My mom once bought a crinkle cut potato slicer to make us fries like the ones at Nathan's.

To the left was Eldorado Auto Skooter: bumper cars with disco lighting and a body-slamming sound system. Possibly the greatest invention of all time.

Further down was the carousel. Majestic and fast moving, a menagerie of surging, vivid animals amid a harrumphing organ with castanets and cymbals. It was operated by the world's saddest-looking man.

On the boardwalk, if the sun was shining, people of every stripe would be out and about. Some were ancient residents, their skin like leather from years baking in the sun.

Coney Island is best in winter, when it's in quiet repose. It's soulful and shabby and old. And timeless like those residents in their sun-blasted skin.

It was all there for me.

VINCENT BARKLEY



Unfurnished

DEAR DIARY:

I had just moved to New York City from Los Angeles in June 1981 and had a studio on 106th Street and West End Avenue. It came with no furniture, dishes, pots or pans — nothing.

I was to start a teaching job in the fall but unemployed until then. I found a matching comforter-pillow-curtain set at Macy's that fit my budget.

A few days later, on a weekend trip to the Lower East Side, I found the exact set for half the price. So of course I bought it and returned the other set to Macy's.

A month went by, and the charge was still on my account. I made several calls to arrange the credit. Two months went by, and the credit still had not showed up. More calls.

When the third month came, my account was credited twice. I took the bills, the receipt and everything else I had connected to the purchase to Macy's in person to try to straighten things out. When I got there, I explained the entire situation to clerk.

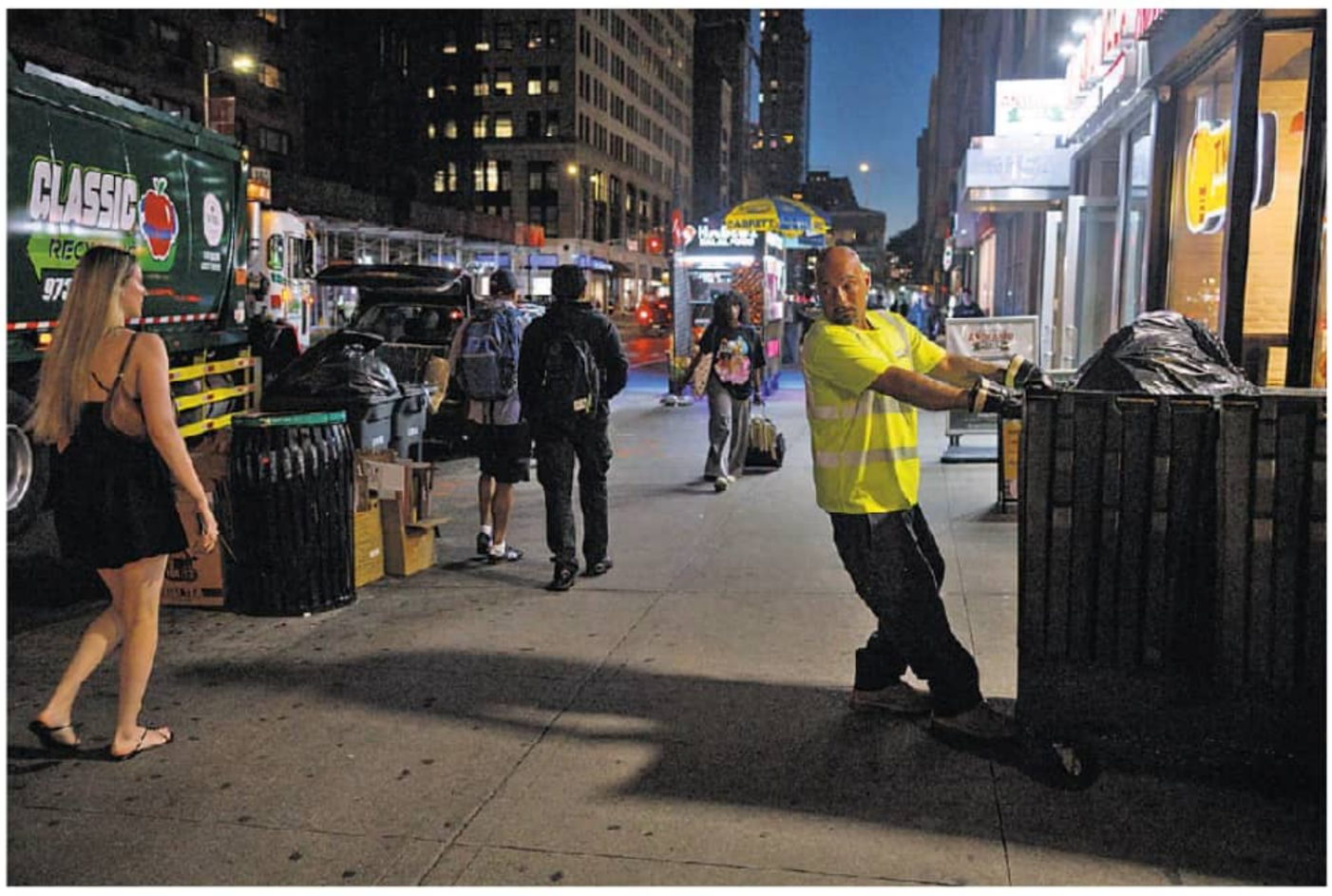
He looked at me like I was from another planet.

"Lady," he said, "buy a dress."

MARLA JACOBSON



A Morality Tale Unfolds at a Corner Cafe in the Village





PHOTOGRAPHS BY BENJAMIN NORMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Carefully Planned Route

The hours before dawn belong to the trash collectors, chugging uptown, downtown, crosstown. Angelo Cruz, 49, had been driving his Classic Recycling truck for 12 years and had pieced together his sprawling route like a puzzle.

The trick, he'd learned, was to save Greenwich Village for last. On paper, it made sense to visit that area earlier. But his trash pickups were at bars and clubs that stayed open late, and he would just have to return after they closed anyway.

Timing was everything. Toward his shift's end, he was in a hurry to get home across the river, outside of Newark. His reason was a year old: a boy named Xavier but referred to by his father as "Little Man" or "God's gift."

Mr. Cruz already had a son who was 30 and another who was 27, and he and his wife hadn't seen Xavier coming. He loved his time with the child, but man, he needed to sleep. If he got home early enough, the boy would be at day care, and the house would be quiet.

Shortly after 5 a.m. that Friday, he stopped his truck outside the world-famous Comedy Cellar on Macdougal Street, darkened now. He tossed the heavy bags into the back of his truck, which crushed them to make more space.

On any given night, he collects about 17 tons of trash. But there was always a slight risk that certain kinds of discarded batteries could explode under that pressure, and so his truck was equipped with two fire extinguishers, one household size, one bigger.



Top, Angelo Cruz, who is an employee of a New Jersey recycling company, at work in Manhattan. Above, Mr. Cruz at home with his son Xavier. Top right, the Spring Cafe Aspen in Greenwich Village, which a person set on fire last month; Mr. Cruz extinguished the blaze.

He left Comedy Cellar and turned right on West Fourth Street. Up ahead on the right, on the corner of Mercer, there was this strange, bright glow on the sidewalk and the awning above.

A Block He Helped Build

In the video, the fire grows. Melted chunks of awning drip to the sidewalk like glowing rain.

Ms. Rudin's father, Anthony Leichter, 86, had helped build up this block in the 1970s, when it was all light manufacturing and this corner of the Village was practically deserted. One store on the block sold appliances for fireplaces. Others sold thermometers, or sewing machines.

When bankers from uptown wanted to inspect the building before giving him a mortgage, he escorted them, avoiding Broadway and its vacant storefronts and homeless people.

Mr. Leichter had overseen the merging of nine buildings on the block into one, by opening up the interiors and creating connecting hallways and a main lobby. It was a colossal job. He moved into one of the new apartments upstairs, and he and his wife were married by a rabbi inside.

Then Sabrina was born in the 1980s. When she was a little girl, she would ride around inside on roller skates. She loved to look out through a window at the Empire State Building.

The family left the city in the early 1990s, when Sabrina, the only child, was 6 or 7. New York was in the grip of its record-setting peak for murders, approaching or surpassing 2,000 killings a year for six years. The Village felt removed from the center of the violence, but still. A young child gets you thinking.

They moved to Westchester County, to an old farmhouse. Mr. Leichter kept his ties to the city and commuted. Almost 15 years later, Sabrina moved back. Eventually, her parents returned, too.

Mr. Leichter could never have imagined it turning out this way, his daughter owning a cafe in this place that had once sold fireplace pokers.

Now he was watching the video on the phone. There was a sprinkler system inside the cafe, but it did not immediately detect the fire outside, even as flames caught on the awning above. The sprinklers did not engage.

A family with a 2-year-old child lived right above the cafe. On the screen, the fire climbs toward the second floor as another minute ticks by.

'I Know How That Feels'

Mr. Cruz drove toward the glow.

When he was 10 years old, living with his mother in Newark, their apartment was destroyed in a fire. They were driving home when it was happening. He remembers that feeling of realizing all these firefighters were running to his place.

He drew closer on West Fourth Street, and confirmed what he was seeing. And yet, silence. No sirens, no alarms.

"There's people living there," he said later. "I know how that feels."

Minutes later, a watchman from a nearby construction site would tell firefighters about a garbage truck and the driver jumping out with this big red fire extinguisher. The driver asked the watchman to call 911. Then he was gone again, like it was part of his regular job.

His last few stops in the Lower East Side were waiting. Fire or no fire.

By the time Ms. Rudin and her father awoke that morning and arrived at the scene, the fire was long out. Before the worst sort of damage — the "God forbid" damage.

Most businesses would have been closed for weeks. And some businesses' owners might have made plans to leave for good, as Ms. Rudin had threatened.

But Mr. Leichter still knew contractors. He would have his daughter's plate glass replaced in hours. It was as if they still lived upstairs and he was — one more time — fixing something precious for his little girl on roller skates.

Hours after the fire, Ms. Rudin knew she wasn't going anywhere. The restaurant would reopen the next day. Whatever mysterious figure had started the fire, someone else in this big, messy city had put it out.

By then, Mr. Cruz was long since done with his route and sound asleep as if it were any other day. His son would be home soon.*

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