"All the News That's Fit to Print"

# The New York Times

**THE WEATHER**
**Today**, hot, humid, a heavy afternoon storm, high 94. **Tonight**, a thunderstorm, low 73. **Tomorrow**, a morning storm, afternoon sun, high 84. Weather map is on Page B12.

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MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES




HIROKO MASUIKE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

**Convention Style**
Red, white and blue dominates the view. Follow Wednesday's developments at nytimes.com, where reporters will give live updates.

# *MENENDEZ GUILTY IN SCHEME TO SELL POLITICAL FAVORS*

## *First U.S. Senator Convicted of Acting as Foreign Agent — He Vows Appeal*

*This article is by Benjamin Weiser, Tracey Tully, Nicholas Fandos and Maria Cramer.*

Senator Robert Menendez of New Jersey, a powerful Democrat who once led the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, was convicted on Tuesday of participating in a vast international bribery scheme, in which prosecutors said he had accepted gold, cash and other payoffs worth hundreds of thousands of dollars in exchange for political favors abroad and at home.

A Manhattan jury returned the verdict after deliberating for about 13 hours over three days in Federal District Court. Mr. Menendez was found guilty on all 16 counts he faced, including bribery, honest services wire fraud, extortion, obstruction of justice, conspiracy and acting as an agent for Egypt.

The verdict made Mr. Menendez the first United States senator to be found guilty of acting as an agent of a foreign power and the seventh to be convicted of a federal crime while in office.

Mr. Menendez, 70, now faces the possibility of many years in prison when he is sentenced by the judge, Sidney H. Stein. Eight of the counts on which he was convicted carry potential 20-year sentences. The judge said he would sentence Mr. Menendez on Oct. 29.

The resounding verdict will almost certainly deliver a final blow to Mr. Menendez's storied four-decade political career and create intense pressure for him to leave office before his term expires at year's end. Senator Chuck Schumer, the New York Democrat and majority leader, said in a statement, "In light of this guilty verdict, Senator Menendez must now do what is right for his constituents, the Senate and our country, and resign."

Mr. Menendez had resisted calls to step down before his trial, but he could now face a rare expulsion vote by his Senate colleagues if he does not leave voluntarily. If the seat is vacated, Gov. Philip D.

Continued on Page A19



ADAM GRAY/GETTY IMAGES

Senator Robert Menendez of New Jersey could face prison.

# *Contradictions Cloud Inquiry Into Shooting*

*This article is by Zolan Kanno-Youngs, Eileen Sullivan and Campbell Robertson.*

BUTLER, Pa. — While a gunman was climbing onto the roof of a warehouse less than 500 feet from where former President Donald J. Trump was speaking on Saturday, three law enforcement snipers were positioned inside the same complex of buildings, looking for anything amiss in the crowd.

The director of the Secret Service said the local forces were in the same building, an account suggesting that the gunman was essentially on top of them. A local law enforcement official told The New York Times on Tuesday that was not the case, and that the local officers were in an adjacent building.

The discrepancy in their accounts is just one unsettled element in the effort to determine how security broke down and allowed a 20-year-old with a semiautomatic rifle to open fire in a rapid barrage that left Mr. Trump hurt, one man dead and two other people at the rally gravely wounded.

That this simple matter — whether law enforcement used the same building as the gunman — is still not easily resolved three days after the shooting shows that divisions are emerging among the law enforcement agencies after a would-be assassin came close to felling the Republican presidential nominee two days before the party's convention.

The Secret Service director, Kimberly A. Cheatle, set off the back and forth in an interview with ABC News on Tuesday morning, her first public appearance since the assassination attempt. She said that local officers were inside the building used by the gunman, Thomas Matthew Crooks, 20, of Bethel Park, Pa., on Saturday evening. If so, that meant the gunman could have scaled a building even as snipers

Continued on Page A14

### Threat Against Trump

U.S. intelligence agencies detected a potential Iranian plot to kill the former president before Saturday's shooting. Page A13.

# Bullet's Graze Seen as Sign of 'God's Protection'

## Survival From Gunfire Lifts Trump's Status for His Followers

*This article is by Michael C. Bender, Andrew Trunsky and Neil Vigdor.*

MILWAUKEE — For Donald J. Trump's most devoted supporters, the bullet that nicked his ear and came within inches of ending his life was only further proof that a higher power is looking out for him.

"I don't see this as luck," said the Rev. Nathaniel Thomas, a Republican National Convention delegate and a pastor from the Washington, D.C., area. "I see this as God's protection."

After he spent decades pursuing riches, fame and power, Mr. Trump's life has been far from pious. Yet he has drawn a committed core of followers — many in Milwaukee this week for his nominating convention — who view him as handpicked by God for a second term in the White House.

These supporters are less likely to explicitly compare him to Jesus and instead view him as the latest example of a morally flawed Old Testament hero, like Cyrus or David, who was ordained by the heavens to lead profound missions of good versus evil. Their passion for Mr. Trump has long transcended slogans on faded rally T-shirts or political bumper stickers, but now, it appears to be reaching new heights after the assassination attempt on Saturday.

"Something's got to be at play," said Michael Thompson, the Republican chairman in Lee County, Fla., while looking toward the sky as if to invoke the heavens. "I don't think the average person could withstand a tenth of what he has gone through. So yeah, I think he's probably chosen at the right time in our country's history."

Sue Means, 73, a delegate from

Continued on Page A14



TYLER HICKS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Parliament's dysfunction has dented government credibility as Ukraine tries to reset its war effort.

# *War and Disarray Erode Ukraine's Parliament*

## *Key Votes From Former Pro-Russia Faction*

By ANDREW E. KRAMER

KYIV, Ukraine — Ukraine's Parliament is in a state of disarray.

Under martial law, with the country at war, no elections are possible to replace members who switched jobs, joined the army, fled the country or quit. The Parliament regularly gathers with more than 10 percent of its lawmakers absent.

Though legally obliged to attend hearings when summoned, ministers sometimes do not show up, without repercussions.

President Volodymyr Zelensky's party, once a political juggernaut, has in effect lost its majority by unraveling into factions. To pass crucial bills, it is forced to rely on support from lawmakers who belonged to a now-banned pro-Russian party.

The overall picture, said Volodymyr Fesenko, a Ukrainian political analyst, is of a Parliament sidelined during the war and slipping from its once powerful role in Ukrainian democracy.

"In a state of martial law, with our centralization of state management and the end of public politics, Parliament lost its influence," Mr. Fesenko said.

Continued on Page A8

# *Biden's Own Circle Is Shrinking As Anxiety in the Party Expands*

*This article is by Katie Rogers, Lisa Lerer, Reid J. Epstein and Maggie Haberman.*

WASHINGTON — In the nearly three weeks since President Biden took the debate stage in Atlanta and plunged his re-election campaign into chaos, his closest consultations have been not with his White House chief of staff, his top communications strategist or even with the leader of his campaign.

Instead, he is relying on members of his family — a tight-knit clan that includes his son, Hunter, and the first lady, Jill Biden — along with a tiny group of loyalists to steer him through a self-created crisis and quell a rising rebellion against his candidacy from within his own party.

Mr. Biden has not consulted directly with the pollsters on his 500-person campaign team about the state of the race against Donald J. Trump, but has instead relied on Mike Donilon, a longtime friend, former pollster and Biden campaign messaging guru, to summarize the numbers, with regular memos and numerous daily phone calls.

The ever-buzzing phone of Steve Ricchetti, a close counselor to Mr. Biden since his vice presidency, is the main conduit between concerned lawmakers and the president.

Mr. Biden speaks frequently to his son, Hunter Biden, who calls and texts the president and first lady multiple times a day to see how they are coping with the onslaught of scrutiny surrounding

Continued on Page A17

**WARNING** Adam B. Schiff said the G.O.P. would win the Senate if the president didn't bow out. PAGE A15

# Tough Laws Have Not Relieved The Distress at Nursing Homes

By JORDAN RAU

For hours, John A. Pernorio repeatedly mashed the call button at his bedside in the Heritage Hills nursing home in Rhode Island. A retired truck driver, he had injured his spine in a fall on the job decades earlier and could no longer walk. The antibiotics he was taking made him need to go to the bathroom frequently. But he could only get there if someone helped him into his wheelchair.

By the time an aide finally responded, he'd been lying in soiled briefs for hours, he said. It happened time and again.

"It was degrading," said Mr. Pernorio, 79. "I spent 21 hours a day in bed."

Payroll records show that during his stay at Heritage Hills, daily aide staffing levels were 25 percent below the minimums under state law. The nursing home said it provided high-quality care to all residents. Regardless, it wasn't in trouble with the state, because Rhode Island does not enforce its staffing rule.

An acute shortage of nurses and aides in the nation's nearly 15,000 nursing homes is at the root of many of the most disturbing shortfalls in care for the 1.2 million Americans who live in them, including many of the nation's frailest old people.

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**South Korea's Kimchi Masters**
Experts share secrets about this foundational dish. Above, Yun Mi-wol, who makes whole cabbage kimchi. PAGE D8

**A New Course of Action**
Pete Wells is moving on from his role as The Times's restaurant critic, which may be a too fulfilling job. PAGE D1

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**Gazans Say Shelter Is Hit**
Two Israeli strikes killed more than 20 people, including at a former U.N. school housing displaced people, according to local health officials. PAGE A6

**Blunt Talk vs. China's Backlash**
Beijing is putting pressure on Taiwan's president, whose rhetoric has been sharper than his predecessor's. PAGE A9

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**Ambitious Plan for Court**
President Biden is considering proposals that would impose term limits and a code of ethics on the justices. PAGE A16



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**A Hype Man for Water Polo**
Flavor Flav, a rapper who knows gold records, is helping the U.S. women's team as it tries to make history. PAGE B6

**Leaving on His Own Terms**
By stepping down so soon after losing the Euro 2024 final, England's Gareth Southgate got the last word. PAGE B8

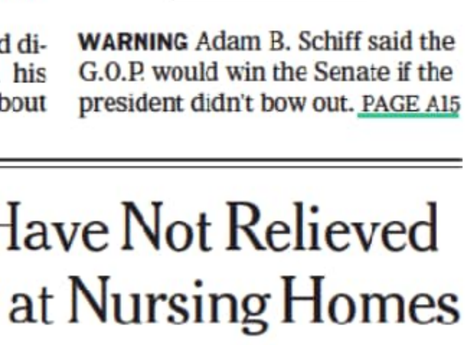
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Rental car firms are cutting back on adding electric cars to their fleets after they lost value more quickly than expected, affecting the companies' revenue from reselling used stock. PAGE B1

**Joy of Meeting the Deductible**
Some of those grappling with high health care costs are finding ways to celebrate that small win with full-fledged parties filled with cake, relief and a sense of community. PAGE B1

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**Michelle Goldberg** PAGE A20



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**Lifting Voices for Eric Garner**
An opera at Lincoln Center honors the man who was a victim of police violence in 2014. Neema Bickersteth, above, plays Garner's daughter. PAGE C1

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# Inside The Times

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## The Newspaper and Beyond

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**VIDEO**

For the Speaking in Dance column, a trio of dancers performed an excerpt from Pam Tanowitz's work "Day for Night." Watch their rhythmic pony step at *nytimes.com/dance.*

**AUDIO**

The idea that President Biden should drop his re-election bid has gained significant traction. On "The Ezra Klein Show," a Times Opinion podcast, the Opinion columnist Jamelle Bouie discussed the risks of an open Democratic convention. *nytimes.com/ezra-klein-show*

**SHOPPING**

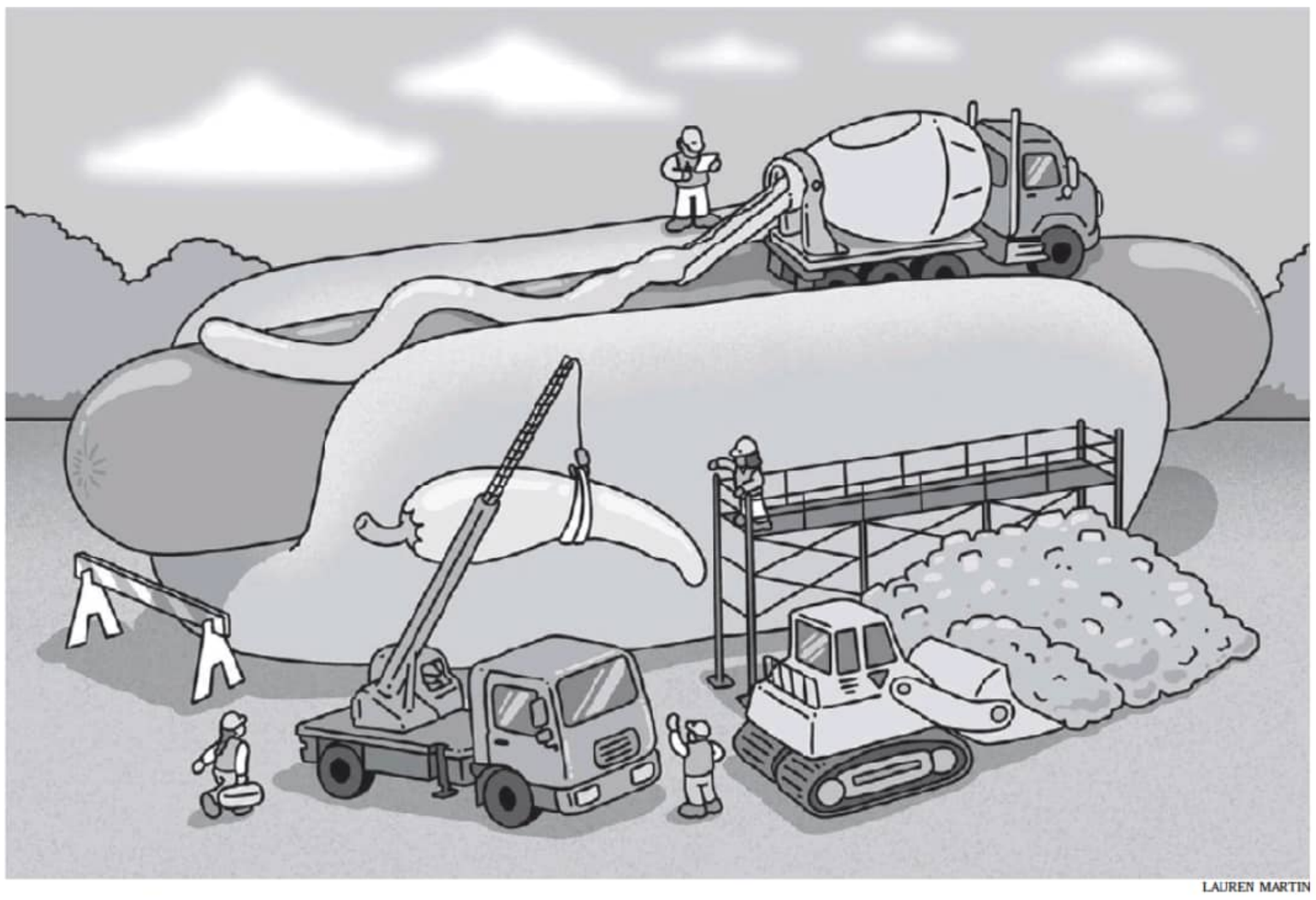
Amazon's annual Prime Day event is happening now. Find a roundup of the best deals according to the editors at Wirecutter, a product recommendation site owned by The New York Times Company, at *nytimes.com/wirecutter.*

## Quote of the Day

"I mean, he turned his head right when the bullet went past him."

**SUE MEANS**, *of Bethel Park, Pa., who seemed to see divine intervention in Donald J. Trump's recent brush with death. Many followers see him as handpicked by God, and that quasi-religious devotion and rhetoric has only increased.* *Page A1.*

## The Story Behind the Story



LAUREN MARTIN

# Who Needs a Recipe to Grill a Hot Dog, Anyway?

**By ALI SLAGLE**
*Ali Slagle is a recipe developer and regular contributor to NYT Cooking who specializes in low-effort, high-reward recipes.*

You might not need a recipe to grill a hot dog, make a slice of cinnamon toast or whip up a bacon, egg and cheese sandwich. A recipe might just get in the way. It's simple food — why complicate it?

Then there's also a chance that no recipe could improve upon how you or your mom prepares it.

I agree with all of these opinions, and at the same time, I have also created recipes for these classic dishes for New York Times Cooking.

My goal as a recipe developer is to share the ineffable wonders that come from cooking. My original creations — and my versions of standard recipes — help home cooks make food, fast and with feeling. Cinnamon toast in bed. A hot dog in the summer sunshine. A bacon, egg and cheese to cure all ails.

For example, when made a certain way, a hot dog isn't *just* a hot dog. Sure, it's one of the most consumer-friendly comestibles around. But biting into a really good hot dog conjures a feeling — and memories. When its outside snaps, revealing a rush of spiced, salty and fatty juices, my mind zooms to images of the beach, a ballgame, a park, grassy toes, salty chips, cold drinks, sunglasses sliding down my nose.

With my recent article on tricks to grilling better hot dogs, I wanted to help bring those good vibes to anyone, anywhere, who is sizzling up a sausage during a summer cookout. So I turned to the internet and cookbooks to learn how people prepare hot dogs. Then, I bought over 10 brands of hot dogs and set up a series of tests.

The goal was to make hot dogs, including poultry and veggie dogs, with crisp outsides and juicy insides. I also wanted the final recipe to be achievable with minimal setup, so that the dish could be executed at a beach, park, campsite or backyard. If a knife or skewer was required, the final product really had to be worth it.

I weighed the hot dogs before and after grilling them to assess moisture and fat loss. I sliced some to resemble ringlets and pine cones, and slashed others like an open book. Then I cooked them on gas, charcoal and campfire grills. Successful methods moved to the next round of testing, and problematic ones were replaced with new techniques. Grill marks were sacrificed in favor of fully browned dogs that didn't roll around. (Good dog!)

After grilling and tasting at least 40 dogs (with and without buns and toppings), I found that one method repeatedly delivered the intended results.

You can bet I grilled lots of them over a campfire in Rhode Island on the Fourth of July.

The more commonplace the dish, the more I want to explore its many versions and learn how to make an excellent one. For example, bacon, egg and cheeses, better known as BECs, fuel New York City. Something special happens on the griddles at corner bodegas, so it feels nearly impossible to replicate BECs at home. How do you recreate bacon that was warmed ahead of time, and then set aside to harden just right? That residual onion flavor from the griddle? A bodega cook has made thousands of BECs — and it's now up to you to make just one, maybe your first one.

To do the sandwich justice, and make the task feasible for home cooks, my challenge was to mimic elements of the BEC experience that don't exist in a home kitchen, and to consider the innumerable ways to make one. As Nikita Richardson, an editor for the Food section, once wrote, "there is no single bacon, egg and cheese to rule them all."

I posted a poll on Times Cooking's Instagram and TikTok accounts to get a sense of the prevailing bread, egg, cheese and condiment picks. I scoured TikTok videos and Yelp photos to see how the pros griddle up their sandwiches. Then I visited my test kitchen (otherwise known as my home kitchen), with a notebook filled with questions and methods in hand.

My recipe-developing process always includes lots of questions, but the paths to answers rarely repeat. Scheming an Italian Hero Sandwich, piled high with cured meats, cheese and punchy condiments, required drawing assembly diagrams. For Chili Mac, I consulted ingredient lists of M.R.E.s, shelf-stable pouches of food created for the United States military. And Cinnamon Toast took me from children's books to the science of sugar and the history of French toast, and through many bags of sliced bread (and English muffins, and burger buns).

It's always nerve-racking to publish recipes for dishes that are so dear to so many, because no one makes anything the exact same way, or how Mom makes it. (Friendly debate is welcome.) But what outweighs the fear is the possibility that the dish might find a new fan.

What I would do to get another first bite of cinnamon toast . . .

## Today's Top Trending Headlines

**A Bandaged Trump Shows a Glimpse of Vulnerability** Former President Donald J. Trump made his first public appearance since being shot on Saturday, walking slowly into the Republican National Convention in Milwaukee as the crowd applauded and cheered him. Mr. Trump, who often mocks other people for showing weakness, wore a bandage covering his right ear, and appeared to choke up and looked overwhelmed by the reception, wrote Shawn McCreesh.

**I Put Up a Fence in Maine. Why Did It Cause Such a Fuss?** In Maine, where change is not always welcome, Heidi Julavits and her husband built a fence around their property after a driver plowed an S.U.V. through their hedge and onto their lawn. In spite of the "live and let live" attitude of the state, most of her neighbors had an opinion about the addition, and many were not hesitant to tell her.

**Who Is Usha Vance, the Wife of J. D. Vance?** J. D. Vance, Donald J. Trump's newly announced running mate, met his wife, Usha, when they were both at Yale Law School. The daughter of Indian immigrants, she grew up in a San Diego suburb and was a registered Democrat as of 2014. She worked at a law firm that describes its corporate culture as "radically progressive." Joseph Bernstein reported that she has "played a quiet but significant role in her husband's rise."

**Why Everything Bagel Seasoning Was Banned in South Korea** Trader Joe's Everything but The Bagel seasoning mix — a blend of garlic, onion and poppy seeds — has gained a cult following, but don't try taking it into South Korea. Foods containing poppy seeds are considered contraband there, even as the store's brand popularity in the region has skyrocketed, Eve Sampson reported.

## A Headline From History

### IRAQ FREES 2 AMERICANS AFTER 4 MONTHS

**July 17, 1995.** President Saddam Hussein of Iraq released two Americans who had been imprisoned for four months after illegally entering the country, The Times reported the next day. William Barloon, 39, and David Daliberti, 42, worked for American aircraft maintenance companies in Kuwait, and said they had made an innocent wrong turn across the Iraq border while on their way to visit a friend at a United Nations outpost in northern Kuwait. Iraqi officials sentenced them to eight years for illegal entry and accused them of being spies. Representative Bill Richardson, a New Mexico Democrat, who The Times said had "adopted the role of globe-trotting troubleshooter," had appealed to Mr. Hussein in a meeting that morning to free the men on humanitarian grounds. Secretary of State Warren Christopher said that Iraq was promised nothing in return.

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## Facts of Interest

Some 80 temporary restaurants are being set up in Paris and other locales around France where Summer Olympics competitions will be staged. They will serve an average of 30,000 diners a day.

*French Cuisine, With a Side Of the Games* D7

In 2023, pollsters from the University of Houston's Hobby School of Public Affairs asked Houston residents whether they had considered leaving the city. More than half said yes, with about a quarter saying it was because of the weather.

*'I'm Just Done': Some in Houston Weigh Leaving After Beryl* A10

With an art budget of $22 million, John F. Kennedy International Airport's new Terminal 6 in Queens, scheduled to open in 2026, will host installations by 18 contemporary artists from seven countries.

*High-Flying Artists For a Kennedy Airport Terminal* C6

Last year, more than 4 percent of the cars sold by manufacturers to rental companies were electric. So far this year, that number is just 1.1 percent.

*Rental Agencies Are Rethinking Electric Vehicles After Disastrous Resales* B1

Floods are not unusual in South Asia. Every year, the monsoon season, which usually begins in June and lasts until September, brings rains that are crucial for farmers in India and other South Asian countries.

*Flooding Kills Dozens Across South Asia As Monsoon Patterns Shift* A9

At the 2024 Paris Games, the U.S. women's water polo team is seeking a fourth consecutive Olympic gold medal, a feat that has not been accomplished by any water polo team, men's or women's.

*U.S. Adds a Hype Man Who Knows Gold Records* B6

## The Mini Crossword



7/17/2024 BY TRACY BENNETT EDITED BY SAM EZERSKY

**ACROSS**

1 Petty coat?
4 Do penance
7 Gave in under pressure
8 Song played during the opening credits
9 ___ Swanson, Nick Offerman's role on "Parks and Recreation"

**DOWN**

1 "As a matter of ___ ..."
2 Home of Brigham Young University
3 Apt name for a dog who loves to run free
5 Pixar's title clownfish
6 Biblical garden

**ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE**

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| C | R | A | S | H |
| L | I | T | H | E |
| A | D | O | R | N |
| Y | E | M | E | N |
| | | S | K | Y |



DYLAN GLYNN

## Reader Corner

From the Comments Forum



ROY ROCHLIN/GETTY IMAGES FOR TRIBECA FILM FESTIVAL

**Dr. Ruth Westheimer's frank discussions about sex broke taboos and made her a celebrity.**

Last week brought the deaths of two icons of public health: Ruth Westheimer, the sex therapist known as Dr. Ruth, died at 96, and Richard Simmons, the fitness guru, at 76. Readers posted notes of gratitude to their obituaries. Here are a few edited tributes to Dr. Ruth, whose influence on social mores began in the 1980s and still resonates today. (Check this space tomorrow for eulogies for Mr. Simmons.)

Starting at age 10, I used to tune in to her program with my radio alarm clock, way past my bedtime. Her show was my secret. Her joyful and uninhibited nature was so inspiring and filled in for the lack of openness and conversation with my own mother.
— CHRISTINA MALLET, BERLIN

I was attending a medical conference about 10 years ago. One morning, I walked through the trade exhibit. Dr. Ruth was a guest at a booth, signing a book she had just written. I queued in line. In a minute or two, we chatted. I was impressed by her diminutive height, outsized personality and stunningly sunny optimism. She asked me who I'd like her to address the book inscription, and without hesitation, I asked her to sign it for my widowed mom. My 82-year-old mom was delighted to receive a personally autographed sex book from Dr. Ruth!
— JOEL TEICHMAN, VANCOUVER, CANADA

My friend in fifth grade told me about Dr. Ruth's radio show. We'd call each other on the phone, put the radio by our ears turned down low and giggle when we heard words that were considered "naughty." Dr. Ruth was the only woman in my life, then and now, who ever spoke of a woman having and enjoying pleasure. We need to loosen up, people. Dr. Ruth was a pioneer and an icon. She will be truly missed.
— KIMBERLY JONES, ANN ARBOR, MICH.

## Listen In

Excerpts From New York Times Audio

Alison Roman, a food writer, author and internet personality, joined a recent episode of the "Hard Fork" podcast to answer readers' etiquette questions related to technology. In this edited excerpt from her conversation with the hosts Kevin Roose and Casey Newton, Ms. Roman shared why simplicity is key in the kitchen.

**CASEY NEWTON:** There was a time when I was very interested in cooking things, and I would walk into a Sur La Table and see technology as far as the eye could see. I would think, If I could just have 14 of these gadgets, they would heal me and I would get good at cooking. I would love to hear your thoughts on cooking gadgets.

**ALISON ROMAN:** One thing that I feel pretty steadfast about is that when it comes to cooking, you need so much less than what the world has told you. If you look at most of the food cooked around the world — and some of the best food — it is cooked with one vessel and a fire and maybe a knife. That's all you really need. I find that anything that you plug in, while convenient, can also cause a detachment for you in the process. Cooking for me is a very soulful, human experience. I think that technology in the cooking space removes us from that. It makes us more like machines, more uniform and more soulless.

**KEVIN ROOSE:** I'm curious if you're a person who struggles with their screen time and makes interventions to get away from technology.

**ROMAN:** I will say that it used to be a lot worse. I used to have a real sickness, especially with things like Instagram and even Twitter. But the pleasure button stopped working so much. Not because metrics were down, it just didn't hit the same. It's not as fun. I came of age on Instagram. The way that you can be when no one is watching is very different from the way you should be when everyone is watching.

*Listen to "Hard Fork" at nytimes.com/hardfork.*

## Here to Help

How to Quit Vaping

Despite the popularity of vapes — more than 8 million Americans were e-cigarette users in 2018 — there is little established guidance to help people quit. But there are ways to give up vaping for good. Here are strategies experts recommend. **DANI BLUM**

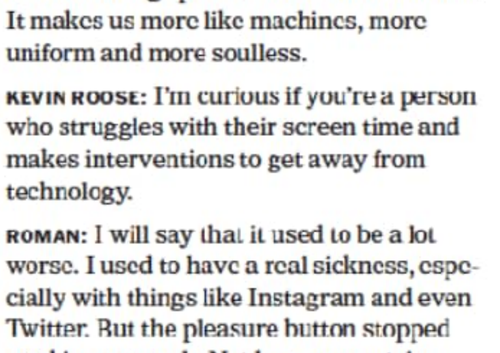
**Make a plan.** Part of planning to quit involves figuring out your triggers: what motivates you to vape, and what people or settings you need to avoid as you wean yourself off the nicotine.

"The more you understand yourself, the more you can prepare," said Dr. Panagis Galiatsatos, director of the Tobacco Treatment Clinic at Johns Hopkins Medicine.

Some people choose to quit cold turkey, but others might have more success if they gradually reduce how much they vape over several weeks. It can help to set a quit date, or a deadline to fully give up vaping.

**Brace for withdrawal.** Those who are dependent on nicotine may experience withdrawal symptoms when they quit, including anxiety, nausea and shakiness, said Suchitra Krishnan-Sarin, a psychiatry professor at the Yale University School of Medicine.

These symptoms are typically most intense in the first three days and then fade. Keeping water, gum and snacks on hand can help ease the oral fixation people experience when they feel the need to vape.



JUSTIN J WEE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**Get help.** While there are no medications specifically approved to help people stop vaping, some people may benefit from treatments for quitting smoking, Dr. Galiatsatos said. There are anti-smoking drugs without nicotine authorized by the F.D.A. for adults, including bupropion, which blunts cravings, and varenicline, which makes people enjoy nicotine less.

Nicotine replacement therapies like patches, gum and lozenges may also help.

It usually takes several tries for someone to permanently give up e-cigarettes, said Bonnie Halpern-Felsher, a Stanford professor and developmental psychologist who studies teen behavior around tobacco products. Remember that attempts are part of the process. If the first try doesn't stick, she said, "you're not a failure."

*For more health advice, visit nytimes.com/well.*



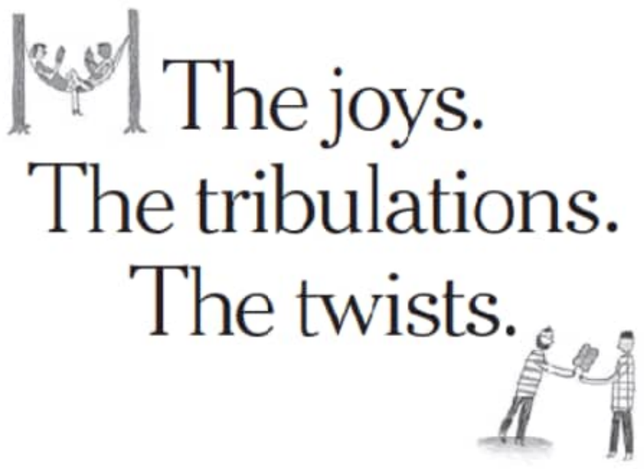


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The New York Times

# Different Kind of Leader Emerges in Iran, Spurring Hope for Change

## Pezeshkian Is Worldly And Accomplished. Is He 'of the System'?

By FARNAZ FASSIHI

Iran's president-elect, Masoud Pezeshkian, walked through a leafy cemetery, glanced at tombstones and sat by the one bearing his wife's name. Moments later he was riding in a car, weeping.

The scenes were captured in a campaign video addressed to his wife, Fatemeh. "I miss you more than ever," the narrator says, speaking on behalf of Mr. Pezeshkian. "I wish you were here with me in these days when I have made this difficult pledge."

Public declaration of love is an anomaly among Iranian politicians. Crying on camera for a romantic partner is even rarer.

But Mr. Pezeshkian, a 69-year-old cardiac surgeon who won the election in an upset as a reformist, looks and sounds unconventional.

He has portrayed himself as a modern leader for a new era in Iran, a religious man who considered his wife an equal partner when she was alive — and like him, practicing medicine — and who was a devoted widower after her death in a car accident. He raised three children and never remarried.

"It's very interesting how he has used his family story as a sign of his commitment and reliability," said Ali Vaez, the Iran director of the International Crisis Group. "He promised that in the same way that he stood by his family in the absence of their mother, he would stand by the Iranian people."

Mr. Pezeshkian has said that he wants to steer Iran toward becoming more prosperous, more open socially and more engaged with the West. In an opinion column published in The Tehran Times on Saturday, he described his foreign policy as "opportunity driven," strengthening ties with allies Russia and China, but also open to cooperating with the European Union. He said Iran would not "respond to pressure" by the United States.

Whether Mr. Pezeshkian can deliver on these changes remains to be seen. Predecessors tried and failed. But he has an opportunity, albeit limited, because Iran's supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, the top authority on all major state issues, has endorsed him and instructed subordinates to work with the new president.

On Friday night, at a religious ceremony at Mr. Khamenei's compound, the supreme leader walked into the hall together with Mr. Pezeshkian, a gesture he had not made for any president for at least three decades, observers said.

"He may have some room for maneuver but also faces a lot of structural obstacles," Mr. Vaez said.

Mr. Pezeshkian has sought to come across not as a disrupter but as a more pragmatic fixer, saying in debates he would obey Mr. Khamenei and pursue the supreme leader's overall policies.

Analysts said he will have to bargain with Mr. Khamenei, and even push back, if he is to deliver on the changes he promised, like curbing enforcement of mandatory hijab wearing for women, lifting restrictions on the internet and engaging with the United States in a bid to lift sanctions.

Just a few months ago, the prospect of a change from a conservative to a reformist government in Iran seemed fantastical. Then in May, Ebrahim Raisi, the conservative cleric who was president, died in a helicopter crash.

Enter Mr. Pezeshkian.

He is Iran's most credentialed president, a physician, a professor, a former health minister, and a lawmaker who has presided over a major medical university and research center. He speaks Persian, Turkish, Kurdish, Arabic and English — and trained in health leadership at Harvard University, which friends said in interviews had softened his view of the United States.

While Mr. Pezeshkian is not a member of any political party, his ascent has ridden the coattails of the reformist party. Mohammad Javad Zarif, a former foreign minister and prominent figure in the party who campaigned for him, leads the transition government's advisory committee.

Since the election, Mr. Pezeshkian has only spoken to Iranian media, and his office says a New York Times request to interview him is pending.

Colleagues and friends described him as outspoken, honest, and motivated by social justice. They said he has always been loyal to the Islamic Republic's theocracy even though he has criticized its corruption and policies that have weakened Iran's living standards.

"He didn't compromise on his beliefs, but he knew how to navigate when tensions came up," said Dr. Kianoush Jahanpour, a former deputy health minister, in a telephone interview from Tehran.

Mr. Pezeshkian was born in Mahabad, in northwest Iran, to an ethnic Azeri father and a Kurdish mother. He entered medical school in Tabriz, capital of Iran's East Azerbaijan Province, as revolutionary fervor was spreading against the Shah in 1977, two years before the Islamic revolution.

*Leily Nikounazar contributed reporting.*



ARASH KHAMOOSHI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Masoud Pezeshkian campaigning with his daughter Zahra this month. Mr. Pezeshkian is a physician, a professor, a former health minister and a lawmaker.



VIA ABBAS ABDI

Mr. Pezeshkian's wife, Fatemeh, was killed in a car accident in 1994. He raised their children on his own.

In medical school he fell in love with Fatemeh Majidi, a fellow classmate described by a mutual friend as a tall, dark-eyed beauty who was one of the few women wearing the hijab. They wed, bypassing the arranged marriages common to their generation.

"Theirs was a modern marriage of equals. They did everything together. They studied, they marched in protests during the revolution, they took care for their four children, taking turns when each had night shifts at the hospital," said Dr. Noraladin Pirmoazzen, a friend and classmate who was also a lawmaker, in a telephone interview. He and Mr. Pezeshkian volunteered together as trauma surgeons during the Iran-Iraq war.

Mr. Pezeshkian completed his residency in heart surgery and his wife in gynecology. In 1994, on a trip, their car flipped in a crash, killing her and their youngest child, a baby boy. Mr. Pezeshkian has told Iranian media that "it was very difficult for me to continue living."



BEHROUZ MEHRI/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Mr. Pezeshkian, left, Iran's health minister under Mohammad Khatami, right, at a medical facility in Tehran in 2002.

He never opened a private practice and remained at public hospitals and government university medical centers. He still operates on patients once a week, and as part of his populist persona, he wears sports jackets instead of suits. His daughter Zahra, a chemist who campaigned alongside him, told state television that while growing up the family lived in modest university housing.

In Tabriz, while head of the medical university there, he led an effort to build 600 clinics in rural areas of East Azerbaijan, winning recognition from the World Health Organization. He was appointed deputy health minister and later health minister during the reformist administration of President Mohammad Khatami.

Ali-Akbar Mousavi Khoeini, a reformist former lawmaker during Mr. Pezeshkian's tenure as health minister, who now lives in exile in the United States, said that he was known for preferring mediation over confrontation. But Mr. Khoeini predicted that as president, "the clashes will start when he tries to implement his ideas."

Some government critics say Mr. Pezeshkian is not a reformist because in their view the system is essentially unreformable and that his presidency should be viewed as the status quo.

"I don't have much hope. The reformists, even at the peak of their power, were not able to implement any long lasting and deep changes regarding women's rights, let alone now in this climate of oppression," said Aliyeh Motallebzadeh, a women's rights activist who has been jailed, in an interview from Tehran. "Pezeshkian is a man of the system."

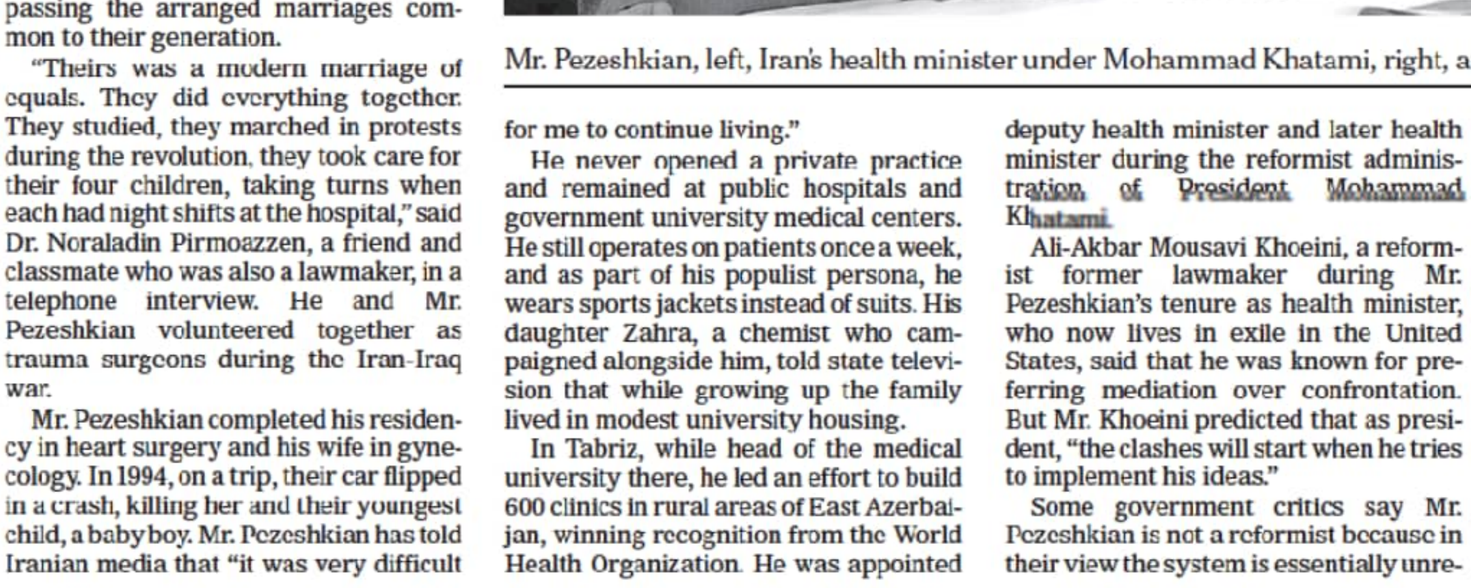
Activists say that he has toed the government line on several occasions, requiring women to wear the hijab in the early years of the revolution while president of a university.

There is also the question of how he dealt with the death in prison of the Iranian-Canadian photojournalist Zahra Kazemi in 2003. As health minister, Mr. Pezeshkian examined Ms. Kazemi's body and was the first official to say that she had been killed by a blow to her head, contradicting the prosecutor's claim of a fatal heart attack. But he did not go further and say there were more extensive signs of bruises on her body as her family had asserted.

Supporters say his views on hijab have evolved. During the campaign Mr. Pezeshkian said he did not believe in telling others how to dress and that the hijab law had backfired.

He has faced his own run-ins with the system. In 2003, Parliament tried to impeach him as health minister over medical service fees and the opaque medical drugs market. Twice, the Guardian Council, a body of clerics and jurists that vets candidates, disqualified him for the presidency and Parliament. Mr. Khamenei intervened this past winter, and his candidacy was resurrected, according to Abbas Abdi, a political analyst who was part of Mr. Pezeshkian's election advisory committee.

"The system reached a dead end and realized it needed to change course in order not to implode," Mr. Abdi said in an interview from Tehran. "It has accepted that Mr. Pezeshkian is the man it needs at the wheel, and we have more than a little hope that Iran will open up."



OFFICE OF THE IRANIAN SUPREME LEADER, VIA AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Iran's supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, center, endorsed Mr. Pezeshkian and told subordinates to work with him.

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**War in the Middle East**

# *Israeli Strikes Hit Another U.N. Building, the Sixth in the Past 10 Days*

## *Over a Dozen Killed in 'Safer' Coastal Area*

*This article is by* ***Aaron Boxerman, Matthew Mpoke Bigg, Julian Barnes and Michael Levenson.***

Two Israeli strikes killed more than 20 people in the Gaza Strip on Tuesday, including at a United Nations school turned shelter, according to local health officials, the latest in a string of recent bombardments that have hit U.N. buildings in the enclave.

Paramedics found at least five bodies and eight injured people at the former school in central Gaza, according to the Palestine Red Crescent Society, an emergency medical service. The building, in Nuseirat, was being used to shelter people displaced by the Israeli-Hamas war.

The Israeli military said it had been targeting militants operating inside the building. Hamas, it said, "systematically violates international law, exploiting civilian structures and the population as human shields."

It was the sixth former U.N. school facility to be hit in 10 days, according to the main United Nations agency aiding Palestinian refugees in the area, UNRWA. Last Tuesday, at least 27 people were killed in an Israeli airstrike near the entrance to a school turned shelter on the outskirts of Khan Younis, in southern Gaza, according to the local health authorities.

*Nader Ibrahim contributed reporting.*

About 17 people were killed in a separate Israeli strike on Tuesday in Al-Mawasi, a coastal area west of Khan Younis that the Israeli military has designated as a "safer" zone, the Gazan Health Ministry said. The Israeli military said that its aircraft had been targeting an Islamic Jihad commander in Khan Younis, but did not say whether the strike had landed in the designated zone. It said it was looking into reports that civilians had been wounded in the strike.

In a statement, Hamas condemned the two Israeli attacks, and called the United States "a partner" in them because of its support of Israel.

Since the Hamas-led attack on Israel on Oct. 7, Israeli aircraft have struck 37,000 targets in Gaza, the military said on Tuesday, offering an accounting of the strikes that have laid waste to wide swaths of the enclave. More than 38,000 people have been killed in Gaza during the Israeli military campaign, which is now in its 10th month, according to the Gazan Health Ministry.

In a statement, the Israeli military said that since the war began, it has killed about half of the leadership of Hamas's military wing, the Qassam Brigades. In all, some 14,000 militants have been killed or captured, it said. The claims could not be independently confirmed.

Critics have accused Israel of labeling any adolescent or adult male killed in Gaza as a Hamas member.

Over the weekend, Israeli forces bombarded an area of Al-Mawasi with heavy munitions in an attempt to kill the Qassam leader, Mohammed Deif. Scores of Gazans were killed in the attack, but Mr. Deif's fate remained unclear.

In a meeting with two top Israeli officials on Monday, Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken expressed "serious concerns" about the civilian death toll in Gaza, according to a State Department spokesman.

"We have seen civilian casualties come down from the high points of the conflict," the spokesman, Matthew Miller, said. "But they still remain unacceptably high. We continue to see far too many civilians killed in this conflict."

Critics of the Biden administration have said it undermines such statements of concern by continuing to supply Israel with weapons.

Last week, Israeli negotiators led by the chief of Mossad, the intelligence agency, traveled to Qatar for meetings on a possible cease-fire. Both Israel and Hamas have agreed to a framework hammered out by the United States, Qatar and Egypt.

But American officials say they do not believe that a final deal will be reached until after Israel's prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, visits Washington next week. Mr. Netanyahu said on Tuesday that he would not agree to any deal that did not require Hamas to cede control of Gaza.

"Hamas is feeling the pressure," Mr. Netanyahu said. "They are feeling it because we are striking them, eliminating their senior commanders and thousands of terrorists."

The C.I.A. director, William J. Burns, said in a closed-door gathering on Saturday that Hamas's top leader in Gaza, Yahya Sinwar, was under increased pressure from his military commanders to agree to a cease-fire and to the release of hostages seized on Oct. 7, according to a person briefed on his remarks.

Mr. Burns said the internal pressure on Mr. Sinwar had been building for the past two weeks, as Hamas commanders and ordinary Palestinians tire of the war. Mr. Sinwar is believed to be hiding in tunnels under Khan Younis.

The C.I.A. declined to discuss Mr. Burns's comments, which were previously reported by CNN and were made at an annual conference of business leaders held in Sun Valley, Idaho, by Allen & Company, an investment bank.

This week, Israel also carried out what appeared to be a drone attack in Syria, near the border with Lebanon, that killed a businessman who had helped finance Syrian militant groups, according to the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights, a British-based war monitor. The businessman, Baraa' al-Qaterji, was driving between Beirut and Damascus when his vehicle was hit, the observatory said.



EYAD BABA/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

A U.N. school now used as a shelter in Nuseirat camp in Gaza after an Israeli strike on Tuesday.

# *West Bank Settler Violence Draws Ire From Israeli Allies*

By EPHRAT LIVNI

A surge in Jewish settler violence against Palestinians in the West Bank is raising the ire of some in the international community as Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's far-right government officially expands its hold on the occupied territory by claiming more land and quietly assists extremists with tacit military support, according to rights activists.

The European Union on Monday sanctioned five Israeli settlers, two outposts and an extremist group that were "responsible for serious and systematic human rights abuses against Palestinians in the West Bank," the European Council, the E.U. body that represents the heads of the member governments, said in a statement. The United States last week also imposed sanctions on Israelis and entities in the West Bank that the State Department said had incited violence against Palestinians or encroached on Palestinian land.

Peace Now, an Israeli organization that tracks Jewish settlements, responded to the European sanctions by accusing the Israeli government of failing to enforce its own laws and of being complicit in the settler violence.

The West Bank is home to about 2.7 million Palestinians and over 500,000 settlers. Israel seized control of the territory from Jordan in 1967 during a war with three Arab states, and Israelis have since settled there with both tacit and explicit government approval, though the international community largely considers settlements illegal, and many outposts also violate Israeli law. Settlers are governed by Israeli civil law while their Palestinian neighbors are subject to Israeli military law.

Palestinians have long argued that the settlements are a creeping annexation that turns land needed for any future independent Palestinian state into an unmanageable patchwork. But the war with Hamas in Gaza has given Israel's right-wing government, intent on West Bank expansion, a way to bolster settlers who oppose the creation of a Palestinian state under the guise of providing added security amid heightened tensions, some rights groups say.

The army has shut down "so many roads" in the West Bank that thousands of acres of land have become off limits to Palestinians, Hagit Ofran of Peace Now's "Settlement Watch" project said in a phone interview. The military erects gates in the name of security, but the result is that it shuts off Palestinians' access to large areas they rely on, she added.

Notably, there are also more Israeli troops stationed in the area than before the war. "In every settlement, you now have reserve soldiers who are settlers and who take extremist measures against Palestinians," Ms. Ofran said. "Settler soldiers are actually an armed militia."

Israel's finance minister, Bezalel Smotrich, is a settler himself and responsible for extremist policies meant to expand Israel's hold over the West Bank. Mr. Smotrich is taking away much of the military's authority there and instead putting settlers in charge of civil administration, effectively taking control, Ms. Ofran noted. In a secretly recorded speech on June 9, Mr. Smotrich outlined this carefully orchestrated program to take authority over the West Bank out of the hands of the Israeli military and turn it over to civilians working for him while deflecting international scrutiny.

From the perspective of some in the Israeli military, settler violence is a threat to Israel's security. Retired Maj. Gen. Yehuda Fox, former chief of Israel's Central Command, which oversees the West Bank, rebuked the Israeli government's policies in the area and condemned the rising tide of "nationalist crime" in his departure speech last week.

But as the military's presence in the West Bank has increased since Oct. 7, so have clashes between Palestinians and Israeli troops meant to maintain order there, further escalating tensions.

***Over 530 Palestinians in the West Bank have been killed since Oct. 7.***

Israeli forces shot a man dead in the West Bank on Tuesday during clashes in Al Bireh, according to Wafa, the Palestinian Authority's official news agency. The Israeli military did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

Israel's military said on social media on Tuesday that it was chasing people who fired on a car with Israeli civilians inside in Ramin, a village in the northeast of the West Bank, adding that the civilians had been lightly injured in the attack and had been evacuated for treatment. It gave no further details.

Israeli forces have killed more than 530 West Bank Palestinians since the war in Gaza began, according to the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, which tracks West Bank violence on a weekly basis. In its latest update, the agency said that the Israeli military on July 9 killed a 13-year old Palestinian boy in Deir Abu Mash'al village near Ramallah and injured three other boys.

The Israeli military, in response to a query about the incident, said in a statement that since Oct. 7, there had been "a significant increase" in attempted terrorist attacks in the West Bank and nearby area — more than 2,000 in total — and that it is "actively conducting operations" to prevent terrorism. The military confirmed the U.N. report of violence on July 9, but not a death or the involvement of any children in the confrontation, stating that "masked terrorists hurled rocks" at Israeli military vehicles and a "soldier in the area responded with live fire, hitting one of the terrorists."

*Matthew Mpoke Bigg and Rawan Sheikh Ahmad contributed reporting.*

# 9 Months of Deterring Houthi Attacks in the Red Sea

By JULIAN E. BARNES

NORFOLK, Va. — As the aircraft carrier Dwight D. Eisenhower sailed toward Norfolk Harbor, a small cargo plane landed on the flight deck amid swirling wind and rain.

After the plane jerked to a halt, Jake Sullivan, the national security adviser, and top Navy officials disembarked. A few minutes later, they made their way down to the hangar deck, where thousands of sailors, all eager to be home, waited.

It was an extraordinarily pumped "all hands" call. While the sailors cheered, the chief of naval operations recounted the strike group's achievements. But there was also a sense of relief that a long job was on the cusp of completion. The Eisenhower set sail from Norfolk a week after the Oct. 7 terrorist attacks in Israel, and its six-month deployment had been extended three times. Now the crew was at last coming home, but only after being involved in one of the most intense naval firefights since World War II.

Speaking to the sailors gathered on the hangar deck, Mr. Sullivan recounted how he would walk into the Oval Office and tell President Biden about the exploits of the Eisenhower and its strike group, shooting down all manner of Iranian-made drones and rescuing sailors attacked by the Houthis.

"Man, what stories I got to tell: You guys played defense, you played offense," Mr. Sullivan told the crowd on Saturday. "And when somebody comes at us, we come back harder at them."

Mr. Sullivan and other White House officials used the occasion of the Eisenhower's return to highlight their strategy, arguing that at least for now a combination of secret diplomacy, deterrence and a willingness to use military force had held off a wider war.

Iranian-backed Shiite militias in Iraq have halted their attacks since February. After Israel attacked an Iranian diplomatic post in Syria, Iran's missile barrage in response was intercepted. And, at least so far, Hezbollah has been persuaded not to allow its cross-border fight with Israel to reach full boil. American intelligence agencies assess that, for the first time since the war in Gaza began more than nine months ago, Iran is no longer urging Hamas to fight on.

It is obviously an imperfect result. Israel's campaign in Gaza continues, costing the lives of tens of thousands of Palestinians. The dozens of Israeli hostages seized by Hamas on Oct. 7 remain captive in Gaza. In support of Hamas, the Houthis are still interrupting shipping in the Red Sea. The fighting between Hezbollah and Israel could spiral.

Israel and Hamas are unlikely to reach any formal agreement until after the Israeli prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, goes to Washington at the end of the month, officials said. But U.S. officials say there is a real chance for a cease-fire after Mr. Netanyahu's visit.

"I am not going to use the word hopeful or optimistic, but I am going to say we see a path," Mr. Sullivan said. "There is a better chance of getting a cease-fire deal in Gaza than there has been in a long time. But it is by no means a sure thing. Complicated politics in Israel. Complicated psychology in Gaza."

All around the aircraft carrier, the signs of the intense fight during its deployment were apparent. Combat action patches for the sailors. A unit commendation ribbon for the crew. And on the flight deck, F/A-18 Super Hornets with stencils of the Houthi drones they shot down. One showed three drones destroyed and 16 bombs dropped.

The Eisenhower was at the center of a strategy to use military strikes, deterrence and diplomacy to manage the conflict in the Middle East, a part of the response put in place in the immediate aftermath of the attacks in Israel.

Brett McGurk, a National Security Council official who works on Middle East issues, recalled gathering in Mr. Sullivan's office as Hezbollah started firing missiles into Israel in the days after the attacks.

"We set an objective to contain this crisis to Gaza," Mr. McGurk recalled. "Hezbollah started shooting on Oct. 8, and we recognized immediately the risk of a broader regional conflict was high."

In the meeting, Mr. McGurk said, Mr. Sullivan and his colleagues began outlining a plan. Mr. Sullivan said he was focused on acting quickly.

"In the early days after Oct. 7, my view was that speed was really of the essence," he said in an interview. "So, within a couple of days, we were thinking about the military muscle movements that could show decisiveness on the part of the United States."

First Mr. Sullivan and Lloyd J. Austin III, the secretary of defense, spoke about moving the aircraft carrier Gerald R. Ford to the Eastern Mediterranean, near Israel. But then the discussion turned to the Eisenhower, nicknamed "the Ike," like the president. The Ike was originally not supposed to move into the Middle East immediately. But Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Austin spoke about changing the plan.

"In the early phase it was overdeliver on speed, and scope and scale of American power protection to reassure the Israelis, and to deter adversaries," Mr. Sullivan said.

The Eisenhower found itself in the midst of a kinetic fight. The Houthis began using a range of airborne and maritime drones. As the group developed new techniques, the Navy revised its own, including using advanced electronic weapons to take down swarming Houthi drones. There was, sailors said, constant communication between the carrier strike group and experts in the United States. The Navy began using some of its weapons systems in ways it had not previously envisioned.

Carlos Del Toro, the secretary of the Navy, who accompanied Mr. Sullivan on the trip to the Eisenhower, said critics were saying that modern technologies, like ship-killing missiles, had predicted the end of the usefulness of carriers. The fight with the Houthis, he said, showed that the ships could still battle effectively at close ranges. "I think it is a valuable lesson," Mr. Del Toro said.

Mr. Sullivan has had a fairly public role for a national security adviser. He has briefed reporters at the White House repeatedly over the past two years. That may have been in part because Mr. Biden often leaves it to staff members, Mr. Sullivan first among them, to communicate the day-to-day details of foreign policy to the public.

For his part, Mr. Sullivan paints a picture of a president who takes a hands-on approach to negotiating the finer points of Middle East diplomacy, getting on the phone with Mr. Netanyahu to urge restraint against Iran or with the Egyptian president to open the border with Gaza for aid.

Other White House officials say Mr. Sullivan is among Mr. Biden's closest advisers, valued because he has a symbiotic connection to the president and an understanding of when Mr. Biden wants to use force and when he does not.

Mr. McGurk credits Mr. Sullivan with building out a strategy for the Middle East that carefully fused military force and diplomacy. The diplomacy included nonstop messages to Israel but also a secret back channel to Iran, officials said.

Mr. McGurk said that was illustrated by how Mr. Sullivan helped coordinate the U.S. response as Israel and Iran moved closer to an open war this spring.

Mr. Sullivan knows better than most that the success so far could fall apart at any moment.



KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES



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Top, the aircraft carrier Dwight D. Eisenhower, which set sail from Norfolk, Va., a week after Oct. 7. Above left, Jake Sullivan, the national security adviser, addressing its troops. Right, markings that depicted bombs dropped and drones destroyed.

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# Campaign Donations Scandal Pushes First Minister of Wales to Resign

By MEGAN SPECIA

LONDON — Vaughan Gething, the first minister of Wales, announced his resignation on Tuesday after less than four months, amid a controversy over campaign donations that prompted a vote of no confidence in his leadership.

Mr. Gething, a Labour Party politician who became the first Black person to lead a national government in Europe when he was elected the head of the Welsh Parliament in March, denied any wrongdoing as he announced in a written statement that he was stepping down.

"A growing assertion that some kind of wrongdoing has taken place has been pernicious, politically motivated and patently untrue," said Mr. Gething, as he delivered the same statement later in front of the Welsh Parliament, known as the Senedd, adding that in his 11 years as a lawmaker, he had "never ever made a decision for personal gain."

Wales, like Scotland and Northern Ireland, is part of the United Kingdom but also has its own devolved government, which makes local laws and enacts national legislation and policies. Mr. Gething became the first minister after the resignation of a long-serving predecessor, Mark Drakeford, winning a tight leadership election within Wales's governing Labour Party.

But he lost a confidence vote in the Welsh Parliament last month over his acceptance of campaign donations from a company whose owner had twice been convicted of environmental offenses.

That company, Dauson Environmental Group, donated a total of £200,000, or about $259,000, to Mr. Gething's leadership campaign in two separate payments, one in December last year and another in January. David Neal, the company's director, was convicted in 2013 after another of his companies, Atlantic Recycling, was found to have illegally dumped waste in protected wetlands. In 2017 he was convicted again for not removing that waste. The company pleaded guilty in court to another offense in January 2024.

The BBC reported in March that Mr. Gething had lobbied Wales's environmental regulator on behalf of Atlantic Recycling in 2016 and in 2018. A spokesperson for Mr. Gething told the BBC it was "routine practice" for lawmakers to correspond with public bodies regarding constituency issues.

After the details of the donation were made public, some lawmakers said Mr. Gething should not have accepted the funds, including the man running against him for the leadership role, and others urged him to return it. He refused.

Questions over Mr. Gething's leadership intensified in May after he fired a minister for allegedly leaking a text message from 2020, in which he had announced he was deleting messages from a group chat during the Covid-19 pandemic in case they were later exposed by a Freedom of Information request. In the text, he wrote: "I'm deleting the messages in this group. They can be captured in an FOI and I think we are all in the right place on the choice being made." The lawmaker denied she had leaked the message.

Mr. Gething chose to remain in his role despite losing the confidence vote in June, but on Tuesday morning, four members of his government announced their resignations in an organized attempt to force his departure.

One of them was Jeremy Miles, the economy secretary, who had run against Mr. Gething in the leadership election.



Vaughan Gething was the first Black person to lead a national government in Europe.

In his resignation letter to Mr. Gething, Mr. Miles wrote, "We cannot continue like this," pointing to the loss of the confidence vote as a turning point. "It's essential that we begin to repair the damage immediately, and I have reached the conclusion very regrettably that this cannot happen under your leadership," he added.

In Wales, Labour has been the most popular party for over 100 years, and has been the government in the Welsh assembly since 1999.

But the recent turmoil inside the Welsh Labour Party has stood in stark contrast to Labour's stance at the national level, where Keir Starmer has ruthlessly brought order and unity to the party after the more chaotic leadership of Jeremy Corbyn. That helped Labour cruise to a landslide victory in a general election this month.

Mr. Gething's forced departure is an embarrassment for Mr. Starmer, who stood alongside the Welsh first minister just eight days ago, praising his work and backing his leadership.

Mr. Starmer on Tuesday thanked Mr. Gething for his service and acknowledged the historic nature of his term in office.

"Vaughan should take enormous pride in being the first Black leader of any country in Europe," Mr. Starmer said in a written statement, adding, "I know what a difficult decision this has been for him — but I also know that he has made it because he feels it is the best decision now for Wales."

Some opposition lawmakers called for a snap election. But that is unlikely as the Welsh Labour Party holds a sizable majority in the Senedd.

Andrew R.T. Davies, the leader of the Welsh Conservative Party, which had called the confidence vote last month, described Mr. Gething's resignation as "long overdue." He added in a statement that Mr. Gething and the Labour Party across Britain, including Mr. Starmer, were "culpable for the breakdown in governance in Wales."

Mr. Gething said he would discuss the timing of a new leadership contest within the Welsh Labour Party and would soon put in place a plan to formally stand down as first minister.

"I have always pursued my political career to serve Wales and being able to show underrepresented communities that there is a place for them, for us, is an honor and a privilege that will never diminish," Mr. Gething said.

# *In Bangladesh, Protests Over Jobs Quotas Kill 5*

By SAIF HASNAT and ANUPREETA DAS

DHAKA, Bangladesh — Bangladesh deployed a paramilitary force on Tuesday after at least five people were killed during violent demonstrations by thousands of university students, raising the specter of instability in a country familiar with protests.

For weeks, students across Bangladesh have been protesting quotas for government jobs that were recently reinstated after being abolished in 2018 following another countrywide student protest.

Demonstrations intensified in recent days, with parts of the capital, Dhaka, blockaded and students refusing to attend classes. Even female students — who are not allowed out of their dorms after 9 p.m. — broke the rules to join the protests, a measure of the gravity of the situation.

***Students taking to the streets over coveted government positions.***

The protests were first started by students of the University of Dhaka, the nation's pre-eminent institution, and have spread to other universities and cities and turned increasingly political, pitting the ruling party against the opposition.

Members of the Border Guard of Bangladesh, which is normally responsible for border security, were sent to five districts across the country to control the "law and order situation amid ongoing quota reform movement," according to a statement provided by the force.

*Saif Hasnat reported from Dhaka, Bangladesh, and Anupreeta Das from New Delhi.*

Since the protests began roughly two weeks ago, hundreds of demonstrators have been injured in clashes with the police and with counter protesters. Citing the safety of students, government officials announced late on Tuesday that they would shut down most schools and colleges indefinitely. Facebook, the main social media platform that protesters used to organize and share news, was partially unavailable as of Tuesday night.

The demonstrations started in early July after a Dhaka court overturned a 2018 decision by the government of Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina to abolish the country's job quota system, which had existed for decades.

The system reserved more than 50 percent of lucrative government jobs for quota holders, including women and those with disabilities. They were initially devised as a way to reward those who fought for the country's freedom from Pakistan in 1971, ensuring that their descendants would always be provided for. The latest ruling reinstated a 30 percent quota for those descendants.

Although the Bangladeshi economy has seen a steady rate of growth, and the private sector is a significant employer, government jobs are coveted because they are considered stable and come with a lot of benefits. The reinstated quota system — which the Supreme Court has paused temporarily because of the protests — could potentially force hundreds of thousands of new graduates to fight for a small number of open government jobs.

Student activists have argued that most of the government jobs should be given on merit.



MOHAMMAD PONIR HOSSAIN/REUTERS

The student wing of the ruling party, Bangladesh Awami League, fighting with students protesting job quotas in Dhaka on Tuesday.

"Students will not leave the streets until this demand is met," Nahid Islam, a coordinator of the protests, said at a gathering in Dhaka on Tuesday.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the founding leader of Bangladesh, created the quota system in 1972, only for his daughter Ms. Hasina to abolish it in October 2018 after students protested the dismissal of a writ appeal some of their peers had made earlier that year to change the system. Families of freedom fighters then protested, and the court sided with them last month.

In explaining the rationale for her 2018 decision, Ms. Hasina said at a news conference on July 14 that she had become "very annoyed" by the incidents the students were causing, including attacking the office of her political party, The Awami League. Referring to them as "some so-called intellectuals sitting in their house and recording false propaganda to spread," Ms. Hasina added: "At one point, I said, let's just abolish the quota system. The purpose of this was to see what would happen if the quota system was abolished."

The 2018 student movement, which built momentum gradually, was nothing like the unrest now unfolding on the streets of Dhaka.

Graphic images and videos circulating on social media show men beating female students, while others contain images of wounded students lying on the floor of Dhaka Medical College Hospital.

Earlier this week, members of the student wing of the Awami League began attacking student protesters, even as police officers fanned out across Dhaka and other cities to curb the violence.

Obaidul Quader, an influential leader of the ruling party, said their student wing would "respond to those displaying arrogant behavior," referring to the protesters.

Since coming to power in 2009, Ms. Hasina has won four elections, which have been marred by boycotts, widespread violence and irregularities. Her government has come down hard on dissenters. In 2018, Awami League members violently tackled another student demonstration, the road safety movement; the party's student wing even brutally attacked schoolchildren to disperse protests.

On Tuesday, the quota fight became overtly political when Asaduzzaman Khan, the home minister of Bangladesh, pointed his fingers at the Bangladesh Nationalist Party, the main opposition party, saying their members may be involved in the violence.

In turn, the B.N.P. leader, Mirza Fakhrul Islam Alamgir, urged everyone to join the protests.

# *Man Suspected of Killing 42 Women in Kenya Is Arrested*

By ABDI LATIF DAHIR

NAIROBI, Kenya — Kenya's police on Monday said that they had arrested a suspected serial killer who they said confessed to killing 42 women in the past two years, a shocking development in a country wracked by political turmoil and a spate of violence against women.

Police officers arrested the man days after the dismembered bodies of nine women were found at an abandoned quarry used as a dumping site in a shantytown in Nairobi, the capital.

The man, identified as Collins Jumaisi Khalusha, 33, confessed to having "lured, killed and disposed" of the women, including his wife, at the dumping site, according to a statement by Mohamed I. Amin, the director of the police department's Directorate of Criminal Investigations. Mr. Khalusha confessed to having carried out the killings between 2022 and last Thursday, Mr. Amin said.

The police say that they are still investigating the motive behind the killings. The suspect is set to be arraigned in court on Tuesday.

The murders of the women have rattled Kenya, a country of 55 million people that has been swept by deadly protests over tax increases and graft that have galvanized young people. Protests aimed at unseating President William Ruto have flared up again this week, even after he withdrew the finance bill that would have increased taxes and dismissed all but one member of his cabinet.

Women in Kenya have been trying to call attention to what they say is a wave of gender-based violence that is often perpetrated by male partners and close relatives.

The reports of the gruesome murders have added to the scrutiny of the police force, which was accused of killing at least 41 people and brutally abducting and detaining dozens of other activists during the latest demonstrations.

The discovery of the nine bodies added to the low public trust in the police, whose chief resigned last week after officers' conduct during the weekslong protests had been widely denounced.

When the bodies were first discovered, some people publicly speculated that they were those of people who had been detained or went missing during the antigovernment protests.

Kenya's independent police watchdog said that it was looking into whether there was "any police involvement in the deaths, or failure to act to prevent" the murders of the women.

"There are so many questions coming out of these women's killings," said Zaina Kombo, an anti-discrimination campaigner with the human rights organization Amnesty International in Kenya.

"People no longer trust the police," Ms. Kombo said in a phone interview. "And that trust deficit makes it very hard for anything to happen, including investigations."

Police officials said that the nine bodies were found after the relative of a missing woman said that she had dreamed that she had instructed them to search the dump site. The mutilated and dismembered bodies, bound in sacks, were pulled from the dump site starting last Friday, horrifying and outraging the nation. The victims were between the ages of 18 and 30 and their bodies were in various stages of decomposition, the police said.



ANDREW KASUKU/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Rescuers taking away human remains from a quarry in Nairobi, Kenya. The suspect has confessed to the killings, the police say.

On Monday, police officials said that they had traced the suspect after doing a forensic analysis of a mobile phone belonging to one of the victims. Once arrested, the police said, he led officers to a single-room rental about 100 meters from the dump site, where they found eight smartphones, two pairs of women's underwear, a machete, a pink handbag, ID cards for six men and two women and other items.

The arrest comes just six months after at least 31 women were killed in Kenya in a single month, prompting nationwide protests. Activists then called on the authorities to seriously deal with the killing of women or girls because of their gender — also known as femicide — and to establish a specialized police unit to handle the issue.

Ms. Kombo, the campaigner with Amnesty International, said the police's ability to find the suspected serial killer in just days shows "there is capacity."

"It is just a lack of prioritization."

# *6 Killed in an Unusual Attack On Shiite Worshipers in Oman*

By VIVIAN NEREIM

RIYADH, Saudi Arabia — Multiple assailants, at least one of them armed, staged a rare attack in the Gulf nation of Oman that targeted worshipers near a mosque, many of them from Pakistan, leaving six people dead on a Shiite Muslim day of mourning, the Omani and Pakistani authorities said Tuesday.

Four Pakistanis were killed and about 30 were injured, the Pakistani foreign ministry said, calling it a "dastardly terrorist attack" and a "heinous crime."

An Indian citizen was also killed, the Indian authorities said, and the Omanis said a policeman was killed too.

The shooting on Monday night struck near a mosque in the Wadi Kabir neighborhood of the Omani capital, Muscat, the police said in a statement. Three attackers were killed, they said.

The Omani authorities did not provide details about who the attackers were nor what their motives might have been. They did not refer to the incident as a terrorist attack and did not mention any potential sectarian connections.

Oman's population includes sizable numbers of Sunni and Ibadi Muslims, while Shiite Muslims are a minority. The shooting fell on Ashura, when Shiite Muslims gather to mourn the seventh century death of the Prophet Muhammad's grandson.

The attackers briefly took some of the worshipers hostage but they were later freed by the police, the Pakistani ambassador to Oman, Imran Ali, said in an interview with The National, a newspaper based in the neighboring United Arab Emirates.

The shooting came as a shock in Oman, a quiet and diverse nation of about five million people located at the tip of the Arabian Peninsula. Oman has a low crime rate and prides itself on a long track record of religious coexistence in a region where many other countries have struggled with sectarian violence.

The Omani government maintains close relations with the United States and Iran, and often serves as a mediator in regional conflicts.

There are communities of Hindus, Buddhists and Christians and a large number of immigrants from around the world, including Pakistan and other South Asian nations.

Such attacks are exceedingly rare in Oman. In 1978, five British campers were killed on an Omani beach. The attackers were deemed robbers by Omani authorities but believed by American intelligence officials to belong to a local revolutionary organization — long since defunct — according to a declassified C.I.A. document.

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**War in Ukraine**



ERIC LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Volodymyr Zelensky's party, once a political juggernaut, has unraveled into factions.



LYNSEY ADDARIO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ukrainian recruits training in June. Amid martial law, unusual alliances formed in Parliament.

# *Disarray and Centralized Wartime Power Erode Ukraine's Parliament*

*From Page A1*

The dysfunction in Parliament, and the unusual voting alliance between the governing party and former members of the disbanded pro-Russian party, have dented the government's credibility as it struggles to reset its war effort after months of Russian advances.

The disarray thwarts any meaningful role for the Parliament in the oversight of government agencies, critics say, even as billions of dollars in foreign aid money pours into Ukraine. Accusations of corruption or mismanagement emerge regularly: In May, an official overseeing mostly Western-financed reconstruction in Ukraine resigned, citing poor management of funds.

The tumult has also intensified criticism that too much power is concentrated in the president's office, beyond what is already granted under martial law. That has been a focus of Mr. Zelensky's critics since the beginning of the war, when he consolidated television outlets under one state-run station and curbed the ability of ministers to act independently.

Nobody is alleging serious infractions of the Constitution. A majority of Ukrainians still support Mr. Zelensky, though that number has fallen, and even his critics concede that war requires some centralization of decision making.

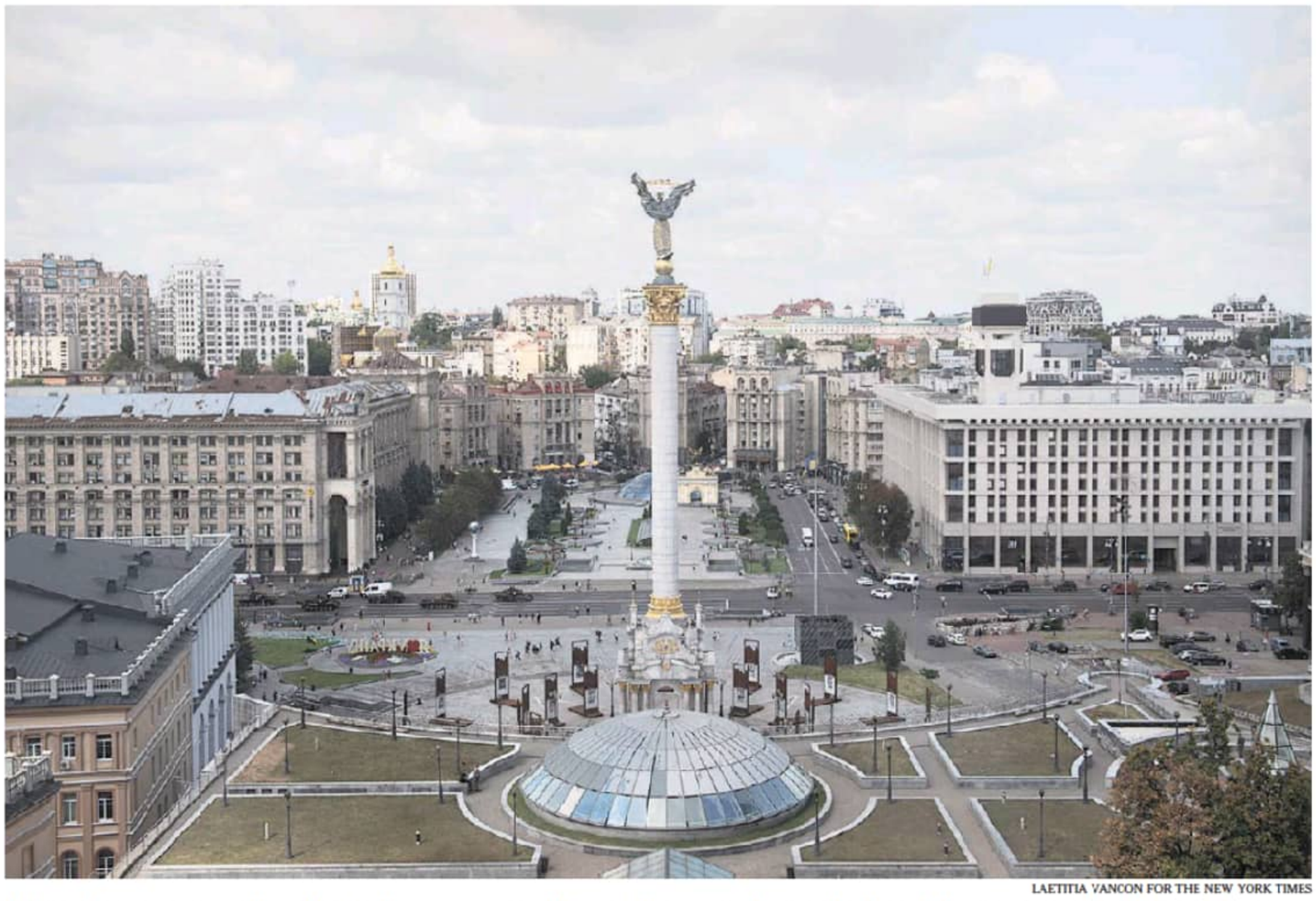
That the Parliament has even convened during the war counts as a success, some lawmakers and outside analysts say. Early in the invasion, members gathered only hastily, in secret, then quickly scattered from the domed Parliament building in Kyiv, lest a Russian missile kill or wound all of them in a single strike. After air defenses improved, regular sessions resumed.

Under the Constitution, Ukraine's Parliament is intended to wield more power than the presidency. Parliament appoints most ministers and approves the smaller number appointed by the president. It has played pivotal, independent roles in past crises. But not during this war.

Part of the problem is that Mr. Zelensky's party, called Servant of the People, is itself hindered by turf wars and infighting.

Divisions that emerged before the invasion have only deepened.

*Daria Mitiuk and Maria Varenikova contributed reporting.*



LAETITIA VANCON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Independence Square in Kyiv. Under the Constitution, Ukraine's Parliament is intended to wield more power than the presidency.

The unanimous votes that signaled solidarity early in the invasion are a faded memory. The war muddles party discipline; rogue voting is grudgingly tolerated.

In one example, about 20 members of Parliament have formed a faction opposed to Mr. Zelensky; 15 of them formally remain in the president's party.

There are currently four parties represented in the 450-seat chamber: Mr. Zelensky's Servant of the People, European Solidarity, Fatherland and Holos.

Servant of the People won a majority of seats in elections in 2019 that aligned Parliament with the presidency. It still holds a nominal majority of 235 seats but in fact the party's leadership rarely musters the necessary votes to pass legislation. In the more than 5,000 votes in Parliament in 2022 and 2023, the party secured a majority by itself in only 17 instances, or less than 1 percent of votes, according to Chesno, a Ukrainian analytical group.

Instead, the party has formed a political partnership with strange bedfellows: the remnants of a party called Opposition Bloc that was officially disbanded in 2022 for ties to Russia. Together they have passed legislation to expand the draft, critically important for Ukraine's war effort, and to shape oversight of agencies and rules intended to safeguard foreign aid.

Critics of this alliance say it has weakened the independence of Parliament because the former pro-Russian politicians are at risk of prosecution for treason and hardly able to provide effective oversight.

One bill, passed in December, regulates building codes for reconstruction work and drew criticism for including provisions favored by developers. That bill shifts some building approvals from local governments to the central government, raising concerns that communities will lack a voice in how rebuilding funds are spent.

Vast sums are at stake in rebuilding. The Kyiv School of Economics has estimated that total reconstruction costs in Ukraine will run to $155 billion.

Last month, Servant of the People again aligned with former Opposition Bloc lawmakers to vote on amendments to a bill defining

***A legislature, once strong, is derided as acting 'as a notary.'***

the powers of a new financial oversight agency, which removes financial investigations from the purview of the domestic intelligence agency. The intelligence agency has been mired in controversy for years over politically hued investigations and corruption.

Mr. Zelensky needed to create a new agency because it was one of the requirements from Brussels in Ukraine's effort to join the European Union, said Oleksandr Zaslavsky, an analyst at the Agency for Legislative Initiatives, an analytical group in Kyiv. So the vote only underscored how dependent Mr. Zelensky has become on the formerly pro-Russian lawmakers to pass important bills.

This informal coalition has allowed Mr. Zelensky's party to avoid compromises with a main political opposition group, European Solidarity, the party of Mr. Zelensky's political nemesis, former President Petro Poroshenko. Some members of other opposition parties and factions have also provided votes to pass major legislation, along with former members of Opposition Bloc.

A spokeswoman for Davyd Arakhamia, the leader of the Servant of the People faction in Parliament, declined an interview for scheduling reasons, and a spokeswoman for Ruslan Stefanchuk, the speaker of Parliament, did not respond to a request for an interview. The office of Mr. Zelensky did not respond to a request for comment.

Also drawing criticism are restrictions that prevent opposition party members from leaving the country to meet allied governments — at a time when about half the budget is foreign aid.

These restrictions, and the unusual alliance with the former pro-Russian party members, mean "Parliament is excluded from decision making," said Dmytro Razumkov, a former speaker now in the political opposition.

"It accepts decisions but without an ability to influence them" he said.

Even the leader of the Servant of the People faction, Mr. Arakhamia, voiced concern about the state of the institution this year. In a statement in January, he said that "a great crisis is approaching."

Yuriy Boyko, once a leader of Opposition Bloc, which is widely reviled in Ukraine, said that Moscow's invasion in 2022 shifted his views on Russia and that his focus has been supporting Mr. Zelensky during the war.

"War changed our minds," he said of his former backing for closer ties with Moscow.

He conceded that "some of our former members became traitors" but said those who remained were working to support the war effort by voting for government-sponsored legislation. This year, he said, 29 laws had passed that would not have done so without the support of former Opposition Bloc lawmakers. He said his group had disagreed with government on some tax and customs legislation.

Oleksii Goncharenko, a member of the opposition European Solidarity party, has argued that constructive opposition in Parliament is important even during the war. That is not provided, he suggested, by the former members of the pro-Russian party, because they are at risk of prosecution.

"It's unfair these people are not prosecuted, and it's unfair they are still in Parliament," he said. He has submitted draft legislation to expel them from the chamber. That has not happened, he said, "because their votes are needed" by Mr. Zelensky's government.

As a result, he said, "Parliament works as a notary, just putting a stamp on what comes from the president."

# Pushing Quick End to Ukraine War, Orban Plays Trump's Messenger to E.U.

By MATINA STEVIS-GRIDNEFF

After meeting with Donald J. Trump at his Mar-a-Lago home on Thursday, Prime Minister Viktor Orban of Hungary wrote to a top European Union official to say that Mr. Trump had told him he was planning a swift push for a peace deal between Russia and Ukraine.

Mr. Trump's view, the letter explained, was that the war had to end, and that he had specific plans to broker this outcome quickly, even before being inaugurated, if he were elected.

While it was not possible to independently verify Mr. Orban's account, the positions laid out in the letter, obtained by The New York Times, largely track with Mr. Trump's long-held views on Ukraine.

It did not offer details about how Mr. Trump would end the intractable war, now in its third year, other than to indicate that he would reduce American financial support for Ukraine.

Mr. Orban is closely aligned with Mr. Trump and is the fiercest critic-from-within of the European Union's staunch backing of Ukraine.

*Marc Santora contributed reporting from Kyiv, and Maggie Astor from New York.*

### Mr. Orban Goes to Florida

The Hungarian prime minister was in Washington to attend the NATO summit and took time out to see Mr. Trump in Florida. The meeting capped a frantic two weeks of self-appointed diplomacy by Mr. Orban after his country took on the six-month rotating presidency of the European Union on July 1.

Mr. Orban has used the largely secretarial role to bounce around the world.

He visited President Vladimir V. Putin in Moscow; President Volodymyr Zelensky in Kyiv, Ukraine; and the Chinese leader, Xi Jinping, in Beijing. He then met with Mr. Trump, who during his campaign has sat down with a series of foreign officials aligned with his views.

None of Mr. Orban's recent visits were authorized by the European Union, which has severed ties with Russia and has a tense relationship with China.

The E.U. has helped arm Ukrainian forces and imposed broad sanctions against Russia in coordination with the Biden administration. It has also started talks to let Ukraine join as a full member.

Mr. Orban, a self-declared illiberal nationalist, is Mr. Putin's and Mr. Trump's closest — if not their only close — E.U. ally. Mr. Orban has long called for a cease-fire in Ukraine, a position untenable to Ukrainian leaders, who argue that it would lock in Russia's territorial gains.



ZOLTAN FISCHER/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE, VIA X ACCOUNT OF HUNGARY'S PRIME MINISTER

Donald J. Trump and Prime Minister Viktor Orban of Hungary on Thursday at Mr. Trump's Mar-a-Lago estate in Florida.

Several E.U. governments have been dismayed by Mr. Orban's globe-trotting. The European Commission, the bloc's executive branch, announced on Monday that it would not send prominent political figures to meetings in Hungary, in a symbolic soft boycott.

### What's in the Letter?

The letter, dated July 12 and first reported by The Financial Times, paints Mr. Trump's return to the presidency, and a subsequent Ukraine peace push, as a near certainty.

It is addressed to Charles Michel, the president of the European Council, the E.U. institution that convenes the national governments of the member countries and parses their preferences.

Mr. Orban uses his description of Mr. Trump's positions to advance a case that he has long made: that Europe should support an end to the war and make good with Russia, no matter the cost to Ukraine.

Among other things, Mr. Orban writes:

- "During my talks with President Trump, I came to a conclusion that foreign policy will play only a small role in his campaign, which is dominated by internal political questions. Therefore we can expect no peace initiative coming from him until the elections."
- "I can however surely state that shortly after his election victory, he will not wait until his inauguration, but will be ready to act as a peace broker immediately. He has detailed and well-founded plans for this."
- "I am more than convinced that in the likely outcome of the victory of President Trump, the proportion of the financial burden between the U.S. and the E.U. will significantly change to the E.U.'s disadvantage when it comes to the financial support of Ukraine."

Trump campaign officials and Hungarian officials did not immediately respond to requests for comment.

The letter suggests that Europe has followed the Biden administration's stance on Ukraine and should carve out its own approach. Mr. Orban writes:

- "Our European strategy in the name of trans-Atlantic unity has copied the pro-war policy of the U.S. We have not had a sovereign and independent European strategy or political action plan up to now."
- He proposes "reopening direct lines of diplomatic communication with Russia and the rehabilitation of such direct contacts in our political communication," while maintaining contacts with Ukraine.

### A Cautious Kyiv

Mr. Zelensky has tried to gather enough international support to make it more difficult for a Trump White House to dictate terms of a peace deal. He has been cautious about commenting on the U.S. election but has insisted that Republicans support Ukraine.

"I met with a lot of Republican governors. They treat Ukraine, the people of Ukraine, our soldiers, me, with great respect, and I see that we will develop these relations regardless" of the election's outcome, Mr. Zelensky said on Monday. "Therefore, I do not see any major threats here," he added.

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# Taiwan's Blunt Leader Raises China's Hackles

By CHRIS BUCKLEY and AMY CHANG CHIEN

TAIPEI, Taiwan — The long-smoldering tensions between China and Taiwan have been entering a more precarious phase. In recent months, Beijing has threatened to severely punish Taiwanese citizens who challenge China's claim to the island. More Chinese jets have buzzed the skies near it. Chinese Coast Guard ships have sailed near Taiwan's outer islands.

And the two sides have dug deeper into their opposing political positions.

When Lai Ching-te became Taiwan's president in May, he vowed to stick with the China policies of his predecessor, Tsai Ing-wen. Ms. Tsai sought to avoid confrontation even as she defended Taiwan's right to self-rule and rejected Beijing's assertion of sovereignty.

Yet Mr. Lai, while keeping Taiwan's basic policy toward China unchanged, has been blunter in rebuffing its demands. Ms. Tsai, a former trade law specialist, chose her words about China with care. Mr. Lai, who rose as a more plain-spoken politician, sees a need to lay out Taiwan's separate status more sharply.

"In his judgment, there's nothing to be gained from being ambiguous — the conclusion is that Beijing is going to press them, no matter what," said David Sacks, a fellow for Asia studies at the Council on Foreign Relations who analyzes relations between Taiwan and China.

"For decades, cross-strait relations really lay on ambiguities and not saying what you really think, but I think that a lot of that is being eliminated," Mr. Sacks said. "There's less room for maneuverability."

This shift does not mean that war or a regional crisis looms. The leader of China, Xi Jinping, is focused on fixing its economy and has indicated that he wants to keep tensions with the United States, Taiwan's security partner, in check. Chinese leaders also still hope to absorb Taiwan peacefully, and they have maintained contacts with the island's opposition Nationalist Party, which favors closer ties with Beijing.

But China's pressure tactics are likely to present Mr. Lai with hard choices about how and when to push back or exercise restraint.

"In this new chapter, it's like the tensions become the norm," Chen Kuan-ting, a lawmaker from Mr. Lai's Democratic Progressive Party, said in an interview.

"Trying to contain us and squeeze us tighter, trying to get us like this," Mr. Chen said, bracing his arms into a tightening hold. "It's not a hug."

**The new president draws a line.**

Mr. Lai is the second president in a row from the Democratic Progressive Party, which has turned to Western partners to hold China at bay.

A former mayor and lawmaker, Mr. Lai rose in the defiant traditions of his party. Even before his election, Beijing reviled him for describing himself in 2017 as a "pragmatic worker for Taiwan's independence," words meant to signal that he would defend Taiwan's autonomy without pursuing formal independence.

Still, officials in Beijing seemed taken aback by how starkly he drew a line between Taiwan and China in his high-profile May inauguration speech, several analysts said.

In the speech, Mr. Lai asserted that dialogue with Beijing is possible only if the two sides negotiate as separate equals, not — as Beijing wants — based on the idea that each side accepts that it is part of one Chinese nation.

Past Taiwanese presidents have also said that China and Taiwan should treat each other as distinct equals. But Beijing took more umbrage this time, partly because he said so in his inauguration speech, a manifesto for his four-year term, said Bonnie S. Glaser, an analyst of Taiwan and China at the German Marshall Fund of the United States.

"He just wanted to convey clearly that the two sides of the strait — they're two separate states," Ms. Glaser said. "He wants to, basically, begin his four years setting that as the base line, and telling the Chinese that they have to accept it."

In an interview with Time magazine, Mr. Lai set out his position: "According to international law, we are already a sovereign and independent country."

**The island plans a tougher military.**

Mr. Lai's supporters say his clearer position is part of an effort to bring more urgency to building up Taiwan's resilience against threats from China.

His new defense minister, Wellington Koo, has signaled that he wants to shake up the armed forces. He started by putting an end to ceremonial formalities like goose-step marching in parades.

Mr. Lai has vowed to continue Taiwan's military buildup, and some experts argue that the island should lengthen conscription — already extended recently to 12 months — to amass enough well-trained troops to deter Beijing.

While China's leader, Mr. Xi, has dismissed speculation that he has a plan to invade Taiwan in the coming years, many Taiwanese officials are convinced that their island will be vulnerable unless it quickly steps up preparedness. The upcoming presidential election in the United States adds another element of unpredictability to the tensions.

"The situation is heading in the direction of greater conflict," I-Chung Lai, the president of the Prospect Foundation, a think tank affiliated with the Taiwanese government, said at a seminar in Taipei this month. "Fundamentally, we can't see any final balancing point."

**Beijing is squeezing its neighbor.**

More than 300 Chinese military aircraft flew near Taiwan in June, the second-highest monthly count since Taiwan's Ministry of National Defense began regularly issuing such data in 2020, according to PLATracker, a site that analyzes the data.

China has sent groups of coast guard ships into waters off Kinmen, a Taiwan-controlled island near the Chinese coast, more than 30 times in recent months, eroding a longstanding understanding against such incursions. The forays began after two Chinese fishermen died in the area in February, when their boat capsized as they tried to flee the Taiwanese Coast Guard.

Chinese military officials have said they will not be letting up.

"If Taiwan independence tries to take one step forward, we'll take one step forward with our retaliatory measures, until full unification of the motherland is achieved," Senior Col. Wu Qian, a spokesman for China's Ministry of National Defense, said in a brief interview last month in Singapore.

For all that military swagger, Chinese leaders seem concerned that their warnings are not having the desired effect on opinion in Taiwan, said Lyle J. Morris, a senior fellow in the Center for China Analysis under the Asia Society. "I see increasing worry that Beijing's levers of influence over Taiwan are narrowing," he said, citing comments from Chinese officials.

That anxiety, Mr. Morris added, seemed to partly motivate China's release of legal guidelines last month that raised the threat of imprisonment — even execution, in extreme cases — for people deemed to be "Taiwan independence die-hards."

Chinese law had already banned pro-independence activity, but the new guidelines went into greater detail about the prohibited conduct and the potential punishments.

In response, Taiwan warned its citizens not to travel to China unless necessary. Mr. Lai also spoke out about the new rules.

"Democracy is not a crime; autocracy is what's truly malicious," he wrote on social media. "Once again, I urge China to choose dialogue with Taiwan's democratically elected government."



I-HWA CHENG/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

People on Kinmen, a Taiwan-controlled island, watching President Lai Ching-te's inaugural address.

# *North Korea Has Purged Top Consuls, Defector Says*

By CHOE SANG-HUN

SEOUL — Two senior North Korean diplomats who negotiated with the United States when the North's leader, Kim Jong-un, exchanged threats of war and later held summit talks with President Donald J. Trump were purged a few years ago — one executed and the other sentenced to a penal colony, a North Korean defector said this week.

There was no independent confirmation of the allegations nor was it clear whether the punitive actions stemmed from the failure of the diplomatic efforts. But the breakdown of the talks was widely seen as a major embarrassment for Mr. Kim.

The defector, Ri Il-kyu, 52, made the comments in an interview with a newspaper in Seoul, which was also the first time his defection became public. Mr. Ri was a political counselor at the North Korean Embassy in Cuba when he fled to South Korea last November. He is the most senior North Korean official known to defect to the South in nearly a decade.

In the interview, conducted by the conservative daily Chosun Ilbo on Sunday and published on Tuesday, Mr. Ri spoke about the fates of Ri Yong-ho and Han Song-ryol, the former a foreign minister and the latter a deputy. They were among the best-known North Korean diplomats dealing with Washington. But they soon disappeared from North Korean state media.

Mr. Ri, the former foreign minister, accompanied Mr. Kim to his two summit meetings with Mr. Trump. He was sent to a prison camp in December 2019 on charges of collecting bribes from a North Korean diplomat in Beijing, the defector said. Mr. Ri, the foreign minister, was the most senior North Korean official to have been reported as "purged" in the wake of the breakdown of Mr. Kim's talks with Mr. Trump.

Mr. Han was executed in February 2019 on charges of spying for Washington, Mr. Ri told the Chosun Ilbo. Senior officials of the North Korean Foreign Ministry had gathered to witness his execution by firing squad at a military academy in a suburb of Pyongyang, the capital of North Korea, he said.

"For days, those who watched it could hardly eat anything," Mr. Ri said, adding that he did not attend the execution because he was preparing to travel to the North Korean Embassy in Cuba at the time.

The South Korean spy agency on Tuesday declined to comment on the allegations.

Mr. Kim and Mr. Trump held the first summit meeting between their two countries in Singapore in June 2018. But their diplomacy collapsed when their second meeting, held in Hanoi in February 2019, ended without an agreement on how to roll back North Korea's nuclear weapons program or when to ease United Nations sanctions imposed on the North.

Mr. Han, who had long worked at the North Korean mission at the United Nations, was best known as Pyongyang's point man in the so-called New York channel, a rare diplomatic conduit between Pyongyang and Washington. He returned home in 2013 to become vice foreign minister in charge of U.S. relations.

But Mr. Han was sidelined a few months before the Singapore meeting and, according to Mr. Ri, the defector, executed a couple weeks before Mr. Kim's second summit with Mr. Trump.

North Korean defectors living in South Korea have alleged in recent years that Mr. Han was charged with spying for Washington after he was discovered to possess a large sum of American dollars following his stint at the U.N.

Since taking power in 2011, Mr. Kim has engineered a series of bloody political purges to remove or execute many senior officials seen as obstacles to his power or blamed for policy failures. Jang Song-thaek, Mr. Kim's uncle, was executed in 2013 on charges of corruption and plotting a military coup against Mr. Kim. The leader's half brother, Kim Jong-nam, was assassinated by North Korean agents in Kuala Lumpur International Airport in 2017.

Mr. Ri told the Chosun Ilbo that he decided to defect to South Korea after his bosses at the Foreign Ministry in Pyongyang demanded bribes and the ministry rejected his request to travel to Mexico for treatment for back pain. He was the most senior North Korean diplomat to defect to Seoul since Thae Yong-ho, a minister at the North Korean Embassy in London, fled to South Korea in 2016.

Mr. Ri said he once shared tea with Mr. Kim. "When you see him in person, the first thing that comes to your mind is: 'He must have a very high blood pressure,'" he said, echoing widespread speculation on Mr. Kim's health. "His face is red as if he is always drunk. It is redder than you see it on TV."

# *Flooding Kills Dozens Across South Asia as Monsoon Patterns Shift*

By SAMEER YASIR

Torrential rainfall and floods have killed more than 200 people and displaced millions across South Asia, the result of more frequent extreme weather and rapid urbanization that has pushed people into flood-prone areas.

In recent days, more than 100 people were killed in India alone and nearly 40 died in Afghanistan. Flooding and landslides have killed more than 100 people in Nepal in recent weeks. In Bangladesh, more than two million people were affected when dangerous flooding after heavy rains caused major rivers to overflow.

Swollen rivers have breached embankments, particularly in India and Bangladesh, ravaging buildings, bridges and other infrastructure. Rains have also destroyed villages and crops.

Floods are not unusual in South Asia, home to about one quarter of the world's population. Every year, the monsoon season, which usually begins in June and lasts until September, brings rains that are crucial for millions of farmers in India and other South Asian countries. But in recent years, climate change has amplified flood threats.

Roxy Mathew Koll, a climate scientist at the Indian Institute of Tropical Meteorology, a research center, said extreme rainfall events in India have tripled since 1950, according to his research.

"We need to be perpetually prepared for these kind of extreme rainfall events across South Asia," Mr. Koll said. "There is a definite shift in monsoon patterns with more extreme rainfall events and long dry spells becoming a new reality."

Scientists say rapid urbanization and the expansion of towns and cities along river banks and coastlines have also increased chances of flood-related fatalities.

On Monday, the Indian Meteorological Department predicted heavy rains in several parts of the country this week, including in northeastern states like Assam, where floods have already affected more than 2.4 million people and about 1,340 villages are under water.

The Kaziranga National Park in Assam, a world heritage site and a home of the one-horned rhino, has lost nearly 200 animals, including 10 rhinos and 179 hog deer, officials said.

In Nepal, at least 106 people have died since early June, when torrential rains set off flooding and landslides. Recently, two buses carrying 66 passengers were swept by a landslide into a swollen river. Just three people are believed to have survived. Rescuers found 13 bodies and the rest of the passengers are still missing.

"Most people died in landslides, floods and lightning," said Anil Pokhrel, chief executive at Nepal's National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Authority, a government agency.

The rains caused hardship for another 2,000 people, leaving many homes and farms destroyed.

In India, the downpours have tested the limits of the country's infrastructure. Dozens of bridges in the state of Bihar were washed away, and a portion of the roof collapsed at New Delhi's airport, one of the country's busiest airports. Newly built roads developed large fissures in many places.

In Uttar Pradesh, India's largest state, about a million people have been affected, and flash floods have turned streets into raging rivers. Railway lines and bridges have been severely damaged. Around 1,500 villages were affected and five people were killed just this week, officials said.

In an indication of how quickly disaster can strike during flooding, two 8-year-old girls were lost last week in rising waters in Assam as they followed the grandmother of one in search of missing cattle.

"They were walking behind her when they disappeared," said Bishnu Bordoloi, the father of one of the girls. They were among two dozen children who drowned in the state.

*Bhadra Sharma contributed reporting from Kathmandu, Nepal.*



ANUPAM NATH/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Floodwaters in the state of Assam, India. In recent years, climate change has amplified flood threats during the monsoon season.



NIRANJAN SHRESTHA/ASSOCIATED PRESS

A river barreling down a mountain in Kathmandu, Nepal. Flooding and landslides have killed more than 100 people in Nepal.



MOHAMMAD PONIR HOSSAIN/REUTERS

Navigating after a downpour in Dhaka, Bangladesh. Rapid urbanization along river banks and coastlines has increased risks.

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The New York Times

# ‘I’m Just Done’: Some in Houston Weigh Leaving After Beryl

## Back-to-Back Storms Knocked Out Power, Raising Fears of Future

By J. DAVID GOODMAN




LEKAN OYEKANMI/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Crews in Houston worked to restore power last week in the wake of Hurricane Beryl. The city was still recovering from a major storm that hit two months ago.

HOUSTON — Houston is no stranger to natural disasters, but living through two crippling power outages in two months has driven some in the city to consider what may be the ultimate evacuation plan: moving out.

The more powerful of the storms, Hurricane Beryl, devastated the power infrastructure over nearly the entire city. When it hit, thousands of people were already living in shelters and hotels, according to state officials, because they had been displaced by an earlier weather event, the spring thunderstorms that caused wind damage and flooding.

Driving around Houston, it can be hard to tell which of the storms that crashed through the city had mangled the highway billboards, torn out the fences or knocked down the trees still strewn along roadsides.

Everyone knows how long it took to get their power back from the first big storm — and when they lost it again. A second round of spoiled food. Of sweltering temperatures. Of emergency plans. In many cases, of repairs to homes that were damaged in the major May storm had yet to be finished when Beryl arrived as a Category 1 hurricane.

For some, it was too much.

“I’m just done,” said Stephanie Fuqua, 52, who moved to Houston in 2015 and plans to leave in the fall.

Ms. Fuqua’s home had flooded during Hurricane Harvey in 2017. She shivered under blankets for three days when the state’s electrical grid failed during the winter of 2021. Then came the most recent storms, which left her sweltering without power.

“I’m tired of the trauma,” she said. When her lease is up in November, she said, she plans to move to a place where she has family, possibly Arkansas, Mississippi or South Carolina. “I love Houston. If it weren’t for the hurricanes and CenterPoint, I would stay here,” she said.

More than 2.2 million customers of the local utility, CenterPoint Energy, were without power at the peak of the outages last week. As of late Monday, around 135,000 were still in the dark.

Gov. Greg Abbott, who was on an economic development mission in Asia for most of last week, blamed the utility for the widespread power failures, saying on Monday that it had “dropped the ball.” He threated to take action himself if the company did not provide clear plans for improvement.

The back-to-back blows left Houston, which prides itself on its resilience and optimism, unusually shaken and unsure of the future. Those who could afford them scrambled for generators, fearing what a storm even more powerful than Beryl, rated as a Category 1 when it made landfall, might do.

“Beryl was the weakest a hurricane could be. Why does it feel like Houston isn’t the same?” The Houston Chronicle asked in a headline.

“I think this storm has broken people,” said Lawrence Febo, 47, who works in the energy sector and was without power for six days in the hurricane after being in the dark for four days in the May storm. “It’s the energy capital of the world and we cannot electrify a couple of million people?”

Then there was the matter of trees falling onto houses during the two storms.

“It came through my kitchen, took out half my house,” said Michael McCormack, 32, describing the large pine tree that crashed down during the May thunderstorms.

Mr. McCormack, a remote worker in software sales, had moved to Houston a little more than a year earlier from Seattle, drawn by the “cost of living, friendly people and better weather.” He was out of power for eight days — one of around a million customers who lost power during that storm.

With his lights still out, he looked to move farther inland to Fort Worth, or even back to the Pacific Northwest. But the logistics were complicated, so he and his 3-year-old dog, Chevy, moved to another rental house in Houston, not far away.

Then Hurricane Beryl hit and he lost power again. For days.

“I had water streaming in through my attic. I’m like, not again,” he said. “When my lease is up here, I have to make a judgment call.”

Leslie Schover, 71, a psychologist, said she had been thinking about moving, but there was the matter of a destination. “I just think, ‘Where would I go?’ ” she said. “There are climate-change weather dangers everywhere. And if I tried to live closer to my son in New York, it’s very expensive.”

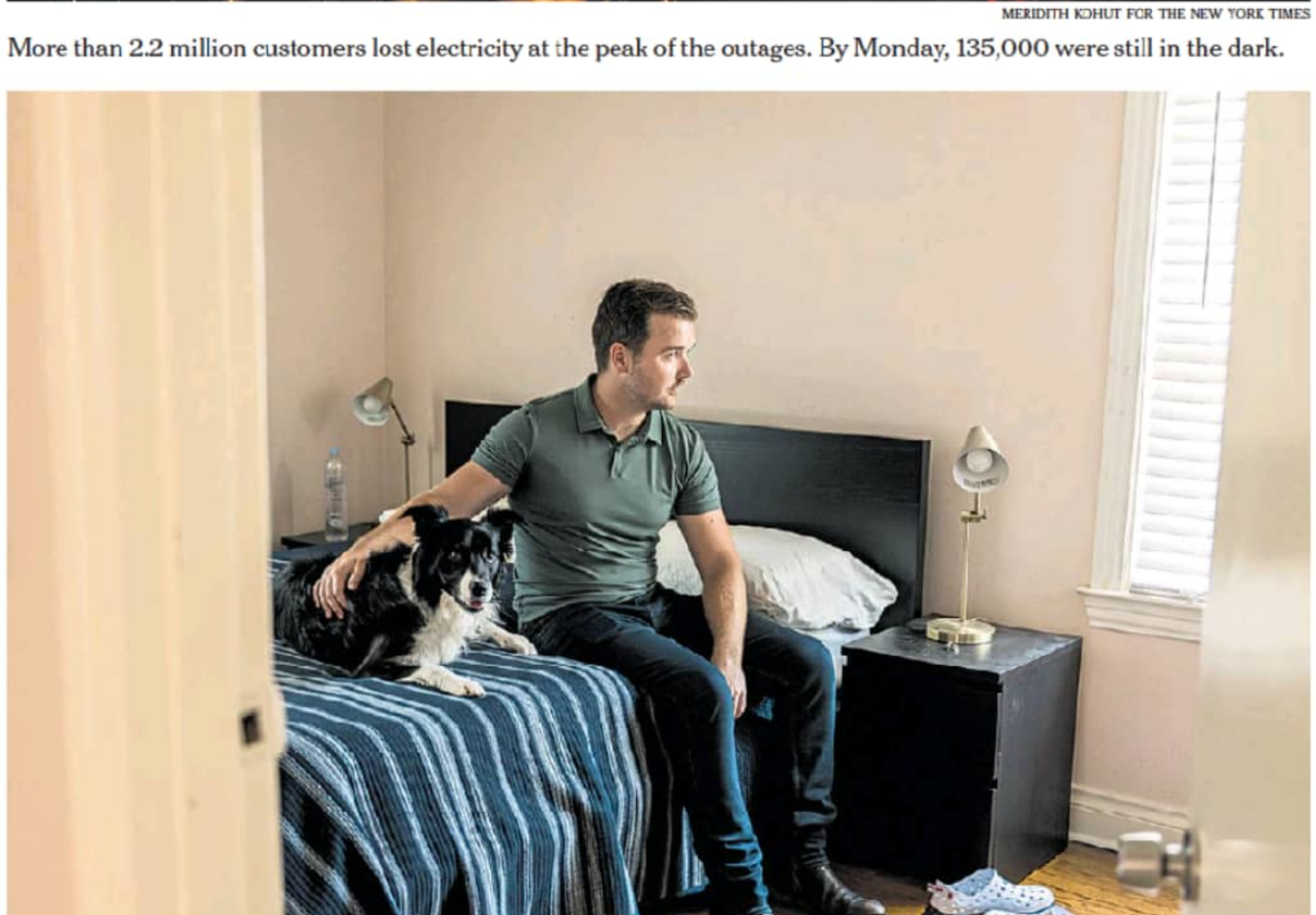
Climate migration is a global phenomenon, but Houston may be particularly vulnerable. The city has long attracted transplants from other parts of the country seeking job opportunities and lower living costs.

*Robert Gebeloff contributed reporting from New York.*



MERIDITH KOHUT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

More than 2.2 million customers lost electricity at the peak of the outages. By Monday, 135,000 were still in the dark.



MERIDITH KOHUT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Michael McCormack, 32, a remote worker who was drawn to Houston from Seattle, is reckoning with where to go next.

Those who have recently arrived may have less of what is sometimes called “place attachment” — essentially, the kind of connection people have to the area where they live — making them perhaps more open to departing after a natural disaster, experts in disaster response said.

A 2020 study of disasters in the United States going back nearly 100 years found that “severe disasters increase out-migration rates” in the years after.

“Areas that fail to protect local quality of life in the face of extreme events will suffer a ‘brain drain’ as people and jobs will migrate to relatively safer areas,” one of the authors of the study, Matthew Kahn, an economics professor at the University of Southern California, said in an email.

Even before the storms, Harris County, which includes Houston, had been experiencing net negative migration from other parts of the country: Since 2016, according to U.S. census data, more people have left Harris County for other counties than have moved in from elsewhere. That trend continued after 2017 when Hurricane Harvey flooded large areas of the city.

**‘It’s the energy capital of the world and we cannot electrify a couple of million people?’**

LAWRENCE FEBO, who lost power for multiple days in both storms.

In 2023, for the first time, pollsters from the University of Houston’s Hobby School of Public Affairs asked about whether city residents had considered leaving. More than half of those surveyed said yes, with about a quarter saying it was because of the weather.

“By far, Gen Z and millennials were the most concerned about weather,” said Renée Cross, the researcher and senior executive director of the Hobby School. (Those who identified themselves as Republicans were more likely to say crime was their major issue, she said.)

At the same time, the population of the counties around Houston has been growing. The situation has been largely mirrored in other parts of Texas. In Dallas, for example, the county that includes the city has seen more people leaving for other states than coming in from them. But the surrounding, suburban counties are booming.

How much of that is a result of how cities manage weather emergencies is unknown. Certainly, not everyone is ready to throw in their towels.

Jim McIngvale, a furniture store owner known as Mattress Mack who is perhaps Houston’s biggest and most ubiquitous booster, conceded that the image of the city had “taken a hit,” but he said it could be turned around.

“You stay the course,” Mr. McIngvale said, sitting in one of his furniture showrooms, an Astros hat on his head. A carved wood statue proclaiming “Houston Strong” stood nearby. “The people have a lot of fight in them,” he said.

Katie Mears, who leads U.S. response work for Episcopal Relief and Development, a nonprofit, said one important aspect of climate migration was the disparity in who can afford to engage in it.

“The narrative of overcoming is appealing, but some people do leave,” they said. “In these migration patterns, it’s usually the rich people who go first,” they said, as well as those who are younger and more highly educated.

At a cooling center and food distribution site in north Houston on Monday, no one talked about leaving town as they idled in a long line of cars waiting for water and some food to take home.

One woman, Nancy Evans, 96, said she could not imagine moving from her house in the Acres Homes neighborhood.

Perry Murry, 60, who grew up in Houston and has used a wheelchair since he was shot as a teenager, said he took refuge in his Toyota Camry during the recent outages, relying on its air-conditioning to stay cool. He did the same in the 2021 winter freeze, blasting the car’s heat. He said he would never leave.

“I’ve got Texans on my hat, Texans on my shirt, Texans on my feet,” he added, pointing to his apparel, emblazoned with the Houston Texans football logo. “This is my city.”

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**2024 Election** Republican National Convention

# The Ohio Steel Town That Shaped Vance Struggles to Regain Its Footing

*This article is by Campbell Robertson, Kevin Williams and Madeleine Hordinski.*

Middletown, Ohio, a small city of tree-lined streets surrounding a sprawling steel mill, seems as far from the towering skyscrapers of New York as it gets.

But on Monday, they were suddenly linked: Donald Trump, a real estate heir, tapped Middletown's most famous son, J.D. Vance, as his running mate.

Millions of people first learned of Middletown from "Hillbilly Elegy," Mr. Vance's best-selling memoir and the Hollywood movie that followed.

Mr. Vance, 39, wrote about his chaotic upbringing there, raised in the intermittent care of a single mother struggling with addiction. In his depiction, Middletown was "little more than a relic of American industrial glory," a place "hemorrhaging jobs and hope."

His bleak portrait of the city north of Cincinnati, was initially held up as reference guide for urbanites on the coasts desperate to understand Mr. Trump's appeal among the struggling white working class.

Mr. Vance's explanation was a stark one: Some of Middletown's woes were caused by the damaging decisions of government and big business, but the deeper problems lay in the fatalism, indolence and victim mentality of the city's white working class.

The problems in his community "run far deeper than macroeconomic trends and policy," Mr. Vance wrote in his book. "There is a lack of agency here — a feeling that you have little control over your life and a willingness to blame everyone but yourself."

Middletown, which has begun to stabilize after decades of decline, was at its lowest point in the years that Mr. Vance chronicled. Some people in the nicer parts of town thought Mr. Vance had been unfair, said Jason Moore, 39, a truck driver who was a year behind Mr. Vance in high school. But, he said, "people in this part of town would say he nailed it."

When Mr. Vance's grandparents moved to Middletown from eastern Kentucky in the 1940s, the city was in what most people say were its golden years. A half-dozen paper mills ran alongside the Armco steel mill, and the business owners lived in grand houses in town, bankrolling cultural festivals and a local symphony.

Most of the steelworkers — a mix of first- and second-generation European immigrants, Black families who had moved up from the Deep South and white families from Appalachia — were represented by an independent and locally run union.

Middletown was, as Look Magazine declared in 1957, an "All-America City," and many of its residents thought of it that way.

Mr. Vance's grandfather, a mill worker, had been among those who found a foothold of economic security in Middletown, moving his family into a two-story house across from a park. But that stability was fleeting. Mr. Vance's mother had a child as a teenager, divorced, remarried and, in 1984, gave birth to Mr. Vance, just as the city's prosperity was beginning to founder.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the American steel industry collapsed across the Midwest. The Middletown steelworks were no exception. In 1985, Armco's corporate leadership decamped for the East Coast, draining the city of money, while the steel mill went through round after round of layoffs. Those who kept their jobs, some former employees said, found it an ever more miserable and more dangerous place to work.

Middletown struggled. Government-subsidized rentals began proliferating in the empty houses at a rate the city's social services were not equipped to handle. Shopping centers were boarded up and the city pools were filled with concrete. Many residents turned to drugs, including Mr. Vance's mother, who became addicted to narcotics. Her life became erratic as she cycled among boyfriends, and Mr. Vance sought refuge with "Mamaw," his hard-edge but protective grandmother.

This was the Middletown Mr. Vance knew in his childhood.

"That was how most of us lived," said Rodney Muterspaw, 55, who spent decades on the city's police force, five of them as chief.

Mr. Muterspaw went on to describe some of the larger context of the city's distress. He recalled with regret that law enforcement responded to the growing drug epidemic by focusing disproportionately on low-income neighborhoods. And he remembered being sent as a police officer to monitor locked-out workers picketing the steel mill, essentially ordered, he said, to spy on "our dads, our brothers, our uncles." Once an All-America city, Middletown appeared to have turned against itself.

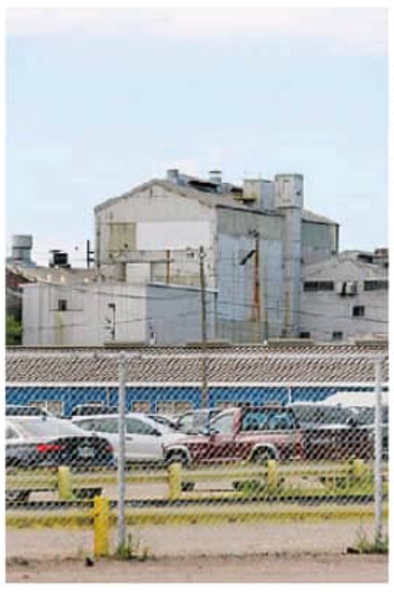
Various attempts to lift the city's fortunes failed, reinforcing a pessimism among many residents. In his book, Mr. Vance mentioned that efforts to revive the downtown were "futile," a cynicism about government intentions that is far from rare.

"I've never seen a city that loves to hate itself as much as Middletown does," Mr. Muterspaw said.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY MADELEINE HORDINSKI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Millions of people first learned of Middletown, Ohio, from "Hillbilly Elegy," Senator J.D. Vance's best-selling memoir. Below left, the city's steel mill, owned by Cleveland-Cliffs, which plans a nearly $2 billion upgrade. Below right, a storefront window downtown.







**'I've never seen a city that loves to hate itself as much as Middletown does.'**

RODNEY MUTERSPAW, above, a former police chief of Middletown.



The home where Mr. Vance lived growing up, center. The stability Mr. Vance's grandfather sought in moving there was fleeting.

Some of Mr. Vance's teachers did not recall any signs of Mr. Vance's struggles at home, though by high school, he wrote in his memoir, he had found some stability living with his grandmother.

At least one teacher remembered his growing political consciousness.

"His grasp and understanding of government and politics was extraordinary," said Mike Stratton, 79, who taught Mr. Vance's Advanced Placement English class at Middletown High.

When class discussion turned to politics, Mr. Stratton recalled, Mr. Vance was an outspoken Republican: supporting limited government and then-President George W. Bush. Mr. Vance's views were fairly standard Republican fare at the time, said Mr. Stratton, a Democrat.

"Middletown was a hotbed of conservative Republicanism back then, but J.D. Vance was a moderate," he said.

Mr. Stratton said that these days, Mr. Vance's political rhetoric, with its hard-right populism, seems quite different from what he heard in his classroom more than two decades ago.

Mr. Vance graduated from high school in 2003, when the city was still at its nadir, and joined the Marines. He built from there — degrees from Ohio State and Yale Law School, a job at a Silicon Valley venture capital firm, election to the U.S. Senate and now a place on a presidential ticket.

This rapid rise was fueled in large part by the success of "Hillbilly Elegy," which attributed his community's woes in large part on "a culture that increasingly encourages social decay instead of counteracting it."

Mr. Vance speaks differently now, blaming the ills of his community on immigration and elites, a far more populist tone.

Last year, after a freight train carrying hazardous chemicals derailed and burned in the industrial town of East Palestine, Ohio, Mr. Vance excoriated the "bicoastal elite," saying that they use places like East Palestine "for cheap propaganda," while reserving their sympathy for "Ukrainians, extreme sexual minorities, and criminals."

Elites, Mr. Vance said, ignored the fact that their prosperity was only possible because of "heartland labor, heartland sweat, and heartland peril."

That labor never stopped in Middletown, even in the grim years that Mr. Vance described in his book.

The steel mill's current owner, Cleveland-Cliffs, announced this spring that it was investing nearly $2 billion to upgrade the plant, with $500 million of that coming through a grant from the Biden administration. The plan was cheered by the local of the International Association of Machinists, the union that now represents workers at the mill.

Attempts to turn the city's fortunes around have continued, and some major projects have gotten underway, including Renaissance Pointe, described as a $200 million "epicenter" for stores, restaurants and hotels.

But reversing four decades of declining fortune is hard work. Downtown, there are brew pubs and a wine bar, but also plenty of empty storefronts.

Ami Vitori, 50, left Middletown after high school. But she came back in 2015, and in recent years has renovated an abandoned building downtown, attracting a restaurant, retail and even a boutique hotel. Mr. Vance praised her efforts in a 2017 New York Times opinion piece, which explained his decision to return to Ohio and open a nonprofit.

That nonprofit has since folded; Mr. Vance now lives in Cincinnati.

"Vance left Middletown behind a long time ago," Ms. Vitori said. To her, his interest in his hometown nowadays seemed limited to using it as symbol of what he has overcome.

George F. Lang, a Republican state senator who represents Middletown, pushed back on that notion. He pointed out that Mr. Vance had announced his 2022 run for Senate in the city and also opened his regional senate office there. "The most important thing he can do for Middletown," Mr. Lang said, "is be the example that he is."

Given Mr. Vance's ongoing rise to prominence, Ms. Vitori said she hoped for more.

"I honestly hope he's done what he's had to do to get where he is," she said. "And once he's there, he may actually try to do some good for people and places like Middletown."

# Where Vance Stands on Key Political Issues, From Abortion to the Middle East

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

Senator J.D. Vance of Ohio, Donald J. Trump's newly chosen running mate, has made a shift from the Trump critic he was when he first entered politics to the loyalist he is today. It was a shift both in style and substance: Now, on topics as disparate as trade and Ukraine, Mr. Vance is closely aligned with Mr. Trump.

Here's a look at where the senator stands on the issues that will most likely dominate the campaign ahead and, should Mr. Trump and Mr. Vance win in November, their years in the White House.

### Abortion

Mr. Vance opposes abortion rights, even in the case of incest or rape, but says there should be exceptions for cases when the mother's life is in danger. He praised the U.S. Supreme Court decision overturning Roe v. Wade. As he ran for Senate in 2022, a headline on the issues section of his campaign website read simply: "Ban Abortion."

That said, Mr. Vance, like Mr. Trump, opposes a national abortion ban, saying the issue should now be left to the states. "Ohio is going to want to have a different abortion policy from California, from New York, and I think that's reasonable," he said in an interview with USA Today Network in October 2022.

### Ukraine

Mr. Vance has been one of the leading opponents of U.S. support for Ukraine in the war with Russia. "I think it's ridiculous that we're focused on this border in Ukraine," he said in a podcast interview with Stephen K. Bannon, the former Trump adviser and longtime ally. "I've got to be honest with you, I don't really care what happens to Ukraine one way or the other."

He led the battle in the Senate, unsuccessfully, to block a $60 billion military aid package for Ukraine. "I voted against this package in the Senate and remain opposed to virtually any proposal for the United States to continue funding this war," he wrote in an opinion essay for The New York Times early this year challenging President Biden's stance on the war. "Mr. Biden has failed to articulate even basic facts about what Ukraine needs and how this aid will change the reality on the ground."

### Immigration

Immigration was the subject of Mr. Vance's first advertisements in his 2022 campaign for the Senate in Ohio. While most ads are written by consultants, Mr. Vance said he wrote this one himself: "Joe Biden's open border is killing Ohioans," he says, looking straight into the camera. "With more illegal drugs and more Democrat voters pouring into this country."

Mr. Vance's views on immigration largely echo Mr. Trump. He wants to finish construction of the border wall and proclaimed that he would "oppose every attempt to grant amnesty" to immigrants who arrived here illegally. He favors what he called a merit-based system for immigrants seeking to settle here.

Mr. Vance argues that undocumented immigrants are a source of cheap labor that undercuts wages for American-born workers in states like Ohio. "If you cannot hire illegal migrants to staff your hotels, then you have to go to one of the seven million prime-age American men who are out of the labor force and find some way to re-engage them."

### Jan. 6

"I think the election was stolen from Trump," Mr. Vance said during the Republican primary for his Ohio seat, putting him firmly in the camp of election deniers.

Mr. Vance dismissed the idea that Mr. Trump played a role in instigating the demonstrators who stormed the Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021. And he said that if he had been Mr. Trump's vice president then, he would have bowed to Mr. Trump's demand and rejected electoral votes from several swing states won by Mr. Biden in 2020.

And he is skeptical that former Vice President Mike Pence, who hid in a stairway as members of the mob streamed through the hallways, was in danger because he refused to block, in his role as president of the Senate, the vote validating Mr. Biden's victory.

"I think politics and politics people like to really exaggerate things from time to time," he said on CNN. "Look, Jan. 6 was a bad day. It was a riot. But the idea that Donald Trump endangered anyone's lives when he told them to protest peacefully, it's just absurd."

### Tariffs

Mr. Vance has called for "broad-based tariffs, especially on goods coming in from China," because they pose an unfair threat to American jobs and commerce, he said. "We need to protect American industries from all of the competition," he said on CBS's "Face the Nation."

In that stance, Mr. Vance is again largely in line with Mr. Trump, who has proposed a 10 percent across-the-board tariff on goods coming into the country.

That idea has come under fire from Democrats and many economists, who warn that it would be inflationary. But Mr. Vance rejected the criticism as overblown.

He said in the CBS interview that applying tariffs is like saying "we're going to penalize you for using slave labor in China and importing that stuff in the United States." And, he added: "You end up making more stuff in America, in Pennsylvania, in Ohio and in Michigan."

### Climate

Mr. Vance has said climate change is not a threat and has said he is skeptical of the scientific consensus that warming of the earth's atmosphere is caused by human activity. "It's been changing, as others pointed out, it's been changing for millennia," he told the American Leadership Forum.

Mr. Vance is a strong supporter of the oil and gas industry — which is dominant in his home state — and has voiced opposition to wind and solar energy, and electric vehicles.

### Middle East

Mr. Vance has been a steadfast supporter of Israel throughout the country's war in Gaza, defending its wartime policies in the face of growing criticism over the civilian death toll.

When members of the Senate considered a bill providing military aide to both Israel and Ukraine, Mr. Vance led a group of senators proposing legislation to send money only to Israel. Echoing the words of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel, he said the country needed to eliminate Hamas after the terrorist group's deadly Oct. 7 attack on Israel.

"Israel has an achievable objective," Mr. Vance wrote in a memo he circulated among Senate Republicans before introducing the bill. "Ukraine does not."

Mr. Vance assailed President Biden for delaying the shipment of weapons to Israel as tensions grew between the White House and Mr. Netanyahu's government.

He acknowledged the civilian casualties in Gaza — "our heart certainly goes out to them," he said — but he maintained that the blame for that lies not with Israel, but with Hamas.

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**NEWS ANALYSIS**

# *In Vance, Trump Signals a Torchbearer for the MAGA Movement*

By SHANE GOLDMACHER

MILWAUKEE — For nearly nine years, Donald J. Trump has been the singular face of Republican politics and the undisputed leader of the Make America Great Again movement. On Monday, the former president came as close as he may ever come to anointing a successor.

The choice of J.D. Vance as Mr. Trump's running mate, a politician nearly 40 years his junior, immediately vaults the first-term senator to the forefront of a G.O.P. future that is not so far away.

If elected in November, Mr. Trump, 78, can serve only a single term — the 22nd Amendment states that no person shall be elected president more than twice — a rarity for a candidate naming a potential vice president. That short tenure has added extra urgency to the question of what comes next for Trumpism, a movement inextricably tethered to one man who has so thoroughly transformed the Republican Party.

Mr. Vance, 39, is the first millennial to make a major presidential ticket, a Marine veteran and a politician who has thoroughly remade himself as a full-throated MAGA enthusiast. In recent months, it was Mr. Vance's aggressive defense of Trumpism and Mr. Trump, even on mainstream news outlets, that helped him stand out for the former president as a worthy inheritor.

"Trump is going to hold on to the MAGA baton for as long as he can," said Chip Saltsman, a longtime Republican strategist. But Mr. Vance, he added, is "somebody that's going to have an inside track, a head start on getting the MAGA baton in four years."

The changing of the ideological guard was clearly, and at times uncomfortably, apparent on the convention floor on Monday. Mentions of Mr. Vance's name earned roars of approval. The face of Senator Mitch McConnell, an avatar of the pre-Trump G.O.P., inspired boos when he appeared on the big screens above delegates.

Mr. Trump, whose fame soared from hosting the television show "The Apprentice" for more than a decade, has long been leery of anointing anyone a successor. He made his choice of Mr. Vance after months of deliberations and less than 48 hours after an assassination attempt at a rally in Pennsylvania that has rattled the nation.

"President Trump and I have talked about this a great deal and I feel certain J.D. feels the same way," said Senator Bill Hagerty of Tennessee, a close Republican ally of the former president. "What they're focused on right now is not some sort of long-term vision, it's about November."

Still, as Alex Conant, a veteran Republican strategist who has worked on presidential campaigns, put it, "The next presidential race starts in January 2025."

Jeff Kaufmann, the chairman of the Republican Party in Iowa, where the nominating contest will begin yet again in 2028, hailed Mr. Vance as representing "a new generation of Donald Trump policies."

Representative Ashley Hinson of Iowa called the choice "inspired."

"I'm 41 and J.D.'s 39, right? So I think about that next generation of Republican leader — I'm inspired by this pick," Ms. Hinson said. "I'm sure he'll be back in Iowa a lot."

Any succession plan is far from secured.

As Mike Pence, Mr. Trump's vice president, can attest, the balancing act of serving as the No. 2 to Mr. Trump is uniquely perilous. Mr. Pence spent almost the entirety of his four years as a loyal lieutenant. Yet his decision to certify the 2020 election on Jan. 6, 2021 — as Trump supporters constructed gallows for the vice president outside the Capitol — forever tarnished the Trump-Pence relationship.

Mr. Vance, notably, has said he would not have certified the election.

Mr. Vance is not viewed as the politically safe pick. He has been serving in public office for just 18 months. He has never been through a presidential run, unlike the other top contenders, Senator Marco Rubio of Florida and Gov. Doug Burgum of North Dakota.

Mr. Vance has also embraced some more radical and far-reaching ideas aligned with Mr. Trump, including once calling for the firing of "every civil servant in the administrative state" to replace them with "our people." More recently, in a post on X, he blamed President Biden and the Democrats for rhetoric that "led directly to President Trump's attempted assassination."

Not so long ago, Mr. Vance's acid pen was trained on Mr. Trump.

Back in 2016, Mr. Vance called him "cultural heroin" and even compared him to Hitler. After the election, Mr. Vance's best-selling book, "Hillbilly Elegy," was almost required reading for liberals seeking to understand how Democrats had fumbled away an election in which working-class white voters turned out in record numbers to elect Mr. Trump.

*The first millennial to make a major presidential ticket.*

Now Mr. Trump is betting there is no one more devoted than a convert.



HAIYUN JIANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Senator J.D. Vance with his wife, Usha. Many in the party expect Mr. Vance's elevation will help appeals to a new generation.

Republicans hope Mr. Vance's elevation to the ticket will cement the new demographic appeals of the Republican Party to the working class. In his book, Mr. Vance recounted his own hardscrabble upbringing in poor corners of Ohio and Kentucky.

"We've seen a movement in the Republican Party to appeal to more blue-collar workers — it's a continuation of that," said Gov. Mike DeWine, Republican of Ohio, who has disagreed sharply with both Mr. Trump and Mr. Vance on some issues, including aid to Ukraine. Mr. DeWine said the pick showed that the former president "wants someone who is closely aligned to him on policy."

Mr. Biden's first remarks about Mr. Vance on Monday were to tag him as "a clone of Trump on the issues."

The choice of Mr. Vance was also a victory for the more isolationist forces pressing for an America First ideology. Tucker Carlson, the former Fox News host who is slated to speak at the convention later in the week, was among those who said they were thrilled.

At an event on Monday, Mr. Carlson said the strongest case for the first-term senator was in the enemies he had amassed. "Every bad person I've ever met in a lifetime in Washington was aligned against J.D. Vance," said Mr. Carlson, an outspoken opponent of American military entanglements abroad.

At least in the immediate term, Mr. Vance is expected to amplify rather than reshape Mr. Trump's vision. But he arrives on the ticket aligned, on both foreign and domestic matters, focused less on slashing spending and more on curbing the administrative state, and with a skepticism of intervening abroad.

"He is somebody who represents what we need more of in politics, which is someone who is smart, independent-minded, energetic," Vivek Ramaswamy, the Trump-aligned former presidential candidate, said on Monday. "The one negative is that leaves one fewer of those people in the Senate who are already scarce enough to push our America First agenda."

Mr. Ramaswamy was born and raised in Ohio and signaled his interest in the Senate seat. If Mr. Vance is elected vice president, Mr. DeWine will then appoint an interim senator.

Mr. Vance also has had some key Silicon Valley financiers in his corner, including David Sacks, who spoke at the Republican convention on Monday, the multibillionaire Elon Musk and Peter Thiel, who contributed $10 million to a pro-Vance super PAC in 2022.

Blake Masters, who ran for Senate from Arizona in 2022, also with $10 million in Thiel support, praised Mr. Vance's "unique vision."

"It's not just about what conservatism has been in the past, which is obviously an important part of conservatism, but it's about where do we go in the future," Mr. Masters said. "I think that is what made Trump so different in 2016. He was actually talking about things in a different way than Republican politicians who had come before."

Mr. Masters lost his 2022 race. He is running for a House seat this year with Mr. Vance's backing, while Mr. Trump has endorsed his rival. Mr. Masters mockingly appropriated one of Vice President Kamala Harris's favorite sayings to sum up the Vance pick.

"J.D. is what can be, unburdened by what has been," he said.

# Opening Night Sought to Strike New Note. But Some of the Lyrics Were Familiar.

JAMES PONIEWOZIK

CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

Donald J. Trump, a former reality-TV star, has always been conscious of his set dressing as a presidential candidate. At the 2016 Republican National Convention, he made a pro-wrestling-style walk-on in front of blinding lights. In 2020, he used the White House itself as the backdrop for his acceptance speech.

But on the first night of the 2024 convention, Mr. Trump — in a way that he could not have anticipated before Saturday — was his own biggest prop.

Just as the major networks' prime-time coverage began, Mr. Trump entered the V.I.P. box in Milwaukee with a large white bandage on his injured right ear, the result of a close call on Saturday with a would-be assassin's bullet at a rally in Pennsylvania. A reminder of mortality, a badge of survival — it was a blank rectangle on which the crowd could read what it wished, and that made it the most potent placard in the hall.

Mr. Trump's rallies and appearances have always been about firing up big feelings: rage, fear, grievance, defiance. This, as Mr. Trump walked out to the sounds of Lee Greenwood performing "God Bless the U.S.A.," was something a little different.

The mood of the moment was emotional and warm. Much of the night felt like a merger of political rally and gospel service, full of exhortations for divine protection, not simply for the country but also for the party's returning leader.

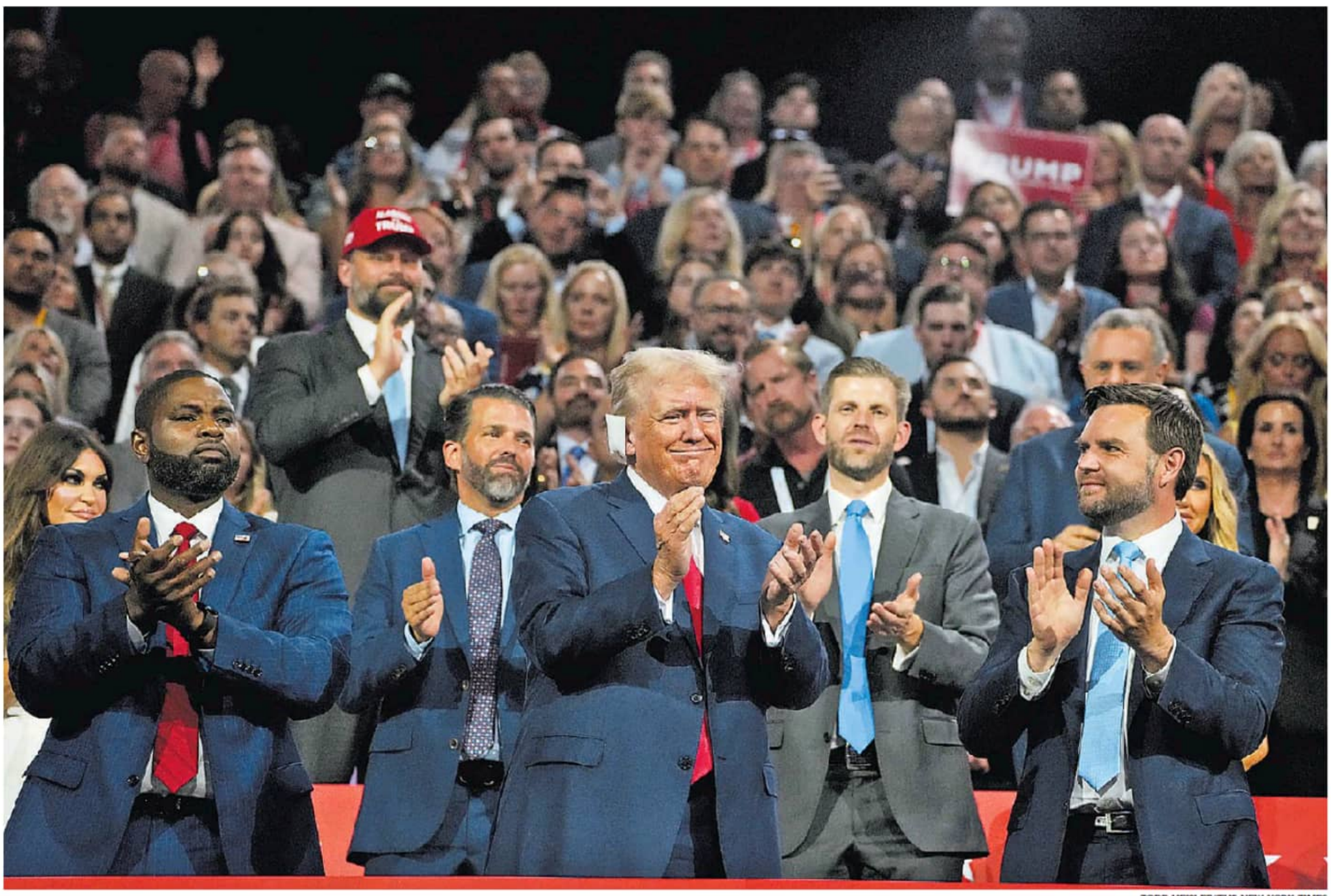
And Mr. Trump, who has said in interviews that he does not cry, looked as close to misty as I can remember in decades of seeing him onscreen.

"This is a kinder, softer Donald Trump the Republican National Convention is attempting to portray tonight," NBC's Savannah Guthrie said.

But the same questions hung over Mr. Trump, his convention and the election itself: Was everything different now? Was everything exactly the same?

The convention began after a remarkable few weeks of campaign upheaval, after months of is-this-really-happening dormancy. There was a debate that threatened the nomination of President Biden, court rulings that upended Mr. Trump's legal situation and the Pennsylvania shooting, which jolted the race and came very close to changing everything in a more gruesome way.

Then again, we were witnessing in Milwaukee the third consecutive nomination of Mr. Trump as the Republican candidate, to face (as of now) the same candidate who beat him in 2020.



TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Former President Donald J. Trump with his running mate, J.D. Vance, right, on the opening night of the Republican National Convention in Milwaukee on Monday.

And while we were hearing speculation that Mr. Trump and his party might model a "new tone," you have also heard that one before.

Certainly, the first night, focused mainly on the economy and buoyed by good polls for Mr. Trump, was not as dire and apocalyptic as his 2020 convention, amid Covid and civil unrest.

The setting helped as well; after a pandemic Republican convention of speakers bellowing in front of flag backdrops, we were back to conventioneers waving signs and wearing hats in a big hall.

Reportedly, the campaign expressed concern that the speeches should focus on "unity" after the shooting. There were more positive affirmations of the nominee, such as from the rapper and media personality Amber Rose, who called Mr. Trump "kind and generous and funny as hell."

But "positive" is a relative term. This was still a partisan convention, and outside broadcast-network prime time, there was still partisan rhetoric. There was still the culture-warring representative Marjorie Taylor Greene declaring "There are only two genders." There was the venture capitalist David Sacks, saying that the only thing Israel and Palestine supporters could agree on was the chant "Eff Joe Biden."

Of course, this is an election, not a team-building exercise. Candidates shouldn't lie or call for violence, but it's their job to make a vigorous case. Yet there seemed to be conflicting ideas and arguments — good-faith or otherwise — about what kind of rhetoric was and wasn't appropriate, both inside and outside the campaigns, and whether the sudden new rules would be applied evenly.

The convention began with a diminished liberal-commentariat industry after Saturday's shooting. MSNBC pre-empted "Morning Joe," its bastion of Democratic and Never Trumper opinion, on Monday morning. (The network, which has struggled with divides between its commentary and straight-news arms, denied political motivations.) The host Joe Scarborough rapped NBC leadership for the decision on air Tuesday morning: "We were very surprised. We were very disappointed."

Comedy Central's "The Daily Show" — which returned to air nine days after the Sept. 11 attacks — likewise canceled a planned week of broadcasts from Milwaukee, citing "logistical issues and the evolving situation" in a statement. (The show plans to air episodes from New York starting on Tuesday.)

*Is everything different now? Or exactly the same?*

On the convention floor, meanwhile, Donald Trump Jr. invoked the assassination attempt to condemn an MSNBC reporter for asking about his father's immigration policy and divisive history: "Even 48 hours later, you couldn't wait."

One of the greatest wins a campaign can achieve is to get skeptics and critics to stifle themselves. Some commentators wondered if the Biden campaign would be able to go on the offensive at all. On CNN, Jonah Goldberg said the shooting had hamstrung the argument that Mr. Trump was a threat to democracy.

"I think a lot of those political criticisms are still valid," Mr. Goldberg said, "but you're not allowed to say them, and you're certainly not allowed to say them the way Joe Biden's been saying them."

Indeed, Mr. Biden spoke to NBC's Lester Holt for an interview aired in prime time, which began with Mr. Holt getting the president to call it a "mistake" to have mentioned putting Mr. Trump in a "bull's-eye." When Mr. Biden countered that Mr. Trump — who in an early rally fantasized aloud about punching a protester in the face — often used violent imagery and had joked about the brutal assault of Nancy Pelosi's husband, Mr. Holt said, "This doesn't sound like you're turning down the heat, though."

Of course, this is a presidential election in the year 2024. Recent history tells us that the thermostat goes in only one direction and that Mr. Trump's fingerprints have been all over it. Even amid the attempt at a quieter first night of the convention, there were signs it was coming to a simmer.

As Mr. Trump greeted the crowd, they responded with a chant, which both echoed Mr. Trump's raised-fist cry after the shooting and affirmed his long-combative approach to politics and life: "Fight! Fight! Fight!"

Was it a tribute, a battle cry or both? The tune may have changed for the night. But if you listened closely, the lyrics were familiar.

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# Before Seeking Office, Vance Likened Trump To 'Cultural Heroin'

By SIMON J. LEVIEN

Senator J.D. Vance, who joined former President Donald J. Trump's 2024 ticket on Monday, once described his new running mate as a kind of "cultural heroin" — and privately feared that he could be "America's Hitler."

That was nearly a decade ago, when Mr. Trump's political ascent coincided with Mr. Vance's rise as the author of "Hillbilly Elegy," his memoir of growing up poor in rural Kentucky and Ohio. Mr. Vance was frequently interviewed for his views on the white working-class communities described in his book, full of the types of voters drawn to Mr. Trump's "Make America Great Again" pitch, and to his insistence that he alone could save a nation in decline.

In a 2016 article in The Atlantic, "Opioid of the Masses," Mr. Vance wrote: "During this election season, it appears that many Americans have reached for a new pain reliever." He went on: "It enters minds, not through lungs or veins, but through eyes and ears, and its name is Donald Trump." But, he argued, Mr. Trump was not the solution.

Times change.

By 2018, Mr. Vance's stance had softened, as he viewed Mr. Trump as speaking, if coarsely, to the frustrations of the people he had written about. By 2022, when Mr. Vance was running for Senate in Ohio, the self-described "Never Trump guy" from six years earlier received a race-changing Trump endorsement.

Here is a look back at Mr. Vance's MAGA evolution.

### 'Hillbilly Elegy'

Mr. Vance's memoir drew critical acclaim. Well-timed for the 2016 election, it made best-seller lists and was frequently hailed as a must-read for Americans seeking to understand Mr. Trump's support from white working-class voters.

In media appearances promoting his book, Mr. Vance was regularly asked for his take on Mr. Trump's rise. His views were not positive.

In a 2016 opinion column for USA Today, Mr. Vance wrote, "Trump's actual policy proposals, such as they are, range from immoral to absurd."

That year, Mr. Vance told NPR that Mr. Trump was the only presidential candidate who was trying to tap into rural frustrations but that he was "leading the white working class to a very dark place."

In a private Facebook message from these Never-Trump years that was reported in 2022, Mr. Vance told his former classmate at Yale Law School he thought Mr. Trump was "America's Hitler" and a "cynical asshole."

On 'Charlie Rose' on PBS to talk about his book, Mr. Vance used the epithet that also appears in his takedown of Mr. Trump in The Atlantic: Trump is "cultural heroin."

"I find him reprehensible," Mr. Vance wrote in 2016 on Twitter, saying that Mr. Trump made immigrants and Muslims in the United States afraid.

"In 4 years, I hope people remember that it was those of us who empathized with Trump's voters who fought him most aggressively," he wrote in another Twitter post from 2017 after Mr. Trump won.

### A Turn Toward Trump

In 2017, Mr. Vance wrote an opinion essay in The New York Times, arguing that while he was glad to see Barack Obama's policies end with the beginning of Mr. Trump's term, he admired the hope that Mr. Obama had given him.

But in February 2018, Mr. Vance's hard line on Mr. Trump appeared to soften. Among the Republican Party's problems, Mr. Vance said in an interview with The Financial Times, the then-president was among the "least worrisome."

Mr. Vance said he believed the bigger problem was the party's insistence on Reagan-era messaging about tax cuts for the wealthy, which held no sway with working-class voters in need of a boost.

"He is one of the few political leaders in America that recognizes the frustration that exists in large parts of Ohio, Pennsylvania, eastern Kentucky and so forth," Mr. Vance told The Financial Times.

### A Trump Endorsement

In 2020, Mr. Vance supported Mr. Trump's re-election bid, and the next year, he announced his campaign for Senate in Ohio. He apologized for having called Mr. Trump "reprehensible," and he deleted his numerous critical social media posts.

"I regret being wrong about the guy," he told Fox News in July 2021.

After Mr. Trump's loss in 2020, Mr. Vance advanced his unsubstantiated claims about widespread election fraud. He told a Youngstown, Ohio, newspaper that there were "certainly people voting illegally on a large-scale basis," and he has repeatedly said that the election was not free and fair.

After Mr. Vance supported Mr. Trump, the former president threw his valuable endorsement the other way. "Vance may have said some not-so-great things about me in the past, but he gets it now," Mr. Trump said in his endorsement.

Mr. Vance, in response, posted on Twitter that he was "incredibly honored" and that he would support Mr. Trump's agenda in office. "He was an incredible fighter for hard working Americans in the White House, he will be again," he wrote.

In 2022 on Fox News, Mr. Vance suggested that Democrats could not win the midterm elections unless they opened the border to "replace the voters that are already here." Once a supporter of expanding immigration and a critic of Mr. Trump's xenophobic rhetoric, Mr. Vance pushed for $3 billion to finish Mr. Trump's border wall.

In an interview this month with the New York Times columnist Ross Douthat, Mr. Vance stated his support for Mr. Trump plainly: "I like him."

"When they say, 'He's threatening the foundation of American society,' I can't help but roll my eyes," he said of Mr. Trump's critics.




MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES




JEFFREY DEAN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Top, J.D. Vance during his first political race in 2022. When he published his memoir in 2016, Mr. Vance excoriated Donald J. Trump, saying he found him "reprehensible" and fearing he could become "America's Hitler." He is now his running mate.

# *Yesteryear's Republican Establishment Will Not Be Going to Milwaukee*

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

For anyone looking for proof of the transformation of the Republican Party since Donald J. Trump was elected president in 2016, look no further than who is *not* attending the Republican nominating convention this week.

The men and women who were once the face of the Republican establishment — among them a former president, two vice presidents and the most recent presidential nominee not named Trump — are skipping the event, an acknowledgment of the extent to which the party has moved on from the days when it was known as the party of Ronald Reagan.

In many ways, their absence is hardly a surprise and underlines a transformation that has been clear for at least five years, if not longer.

But because of the constrained nature of the Republican convention in 2020, held as the nation struggled with the pandemic, this convention will be the first that provides see-it-before-your-eyes evidence that this is indeed the Trump Republican Party.

"This is a real watershed and shows the degree to which Trump has had a victory march in the party culminating with the platform, which is entirely Trump's platform," said Newt Gingrich, the former Republican House speaker and a supporter of Mr. Trump.

George W. Bush, the former president, does not plan to be there. "He's long since out of that game," Freddy Ford, his spokesman, said of Mr. Bush, who is 78, Mr. Trump's age, and who left the White House in 2008. "He has not attended a convention since he was a candidate."

Neither will Dan Quayle, who served as vice president under Mr. Bush's father, George H.W. Bush, who died in 2018. Dick Cheney, the vice president under the younger Mr. Bush, is skipping the event, as is Liz Cheney, his daughter, a former member of Congress — and one of the leading Republican critics of Mr. Trump.

*Further evidence that it's now Trump's Republican Party.*

Mr. Trump's own vice president, Mike Pence, the former Indiana governor who briefly ran against Mr. Trump for the nomination last year, was also not expected to be on hand after their falling out.

Mitt Romney, the Republican Party's nominee for president in 2012, now a senator from Utah and a leading Trump critic, is not planning to attend. The party's 2008 presidential nominee, Senator John McCain of Arizona, died in 2018.

Paul Ryan, Mr. Romney's running mate and a former House speaker, will not be there, although the convention is in his home state. Kevin McCarthy — who, like Mr. Ryan, was ousted as House speaker by the right-wing flank of Republican members of Congress — said he would attend, as did Mr. Gingrich.

Another former speaker, John Boehner, did not respond to texts asking whether he planned to attend.

This establishment class of Republicans has been a target of Mr. Trump's over the years; it seems fair to say its members would not be banging down the doors to attend. "They would feel uncomfortable," Mr. Gingrich said. "They don't want to come here and pretend they are for someone who they loathe."

Delegates booed loudly on Monday when an image of Mitch McConnell, the Senate Republican leader and a frequent Trump critic, appeared on a jumbo screen in the conventional hall.

"It tells you how much the world has changed," said Mr. Gingrich, who will be one of the speakers at the convention. "It just doesn't matter. They no longer have power in this party."

# *U.S. Detected Potential Iranian Plot to Kill Trump Separate From Shooting at Rally*

*This article is by Peter Baker, Adam Goldman and Julian E. Barnes.*

WASHINGTON — U.S. intelligence agencies were tracking a potential Iranian assassination plot against former President Donald J. Trump in the weeks before a gunman opened fire over the weekend, several officials said on Tuesday, but they added that they did not consider the threat related to the shooting that wounded Mr. Trump.

The intelligence prompted the Secret Service to enhance security for the former president before his outdoor campaign rally in Butler, Pa., on Saturday, officials said. Yet whatever additional measures were taken did not stop a 20-year-old local man from clambering on top of a nearby warehouse roof to shoot at Mr. Trump, grazing his right ear and coming close to killing him.

The National Security Council contacted the Secret Service to be sure it was tracking the latest reporting and the agency shared the information with the head of Mr. Trump's detail, according to a national security official, who like others shared sensitive information on condition of anonymity.

The Trump campaign was informed "in passing" by the Secret Service of a general uptick in threats against Mr. Trump but was not made aware of any specific dangers related to Iranians, according to a person briefed on the interactions between the campaign and Secret Service. It was not clear what, if anything, Mr. Trump himself was told.

The intelligence that prompted the warning was new, but consistent with previous threat information against lower-level current and former U.S. officials, according to officials informed about the matter. The intensifying campaign season, with increasingly frequent public rallies, offered more opportunities for an attack. Several national security officials said that although the threat was taken seriously, it did not appear from the intelligence to be fully developed.

Officials would not discuss how they had come by the information, but said that their conclusion was drawn from multiple strands of intelligence collected by multiple agencies that were not clear until they were all put together into a single picture. While Iran has targeted Americans before, trying to assassinate a former president now running for his old office would be a dramatic escalation that could risk war, so U.S. officials were trying to determine if it was merely aspirational or if there was a concrete plan.

Either way, several officials said the Secret Service had recently surged additional "resources and assets," although they declined to describe specifically what changes had been made. The fact that security was enhanced for the Butler rally because of the apparently unrelated threat will raise further questions about the failure of the Secret Service to protect Mr. Trump.

One U.S. official briefed on the intelligence was sharply critical of the Secret Service for allowing the Pennsylvania gunman to get so close, arguing that the agency's knowledge of the Iranian threat should have prompted it to be more cautious. President Biden has already ordered an independent review of the security breakdown in Butler, and Congress is planning its own inquiries.

Authorities have identified Saturday's gunman as Thomas Matthew Crooks, 20, from nearby Bethel Park, Pa., but have yet to publicly describe any motivation for the shooting. Mr. Crooks, who was killed by Secret Service snipers, was a registered Republican but once gave $15 to a progressive political group. He left no social media trail that revealed any strong political feelings. People who knew him said he kept to himself but was bullied in high school.

The Iranian threat stemmed from Tehran's longstanding desire to take revenge for the strike ordered by Mr. Trump in January 2020 that killed Maj. Gen. Qassim Suleimani, the Iranian security and intelligence commander responsible for the deaths of hundreds of American troops in Iraq over the years. Reported Iranian threats against Trump administration officials like Mike Pompeo, the former secretary of state, and John R. Bolton, the former national security adviser, resulted in government security details even after they left office.

"As we have said many times, we have been tracking Iranian threats against former Trump administration officials for years, dating back to the last administration," Adrienne Watson, a spokeswoman for the National Security Council, said in a statement. "These threats arise from Iran's desire to seek revenge for the killing of Qassim Suleimani. We consider this a national and homeland security matter of the highest priority."

Ms. Watson emphasized that the Iranian plot was separate from the Butler assassination attempt. "The investigation of Saturday's attempted assassination of former President Trump is active and ongoing," she said. "At this time, law enforcement has reported that their investigation has not identified ties between the shooter and any accomplice or co-conspirator, foreign or domestic."

CNN previously reported on the Iran threat information. Alejandro N. Mayorkas, the secretary of homeland security, hinted at a threat emanating from overseas during a briefing on Monday at the White House.

"The threat landscape is very dynamic, both domestically with the rise of domestic violent extremism," he said, and "of course, we have seen the foreign threat environment increase as well."

The Trump campaign declined to discuss the matter. "We do not comment on President Trump's security detail," the campaign said in a statement. "All questions should be directed to the United States Secret Service."

Iran disputed reports of a plan to kill Mr. Trump. "These accusations are unsubstantiated and malicious," Iran's mission to the United Nations said in a statement. "From the perspective of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Trump is a criminal who must be prosecuted and punished in a court of law for ordering the assassination of General Suleimani. Iran has chosen the legal path to bring him to justice."

In 2022, the Justice Department charged a member of Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps with planning to assassinate Mr. Bolton, a plan thwarted by an informant who posed as a would-be assassin. Documents filed in court indicated that an Iranian operative had obtained details of Mr. Bolton's movements that were not publicly known at the time.

Mr. Bolton was granted government security protection after the threat against him materialized, as was Mr. Pompeo. Others who have been reported to be targeted include Robert O'Brien, another former national security adviser to Mr. Trump; Mark T. Esper, the defense secretary at the time of the strike on Mr. Suleimani; Gen. Kenneth F. McKenzie Jr., a former head of the U.S. Central Command who oversaw the operation; and Brian Hook, the State Department special envoy for Iran under Mr. Trump.

U.S. officials said Iran had never stopped trying to kill those it blamed for the Suleimani operation. As recently as February, the intelligence community noted in its annual threat assessment that Iran "will continue to directly threaten U.S. persons in the Middle East" and was trying to develop networks in the United States to attack officials "as retaliation for the killing" of Suleimani. It noted that Iran "previously has attempted to conduct lethal operations in the United States."

Ms. Watson said on Tuesday that the government took these threats seriously. "As part of that comprehensive response," she said, "we have invested extraordinary resources in developing additional information about these threats, disrupting individuals involved in these threats, enhancing the protective arrangements of potential targets of these threats, engaging with foreign partners and directly warning Iran."

*David E. Sanger, Maggie Haberman and Farnaz Fassihi contributed reporting.*



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

The threat stemmed from wanting revenge for a 2020 strike ordered by former President Donald J. Trump that killed Maj. Gen. Qassim Suleimani, who was liable for U.S. troop deaths.

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**Trump Rally Shooting**

# *Dueling Accounts by Security Agencies Cloud Inquiry Into Rally Shooting*

*From Page A1*

were stationed inside it.

"There was local police in that building — there was local police in the area that were responsible for the outer perimeter of the building," Ms. Cheatle said.

Several local law enforcement agencies immediately put out statements saying they were not refuting that they were in the same building as the gunman. That led to the Secret Service making a statement on social media saying that it valued local law enforcement.

While local law enforcement officers are used for additional security in an event like a campaign rally, it was the Secret Service's job to determine the security plan and keep the protectee — in this case Mr. Trump — safe.

*Secret Service and the local police disagree on deployment.*

"The safety and security of a protectee falls on the shoulder of the Secret Service, period," said John Cohen, a former law enforcement official who has worked with the Secret Service for years at both the state and federal levels.

"You have a former president who was close to being assassinated," Mr. Cohen said. "There's nothing more illustrative of the threat that we're facing."

Ms. Cheatle did say in the interview with ABC: "The buck stops with me. I'm the director of the Secret Service. It was unacceptable, and it's something that shouldn't happen again."

Concerns about violence going into this election have been elevated, as the country has seen a rise in threats of political violence — and in some cases actual attacks — on government officials, lawmakers and election workers.

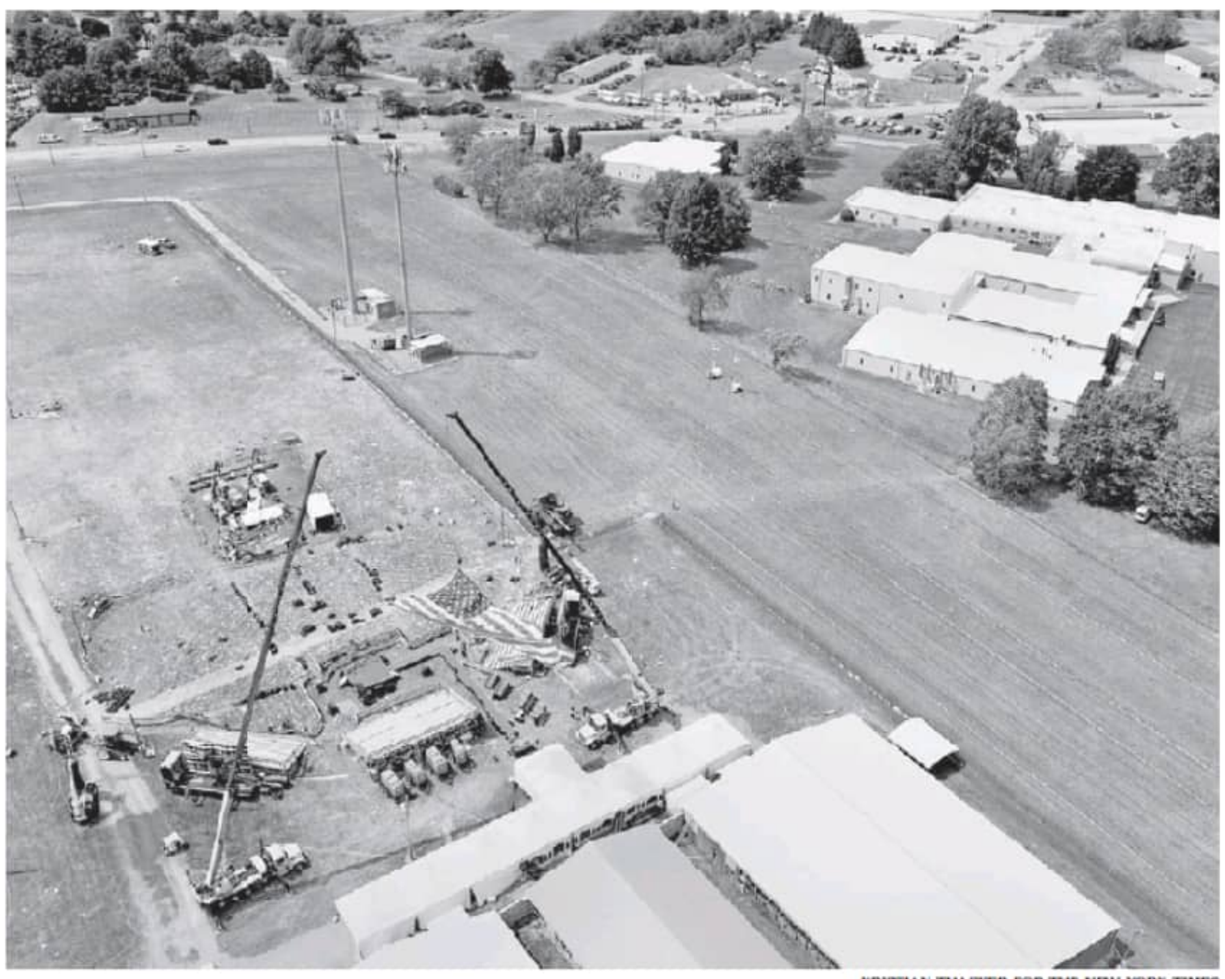
On Tuesday, it was reported that the U.S. intelligence agencies were tracking what they considered a potential Iranian assassination plot against Mr. Trump before Saturday's events, believed to be unrelated to Mr. Crooks. The intelligence had prompted the Secret Service to enhance security for the former president before Saturday's outdoor rally, but not enough to stop a gunman from shooting at him.

At the heart of the dispute between the Secret Service and local agencies is a warren of warehouses, adjacent to the rally site, the Butler Farm Show grounds, and who was responsible for securing them.

The cluster of buildings, owned by the manufacturer AGR International, are just north of the stage. The one closest to the stage is a one-floor building with a few windows and a sloped roof. Immediately behind it, and slightly offset, is a two-floor building with more windows. More warehouses line up behind those.

The Secret Service had determined that the entire warehouse complex should be outside its most secure perimeter and thus delegated to local law enforcement to sweep and secure.

The gunman used the roof of the one-story building closest to the stage from which to fire his AR-15-type weapon.



KRISTIAN THACKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Police officers were in the same building complex, upper right, used by the gunman on Saturday.

But agencies are offering different accounts about which building local law enforcement used as a staging area and a perch for the three local officers called counter snipers. These officers were watching over the crowd as it gathered in the secure zone, a local law enforcement official, who was not authorized to give public statements, said in an interview with The Times.

It was the two-floor building, the one behind the warehouse used by the gunman, where those snipers were stationed by the windows, the official said.

After the gunman made it to the roof of the one-story warehouse, a local officer was hoisted by another officer up the building's wall and over the parapet, only to lock eyes on the gunman, Sheriff Michael T. Slupe of Butler County and a federal law enforcement official said.

The gunman pointed his weapon at the officer, who immediately retreated, the officials said. Shortly after, the gunman began firing at the rally, and a Secret Service sniper shot and killed him.

Jim Pasco, the executive director of the National Fraternal Order of Police, said he was frustrated with the narrative of the local police having responsibility in one place and the Secret Service in another.

"That's nonsensical," he said in an interview. Local law enforcement officers are additional resources that are vital to the Secret Service's security mission, he said, likening the agency to the general contractor for presidential-related security events.

"It doesn't matter who the subcontractors are," he said. "Your name is on the truck."

The Secret Service, in a social media post on Tuesday, said it was not criticizing its local law enforcement partners in Butler, calling the officers courageous. "Any news suggesting the Secret Service is blaming local law enforcement for Saturday's incident is simply not true."

One point of general agreement: No one from law enforcement was on the roof of any of the AGR warehouse buildings on Saturday.

In her interview with ABC, Ms. Cheatle said no officers were stationed atop the roof itself because it would not be safe.

"That building in particular has a sloped roof, at its highest point," she said. "And so there's a safety factor that would be considered there, that we wouldn't want to put somebody up on a sloped roof. So the decision was made to secure the building from inside."

Former Secret Service agents said that agents do take up positions on roofs more steeply sloped than that one — indeed, Secret Service snipers were perched on a steeper roof behind Mr. Trump at the same event. But they said the agency also weighed safety and sometimes opted to block access to sloped roofs instead of putting someone on top.

"The bottom line is, the roof should have been posted and utilized as an observation post with police officers on it," said Joe Funk, a former agent who protected Presidents George H.W. Bush and Bill Clinton.

*David A. Fahrenthold contributed reporting from Washington, and Kate Kelly from New York.*

# Devotees See Bullet Graze As God Protecting Trump

*From Page A1*

Bethel Park, Pa., the hometown of the gunman accused by law enforcement officials of attempting to assassinate Mr. Trump, is an evangelical Christian who has been a member of a prayer team for the former president since 2016.

She marveled at the miracle of his survival: "I mean, he turned his head right when the bullet went past him."

Gregory Rice, 33, a Rhode Island delegate who is Catholic, said the outcome of the shooting struck him more as luck than divine intervention. Still, he added of Mr. Trump, "He can definitely be Godlike for many people, myself included."

Mr. Trump's ability — and willingness — to capitalize on such devotion for political purposes remains crucial to understanding how he will coast to his third consecutive Republican presidential nomination this week, despite being convicted of 34 felonies, charged with even more felonies and ordered to pay $83.3 million to the writer E. Jean Carroll for defaming her after she accused him of rape.

In the aftermath of the shooting, Mr. Trump has described the near miss both in terms of luck and divine intervention. In an interview with The Washington Examiner, he credited himself for turning his head to look at an immigration chart on a rally screen and avoiding the bullet hitting his skull.

"The most incredible thing was that I happened to not only turn but to turn at the exact right time and in just the right amount," Mr. Trump said. "If I only half-turn, it hits the back of the brain. The other way goes right through. And because the sign was high, I'm looking up. The chances of my making a perfect turn are probably one tenth of 1 percent, so I'm not supposed to be here."

On his social media website, Mr. Trump said, "it was God alone who prevented the unthinkable from happening."

Not all of Mr. Trump's supporters were comfortable with the spiritual narrative.

"It is sometimes disappointing to see people give him prophet-like status or anything like that," said Wes Virdell, 44, a delegate from Texas. "I think it's very impressive what he's done. He is an imperfect person who has done many, many things that can be criticized and credited for."




DUSTIN CHAMBERS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A 2022 rally held by Donald J. Trump, who has described the near miss as divine intervention.

The former president's success at portraying his prosecutions as persecutions — and warning, without merit, that his followers could be targeted next — has fueled enthusiasm for his candidacy and for his new role as a warrior-survivor.

"God protected President Trump," Senator Marco Rubio of Florida, who had been one of Mr. Trump's top running mate contenders, posted on social media after the shooting.

Speaker Mike Johnson said Mr. Trump's survival was "miraculous," a sign of God's work that he compared to George Washington staying alive during the Revolutionary War. Franklin Graham, the evangelical leader, said on Fox News that "God's hand of protection" was on Mr. Trump.

Stephen K. Bannon, who was Mr. Trump's chief strategist in the White House, said that Mr. Trump was protected by "the armor of God." Mr. Bannon is serving a four-month prison sentence after being found guilty of being in contempt of Congress and reacted to the shooting in an interview with The National Pulse, a conservative outlet.

Those armor-of-God themes were threaded through a prayer vigil on Sunday in Milwaukee organized by Turning Point Action, a conservative activist group.

*Not all have been comfortable with the spiritual narrative.*

"A miracle," said Tyler Bowyer, a Republican National Convention delegate from Arizona, where he is chief operating officer of Turning Point Action. "It's going to activate a lot more people to join that fight."

Brett Galaszewski, the vice chairman of the Milwaukee County Republican Party, described the election as "more than just right versus left." He added, "This is good versus evil."

Chuck Wichgers, a Republican state legislator from Muskego, Wis., said the nation could find common ground if more Americans spent time in church, and he described Mr. Trump as a righteous shield against nonbelievers.

"He's putting himself out there against those people that are guiding and ruling you that aren't with God," Mr. Wichgers said.

In repeated fund-raising messages since Saturday, Mr. Trump has urged supporters to "fear not," which recalled the verse from the Book of Isaiah in the Old Testament in which believers are urged to fear not and instead live by their faith in the Lord.

# *High School Classmates Say Gunman at Trump Rally Was a Smart but Solitary Figure*

*This article is by Chelsia Rose Marcius, Nicole Hong, Jack Healy and Steve Eder.*

BETHEL PARK, Pa. — Before he climbed onto a rooftop and added his name to America's bloody history of would-be presidential assassins, Thomas Crooks, 20, seemed to try to shrink from view.

Jim Knapp, who was the gunman's guidance counselor at Bethel Park High School in the suburbs south of Pittsburgh, said Mr. Crooks chose to sit by himself at lunch in the cafeteria and look at his phone, instead of joining other students.

"He just wanted to stay by himself," Mr. Knapp said.

In interviews, former classmates had similar recollections. They described Mr. Crooks as a smart but solitary student who walked through the halls with his head down and rarely raised his hand in class. But they said he did not make threats or act violently.

"He didn't want attention, good or negative," said Julianna Grooms, 19, who first remembered seeing Mr. Crooks when they were freshmen.

She and other former classmates have spent days texting one another, looking at old high school photos and racking their memories for some clue about why Mr. Crooks opened fire at a Trump rally in Butler, Pa., on Saturday, killing one attendee, critically wounding two others and grazing former President Donald J. Trump in the ear. Mr. Crooks was shot and killed by the Secret Service.

On Monday, federal investigators did not provide any new answers about the gunman's motives or ideology, but said they had been able to access to Mr. Crooks's cellphone and were analyzing it, along with his other electronic devices.

The F.B.I. said it had finished searching the gunman's home and car, and had interviewed nearly 100 rally attendees, law enforcement officers and other witnesses and received hundreds of photos and videos from the rally and other digital tips.

"That work continues," the F.B.I. said in a statement. "The investigation is still in the early stages."

Investigators have said that Mr. Crooks had not been on their radar, and had not revealed any strongly held political beliefs in the posts and texts investigators have reviewed so far.

Mr. Crooks had lived in Bethel Park, the son of two licensed counselors. Jennifer Meredith, a cousin, recalled him as a quiet boy who listened to his parents, but she added that she had not seen Mr. Crooks since he was about 6 years old.

The gunman's father, Matthew Crooks, registered a family coat of arms online, and said in a biographical statement that he had attended local universities, and was married with a son and daughter. He said that "family is very important to me," and the design on his coat of arms reflected "the interconnectedness and unity found within the family."

Ms. Grooms, the gunman's former classmate, said she did not remember Mr. Crooks from elementary school or middle school, and said she believed he attended a different middle school than most of the students at Bethel Park High School. The Bethel Park School District confirmed that Mr. Crooks graduated from high school in 2022, but declined to release any other details about his school record.

He seemed to stand out when they were freshmen, dressed in wide-legged jeans and SpongeBob T-shirts, Ms. Grooms said. She said some students teased him about his hygiene and awkward, solitary bearing.

"Those other kids would always say, 'Hey, look at the school shooter over there!'" Ms. Grooms said. "They would tease him about his poor hygiene, his body odor. He was an easy target."

Eventually he started wearing neutral-colored clothing, she said, and T-shirts with American flags. He sometimes wore camouflage, but so did many other students in a school with a rifle club, and in a region where hunting is a popular pastime.

"He was a very good student," said Mr. Knapp, who retired two years ago as a guidance counselor. He noted that Mr. Crooks had been enrolled in some honors and Advance Placement classes. "Not once did he ever get in trouble."

Mr. Knapp said Mr. Crooks sat alone in the cafeteria on his phone because his small group of friends had other lunch periods. "He liked the idea of being by himself because that was his human nature," Mr. Knapp said.

*Sitting alone in the cafeteria while glued to his cellphone.*

He also disputed the suggestion that Mr. Crooks had been picked on, saying that the school paid close attention to students' mental health. "He wasn't being bullied," he said.

Anna Dusch, 20, took an Advanced Placement American government class with Mr. Crooks during their senior year, after classes had returned to normal following the pandemic-related disruptions of virtual learning, staggered classes and masking.

She said that Mr. Crooks always seemed to know the class material, but never revealed any political views in class.

"I would have never known who he was voting for," she said. "He seemed to be really intelligent. If there was a fact to be said, he knew it."

She said that Mr. Crooks seemed to keep to himself, but never gave her any reason to worry.

"He was a little bit odd, but I never would have suspected this," she said. "I don't think any of us knew who he was."

Jill Bortz, 56, whose son attended high school with the gunman, said that school closures during the pandemic had taken a toll on Bethel Park's class of 2022.

"Their class was so traumatized from it. All of these kids were really isolated," she said. "Those are the prime years. That's not going to work for every kid, you know?"

Mr. Crooks does not appear to have gone far from home after he graduated from high school in 2022. He had been working as a dietary aide at a nursing home in Bethel Park, and received an associate degree in engineering science two months ago from the nearby Community College of Allegheny County.

He was registered to vote as a Republican, but federal campaign-finance records show he also donated $15 to a progressive cause in January 2021. His mother was registered to vote as a Democrat, and his father as a Libertarian.

The father and son seemed to share an interest in guns.

Mr. Crooks had been a member of the Clairton Sportsmen's Club, a gun club that features a 200-yard-rifle range.

Federal investigators said that his father bought the AR-15-style rifle used in the shooting, but said they did not know whether the gunman had taken the weapon without his father's permission.

An email address linked to his father was used to open an eBay account that made at least a half-dozen purchases from different online vendors that sold gun parts, including some within the last six months. It was not clear what was bought from the vendors.

A representative for one of the vendors, Osage County Guns in Wright City, Mo., confirmed that the account had made one purchase "very long ago" that was unrelated to any type of rifle, but declined to specify the exact item. EBay's online policy says that vendors are prohibited from listing firearms or any parts and accessories for assault weapons.

Another email account linked to the gunman's father left a Google review seven months ago for an online guns business, praising it as "the easiest best way to get rid of unwanted firearms."

The eBay account linked to Matthew Crooks also shows a long list of purchases from businesses that sell coins, gold bars and silver dollars.

*Michael Rothfeld and Aric Toler contributed reporting. Susan C. Beachy and Julie Tate contributed research.*

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2024 Election



NATALIE BEHRING/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Former President Donald J. Trump has promised that if elected, he would do away with regulations designed to reduce greenhouse gases from power plants and cars.

# What a Second Trump Presidency Could Mean for the Environment

By BRAD PLUMER and LISA FRIEDMAN

As president, Donald Trump's sweeping attempts to roll back federal environmental regulations were often stymied — by the courts, by a lack of experience, even by internal resistance from government employees.

But if he retakes the White House in November, Mr. Trump would be in a far better position to dismantle environmental and climate rules, aided by more sympathetic judges and conservative allies who are already mapping out ways to bend federal agencies to the president's will.

"It's going to be easier," said Myron Ebell, who led the transition at the Environmental Protection Agency after Mr. Trump won in 2016. "They're going to have better people, more committed people, more experienced people. They will be able to move more quickly, and more successfully, in my view."

On the campaign trail, Mr. Trump has promised to repeal federal regulations designed to cut greenhouse gas pollution that is rapidly heating the planet. Many of his allies want to go further. They are drafting plans to slash budgets, oust career staffers, embed loyalists in key offices and scale back the government's powers to tackle climate change, regulate industries and restrict hazardous chemicals.

Those plans, while wildly ambitious, may be more attainable next time around. Perhaps the biggest change in Mr. Trump's favor is that over the past two years, the Supreme Court's conservative supermajority has significantly curbed the legal authority of the government to impose environmental rules on businesses.

At the same time, Mr. Trump has proposed reclassifying tens of thousands of career civil servants, making it easier to fire them. He has said that move, which he tried to implement at the end of his first term, is necessary to "destroy the deep state" that he says secretly worked against his presidency. The result is that a second Trump administration might not face as many legal or bureaucratic guardrails as the first.

"Because of the Supreme Court in particular, he'll be able to get away with a lot more than anyone ever suspected," said Christine Todd Whitman, who led the Environmental Protection Agency under President George W. Bush. She said the courts have effectively given a second Trump administration a "free hand" to slash regulations.

That could mean a drastic transformation of the E.P.A., which was created by a Republican, Richard Nixon, and for five decades has played a powerful role in American society, from forcing communities to reduce smog to regulating the use of pesticides. Businesses and conservative groups have long said that excessive regulation drives up costs for industries from electric utilities to home building. Environmentalists say that handcuffing the E.P.A. now, when time is short to contain global warming, could have dire consequences.

A significant weakening of the E.P.A., said Ms. Whitman, is "going to be devastating for the country and the world, frankly, because we all suffer from climate change."

Mr. Trump's spokeswoman, Karoline Leavitt, said in a statement that "President Trump made America a net exporter of energy for the first time because he cut red tape and gave the industry more freedom to do what they do best — utilize the liquid gold under our feet." If elected, he would "cancel Joe Biden's radical mandates, terminate the Green New Scam, and make America energy independent again," she said.

In 2023, the United States pumped more crude oil than any other nation in history and it is the world's leading exporter of liquefied natural gas.

## Regulation Rollbacks

Mr. Trump doesn't detail his plans for the E.P.A., apart from promising to scrap two major Biden administration regulations designed to reduce greenhouse gases from power plants and cars. His allies, however, have laid out specific proposals as part of a transition plan known as Project 2025, spearheaded by the conservative Heritage Foundation.

While Mr. Trump has recently sought to distance himself from Project 2025, much of the plan was written by people who were top advisers during his first term and could serve in prominent roles if he wins in November.

In a 32-page section on the E.P.A., the plan takes aim at the agency's authority to tackle global warming, including by revisiting a 2009 scientific finding that says carbon dioxide emissions endanger public health. The blueprint also calls for repealing regulations governing air pollution from factories that crosses state borders and for reconsidering limits on PFAS, toxic compounds known as "forever chemicals" that have been detected in nearly half the nation's tap water.

Project 2025 also calls for eliminating the E.P.A.'s office of environmental justice, which focuses on reducing pollution in low-income and minority areas; breaking up an office dedicated to children's health; resetting scientific advisory boards "to expand opportunities for a diversity of scientific viewpoints"; and appointing a political loyalist as the agency's science adviser in order to "reform" the agency's research.

"To implement policies that are consistent with a conservative EPA, the agency will have to undergo a major reorganization," reads the section on the E.P.A., which was written by Mandy Gunasekara, the agency's chief of staff during the Trump administration. Ms. Gunasekara didn't respond to a request for comment.

Mr. Trump has also spoken of his desire to get rid of federal employees who might oppose him. Project 2025 proposes that the E.P.A. look for "relocation opportunities" for certain senior employees. As president, Mr. Trump relocated one agency within the Interior Department from Washington, D.C. to Colorado, prompting 87 percent of the affected employees to quit or retire rather than move.

Mr. Trump's plan for agency staff will be to "vilify them, reclassify them, and then fire them," said Gina McCarthy, who led the E.P.A. under President Barack Obama.

Project 2025 also recommends installing political appointees in parts of the E.P.A. that have been dedicated to nonpartisan technical and scientific research, like the National Vehicle and Fuel Emissions Laboratory in Ann Arbor, Mich.

That laboratory, where about 140 engineers, chemists, toxicologists, lawyers and economists study vehicle performance and emissions standards, is "the last word on automobile pollution," said William K. Reilly, who led the E.P.A. under President George H.W. Bush. "If political people are put in there we will find we have destroyed one of the greatest achievements we have in the government."

Some E.P.A. employees are already preparing for a Trump presidency. The American Federation of Government Employees Council 238, a union that represents about 8,000 E.P.A. workers, recently secured a new contract provision that allows workers to file a grievance if they face retaliation for their scientific work.

Still, a dramatic reorganization along with new political pressures could drive many career employees to leave, hollowing out the agency, which some say is what a Trump administration would want. "These proposals are basically taking a blender to the agency," said Marie Owens, president of Council 238. "Frankly, it's frightening, people are asking, should I leave before all this happens?"

## Fewer Obstacles

During his four years in office, Mr. Trump tried to roll back or weaken nearly 100 environmental rules, including Obama-era limits on greenhouse gases from power plants and cars and wetlands protections.

But deregulation often proved more challenging than expected.

Scaling back federal regulations is an arduous, time-consuming process that requires agencies to lay out detailed justifications for changing rules, respond to public comments and then defend the moves in federal court. Judges often have little patience for rushed or sloppy work.

In Mr. Trump's first term, officials sometimes announced they had erased a regulation only to be reversed by the courts because they had skipped important steps. All told, the administration lost 57 percent of cases challenging its environmental policies, a much higher loss rate than previous administrations, according to a database kept by New York University's Institute for Policy Integrity.

At various points, courts overturned the Trump administration's attempts to relax restrictions on carbon-dioxide emissions from power plants; blocked a rule that would have limited what scientific studies the E.P.A. could use; and found the administration broke the law when it failed to enact nationwide standards to curb harmful ozone pollution. Judges also rejected attempts to take gray wolves off the endangered species list and to roll back rules that restricted methane leaks from oil and gas wells.

Jason Schwartz, the legal director of the Institute for Policy Integrity, said the Trump administration's regulatory rollbacks often ignored congressional statutes or inflated the costs of regulations on industry. Mr. Trump's allies have presumably learned from those missteps, experts said.

"The first Trump administration came in without having been prepared to take over the government," said Jeffrey Holmstead, a former senior E.P.A. official in President George W. Bush's administration who now works as an energy lawyer for Bracewell LLP. "I don't think they'll make the same mistakes again."

The courts could also prove more sympathetic next time around. With three Supreme Court justices appointed by Mr. Trump, the court now has a conservative supermajority that has shown a deep skepticism toward environmental regulation. The court has sometimes blocked rules that were still being adjudicated in lower courts or before they were implemented.

In June, the Supreme Court overturned the so-called Chevron doctrine, which for 40 years said that courts should defer to government agencies when a law is unclear. That ruling could undercut the regulatory authority of many federal agencies. The Supreme Court also halted E.P.A. rules that limited smokestack pollution blowing across state borders, overturned expanded protections for millions of acres of wetlands and narrowed the agency's ability to regulate emissions from power plants.

Thomas J. Pyle, president of the American Energy Alliance, which supports the fossil fuel industry, said the Supreme Court's decision on Chevron could help a second Trump administration revoke California's authority to set stricter tailpipe pollution standards than the federal government, which the state is using to phase out sales of gasoline-powered cars in favor of electric models.

A second Trump administration might also find the lower federal courts to be more receptive, after Mr. Trump installed more than 200 conservative judges in his first term. Some of those appointees recently ordered the Biden administration to lift its pause on approvals for natural-gas export terminals and struck down a regulation that would have required states to measure greenhouse gases from transportation.

"It's a much more favorable judiciary for a new Trump administration and his allies," said Jody Freeman, director of the Harvard Law School Environmental and Energy Law Program. "They'd meet with not just less resistance in the courts, on average, but a certain appetite for doing the things they'd want to do."

To be sure, experts said a second Trump administration wouldn't enjoy completely free rein. Many E.P.A. rules, for instance, are litigated in the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, where two-thirds of current judges were appointed by Democrats. And the Supreme Court's overturning of Chevron might make it harder in some cases to water down existing regulations, said Mr. Holmstead.

Some Republicans also downplayed the importance of Project 2025, saying that many businesses aren't eager to gut the E.P.A.

"Industry is no longer debating whether climate change is happening, many are actively working on the energy transition and don't necessarily want to see climate work at agencies eliminated," said Samantha Dravis, who served as E.P.A.'s policy chief in the Trump administration.

Environmental groups are preparing to fight. Many say they are studying Project 2025 and mapping out legal arguments that might sway conservative-leaning courts. The Natural Resources Defense Council points out that it won 89 percent of its 163 lawsuits against the first Trump administration.

"The reason we won those cases is because presidents have to follow the law, and that's not going to change with the election," said Michael Wall, chief litigation officer for the Natural Resources Defense Council Action Fund. "We have every reason to think they took lessons from the first term, but it's also true that we took lessons from their first term."

Still, many environmentalists say that while they might block some moves, they can't force a Trump administration to adopt policies that will cut greenhouse gases. And the window to limit global warming to relatively low levels is rapidly closing.

"There's no skeleton key that's going to protect everything Biden has accomplished," said Sam Ricketts, founder of S2 Strategies, a clean-energy consulting group. "I'd love to say that there is a failsafe plan to protect the gains we've made should Trump be president again. There is not."



JASON ANDREW FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mr. Trump's ambitions could win support from the Supreme Court's conservative supermajority.

# *Schiff Warns Of Big Losses If Biden Stays In the Race*

By MICHAEL S. SCHMIDT and MARK MAZZETTI

Representative Adam B. Schiff, the California Democrat who is running for Senate, warned during a private meeting with donors on Saturday that his party was likely to suffer overwhelming losses in November if President Biden remained at the top of the ticket, according to two people with direct knowledge of Mr. Schiff's remarks at the meeting.

If Mr. Biden remained, not only would he lose to former President Donald J. Trump, he could be enough of a drag on other Democratic candidates that the party would most likely lose the Senate and miss an opportunity to win control of the House, Mr. Schiff said at a fund-raiser in New York.

"I think if he is our nominee, I think we lose," Mr. Schiff said during the meeting, according to a person with access to a transcription of a recording of the event. "And we may very, very well lose the Senate and lose our chance to take back the House."

Mr. Schiff's remarks underscore the depth of the concerns in the president's party about the prospects for downballot Democrats if Mr. Biden remains in the race, even if most senior Democrats are still unwilling to express such dire warnings in public.

The event was held in East Hampton, N.Y., shortly before Mr. Trump was shot on Saturday. Public calls from Democrats for Mr. Biden to step aside as a candidate have dropped off since the attempt on Mr. Trump's life, providing Mr. Biden, who is insisting the he will remain in the race, an opportunity to overcome the dissent.

In an effort to end the internal battle, leaders of the Democratic National Committee are moving to formally nominate Mr. Biden as the party's candidate by the end of the month, weeks before their convention in Chicago in August.

The fund-raiser at which Mr. Schiff spoke was held for him; Representative Elissa Slotkin of Michigan, who is running for Senate; and another Senate candidate, Angela Alsobrooks of Maryland.

Mr. Schiff, who has been among Mr. Trump's most outspoken critics, said at the fund-raiser that Mr. Biden and his campaign staff had been generally unwilling to engage the views of outside pollsters and political experts and urged them to do so, the people with knowledge of his remarks said.

At least one donor who attended the event and listened to Mr. Schiff's remarks said he left dejected, believing that Mr. Biden's chances of winning were now slim and that they should concentrate giving their time and money to downballot candidates in the hopes of salvaging something for the party.

A spokeswoman for Mr. Schiff's campaign declined to comment.

Mr. Biden's campaign pointed to statements that it and the president's allies had repeatedly made in recent days that he maintained strong support from members of Congress. Only a relatively small number have publicly come out against Mr. Biden's candidacy, the campaign said, noting support from members of groups like the Congressional Black Caucus.

In an interview on NBC's "Meet the Press" this month, Mr. Schiff expressed more guarded concerns about Mr. Biden's chances against Mr. Trump and said Mr. Biden would need to beat the former president "overwhelmingly" in order to overcome challenges by Mr. Trump that the election was stolen.

Mr. Schiff declined to say whether he thought Mr. Biden could win overwhelmingly, but he said Vice President Kamala Harris could do so.

"I think the vice president would be a phenomenal president," he said.

During the meeting with donors on Saturday, Mr. Schiff gave a far more blunt assessment of what he believed Mr. Biden's chances to be.

Mr. Schiff rose to national prominence in 2019 as the chairman of the House Intelligence Committee when he led the impeachment hearings against Mr. Trump for withholding aid to Ukraine.

The impeachment proceedings began after an intelligence community official seeking whistleblower protections told lawmakers about a phone call Mr. Trump had with President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine. During the call, Mr. Trump implied that U.S. military aid to Ukraine was tied to Mr. Zelensky helping start investigations into Mr. Biden's family.

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**2024 Election**

# Biden May Seek Changes to the Supreme Court

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — President Biden is seriously considering legislative proposals that would dramatically alter the Supreme Court, including imposing term limits and an enforceable code of ethics on the justices, according to a person familiar with the ongoing discussions.

Mr. Biden's proposals to overhaul the court, which could be unveiled in the coming weeks, would need congressional approval, something that is likely to be a long shot given Republican control of the House and the slim Democratic majority in the Senate.

The president is also considering calling for a constitutional amendment that could limit the broad presidential immunity that the court's conservative majority backed at the end of its term this year, the person said, speaking on the condition of anonymity because the president's deliberations have not been made public.

Mr. Biden has called the court's ruling a "dangerous precedent" that means "that there are virtually no limits on what a president can do." But an amendment would face even greater challenges, requiring two-thirds votes in Congress or at a convention called for by two-thirds of the states, followed by ratification by three-fourths of the state legislatures.

In a virtual meeting over the weekend with members of the Congressional Progressive Caucus, Mr. Biden said he was considering changes to the court but did not provide any specifics to the lawmakers.

"I'm going to need your help on the Supreme Court, because I'm about to come out," he said, referring to the proposals under consideration. "I don't want to prematurely announce it, but I'm about to come out with a major initiative on limiting the court and what we do."

He added: "I've been working with constitutional scholars for the last three months, and I need some help."

It appeared that Mr. Biden meant that he would need help passing the legislation required to advance his proposals through Congress, though it was not clear whether he would try to do that this year or in a second term if he won in November.

Mr. Biden's consideration of major court changes, which were reported earlier by The Washington Post, is a shift for the president, who for years has rebuffed progressive activists and academics who have urged him to make changes to limit the power of the conservatives on the court. A commission created by Mr. Biden in 2021 to examine the issues did not make any specific recommendations, and the president did not take any action.

Since then, the court, which has a 6-to-3 conservative majority, has overturned Roe v. Wade, blocked gun control measures, eliminated affirmative action in college admissions, eroded its adherence to court precedents and diminished L.G.B.T.Q. rights.

Several of the justices have also found themselves at the middle of ethics scandals. Justice Clarence Thomas failed to disclose lavish gifts and luxury travel, while the wife of Justice Samuel A. Alito Jr. flew flags suggesting allegiance with rioters at the Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021.

Laurence H. Tribe, a constitutional law professor at Harvard Law School, said Mr. Biden called him on July 1, the day after the court ruled that former President Donald J. Trump was entitled to substantial immunity from prosecution, vastly expanding presidential power.

*Term limits and an enforceable code of ethics are discussed.*

Mr. Tribe said Mr. Biden called him a second time, on July 8, to discuss the issues further.

He declined to discuss the specifics of his conversation with the president, but said it was broadly about how to respond to the court as an institution, in terms of possible reforms, and how to respond to its decisions by amending the Constitution.

"My view — it's rather overdue," said Mr. Tribe, who served on the president's commission. He said the court's decisions on abortion, court precedent and immunity were reasons to consider major changes to the way it does business.

Mr. Tribe conceded that the changes would be difficult to enact, but he said he did not think that should prevent Mr. Biden or other political leaders from trying.

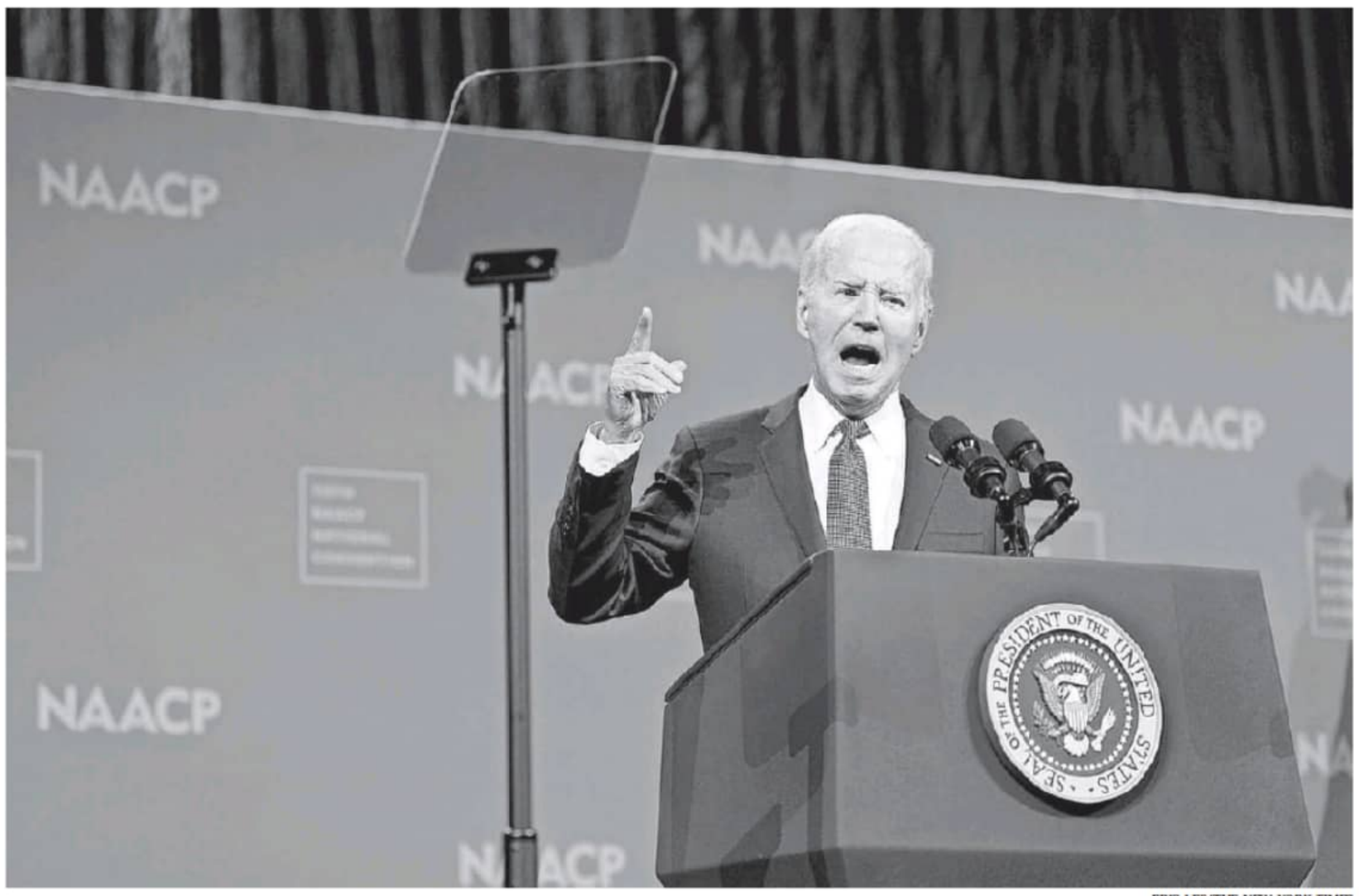
The president's consideration of the court changes comes against the backdrop of the 2024 campaign against Mr. Trump. Mr. Biden is in a fierce fight for another term in office, and proposals to change the court are likely to appeal to many of his supporters, especially in the wake of a series of decisions by the conservative justices.

The president is unlikely, however, to embrace the most radical idea pushed by progressive activists: packing the court with more liberals by expanding the number of justices from the current nine who sit on the bench. In 2023, Mr. Biden rejected that idea.

"If we start the process of trying to expand the court, we're going to politicize it maybe forever in a way that is not healthy," he said at the time in an interview with MSNBC.

The president's commission, while not taking a position on term limits for the justices, noted that such a move appeared to enjoy "widespread and bipartisan support," the commission's report said.

Public polling suggests that if he proceeds, some of the proposals will be popular with Americans. Several surveys over the past few years show that large majorities support term limits for the justices and imposing an ethics code.




ERIC LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Biden, addressing the N.A.A.C.P. National Convention in Las Vegas on Tuesday, has insisted he will not leave the race.

# Biden Allies Aim to Rush Vote on Confirmation

*This article is by Lisa Lerer, Reid J. Epstein and Maggie Haberman.*

Leaders of the Democratic National Committee are moving swiftly to confirm President Biden as his party's presidential nominee by the end of July, according to four people briefed on the matter who insisted on anonymity to discuss the sensitive deliberations.

The move would formalize Mr. Biden as the nominee at a moment when Democrats are torn over whether he should run again after his poor debate performance.

Since May, he has been set to be confirmed through a virtual roll call, weeks before the Democratic National Convention in August.

But as Mr. Biden faces persistent doubts from within his party, some delegates involved with the behind-the-scene process are eager to end the public conversations about his future.

Not everyone agrees. In a previously unreported move, a group of House Democrats who question whether Mr. Biden should forge ahead is trying to rally support for changing the nominating path to allow for potential challenges at the convention. Donors and prominent strategists have floated ideas that would open the door to other candidates, but party insiders have dismissed those proposals as fanciful.

The process will effectively begin when the rules committee of the Democratic National Convention meets on a video call Friday at 11 a.m., followed by another party group on Sunday. All of the more than 4,000 delegates are expected to begin casting their ballots as soon as Monday, a process that is very likely to take about a week. After that, the committee is expected to quickly hold the roll call, a tradition that typically occurs on the convention floor but is being held virtually this year.

The rules committee is a body of more than 180 delegates led by Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota and Leah Daughtry, a veteran party official. A majority of its members have deep ties to Mr. Biden and were vetted for their loyalty.

Democratic insiders say they expect a broad majority of delegates — perhaps as many as 80 percent — to support Mr. Biden's nomination. Still, there is no guarantee of how delegates will respond to this plan, or if they might buckle under pressure from Democratic lawmakers and donors.

The procedure would not change the reality of Mr. Biden's position: Under the party's rules, he can be replaced as the nominee only if he agrees to step aside and release his delegates.

Mr. Biden, during an interview with NBC News that aired on Monday, reiterated that he was not leaving the race.

"Look, 14 million people voted for me to be the nominee in the Democratic Party, OK?" he said. "I listen to them."

If Mr. Biden dropped out after the party's convention adjourned, responsibility for replacing him would fall to a small circle of insiders that includes the leaders of the major Democratic committees. Those leaders include Mr. Walz, the chairman of the Democratic Governors Association.

Opposition to the D.N.C.'s nominating schedule began percolating Monday, as Democrats who would like to see a change at the top of the ticket began to worry that their window for persuading Mr. Biden to step aside was closing.

Representative Jared Huffman of California drafted and began circulating a letter among House Democrats calling on the party to delay nominating Mr. Biden until the delegates gathered in person at the convention. Mr. Huffman's letter says that its signatories "share serious concerns about plans to hold virtual roll call as early as July 21," according to a person who received a draft of it and read its contents to The New York Times.

Mr. Huffman, in an interview Monday, declined to comment on the letter but said the party should allow the discussion about Mr. Biden's viability as a candidate to play out longer.

"To try to squelch debate and jam this through is a power play of the highest order," Mr. Huffman said. "That kind of heavy-handed move is not going to go over well with a lot of people."

In May, the D.N.C. changed its process to nominate Mr. Biden to accommodate an Aug. 7 deadline to place him on the ballot in Ohio. Lawmakers in that state later passed legislation to push the deadline to the end of August, but it does not take effect until Sept. 1. The Biden campaign and the D.N.C. aimed to have Mr. Biden's nomination locked up before Aug. 7 to avoid the possibility of a legal challenge by Ohio Republicans.

"We certainly are not going to leave the fate of this election in the hands of MAGA Republicans in Ohio that have tried to keep President Biden off of the general election ballot," Jaime Harrison, the D.N.C. chairman, said.

Mr. Huffman said he did not believe the party would have any problem placing on the Ohio ballot a candidate nominated at the party's convention.

"Ohio is a fig leaf," he said. "There is simply no risk."

Mr. Huffman's letter speaks to the fact that dozens of House Democrats remain worried about Mr. Biden's political standing and the prospect of sweeping Republican victories in the general election in November. They are also concerned that the president's allies will try to force any discussion about his remaining on the ticket to a conclusion.

Several lawmakers, strategists and activists said that those efforts had lost some momentum since the assassination attempt on former President Donald J. Trump at a rally on Saturday, even though many in the party question the president's ability to win.

In recent days, Mr. Biden has held several meetings with Democrats in the House that have ended with mixed reviews. Among those concerned that he will stay on the ticket, there is frustration that the discussions appear to be in limbo, partly because of the attack at the rally.

The House members are not the only Democrats trying to resist an early nomination of Mr. Biden.

A group called Pass the Torch, which has called on Mr. Biden to step down from the ticket, has been pushing Democrats to oppose the virtual roll-call vote.

Aaron Regunberg, an organizer with Pass the Torch, called the vote "a terrible idea" that would "ram through this nomination before we have this debate as a party." He said it would "deeply undermine the morale of Democrats — from delegates, volunteers, grass-roots organizers and donors to ordinary voters — at the worst possible time."

Daniella Ballou-Aares, the chief executive of a coalition of business leaders called Leadership Now Project, said she had been urging Democratic elected officials to oppose the virtual roll-call vote.

It "would only delegitimize the process," Ms. Ballou-Aares said. Her group, which leans left, has been circulating a letter to the White House and congressional offices urging Mr. Biden to make way for someone else.

*Kenneth P. Vogel contributed reporting.*

NEWS ANALYSIS

# Shooting Complicates President's Argument

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — For months, the message from the White House and Wilmington was as stark as it was simple: This year's election amounts to an existential choice between a defender of democracy and a destroyer of democracy. Nothing less than the future of America is at stake.

And then the bullets started flying.

The assassination attempt over the weekend has complicated President Biden's argument now that former President Donald J. Trump has gone from being a longtime instigator of political violence to a victim of it. Republicans, including Mr. Trump's newly anointed running mate, Senator J.D. Vance of Ohio, instantly blamed Mr. Biden, citing his sharp rhetoric.

No one in Mr. Biden's camp thinks that is a good-faith argument, especially from allies of a former president who sent the mob that marauded the Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021, and did nothing to stop its assault, and has now vowed to pardon rioters convicted of violent crimes. But the images of Mr. Trump with blood streaked across his face after being grazed by a would-be assassin's bullet raise the question of how far language should go in a heated campaign.

Mr. Biden, who has long preached unity and civility, conceded on Monday that it was "a mistake" to tell supporters a week ago that he wanted to "put Trump in a bull's-eye," an expression that was certainly metaphorical but opened the president to criticism after his opponent found himself in literal cross hairs. At the same time, Mr. Biden and his team have made clear that they will not back off efforts to demonstrate that Mr. Trump is a budding dictator who is dangerous to the country.

"How do you talk about the threat to democracy, which is real, when a president says things like he says?" Mr. Biden asked Lester Holt of NBC News on Monday during his first interview since the assassination attempt. "Do you just not say anything because it may incite somebody? Look, I'm not engaged in that rhetoric. Now, my opponent is engaged in that rhetoric."

Mr. Biden responded to the shooting in Butler, Pa., on Saturday by calling Mr. Trump to express relief that he was not more seriously wounded and urging Americans to "lower the temperature" this campaign season. His campaign suspended television ads and its regular barrage of attack emails.

But that pause ended quickly. Once Mr. Trump picked Mr. Vance as his vice-presidential nominee on Monday, the Biden campaign returned to its r scheduled political messaging.

In a statement, Jen O'Malley Dillon, the campaign chairwoman, declared that Mr. Vance "has a reputation as one of the most far-right extremists in Washington" who "echoes Donald Trump's baseless lies refusing to accept the results of the 2020 election" and "has repeatedly attempted to whitewash the political violence that occurred on Jan. 6."

That may sound harsh, but Democratic strategists maintained that it was well within the bounds of political rhetoric and that lowering the temperature did not mean freezing the campaign. Democrats, they said, have to be able to discuss the stakes of the election in terms that will make them evident to voters.

"The shocking events on Saturday don't change Trump's record of using violent rhetoric at his speeches, including riling up the crowd on Jan. 6," said Margie Omero, a Democratic strategist. "Dozens of his own former senior advisers and cabinet secretaries don't even think he's fit to serve. The stakes remain as high as ever, and we should continue to communicate it."

Senator Chris Coons, Democrat of Delaware, noted that Mr. Biden jumped into the 2020 race in part out of outrage at Mr. Trump's equivocal response to a white supremacist rally in Charlottesville, Va., that turned violent. "I disagree that the only thing that has accelerated the temperature of our political discourse is Democrats suggesting that Donald Trump and his actions and Project 2025 pose a real threat to democracy," he said.

At the same time, Mr. Coons said some soul-searching after Butler was in order. "Speaking for myself, I will be more cautious and measured and thoughtful in how I describe Republicans and how I campaign because I want to contribute to the change in temperature that President Biden has called for," he said.

The argument by some of Mr. Trump's allies is not that Mr. Biden directly calls for violence — although they have not forgotten the time in 2018 when Mr. Biden said, "If we were in high school, I'd take him behind the gym and beat the hell out of him" because of his treatment of women. But they maintain that Mr. Biden and his allies have fueled a climate of hatred toward the former president by calling him "an authoritarian fascist who must be stopped at all costs," as Mr. Vance put it on Saturday.

While Mr. Biden has not gone as far as some Democrats, Republicans complain that his liberal supporters regularly refer to Mr. Trump as a fascist, a Nazi, a modern-day Adolf Hitler. Of course, so have some Republicans — including Mr. Vance, who before he became a convert warned that Mr. Trump could become "America's Hitler."

"Comparing Trump to the Soviet Union and to Hitler isn't helpful," Senator Rand Paul, Republican of Kentucky, told LEX18 in Lexington on Monday. "And it's instigating people to think, 'Oh my goodness, if President Trump wins, democracy will end.' When you say such hyperbolic things, I think crazy people somehow can be incited by it. So I hope President Biden will tone down his rhetoric."

Mr. Trump, of course, has trafficked in provocative language for years and far more explicitly and prolifically than Mr. Biden. He has encouraged violence against protesters, reporters, looters, shoplifters and immigrants. He warned that "you'd have riots" if he were denied the nomination in 2016 and a "blood bath for the country" if he lost this year. He said he would like to be a dictator just for a day and favored "termination" of the Constitution to return himself to power. He suggested a general who angered him deserved to be executed and a former congresswoman who investigated him be put on military tribunal.

*A challenge to cool temperatures and not freeze a campaign.*

A few months ago, Mr. Trump posted a video with an image of Mr. Biden hogtied with his hands and feet bound together. Mr. Trump has repeatedly shared videos depicting him hitting the president with golf balls and once posted a photo of him holding a baseball bat next to the Manhattan district attorney prosecuting him.

Some Republicans who have been supporting Mr. Biden have advised the campaign not to pivot away from its message on democracy, noting that Mr. Trump will not cool his own rhetoric for long. "Trump can't help himself — a leopard doesn't change his spots — and his professed love of dictators doesn't disappear," said former Representative Denver Riggleman, Republican of Virginia. "So I don't think the assassination attempt affects Biden's strategy at all as far as messaging."

Mr. Biden left the White House on Monday for Las Vegas and the first stop of a three-day campaign swing as the Republican National Convention opened. Karine Jean-Pierre, the White House press secretary, said Mr. Biden planned no changes in his own rhetoric in coming days. "Nothing different than what he's done in the last almost four years," she said, adding, "It is OK to speak to someone's record and someone's character."

Whit Ayres, a Republican strategist, said it would depend on how Mr. Biden framed the argument. "If he sticks to specific things Trump has said, like terminating the Constitution, then he can continue to make the case that Trump is a threat to democracy," Mr. Ayres said.

Matt Bennett, a co-founder of Third Way, a centrist Democratic advocacy group, said it was "grotesque" to blame Democratic rhetoric for the shooting. But while describing Mr. Trump as a threat to democracy is appropriate, he added, "it may not be effective." Base Democrats already believe that and undecided voters appear unmoved by the argument.

"What they need to hear is a vision of a calmer, more hopeful future," Mr. Bennett said. "Trump is incapable of delivering that, while Biden is well suited to it. So, the assassination attempt could reset the race, but perhaps not as the immediate commentary suggested."

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**2024 Election**




HAIYUN JIANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

As rebellion against his candidacy rises, President Biden is relying on loyalists like Mike Donilon, center, and Steve Ricchetti.



ELIZABETH FRANTZ/REUTERS

Mr. Biden's tight-knit clan includes the first lady, Jill Biden, and his son, Hunter Biden, who contacts his father many times a day.



TOM BRENNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Anthony Bernal, who has been with the Bidens since the 2008 campaign, is known as an enforcer within the White House.

# Biden's Own Circle Is Shrinking as Anxiety in the Party Expands

*From Page A1*

his father's health, mental fitness and final presidential campaign.

Recent interviews with more than three dozen people, some of whom spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss private conversations about the campaign, reveal a truth about the state of Mr. Biden's campaign: the people steering Mr. Biden through the biggest political crisis of his presidency are true believers in the mythology of Joe Biden as the comeback kid, and they discount opinions to the contrary.

The result is a historic standoff between Mr. Biden and his small inner circle on the one hand, and broad swaths of voters and elected Democrats fearful of an electoral wipeout in November on the other.

It's a battle Mr. Biden has seemed to embrace in recent days. When asked on Monday night about who he consults on issues like remaining in the race or dropping out, the president offered a terse response: "Me."

"Look, I've been doing this a long time," he said in an interview with NBC's Lester Holt, adding, "My mental acuity's been pretty damn good."

Mr. Biden has expressed frustration to allies that people do not seem to accept that he is mentally cogent and fit to lead, according to a person familiar with his thinking. And he believes his polling should reflect what he sees as his accomplishments.

The attempted assassination of former President Donald J. Trump on Saturday has muted some of the public pressure on Mr. Biden to exit the race. But the party remains deeply divided. Leaders of the Democratic National Committee are using the moment to move swiftly to confirm him as his party's presidential nominee by the end of July, according to four people briefed on the matter, while many other Democrats are in despair about Mr. Biden's prospects.

Representative Adam B. Schiff, the California Democrat who is running for Senate, warned during a private meeting with donors on Saturday that his party was likely to suffer overwhelming losses in November if Mr. Biden stayed in the race, according to two people with direct knowledge of Mr. Schiff's remarks at the meeting.

Recent polls show Mr. Biden trailing in most or all of the battleground states.

"I think if he is our nominee, I think we lose," Mr. Schiff said at a fund-raiser in New York, according to a person with access to a transcription of a recording of the event. "And we may very, very well lose the Senate and lose our chance to take back the House."

Though he is taking advice mostly from his closest circle, the president has been trying to prove that he is up for re-election by holding a series of meetings with lawmakers intended to hear concerns about his candidacy. He has held private discussions with Democratic governors and lawmakers, including with Senator Chuck Schumer of New York, the majority leader, in Mr. Biden's vacation home in Rehoboth, Del., on Saturday. But multiple participants said the encounters have been carefully choreographed events that failed to alleviate their worries.

On Friday, Mr. Biden abruptly left a call with Hispanic members of the House after one lawmaker, Representative Mike Levin of California, called on him to get out of the race. Three participants familiar with that call said questions were preselected by Mr. Biden's staff. Andrew Bates, a White House spokesman, called that claim "false."

On Saturday, as Mr. Biden prepared to meet with centrist members of the House, several participants said the Biden campaign tried to solicit questions beforehand, which Mr. Bates also denied.

"They don't want to hear my question, which is, 'Are you cloistered? Have you heard what the polling is, that we no longer have three swing states, we have seven or 10?'" said Representative Mike Quigley, an Illinois Democrat who has called for Mr. Biden to step aside. "The numbers are trending to more swing states, and worse numbers, and more congressional seats that are now contested. It's going the opposite direction."

During the call, Mr. Biden brushed away Representative Chrissy Houlahan of Pennsylvania when she told him he was trailing in her state by four to five percentage points, according to two people who participated in the call.

During an earlier call on Saturday, with progressive members of the House, Mr. Biden appeared to read from a note passed to him by a staff member: "Stay positive, you are sounding defensive." According to a lawmaker on the call, the president was poking fun at his aides, not accidentally reading the directive. But the lawmaker said it spoke to how stage-managed the calls have seemed.

Other lawmakers say they remain mystified that Mr. Biden has not done more to reach out to House members and members of the Senate, including a visit to Capitol Hill, where Mr. Biden spent 36 years and maintains deep reverence for the institution.

Representative Ritchie Torres, Democrat of New York, described the outreach from Mr. Biden as "too scripted and too superficial," saying the "hard conversations" were not happening. And now, after the shooting at Mr. Trump's rally on Saturday night, he thought they might never occur.

"I suspect the attempted assassination of Donald Trump will likely crowd out the serious reckoning that should happen around the Democratic nomination," Mr. Torres, who has not called on Mr. Biden to step aside, said in an interview.

As he has for much of his career, Mr. Biden is relying most heavily on input from his small group of aides, which also includes Bruce Reed, who advises the president on policy and writes many of his speeches. Mr. Reed and Anita Dunn, the president's senior communications adviser, have crafted the 100-days agenda Mr. Biden debuted at a rally on Friday.

Close allies, including Ron Klain, Mr. Biden's former chief of staff, and Senator Chris Coons, Democrat of Delaware, are also on speed dial. Mr. Biden is choosing their counsel over soliciting a broad range of views within a party that remains fiercely divided over his continued candidacy. And they all are betting that, at age 81, he will pull off the biggest upset of his political career.

Complicating matters for people hoping for Mr. Biden to step aside is that he fared far better during a nearly hourlong news conference on Thursday than he did at the debate. He also turned in an energetic performance on Friday at a rally in Michigan, where he was buoyed by a chanting crowd that booed and pointed at the press when he criticized his media coverage.

And he does have supporters who are encouraged by what they see.

"President Biden met the moment by calling for this country to come together and reject any political violence," said Representative Ro Khanna, Democrat of California. "In terms of his campaign, what is needed is a bold agenda for 2024 including rent caps, expanding Social Security and ending medical debt. He finally broke through by offering that in Detroit."

White House aides disputed the claim that Mr. Biden has closed himself off to outside voices.

"President Biden is incredibly proud of the well-rounded team he has built, with whom he's fighting for middle-class families, for our freedoms, and the rule of law," said Mr. Bates, the White House spokesman. "The president frequently meets with a wide variety of administration officials, ranging from policy experts to team members who engage with all manner of communities, to governors, mayors and members of Congress."

Mr. Bates added: "He has not made changes to the group of advisers he consults, who he trusts because they've demonstrated the integrity to tell the truth and keep the well-being of the American people front of mind."

> Locked in a standoff, the president grows increasingly isolated.

Still, there have been concerns among Democrats about who is advising the president in such a high-stakes moment. Hunter Biden, who is based in Los Angeles, was recently in a White House meeting preparing his father for a speech and is known to informally advise him on other political matters. If he cannot reach either the president or first lady, he calls on Anthony Bernal, Jill Biden's senior adviser, who is in most senior-level meetings involving the president — an unusual status for an East Wing aide.

Mr. Bernal, who has been with the Bidens since the 2008 campaign, is known as an enforcer within the White House. The tight-knit Biden family prizes loyalty and Mr. Bernal delivers: "The guy would walk in front of a speeding train for her," a close friend of Dr. Biden said.

Mr. Bernal works closely with Annie Tomasini, the White House deputy chief of staff, who is almost always at Mr. Biden's side. A senior White House official, describing her value to the Bidens and to the administration, referred to Ms. Tomasini's background as a three-time captain of her college basketball team at Boston University: "She wants to help the team, and wants to help the team win."

The small group's value to Mr. Biden and his family, in large part, is that they place a high value on loyalty to him and his family. It was a sentiment that came through to some Democratic senators who attended a briefing with Mr. Ricchetti, Mr. Donilon and Jen O'Malley Dillon, Mr. Biden's campaign chair, †this past week, according to two people familiar with the meeting.

People familiar with the dynamic say there is a larger group of senior aides who meet each day to plan for the hours ahead. Since the debate, there have been two daily meetings, one at 9 a.m. and the other at 9 p.m.

That group includes Jeff Zients, the White House chief of staff, who meets with the president multiple times a day on topics ranging from foreign policy to natural disasters. Mr. Zients, who has been a main point of contact for Mr. Schumer, has been involved in several recent meetings to shore up support, including one between Mr. Biden and Democratic governors. He has joined calls with Democratic donors and with business leaders and Ms. Dillon, who speaks with Mr. Biden regularly, has held private conversations and joined several meetings with outside stakeholders, including with donors, lawmakers and party officials.

Ben LaBolt, the White House communications director, also attends the larger meetings. So does Ms. Dunn, who runs communications strategy for the White House and who has prepared Mr. Biden for his recent interviews.

Ms. Dunn and Mr. Donilon composed the letter Mr. Biden sent to congressional Democrats on July 8, relaying his decision to stay in the race. Sending the letter was Mr. Donilon's idea, according to a person familiar with the process. When Mr. Biden delivered an Oval Office address on Sunday evening, Mr. Donilon and Ms. Dunn were in the room with him reading along.

Biden family members and allies have accused Ms. Dunn and others, publicly and privately, of setting Mr. Biden up for failure in the debate and for curbing his public appearances — a charge her defenders in the White House say is unfair. Mr. Biden has told members of his debate preparation team, which was led by Mr. Klain and a cast of other aides including Mr. Reed and Mr. Donilon, that he is not upset with them, two people familiar with those discussions said.

Hunter Biden, who was recently convicted on felony gun charges, has also been frustrated by the approach taken by Ms. Dunn and her husband, Bob Bauer, Mr. Biden's personal attorney, to put some distance between the president and his son's legal troubles. The president's son disputed accounts that there were tensions.

"I have nothing but gratitude for Bob and Anita who have tirelessly supported my entire family personally and professionally for years, and continue to do so today and going forward," Hunter Biden said in a statement.

Still, the tension between Ms. Dunn and some in Mr. Biden's inner circle has risen since the debate, according to people familiar with the dynamic, and Ms. Dunn has expressed her frustrations to allies.

Some Biden aides were relieved on Thursday evening when the president seemingly opened the door to a data-based argument that he could not win the election, saying he would leave the race if his advisers told him "there's no way you can win."

But Mr. Biden swiftly shot down that possibility, adding: "No one is saying that. No poll says that." His denial stoked questions among some aides about what information the president has been shown.

To be sure, Mr. Biden has access to external polling. He is a longtime reader of newspapers that do high-quality surveys, including The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal and The Washington Post, according to people familiar with his media diet. He is particularly sensitive to front-page headlines. He also uses Apple News on his iPhone, and is a regular watcher of cable television, particularly MSNBC. He watches his favorite show, "Morning Joe," while working out in the mornings.

But he has repeatedly and publicly questioned the reliability of polling data, wondering aloud at his news conference and to George Stephanopoulos in an ABC interview earlier this month whether polling was "as accurate as it used to be."

The Biden campaign had not conducted an extensive survey since the debate until Monday of last week, when it began fielding a poll in seven swing states, according to three people familiar with the campaign operations.

Even so, Mr. Biden invokes polling in nearly every one of his public appearances, saying surveys show him winning the contest. Nearly every national poll released publicly since the debate shows Mr. Trump leading or an effectively tied contest.

"Recent polls show us winning," he said at a rally in Michigan on Friday evening, pointing to a Marist poll, a rare example of a recent survey showing Mr. Biden slightly ahead of Mr. Trump, though within the margin of error.

*Katie Rogers and Reid J. Epstein reported from Washington, and Lisa Lerer and Maggie Haberman from New York. Nicholas Fandos contributed reporting from New York.*

## How Democrats Will Choose a Nominee

By LILY BOYCE and AMY SCHOENFELD WALKER

The Democratic Party is just weeks away from formally naming a nominee for president, and with some Democrats questioning President Biden's candidacy, there are a few ways the nomination process could unfold. If Mr. Biden stays in the race, he is almost certain to be the nominee. If he drops out before the party's convention or after, things get more complicated.

### If Biden Stays in the Race

President Biden has dismissed calls for him to step aside, and there is little time for any challenger to gather support. The party plans to hold a virtual vote to choose a nominee in the weeks before the convention. No other candidate is currently eligible to receive the nomination.

**Pre-convention**

A party committee meets to finalize rules for the virtual call and the convention.

**Virtual nomination vote**
July 21–Aug. 6

The party holds the virtual vote.

- A simple majority of delegates is required to win.
- Nearly all of the roughly 4,000 Democratic delegates are already pledged to Mr. Biden.
- It's technically possible but unlikely that a challenger could petition to get on the ballot.

Biden wins the nomination.

**Democratic National Convention**
Aug. 19–22

Biden accepts the nomination.

**States finalize their ballots**
Late August through September

Biden appears on the ballot nationwide.

**Election Day**
Nov. 5

### If Biden Drops Out Before the Convention

If Mr. Biden were to leave the race, the party may keep the planned virtual vote or push the nomination to the in-person convention. Even if Mr. Biden endorsed a replacement, the delegates could vote in an open convention.

**Pre-convention**

Biden steps aside.

- His pledged delegates are released to vote for another candidate.

Candidates vie for support.

- A candidate needs signatures from at least 300 delegates to appear on the convention ballot.

**Democratic National Convention**
Aug. 19–22

Delegates vote.

- A candidate needs a simple majority of about 4,000 delegates to win the nomination.
- If no candidate reaches a majority in the first round, about 700 so-called superdelegates can also vote in subsequent rounds.

Winner accepts the nomination.

**States finalize their ballots**
Late August through September

The first mail-in ballots are sent starting Sept. 6, and early voting begins in some states on Sept. 20.

**Election Day**
Nov. 5

### If Biden Drops Out After the Convention

If Biden withdraws after the convention in August, or is unable to run, the party has a process for naming an alternate nominee. At least one conservative group has pointed to the potential for lawsuits challenging the substitution of a nominee so close to the election.

Biden steps aside.

Democratic National Committee chooses a new nominee.

- The committee, which includes state party leaders and members allocated by state population, will meet to select a replacement.

**States finalize their ballots**
Late August through September

Lawsuits over ballot changes could arise.

The first mail-in ballots are sent starting Sept. 6, and early voting begins in some states on Sept. 20.

**Election Day**
Nov. 5

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# Laws Have Not Fixed Nursing Home Crisis

*From Page A1*

They get festering bedsores because they aren't turned. They lie in feces because no one comes to attend to them. They have devastating falls because no one helps them get around. They are subjected to chemical and physical restraints to sedate and pacify them.

California, Florida, Massachusetts, New York and Rhode Island have sought to improve nursing home quality by mandating the highest minimum hours of care per resident among states. But an examination of records in those states revealed that putting a law on the books was no guarantee of better staffing. Instead, many nursing homes operated with fewer workers than required, often with the permission of regulators or with no consequences at all.

"Just setting a number doesn't mean anything if you're not going to enforce it," said Mark Miller, former president of the national organization of long-term care ombudsmen, advocates in each state who help residents resolve problems in their nursing homes. "What's the point?"

Now the Biden administration is trying to guarantee adequate staffing the same way states have, unsuccessfully, for years: with tougher standards. Federal rules issued in April are expected to require four out of five homes to boost staffing.

The administration's plan also has some of the same weaknesses that have hampered states. It relies on underfunded health inspectors for enforcement, lacks explicit penalties for violations and offers broad exemptions for nursing homes in areas with labor shortages. And the administration isn't providing more money for homes that can't afford additional employees.

Serious health violations have become more widespread since Covid-19 swept through nursing homes, killing more than 170,000 residents and driving employees out the door.

Pay remains so low — nursing assistants earn $19 an hour on average — that homes frequently lose workers to retail stores and fast-food restaurants that pay as well or better and offer jobs that are far less grueling. Average turnover in nursing homes is extraordinarily high: Federal records show that half of employees leave their jobs each year.

Even the most passionate nurses and aides are burning out in short-staffed homes because they are stretched too thin to provide the quality care they believe residents deserve. "It was impossible," said Shirley Lomba, a medication aide from Providence, R.I. She left her job at a nursing home that paid $18.50 an hour for one at an assisted living facility that paid $4 more per hour and involved residents with fewer needs.

The mostly for-profit nursing home industry argues that staffing problems stem from low rates of reimbursement by Medicaid, the program funded by states and the federal government that covers most people in nursing homes. Yet a growing body of research and court evidence shows that owners and investors often extract hefty profits that could be used for care.

Nursing home trade groups have complained about the tougher state standards and have sued to block the new federal standards, which they say are unworkable given how much trouble nursing homes already have filling jobs. "It's a really tough business right now," said Mark Parkinson, the president and chief executive of one trade group, the American Health Care Association.



Heritage Hills Rehabilitation & Healthcare Center had fewer nurses than required by law.

And federal enforcement of those rules is still years off. Nursing homes have as long as five years to comply with the new regulations; for some, that means enforcement would fully kick in only at the tail end of a second Biden administration, if the president wins re-election. Former President Donald J. Trump's campaign declined to comment on what Mr. Trump would do if elected.

### Persistent Shortages

Nursing home payroll records submitted to the federal government for the most recent quarter available, October to December 2023, and state regulatory records show that homes in states with tougher standards frequently did not meet them.

In more than two-thirds of nursing homes in New York and more than half of those in Massachusetts, staffing was below the state's required minimums. Even California, which passed the nation's first minimum staffing law two decades ago, has not achieved universal compliance with its requirements: at least three and a half hours of care for the average resident each day, including two hours and 24 minutes of care from nursing assistants, who help residents eat and get to the bathroom.

During inspections since 2021, state regulators cited a third of California homes — more than 400 of them — for inadequate staffing. Regulators also granted waivers to 236 homes that said work force shortages prevented them from recruiting enough nurse aides to meet the state minimum, exempting them from fines as high as $50,000.

In New York, Gov. Kathy Hochul declared an acute labor shortage, which allows homes to petition for reduced or waived fines. The State Health Department said it had cited more than 400 of the state's 600-odd homes for understaffing but declined to say how many of them had appealed for leniency.

In Florida, Gov. Ron DeSantis signed legislation in 2022 to loosen the staffing rules for all homes. The law allows homes to count almost any employee who engages with residents, instead of just nurses and aides, toward their overall staffing. Florida also reduced the daily minimum of nurse aide time for each resident by 30 minutes, to two hours.

Now only one in 20 Florida nursing homes is staffed below the minimum — but if the former, more rigorous rules were still in place, four of every five homes would not meet them, an analysis of payroll records shows.

"Staffing is the most important part of providing high-quality nursing home care," said David Stevenson, chair of the health policy department at Vanderbilt University School of Medicine. "It comes down to political will to enforce staffing."

### The Human Toll

There is a yawning gap between law and practice in Rhode Island. In the last three months of 2023, only 12 of 74 homes met the state's minimum of three hours and 49 minutes of care per resident, including at least two hours and 36 minutes of care from certified nursing assistants, payroll records show. One of the homes below the minimum was Heritage Hills Rehabilitation & Healthcare Center in Smithfield, where Mr. Pernorio, the president of the Rhode Island Alliance for Retired Americans, went last October after a stint in a hospital.

"From the minute the ambulance took me in there, it was downhill," he said in an interview.

Sometimes, after waiting an hour, he would telephone the home's main office for help. A nurse would come, turn off his call light and walk right back out, and he would push the button again, Mr. Pernorio reported in his weekly e-newsletter.

While he praised some workers' dedication, he said others frequently did not show up for their shifts. He said staff members told him they could earn more flipping hamburgers at McDonald's than they could cleaning soiled patients at a nursing home.

In a written statement, Heritage Hills did not dispute that its staffing, while higher than many homes, was below the minimum under state law.

Heritage Hills said that after Mr. Pernorio complained, state inspectors visited the home and did not cite it for violations. "We take every resident concern seriously," it said in the statement. Mr. Pernorio said inspectors never interviewed him after he called in his complaint.

In interviews, residents of other nursing homes in the state and their relatives reported neglect by overwhelmed nurses and aides.

Jason Travers said that his 87-year-old father, George, fell on the way to the bathroom because no one answered his call button.

"I think the lunch crew finally came in and saw him on the floor and put him in the bed," Mr. Travers said. His father died in April 2023, four months after he entered the home.

Relatives of Mary DiBiasio, 92, who had a hip fracture, said they once found her sitting on the toilet unattended, hanging on to the grab bar with both hands. "I don't need to be a medical professional to know you don't leave somebody hanging off the toilet with a hip fracture," said her granddaughter Keri Rossi-D'entremont.

When Mrs. DiBiasio died in January 2022, Rhode Island was preparing to enact a law with nurse and aide staffing requirements higher than anywhere in the country except Washington, D.C. But Gov. Daniel McKee suspended enforcement, saying the industry was in poor financial shape and nursing homes couldn't even fill existing jobs. The governor's executive order noted that several homes had closed because of problems finding workers.

Yet Rhode Island inspectors continue to find serious problems with care. Since January 2023, regulators have found deficiencies of the highest severity, known as immediate jeopardy, at 23 of the state's 74 nursing homes.

Homes have been cited for failing to get a dialysis patient to treatment and for giving one resident a roommate's methadone, causing an overdose. They have also been cited for violent behavior by unsupervised residents, including one who shoved pillow stuffing into a resident's mouth and another who turned a roommate's oxygen off because it was too noisy. Both the resident who was attacked and the one who lost oxygen died.

### Bottom Lines

Even some of the nonprofit nursing homes, which don't have to pay investors, are having trouble meeting the state minimums — or simply staying open.

Rick Gamache, the chief executive of the nonprofit Aldersbridge Communities, which owns Linn Health & Rehabilitation in East Providence, said Rhode Island's Medicaid program paid too little for the home to keep operating — about $292 per bed, when the daily cost was $411. Aldersbridge closed Linn this summer and converted it into an assisted living facility.



Rick Gamache, the chief executive of Aldersbridge Communities, visiting with a resident.

"We're seeing the collapse of post-acute care in America," Mr. Gamache said.

Many nursing homes are owned by for-profit chains, and some researchers, lawyers and state authorities argue that they could be reinvesting more of the money they make into their facilities.

Bannister Center, a Providence nursing home that payroll records show is staffed 10 percent below the state minimum, is part of Centers Health Care, a New York-based private chain that owns or operates 31 skilled nursing homes, according to Medicare records. Bannister lost $430,524 in 2021, according to a financial statement it filed with Rhode Island regulators.

Last year, the New York attorney general sued the chain's owners and investors and their relatives, accusing them of improperly siphoning $83 million in Medicaid funds out of their New York nursing homes by paying salaries for "no-show" jobs, profits above what state law allowed and inflated rents and fees to other companies they owned. For instance, one of those companies, which purported to provide staff to the homes, paid $5 million to the wife of Kenny Rozenberg, the chain's chief executive, from 2019 to 2021, the lawsuit said.

The defendants argued in court papers that the payments to investors and owners were legal and that the state could not prove they were Medicaid funds. They have asked for much of the lawsuit to be dismissed.

Jeff Jacomowitz, a Centers Health Care spokesman, declined to answer questions about Bannister Centers's operations or the chain's owners.

Mr. Miller, the District of Columbia's long-term care ombudsman, said many nursing home owners could pay better wages if they didn't demand such high profits. In D.C., seven in 10 nursing homes meet minimum standards, payroll records show.

"There's no staffing shortage — there's a shortage of good-paying jobs," he said. "I've been doing this since 1984 and they've been going broke all the time. If it really is that bad of an investment, there wouldn't be any nursing homes left."

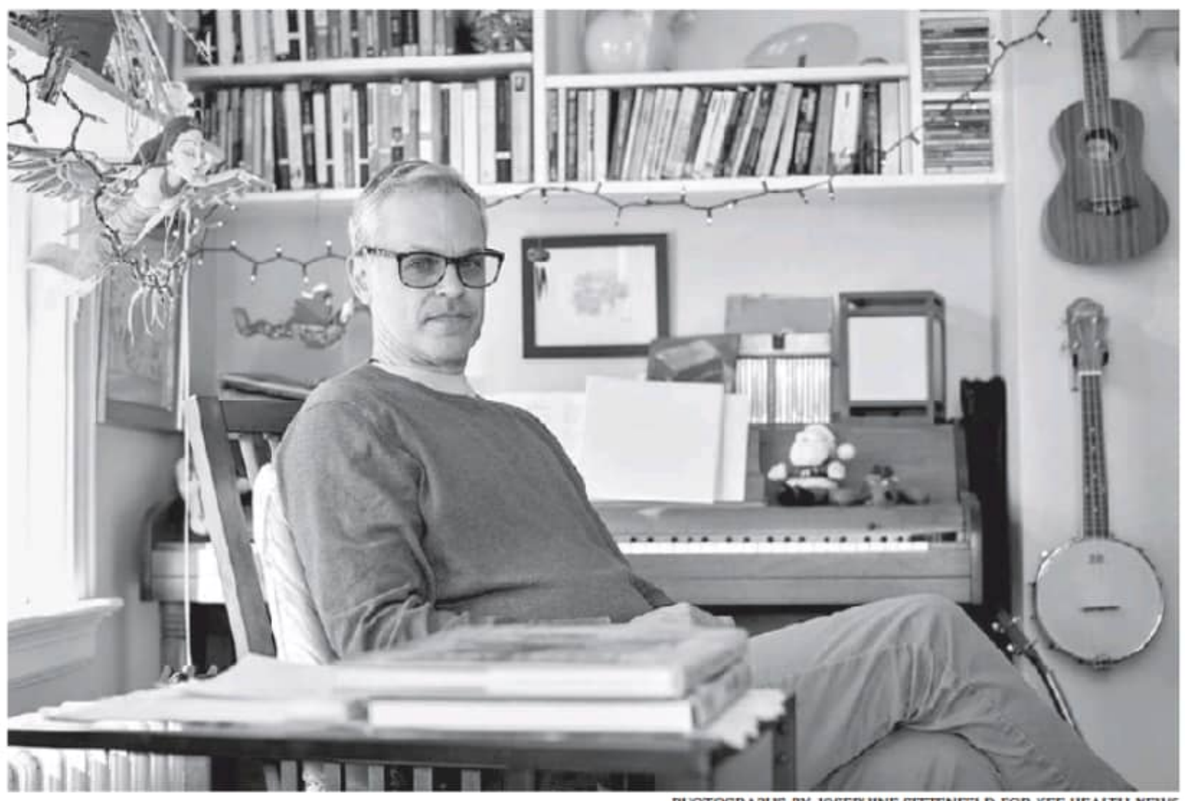
The new federal rules call for a minimum of three hours and 29 minutes of care each day per resident, including two hours and 27 minutes from nurse aides and 33 minutes from registered nurses, and an R.N. on site at all times.

Homes in areas with worker shortages can apply to be exempted from the rules. Dr. Dora L. Hughes, acting chief medical officer for the U.S. Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services, said in a statement that those waivers would be "time-limited" and that having a clear national staffing minimum "will facilitate strengthened oversight and enforcement."

David C. Grabowski, a health policy professor at Harvard Medical School, said federal health authorities have a "terrible" track record of policing nursing homes. "If they don't enforce this," he said, "I don't imagine it's going to really move the needle a lot."



Mr. Travers's father, George, died in 2023, four months after he entered his nursing home.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY JOSEPHINE SITTENFELD FOR KFF HEALTH NEWS

**'I think the lunch crew finally came in and saw him on the floor and put him in the bed.'**

JASON TRAVERS, who said his 87-year-old father fell on the way to the bathroom because no one answered his call button.



Ms. Rossi-D'entremont holding a picture of her grandmother Mary, who died in 2022.



**'You don't leave somebody hanging off the toilet with a hip fracture.'**

KERI ROSSI-D'ENTREMONT, left, with Mary's daughter Lori DiBiasio.

*Jordan Rau is a senior correspondent with KFF Health News, part of KFF, a nonprofit health-policy research, polling and news organization.*

### METHODOLOGY

The KFF Health News data analysis focused on five states with the most rigorous staffing requirements: California, Florida, Massachusetts, New York and Rhode Island.

To determine staffing levels, the analysis used the daily payroll journals that each nursing home is required to submit to the federal government. These publicly available records include the number of hours each category of nursing home employee, including registered nurses and certified nursing assistants, worked each day and the number of residents in each home. We used the most recent data, which included a combined 1.3 million records covering the final three months of 2023.

We calculated staffing levels by following each state's rules, which specify which occupations are counted and what minimums homes must meet. The analysis differed for each state. Massachusetts, for instance, has a separate requirement for the minimum number of hours of care registered nurses must provide each day.

In California, we used state enforcement action records to identify homes that had been fined for not meeting its law. We also tallied how many California homes had been granted waivers from the law because they couldn't find enough workers to hire.

For each state and Washington, D.C., we calculated what proportion of homes complied with state or district law. We shared our conclusions with each state's nursing home regulatory agency and gave them an opportunity to respond.

This analysis was done by Jordan Rau, a senior correspondent, and Holly K. Hacker, a data editor, both with KFF Health News, part of KFF, a nonprofit health-policy research, polling and news organization.

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# Menendez Guilty on All Counts in International Scheme to Sell Political Favors

*From Page A1*

Murphy of New Jersey would be able to name a replacement to fill out his term.

Outside the federal courthouse, Mr. Menendez said he was "deeply, deeply disappointed by the jury's decision." He said that he had "every faith that the law and the facts did not sustain that decision," and that he would be successful upon appeal.

"I have never violated my public oath," Mr. Menendez said. "I have never been anything but a patriot of my country and for my country."

The senator, who had criticized the prosecution for criminalizing routine legislative activity, addressed charges that he acted as an agent for the government of Egypt.

"I have never, ever been a foreign agent," Mr. Menendez said, "and the decision rendered by the jury today would put at risk every member of the United States Senate in terms of what they think a foreign agent would be."

Damian Williams, the U.S. attorney for the Southern District of New York, whose office prosecuted the senator, said, "This wasn't politics as usual; this was politics for profit." He said Mr. Menendez's "years of selling his office to the highest bidder have finally come to an end."

"Corruption isn't costless," Mr. Williams added. "It erodes public trust, and it undermines the rule of law."

The verdict comes seven years after Mr. Menendez was tried in an unrelated federal bribery case, held in New Jersey, in which a jury said it could not reach a verdict and a mistrial was declared. When Mr. Menendez was indicted in Manhattan last September, he became the first U.S. senator ever to face federal bribery charges twice.

Two businessmen — Wael Hana, 40, and Fred Daibes, 66, — were charged alongside Mr. Menendez. They were also found guilty of all counts they faced.

Lawrence S. Lustberg, Mr. Hana's lawyer, and César de Castro, Mr. Daibes's lawyer, said their clients would pursue appeals.

"We're obviously very disappointed in today's verdict," Mr. Lustberg said. "We think it is contrary to justice and contrary to both the facts and the law."

Mr. Menendez's lawyers, Adam Fee and Avi Weitzman, said the senator was "eager to aggressively pursue the very substantial legal issues on appeal to a higher court," and they said they expected he would be vindicated on appeal.

*Maia Coleman and Olivia Bensimon contributed reporting.*



JEFFERSON SIEGEL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

"I have never been anything but a patriot," Senator Robert Menendez said Tuesday. Senator Chuck Schumer called for him to resign.

Jurors left the courthouse without speaking to reporters.

Mr. Menendez's trial was bookended by extraordinary legal and political turmoil. As it began in mid-May, former President Donald J. Trump was on trial in a state court down the block, where he was convicted on 34 felony counts two weeks later. Each morning, Mr. Trump's motorcade would roll up Worth Street directly past the entrance Mr. Menendez used to enter the federal courthouse.

Mr. Menendez spent the duration of the two-month trial in court and was not present in Washington, where he ordinarily would be at the center of legislative action. As the trial ended, he was absent from the debate over whether President Biden should continue his campaign for re-election. The day after the jury began deliberating, Mr. Trump was shot and injured in an assassination attempt during a rally in Pennsylvania.

Even before the jury's verdict on Tuesday, the explosive array of bribery charges against Mr. Menendez had thrust New Jersey politics into disarray.

Representative Andy Kim, a Democrat, entered the race for Mr. Menendez's seat a day after the senator was indicted, drawing the ire of Democratic Party bosses in New Jersey who had already been asked to support a different candidate — Tammy Murphy, the governor's wife.

***A senator's case has thrust New Jersey politics into disarray.***

Ms. Murphy, whose candidacy was damaged by claims of nepotism, dropped out of the contest in late March, days before the collapse of a mainstay of politics in New Jersey — preferential ballot placement for candidates endorsed by party leaders.

After Mr. Kim filed a lawsuit challenging the practice, which for decades had given those candidates an often insurmountable edge by allowing them to be grouped in a single line, a judge ordered Democrats to redesign the ballots for the primary being held in June.

Mr. Kim won the Democratic nomination with 75 percent of the vote after a campaign that highlighted the shocking nature of the allegations against Mr. Menendez. He is now the odds-on favorite to win the seat in the November general election.

Over the years, Mr. Menendez attracted federal scrutiny as he rose through New Jersey's notoriously corrupt political circles and became one of the most powerful Latino politicians in Washington.

Soon after he was indicted last September, Mr. Menendez, the son of Cuban immigrants, said he had been singled out by prosecutors who "simply cannot accept that a first-generation Latino American from humble beginnings could rise to be a U.S. senator."

Throughout the trial, prosecutors presented testimony and other evidence that placed Mr. Menendez at the center of a web of corruption that intermingled sensitive matters of security in the Middle East and the bare-knuckle, backroom dealings of the senator's home state.

Mr. Menendez was charged with steering aid and weapons to Egypt, using his clout to help the government of Qatar and propping up Mr. Hana's lucrative halal certification business monopoly for meat sold in Egypt. Mr. Hana, in a text to an Egyptian general, referred to Mr. Menendez, who held sway over U.S. military sales, financing and other aid, as "our man."

Prosecutors also cited evidence showing Mr. Menendez tried to disrupt criminal investigations in New Jersey on behalf of two allies — Mr. Daibes, a real estate developer, and Jose Uribe, a former insurance broker — who helped funnel bribes to the senator and his wife, Nadine Menendez.

Ms. Menendez, 57, was indicted with her husband but was not tried with him. In April, Judge Stein postponed her trial after her lawyers said she would be undergoing treatment for breast cancer. She has pleaded not guilty.

In the scheme, Ms. Menendez was the senator's "go-between, demanding payment, receiving payment and passing messages, but always — always — keeping him informed," a prosecutor, Paul M. Monteleoni, said in a closing argument at the senator's trial.

"It wasn't enough for him to be one of the most powerful people in Washington," Mr. Monteleoni told the jury. "No, Robert Menendez wanted all that power, but he also wanted to use it to pile up riches for himself and his wife."

"So, Menendez sold the power of his office," Mr. Monteleoni added.

When the F.B.I. raided the Menendezes' home in Englewood Cliffs, N.J., in June 2022, agents found bars of gold bullion worth more than $100,000 and about $480,000 in cash, the evidence showed. They also found, parked in the driveway, a 2019 Mercedes-Benz convertible Mr. Uribe had given to Ms. Menendez.

Mr. Menendez has proclaimed his innocence ever since he was charged. In January, he delivered a speech on the floor of the Senate, calling the case against him "baseless" and saying it had set a dangerous precedent that could be used against other senators.

During the senator's trial, his lawyers largely sought to shift blame for his troubles to Ms. Menendez. In an opening statement to the jury, his lawyer, Mr. Weitzman, cast her as an opportunist in dire financial straits who had kept her husband "in the dark" about what she was asking others to give her, and who "tried to get cash and assets any which way she could."

The senator's other lawyer, Mr. Fee, said in a closing argument that the government's case was based on half-truths, factual leaps, unsupported inference and guesses.

"The gaps you are being asked to fill are not based on evidence," Mr. Fee said.

In court Tuesday, as the jury forewoman announced the verdict, repeating "guilty" over and over again, Mr. Menendez leaned forward, elbows on the table in front of him, chin resting on his clasped hands. Later, after the jury was discharged and the packed courtroom cleared, Mr. Menendez quietly stood up, picked up a large folder holding documents and walked out.

# How to Find a Good and Well-Staffed Nursing Home

By JORDAN RAU

Few people want to go into a nursing home, but doing so can be the right choice if you or a loved one is physically or cognitively disabled or recovering from surgery. Unfortunately, homes vary greatly in quality, and many don't have enough nurses and aides to give residents the care they need.

**How do I find nursing homes worth considering?**

Start with Medicare's online comparison tool, which you can search by city, state, ZIP code or home name. Ask for advice from people designated by your state to help older and disabled people searching for a nursing home. Every state has a "no wrong door" contact for such inquiries.

You can also reach out to your local area agency on aging, a public or nonprofit resource, and your local long-term care ombudsman, who helps residents resolve problems with their nursing home.

You can find your area agency on aging and ombudsman through the federal government's Eldercare Locator website or by calling 1-800-677-1116. Identify your ombudsman through the National Consumer Voice for Quality Long-Term Care, an advocacy group. Some people use private placement agencies, but they may refer you only to homes that pay them a referral fee.

*Jordan Rau is a senior correspondent with KFF Health News, part of KFF, a nonprofit health-policy research, polling and news organization.*

**What should I find out before visiting a home?**

Search online for news coverage and for reviews posted by residents or their families.

Call the home to make sure beds are available. Well-regarded homes can have long waiting lists.

Figure out how you will pay for your stay. Most nursing home residents rely primarily on private long-term care insurance, Medicare (for rehabilitation stays) or Medicaid (for long-term stays if you have few assets). In some cases, the resident pays entirely out of pocket. If you're likely to run out of money or insurance coverage during your stay, make sure the home accepts Medicaid. Some won't admit Medicaid enrollees unless they start out paying for the care themselves.

If the person needing care has dementia, make sure the home has a locked memory-care unit to ensure residents don't wander off.

**How can I tell if a home has adequate staffing?**

Medicare's comparison tool gives each home a rating of one to five stars based on staffing, health inspection results, and measurements of resident care such as how many residents had pressure sores that worsened during their stay. Five is the highest rating. Below that overall rating is one specifically for staffing.

Be sure to study the annual staff turnover rate, at the bottom of the staffing page. Anything higher than the national rate — an appalling 52 percent — should give you pause.

You should also pay attention to the inspection star rating. The "quality" star rating is less reliable because homes self-report many of the results and have incentives to put a glossy spin on their performance.

**Does a home with three, four or five stars provide good care?**

Not necessarily. Medicare's ratings compare the staffing of a home against that of other homes, not against an independent standard. The industry isn't as well staffed as many experts think it needs to be: About 80 percent of homes, even some with four and five stars, are staffed below the standards the Biden administration will be requiring homes to meet in the next five years.

**How many workers are enough?**

There's no straightforward answer; it depends on how frail and sick a nursing home's residents are. Medicare requires homes to prominently post their staffing each day. The notices should show the number of residents, registered nurses, licensed vocational nurses and nurse aides. R.N.s are the most skilled and manage the care. L.V.N.s provide care for wounds and catheters and handle basic medical tasks. Nurse aides help residents eat, dress and get to the bathroom.

Expert opinions vary on the ideal ratios of staffing. Sherry Perry, a Tennessee nursing assistant who is the chairwoman of her profession's national association, said that preferably a nursing assistant should care for eight or fewer residents.

Charlene Harrington, an emerita professor of nursing at the University of California, San Francisco, recommends that on the day shift there be one nurse aide for every seven residents who need help with physical functioning or have behavioral issues; one R.N. for every 28 residents; and one L.V.N. for every 38 residents. Patients with complex medical needs will need higher staffing levels.

Staffing can be lower at night because most residents are sleeping, Dr. Harrington said.

Nursing home industry officials say that there's no one-size-fits-all ratio and that a study the federal government published last year found quality improved with higher staffing but didn't recommend a particular level.

**What should I look for when I visit a home?**

Watch to see if residents are engaged in activities or if they are alone in their rooms or slumped over in wheelchairs in hallways. Are they still in sleeping gowns during the day? Do nurses and aides know the residents by name? Is food available only at mealtimes, or can residents get snacks when hungry? Watch a meal to see whether people are getting the help they need. You might visit at night or on weekends or holidays, when staffing is thinnest.

**What should I ask residents and families in the home?**

Are residents cared for by the same people or by a rotating cast of strangers? How long do they have to wait for help bathing or getting out of bed? Do they get their medications, physical therapy and meals on time? Do aides come quickly if they turn on their call light? Delays are strong signs of understaffing.

Medicare requires homes to allow residents and families to form councils to address common issues. If there's a council, ask to speak to its president or an officer.

Ask what proportion of nurses and aides is on staff or from temporary staffing agencies; temp workers won't know the residents' needs and likes as well. A home that relies heavily on temporary staff most likely has trouble recruiting and keeping employees.

**What do I need to know about a home's leadership?**

Turnover at the top is a sign of trouble. Ask how long the home's administrator has been on the job; ideally it should be at least a year. (You can look up administrator turnover on the Medicare comparison tool: It's on the staffing page beneath staff turnover. But be aware the information may not be up to date.) You should also ask about the tenure of the director of nursing, the top clinical supervisor in a home.

During your tour, observe how admissions staff members treat the person who would be living there. "If you walk in to visit with your mom and they greeted you and didn't greet your mom or focused all their attention on you, go somewhere else," advised Carol Silver Elliott, the president of the Jewish Home Family, a nonprofit in Rockleigh, N.J.

**Does it matter who owns the home?**

It often does. Generally, nonprofit nursing homes provide better care because they can reinvest revenue back into the home rather than paying some of it to owners and investors.

But there are some very good for-profit homes and some lousy nonprofits. Since most homes in this country are for-profit, you may not have a choice in your area. As a rule of thumb, the more local and present the owner, the more likely the home will be well run. Many owners live out of state and hide behind corporate shell companies to insulate themselves from accountability. If nursing home representatives can't give you a clear answer when you ask who owns it, think twice.

Finally, ask if the home's ownership has changed in the past year or so or if a sale is pending. Stable, well-run nursing homes aren't usually the ones owners are trying to get rid of.



KRISTIAN THACKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Experts agree that more nurses and aides mean better care at nursing homes, but there's no consensus on an ideal amount.

## Corrections

**FRONT PAGE**

An article on Saturday about the ways in which former President Trump has blurred the lines between politics and business misstated the location of 45footwear L.L.C., the company selling Mr. Trump's $399 golden sneakers. It is in a lawyer's office in Wyoming, not Montana.

**NATIONAL**

An article on Tuesday about tight races in Virginia and Pennsylvania for the presidency misstated former President Donald J. Trump's age. He is 78 years old, not 77.

**OBITUARIES**

An obituary on May 13 about the movie producer and director Roger Corman referred incorrectly to Concorde-New Horizons, the production and distribution company he formed in 1983. He sold its library in 2018; he did not sell the company and its library in 1997. This correction was delayed for research.

An obituary on Thursday about the sculptor Nancy Azara referred incorrectly to Finch College in Manhattan, which she attended. Although it was originally a two-year college, it had become a four-year college by the time she was a student there.

*Errors are corrected during the press run whenever possible, so some errors noted here may not have appeared in all editions.*

Contact the Newsroom

*To contact the newsroom regarding correction requests, please email corrections@nytimes.com.*

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# Opinion

The New York Times

# In Vance, Trump Sees the G.O.P.'s Future

**Matthew Continetti**
A fellow at the American Enterprise Institute and the author of "The Right: The Hundred-Year War for American Conservatism."

**The Republican vice-presidential nominee brings populism and youth to the ticket.**



DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

DONALD TRUMP'S contempt for the Washington establishment is well known. He challenges, confronts and subverts its institutions, its media, its consultants, its euphemisms and its unwritten codes of conduct. Choosing Senator J.D. Vance of Ohio to be his running mate is the latest example of the former president's willingness to flout political convention.

Previous vice-presidential nominees were selected to forge party unity, capture a crucial swing state or help an outsider president navigate Washington. Mr. Vance doesn't fit these criteria. But then Mr. Trump has never been a traditional candidate. And he probably had more on his mind than 2024 when he put Mr. Vance on the ticket. He was probably thinking of 2028 and beyond — and where he wants the G.O.P. to go.

The last time Mr. Trump named a running mate, he had more pressing concerns. He was the underdog to Hillary Clinton in 2016. Many Republicans, especially social and religious conservatives, viewed him with suspicion.

Mr. Trump selected Mike Pence, who had close ties to evangelical Christian voters and had served 12 years in Congress, to allay their fears. Mr. Pence, the governor of a Midwestern state, could help Mr. Trump deal with insiders and power brokers.

The Trump-Pence alliance held until Jan. 6, 2021. Now, having narrowly escaped an assassin's bullet and being constitutionally limited to one more term, Mr. Trump is prioritizing loyalty and legacy over qualities that past presidents have looked for in vice-presidential nominees.

Mr. Trump appears to value Mr. Vance's evolution from opponent to stalwart. Mr. Vance has the zeal of a convert to Mr. Trump and to Trumpism and is unlikely to use the vice-presidential residence as a base of operations for pro-immigration, interventionist Republicans. He defends Mr. Trump's conduct after the 2020 election and has adopted Mr. Trump's enemies as his own.

Mr. Vance's biography must have also appealed to Mr. Trump. Mr. Vance grew up in poverty, joined the Marines after the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, wrote a best-selling autobiography and succeeded in business. His working-class roots may appeal to the forgotten men and women of the Rust Belt who are at the heart of Mr. Trump's campaign.

Another potential asset is Mr. Vance's age. Republicans are doing comparatively well with young male voters this year, and Mr. Vance may help the party capitalize on this growing advantage. There is a long tail to the Vance nomination. Richard Nixon was also 39 years old when Dwight Eisenhower chose him as a running mate in 1952. Mr. Nixon played a central role in American politics for 22 years.

Mr. Trump so totally dominates today's Republican Party that he feels no need to build bridges within it. By choosing Mr. Vance, Mr. Trump made a clean break with the Republican free traders, entitlement reformers and foreign policy hawks who remain wary of him. He believes he doesn't need their votes to win, and he's probably right.

As a relatively recent convert to the Make America Great Again movement, Mr. Vance rejects the foreign and economic policies of the supporters of the former U.N. ambassador Nikki Haley in this year's G.O.P. primaries. The Vance nomination is another step in Mr. Trump's plan to dislodge the old guard and make the Republican Party his own — from defeating his critics in primaries or forcing their early retirement to reportedly reviewing and editing a party platform whose brevity, terseness and ambiguities reflect his personality, his preferences, his love of improvisation and his transactional nature.

Under Mr. Trump, the G.O.P. has moved away from the Reaganite triad of religious conservatism, free-market capitalism and hawkish internationalism. This updated policy mix hasn't limited the party's appeal; it has broadened the party to include more minority voters.

Mr. Vance's political appeal is not entirely clear. Ohio has turned bright red, voting for Mr. Trump by an eight-point margin in 2016 and 2020. In a CBS News/YouGov poll released on the eve of the Republican National Convention, he led Mr. Biden in every swing state, including the Rust Belt states of Michigan, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania.

And Mr. Vance is a newcomer to Washington. He will turn 40 years old in August and would be among the youngest vice presidents in American history. His two years in the Senate would also make him one of the least experienced vice presidents ever. If Mr. Trump wins, Mr. Vance's youth and brief tenure inside the Beltway would make him more like Kamala Harris than any other recent vice presidents. Mr. Trump would be his wizened mentor. Mr. Vance would be the apprentice.

We don't normally think of Mr. Trump as a patient tutor or a long-term planner. But his recent conviction and the attempt on his life might have heightened the stakes in this election and reinforced the necessity not only of victory but also of building something that lasts.

The Vance pick is the clearest sign yet of how Mr. Trump sees the G.O.P.'s future. If Mr. Vance becomes vice president, he will also become the front-runner for the 2028 Republican nomination. That nomination will be contested, but there is no question that Mr. Trump intends for the Republican Party to remain nationalist, populist and "America First."

Mr. Vance, who graduated from Yale Law School, is perhaps the most articulate defender of the MAGA worldview. He is a critic of the financial sector, corporate monopolies, free trade, global intervention and illegal immigration. He has kind words for organized labor and for industrial policy; joined progressive icons like Senator Elizabeth Warren, Democrat of Massachusetts, in efforts to rein in Wall Street; and praised the work of Lina Khan, the Federal Trade Commission chairwoman. He opposed the national security supplemental bill that provided military aid to Ukraine, Israel and Taiwan this year.

Last week, when Mr. Vance spoke at the National Conservatism conference in Washington, D.C., he was greeted as a star. He spoke casually and comfortably. He name-checked prominent policy wonks in the audience like Elbridge Colby, an advocate of foreign policy prioritization that would limit overseas commitments to contain China, and Oren Cass, a critic of libertarian economics.

Mr. Vance extolled the growing influence of nationalist populism in the Republican Party. "Even though we didn't win the debate" over Ukraine aid, he said, "we're starting to win the debate within our own party, and I think that really matters." His elevation to the vice presidency would guarantee a MAGA West Wing and empower advocates of foreign policy restraint and of government action to rebuild the defense industrial base and domestic manufacturing.

Mr. Vance's harshest words dealt with immigration. "The real threat to American democracy," he told the conservative conference, "is that American voters keep on voting for less immigration and our politicians keep on rewarding us with more." He added, "The thing on immigration is that no one can avoid that it has made our societies poorer, less safe, less prosperous and less advanced." And he summarized his public philosophy by saying, "American leaders should look out for Americans."

Mr. Trump has riveted global politics for close to a decade. The nomination of his new apprentice suggests that the Trump style, the Trump policies and the Trump appeal to non-college-educated voters of every race and ethnicity will rule the Republican Party for decades to come.

COLUMNIST | MICHELLE GOLDBERG

# The Growing Nihilism of Young Men

**The rise of post-ideological terror.**

SINCE THE VILE, civically calamitous attempted assassination of Donald Trump, some of the ex-president's allies have rushed to blame those who tried to warn of the danger he poses to democracy. "The central premise of the Biden campaign is that President Donald Trump is an authoritarian fascist who must be stopped at all costs," Senator J.D. Vance of Ohio, Trump's running mate, wrote on social media. "That rhetoric led directly to President Trump's attempted assassination." Empowered by the righteous fury of victimhood, Trump's movement wants to cast discussion of his autocratic record and vengeful threats as incitement, smothering the debate at the heart of the 2024 election in a cloying fug of sanctimony.

It would be easy to expound on Republican hypocrisy and list all the many, many times Trump has encouraged violence against his opponents. But in this case, the mainstream debate about polarizing political rhetoric isn't just suffused with bad faith. It also seems to be irrelevant, because the more we learn about the shooter, the less it makes sense to analyze his actions in conventional ideological terms. Though details remain sparse, this appears to be a story less about fanatical partisanship than about the crisis of lonely and disconnected young men being radicalized into pure nihilism.

In the immediate wake of the attack — which killed rally-goer Corey Comperatore as he shielded his family — many understandably assumed that the perpetrator was a leftist like the man who shot Representative Steve Scalise and several others in 2017. But what we've learned since then, while not enough to draw firm conclusions, complicates the picture.

The would-be assassin, 20-year-old Thomas Matthew Crooks, is something of a cipher, leaving little trail online. When he was 17, he made a $15 donation to the Progressive Turnout Project, which as Ryan Grim reports, is "one of those spammy PACs that carpet bombs your inbox, delivering emails with splashy colors and wild fonts and using every trick in the book to convince people to give small amounts of money." But when he was 18, Crooks registered as a Republican, and according to The Philadelphia Inquirer, his classmates remember him as right-leaning. "The majority of the class were on the liberal side, but Tom, no matter what, always stood his ground on the conservative side," a student in his American history class told The Inquirer.

The reporting that has emerged so far describes him as an outcast, not an activist. A classmate told CBS News that he was bullied relentlessly. Another told The Wall Street Journal, "People would say he was the student who would shoot up high school." He appears to have had a passion for gun culture; he reportedly wore camouflage or hunting gear to school and wanted to join the rifle team, though he was rejected as a bad shot. He joined a local gun club, and when he was killed on Saturday, he was wearing a T-shirt for Demolition Ranch, a gun-nut YouTube channel.



EVAN VUCCI/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Some who study terrorism and violent extremism find the shooter's history of humiliation and obsession with firearms familiar. "We are starting to see some of the key markers we see in individuals that have committed acts of targeted violence," said Elizabeth Neumann, who served as assistant secretary for counterterrorism and threat prevention in Trump's Department of Homeland Security. In such people, ideology can be secondary to the desire to wreak havoc and win notoriety.

Last year, Jacob Ware, a research fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, wrote a report called "The Third Generation of Online Extremism," describing how online radicalization has changed over time. At first, he wrote, the internet simply allowed movements that existed in the real world to broadcast their propaganda and communicate covertly. Then came the advent of social media in the mid-2000s. "In this new online environment, radicalizing extremists would congregate in so-called echo chambers — closed spaces where alternative viewpoints are not dismissed with erudite arguments but with a simple click of an 'unfriend' or 'unfollow' button," Ware wrote.

What distinguishes the third generation of online radicalism, which Ware dates from the late 2010s, is its surreal, grab-bag character. For those radicalized online in recent years, Ware wrote, "Not only are organizations less important; ideologies are less important." Many extremist chat rooms, he wrote, "now trade in a fatalistic 'doomerism' which encourages greater violence by normalizing, and even celebrating, suicidal ideation and glorifying forum members, for example, 'going ER' — an incel term denoting ending one's own life in an act of suicidal mass murder." In this new era, Ware wrote, we might be seeing a narrowing of "the distance between a 'terrorist' and more conventional, and nonideological, American mass or school shooters."

The rise of post-ideological terror is clearly a political issue, stemming from social isolation, hopelessness and anomie among young men, coupled with the easy availability of guns. But it's an issue that our politics is proving wholly unable to reckon with. In her new book "Black Pill," the journalist Elle Reeve described the miserable men who congregate in the darkest corners of the internet, talking themselves and one another into apocalyptic action. "You can't go on like this forever," she wrote. "It hurts too much. You need some relief from the unrelenting doom. You start to imagine what comes after this system fails. That's the world you need to prepare for, not this one. If the present reality is corrupt and dying, then you are no longer bound by its moral and ethical restraints." Another way to put this comes from one of the Batman movies: Some men just want to watch the world burn.

We don't yet know if Crooks was one of these men. But so far, the absence of a clear rationale for his hideous and history-making act has been uncanny, and Ware's framework offers a way to understand this disturbing lacuna. There's certainly no indication, as of this writing, that Crooks's motives can be slotted into our partisan battles. It's a truism, by now, that widespread American entropy and despair led to Trump's rise. Those same forces may have incubated the failed man who tried to make him a martyr.

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# Cattle Taught Me How to Live a Better Life

**Gregory Berns**
The author of "Cowpuppy: An Unexpected Friendship and a Scientist's Journey Into the Secret World of Cows."



CABRIEL ALCALA

COWS are having a bit of a moment lately, and I don't mean because of bird flu. Look no further than social media's newfound love of so-called cowpuppies — miniature cows that are treated like puppy dogs, or even sometimes humans. Some get groomed, others Jet Ski. Even full-size cows are winning people's hearts.

I might have dismissed these videos as what David Letterman called stupid pet tricks — until I ended up with a farm and my own small herd.

Life on the farm was a far cry from the decade I spent as a neuroscientist training dogs to go in M.R.I. scanners; I was studying how dogs possess the same brain structures as humans for experiencing emotions like joy and love. Over the past three years I've learned to manage pastures and help newborn calves latch on to their mamas. (I've also learned that "cattle" is the proper gender-neutral term, whereas a "cow" is a female that has had a calf.)

While cattle are as intelligent and as lovable as dogs, I've found that they go through life at their own leisurely speed. Whereas dogs adapt to the rhythms of human society in all its varied forms, cattle don't abide sudden movements or states of human agitation. By forcing people to adopt their pace, cattle connect us to the environment in ways that no other animal does. It may be time to take seriously the beneficial effects of cattle on our mental and emotional states, just as we do for other animals, such as dogs and horses.

Cattle are sensitive creatures. They have evolved a suite of sensory adaptations to detect predators at long distances. Their visual systems are highly sensitive to motion along the horizon, where dangerous animals lurk. They have great night vision, a keen sense of smell and hearing at least as good as a dog's or cat's. Because they are wired to keep an eye out for predators, they sleep only four hours a night (and even then it's in snatches of five minutes at a time). People often say that elephants never forget, but neither do cattle. They can recognize pictures of herd mates as well as humans they know.

Charles Darwin argued that both humans and animals possess a similarity in the expression of emotions. We can, of course, discern basic emotions, like pleasure and fear. But what endears dogs to us is their apparent capacity for what we take as their version of love — the longing in their eyes to be with their people and their overall willingness to please.

How do you know cattle love you? Pretty much the same way you do with dogs. My bull, Ricky Bobby, happily lies down next to me and puts his horned head in my lap. He loves for me to brush him, and he'll even roll over for a belly rub.

To get this close to cattle, a person has to adopt their unhurried tempo. Sudden movements trigger their flight reflex. The famed stockman Bud Williams, revered among ranchers for his insights into cattle psychology, used to say, "Slow is fast" — the fastest way to get cattle to do something is to slow down to their speed.

**Cows move slowly. Humans can learn from them.**

I learned this lesson with Lucy, the boss cow of my herd. When I acquired her, I couldn't get within 10 feet of her before she turned away. Six months later, one evening she eased up to me silently, put her head down and waggled it a bit. Cattle do this when they want to be licked (which is how they show affection).

Here Lucy was, inviting me into her social circle. It was so plaintive that it brought tears to my eyes as I scratched her behind the neck. In time, she let me sit with her, even to the point where I could use her as a fine backrest.

When I sit with cattle I notice things that I wouldn't normally pay attention to, like the shades of green that grass takes on in different stages of maturity, or the crunch it makes when they chew it, or the sweet smell of their breath as their stomachs break it down to digestible bits. I feel like I'm channeling Walt Whitman when he said, "I lean and loaf at my ease observing a spear of summer grass." Through cattle I've learned the restorative effects that come from *not* moving.

Domesticated animals are said to serve three functions, sometimes called the 3 F's: food, fiber and friends. Dogs have made the complete transition to friends. For most people, cattle remain solidly in the first two categories, but I have no doubt that they can be friends, too.

You just need to slow down and sit with them for a bit.

COLUMNIST | **BRET STEPHENS**

# The Secret of Trump's Resurrection

IN NOVEMBER 2022, after the Republicans' lackluster showing in the midterms, I wrote a column titled "Donald Trump Is Finally Finished." I keep a printed copy on my desk as a humbling reminder of how wrong I can be.

How did Trump go from a disgraced has-been — even Fox News's Laura Ingraham implied he was putting his "own grudges ahead of what's good for the country" — to the man of destiny he had become even before he dodged that bullet on Saturday?

A simple explanation goes something like this: The G.O.P. ceased to be a normal political party in 2016 and became a cult of personality, less interested in winning elections than in burnishing the savior-victim myth of its charismatic leader. As a cult, the party could never realistically allow any other Republican to successfully challenge Trump for the nomination. And as a nominee, Trump would only gain strength once the extent of President Biden's mental decline became obvious.

But this analysis, true to a point, falls short in at least three respects. It doesn't give Trump the political credit he deserves. It fails to reckon with the Biden administration's political blunders. And it reduces the Democrats' problem to a Biden problem. Their problem is bigger than that.

First, Trump. Just as Barack Obama knew that he stood for hope, Trump knows that he stands for defiance. Defiance of what, or whom? Of the gatekeepers to cultural respectability in today's America. And who, in the minds of Trump supporters, are they?

They are the reporters who said it was a "conspiracy theory" to suggest Covid emerged from a Chinese lab. Or the academic deans who insist every job applicant write D.E.I. statements and refuse to hire those who criticize them. Or the do-gooders who charge that Americans who want better control of the southern border are motivated by racism. Or the pundits who say, as one NBC contributor put it in 2016, that "100 percent of Trump voters are deplorable." Or the journalists who claimed that "inflation is good for you."

There is nobody in America whom the gatekeepers hate more than Trump. Ergo, there is nobody in America whom the haters of the gatekeepers love more than Trump. In his every beyond-the-pale, can-you-believe-he-said-that utterance, he signals his contempt for liberal pieties, his willingness to take the left's slings and arrows, his willingness to be hated.

In MAGA world, all this translates into a picture of strength and a form of incorruptibility. Whatever else Trump stands for, he's the sort of man who won't be seduced into wanting to be loved by anyone.

Then there were Biden's political blunders. One is obvious: He betrayed his implicit promise to be a one-term, transitional president. Had he stuck to it, he would have been spared the humiliation of last month's debate and Democrats would not be the dispirited and divided party that they are today.

But Biden's bigger blunder was the betrayal of his promise, made in his inaugural address, to end "this uncivil war that pits red against blue." In September 2022, he delivered a blistering speech against "MAGA Republicans" whom he accused of threatening "the very foundations of our Republic." But did he mean the Proud Boys who stormed the Capitol on Jan. 6 — or those who were "MAGA Republicans" mainly by virtue of voting for Trump?



DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

**The focus on the ex-president's lies ignores what makes him strong.**

It wasn't clear. A speech that should have distinguished the two wound up conflating them. It cast tens of millions of Americans as if they were enemies of democracy itself.

More foolish was the effort of Democrats to try to "defend democracy" by seeking to kick Trump's name off ballots — a fine instance of destroying the village in order to save it — while pursuing Trump in court. Whatever the respective merits of the many cases against him, the bald effort to embarrass, paralyze and ultimately criminalize a political opponent smacked, to millions of Americans, as a much graver danger to democracy than, say, whether hush-money payments to Stormy Daniels constituted a campaign-finance violation.

"If his name was not Donald Trump, and if he wasn't running for president — I'm the former A.G. in New York; I'm telling you that case would've never been brought," Andrew Cuomo told Bill Maher last month. "And that's what is offensive to people. And it should be. Because if there's anything left, it's belief in the justice system."

Finally, the Democratic Party itself, which keeps insisting it's morning in America when poll after poll shows a country that thinks it's darkness at noon. On the eve of the pandemic in 2020, 45 percent of Americans were satisfied with the way things were going, according to Gallup, the highest percentage in 15 years. Now it's 21 percent. That gap alone explains why Trump looks to be on his way to victory.

It's a fact of politics that the demagogue's success rests less in outright lying than it does in speaking in half-truths. So long as Democrats persist in seeing nothing of Trump but his lies and outrages, they'll miss what makes him strong. And so long as they fail to recognize their own mistakes, they may be unable to avoid the real disaster coming their way.

LETTERS

## Appraising Trump's Choice of J.D. Vance

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Vance, a Onetime Critic of Trump, Is Selected as His Running Mate" (front page, July 16):

It might have been possible to imagine that coming within an inch or so of losing his life might change any person, even Donald Trump. In the first few hours after the shooting, the shock of it allowed many of us to contemplate that he might be capable of putting aside the negative campaign, the subtle calls for violence, the dehumanization of those he finds useful for that purpose.

But selecting J.D. Vance as his running mate has now confirmed that Donald Trump is who he is. Nothing, not even being shot at, will change that.

In 2016 Mr. Vance wrote that Mr. Trump might be "America's Hitler," but then morphed into about the most obsequious puppet an authoritarian could want. He made every conceivable compromise with decency on this road, showing once again that Mr. Trump values nothing more than humiliating devotion.

Perhaps what sealed the deal for Mr. Vance was his post on X on Saturday, barely two hours after the shooting at the Trump rally, stating that President Biden's rhetoric "led directly to President Trump's attempted assassination." Not a word condemning violence, nothing even pretending to tamp down emotions, just adding more fuel to the fire, currying more favor with his slavish devotion.

MARC SPRINGER
BROOKLINE, MASS.

TO THE EDITOR:

Voters allowing the ages and abilities at the top of the presidential ticket to sway their decision may do well to consider just who is lying in wait should either nominee (Biden, 81; Trump, 78) need to step aside.

In Vice President Kamala Harris, you have a former senator and state attorney general whose values and agenda align with the current president and a majority of Americans: support for Ukraine, support for women's right to abortion and rejection of the "Big Lie."

In contrast, Senator J.D. Vance, a former Marine and venture capitalist, is opposed to abortion rights and aid for Ukraine and believes that the results of the 2020 election were illegitimate — all opinions out of step with most in our country.

Like it or not, it appears that President Biden and Donald Trump are America's two options this November. However, the future we choose may very well be more aligned with their successors. When comparing Ms. Harris and Mr. Vance, the vice president far outshines the junior senator from Ohio.

GABE DOWNEY, DETROIT

TO THE EDITOR:

With the indelible image of a blood-splattered Donald Trump pumping his fist, and then choosing J.D. Vance for the V.P. slot, I think I just saw a flash of America's future.

While the Democrats are divided over whom to put at the top of the ticket, and with the judiciary clearing one obstacle after another for Mr. Trump, undecided voters' minds are being made up.

Those swing voters are likely caring less about the economy and President Biden's legislative accomplishments, and more feeling the charge of the current moment. I hope I am wrong, but it seems like the fate and future of the American experiment was just decided in the last 48 hours.

MANISH MEHTA, OBERLIN, OHIO

TO THE EDITOR:

As a Republican distrustful of the direction Donald Trump has taken my party since he became our standard-bearer eight years ago, I viewed his vice-presidential selection as an opportunity to unite our party around strong conservative values rather than retribution and revenge.

Yet when the former president announced Senator J.D. Vance as his running mate, I was disappointed not just at the extremism that now fully ensconces the Republican ticket but also at the direction in which Mr. Trump has plunged my party.

Rather than choosing a running mate with a history of confronting dictators around the world and espousing traditional Republican values, the former president selected a running mate who has embraced election denialism and capitulated to Vladimir Putin's horrific assault on the brave men and women of Ukraine.

The isolationist vision that the Trump-Vance ticket promises, one that diverges from the America we have always known, should scare every Republican in this country. This ticket promises to scar the Republican Party permanently, and, as a party, we must wake up to that fact before it's too late.

KIRAN BHATIA
BROOKLINE, MASS.

## A 'Breathtaking' Dismissal of the Documents Case

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Judge Voids Case About Documents That Trump Held" (front page, July 16):

It is rare that I read a news article that I describe as breathtaking, but Judge Aileen Cannon's dismissal of Donald Trump's classified documents case falls into this rare category. I may have been naïve in my belief that in the U.S. justice system, judges were in place to decide cases based on evidence and arguments before the court.

The ruling highlights that individual judges are no longer arbiters but rather extensions of political parties. On the Supreme Court, we've seen this evolution over the last three decades. But now, it is safe to say that the federal judicial system is tainted by special interests.

What happens when Americans on both political sides no longer believe that federal laws are applied equally to all regardless of who your connections are?

STEVE REICH, SHORT HILLS, N.J.

TO THE EDITOR:

The timing of Judge Aileen Cannon's dismissal of the classified documents case — right before the Republican convention — is so cynical and political. She must have been writing her 93-page opinion for a while, but she released it with impeccable timing to give Donald Trump a victory going into the opening of the convention. Justice is not blind.

Judge Cannon is clearly auditioning for a Supreme Court appointment.

ROBYN WATTS, NEW YORK

TO THE EDITOR:

The stunning decision to dismiss the documents case against Donald Trump, which quickly followed the Supreme Court's decision that presidents, current and past, shall have broad immunity from prosecution, has ushered in a new era of impunity for lawlessness in the executive branch.

That this happens now is especially chilling, when the Republican candidate for president publicly declares his contempt for law, his fondness for dictators and his declared intention to be a dictator on "Day 1."

That these unusual and unexpected decisions seem so tailored for a president ready to cast aside historical norms, rules and legal restrictions makes it appear as though there is a process afoot to transform our nation into something new and sinister.

At a time when morality and ethical constraints have few incentives to support them, a body of law serves to regulate behavior by compulsion and the threat of prosecution. It is frightening to see that recently appointed judges are devising ways for a new president to ignore the law and act with utter impunity.

RICHARD L. KORAL
NEW YORK
*The writer is a leader at the New York Society for Ethical Culture.*

TO THE EDITOR:

The decision by Judge Aileen Cannon to dismiss the documents case against Donald Trump, who appointed her, highlights the broader issue of judicial impropriety or, at the very minimum, the appearance of judicial impropriety.

The law of the land should be amended so that no judge, at any level, is allowed to handle a case against the person who appointed that judge. Isn't that obvious?

ZVI J. DORON, PITTSBURGH

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3 DEALBOOK
Companies that seem to ride the wave of Donald Trump's political fortunes are doing well in the stock market.



5 ECONOMY
The U.S. economy is growing more slowly than expected and inflation remains high globally, the I.M.F. reported.



9 SPORTS
For hockey prospects like Dean Letourneau, feasting in the kitchen is as crucial as practicing on the ice.

TECH | ECONOMY | MEDIA | FINANCE

# Business

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, JULY 17, 2024 B1

N

## *In Endorsing Trump, Musk Is Charting New Waters*

By KATE CONGER and RYAN MAC

SAN FRANCISCO — Roughly 30 minutes after former President Donald J. Trump was shot at a rally in Pennsylvania on Saturday, Elon Musk backed his bid for the White House.

"I fully endorse President Trump and hope for his rapid recovery," Mr. Musk wrote on X, the social media platform he owns, sharing a video of Mr. Trump raising his fist.

In more than 100 posts after the shooting, Mr. Musk further stepped up his political speech. And on Monday, after Mr. Trump announced that Senator J.D. Vance of Ohio would be his Republican running mate, Mr. Musk posted congratulations and said it was an "excellent decision by @realDonaldTrump."

With those moves, Mr. Musk, 53, entered uncharted territory. He broke with tradition set by the leaders of other major social media firms, none of whom have endorsed a presidential candidate. By using X as a megaphone for his politics — posting to his nearly 190 million followers — Mr. Musk also erased any air of neutrality for the platform.

Now, as the presidential election gets closer, Mr. Musk's full-throated support for the Republican candidates raises questions about how their opponents can expect to be treated on this site.

"He can fashion the platform in his image," said Gita Johar, a professor at Columbia Business School who studies consumer be-

CONTINUED ON PAGE B3

## *Jury Finds Co-Founder Of Ozy Guilty*

By DANIELLE KAYE

A federal jury on Tuesday found Carlos Watson and Ozy Media, the digital media company he co-founded, guilty of trying to defraud investors and lenders to promote the start-up venture.

The jury deliberated for three days after an eight-week trial in which the prosecutors accused Mr. Watson of conspiracy to commit securities and wire fraud. Many of the government's witnesses revealed new details about deception at the company, including an impersonated phone call, fabricated contracts and misleading claims about Ozy's earnings.

"Watson knew the company was failing, but he was determined to turn Ozy and himself into the next big thing, and he wasn't going to let the truth stand in his way," Gillian Kassner, a prosecutor, said during closing arguments in U.S. District Court in the Eastern District of New York.

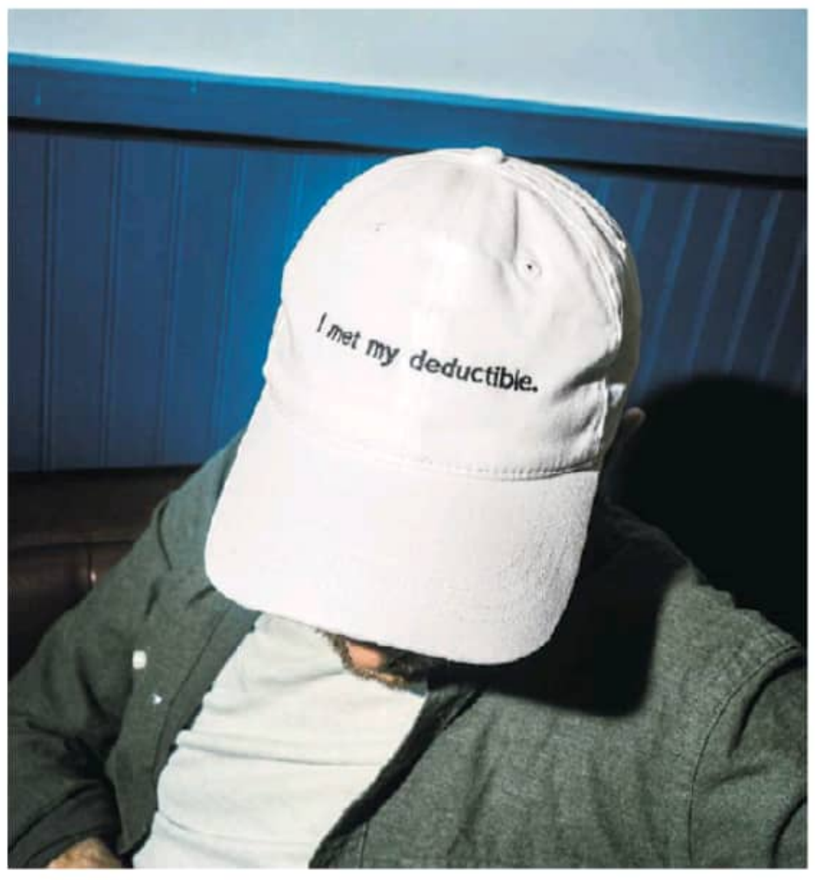
Mr. Watson now faces up to 37 years in prison.

During the trial, Mr. Watson's lawyers blamed other Ozy employees for any allegedly fraudulent activity, arguing that Mr. Watson's representations to investors were based on good-faith assessments of Ozy's finances. Mr. Watson made similar arguments from the stand, claiming that he did not intentionally inflate revenue esti-

CONTINUED ON PAGE B4

# Health Care Deductible Reached. It's Time to Party.







PHOTOGRAPHS BY JUTHARAT PINYODOONYACHET FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

For some people dealing with high health care costs, small wins like meeting a deductible or paying off a medical bill are sufficient reasons to party. Ian Goldstein, above left, held his health insurance deductible party at Brooklyn Art Haus, featuring singing, a festive hat and health care portal cupcakes.

By CONNIE CHANG

Last year, when CVS called Ian Goldstein and told him that he owed $23,000 for medicine he takes for Crohn's disease, he spiraled in despair. After a fruitless call with the pharmacy, Mr. Goldstein, a comedian and writer who lives in Brooklyn, N.Y., went for a walk to clear his head and had to sit down.

"I went into a complete panic state," Mr. Goldstein, 32, said. He had become used to wrangling with health care companies over billing mistakes and coverage ever since he was diagnosed with the condition as a teenager.

Still, the need for constant vigilance exhausts him. "There's always some clerical error that blocks the whole thing up," he said. Mr. Goldstein managed to resolve the matter with CVS only after months of calling the pharmacy three times a week.

This year, after he hit his insurance deductible, he decided to celebrate by throwing a party. On a sweltering Sunday in June, Mr. Goldstein and approximately 60 guests gathered at the Brooklyn Art Haus, a performance space in Williamsburg co-owned by a friend, for an evening of camaraderie and storytelling.

"Health care is such a problem, I just felt like celebrating that I'll get to pay less money now," he said.

For some people dealing with high health care costs, small wins, like meeting a deductible or paying off a medical bill, are sufficient reasons to party. Many Americans have inadequate health insurance coverage that has "led to delayed

CONTINUED ON PAGE B5

# Rental Agencies Are Rethinking Electric Vehicles After Disastrous Resales

By JACK EWING and DIONNE SEARCEY

If you've been wanting to try an electric vehicle, renting can be an affordable option. But finding one may soon become much more difficult.

Electric vehicles have been financially disastrous for rental companies, especially Hertz, which in January scaled back plans to acquire 100,000 Teslas after the cars' resale values plunged much faster than the company had expected.

Hertz's experience had a chilling effect on its industry, and many rental car companies are now trying to sell off electric vehicles at deep discounts. And it may be a while before they start buying again.

Last year, more than 4 percent of the cars sold by manufacturers to rental companies were electric, according to S&P Global Mobility. So far this year, that number is just 1.4 percent.

In theory, renting an electric car is a great way for people to try and become comfortable with new types of vehicles like battery-powered cars that produce no tailpipe emissions. "The potential that rental companies can have in reshaping consumer behavior and helping to promote adoption is critical," said Stephanie Valdez-Streaty, the director of industry insights at Cox Automotive. "But there's a long way to go."

Ms. Valdez-Streaty said rental firms had recently been offering good deals on electric vehicles, but those were unlikely to last as the companies thinned their fleets of such cars.

Hertz and other rental car companies found that offering customers electric vehicles at a profit was more difficult than they had expected. Most rental car complexes at airports lacked chargers. Many renters were not prepared for how quickly electric cars accelerated, leading to more accidents and higher insurance premiums. And some companies found they couldn't get spare parts for such cars as quickly as they could for gasoline cars.

"They thought E.V.s would be more simple and straightforward and cheaper to maintain," said Karl Brauer, an executive analyst at iSeeCars.com, an online car search site. "They're finding that's not true."

In a statement, Hertz said it would "continue to offer our customers the widest possible choice of vehicle makes and models, including electric vehicles."

The biggest problem for the rental companies was the rapid depreciation of cars made by Tesla, the leading manufacturer of electric cars. The company, led by Elon Musk, sharply cut prices on new models last year to prop up sales. That pushed down the prices for used Teslas. A study released last month from iSeeCars.com found

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# The Digest

ECONOMY

## Unchanged Retail Sales Raise Hopes for Growth

U.S. retail sales were unchanged in June as a drop in receipts at auto dealerships was offset by broad strength elsewhere, a display of consumer resilience that bolstered economic growth prospects for the second quarter.

The better-than-expected report from the Commerce Department on Tuesday also showed sales in May were higher than initially estimated. It did not change expectations that the Federal Reserve could start cutting interest rates in September amid cooling inflation, and it helped to assuage fears of a sharp slowdown in the economy.

"The economy is in pretty good shape," said Bill Adams, chief economist at Comerica Bank. "There are signs of softness around the edges where low- and moderate-income consumers are pulling back . . . but openhanded spending by affluent consumers is keeping the economy as a whole moving forward."

The unchanged reading in retail sales last month followed an upwardly revised 0.3 percent gain in May, the Commerce Department's Census Bureau said. *REUTERS*

EARNINGS

## UnitedHealth Stays Steady Despite Cyberattack Costs

UnitedHealth topped second-quarter forecasts but remains cautious about the year as it continues to eat costs from a vast cyberattack and deals with rising medical expenses.

The health care giant on Tuesday said it was sticking with its earnings forecast for 2024 that includes some costs from the attack earlier this year on its Change Healthcare business.

Hackers gained access in February to Change's system and unleashed a ransomware attack that encrypted and froze large parts of it. Change provides technology used to submit insurance claims,




KRISTOFFER TRIPPLAAR/SIPA USA/ VIA AP

and the attack disrupted payments and claims processing around country.

UnitedHealth booked $1.1 billion in total costs from the cyberattack in the second quarter. The company said it has restored most of the Change services affected by the attack. *ASSOCIATED PRESS*

COMPANIES

## Adidas Raises Forecast After Solid 2nd Quarter

The German sportswear maker Adidas is increasing its full-year earnings guidance after a better than expected second quarter, it said on Tuesday, in its second upgrade this year.

The success of the company's low-rise multicolored Samba and Gazelle sneakers, along with weaker sales at rival Nike, had been expected to help Adidas deliver strong second-quarter sales.

Operating profit for 2024 is now forecast at about 1 billion euros ($1.1 billion), up from previous guidance of around €700 million and double its expectations earlier this year, Adidas said.

The Adidas chief executive, Bjorn Gulden, has led a turnaround at the company bruised by its breakup with rapper Ye, formerly known as Kanye West, which left Adidas with unsold Yeezy shoes worth €1.2 billion.

The profit upgrade comes after Adidas said its second-quarter sales rose 9 percent from a year earlier to €5.82 billion. *REUTERS*

**S&P 500 INDEX**
+0.6%
5,667.2

**DOW JONES INDUSTRIALS**
+1.8%
40,954.48

**NASDAQ COMPOSITE INDEX**
+0.2%
18,509.34

**10-YEAR TREASURY YIELD**
4.16%
–0.051 points

**CRUDE OIL (U.S.)**
$80.76
–$1.15

**GOLD (N.Y.)**
$2,467.80
+$38.90

# Stocks & Bonds

## Dow Leaps to a Record in a Widespread Rally on Wall Street

By The Associated Press

U.S. stocks rallied to records, again, on Tuesday. What made this time more jubilant was how many companies joined the party.

The S&P 500 climbed 0.6 percent to set a high for the 38th time this year. Unlike other record-setting days, Tuesday's came after a widespread rally where nearly nine out of every 10 stocks in the S&P 500 rose, instead of just the few influential Big Tech stocks that have been behind most of this year's returns.

The Dow Jones industrial average leaped 742 points, or 1.8 percent, to lead the market a day after setting its own record. The Nasdaq composite lagged with a gain of 0.2 percent, as the stars dimmed for some of the year's biggest winners.

UnitedHealth Group drove the market after reporting better profit for the spring than analysts expected, despite losses it took because of a massive cyberattack. Its stock rose 6.5 percent, and the health care company reported growth in the number of people served at both its Optum and UnitedHealth businesses.

Bank of America rallied 5.3 percent after it likewise reported stronger profit for the latest quarter than forecast. It benefited from growth at its investment banking business.

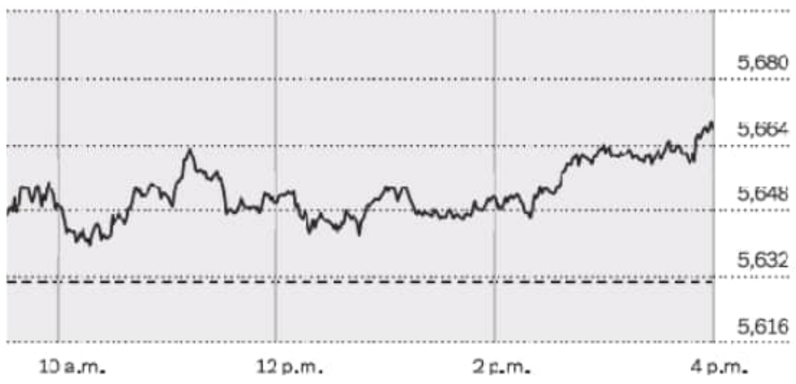
They helped offset drops for a handful of Big Tech stocks, whose sizes give their movements an outsize effect on indexes. Nvidia, for example, was the heaviest single weight on the S&P 500 after falling 1.6 percent.

But that decline was just a minor pullback compared with how much the chip company's stock rocketed earlier amid Wall Street's frenzy around artificial-intelligence technology. Nvidia shares are still up 155.2 percent for the year.

Plus, some market watchers have been hoping for just such a broadening of the stock market's performance, because a market with many stocks rising is seen as healthier than one driven by just a few elite stocks.

**The S&P 500 Index**

Position of the S&P 500 index at 1-minute intervals on Tuesday




Source: FactSet THE NEW YORK TIMES

Only 24 percent of companies in the S&P 500 had been beating the index so far this year, according to Solita Marcelli, chief investment officer, Americas, at UBS Global Wealth Management. That's down from last year's already low tally of 26 percent.

In another signal of more companies participating in the market's rally, stocks of smaller companies also outpaced their larger rivals after having lagged for a while.

The Russell 2000 index of smaller stocks jumped 3.5 percent, nearly six times the S&P 500's gain. It's coming off its best week since November, as stocks from other beaten-down corners of the market also rally following signals that the U.S. economy remains solid and that easier interest rates may soon be on the way.

Several big winners from the day before, which benefited from heightened expectations for former President Donald J. Trump to retake the White House, gave back some of their immediate jumps after Mr. Trump dodged an assassination attempt over the weekend.

Trump Media & Technology Group fell 9.1 percent, a day after leaping 31.4 percent. Shares of the company behind the Truth Social platform regularly swing by big percentages each day, up or down.

All told, the S&P 500 rose 35.98 points to 5,667.20. The Dow jumped 742.76 to 40,954.48, and the Nasdaq composite added 36.77 to 18,509.34.

In the bond market, some of the prior day's moves also reversed. Longer-term yields sank more than shorter-term yields after a report showed sales at U.S. retailers held firm last month despite economists' expectations for a decline.

The yield on the 10-year Treasury dropped to 4.16 percent from 4.23 percent late Monday. It's fallen from 4.70 percent in April, which is a major move for the bond market and has given a solid boost to stock prices.

Yields have eased on rising expectations that inflation is slowing enough to persuade the Federal Reserve to begin cutting interest rates soon.

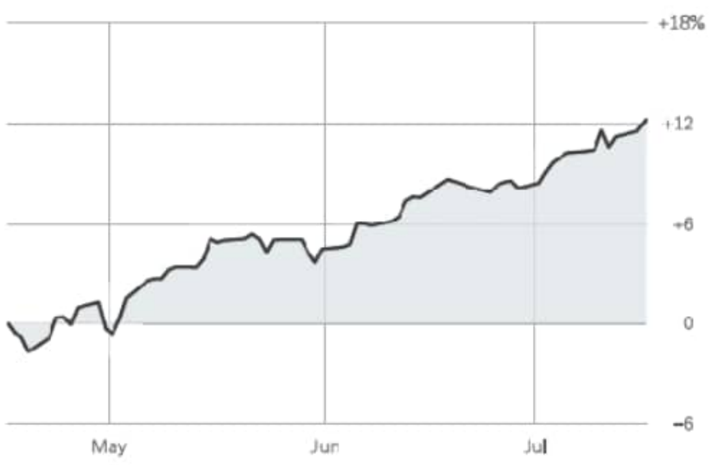
**NEWSLETTER: DEALBOOK**

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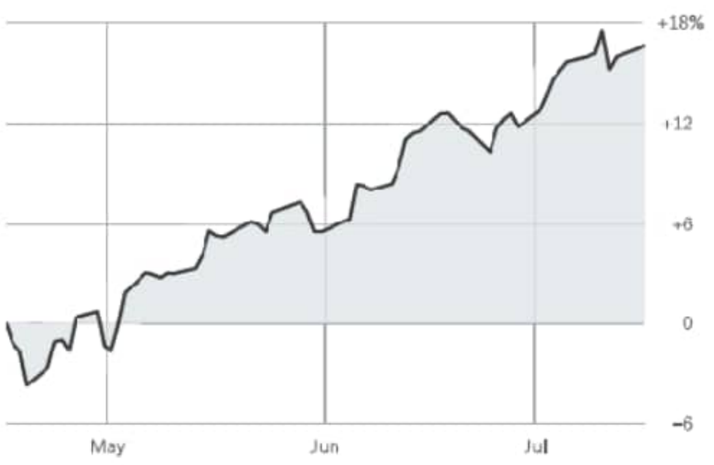
# What Happened in Stock Markets Yesterday

POWERED BY FACTSET

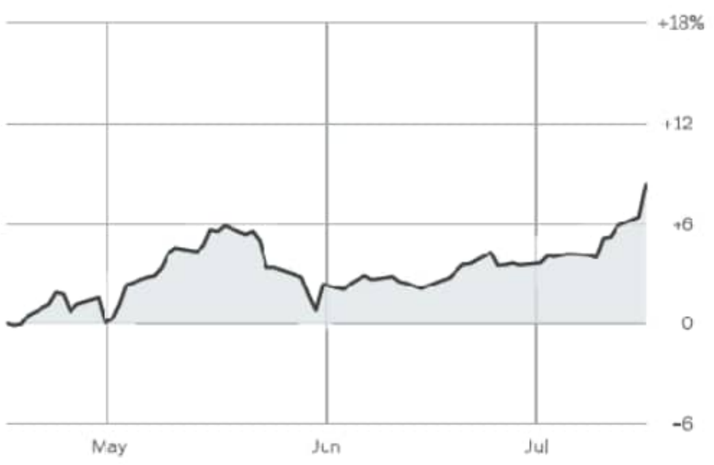
**S&P 500** 5,567.20 ↑+0.6%
3 month performance: **+12.2%**




**Nasdaq Composite Index** 18,509.34 ↑+0.2%
3 month performance: **+16.7%**




**Dow Jones Industrials** 40,954.48 ↑+1.8%
3 month performance: **+8.3%**




**Best performers**

| S&P 500 COMPANIES | CLOSE | CHANGE |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Molina Healthcare (MOH) | $307.33 | +8.2% |
| 2. Builders FirstSource (BLDR) | $165.44 | +8.0 |
| 3. Warner Bros. Discovery 'A' (WBD) | $7.98 | +7.5 |
| 4. Match Group (MTCH) | $34.41 | +7.5 |
| 5. State Street (STT) | $84.32 | +7.4 |
| 6. Pulte Group (PHM) | $124.56 | +7.2 |
| 7. Delta Air Lines (DAL) | $46.02 | +7.0 |
| 8. D.R. Horton (DHI) | $162.26 | +6.3 |
| 9. Lennar (LEN) | $169.52 | +6.3 |
| 10. UnitedHealth Group (UNH) | $548.37 | +6.3 |

**Worst performers**

| S&P 500 COMPANIES | CLOSE | CHANGE |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Charles Schwab (SCHW) | $67.43 | –10.2% |
| 2. Raymond James Financial (RJF) | $113.51 | –6.2 |
| 3. Constellation Energy (CEG) | $204.88 | –3.8 |
| 4. Ameriprise Financial (AMP) | $429.05 | –3.8 |
| 5. Progressive (PGR) | $210.00 | –3.3 |
| 6. Micron Technology (MU) | $127.49 | –2.8 |
| 7. EQT Corp (EQT) | $35.88 | –2.6 |
| 8. Super Micro Computer (SMCI) | $876.96 | –2.3 |
| 9. Western Digital (WDC) | $77.06 | –2.2 |
| 10. Crowdstrike Holdings A (CRWD) | $369.05 | –2.2 |

**Most active**

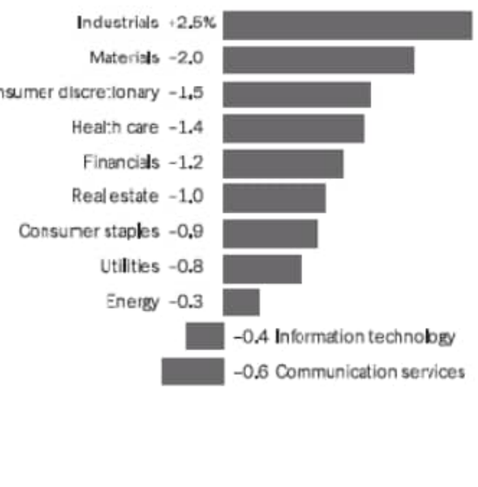
| S&P 500 COMPANIES | CLOSE | CHANGE | VOLUME IN MIL. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. NVIDIA (NVDA) | $120.30 | –1.0% | 209 |
| 2. Tesla (TSLA) | $256.56 | +1.6 | 126 |
| 3. Bank of America (BAC) | $44.13 | +5.3 | 76 |
| 4. Ford Motor (F) | $14.39 | +1.1 | 52 |
| 5. American Airlines Group (AAL) | $11.19 | +5.3 | 48 |
| 6. Apple (AAPL) | $234.82 | +0.2 | 42 |
| 7. Advanced Micro Devices (AMD) | $177.55 | –1.3 | 40 |
| 8. Warner Bros. Discovery 'A' (WBD) | $7.98 | +7.5 | 39 |
| 9. Charles Schwab (SCHW) | $67.43 | –10.2 | 34 |
| 10. Amazon.com (AMZN) | $193.02 | +0.2 | 32 |

**Specialty and short-term bonds**

| | TOTAL RETURN 1 YR | TOTAL RETURN 5 YRS | TOTAL ASSETS IN BIL. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Vanguard Short-Term Bond Index Fund Institutional Shares (VBITX) | +4.6% | +1.0% | 57.8 |
| 2. Vanguard Short-Term Investment-Grade Fund Investor Shares (VFSTX) | +5.9 | +1.5 | 54.3 |
| 3. Lord Abbett Short Duration Income Fund Class R4 (LDLRX) | +5.7 | +1.5 | 42.1 |
| 4. Vanguard Short-Term Corporate Bond Index Fund Admiral Shares (VSCSX) | +5.9 | +1.6 | 40.2 |
| 5. BlackRock Strategic Income Opportunities Portfolio Class K (BSIKX) | +6.9 | +2.8 | 37.7 |
| 6. Vanguard Institutional Intermediate-Term Bond Fund Institutional Plus Shares (VIITX) | +4.3 | +0.8 | 30.9 |
| 7. Vanguard High-Yield Corporate Fund Investor Shares (VWEHX) | +9.3 | +3.4 | 24.4 |
| 8. American Funds Intermediate Bond Fund of America Class R-6 (RBOGX) | +4.5 | +1.1 | 24.3 |
| 9. BlackRock High Yield Bond Portfolio Class K (BRHYX) | +11.3 | +4.4 | 22.4 |
| 10. American Funds American High-Income Trust Class R-6 (RITGX) | +12.1 | +5.0 | 20.2 |

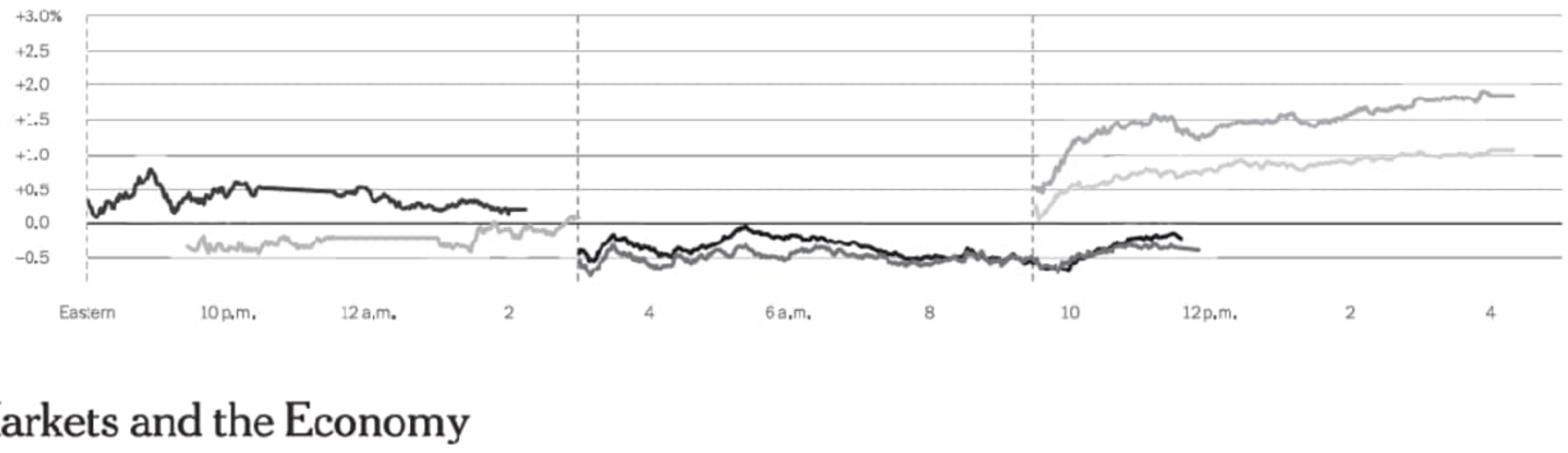
Source: Morningstar

**Sector performance**
S&P 500 SECTORS



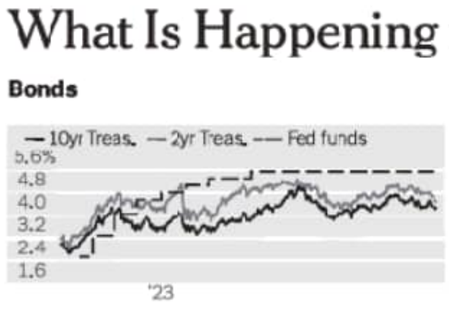

**How stock markets fared yesterday in Asia … … in Europe … and North America**

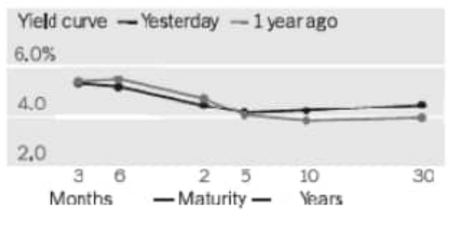
— Nikkei 225 (Japan): +0.2%
— Shanghai Composite (Shanghai): +0.1%
— FTSE 100 (London): –0.2%
— DAX (Frankfurt): –0.4%
— Dow Jones Industrials (New York): –1.8%
— S&P/TSX (Toronto): –1.1%



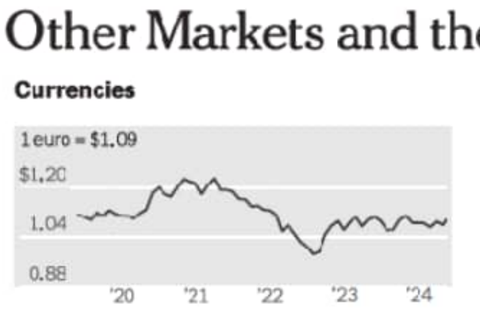

# What Is Happening in Other Markets and the Economy

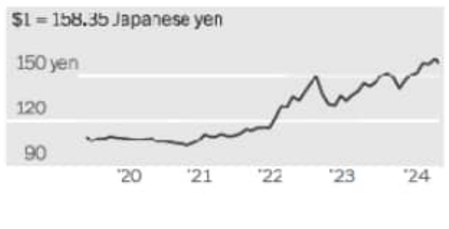
**Bonds**



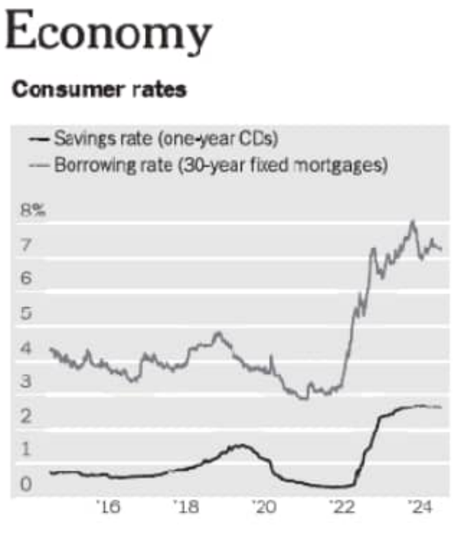




**Currencies**

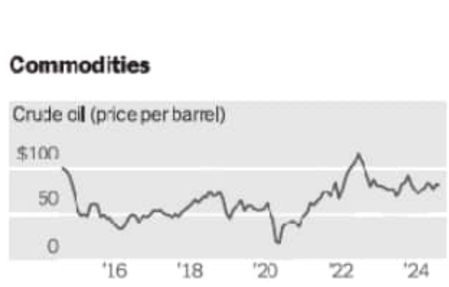


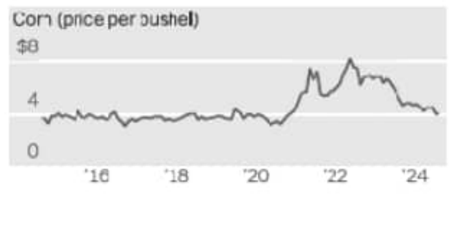




**Consumer rates**

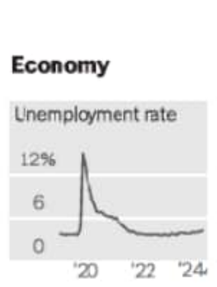



**Commodities**



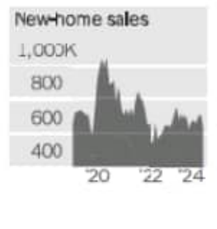



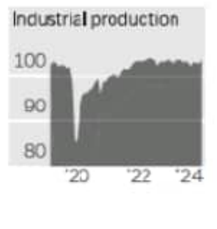

**Economy**










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**POLITICS**

# *Musk's Trump Endorsement Charts New Waters*

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

havior. "He's got a huge following and makes no bones on where he stands on issues and politics."

He has also turned the notion that the tech industry supports Democratic candidates on its head. For all the complaints that social media platforms have censored Mr. Trump and other Republicans in recent years, no senior executive at one of the companies has openly expressed a preference for a Democratic candidate.

Mark Zuckerberg, Meta's founder, rarely posts about politics, and Jack Dorsey, the former Twitter chief, became more outspoken on the topic only after he stepped down three years ago. Satya Nadella, Microsoft's chief, and Sundar Pichai, Google's chief, have also kept quiet about their political views on the companies' respective social platforms, LinkedIn and YouTube.

Beyond the endorsement, a new super PAC designed to help Mr. Trump could draw support from Mr. Musk, The New York Times reported Monday. The founding donors of the group, America PAC, include several wealthy tech entrepreneurs from Mr. Musk's social circle.

Mr. Musk, X and the Trump campaign did not respond to requests for comment for this article.

"Arrogant billionaires only out for themselves are not what America wants or what America needs," James Singer, a Biden campaign spokesman, said in a statement. "Elon knows Trump is a sucker who will sell America out."

While many newspapers have long endorsed political candidates, social media platforms' vast scale is akin to the early days of television, when viewers were glued to the nightly news broadcasts of a few networks. And the platforms' impact on consumers — particularly young people — has grown considerably in recent years as the traditional news industry has shrunk.

When it comes to Mr. Musk and X, "it's pretty clear what his political views are, and now people can make a choice with more transparency and information on where they want to spend their time online," said Sarah Kreps, director of the Tech Policy Institute at Cornell University.



RICHARD BORD/WIREIMAGE, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Elon Musk broke with leaders of other top social media firms, none of whom have endorsed a presidential candidate.

For years, Mr. Musk held back on sharing his political beliefs in large part because of his controlling interest in SpaceX, according to three former company executives. The rocket company was in fierce competition with rivals to win government space contracts.

In November 2016, days before the presidential election, Gwynne Shotwell, SpaceX's president and chief operating officer, pushed Mr. Musk to do an interview with CNBC, the three people said. During the interview, he gave a lukewarm endorsement of Hillary Clinton, saying he felt Mr. Trump was "not the right guy."

"He doesn't seem to have the sort of character that reflects well on the United States," Mr. Musk said. Ms. Clinton's economic and environmental politics were "the right ones."

SpaceX has received $14.7 billion in federal launch contracts over the last decade, and the government is now reliant on the company, relieving much of the political pressure, the people said.

In 2020, Mr. Musk said he had voted for Joseph R. Biden Jr. Two years later, he posted that people should vote Republican in the midterm elections. And over the past few months, Mr. Musk has steadily ramped up his criticism of Mr. Biden in posts on X, attacking the president for everything from his age to his immigration and health policies.

At the same time, Mr. Musk was courting Mr. Trump to return to X. The site barred Mr. Trump after the riot at the U.S. Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021. Mr. Musk restored the former president's account shortly after buying the site in late 2022. Since then, however, Mr. Trump has posted only once.

Since the assassination attempt, X has swirled with conspiracy theories and disinformation. On Saturday, the word "staged" trended on X, as users debated whether the shooting had been faked by the deep state or anyone else, including Mr. Trump.

Mr. Musk, the most followed person on the site, has accused rival tech executives and the media of using inflammatory language that contributed to the attack. He said the Secret Service had shown "extreme incompetence" or, in an accusation for which there is no evidence, let the attack happen deliberately.

He replied to and amplified a post suggesting that Kimberly Cheatle, the director of the Secret Service, had been improperly focused on "diversity hires." Right-wing accounts have been pushing the theory that diversity, equity, and inclusion efforts have weakened the agency protecting current and former presidents, and that women were not capable of protecting Mr. Trump.

Mr. Musk said Homeland Security Secretary Alejandro Mayorkas, whose department oversees the Secret Service, "ought to be in jail."

X will take action against posts that spread misinformation or praise the attack, according to an internal email that was sent on Sunday and obtained by The Times.

"At moments like this, the world turns to X and we have a responsibility to protect the conversation happening on our platform," wrote Linda Yaccarino, the company's chief executive.

Mr. Musk posted on Sunday that X was the place to find the truth, calling legacy media "a pure propaganda machine." On Monday, he acknowledged the platform's spread of incorrect information as he lashed out at media outlets including The Times and The Wall Street Journal.

"When something is wrong on X, it is corrected very fast, but it stays wrong for hours to days on legacy media," he wrote.

Kate Conger reported from San Francisco, and Ryan Mac from Los Angeles.

# Recent Market Activity Betting on a Trump Win

By BERNHARD WARNER

The S&P 500 is up more than 18 percent this year, fueled by investor fervor for artificial intelligence and the hopes that the Federal Reserve will start cutting interest rates.

The calculation of a potential Donald J. Trump return to the White House could be another catalyst, analysts say.

Market watchers are calling it the return of "the Trump trade." This implies that Trump 2.0 would mean lower taxes, deregulation, increased oil drilling and more fiscal spending. "Equities saw a clear rotation into stocks that stand to benefit from Trump's policies," Jim Reid, a strategist at Deutsche Bank, wrote in a note on Tuesday.

The big winners on Monday included crypto stocks — and digital assets like Bitcoin — and oil majors. Trump Media, the former president's social media company that seems to ride the wave of Trump's political fortunes, also rose more than 30 percent.

Here's where investors put their money:

- GEO Group and CoreCivic, two of the nation's largest publicly traded private prison operators, had their strongest days this year. The former gained more than 9 percent as investors weigh whether Mr. Trump's tough-on-crime campaign messaging will turn into policy that would bolster the sector.
- The best performing sectors in the S&P 500 on Monday were energy and financials. The former, which includes Chevron and Exxon Mobil, climbed nearly 1.6 percent even as oil prices fell.
- Coinbase, the crypto exchange, had its best day since March, gaining more than 10 percent, and Bitcoin nearly hit $65,000 before sinking. Mr. Trump appears to be warming to crypto as the industry gives millions to his campaign. The Republican Party platform is bullish too, vowing: "We will defend the right to mine Bitcoin, and ensure every American has the right to self-custody of their digital assets, and transact free from government surveillance and control."



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Donald J. Trump return to the White House could mean less taxes, and more drilling and deregulation.

**DealBook/**

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On the other hand, climate-related stocks were among the losers. "Trump has been openly hostile to environmental and climate regulation and the companies that might benefit from them," Steve Sosnick, chief strategist at Interactive Brokers, told DealBook. "Investors in those more volatile companies did not wait around to assess the probabilities of a Trump victory."

It's also worth noting that the S&P 500 is up roughly 48 percent since President Biden's inauguration day, one of the best market runs of the past century. Investors have concerns about both candidates, including that Mr. Biden would raise taxes that might sap corporate profits, and Trumponomics could mean a raft of inflationary tariffs that could hamper growth.


**SUMMARY NOTICE OF PROPOSED CLASS ACTION SETTLEMENT AND COURT-APPROVAL HEARING**

*In re: Aqueous Film-Forming Foams Products Liability Litigation, MDL No. 2:18-mn-02873*
*This Document relates to: City of Camden, et al., v. BASF Corporation,* No. 2:24-cv-03174-RMG

**UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT, DISTRICT OF SOUTH CAROLINA, CHARLESTON DIVISION**

**TO THE SETTLEMENT CLASS:** All Active Public Water Systems in the United States of America that have one or more Impacted Water Sources as of May 15, 2024.

All capitalized terms not otherwise defined herein shall have the meanings set forth in the Settlement Agreement, available for review at **www.PFASWaterSettlement.com**.

**Active Public Water System** means a Public Water System whose activity-status field in SDWIS states that the system is "Active."

**Impacted Water Source** means a Water Source that has a Qualifying Test Result showing a Measurable Concentration of PFAS.

**Public Water System** means a system for the provision to the public of water for human consumption through pipes or other constructed conveyances, if such system has at least fifteen (15) service connections or regularly serves an average of at least twenty-five (25) individuals daily at least sixty (60) days out of the year, consistent with the use of that term in the Safe Drinking Water Act, 42 U.S.C § 300f(4)(A) and 40 C.F.R. Part 141. The term "Public Water System" includes (i) any collection, treatment, storage, and distribution facilities under control of the operator of such system and used primarily in connection with such system, and (ii) any collection or pretreatment storage facilities not under such control which are used primarily in connection with such system. Solely for purposes of this Settlement Agreement, the term "Public Water System" refers to a Community Water System of any size or a Non-Transient Non-Community Water System that serves more than 3,300 people, according to SDWIS, the owner and/or operator of such Public Water Systems, or any Person (but not any financing or lending institution) that has legal authority or responsibility (by statute, regulation, other law, or contract) to fund or incur financial obligations for the design, engineering, installation, operation, or maintenance of any facility or equipment that treats, filters, remediates, or manages water that has entered or may enter Drinking Water or any Public Water System. It is the intention of this Agreement that the definition of "Public Water System" be as broad, expansive, and inclusive as possible.

**What Is the Purpose of this Notice?** The purpose of this Notice is (i) to advise you of a proposed settlement of certain Claims against BASF Corporation ("BASF" or "Defendant") in the United States District Court for the District of South Carolina (the "Court"); (ii) to summarize your rights in connection with the Settlement; and (iii) to inform you of a Court hearing to consider whether to grant final approval of the Settlement (the "Final Fairness Hearing"), to be held on November 1, 2024 at 12:00 p.m. EST, before the Honorable Richard M. Gergel, United States District Judge of the United States District Court for the District of South Carolina, located at 85 Broad Street, Charleston, South Carolina 29401.

**What Are the Key Terms of the Proposed Settlement?** BASF has agreed to pay $312,500,000 (the "Settlement Amount"), subject to final approval of the Settlement by the Court and certain other conditions specified in the Settlement Agreement. BASF shall additionally pay $4,000,000 (the "Initial Payment") to cover costs incurred by the Notice Administrator in the course of executing the Notice Plan. Together, these payments from BASF constitute the "Settlement Funds." In no event shall BASF be required under the Settlement Agreement to pay any amounts above the Settlement Funds. Any fees, costs, or expenses payable under the Settlement Agreement shall be paid out of, and shall not be in addition to, the Settlement Funds. Each Class Member that has not excluded itself from the Class will be eligible to receive a settlement check(s) from the Claims Administrator based on the Allocation Procedures developed by Class Counsel, which are subject to final approval by the Court as fair and reasonable and whose administration is under the oversight of the Special Master.

**What Are My Options?**

**YOU CAN PARTICIPATE IN THE SETTLEMENT.** You must file a Claims Form to be eligible to receive a payment under the Settlement. You can submit your Claims Form online at **www.PFASWaterSettlement.com**, or you can download, complete, and mail your Claims Form to the Claims Administrator at AFFF Public Water System Claims, P.O. Box 4466, Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70821. The deadline to submit a Claims Form is **sixty (60) calendar days after the Effective Date.**

Regardless of whether you file a Claims Form or receive any distribution under the Settlement, unless you timely opt out as described below, you will be bound by the Settlement and any judgment or other final disposition related to the Settlement, including the Release set forth in the Settlement Agreement, and will be precluded from pursuing claims against BASF separately if those Claims are within the scope of the Release.

**YOU CAN OPT OUT OF THE SETTLEMENT.** If you do not wish to be a Class Member and do not want to participate in the Settlement and receive a settlement check, you may exclude yourself, or "opt out" from the Class by completing and submitting a Request for Exclusion. The Request for Exclusion form will be available online and may be submitted electronically; if it is submitted via paper copy it must be served on the Opt Out Administrator no later than **October 15, 2024.** Requests for Exclusion may be withdrawn at any time before the Final Fairness Hearing.

**YOU CAN OBJECT TO THE SETTLEMENT.** Any Class Member that has not successfully excluded itself ("opted out") may object to the Settlement. Any Class Member that wishes to object to the Settlement or to an award of fees or expenses to Class Counsel must file a written and signed statement designated "Objection" with the Clerk of the Court and provide service on BASF's Counsel and Class Counsel no later than **September 15, 2024.** No Class Member who has submitted a Request for Exclusion may object, and any Objections submitted by any Class Member that later excludes itself shall be deemed withdrawn.

**VISIT WWW.PFASWATERSETTLEMENT.COM FOR COMPLETE INFORMATION ABOUT YOUR RIGHTS**

**The Court's Final Fairness Hearing.** The Court will hold the Final Fairness Hearing in the United States District Court for the District of South Carolina, located at 85 Broad Street, Charleston, South Carolina 29401, on November 1, 2024. At that time, the Court will determine, among other things, (i) whether the Settlement should be granted final approval as fair, reasonable, and adequate, (ii) whether the Litigation should be dismissed with prejudice pursuant to the terms of the Settlement Agreement, (iii) whether the Settlement Class should be conclusively certified, (iv) whether Settlement Class Members should be bound by the Release set forth in the Settlement Agreement, (v) the amount of attorneys' fees and costs to be awarded to Class Counsel, if any, and (vi) the amount of the award to be made to the Class Representatives for their services, if any. The Final Fairness Hearing may be postponed, adjourned, or continued by Order of the Court without further notice to the Class.

**How Do I Get More Information?** Please visit **www.PFASWaterSettlement.com** or call toll free **1-855-714-4341.** You may also contact Class Counsel for more information:

| | |
|---|---|
| Scott Summy<br>**Baron & Budd, P.C.**<br>3102 Oak Lawn Ave., Ste. 1100<br>Dallas, Texas 75219 | Michael A. London<br>**Douglas & London**<br>59 Maiden Lane, 6th Floor<br>New York, NY 10038 |
| Paul J. Napoli<br>**Napoli Shkolnik**<br>1302 Av. Ponce de Leon<br>San Juan, Puerto Rico 00907 | Joseph F. Rice<br>**Motley Rice LLC**<br>28 Bridgeside Boulevard<br>Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina 29464 |

**Clerk of the Court:**

Clerk, United States District Court for the District of South Carolina
85 Broad Street
Charleston, SC 29401

| Notice Administrator | Claims Administrator |
|---|---|
| In re: Aqueous Film-Forming Foams Products Liability Litigation<br>c/o Notice Administrator<br>1650 Arch Street, Suite 2210<br>Philadelphia, PA 19103 | AFFF Public Water System Claims<br>PO Box 4466<br>Baton Rouge, LA 70821 |
| **Opt Out Administrator**<br>Rubris Inc.<br>P.O. Box 3866<br>McLean, VA 22103 | |

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**MEDIA | AUTOMOTIVE**



FRANK FRANKLIN II/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Lawyers for Carlos Watson and Ozy Media said they were disappointed in the verdict, reached after three days of jury deliberation, and planned to appeal.

# *Ozy Media Co-Founder Is Found Guilty of Fraud In Promoting Start-Up*

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

mates, but rather presented the types of service-based income typical for a "scrappy young company" in its early years.

Lawyers for Mr. Watson and Ozy said they were disappointed in the jury's verdict and planned to appeal "immediately."

Samir Rao, the other co-founder of Ozy, and Suzee Han, a former Ozy chief of staff, pleaded guilty last year to fraud charges. Both cooperated with the government in its case against Mr. Watson, testifying against him.

Mr. Watson started Ozy in 2013, publishing news articles and newsletters before venturing into podcast and television productions. The start-up secured commitments from prominent investors at a time when digital publishers, like BuzzFeed and Vice, attracted billions of dollars in investments that largely didn't pan out.

On several occasions, defense lawyers tried to shift the blame for Ozy's alleged lies to Mr. Rao in an

*One executive impersonated a YouTube executive on a fund-raising call.*

effort to create distance between Mr. Watson and the details of Ozy's daily operations. That strategy was particularly evident in testimony about an incident at the heart of the case: a 2021 fund-raising call during which Mr. Rao misled Goldman Sachs employees by impersonating a YouTube executive. The call was first reported by The New York Times.

Prosecutors alleged that Mr. Watson had helped facilitate the call. They cited text messages he sent to Mr. Rao during the call — among them, "use the right pronouns" — that, they claimed, amounted to instructions for what to say.

But, when questioned by one of his lawyers about his involvement, Mr. Watson denied any responsibility. He said he had walked into Mr. Rao's office when the call was already underway and began to connect the dots.

"I assumed at the time that I was watching someone melting down," Mr. Watson testified.

Several of the prosecution's witnesses also testified that Mr. Watson had misrepresented his company's finances to secure investments, inflating revenue figures and presenting misleading claims of commitments from the likes of Oprah Winfrey and Live Nation Entertainment.

Prosecutors presented the jury with evidence showing that Mr. Watson had sent emails to investors claiming Ozy made $12 million in 2017 — while Ozy's tax return for that year listed less than $7 million in gross sales. When pressed about the emails during the prosecution's cross-examination, Mr. Watson again pointed a finger at Mr. Rao.

"Samir drafted these," Mr. Watson testified. "I would never draft something with that level of specificity."

Leading up to the trial, a lawyer for Mr. Watson argued that the government's allegations involved the same "puffing and bluffing" practiced by the founders of BuzzFeed and Vice but that prosecutors had singled out Mr. Watson for punishment because he is a Black man. In April, a judge rejected Mr. Watson's motion to dismiss the charges on the grounds of discriminatory prosecution.

Among the witnesses called to the stand in Mr. Watson's trial was Google's chief executive, Sundar Pichai, who testified that he had never discussed a possible $600 million takeover of Ozy. Prosecutors said Mr. Watson had told a prospective investor that Mr. Pichai made that offer.

Mr. Watson's sentencing will be held Nov. 18, said John Marzulli, a spokesman for the U.S. attorney's office for the Eastern District of New York.

# Rental Agencies Rethinking Electric Vehicles

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

that used electric vehicles had lost value faster than the average used gas car had this year and, in May, cost less on average than used gasoline cars for the first time.

Resale values are a critical part of the financial calculus for rental companies because they generally sell cars before they accumulate too many miles. Rental car companies record losses when they sell cars for less than they expected to. In the first three months of the year, the diminished value of Hertz's electric fleet lowered its profit by $195 million.

Rental companies "are 100 percent dependent on residual values," said Shay Natarajan, a partner at Mobility Impact Partners, a private equity firm that invests in sustainable transportation. "It's just a very difficult business model."

James Iovino, who lives in Baldwin, N.Y., listed about nine electric vehicles on the car-sharing website Turo. But he got out of the business a month or so ago after E.V. prices dropped.

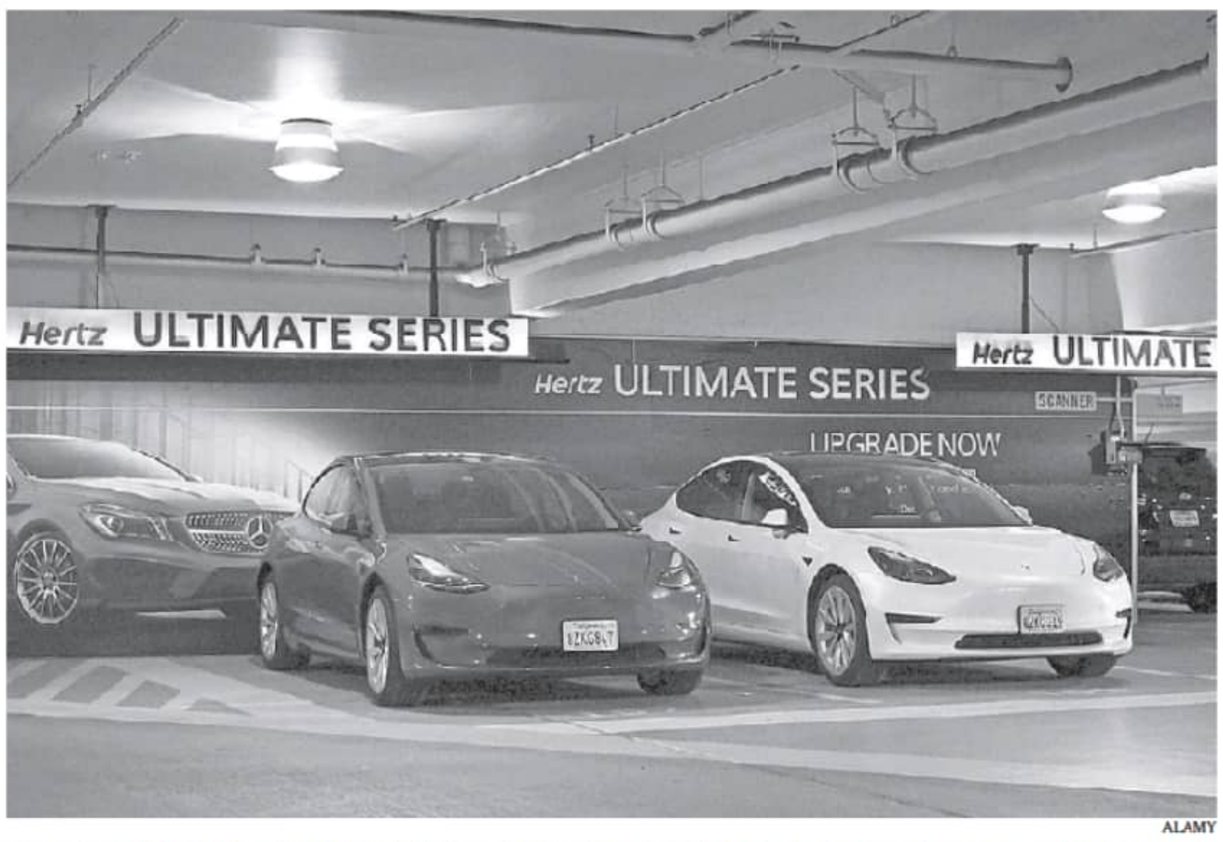
"I got burned for the same reason Hertz got hurt — Elon Musk opens his mouth and the industry takes a dive," he said.

But some rental car companies say they are not dumping battery-powered cars because of the recent drop in prices.

Enterprise Mobility has several thousand electric vehicles available in the United States, Canada and Europe, and will add more depending on market demand, said Mike Wilmering, a spokesman for the company. Enterprise is also working on making more chargers available to its customers.

"We're looking beyond how many chargers are available and working to identify power needs and access — both in our locations and the communities we serve," Mr. Wilmering said. "We want customers to have a great experience with E.V.s, and we're keeping them at the center of our long-term strategy."

Some people who have never driven an electric vehicle face a steep learning curve when they are given a battery-powered car. Rental companies typically do not have the staff to give customers a tutorial. Hertz, for example, offers




ALAMY

In January, the rental agency Hertz scaled back plans to acquire 100,000 Teslas after the cars' resale values plunged.

information online for electric vehicle renters and sends them instructions by email.

Tom Moore and his wife rented a Tesla from a Hertz location in Portland, Ore., last year as a test run for buying an electric car.

His wife, who did the bulk of the driving, asked a Tesla-owning neighbor back home in Mountain View, Calif., for a lesson before their trip. It was a good idea — the Hertz employees did not offer any instructions before handing over the key fob.

"They just said, 'This is your parking place,'" Mr. Moore said.

Hertz said it "learned a lot as a first mover in the E.V. rental market, and, as we align our fleet with consumer demand, we're focused on continuously enhancing the rental experience, which includes making it easy and rewarding for all customers."

Refueling has been another issue. Many rental companies expect customers to recharge electric vehicles to around 70 percent before returning them. That means customers must plan to stop at a charger near the end of their trips, which is not always easy to do when people are trying to catch flights and there aren't enough fast chargers near the rental car center.

Rental companies don't want to be responsible for charging because they like to get cars back on the road quickly. It can also be difficult for rental companies to install chargers at airports.

"Airports are notorious for being unfriendly for electric infrastructure development," said Raghu Iyengar, an executive at Volkswagen of America whose duties include sales to rental companies. Demand from rental companies for Volkswagen's ID.4 electric sport utility vehicle has been close to zero, he said.

People who rent Teslas have access to its Supercharger network, the largest fast-charging system in the United States. But most Superchargers work only with Tesla cars. People who rent cars made by automakers like Kia, General Motors or Polestar must use chargers offered by other operators, each with its own mobile phone app for payment. Renters also need to be aware that there are few or no fast chargers in many parts of the country, especially in rural areas.

But even in the heart of the technology industry, driving a rented electric car can be difficult.

Kerry Dietz, a retired architect who lives in Springfield, Mass., reserved the "manager's special" last year at Thrifty Car Rental, which belongs to Hertz, during a trip to Berkeley, Calif. She owned a Tesla at the time and was no stranger to electric driving. But Thrifty gave her a Polestar, a car designed in Sweden and manufactured in China that was not able to use Tesla's charging network.

"I spent the entire time we were there trying to find a place to charge — a place to charge where stuff worked," Ms. Dietz said. "It was a really frustrating experience."

As electric vehicles become more popular, rental companies will have to figure out how to offer them, Mr. Iyengar of Volkswagen said. "There's going to be an electric tide that lifts all boats," he said, "and rental is going to follow that."

# Reactions to Trump's Pick of J.D. Vance

## Media Bubbles

By SANTUL NERKAR

After former President Donald J. Trump announced his vice-presidential pick, Senator J.D. Vance of Ohio, partisan media focused on two different versions of Mr. Vance — both of which have defined his time on the national stage.

Many conservative commentators and outlets applauded the former president's choice, focusing on Mr. Vance's conservative credentials as a senator and his loyalty to Mr. Trump, both in his policy positions and his efforts to downplay Mr. Trump's role in the Jan. 6, 2021, attack on the U.S. Capitol. Some conservative publications, however, saw the choice as a boon to Democrats.

Most liberal sites characterized Mr. Vance as an opportunist by focusing on his past status as a prominent critic of Mr. Trump, highlighting Mr. Vance's denunciations of Mr. Trump during his first presidential campaign. They also showcased the senator's turn toward Mr. Trump, including his hard-line positions on abortion and the Jan. 6 attack, to paint him as a political extremist.

Here's how a few outlets covered the news:

FROM THE RIGHT

### Breitbart

Mr. Vance rose to prominence in 2016 with the publication of "Hillbilly Elegy," a memoir about his childhood in Appalachia that doubled as a sociocultural analysis of problems in rural America, including poverty and the opioid crisis. He frequently denounced Mr. Trump that year, calling him "cultural heroin," an "idiot" and a "total fraud."

But since his election to the Senate in 2022, Mr. Vance has positioned himself as a conservative populist, closely aligned with Mr. Trump.

He opposes abortion rights, even in the case of rape or incest, and U.S. support for Ukraine in Russia's war. Like Mr. Trump, Mr. Vance has broken with Republican orthodoxy on certain economic issues: The senator is a proponent of higher tariffs, particularly on China, and has sought to block the proposed sale of U.S. Steel to Nippon Steel, a Japanese company.

But many right-leaning media outlets focused less on his past critiques and more on his current appeal to Mr. Trump's political base, particularly through his support of the "America First" movement,


BREITBART

TRENDING: ONE WEEK J.D. VANCE TRUMP, SURVIVOR

Mexico City Cop Under Probe For Subway Porn Video

DONALD TRUMP ANNOUNCES J.D. VANCE AS RUNNING MATE

which calls for a hard-line stance on immigration, isolationism and reducing imports. Breitbart, a conservative site, praised Mr. Vance in all-caps headlines as an "America First Fighter, Grassroots Favorite" and a "Fighter for the American Worker," and called his selection a "Major Setback" for "Globalists" and "Interventionists."

Mr. Vance is "widely seen as the heir apparent to the 'America First' movement ushered in by Trump's election in 2016," Kristina Wong, a Pentagon correspondent for the website, wrote on Monday.

In an interview early this month with Fox Business, Alex Marlow, Breitbart's editor in chief, said, "I think Vance offers a pretty historic opportunity," adding that he had told Mr. Trump "to have someone who is part of the 'America First' movement on the ticket."

FROM THE RIGHT

### The Wall Street Journal Editorial Page

Some conservative observers worried over the pick, arguing that Mr. Vance would not appeal to swing voters, and expressed concern over his views and lack of political experience. The Wall Street Journal's editorial board characterized Mr. Vance as a risky choice shortly after the announcement.

The editorial highlighted his contrast with former Vice President Mike Pence, who "helped Mr. Trump win the White House and then staff his administration," and criticized Mr. Vance for isolationist foreign policy views, his support for unions and his choice to blame Democrats for the attempted assassination of Mr. Trump.


WSJ OPINION

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*Trump Bets on a MAGA Successor in J.D. Vance*

His choice of the 39-year-old Senator reinforces his base, rather than appealing to a broader coalition.

The choice, the editorial board wrote, suggests Mr. Trump was "so confident in his electoral prospects that he didn't need a running mate to reach swing voters."

FROM THE LEFT

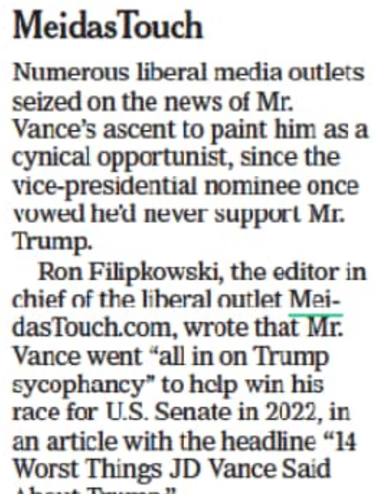
### MeidasTouch

Numerous liberal media outlets seized on the news of Mr. Vance's ascent to paint him as a cynical opportunist, since the vice-presidential nominee once vowed he'd never support Mr. Trump.

Ron Filipkowski, the editor in chief of the liberal outlet MeidasTouch.com, wrote that Mr. Vance went "all in on Trump sycophancy" to help win his race for U.S. Senate in 2022, in an article with the headline "14 Worst Things JD Vance Said About Trump."

"In just a few short years, Vance has become perhaps an even worse version of the qualities he decried in Trump," Mr. Filipkowski wrote.

In other articles published on Monday, the site highlighted Mr. Vance's past support for cuts to Medicare and Social Security, and the Biden administration's opposition to the pick. Aaron Parnas, a writer for MeidasTouch, called Mr. Vance "one of the most extreme VP picks in recent memory."


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Hillbilly Eulogy: 14 Worst Things JD Vance Said About Trump

How Vance became worse than the 'monster' he despised.

FROM THE LEFT

### The New Republic

The New Republic, a liberal news site, also highlighted Mr. Vance's ideological evolution on Mr. Trump. Hafiz Rashid, an associate writer for the outlet, pointed to Mr. Vance's criticisms of Mr. Trump after the release of the "Access Hollywood" tape in 2016, when Mr. Trump bragged about sexual assault, and after the Charlottesville riot in 2017, when he drew a false equivalence between "antiracist protesters" and neo-Nazis.

"Like many other Republicans, the self-described 'Never Trump' Republican soon changed his tune on Trump, fully backing Trumpism by the time he began his run for the Senate in 2022," Mr. Rashid wrote.

Also on Monday, Ellie Quinlan Houghtaling, an associate writer for the website, said the choice of Mr. Vance cut against Mr. Trump's stated goal to bring "unity" after Saturday's assassination attempt, as Mr. Vance had "immediately used the moment to deride liberals" and President Biden.


THE NEW REPUBLIC

Trump Gives Away His "Unity" Game With Vice Presidential Pick

In the wake of the assassination attempt on Donald Trump, J.D. Vance was quick to stoke division and conspiracy.

Ellie Quinlan Houghtaling
July 15, 2024 / 5:10 p.m. ET

This article is part of Media Bubbles, a regular feature that looks at how different news and opinion outlets — large, small and often partisan — are covering the 2024 presidential election.

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**HEALTH | ECONOMY**

# Insurance Deductible Reached, Patients See Good Reason to Party

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

or forgone care, significant medical debt and worsening health problems," according to a recent survey from the Commonwealth Fund, a nonprofit research group that focuses on health care issues.

"Celebrations, even if they're done in jest, can provide relief and a sense of community around something that can feel really heavy," said Megan Ford, a financial therapist at the University of Georgia.

At his party, Mr. Goldstein sang a duet with a friend, Louie Aronowitz, 36, lampooning health care costs. Others talked about having to declare bankruptcy because of medical costs or arguing with insurers for more than a year over bills that should have been covered.

Wendy Maskin, 35, attended the party with her husband, Michael Maskin, 31. The couple have been friends with Mr. Goldstein for years and thought the celebration made "perfect sense."

"I think everyone knows someone who has been affected by medical debt," Ms. Maskin said. "We all want it to change. It's nice to be here and laugh a little, but also to acknowledge that we're in it together."

Partygoers enjoyed cupcakes decorated with a screenshot of Mr. Goldstein's patient portal rendered in edible ink and held on to raffle tickets for customized baseball caps.

At one point, people lined up to whack a cerulean piñata shaped like an Advil. Cheers erupted when it cracked open, spilling candy and medical supplies like cotton swabs and bandages.

Despite meeting his deductible, Mr. Goldstein continues to spend about $400 a month on payment plans for past treatments and worries about the next bowel obstruction that could upend his finances.

Insurance can feel like a jungle. "You could be an expert on health insurance and still have to read the fine print in incredible detail to understand exactly what's covered, so it does become mind-boggling and difficult for the average person," said Michael Sparer, a health policy professor at Columbia University. Opaque billing practices and schemes designed to maximize profits further muddy the waters.

"Years ago, if you had health insurance paid by your employer, you might have to pay a small copay when you went to the doctor, but you wouldn't have a significant deductible," said Dr. Sparer. But soaring medical costs over the past 15 years have pushed employers (and insurers) to shift the burden onto individuals by increasing deductibles across the board and promoting high-deductible plans.

### A Reason to Rage

Sarah Baker, who lives in Brooklyn, had been on her parents' health care plan until last November and described dealing with health insurance for the first time on her own as a "second coming of age" and "comically bad."

Things like setting up a payment account on the New York State of Health website and figuring out which medications her plan would cover required jumping through bureaucratic hoops. Over several hours-long calls to sort out the mess, "I never talked to the same person more than once, and I had to fight for myself constantly," Ms. Baker, 26, said.

By the time she met her $2,100 deductible in March, which reduced her average monthly medical costs to $700 from $1,200, Ms. Baker was ready to let off some steam.

"It was the beginning of spring, no one was up to anything, and I needed a light at the end of the tunnel," she said.

"It was a fun assortment of people coming and going," said Mitzi Zitler, 26, who went to college with Ms. Baker and attended her party in April. Tinsel strewed on houseplants and a banner from a local dollar store reading "My First Communion" added to the irreverent mood. Ms. Baker mixed Shirley Temples and put out a big pot of beans alongside chips and salsa.

But the conversations were the real draw. Health care is "a big, scary topic, and people don't talk about it that much," Ms. Zitler said. "Or at least not as openly and with a dark humor like Sarah does." Case in point: Ms. Baker sent out her party invite using Partiful, an event-invitation service popular among Gen Z, with an expletive about her deductible and saying it was time to "rage."

Nathan Astle, a financial therapist in Kansas City, Mo., sees celebrations like deductible parties as a healthy response to this uncertainty. "Humans are meaning-making creatures, so these parties could help us cope with something that feels largely out of our control," he said.

### Smaller Celebrations

The day Jessamyn Stanley paid off a $10,000 medical debt, she posted on Instagram in search of connection. She said she felt compelled to share her experience, citing the stigma often associated with debt.

In a celebratory 90-second video, Ms. Stanley described how an emergency room visit for a scooter accident created a financial obligation that took her five years to settle. Looking intently at the camera, she concluded with a direct message to anyone who might be similarly struggling: "I see you, and I feel you, and it will one day be over."

The "spiritually frustrating" travail conjured up unpleasant memories for Ms. Stanley, 36, a founder of The Underbelly, a virtual yoga studio. Her mother, who has congestive heart failure, was in and out of the hospital throughout Ms. Stanley's childhood. "I grew up in a family where we were constantly hounded by debt collectors," she said.

Ms. Stanley also treated herself to a cheeseburger — a rare indulgence — and rerouted the monthly $178 payments she had been making to a high-yield savings account. "The debt limited my life and prevented me from doing other things," she said. "Now I can really work towards my goals."

For Marta Olmos, medical costs exceed other expenses like car insurance and student loans, and curtail financial goals such as saving for a house. She felt immense relief when she met her $3,000 out-of-pocket maximum early in 2023 with an emergency appendectomy.

"It was like a burden being lifted because I knew I wouldn't have to pay anything out of pocket for the rest of the year," Ms. Olmos, 28, said.

Ms. Olmos remembered treating herself to a nice dinner out with her boyfriend and high-end personal care items purchased with funds from her flexible spending account. But the true celebration was taking care of long-neglected issues.

"I was like, now I feel totally chill just going and getting an M.R.I.," Ms. Olmos said. She ended up having shoulder surgery as well and then physical therapy sessions to rehabilitate.

Dr. Benjamin Schmidt, a gastroenterologist in St. Louis, often sees a deductible-driven stampede in November and December. "We always have people begging us to get them in after they've waited to meet their deductible, which is unfortunate because a lot of times these procedures aren't truly elective," he said.

Dr. Schmidt, 33, opts for a high-deductible plan because it's tied to a health savings account, a tax-free account akin to a 401(k) for future health expenses. "But it's sort of gambling on yourself" that you won't have significant health needs right now, he said. And for many, the choice is less about tax savings and more about affordability. High-deductible plans typically have lower premiums than other options — just keep your fingers crossed that you don't get sick.

These nuances require the average person to act as an insurance expert, a financial whiz and a prognosticator, making a complex system even more confusing. In response, Dr. Schmidt has begun making videos that he posts on Instagram and TikTok that run the gamut from a tongue-in-cheek skit on deductibles to a debunking of scam colon cleanses.

The week after Mr. Goldstein's deductible bash in Brooklyn, he was still riding the high that had gripped him that day. He has been receiving appreciative texts from friends who attended, thanking him for sparking much-needed discussions.

"I'd really love to go around and just get people to do parties like this and talk about this stuff," Mr. Goldstein said. "Because the things that have helped me in the worst moments — and it sounds really cliché — is knowing, hey, someone else has gone through this, or someone else is dealing with these issues with insurance."

Mike Dang contributed reporting.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY JUTHAKAT PINYODOONYACHET FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



Ian Goldstein, a comedian and writer living in Brooklyn, hosted a party that celebrated meeting his health insurance deductible. "Health care is such a problem, I just felt like celebrating that I'll get to pay less money now," he said. Guests at his party whacked a cerulean piñata that was shaped like an Advil.

# *I.M.F. Notes Cooling U.S. Economy as Inflation Persists*

By ALAN RAPPEPORT

WASHINGTON — The United States economy is growing more slowly than expected and inflation remains stubbornly high around the world, two developments that pose risks to the global economy, the International Monetary Fund said on Tuesday.

The I.M.F.'s most recent World Economic Outlook report underscored the lingering vulnerabilities that could derail a so-called soft landing for the world economy — one in which a global recession is avoided despite aggressive efforts by central banks to tame rapid inflation by making it more expensive to borrow money.

The new report said the I.M.F. still expected growth in global output to hold steady at 3.2 percent in 2024. That would be unchanged from its April projections. The fund also expected growth to be slightly higher next year, at 3.3 percent. However, the projections included several caveats and warned that the global economy was in a "sticky spot."

Most notable were signs of weakness in the United States, which has helped power the global recovery from the pandemic. The I.M.F. now expects the United States economy to grow more slowly than it did previously as a result of weaker consumer spending and a softening job market.

The report forecast that U.S. economic growth would increase to 2.6 percent in 2024 from 2.5 percent in 2023, a slight downgrade from its previous projection of 2.7 percent. "The United States shows increasing signs of cooling, especially in the labor market, after a strong 2023," Pierre-Olivier Gourinchas, the I.M.F.'s chief economist, said in an essay that accompanied the report.

Global inflation is still expected to ease to 5.9 percent this year from 6.7 percent in 2023. But the I.M.F. noted that prices for services remained hot. That could force central banks — which have raised interest rates to their highest levels in years — to keep borrowing costs high longer, putting growth at risk for both advanced and developing economies.

"Unless goods inflation declines further, rising services prices and wages may keep overall inflation higher than desired," Mr. Gourinchas said. "Even absent further shocks, this is a significant risk to the soft-landing scenario."

Recent inflation reports have suggested that price increases in the United States have been moderating, leading investors to speculate that the Federal Reserve could begin lowering borrowing costs in September. Jerome H. Powell, the chair of the Federal Reserve, said on Monday that the data had added to central bankers' confidence that price increases were slowing, but avoided giving a clear signal about when officials would have enough confidence to cut interest rates.

Despite some indications of sluggishness in the United States, the I.M.F. said output in the euro area, China and India was looking stronger. The fund described Asia's emerging market economies as the "main engine for the global economy" and said growth in China and India accounted for nearly half of global growth.

Although the I.M.F. upgraded its outlook for China, government statistics released this week showed that economic growth slumped through the spring after a strong start this year as a real estate crash caused consumers to spend more cautiously.

The I.M.F. projects China's economy to grow at a rate of 5 percent this year, slower than the 6.1 percent rate that China's statistical bureau estimates.

The fund also continued to express concerns about mounting debt burdens facing economies around the world, and it pointed to political uncertainty and rising protectionism as economic headwinds. The United States has increasingly been a country of concern on those fronts, as President Biden and former President Donald J. Trump have both embraced tariffs as central to their economic pitches while failing to articulate realistic proposals to reduce the national debt.

"The potential for significant swings in economic policy as a result of elections this year, with negative spillovers to the rest of the world, has increased the uncertainty," the report said. "Trade tariffs, alongside a scaling up of industrial policies worldwide, can generate damaging cross-border spillovers, as well as trigger retaliation, resulting in a costly race to the bottom."

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**IN THE UNITED STATES BANKRUPTCY COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF DELAWARE**

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| In re: Imerys Talc America, Inc., *et al.*, Debtors | | Case No. 19-10289 (LSS) |
| In re: Cyprus Mines Corporation, Debtor | | Case No. 21-10398 (LSS) |

**NOTICE OF JOINT MOTION TO APPROVE (I) SETTLEMENT AGREEMENT BETWEEN IMERYS DEBTORS, CYPRUS DEBTOR, JOHNSON & JOHNSON AND OTHER PARTIES THERETO AND (II) SALE OF CERTAIN RIGHTS**

On February 13, 2019, each of Imerys Talc America, Inc., Imerys Talc Vermont Inc., and Imerys Talc Canada Inc. (collectively, the "**Imerys Debtors**") filed a voluntary petition for relief under chapter 11 of title 11 of the United States Code (the "**Bankruptcy Code**"), in the United States Bankruptcy Court for the District of Delaware (the "**Bankruptcy Court**") commencing the Imerys Debtors' chapter 11 cases administered jointly at Case No. 19-10289 (LSS).

On February 11, 2021, Cyprus Mines Corporation (the "**Cyprus Debtor**" and, collectively with the Imerys Debtors, the "**Debtors**"), filed a voluntary petition for relief under chapter 11 of the Bankruptcy Code in the Bankruptcy Court commencing the Cyprus Debtor's chapter 11 case administered at Case No. 21-10398 (LSS).

On July 13, 2024, the Debtors filed a motion (the "**Motion**"), pursuant to sections 105 and 363 of the Bankruptcy Code and Rules 2002, 9004, and 9019 of the Federal Rules of Bankruptcy Procedure, for entry of an order approving, among other things, (i) the Settlement Agreement and Release (the "**Settlement Agreement**")[1] by and among the Debtors, Imerys S.A., Imerys Talc Italy S.p.A., Cyprus Amax Minerals Company, the Claimant Fiduciaries, and J&J,[2] (ii) the sale of the rights of the Debtors and their estates in the J&J Agreements and the Debtor J&J Released Claims to J&J free and clear of any and all rights, claims and interests of any other entity pursuant to sections 363(b) and 363(f) of the Bankruptcy Code except as otherwise provided in the Settlement Agreement, (iii) the release by the Debtor Releasing Parties of the J&J Corporate Parties with respect to the Debtor J&J Released Claims, (iv) the release by the Debtor Corporate Parties,[3] any successors, assigns, or representatives of any of them, and any other persons claiming under or through them, of the J&J Corporate Parties[4] with respect to the Non-Debtor J&J Released Claims, and (v) the release by the J&J Releasing Parties of the Debtor Released Parties with respect to the Debtor Released Claims.

As set forth in Section 12.1 of the Settlement Agreement, notwithstanding any other provision of the Settlement Agreement, nothing contained therein shall affect the rights of an individual holder of a Talc Personal Injury Claim, or such individual holder's heirs, executors, and assigns, to prosecute such individual holder's claims against any J&J Corporate Party. The effectiveness of the Settlement Agreement is subject to the terms of the Settlement Agreement in all respects.

**YOUR RIGHTS MAY BE AFFECTED BY THE SETTLEMENT AGREEMENT AND THE RELIEF SOUGHT BY THE MOTION.** Any responses or objections to the Motion must be in writing and filed with the Clerk of the Bankruptcy Court, 824 North Market Street, 3rd Floor, Wilmington, Delaware 19801 on or before July 29, 2024 at 4:00 p.m. (prevailing Eastern Time).

If any objections to the Motion are received, the Motion and such objections shall be considered at a hearing before The Honorable Laurie Selber Silverstein, Chief United States Bankruptcy Judge for the District of Delaware, at the Bankruptcy Court, 824 North Market Street, 6th Floor, Courtroom No. 2, Wilmington, Delaware 19801 on August 15, 2024 at 11:00 a.m. (prevailing Eastern Time).

IF NO OBJECTIONS OR RESPONSES TO THE MOTION ARE TIMELY FILED, SERVED, AND RECEIVED, THE BANKRUPTCY COURT MAY ENTER AN ORDER APPROVING THE SETTLEMENT AGREEMENT WITHOUT FURTHER NOTICE OR HEARING.

Copies of the Motion and the Settlement Agreement are available for review free-of-charge on the website maintained by the Debtors' claims, noticing, and solicitation agent, Kroll Restructuring Administration, LLC ("**Kroll**"), at: https://cases.ra.kroll.com/landstak by clicking the link for "J&J Settlement" below the "Quick Links" header at the left margin of the landing page. Copies of the Settlement Agreement are also available upon request by contacting Kroll at landstakinfo@ra.kroll.com or (844) 514-3092 (U.S./Canada, toll-free) or (646) 777-2352 (International, toll).

[1] Capitalized terms used but not defined in this notice have the meanings given to them in the Settlement Agreement or the Motion, as applicable.

[2] "**J&J**" means Johnson & Johnson and any successor thereto, Johnson & Johnson Holdco (NA) Inc. (f/k/a Johnson & Johnson Consumer, Inc.) and any successor thereto, and LLT Management LLC (f/k/a ITL Management LLC) and any successor thereto including, if formed, Red River Talc LLC and/or Pecos River Talc LLC.

[3] "**Debtor Corporate Parties**" means Imerys S.A. and Cyprus Amax Minerals Company and each of their past and present parents, subsidiaries and affiliates, and, in their capacities as such, all of their respective agents and representatives, direct and indirect equity holders, and the successors and assigns of each, including those entities listed on Schedule I and Schedule II to the Settlement Agreement, and excluding the Debtors and the J&J Corporate Parties and their affiliates.

[4] "**J&J Corporate Parties**" means J&J, Johnson & Johnson Baby Products Company, Johnson & Johnson Consumer Inc., Johnson & Johnson Consumer Products, Inc., and each of their past and present parents, subsidiaries and affiliates, and, in their capacities as such, all of their respective agents and representatives, direct and indirect equity holders, and the successors and assigns of each, including those entities listed on Schedule III to the Settlement Agreement, and excluding the Debtors and the Debtor Corporate Parties.

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**IN THE UNITED STATES BANKRUPTCY COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF DELAWARE**

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| In re: Supply Source Enterprises, Inc., *et al.*,[1] Debtors. | ) ) ) | Chapter 11 Case No. 24-11054 (BLS) (Jointly Administered) |

**NOTICE OF DEADLINES FOR THE FILING OF PROOFS OF CLAIM AND REQUESTS FOR ALLOWANCE OF ADMINISTRATIVE CLAIMS**

**PLEASE TAKE NOTICE OF THE FOLLOWING:**

**GENERAL BAR DATE: AUGUST 12, 2024 AT 5:00 P.M. (ET)**
**ADMINISTRATIVE CLAIM BAR DATE: AUGUST 30, 2024 AT 5:00 P.M. (ET)**
**GOVERNMENTAL BAR DATE: NOVEMBER 18, 2024 AT 5:00 P.M. (ET)**

On May 21, 2024, the above-captioned debtors (the "**Debtors**") each filed a voluntary petition for relief under chapter 11 of title 11 of the U.S. Code, 11 U.S.C. §§ 101 et seq. (the "**Bankruptcy Code**"). The Debtors' chapter 11 cases are jointly administered under case number 24-11054 (BLS) (the "**Chapter 11 Cases**").

On July 8, 2024, the United States Bankruptcy Court for the District of Delaware (the "**Court**") entered an order [Docket No. 210] (the "**Bar Date Order**")[2] establishing certain deadlines for the filing of Proofs of Claim and Payment Requests in these Chapter 11 Cases.

Pursuant to the Bar Date Order, each person or entity (including, without limitation, each individual, partnership, joint venture, corporation, estate, and trust) that holds or seeks to assert a Claim (as defined in section 101(5) of the Bankruptcy Code) against the Debtors that arose, or is deemed to have arisen, prior to the Petition Date (including, without limitation, Claims entitled to administrative priority status under section 503(b)(9) of the Bankruptcy Code), no matter how remote or contingent such right to payment or equitable remedy may be (with certain limited exceptions as set forth in the Bar Date Order), **MUST FILE A PROOF OF CLAIM** on or before **August 12, 2024 at 5:00 p.m. (prevailing Eastern Time)** (the "**General Bar Date**"), by sending an original Proof of Claim form to: (if by mail) Supply Source Claims Processing Center c/o KCC dba Verita, 222 N. Pacific Coast Highway, Suite 300 El Segundo, CA 90245; (if by overnight mail, courier, or hand delivery) Supply Source Claims Processing Center c/o KCC dba Verita, 222 N. Pacific Coast Highway, Suite 300 El Segundo, CA 90245; or by completing the online eProof of Claim form available at https://veritaglobal.net/supplysource, so that it is **actually received** on or before the General Bar Date; *provided that*, solely with respect to governmental units (as defined in section 101(27) of the Bankruptcy Code), the deadline for such governmental units to file a Proof of Claim is **November 18, 2024 at 5:00 p.m. (prevailing Eastern Time)** (the "**Governmental Bar Date**").

Each person or entity (including, without limitation, individuals, partnerships, corporations, joint ventures, trusts, and governmental units) that holds or wishes to assert an alleged Administrative Expense Claim against the Debtors' estate that may have arisen during the period from the Petition Date through and including July 26, 2024 **MUST FILE A PAYMENT REQUEST FORM** on or before **August 30, 2024 at 5:00 p.m. (prevailing Eastern Time)** (the "**Administrative Claim Bar Date**") by sending an original Payment Request form to: (if by mail) Supply Source Claims Processing Center c/o KCC dba Verita, 222 N. Pacific Coast Highway, Suite 300 El Segundo, CA 90245; (if by overnight mail, courier, or hand delivery) Supply Source Claims Processing Center c/o KCC dba Verita, 222 N. Pacific Coast Highway, Suite 300 El Segundo, CA 90245; or by completing the online Payment Request form available at https://veritaglobal.net/supplysource, so that it is **actually received** on or before the Administrative Claim Bar Date.

Any person or entity that holds a Claim that arises from the rejection of an executory contract or unexpired lease must file a Proof of Claim based on such rejection by the later of (a) the General Bar Date, (b) the date set forth in an order authorizing the Debtors to reject contracts or leases pursuant to section 365 of the Bankruptcy Code (unless the order authorizing such rejection provides otherwise), and (c) thirty (30) days after the claimant is served with notice of the applicable Court order (the "**Rejection Bar Date**").

You may be listed as the holder of a Claim in the Schedules. The Schedules are available free of charge on Verita's website at https://veritaglobal.net/supplysource/document/list/6093. If you rely on the Schedules, it is your responsibility to determine that your Claim is accurately listed in the Schedules. As described above, if (a) you agree with the nature, amount and status of your Claim as listed in the Schedules, (b) your Claim is NOT described as "disputed," "contingent," or "unliquidated," and (c) you do not dispute that the claim is an obligation of the particular Debtor against which the claim is listed in the Schedules, then you are not required to file a Proof of Claim in these Chapter 11 Cases with respect to such Claim. Otherwise, or if you decide to file a Proof of Claim, you must do so before the applicable Bar Date in accordance with the procedures set forth in this Notice and the Bar Date Order.

If the Debtors amend their Schedules, then the Bar Date for those creditors affected by any such amendment shall be the later of (a) the General Bar Date or (b) 5:00 p.m. (Prevailing Eastern Time) on the date that is twenty-one (21) days from the date that the Debtors provided written notice to the affected creditor that the Schedules have been amended (the "**Amended Schedules Bar Date**").

Proofs of Claim and Payment Request Forms must be sent by overnight mail, courier service, hand delivery, regular mail, or in person, or completed electronically through Verita's website described above. Proofs of Claim and Payment Request Forms sent by facsimile, telecopy, or electronic mail will **not** be accepted and will **not** be considered properly or timely filed for any purpose in these Chapter 11 Cases. There are certain limited exemptions from the requirements to file a Proof of Claim and Payment Request Forms, which are described in the Bar Date Order.

**THE FACT THAT THE DEBTORS HAVE PUBLISHED THIS NOTICE DOES NOT MEAN THAT YOU HAVE A CLAIM AGAINST THE DEBTORS OR THAT THE DEBTORS BELIEVE THAT YOU HAVE A CLAIM AGAINST THE DEBTORS.**

**ANY PERSON OR ENTITY THAT IS REQUIRED TO FILE A PROOF OF CLAIM AND/OR PAYMENT REQUEST, AS APPLICABLE, IN THESE CHAPTER 11 CASES WITH RESPECT TO A PARTICULAR CLAIM AGAINST THE DEBTORS BUT FAILS TO DO SO PROPERLY BY THE APPLICABLE BAR DATE SHALL BE FOREVER BARRED, ESTOPPED, AND ENJOINED FROM: (A) ASSERTING SUCH CLAIM AGAINST THE DEBTORS AND THEIR ESTATES (OR FILING A PROOF OF CLAIM OR PAYMENT REQUEST), AND THE DEBTORS AND THEIR PROPERTIES AND ESTATES SHALL BE FOREVER DISCHARGED FROM ANY AND ALL INDEBTEDNESS OR LIABILITY WITH RESPECT TO SUCH CLAIM; AND (B) VOTING UPON, OR RECEIVING DISTRIBUTIONS UNDER, ANY CHAPTER 11 PLAN IN THESE CHAPTER 11 CASES OR OTHERWISE IN RESPECT OF OR ON ACCOUNT OF SUCH CLAIM, AND SUCH PERSON OR ENTITY SHALL NOT BE TREATED AS A CREDITOR WITH RESPECT TO SUCH CLAIM FOR ANY PURPOSE IN THESE CHAPTER 11 CASES.**

The Proof of Claim Form, the Payment Request Form, the Bar Date Order, and all other pleadings filed in these Chapter 11 Cases are available free of charge on Verita's website at https://veritaglobal.net/supplysource. If you have questions concerning the filing or processing of Claims, you may contact the Debtors' claims and noticing agent, Verita, by calling the toll-free information line at (866) 927-7078 for U.S. or Canada claimants, or (310) 751-2651 for all other international claimants, or by submitting an online inquiry via Verita's website at https://veritaglobal.net/supplysource/inquiry.

The Debtors in these chapter 11 proceedings, together with the last four digits of each Debtor's federal tax identification number, are: Supply Source Enterprises, Inc. (0842); SSE Intermediate, Inc. (1772); SSE Buyer, Inc. (5101); Impact Products, LLC (7450); and The Safety Zone, LLC (4597). The Debtors' headquarters are located at 385 Long Hill Road, Guilford, Connecticut 06437.

[1] Capitalized terms used but not otherwise defined herein have the meanings ascribed to them in the Bar Date Order.

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**IN THE UNITED STATES BANKRUPTCY COURT FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS, HOUSTON DIVISION**

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| In re: STEWARD HEALTH CARE SYSTEM LLC, *et al.*, Debtors.[1] | § § § | Chapter 11 Case No. 24-90213 (CML) (Jointly Administered) |

**NOTICE OF DEADLINES FOR FILING PROOFS OF CLAIM**

**PLEASE TAKE NOTICE OF THE FOLLOWING:**

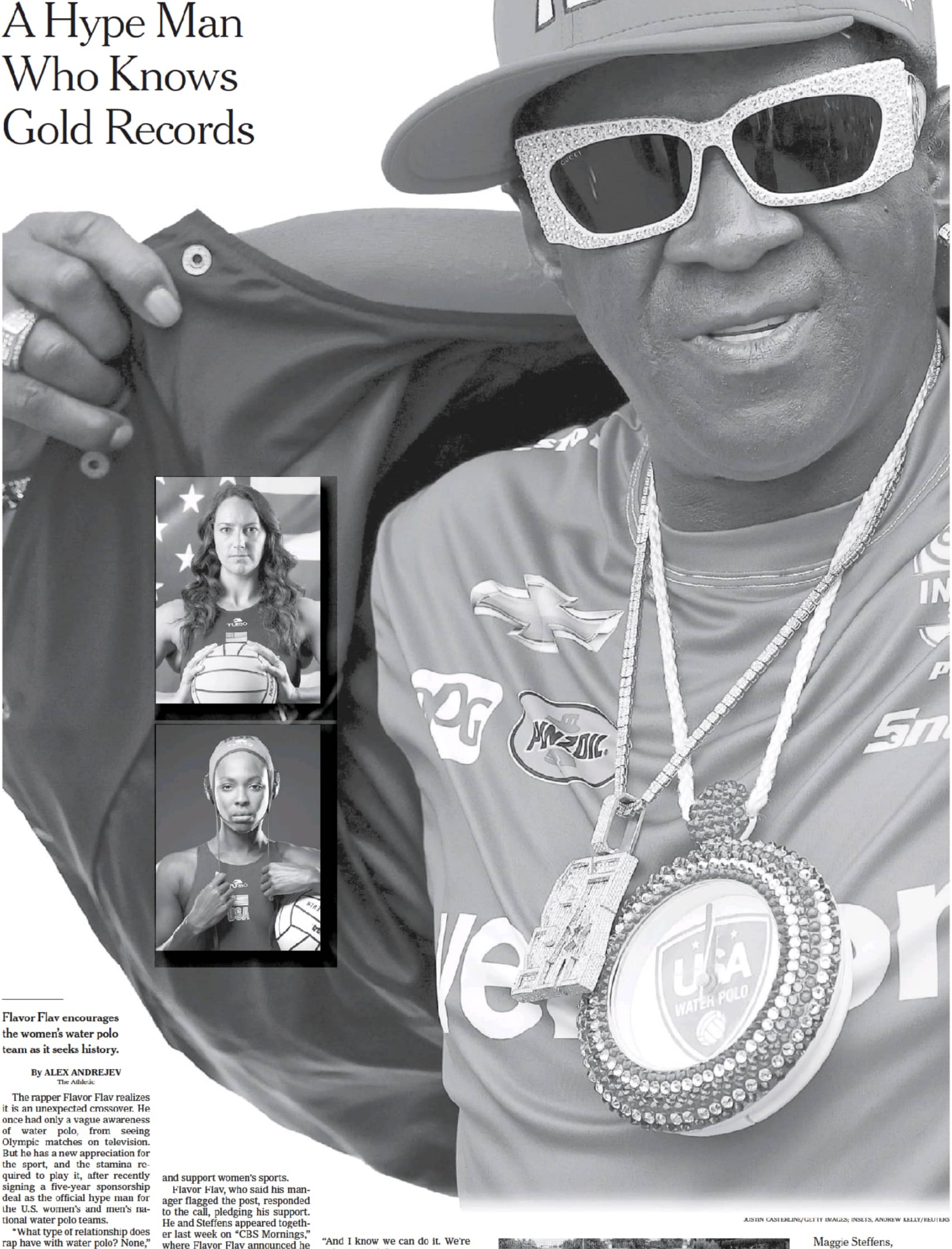
1. Commencing on May 6, 2024 (the "**Petition Date**"), the Debtors filed voluntary petitions for relief under chapter 11 of the Bankruptcy Code in the United States Bankruptcy Court for the Southern District of Texas (the "**Court**"). Set forth below are the name, federal tax identification number and the case number for each of the Debtors: **Name of Debtor, Case Number, Employer Identification Number:** SJ Medical Center, LLC, 24-90210 (CML), 20-4835578; Downtown Houston Physician Hospital Organization, 24-90211 (CML), 26-2994243; Steward Health Care Holdings LLC, 24-90212 (CML), 90-0736306; Steward Health Care System LLC, 24-90213 (CML), 27-2473240; Arizona Diagnostic & Surgical Center, Inc., 24-90214 (CML), 62-1799439; Beaumont Hospital Holdings, Inc., 24-90215 (CML), 62-1796501; Biltmore Surgery Center Holdings, Inc., 24-90216 (CML), 62-1796499; Biltmore Surgery Center, Inc., 24-90217 (CML), 86-0837176; Blackstone Medical Center, Inc., 24-90219 (CML), 45-2465102; Blackstone Rehabilitation Hospital, Inc., 24-90223 (CML), 36-4706534; Boston Orthopedic Center, LLC, 24-90225 (CML), N/A; Boston Sports Medicine and Research Institute, LLC, 24-90230 (CML), N/A; Brevard SHC Holdings LLC, 24-90236 (CML), 82-1041977; Brim Healthcare of Colorado, LLC, 24-90242 (CML), 83-0582147; Brim Healthcare of Texas, LLC, 24-90248 (CML), 26-4178850; Brim Holding Company, Inc., 24-90261 (CML), 20-1249180; Brim Physicians Group of Colorado, LLC, 24-90266 (CML), 27-3297741; Choice Care Clinic I, Inc., 24-90278 (CML), 20-5936914; Choice Care Clinic II, Inc., 24-90283 (CML), 26-5815195; Choice Care Clinic III, Inc., 24-90287 (CML), 45-5454036; Choice Care Clinic of Louisiana, Inc., 24-90291 (CML), 45-4067134; Choice Care Clinic of Utah, Inc., 24-90299 (CML), 45-4317705; Converse Medical Center LLC, 24-90306 (CML), 30-0820305; Davis Hospital & Medical Center, LP, 24-90315 (CML), 68-0562507; Davis Hospital Holdings, Inc., 24-90318 (CML), 62-1795217; Davis Surgical Center Holdings, Inc., 24-90324 (CML), 62-1796493; De Zavala Medical Center LLC, 24-90340 (CML), 30-0879734; Glenwood Specialty Imaging, LLC, 24-90344 (CML), 26-4166415; ICC Essential Co., 24-90347 (CML), 47-3474893; Health Choice Florida, Inc., 24-90350 (CML), 46-4707361; Health Choice Louisiana, Inc., 24-902 8 (CML), 47-2577669; Health Choice Managed Care Solution: LLC, 24-90224 (CML), 32-0509759; Health Choice Northern Arizona LLC, 24-90227 (CML), 35-2516234; Health Choice Preferred Accountable Care LLC, 24-90229 (CML), 90-0855232; Health Choice Preferred Louisiana ACO LLC, 24-90234 (CML), 32-0452797; Health Choice Preferred Louisiana Physician Association LLC, 24-90237 (CML), 32-0451445; Health Choice Preferred Texas ACO – Alamo Region LLC, 24-90239 (CML), 61-1763415; Health Choice Preferred Texas ACO – Gulf Coast Region LLC, 24-90244 (CML), 35-2514381; Health Choice Preferred Texas Physician Association – Alamo Region LLC, 24-90250 (CML), 36-4811294; Health Choice Preferred Texas Physician Association – Gulf Coast Region LLC, 24-90253 (CML), 35-2534523; Health Choice Utah Accountable Care LLC, 24-90257 (CML), 30-0740157; HealthUtah Holdco LLC, 24-90252 (CML), 35-2569545; Heritage Technologies, LLC, 24-90273 (CML), 86-0805100; IASIS Capital Corporation, 24-90276 (CML), 20-1278389; IASIS Finance II LLC, 24-90281 (CML), 46-3646796; IASIS Finance III LLC, 24-90285 (CML), 38-3915345; IASIS Finance, Inc., 24-90290 (CML), 62-1797792; IASIS Finance Texas Holdings, LLC, 24-90295 (CML), 20-1311933; IASIS Glenwood Regional Medical Center, LP, 24-90301 (CML), 20-5249822; IASIS Healthcare Corporation, 24-90311 (CML), 76-0450619; IASIS Healthcare Holdings, Inc., 24-90317 (CML), 62-1798134; IASIS Healthcare LLC, 24-90319 (CML), 20-1150104; IASIS Management Company, 24-90322 (CML), 62-1797795; IASIS Transco, Inc., 24-90325 (CML), 62-1801015; Indigent Care Services of Northeast Louisiana, Inc., 24-90247 (CML), 62-1796513; Jordan Valley Hospital Holdings, Inc., 24-90252 (CML), 62-1795215; Jordan Valley Medical Center, LP, 24-90263 (CML), 83-0588653; Legacy Trails Medical Center LLC, 24-90269 (CML), 61-1744649; Mesa General Hospital, LP, 24-90277 (CML), 62-1795590; Morton Hospital, A Steward Family Hospital, Inc., 24-90282 (CML), 45-1209304; Mountain Point Holdings, LLC, 24-90289 (CML), 81-1072595; Mountain Vista Medical Center, LP, 24-90297 (CML), 27-2066363; MT Transition LP, 24-90303 (CML), 62-1795584; Nashoba Valley Medical Center, A Steward Family Hospital, Inc., 24-90313 (CML), 27-4157855; New England Sinai Hospital, A Steward Family Hospital, Inc., 24-90329 (CML), 90-0113115; Odessa Fertility Lab, Inc., 24-90334 (CML), 62-1796497; Odessa Regional Hospital, LP, 24-90348 (CML), 62-1795574; Orbite Care, Inc., 24-90352 (CML), 20-5772510; Onsite Care MSO, LLC, 24-90358 (CML), 81-1698881; Permian Basin Clinical Services, Inc., 24-90365 (CML), 86-1175133; Permian Premier Health Services, Inc., 24-90371 (CML), 13-4134288; Physician Group of Arizona, Inc., 24-90373 (CML), 26-2855034; Physician Group of Arkansas, Inc., 24-90374 (CML), 45-5303617; Physician Group of Florica, Inc., 24-90375 (CML), 62-1801013; Physician Group of Louisiana, Inc., 24-90375 (CML), 27-0145822; Physician Group of Utah, Inc., 24-90220 (CML), 62-1801973; Podiatric Physicians Management of Arizona, Inc., 24-90226 (CML), 86-0146514; PP Transition, Inc., 24-90228 (CML), 62-1797790; PP Transition LP, 24-90231 (CML), 62-1795583; Quincy Medical Center A Steward Family Hospital, Inc., 24-90235 (CML), 45-2465238; Riverwoods ASC Holdco LLC, 24-90241 (CML), 34-4316368; Salt Lake Regional Medical Center, LP, 24-90245 (CML), 62-1795214; Salt Lake Regional Physicians, Inc., 24-90251 (CML), 62-1795211; Seaboard Development LLC, 24-90256 (CML), 62-1756039; Seaboard Development Port Arthur LLC, 24-90258 (CML), 80-0808742; SHC Youngstown Ohio Laboratory Services Company LLC, 24-90267 (CML), 82-1003734; SHC Youngstown Ohio Outpatient Services LLC, 24-90270 (CML), 82-1003850; SHC Youngstown Ohio PSC LLC, 24-90274 (CML), 82-0970767; Southridge Plaza Holdings, Inc., 24-90275 (CML), 62-1796491; Southwest General Hospital, LP, 24-90280 (CML), 62-1795572; St. Luke's Behavioral Hospital, LP, 24-90284 (CML), 62-1795588; St. Luke's Medical Center, LP, 24-90294 (CML), 62-1795587; Steward Accountable Care Organization, Inc., 24-90302 (CML), 87-1821140; Steward Anesthesiology Physicians of Florida, Inc., 24-90307 (CML), 84-3108147; 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Steward Imaging & Radiology Holdings LLC, 24-90326 (CML), 27-2473484; Steward Medicaid Care Network, Inc., 24-90331 (CML), 81-4107389; Steward Medical Group Express Care, Inc., 24-90337 (CML), 46-5491210; Steward Medical Group Inc., 24-90362 (CML), 27-2777455; Steward Medical Group Pennsylvania Endoscopy LLC, 24-90354 (CML), 82-0799612; Steward Medical Holdings LLC, 24-90357 (CML), 27-3374900; Steward Medical Ventures, Inc., 24-90360 (CML), N/A; Steward Melbourne Hospital, Inc., 24-90363 (CML), 81-5354550; Steward New England Initiatives, Inc., 24-90364 (CML), 27-1075043; Steward Norwood Hospital, Inc., 24-90366 (CML), 27-2473602; Steward NSMC, Inc., 24-90367 (CML), 86-2695690; Steward Ohio Holdings LLC, 24-90368 (CML), 81-5446526; Steward Operations Holdings LLC, 24-90369 (CML), 27-2490041; Steward Pathology Physicians of Massachusetts, Inc., 24-90370 (CML), 86-3272560; Steward Pennsylvania Holdings LLC, 24-90372 (CML), 81-5446402; Steward PET Imaging, LLC, 24-90221 (CML), 42-1556663; Steward PGH, Inc., 24-90232 (CML), 86-2724926; Steward Physician Contracting, Inc., 24-90238 (CML), 27-3676310; Steward Radiology Physicians of Arizona, Inc., 24-90243 (CML), 84-3808703; Steward Radiology Physicians of Florida, Inc., 24-90249 (CML), 85-2197478; Steward Radiology Physicians of Massachusetts, Inc., 24-90254 (CML), 86-3181864; Steward Radiology Physicians of Pennsylvania, Inc., 24-90259 (CML), 84-2434162; Steward Rockledge Hospital, Inc., 24-90264 (CML), 81-5437018; Steward SA FSED Holdings, Inc., 24-90268 (CML), 83-2091840; Steward Sebastian River Medical Center, Inc., 24-90272 (CML), 81-5437271; Steward Sharon Regional Health System, Inc., 24-90288 (CML), 81-5457135; Steward Special Projects LLC, 24-90292 (CML), 27-4022750; Steward St. Anne's Hospital Corporation

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Sports
The New York Times

OLYMPICS

# U.S. Adds A Hype Man Who Knows Gold Records




**Flavor Flav encourages the women's water polo team as it seeks history.**

By ALEX ANDREJEV
The Athletic

The rapper Flavor Flav realizes it is an unexpected crossover. He once had only a vague awareness of water polo, from seeing Olympic matches on television. But he has a new appreciation for the sport, and the stamina required to play it, after recently signing a five-year sponsorship deal as the official hype man for the U.S. women's and men's national water polo teams.

"What type of relationship does rap have with water polo? None," he said.

Until now.

How the collaboration came together is well documented: Maggie Steffens, the U.S. women's team's longtime captain, posted a photo of the players on her Instagram in May with a caption outlining challenges the athletes often face, including that players typically work multiple jobs while pursuing their Olympic dreams. She called on her followers to watch and support women's sports.

Flavor Flav, who said his manager flagged the post, responded to the call, pledging his support. He and Steffens appeared together last week on "CBS Mornings," where Flavor Flav announced he would give $1,000 to each team member and a Virgin Voyages cruise to the squad.

Flavor Flav, 65, a member of the Rock & Roll Hall of Fame, said he is planning to attend the Paris Games and cheer on the women's team as it aims for a fourth consecutive Olympic gold medal, a feat that has not been accomplished by any water polo team, men's or women's.

"I'm there to hype them up," he said. "I'm there to try to get them into that spirit of winning that fourth gold medal." He added: "And I know we can do it. We're going to get it."

The U.S. women's water polo team has welcomed the additional eyeballs. Coach Adam Krikorian called it "a sport that's been starving for attention."

"We are a team that feels like, at times, we go unnoticed," he said. "And so when you have someone who's in the spotlight share their love and their passion for our team, it's touching. We love it. We embrace it. We hope it inspires others to hop on."

Krikorian said he would not

Continued on Page B8

*Alex Andrejev is a staff editor for The Athletic.*

JUSTIN CASTERLINE/GETTY IMAGES; INSETS, ANDREW KELLY/REUTERS



CATHARYN HAYNE/U.S.A. WATER POLO

Maggie Steffens, top left, and Ashleigh Johnson, above left, want to bring change to water polo. The rapper Flavor Flav, above right, visited the team, left, as it prepared to pursue its fourth straight Olympic title.

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PRO FOOTBALL

# Football Outsider Plays Pivotal Role for Players in Shaping Their Future

By MIKE JONES
The Athletic

LOS ANGELES — Lloyd Howell needs directions.

"Wait," the NFL Players Association executive director says, weaving through a crowd of future star players and their entourages convened for a rooftop reception. "Which way is stage right?"

It's the penultimate night of the NFL Players Association's Rookie Premiere, a business and marketing orientation for 18 top first-year players.

This is the first Rookie Premiere for Howell, 58, hired by the NFLPA in June 2023 after an almost 30-year career at Booz Allen Hamilton, a defense contractor and consulting firm with expertise in cybersecurity, engineering and espionage, where he spent his final years as chief financial officer and treasurer before retiring in December 2022.

Forgive him his directionally challenged moment. Howell has spent the last year crisscrossing the country — meeting with players, owners, agents, general managers and head coaches — and the fatigue is real. Now, as his first year on the job draws to a close, Howell just has this final obligation to fulfill.

If he can figure out where he's going.

The owner of a bachelor's degree in electrical engineering from Penn and an M.B.A. from Harvard, Howell never envisioned working in the N.F.L. universe. But now, the lifelong sports fan and self-described "geek" is fully entrenched, with the opportunity to play a pivotal role in the league's continued growth.

Howell won his five-year term as executive director after a secretive 16-month process largely because his expertise, vision and preparedness impressed the members of the NFLPA executive committee. During his second interview for his position, Howell turned the tables on committee members, grilling the men who would decide his fate rather than fielding their questions.

"He had our entire budget and was going line by line and making comments like, 'Hey, I'm curious about this. I think this should be changed — just seems like it's way too high. I really want to look into this, this detail here,'" said Washington Commanders running back Austin Ekeler, an NFLPA executive committee member.

"We were blown away. Like, this man didn't have this information for that long, and he was giving us these analytical breakdowns of things that he would suggest."

The finances of professional football may have been foreign to Howell, but numbers and business practices were not. Growing up in Philadelphia, Howell learned about business and the importance of a strong work ethic from his father, Lloyd Howell Sr. ("a serial entrepreneur"), and mother Jeanette, a teacher. His love of sports was cultivated during his formative years. Although competitive swimming was uncommon for Black kids in Philadelphia during the 1970s, Howell was one of the early members of the Philadelphia Department of Recreation swimming program. He played football in high school, calling himself an undersize tailback, and received offers to swim collegiately.

Then, in August 1984, just two weeks before Howell was to start at Penn, Jeanette died of cancer only months after her diagnosis. "It was the first time in my life where your safety net, your everything, it's just gone," Howell said. "I found myself forced to think about things in a much more proactive, anticipatory way."

The analytical approach forged through tragedy served Howell well in college — and as he climbed the ranks in the business world.

"It started as a security reflex, protective thing. And then I found that it had good implications to other aspects to my life, whether it was in school, whether it was business decisions, you name it," he said. "I found getting into that mode just had all these benefits."

Howell's overall résumé won over the NFLPA executive committee. He is not a lawyer, unlike his predecessor DeMaurice Smith, who during his 14-year tenure with the union negotiated two lucrative collective bargaining agreements with the league. Howell is also not a former N.F.L. player, unlike Gene Upshaw, Smith's predecessor, and a Hall of Fame Oakland Raiders guard who commanded the respect of owners.

The fact Howell was neither proved attractive.

"Because he's an outsider — because he doesn't have a stake in the game or a dog in the fight, I think that's what made him come off as even more genuine in his efforts," said free-agent safety Michael Thomas, an NFLPA executive committee member. "He's very real and responds at a high level based off of his knowledge of business. ... 'Well, you know, no, I've never worked with N.F.L. owners. But I've worked with billionaires before. I haven't actually talked to [N.F.L. broadcast partners] ESPN, CBS and Fox, but I've worked with billion-dollar companies."

Once elected as NFLPA executive director, Howell wasted little time trying to learn the mindsets and priorities of both players and the owners. Throughout last season, he embarked on a leaguewide tour to meet with each locker room and as many owners and general managers as possible.

Establishing a personal connection with N.F.L. owners is vital to Howell's mission. He believes that without strong relationships and receptiveness, he will fail in his quest to get owners to begin viewing players as business partners rather than commodities. As he met with the 25 owners (or ownership teams) who agreed to sit down with him, Howell worked to learn their perspectives and to educate them on players' views.

"[They were] well-intended and, I felt, sincere people," Howell said. "They have been engaging on some of the topics that we've talked about. They haven't — with a few exceptions — they haven't just been like, 'Hell no. That won't happen.' Some of the topics, it's more like, 'Well, it's complex. We're gonna have to think about it.' And I think they're being sincere in that regard."

The N.F.L. declined multiple requests to speak with Roger Goodell for this story, but Howell believes he has established a good working relationship with the commissioner. Their behind-the-scenes work last fall resulted in less-stringent punishments for gambling rules violations on non-N.F.L. contests, which was viewed as a win for the players, but Howell still sees room for improvement on a wide range of issues.

He wants N.F.L. owners to consider an evolution of contracts that includes equity stakes for players. Lionel Messi got such a deal last year from M.L.S. club Inter Miami CF, which gave the soccer star a 2½-year contract worth up to $150 million that included a future ownership stake in the team.

Earlier this year, Goodell publicly said the league would eventually like to move to an 18-game regular season. Barring a revision agreed to by both the league and the union, the current C.B.A. prevents that expansion until its expiration in 2030. Howell sees no point in waiting to begin deliberations, and noted that discussions need to occur about how the additional game would affect, among other things, field surfaces, bye weeks, international travel, practice squads and player compensation. "It sounds attractive. Who doesn't want to see more football, myself included?" Howell said. "But all these other things have to be worked out."

Smith presided over C.B.A. negotiations in 2011 (which included a four-month lockout) and 2020, and while those deals ultimately proved lucrative for all involved, the players believed a change in approach was necessary.

"As we talked through the search process about what we needed in the next person, we decided we needed more than just a labor lawyer," Thomas said. "Because of how much the business of the game has grown, we felt like we needed somebody who can take us even further, help us run as a business, speak the same language as these owners, and Lloyd is exactly that."

Howell enters Year 2 on the job with eyes on short- and long-term goals. By next summer, he wants to have begun effecting change in N.F.L. playing surfaces, off-season structures, penalties and fine enforcement. Meanwhile, he'll continue working toward solutions on more complicated matters, like revenue sharing, expanded seasons and teaming with the N.F.L. in its quest for a lasting stake in the international market.

In some ways, the divorced father sees his two adult sons in the young men he now serves. And a deep dive into the history of the N.F.L. and the journey of its players has bolstered Howell's resolve.

"I've always liked challenges even if initially they seem insurmountable," he said. "I don't know if it's a hero complex. I don't know if it's just a glutton for punishment. But to be able to go into a situation that has a lot of challenges and the odds are stacked against you and to prevail . . . this is making a difference for young men who are entering into a very complex industry with tremendous pressure."

*Mike Jones is a national N.F.L. writer for The Athletic.*



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Lloyd Howell, top, who leads the NFL Players Association, spent 30 years with a defense contractor. His background is quite different from his predecessors, Gene Upshaw, above right, and DeMaurice Smith, above left with N.F.L. Commissioner Roger Goodell.

> Lloyd Howell will lead negotiations over an 18-game season.

# *Davis, a Hall of Famer, Says He Was Unjustly Detained*

By JESUS JIMÉNEZ

Terrell Davis said he was detained by the authorities on Saturday in California after he "lightly" tapped a United Airlines flight attendant's arm to ask for a cup of ice — an episode that he said left him feeling "humiliated, embarrassed, powerless and angry."

Davis, a Pro Football Hall of Fame member, was traveling from Denver to Orange County, Calif., on a United Airlines flight with his family, he wrote in a statement released by his lawyers. During the flight, Davis said, his son asked for a cup of ice, and that the flight attendant "either didn't hear or ignored" his son.

Davis, 51, said he then "lightly tapped" the attendant on the arm to get his attention, and that the attendant shouted, "Don't hit me," and rushed to the front of the plane.

"I was confused, as were the passengers in front of me who witnessed the exchange," Davis wrote. "I thought nothing of it other than this particular employee was incredibly rude and blatantly wrong in his accusations of me hitting him."

After the plane touched down at John Wayne Airport in Orange County, F.B.I. agents and local authorities boarded the plane and placed Davis in handcuffs while he was in his seat "without any explanation," Davis said.

In a statement that did not name Davis, the F.B.I. field office in Los Angeles said that the agency and other local authorities responded to "a report regarding an incident that had occurred aboard a flight" at John Wayne Airport.

"One individual was detained for questioning, was cooperative with law enforcement and was released to continue his travels," the F.B.I. said.

Davis said that he was questioned and that the authorities determined that the flight attendant "was inaccurate in his accusations."

"The traumatizing experience of my two sons, my daughter, and my wife watching me being placed in handcuffs — without due process or any explanation — cannot be undone," Davis said.

The flight attendant involved was removed from duty while United Airlines investigates the episode, the airline said in a statement on Monday.

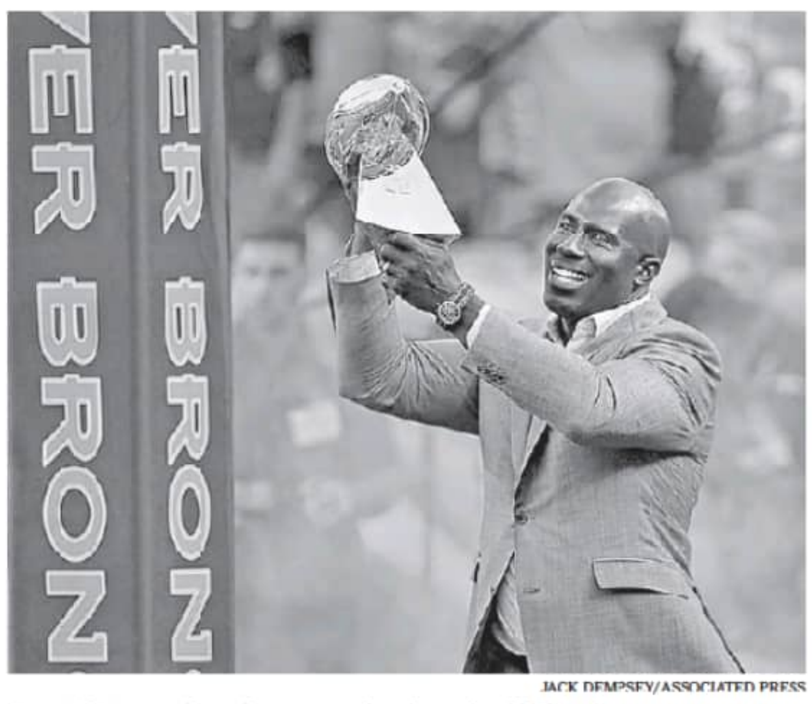
"This is clearly not the kind of travel experience we strive to provide, and we have reached out to Mr. Davis's team to apologize," the airline said.

Parker Stinar, a lawyer representing Davis, said in an email that the episode on the flight was "appalling and disturbing to say the least."

"We can all agree no person should be subjected to this kind of injustice and humiliation, especially in front of their children and wife," Stinar said.

Lawyers for Davis were investigating what happened on the flight and were "actively contacting" United Airlines, Stinar said.

Davis played running back in the N.F.L. for seven seasons, winning two consecutive Super Bowls with the Denver Broncos. He was inducted into the Pro Football Hall of Fame in 2017.



JACK DEMPSEY/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Terrell Davis played running back in the N.F.L. for seven seasons and won two consecutive Super Bowls with the Denver Broncos.

> *Handcuffed after he 'lightly tapped' a flight attendant's arm.*


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**LEGAL 5102**

Notice of Sale: One granted U.S. patent, one pending U.S. application, trademark registrations, and personal property related thereto. The U.S. patent and U.S. application generally pertain to a technology for growing crops that reduces the amount of fertilizer required while reducing the amount of nutrient runoff which improves nutrient retention in the soil. They are:

1. U.S. Patent 10,603,298, entitled "Nutrient Complexing Compositions"

2. U.S. Application No. 16/809,039, U.S. Publication No. 2020/0407284, entitled "Nutrient Complexing Compositions"

The '298 patent was granted in April 2020; the '039 application was filed in March 2020. The inventor in both the '298 patent and the '039 application is Robert J. Littmann. The patent and application numbers can be used to access details, including the granted claims (in the '298 patent) and the pending claims (in the '039 application) at the USPTO site (www.uspto.gov/patents).

The trademark registrations include "ProCell" and "SPS"; the personal property consists of technology documentation, test results, testing equipment, mixing equipment, pumps and motors to run the pumps. Sealed bids will be required by August 19, 2024. An auction (if appropriate) will follow on August 29, 2024.

For further information, including a description of the sales process, please contact JKapchik@ipxco.com.

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**COMMENTARY**

# Southgate Ends England Tenure On Own Terms



WOLFGANG RATTAY/REUTERS

Gareth Southgate coached England to the semifinals of the 2018 World Cup and the finals of two straight European Championships, including a loss on Sunday to Spain.

By RORY SMITH

LEEDS, England — Outside Gareth Southgate's office at St. George's Park, the remote training facility that serves as the home of English soccer, a series of portraits had been mounted on the wall. They depicted the 14 men who had preceded him in what was once described as the second-most important job in the country: manager of the England men's soccer team.

The images were supposed to act as inspiration, to remind Southgate of the rarity and the sanctity of a duty that had fallen to him almost by default. The impression they gave, though, was one of warning. On a daily basis, Southgate was presented with a reminder of a fate that appeared to be unavoidable.

There have, over the years, been many ways to lose the job of England manager. Underperforming on the field was the easiest, of course, but a nonexhaustive list would also include:

> Bettering a talented group and navigating a nation's divisions.

suggesting disabled people were paying for sins in a previous life; refusing to drop a player embroiled in allegations of maintaining an affair with a teammate's wife; using an umbrella on the touchline; drinking something that looked like, but was not, a pint of wine.

In the eight years that he has occupied that office, though, Southgate has proved himself more than capable of breaking patterns. England famously did not win penalty shootouts; Southgate did. England did not win semifinals; Southgate did. England did not reach finals on foreign soil; Southgate did.

It should not be a surprise, then, that even his departure broke with convention. On Tuesday, with England still mourning its loss in the Euro 2024 final to Spain, Southgate published a letter on the website of the Football Association, confirming that the final in Berlin was his 102nd and last as England's manager.

The letter was vintage Southgate: conciliatory, generous, written in that curious, corporate argot that encourages the use of phrases like "positive change." "It has been the honor of my life to play for England and to manage England," he wrote. "It has meant everything to me, and I have given it my all. But it's time for change, and for a new chapter."

This is not how England managers are supposed to leave. They are meant to be ejected in either humiliation or disgrace, victims of a bloodletting or of a witch hunt, castigated by a spittle-flecked tabloid press and scorned by the public at large. They are not, under any circumstances, allowed to retain their dignity.

That Southgate has managed to do so, though, is fitting. His record, of course, warrants respect: Under his leadership, England reached the semifinal of the 2018 World Cup and the final of the European Championship in both 2021 and 2024, making him the most consistently successful England men's manager since Alf Ramsey, who delivered the country's first and only World Cup in 1966.

But more significant is the timbre of Southgate's reign. He has overseen arguably the most talented England team ever at possibly the most tendentious moment in its history. His position, as well as the outsize role the England soccer team plays in the country's broader consciousness, meant he found himself unwittingly caught in a series of roiling culture wars.

Southgate, at various times, was expected to take a position on the coronavirus vaccine, on lockdowns and on the protests that erupted in the aftermath of the murder of George Floyd. He was asked to act as a unifying national figure at a time when England, the country rather than the team, was convinced that it was more divided than ever.

Out of instinct rather than calculation, he succeeded. Southgate risked the ire of at least a portion of his fans when he supported his players in taking the knee, the gesture borrowed from Colin Kaepernick that became synonymous with athletes' response to the Black Lives Matter movement. His personal assistant grew used to — and weary of — opening the abusive letters that poured into his office.

Slowly, his relationship with England's fans seemed to curdle. During the 2018 World Cup, he was so popular that he singlehandedly turned the waistcoat into a fashion statement. Polling found that a substantial portion of the population wanted him to be prime minister. Atomic Kitten's "Whole Again," reworded as a paean to Southgate, served as one of the team's unofficial soundtracks.

And then, the songs started to fade. Occasionally, fans would boo Southgate after a disappointing performance. A feeling had taken hold that he was too cautious, too rigid, too insipid to make the most of England's lavish playing resources.

Some of the criticism was, in a sporting sense, probably justified. The story of Southgate's England has always been somehow perfect for the era in which it was set: the endless churn of social media, the reduction of everything to a hot take, the acquiescence to the idea of competing facts.

Southgate had restored England's men's team to the front rank of soccer's great powers. But he also had an impossibly rich generation of players. Southgate had taken a country that as recently as 2016 was losing to Iceland into a regular presence in finals and semifinals. But he also seemed to draw the likes of Slovakia, Slovenia and Denmark in knockout tournaments.



LISI NIESNER/REUTERS

Off the field, though, even he acknowledged that his social stances had alienated a portion of the fans. There seems little doubt that some of the criticism he faced and some of the opprobrium he engendered was rooted less in what he did than who he was. Southgate was a mild-mannered technocrat, a centrist dad, a high-performance podcast with a social justice lilt. He was not what at least some England fans want: a roaring lion.

The team's performances, early in this summer's European Championship, did not help. For the first time in eight years, Southgate seemed to develop an irascible edge in the early weeks of the tournament, bridling at questions he considered unfair. Criticism from former players — including some of his erstwhile teammates — cut through in particular.

That the pressure amplified everything is hardly surprising: There was, after all, a point during the tournament at which it felt like the only options for Southgate were an ignominious dismissal after an embarrassing defeat or a knighthood, handed to him after a glorious coach parade.

In the end, of course, he found a different path. (There is every chance he will still get the knighthood.) It would be a stretch to say this is how Southgate wanted his England career to end. The memories of the two finals he lost, against Italy in 2021 and Spain on Sunday, of how close he came, will stay with him. It is hard to make the case that his England team has established a defined style, something that can be passed down from one generation to the next.

But he will know that it could have been much worse. His image will, soon enough, hang from the walls of St. George's Park. His successor — whether that is Eddie Howe or Graham Potter or Thomas Tuchel or Jürgen Klopp or someone else — will have to see him every day. And when they do, that series of portraits will seem just a little less minatory.

Their tenure might end, too, with an umbrella or a pint of wine or a good old-fashioned tabloid witch hunt. Or, if they are lucky, if they somehow manage to navigate all of the off-field issues that come with the role, if they pick the right piece of clothing, if they bring England to within a whisker of glory, they might get to go out like Southgate: on their own terms, in their own time, and with their dignity intact.

OLYMPICS

# Flavor Flav, Hype Man Who Knows Gold Records, Supports U.S. Water Polo

*From First Sports Page*

mind if Flavor Flav's interest encouraged people to jump on the bandwagon. "We'll take 'em all," he said. "You didn't need to be with us in the beginning."

New fans would be rallying around a team synonymous with success. Since he was hired in 2009, Krikorian and the U.S. women have gone on a staggering run, claiming gold at the last three Olympics and six of the last nine world championships.

Krikorian, a former U.C.L.A. water polo standout who calls John Wooden his coaching idol, preaches presence over perfection, a philosophy he highlighted when discussing Emily Ausmus, an attacker.

Ausmus, 18, is the team's youngest player on a roster nearly split between first-time Olympians (seven) and returners (six). That experience level is a shift from the last Olympic cycle in Tokyo in 2021, when most players also won gold in Rio de Janeiro in 2016.

On the other end of the experience spectrum is Steffens, who helped lead the United States to gold at the last three Games. At the Tokyo Games, she became the career leading scorer in women's Olympic water polo. And if the U.S. women get gold in Paris, she will become the first water polo player to win four Olympic gold medals in a row.

Steffens, 31, can rattle off a list of younger players on this year's roster with whom she connected in earlier phases of life, highlighting the full-circle experience for her in these Games.

- Ryann Neushul, 24, is the third Neushul sister Steffens will play with at the Olympics. "I remember when she was just a kid," Steffens said.
- Jenna Flynn and Steffens posed together for a photo at the Rio Games when Flynn was a young fan. "Now she's at Stanford and here on Team U.S.A. and one of my closest friends on the team, and we're 11 years apart."
- Jewel Roemer is a Northern California native, like Steffens, and Steffens grew up attending men's scrimmages at Diablo Valley College coached by Roemer's father. "I remember getting cute videos from her saying, 'Good luck.'"
- Ausmus attended camps and clinics organized by Steffens's company, 6-8 Sports. She was "somebody we talked about five, six, eight years ago, like, 'Oh my gosh, this girl's so good and we're really excited to see her potential.'"



CATHARYN HAYNE/U.S.A. WATER POLO



ADAM PRETTY/GETTY IMAGES

Above, Flavor Flav with the star goalkeeper Ashleigh Johnson, who in 2016 became the first Black woman on a U.S. Olympic water polo team. Left, Jenna Flynn during an exhibition match.

> A team's captain discusses her sport's financial obstacles.

Steffens is sincere in her praise and her belief in her teammates. Ashleigh Johnson, who is making her third Olympic appearance with the U.S. team, called her "a dreamer in all senses."

"When you're around Maggie, anything is legitimately possible," said Johnson, 29, the team's goalkeeper, who is widely considered the best in the world at her position. "She's our captain, but as her friend, she will build a way for any dream to come true. And if you believe something, she believes it, and you guys are going to accomplish it together."

For example, Johnson said, Steffens typically encourages others while grinding through the hardest parts of training or pushing through a final swim set. Outside the pool, Steffens is the one to land in a new city after 24 hours of traveling and either have a full itinerary ready or explore without a plan.

Steffens and Johnson have become de facto ambassadors of their sport. In 2016, Johnson became the first Black woman to make a U.S. Olympic water polo team. She said, over time, she has felt more empowered to speak about her experiences, share her story and champion diversity to inspire others.

Steffens, who joined the team when she was 15, said it has taken her 15 or 16 years to find her voice in terms of advocating for women's athletes and more openly discussing the financial challenges of pursuing the sport.

Olympic water polo training takes place in Southern California, which has a notoriously high cost of living. In an Olympic year, training is six days a week and essentially a full-time job, Steffens said.

Payouts at the Games depend on the sport, country and finish, but the International Olympic Committee and each sport's governing body have not traditionally paid winners. In a first for an international federation, World Athletics, which oversees track and field, announced in April that it would award $50,000 in prize money to gold medalists at the Paris Games.

The U.S. Olympic and Paralympic Committee gave athletes $37,500 for winning gold, $22,500 for silver and $15,000 for bronze at the Tokyo Olympics.

Steffens said she would play water polo — which does not have a professional women's league in the United States — even if she made no money and had to couch surf, but her hope is for future elite players not to have to work other jobs to support themselves.

"I would love to see in the future people retire much later in their career because they can afford to keep playing water polo and don't feel like they have to retire at 22 to get a real job," she said.

Any support helps, Steffens said, and Flavor Flav's sponsorship is an example of the payoff she has seen after posting about the topic.

"One thing that I love about water polo and about our team is it's a very head-down, humble, hard-work mentality," Steffens said. "And one of my dreams is to leave the sport and the women in this sport better than when I came in, and hopefully provide more opportunity, provide more exposure, let their stories be told, let their names be heard."

Steffens knows there is more work to do and more fans to rally. But each one counts and, so far, she is hitting her goals.

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HOCKEY

# Being No. 2 to the Best Isn't Bad. Neither Is Being No. 1 Elsewhere.

By SHAYNA GOLDMAN
The Athletic

A week after the Edmonton Oilers' hopes of winning the Stanley Cup ended in a Game 7, a door opened to start planning for their future.

On July 1, the team, along with signing unrestricted free agents for the 2024-25 season, could start extending its 2025 free agents. That list of free agents includes one of its most pivotal players: Leon Draisaitl.

It is one of the rare occasions in which Draisaitl is No. 1. Most of the time he is No. 2, behind the Oilers' generational star, Connor McDavid.

That is not a knock on Draisaitl. It is just the reality. Between the two forwards, the Oilers have one of the most dangerous one-two punches in the N.H.L. And if they continue to play at their elite rate, they should become one of the most dynamic duos in N.H.L. history.

That "if" is not about whether the two can play at a high level for years to come; rather, it is about how long the two will stay together in Edmonton. With Draisaitl's contract up in 2025 and McDavid's in 2026, two massive question marks are looming over the Oilers.

And with Draisaitl's contract expiring first, the focus is primarily on him.

Draisaitl's next contract will cover the rest of his prime years. It projects to be the most lucrative one of his career. Aside from figuring out the terms and cost, there is another, overarching question: Does Draisaitl want to step out of McDavid's shadow and become another team's leading star?

Some teams have gotten to work on their 2025 free agents. Victor Hedman, Jaccob Slavin and Pavel Buchnevich are off the board after extending a year early. That the Oilers have not extended Draisaitl yet is not a bad sign. The team has been in off-season mode for less than three weeks and has yet to name a new general manager.

Once one is hired, the work on Draisaitl's future can begin.

The Oilers may have to reconcile that Draisaitl's current contract — an eight-year contract carrying an $8.5 million cap hit — is such an underpayment considering how much his value has risen over the years. But it is easy to slide right into overpay territory. The new contract will essentially cover his 30s and past prime years. Age-related decline is inevitable — elite players' later years can still be extremely productive, but those later years may not be worth, say, $14 million on the books.

*Shayna Goldman covers the N.H.L. for The Athletic.*

It is a steep number, but one Draisaitl could ask for to become the league's highest-paid player (at least until McDavid's next contract). Maybe Edmonton could knock that down to the $13 million range. Getting under $14 million would help limit some of the risk, but would still be above his projected worth in the later years of the deal.

Draisaitl and McDavid could add up to over $28 million in cap space between their next contracts, which would be tricky to navigate. But management could feel that it is an investment worth making for its franchise cornerstones.

Technically, management has until June 30, 2025, to extend Draisaitl. In a perfect world, though, the Oilers would find a solution soon.

Few elite players even make it to free agency. Teams usually extend their players early or trade them before having to deal with the risk of losing them for nothing. In the few instances in which a franchise player walked, as Artemi Panarin and Johnny Gaudreau did in Columbus and Calgary, the former team was left in disorder. Maybe that would not happen in Edmonton — Draisaitl is again the No. 2 to McDavid, after all — but management may not want to find out, even if keeping Draisaitl for another season would give the team its best shot at the Stanley Cup next year.

The team perspective is just one side of the equation, though. The player also has to want to stay.

Draisaitl has said he needs time to figure out what he and the team want moving forward. Does he want a chance to be the driver of his team, instead of being in McDavid's shadow? It is a question many No. 2 forwards probably face at some point in their career.

Jaromir Jagr got that opportunity when the Washington Capitals traded for him after spending years as the No. 2 in Pittsburgh to Mario Lemieux. Adam Oates left St. Louis after thriving with Brett Hull for a few years, too. But those are the exceptions, not the rule.

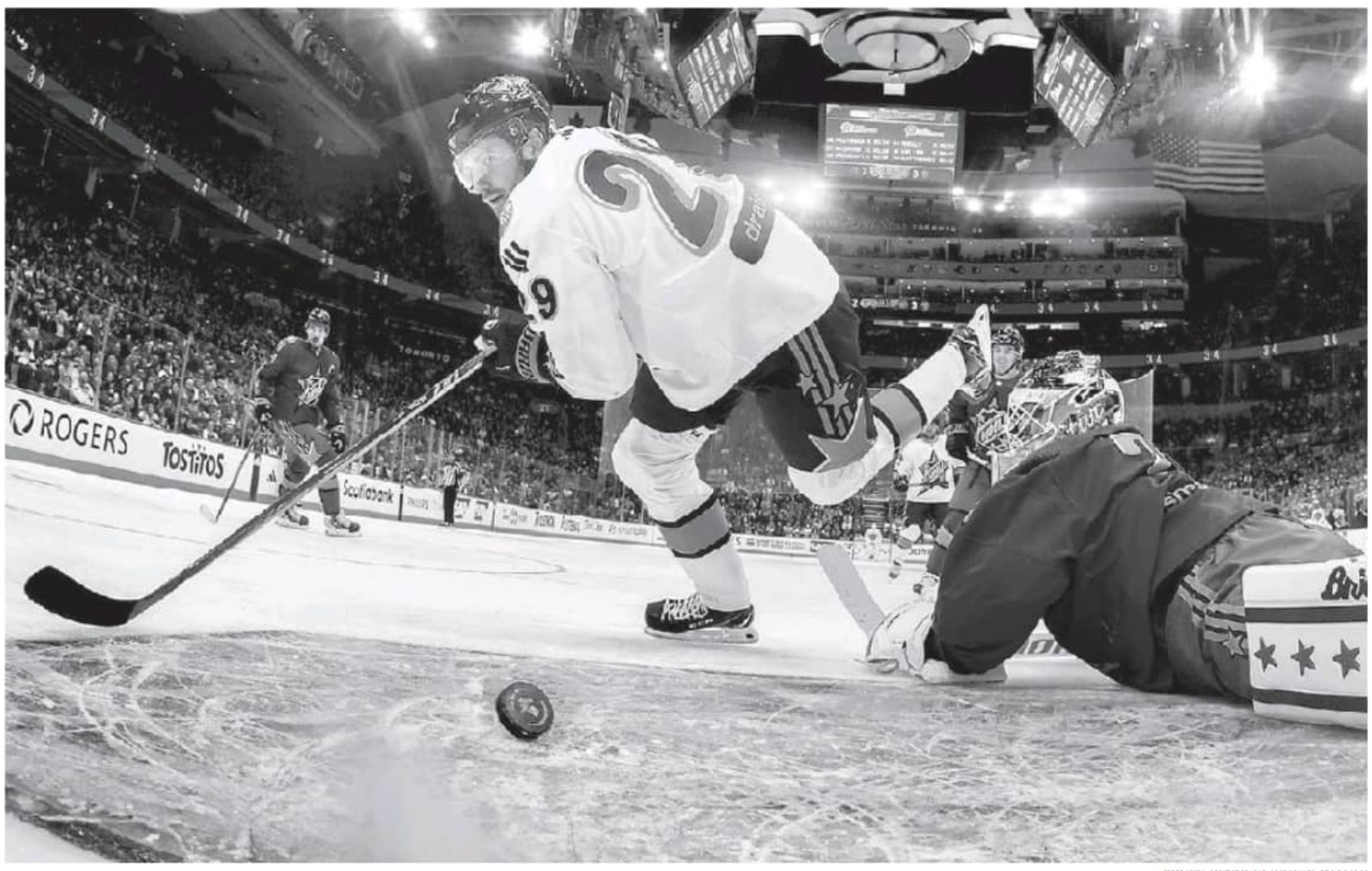
Most No. 2s stick with their No. 1, especially in recent years. Look at Sidney Crosby and Evgeni Malkin in Pittsburgh, Alex Ovechkin and Nicklas Backstrom in Washington, Jonathan Toews and Patrick Kane in Chicago, Patrice Bergeron and Brad Marchand in Boston, and Henrik Zetterberg and Pavel Datsyuk in Detroit. Even now, Aleksander Barkov and Matthew Tkachuk are locked up for years to come in Florida.

By the time Kane left Chicago, he was far past his prime years. It is similar to Steven Stamkos departing the Tampa Bay Lightning at 34 years old, after years of forming a one-two punch with Nikita Kucherov. Corey Perry also left Ryan Getzlaf and the Anaheim Ducks for Dallas when he was 34. Joe Thornton and Patrick Marleau were both past their prime when they broke up with the San Jose Sharks.

Look back through N.H.L. history at how other one-two punches broke up: It often was not the No. 2 who left first. Peter Forsberg left Joe Sakic and the Colorado Avalanche for Philadelphia (and eventually returned to Colorado years later). Mike Bossy retired before Bryan Trottier ultimately left the New York Islanders. Wayne Gretzky was traded out of Edmonton before Mark Messier left for the New York Rangers. Even though Messier became the de facto leader in Edmonton and won a Cup without Gretzky, he eventually stepped out of that shadow to lead New York on his own.

But just because most No. 2 forwards do not leave their teams to become stars elsewhere, that does not mean it will not happen with Draisaitl. The fact that his contract is up a year earlier than McDavid's could decide the situation, as could management's pressure to move him before the season starts. But if Draisaitl does bet on himself to become a driver of a new team, it could make waves. He is not the only No. 2 up for a new contract in the coming years — Mikko Rantanen and Mitch Marner are up in 2025.

Draisaitl controls his future and, like other No. 2s who were part of dynamic duos, faces a career decision. Is it more important for him to shine elsewhere and make a name for himself without McDavid? Or can stronger championship hopes behind McDavid bring the same level of career success for him?




BRUCE BENNETT/GETTY IMAGES




CODIE MCLACHLAN/GETTY IMAGES

Draisaitl's next deal will make or break a powerful one-two punch with McDavid.

Edmonton forward Leon Draisaitl, above, during the All-Star Game in February. His contract is up in 2025, and extending him will be costly.

# For Prospects, Feasting in the Kitchen Is as Crucial as Working Out on the Ice

By FLUTO SHINZAWA
The Athletic

BRIGHTON, Mass. — Dean Letourneau, a 6-foot-7 prospect for the Boston Bruins, weighs 214 pounds. By the time he turns pro, he wants to check in at 235 pounds.

"Another couple years," Letourneau, who was selected 25th in the 2024 N.H.L. draft, said of reaching his optimal weight.

Letourneau, 18, is aiming for his goal with plenty of gym time. He will be equally occupied at the dining room table.

For breakfast, he usually has cereal, if he is in a rush; eggs and toast, if he has time. He gets hungry for lunch quickly. He will have a quesadilla and yogurt with granola. He snacks during the day. For dinner, if his father, Jeff, is working the grill, Letourneau raises his hand for steak.

"I'll have a couple of those," Letourneau, a center headed to Boston College for 2024-25, said with a smile. "Two or three."

Letourneau acknowledged his parents were not pleased with their grocery bills.

*Fluto Shinzawa is a senior writer for The Athletic covering the Bruins.*

### Hard Work

On July 6, Macklin Celebrini, the No. 1 pick of the 2024 N.H.L. draft, signed his entry-level contract with the San Jose Sharks. The 6-foot, 190-pound Celebrini appears to have a body ready for the league.

Connor Bedard, selected No. 1 in 2023, entered the league at 5-10 and 185 pounds. His sturdy build, among other things, helped him win the Calder Trophy at center for the Chicago Blackhawks.

Most teenage hockey players are not as prepared or developed.

Jonathan Morello, the Bruins' No. 154 pick in 2024, is a 6-2, 187-pound forward. A slender 17-year-old, he will be a freshman at Clarkson in 2025-26. By the end of the summer, he would like to weigh 195 pounds.

It will not be easy.

"It's definitely a struggle," Morello said of putting on weight. "It's something I have to work on and really focus on. It doesn't come easy for me. Sometimes, I wish it would."

Morello is typical of N.H.L. prospects. They are years away from breaking into the league, and a major reason is that their bodies are still under construction.

For example, a 35-year-old veteran like Sergei Bobrovsky (6-2, 188 pounds) has stabilized his caloric intake. N.H.L. prospects are busy eating round the clock.

"The pros know what their playing weight should be," Julie Nicoletti, a nutritionist for the Bruins, said. "They know how to manipulate what they're doing and what they're eating to maintain that playing weight. Whereas an 18-year-old is still growing. Their bodies are still changing so much. So for somebody who's a little undersized, we're really kind of forcing their progression a little bit where we're trying to get them bigger and stronger as quickly as possible."

In the off-season, Morello, 17, targets 4,500 calories as his daily threshold. Frequency of meals matters just as much, if not more, as total input. He eats seven times a day.

"If I have three meals spread out throughout the day, that's not going to be enough to sustain me," Morello said. "So I've got to wake up early, eat, then eat every three hours until I go to bed."

Breakfast is his favorite. A typical spread includes four eggs, two bagels, bacon, fruit and a protein shake.

For the rest of the day, Morello targets 25 to 30 grams of protein at every meal. Even if he is not hungry, it is critical to eat to reach his goal.

"It's a job. It really is," Nicoletti, the nutritionist, said. "We think losing weight at our age is difficult. Gaining weight at their age is really challenging. It's not comfortable for them to feel that full all the time. For some kids, it makes them feel like their energy is zapped because they're using so much energy to digest their food. For some of them, their stomachs can't tolerate it. It's not for the faint of heart."



CANDICE WARD/GETTY IMAGES

Macklin Celebrini, the top overall pick, is an exception, as most prospects are not as prepared or developed for the next step.




DANIELLE PARHIZKARAN/THE BOSTON GLOBE, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Dean Letourneau, a first-round pick for the Bruins, hopes to grow from 214 pounds to 235.

### Clean Eating

Some prospects' path to weight gain is as simple as looking at a friend's plate. In Nicoletti's world, she comes across teenagers executing what is known as a dirty bulk.

Pizza, fries and sweets can help a young person without professional on-ice aspirations fill out. They would do the same for an N.H.L. prospect. His performance, however, would suffer.

"They really don't feel good," Nicoletti said. "It's bad for their gut microbiome. It's bad for their mental health. It's bad for their performance. It's bad for their body composition."

The point is that quality matters. So for a typical off-season day, Nicoletti recommends a sample menu.

- **First breakfast:** oatmeal with fruit and peanut butter
- **Post-workout snack:** protein shake, banana with peanut butter, fruit
- **Second breakfast:** eggs, avocado, turkey bacon, fruit, potatoes
- **Lunch:** burrito bowl with double chicken, rice, beans, vegetables
- **Midafternoon snack:** yogurt, fruit
- **First dinner:** meatballs
- **Second dinner:** salmon, vegetables, pasta
- **Before-bed snack:** protein shake.

Matt Poitras, 20, made 33 appearances for the Bruins in 2023-24. Shoulder surgery Feb. 7 ended his first season.

In one way, the procedure advanced his physical progression. He found it easier to gain weight because doctors forbade him from going on the ice after surgery. He estimates he has gained about nine pounds since his final game.

Chipotle is a favorite for lunch: burrito, chips, queso. Afternoons have been for peanut butter sandwiches.

"I've never really been able to put on a lot of weight," Poitras said. "So it was a little bit hard. But it also helped where I was really only working out and I wasn't skating for three months. So I wasn't burning as many calories. Easier to keep on the weight when I put it on with muscle."

One of Nicoletti's most important tips is the protein shake before bed. She explained that it was easier to maximize intake by drinking calories instead of eating them. A 500-calorie smoothie late at night is bang for the buck.

"That's the main thing that helps me put on weight," Chris Pelosi, a 19-year-old Bruins forward, said of his protein drink. "Because if I drink that right before bed, I'm not burning it off right away. It's just sitting in there. The next morning, I can just restart."

Pelosi will be a freshman at Quinnipiac this fall. A 6-1, 181-pounder, he wants to weigh 195 by the time he turns pro.

"You're burning just as much," Pelosi said of tipping intake over expenditure. "You've just got to force it down."

More Sports news appears on Page B12.

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# *Dorothy Lichtenstein, Donor of 1,000 of Husband's Artworks, Dies at 84*

By DEBORAH SOLOMON

Dorothy Lichtenstein, a prominent arts patron and widow of the acclaimed Pop artist Roy Lichtenstein, died on July 4 at her home in Southampton, N.Y. She was 84.

The cause was heart failure after a brief illness, according to Jack Cowart, the executive director of the Roy Lichtenstein Foundation.

An elegant and engaging woman who did not claim to have any artistic talent, Ms. Lichtenstein redefined the image of the "artist's widow," a relentlessly maligned art-world type. The widow "controls the entirety of her dead husband's production," as the critic Harold Rosenberg wrote in Esquire magazine in 1965, and tends to conduct herself with a queenly arrogance.

Ms. Lichtenstein, by contrast, was described by friends as a gracious philanthropist who was loath to meddle or micromanage. Instead of seeking to sell the work left in her husband's estate, she simply gave most of it away. Her donations consisted of paintings and sculptures, piles of sketchbooks, file drawers bulging with correspondence, and even the building in Lower Manhattan in which Mr. Lichtenstein's last studio was located.

Moreover, she did not want the Roy Lichtenstein Foundation, of which she was co-founder and president, to continue in perpetuity. "We are working towards a sunset in 2026," explained Mr. Cowart, the executive director.

It was through the foundation that the Lichtenstein family arranged to donate more than 1,000 works to museums in the United States and abroad. The main beneficiary was the Whitney Museum of American Art, which in 2018 received a one-of-a-kind gift of some 400 works from Mr. Lichtenstein's personal study collection — a mix of classic Pop paintings and sculptures and lesser-known material, like his early sketches of Native Americans and photographs that he took of New York building facades.

Asked if the foundation had anything left to give away, Mr. Cowart said there was still some artwork and roughly $40 million in cash.

The foundation probably achieved its finest moment last October, the centennial of Roy Lichtenstein's birth. It published, after two decades of preparation, its magnum opus: a catalogue raisonné that provides crisp reproductions and detailed scholarship for each of the 5,500-plus works across different mediums that make up the artist's total output. While catalogue raisonnés typically consist of a deluxe set of linen-covered books whose use requires a trip to an art library, the Lichtenstein version is online and anyone can consult it free of charge.




JARED SISKIN/PATRICK McMULLAN, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Dorothy Lichtenstein at a 2023 event commemorating the centennial of Roy Lichtenstein's birth.



MARCEL ANTONISSE/ANP PHOTOS, VIA AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

The Lichtensteins in 1987. He died in 1997 at 73, and she was co-founder and president of the Roy Lichtenstein Foundation.

As a personality, Ms. Lichtenstein was a charismatic woman who spoke in a throaty voice, laughed easily and had a warmth that complemented Mr. Lichtenstein's reticence. "Roy used to joke and say that I take care of the social and spiritual side of the family," she once said.

Mr. Lichtenstein, who died in 1997 at 73, took care of the ironic side, deriving much of his inspiration from newspaper advertisements and comic strips and elevating the inky traits of commercial printing — black outlines and Ben-Day dots — into a radical high-art style.

Dorothy Herzka was born on Oct. 26, 1939, and grew up in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn in a cultured, civic-minded Jewish family. Her father, Lloyd Herzka, was a municipal judge who served on the Brooklyn Supreme Court; her mother, Thelma, ran the household. Dorothy, the youngest of three daughters, attended Beaver College (now Arcadia University), outside Philadelphia, where she majored in political science and pursued a minor in art history.

After graduation, she took a job at the Paul Bianchini Gallery on the Upper East Side in Manhattan. At a time when Pop art was newly ascendant, the gallery scored a hit in 1964 with "American Supermarket," a group exhibition of food-related art objects displayed as if in an A.&P., complete with aisles and a checkout line. Viewers could purchase an original Lichtenstein (the price: $12) that consisted of a white paper shopping bag silkscreened with an image of an oven-ready turkey in a roasting pan.

"I met Roy when he came in to sign the shopping bags," Ms. Lichtenstein recalled.

They married four years later, in 1968. Mr. Lichtenstein was then a divorcé and the father of two sons.

Ms. Lichtenstein's survivors include her stepsons David, a composer and musician, and Mitchell, a filmmaker and actor, as well as a nephew and three nieces.

> *A genial patron whose main beneficiary was the Whitney Museum.*

In 1970, the Lichtensteins left their loft on the Lower East Side and settled in Southampton. There, Ms. Lichtenstein found new projects to take on. She was the primary funder of the creative writing and film programs at Stony Brook Southampton, part of the State University of New York; she donated $5 million to the programs in 2018.

Friends said she had an insatiable thirst for learning. She took flying lessons, rode horses and co-wrote a cookbook about pasta.

"One day she decided she wanted to study calculus, and she went to Stony Brook to take a class," said Frederic Tuten, the novelist and painter.

Her philanthropic support extended well beyond the foundation, encompassing everything from stem-cell research to animal rights.

"She was very interested in lemurs," recalled Ruth Fine, the eminent art historian and board chair of the Lichtenstein Foundation. "Duke had a lemur study group, and she organized trips to go see the lemurs. She had also gone to Madagascar."

Her husband, meanwhile, had seemed content to stay put in his various studios. In 1987, he purchased a handsome two-story building — a former factory with a red brick facade — at 741-5 Washington Street in the West Village. At 9,000 square feet, the interior was so capacious that the artist and his wife used it as their jogging track. Mr. Lichtenstein worked and lived there his last decade, and after his death, Ms. Lichtenstein moved the newly created Roy Lichtenstein Foundation into the building.

In 2022, Adam Weinberg, who was then the director of the Whitney Museum, mentioned to Ms. Lichtenstein that the lease was running out on the office space rented by the museum for its prestigious Independent Study Program, which has educated generations of artists, curators and critics.

"When I told her about the ISP, it was sort of bingo," Mr. Weinberg said.

Ms. Lichtenstein said her family would be happy to give the former studio building to the Whitney, which is just four blocks away. Last fall, she moved the foundation's offices and archives out of the studio and into two smaller spaces — one in a townhouse next door, the other on West 20th Street — to make room and create a new home for the ISP.

With characteristic self-effacement, she declined the Whitney's offer to rename it in her honor.

## Deaths

Adler, Inge
Aslani-Far, Afsar
Cronson, Mary
Levine, Helen
Paglia, Michael
Straub, Chester
Westheimer, Ruth

**ADLER—Inge,**
(nee Weinberg), born September 20, 1927, died July 15, 2024 of Scarsdale, NY and Boynton Beach, FL. Born Shreisheim, Germany, immigrated to the United States in 1938. Married to Max Adler for 70 years, Inge was dedicated to Jewish Philanthropy. She had three daughters, Lenore Adler, Karen Adler and Miriam Bram, seven grandchildren and eight great-grandchildren. She was deeply loved. Donations can be made to Jewish Federation of Palm Beach or Greenburgh Hebrew Center, Dobbs Ferry, NY.

**ASLANI-FAR—Afsar Sadat.**



Afsar Sadat Aslani-Far, on July 13, 2024, age 88. Devoted mother of Adel and Aslan, loving mother-in-law of Patricia and Trhea, adoring grandmother of Audrey, Arnella, Phoebe and Shirin. She was preceded in death by Abbas "Abby," her loving husband of 44 years, her sisters (Ashrat, Akhtar, Aghdas, Afkham, Ebtehaj and Arfa) and her brothers (Mohammad and Hossein). Afsar grew up in Tehran, Iran where she and Abby were high school sweethearts. She studied business at the University of Tehran and was reunited with Abby at the 1967 Montreal Expo where she was working at the Iranian Pavilion. The couple were inseparable thereafter, marrying on New Year's Eve 1967. They briefly lived in New York City and Tehran before moving to the United States permanently in 1975, settling in Ormond Beach, FL to raise their young family. Afsar and Abby subsequently retired to New York City in 2004. Services will be held on Thursday, July 18 at 11:30am, at The Woolworth Chapel at The Woodlawn Cemetery, Webster Avenue and East 233rd Street, Bronx, NY. Frank E. Campbell Funeral Chapel in New York City (212-288-3500) is in charge of services.

**CRONSON—Mary Sharp.**



Paul, Caroline, and Christopher Cronson are saddened to announce that Mary Sharp Cronson died peacefully at home on Saturday, July 13th. Mary Sharp Cronson was born in New York City in 1927. She was part of a New York family which included her brother Peter J. Sharp, and her mother, Evelyn Sharp that became active in Real Estate and Philanthropy. She attended Dana Hall School, followed by a BA from Vassar College and further studied at the School of International Affairs at Columbia University. She loved the arts and founded Works & Process at the Guggenheim, a visionary program offering audiences unparalleled access to the creative process of leading choreographers, composers, and directors. Her leadership on cultural boards, including the New York City Ballet, the New York City Opera, the NYPL Library for the Performing Arts, The Guggenheim Museum, and the American Friends of the Paris Opera and Ballet, further solidified her commitment to fostering artistic excellence. She was recognized by France as a Chevalier of the Ordre des Arts et Lettres and made an Officier of the Legion of Honor for being a champion of international artistic exchange. Mary Cronson is survived by her son, Paul, his wife Caroline, their son Christopher, her nephew Peter H. Sharp, and her nieces Caroline M. and Randall A. Sharp, and her great nieces and nephews Elizabeth Sharp Edens, Tucker Sharp, J.D. Sharp, Alexandra Sharp, and Margaret and Henry Curtis. She will be deeply missed by her family, friends, and the vast community she touched through her unwavering support of the arts and her contributions to the city's landscape.

**CRONSON—Mary Sharp.**



The board and staff of Works & Process is saddened by the death of our founder Mary Sharp Cronson. In 1984, seeing a gap in museum offerings, Mary Sharp Cronson founded Works & Process at the Guggenheim Museum. This innovative series champions creative process with programs pairing artist discussions with performance excerpts to foster greater understanding, appreciation, and engagement of dance, music, theater, and opera. She championed numerous contemporary composers, choreographers, directors, and performers. Thriving at the Guggenheim, Works & Process also toured to Bilbao, Venice, Israel, France, and Bermuda; and presented across New York City. For the 20th anniversary, she placed the Works & Process archives into the NYPL for the Performing Arts. Mary Sharp Cronson possessed an infectious passion for artists and their creative process that was irresistible, sparking the curiosity and generosity of all around her. We will miss her wisdom, grace, charm, generosity, stories, vision, humor, and perseverance in her support for artists. Our heartfelt condolences to the Cronson Family. In her honor, Works & Process has created a Mary Sharp Cronson Fund For Creative Process.

**CRONSON—Mary Sharp.**
The Board of Directors, artists, and staff of New York City Ballet are deeply saddened by the passing of our dear friend and long-time board member Mary Sharp Cronson. A founding member of NYCB's Board of Directors and an emeritus member since 1987, Mary was a passionate and generous supporter of the Company throughout her life. Through her extraordinary commitment to the arts she has had a profound impact on the cultural life of New York City, among many other things having founded Works & Process at the Guggenheim, an essential showcase and incubator for creative artists and their work in which NYCB has had the honor of participating many times over the years. She was a remarkable person, one of a kind, and we will miss her very much. We extend our heartfelt condolences to Mary's son Paul and his wife Caroline, and to her entire family.

**LEVINE—Helen Harrigan.**



It is with profound sadness and loss that we mourn the passing of Helen Harrigan Levine after a valiant 10-year fight against ALS. Helen was born on September 11, 1944 in Schenectady, New York to Eileen and Bernard Harrigan, and died peacefully in her sleep on July 12, 2024, at her home in Orient, NY with her husband, Mark, at her side. She is survived by her husband, their son John, his wife Susan, grandson Seth and granddaughter, Nicole. She will be sorely missed by her family and her many, many friends. Helen and Mark were married at Union College, Schenectady, NY where they met. Helen worked for over 30 years as Executive Vice President and Chief Financial Officer of the Greater Jamaica Development Corporation, a private not-for-profit corporation formed to assist and plan for the redevelopment of Jamaica, Queens. Helen retired to Orient, NY and became active in local matters, including the Islands End Golf Club. Working with Barbara Koch, she formed a 9-hole woman's golf league specifically for working women. Its' success is noted by the over 80 women who now play in the league and was important in the continuation of the Islands End Golf Club. Helen was a woman of wit, warmth, wisdom and creativity. She will be remembered for her wonderful sense of humor and laugh. In lieu of flowers, the family appreciates that donations be made in Helen's honor to: Massachusetts General Development Office, Attn: Katie Colin, 125 Nashua St., Boston, MA 02114.

**PAGLIA Michael A.**



Dr. Michael Paglia, of Staten Island, NY; St. Petersburg, FL; and Bozeman, MT passed away on June 27, 2024 at the age of 95. Dr. Paglia was a distinguished surgical oncologist who practiced medicine for over 40 years in New York City. Above all, he was a dedicated father, compassionate physician, and a treasured friend. Dr. Paglia was born in Newark, NJ on February 25, 1929, to Italian immigrant parents. Following graduation from Seton Hall Prep, Dr. Paglia went on to receive his bachelor's degree from Columbia University in 1949. In 1953, his Medical Doctor degree was conferred by NYU School of Medicine. After an internship at Lenox Hill in 1954, he served two years in the United States Air Force as a flight surgeon stationed in Greenland. Upon discharge from the USAF, Michael returned home to marry his wife, Albina A. Claps, MD, a pediatric cardiologist. He continued his medical work with a residency in surgery at NYU Bellevue Hospital before specialized training at Memorial Sloan Kettering Cancer Center (MSKCC), where he remained as an attending surgeon until his retirement in 2000. Dr. Paglia belonged to multiple medical societies and was an active member of the American Cancer Society in the New York City division. Dr. Paglia is survived by three children: Anne Curtin (Andrew), Susan Paglia Rogers, MD (Phil), and Ame Paglia (Judy) and seven grandchildren, Douglas, Jemma, Christine, Kathleen, Gianna, Leina, and Lauren. On Saturday, October 5, 2024, family and friends are invited to a Memorial Mass and Celebration of Life, 10:45 am at St. Teresa's Church and 12:00 pm at the Hilton Hotel on Staten Island. Donations in Dr. Paglia's memory can be made to the following organizations: Memorial Sloan Kettering Cancer Center, 1275 York Avenue, New York, NY 10065and Richmond University Hospital, Pediatric Department (formerly St. Vincent's Hospital), 355 Bard Avenue, Staten Island, NY 10310.

**STRAUB—Chester J.**



Judge Chester J. Straub, of the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, died peacefully at the age of 87 on July 13, 2024 at his home in Bronxville, New York with his wife and family by his side. Judge Straub was born in Brooklyn (Greenpoint), New York in 1937, the older of two children of Chester and Ann (Majewski) Straub, and is survived by his wife of 65 years, Patricia Morrissey Straub; sons: Michael (Rachael), Christopher (Ann), Robert (Dorothy); seven grandchildren Robert, Daphne, Christopher, Lindsey, Nicholas, Jack and Mira and sister Ann Straub Hautier (Ivan). Their son, Chester Jr. (Jen) predeceased him. Judge Straub had served on the Court of Appeals since 1998, assuming senior status in 2008 and becoming an inactive federal judge in 2017. After attending Brooklyn Preparatory School, he received his B.A. degree from St. Peter's College in 1958, and his LL.B. degree from the University of Virginia School of Law in 1961. Judge Straub served as a First Lieutenant in U.S. Army Intelligence and Security from 1961 to 1963. In 1963, he began the private practice of law with Willkie Farr & Gallagher, where he became a partner in 1971, and where he remained until his appointment as a Circuit Judge. Judge Straub's private practice was concentrated in litigation, regulatory agencies and governmental affairs. He had been a mediator in the U.S. District Courts for the Southern and Eastern Districts of New York, and a special master for the New York State Supreme Court in the 1st Judicial Department. Judge Straub also served in the New York State Legislature, Member of the Assembly from 1967 until 1972 and State Senator from 1973 until 1975. Judge Straub was Chair of Gov. Mario Cuomo's New York State Judicial Screening Committee from 1988 until 1994 and of the First Department Judicial Screening Committee from 1983 until 1994. He was a member of Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan's Judicial Selection Committee from 1976 until 1998. Judge Straub had also been a member of the Democratic National Committee and chaired Senator Moynihan's election committee. Calling Hours will be held on Sunday, July 21, 2024 at Fred H. McGrath & Son Funeral Home in Bronxville, NY at 3pm to 6pm. A funeral Mass will be held on Monday, July 22, 2024 at 10:45am at The Church of St. Joseph in Bronxville, NY. In lieu of flowers, donations are encouraged to be made to St. Jude Children's Research Hospital.

**WESTHEIMER—Ruth.**
The Leo Baeck Institute New York notes with great sadness the death of Dr. Ruth Westheimer, recipient of the Leo Baeck Medal, for her support in preserving German Jewish history. Born Karola Ruth Siegel she was sent to safety via Kindertransport, leaving behind her parents and grandmother, who perished in the Holocaust. In 1945, she went to Palestine/Israel and later to the United States, where she became "Dr. Ruth," whose humor and frank discussions about sex made her a household name. We extend our sympathy to her children, Miriam and Joel, their spouses, and Ruth's four grandchildren.
David G. Marwell, President;
Markus Krah,
Executive Director

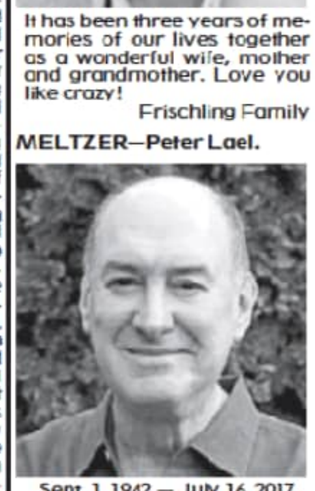
### In Memoriam

**FRISCHLING—Adele "Delly"**



It has been three years of memories of our lives together as a wonderful wife, mother and grandmother. Love you like crazy!
Frischling Family

**MELTZER—Peter Lael.**



Sept. 1, 1942 — July 16, 2017
"my true love hath my heart, and I have his"
Mark Di Giulio

**VISCUSI—Mildred.**
07/16/1929 - 07/17/1993.
31 years of missing you. You are in our thoughts and prayers every day.
Love, Stephen & Casey, Laura & Ross

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# *Jacqueline de Jong, a Rediscovered Avant-Garde Artist, Dies at 85*

By NINA SIEGAL

AMSTERDAM — Jacqueline de Jong, a Dutch artist who was at the forefront of a 1960s avant-garde movement that critiqued postwar capitalism, and who enjoyed a career resurgence in her last decade, died on June 29 in Amsterdam. She was 85.

Her brother, Philip de Jong, said her death, in a hospital, was caused by liver cancer.

Ms. de Jong was associated with the so-called Situationist International movement, which combined elements of Dada, Surrealism and Marxism in its condemnation of capitalism. She founded and edited The Situationist Times, a multidisciplinary journal, published from 1962 to 1967, that included essays, artwork and groundbreaking graphic design.

*Criticizing capitalism, exploring mediums and founding an influential journal.*

For many years she was associated and romantically involved with Asger Jorn, a Danish painter and writer who was 25 years her senior and married.

But her artistic career was entirely independent of him, and, in spite of scant recognition over a long period, she continued to explore her unique artistic style for the rest of her life. She never settled on a single style, but bounced among Abstract Expressionism, Pop Art and New Figuration, a movement that rejected abstraction.

Ms. de Jong had lived and worked in Amsterdam since the 1970s, and since the 1990s had kept a country house and studio in Bouan, in southwestern France. She was a painter, sculptor and engraver who also worked in unconventional media. One recent series of works was inspired by sprouting potatoes she found in her cellar in France; she depicted them in paintings and also made them into objects d'art and jewelry, coating them in 18-carat gold.

In 2012, the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University acquired her papers, generating new interest in Ms. de Jong's role in Situationism. Her art was discovered and featured in several exhibitions, including a 2019 retrospective at the Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.

"She kept that Situationist spirit throughout her life," said Jaring Dürst Britt, an owner of the Dürst Britt & Mayhew gallery in The Hague, which had worked with Ms. de Jong since 2017.

"Poking, playing, being discursive are all at the core of being in the Situationist movement," he explained. "They tried with those types of interventions to poke at or frustrate society. In all of her artistic output, in whatever decade it was, you find elements of this type of interference."

Jacqueline Beatrice de Jong was born on Feb. 3, 1939, in Enschede, the Netherlands, and grew up in the nearby town of Hengelo, where her father, Hans de Jong, a Dutch textile manufacturer, had a lace and stocking factory called De Jong & Van Dam.



GERT JAN VAN ROOIJ, VIA PIPPY HOULDSWORTH GALLERY

Jacqueline de Jong in 2021. She was part of the Situationist International movement of the 1960s.

A year after Jacqueline was born, Germany invaded the Netherlands. Hans de Jong's company was expropriated under Nazi anti-Jewish ordinances. Her mother, Alice de Jong-Weil, escaped with Jacqueline to her native Switzerland, where they lived with her family in Zurich while Hans went into hiding in Amsterdam.

All of them survived the war and reunited in Amsterdam. Later, they returned to Hengelo, where Hans de Jong was able to get his stocking factory back. The couple's son, Philip, was born in 1949.

In the 1950s, Ms. de Jong briefly entertained the idea of becoming an actor and went to London to study theater at the Guildhall School. "I absolutely wanted to be on the stage," she told Frieze magazine in 2017. "Luckily, we can say, I failed."

Her parents were art collectors with an avid interest in the performing arts. Through them, she met leading members of the avant-garde movement Cobra, which emphasized art with childlike playfulness, bold colors and animal forms, and which derived its name from Copenhagen, Brussels and Amsterdam, the cities from which its members mostly came. Among them were Karel Appel, a Dutch expressionist painter, and Mr. Jorn, who would become Ms. de Jong's lover and artistic confidant for a decade.

In 1957, Ms. de Jong worked briefly in Paris as an apprentice to the fashion designer Christian Dior. She changed course in 1958, when Willem Sandberg, the director of the Stedelijk Museum, hired her to work in the museum's applied art department.

About a year later, she moved to Paris, where she worked as a studio assistant to Mr. Appel, stretching his canvasses and cleaning his brushes. On Mr. Sandberg's recommendation, she studied etching at Atelier 17, the workshop founded by the influential printmaker Stanley William Hayter.

"That was the only official artistic training she had," Philip de Jong said in an interview.

Nevertheless, Ms. de Jong began to paint contorted animalistic figures and abstract works, using a technique called impasto to apply thick layers of paint to the canvas. When she was 19, she became a member of the Situationist International, an anticapitalist movement led by Guy Debord, a French Marxist theorist.

In 1962, there was a split in the movement, and Mr. Debord ejected all of the artists, including Ms. de Jong. "You know when I became a professional?" she said in an interview with T: The New York Times Style Magazine in 2021. "When I got thrown out of the Situationist."

Part of her response was to start The Situationist Times, using it as a platform for a broad range of artists. She produced six issues sporadically over five years, until she ran out of money in 1967.

"That journal was such a huge accomplishment," said Karen Kurczynski, an art history professor at the University of Massachusetts Amherst, who curated an exhibition, "Human Animals: The Art of Cobra," which included works by Ms. de Jong, at the university's art center in 2016.

"She made it when she was so young," she said, "and working surrounded by so many of these older male artists, some of whom rejected her. She made that journal in defiance of them, really."

After her relationship with Mr. Jorn ended in 1969, Ms. de Jong moved back to the Netherlands. She married twice, first to the Dutch gallerist Hans Brinkman, whom she divorced in 1989. A year later, she began a relationship with Thomas H. Weyland, a lawyer, whom she married in 1998.



JACQUELINE DE JONG, VIA PIPPY HOULDSWORTH GALLERY

"La Vie Privée des Cosmonautes 'le Cosmonaute Invisible'" (1966). Ms. de Jong's nephew called her "a force of nature."



VIA PIPPY HOULDSWORTH GALLERY; PHOTOGRAPHED BY TODD-WHITE ART PHOTOGRAPHY

"Painters' Thoughts," which she started in 2023 and completed this year. Ms. de Jong received renewed attention later in life.

Mr. Weyland died in 2009. Ms. de Jong's brother is her only immediate survivor.

Ms. de Jong carried on working and exhibiting after her second husband's death, though she received little attention from critics or from the art market. "She wasn't much concerned with being in the middle of the art world," her New York art dealer, Ales Ortuzar, said in an interview. "She was very happy to keep moving and finding new styles and approaches to her art, with a radical fearlessness. It was only later in her life that she received so much attention."

The turning point came in 2012, when she had a major solo exhibition at the Moderna Museet in Stockholm and Yale acquired her archives.

"At that moment, a lot of people realized, hey, this is quite an interesting figure," said Mr. Britt, the art dealer. "People started to ask, Why haven't we paid more attention to her?"

The curator Alison M. Gingeras included some of Ms. de Jong's artworks in an important retrospective, "The Avant-Garde Won't Give Up: Cobra and Its Legacy," at the Blum & Poe gallery in New York and Los Angeles in 2015. Other exhibitions followed in Los Angeles, Brussels and Toulouse, France.

"One of the most fascinating things about her was how she continued to evolve," Professor Kurczynski said. "She kept staying in touch with current politics and events and channeling them through these incredibly energetic paintings and objects."

Ms. de Jong, who was diagnosed with metastatic liver cancer in May, continued working on her art until she died, her nephew David de Jong, a Dutch journalist and author, said.

"She loved every minute of the successes of the last years," he said, adding: "She was a force of nature. We all thought she was going to live to 100 at least. She had the energy of a perennial 12-year-old, and she was very intense, and she lived intensely. She lived for art."

# *Bengt Samuelsson, 90, Nobelist Who Achieved Biochemical Breakthroughs*

By DELTHIA RICKS

Dr. Bengt Samuelsson, a biochemist who shared the 1982 Nobel Prize in medicine for helping to define the biological activities of potent hormone-like molecules in the body called prostaglandins, and whose breakthrough discoveries led to drugs that treat inflammation, glaucoma and allergies, died on July 5 at his home in Molle, on the west coast of Sweden. He was 90.

His daughter Astrid Samuelsson Norhammar said the cause was heart disease.

Dr. Samuelsson discovered multiple lipid mediators, or molecules, that include prostaglandins and several related subtypes of the substances — all of which play critical roles in the body's organs and tissues. Some cause uterine contractions, regulate blood pressure and body temperature, and trigger inflammation; others are important in blood clotting, asthma, allergies, kidney stones and gallstones.

Dr. Samuelsson began his research into prostaglandins and related molecules in the early 1960s at the Karolinska Institute, a renowned medical university in Stockholm. But the field itself had begun decades earlier, in the 1930s, also at the institute.

Dr. Ulf von Euler was the first to discover biologically active lipid molecules in semen, which he named prostaglandins based on his assumption that the molecules were unique to the prostate gland. He won a Nobel Prize in 1970.

Dr. Samuelsson would later prove that dozens of these molecules exist, and that they play important roles in health, disease and injuries.



BJORN ELGSTRAND/REPORTAGEBILD, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS



IRA WYMAN/SYCMA, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Dr. Bengt Samuelsson, far left, received the Nobel Prize in medicine in 1982 from King Carl XVI Gustaf of Sweden. Dr. Samuelsson, center at right, shared the prize with Dr. John R. Vane, left, and Dr. Sune Bergstrom, right, for their research on prostaglandins.

The rigor, creativity and curiosity that Dr. Samuelsson brought to his research made him a role model for generations of scientists.

"Very few scientists can open up a whole new field of knowledge. But that is what Bengt Samuelsson did," Dr. Goran Hansson, a professor of experimental cardiovascular research at the Karolinska Institute who also serves as secretary of the Nobel committee for physiology and medicine, said in a statement.

Dr. Samuelsson shared the 1982 Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine with Dr. Sune Bergstrom, also of the Karolinska Institute, and Dr. John R. Vane, a British pharmacologist, of the Wellcome Research Foundation in London. Each was honored by the Nobel committee for different aspects of prostaglandin research.

Dr. Samuelsson was recognized for his in-depth analysis of arachidonic acid, the fatty acid required for prostaglandin production; for defining how the body processes prostaglandins; and for discovering several prostaglandin subtypes.

Dr. Bergstrom, who was Dr. Samuelsson's mentor and introduced him to prostaglandin research, was credited for purifying multiple prostaglandins and defining their chemical structures.

Dr. Vane was recognized for proving that aspirin blocks prostaglandin activity. His discovery helped explain why aspirin, an over-the-counter drug, inhibits pain and fever: It suppresses the prostaglandins that cause those two symptoms.

Dr. Bergstrom and Dr. Vane both died in 2004.

"During the 1980s and 1990s, he and his associates managed to bring the whole research field from early physiological observations into the molecular era with gene cloning and advanced protein and enzyme biochemistry," said Dr. Jesper Z. Haeggstrom, head of the Karolinska Institute's department of medical biochemistry and biophysics; he was the last doctoral student to be mentored by Dr. Samuelsson.

These technological advances helped Dr. Samuelsson and his team better define the totality of prostaglandins and related molecules in the body. He discovered the signaling molecules known as leukotrienes, derived from leukocytes, which are critical in cell-to-cell communication.

"He mapped an entire biochemical continent of signaling molecules in the human body, and found that they are of great importance in the blood circulation, the respiratory system, the genitals, the immune system, the nervous system and almost the entire body," Dr. Hansson of the Karolinska Institute said.

In a statement, Dr. Annika Ostman Wernerson, president of the institute, noted that Dr. Samuelsson "made significant contributions to the field of research he founded."

Bengt Ingemar Samuelsson was born on May 21, 1934, in Halmstad, Sweden, the youngest of three children (and the only son) of Anders and Kristina (Nilsson) Samuelsson. His father was a merchant in Halmstad, and his mother oversaw the home.

Dr. Samuelsson attended public school in Halmstad before enrolling in the University of Lund to study medicine. While there, he met two people who would change his future: Karin Bergstein, who became his wife in 1958; and Dr. Bergstrom, who taught at Lund before landing a faculty position at the Karolinska Institute, and who persuaded Dr. Samuelsson to further his education there.

Dr. Samuelsson received a Ph.D. in biochemistry from the institute in 1960 and a medical degree in 1961.

*His work led to drugs for treating glaucoma and inflammation.*

He became a professor there in 1973 and later rose to the position of medical faculty dean before serving as president of the institute from 1982 to 1995. He was chairman of the Nobel Foundation from 1993 to 2005.

Along with his daughter Astrid, Dr. Samuelsson's survivors include his wife, a physician; his son, Bo Samuelsson; five grandchildren; and two great-grandchildren. Another daughter, Elisabet Samuelsson, died in 1996.

In 2019, when he delivered remarks at the annual Prix Galien USA awards ceremony in Manhattan, honoring advances in the biopharmaceutical industry, Dr. Samuelsson spoke about basic scientific research, the key to drug development.

He discussed how basic science underlies the bench-to-bedside medication pipeline, the translation of theory to therapeutics. "It is important to say that without basic research there is no translational research and no clinical development," he said.

Dr. Samuelsson, Dr. Haeggstrom said, "demonstrated the immense importance of curiosity-driven basic research." He added, "I am happy and proud to be part of Bengt Samuelsson's extraordinary and exciting scientific journey."

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**ANALYSIS**

# Data Versus the Myth of a Home Run Derby Curse

By PETER KEATING and JORDAN BRENNER
The Athletic

Baseball has always loved its narratives and myths. The sport is steeped in stubbornness, sentimentality and storytelling.

Sometimes baseball's myths are so ingrained that they even come wrapped in supposedly supporting evidence, such as the curse of the Home Run Derby.

You know how it goes: Sluggers enter the annual contest over the All-Star break, change their swings, then go on to suffer power outages during the second half of the season. Since 2016, 68 percent of all Home Run Derby participants have indeed hit fewer home runs per plate appearance after the All-Star break than they did before.

However, this is a classic case of confusing causation and correlation. Derby participants — and other sluggers with big first-half home run totals — do tend to tail off later in the season. But it's not just for the reason the conspiracy theorists claim.

*Peter Keating and Jordan Brenner are contributors to The Athletic.*

Start with a very basic fact. Leaving aside inside-the-park homers, two things have to happen for a batter to hit a home run. He has to hit a fly ball, and that ball has to go over the wall. Before you say, "Duh," consider this: The statistics measuring each of those acts behave very differently.

A hitter's fly-ball rate is a defining characteristic. Extreme fly-ball hitters like José Ramírez (47.7 percent this season, according to FanGraphs) will regularly put nearly half of their balls in play in the air, which is almost twice the rate of a ground-ball machine like Yandy Díaz (25.3 percent). In recent years, some players have driven up their fly-ball rates by increasing launch angles. Francisco Lindor, for example, has jumped from a 28.7 fly-ball percentage as a rookie in 2015 to 43.2 percent today. But this is a metric that generally holds fairly steady over the course of a season.

That's not the case for the rate at which fly balls turn into home runs, which is affected by ballparks, weather and sheer luck. Last May and June, Cody Bellinger went through a stretch of more than 100 plate appearances in which none of his fly balls landed in the seats. Then in July, more than 20 percent of them did. Conversely, an incredible 61.9 percent of Shohei Ohtani's fly balls ended up as home runs in June 2021, but that figure was 18.5 percent (still pretty high for mere mortals) that August. Fly ball/home run ratios jump all over the place within seasons, and they exhibit twice as much statistical variance as fly-ball percentage from year to year.

So the Home Run Derby curse is really just a specific form of regression to the mean. Regression to the mean is a universal undertow in sports and in life.

Abreu won the 2005 derby with a then-record 41 homers, but he hit only six real dingers in the second half of that season. Wright, who came in second in the 2006 derby, sank from 20 home runs before the break to just six afterward, triggering years of tabloid stories and talk radio calls about whether he had ruined his swing.

But Abreu's home run/fly ball ratio simply regressed from 22.8 percent in the first half of 2005 to 11.1 percent in the second. Wright's dropped from 15.6 percent to a very unlucky 7.3 percent in 2006, and popped back up to 16.1 percent the next season.

In our research dating back to 2016, second-half drops in home runs didn't come because the sluggers were hitting fewer fly balls. Their average fly-ball rate was unchanged: exactly 40.2 percent both before and after the break. But fewer of those balls left parks: 70 percent of the derby contestants saw their home run/fly ball rates decline.

If you get invited to the Home Run Derby because an unusually high number of your balls went over walls in May and June, you can expect more of them to stay in play in August and September.

So what does that mean for this year's Home Run Derby contestants?



GERALD LEONG/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

Teoscar Hernández became the first Dodgers player to win the competition on Monday when he topped Kansas City Royals shortstop Bobby Witt Jr. in the final round. Witt's final swing of the night would have tied but fell just short in center field. The other eight participants were Ramírez, Pete Alonso, Alec Bohm, Adolis García, Gunnar Henderson, and Marcell Ozuna.

If you're looking to sell short on one member of that group after the break, look at the one who has hit the most bombs so far. Henderson trails only Aaron Judge and Ohtani with 27 home runs this season. He is a phenomenal young star and a legitimate most valuable player candidate. But his home run total is statistically unsustainable. Henderson has homered on a whopping 31.1 percent of his fly balls, the highest mark of any M.L.B. regular in 2024, and the sixth-highest of any Home Run Derby participant since 2016.

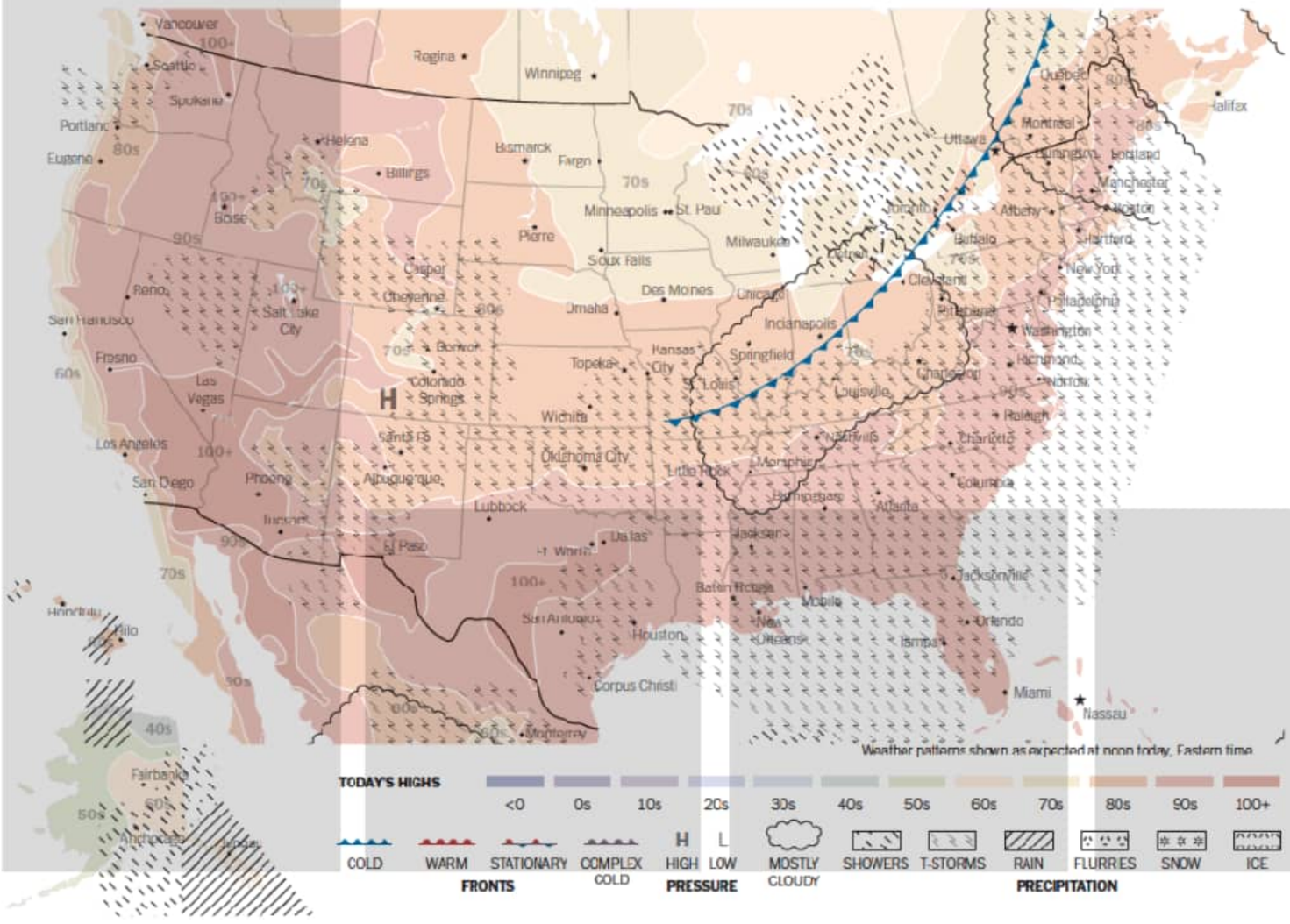
History shows that players with outlandish home run/fly ball rates entering the All-Star Game regress to the mean after the break. Of the 20 highest first-half rates over the past five years, 18 dropped off in the season's second half. The only two counterexamples were authored by the same player: Judge in both 2021 and 2022.

Compare Henderson with Witt, the other shortstop phenom in the contest. The 24-year-old has 15 home runs so far, but only 10.8 percent of his fly balls have gone over the wall. That makes him a prime candidate for a bigger second half, even if he couldn't win the Home Run Derby.

**Gunnar Henderson did not win the contest, but his numbers suggest a power decline in the second half anyway.**

# Weather Report

Meteorology by **AccuWeather**




## Metropolitan Forecast

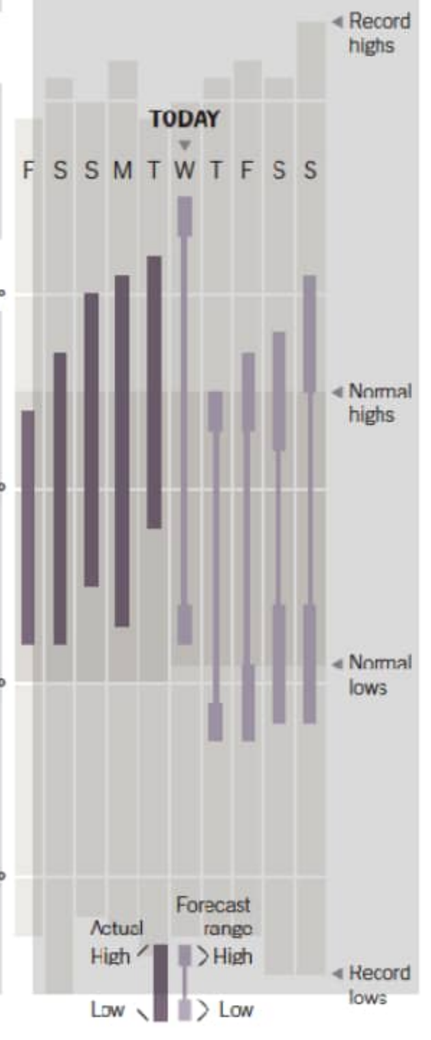
**TODAY** .....Heavy thunderstorms
High 94. Another hot, humid day is on the way with a mix of clouds and sunshine. An approaching cool front will produce heavy, gusty thunderstorms in the afternoon and evening.

**TONIGHT** .....Showers, thunderstorms
Low 73. A slow-moving frontal boundary will encounter a very humid air mass at night. The result will be a mostly cloudy sky and a couple of showers and heavy thunderstorms.

**TOMORROW** .....Morning thunderstorms
High 84. Leftover showers or thunderstorms will form in the morning, but the rest of the day will dry out with clouds and sunshine. It will not be as hot, with gradually lowering humidity in the afternoon.

**FRIDAY** .....Less humid, some sunshine
Much less humid air will settle into the region as high pressure builds in from the Great Lakes area. The sky will be partly to mostly sunny. High 85.

**SATURDAY**
**SUNDAY** .....Partly sunny
Saturday will bring a blend of sunshine and clouds with continued low humidity. High 85. Sunday will be partly sunny and very warm. High 88.




## Highlight: Wet Pattern for the Southeast

The weather pattern across a large portion of the Southeastern United States will become increasingly wetter through next week. A front is expected to stall across the region, and this will serve as a focus for daily rounds of heavy thunderstorms. In areas where there are persistent storms, there will be the potential for flash flooding and travel delays. This pattern should bring a reduction in the heat.




## National Forecast

Showers and thunderstorms stretching from the Northeast into the Ohio and Tennessee Valleys today may bring damaging wind gusts, flooding downpours and hail.

High pressure over the Rockies will promote hot weather across the west and central Plains. Some locations in the central Plains could surpass daily record-high temperatures. Across the northern Rockies, there will be thundershowers.

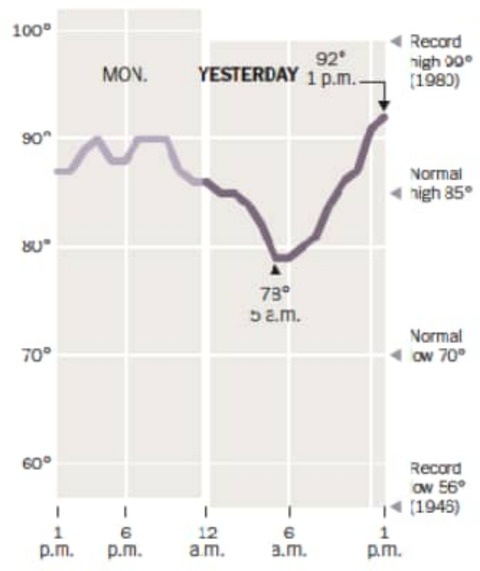
A few strong afternoon thunderstorms may develop in the Southwest. The storms may produce heavy downpours and strong winds.

The Gulf Coast will be warm and humid with spotty afternoon or evening thunderstorms. In the northern Plains and western Great Lakes, it will be cool with a mainly sunny sky.

## Metropolitan Almanac

In Central Park, for the 13 hours ended at 1 p.m. yesterday.

**Temperature**




Avg. daily departure from normal this month ..... +3.8°
Avg. daily departure from normal this year ..... +3.3°

**Reservoir levels** (New York City water supply)
Yesterday ..... 87%
Est. normal ..... 93%

**Precipitation** (in inches)
Yesterday ..... 0.00
Record ..... 1.68
*For the last 30 days*
Actual ..... 3.20
Normal ..... 4.15
*For the last 365 days*
Actual ..... 63.45
Normal ..... 49.49
LAST 30 DAYS

**Air pressure**
High ..... 29.88 8 a.m.
Low ..... 29.80 1 a.m.

**Humidity**
High ..... 71% 5 a.m.
Low ..... 47% 10 a.m.

**Cooling Degree Days**
*An index of fuel consumption that tracks how far the day's mean temperature rose above 65*
Yesterday ..... 20
So far this month ..... 259
So far this season (since January 1) ..... 679
Normal to date for the season ..... 506

**Trends**

| | | Temperature Average Below | Temperature Average Above | Precipitation Average Below | Precipitation Average 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 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | July 21 6:18 a.m. | July 27 | Aug. 4 7:13 a.m. | Aug. 12 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sun | RISE | 5:39 a.m. | Moon | S | 1:37 a.m. |
| | SET | 8:25 p.m. | | R | 5:27 p.m. |
| | NEXT R | 5:40 a.m. | | S | 2:18 a.m. |
| Jupiter | R | 2:30 a.m. | Mars | R | 1:43 a.m. |
| | S | 5:16 p.m. | | S | 4:07 p.m. |
| Saturn | S | 10:18 a.m. | Venus | R | 6:37 a.m. |
| | R | 10:55 p.m. | | S | 9:08 p.m. |

**Boating**

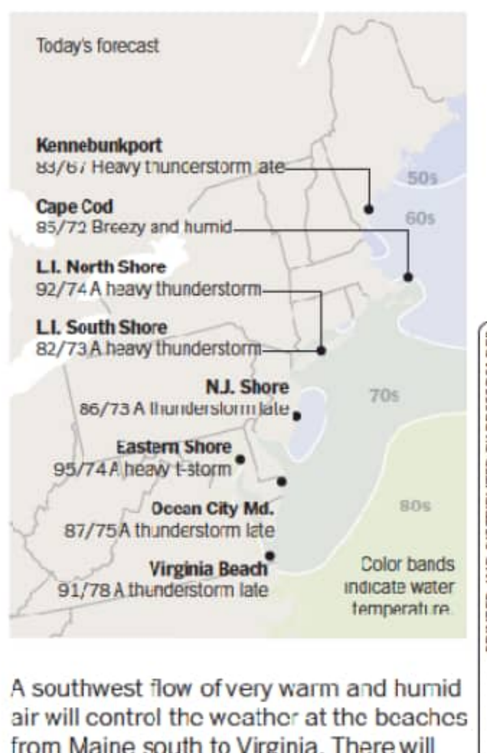
*From Montauk Point to Sandy Hook, N.J., out to 20 nautical miles, including Long Island Sound and New York Harbor.*

Winds will be southwest at 10-20 knots. Waves will average 2 feet on Long Island Sound and 3-5 feet on the ocean. Visibility will lower to under 3 miles in heavy late-day and evening thunderstorms.

**High Tides**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Atlantic City | 4:34 a.m. | 5:09 p.m. |
| Barnegat Inlet | 4:53 a.m. | 5:20 p.m. |
| The Battery | 5:25 a.m. | 5:51 p.m. |
| Beach Haven | 6:11 a.m. | 6:42 p.m. |
| Bridgeport | 8:45 a.m. | 8:55 p.m. |
| City Island | 9:06 a.m. | 8:43 p.m. |
| Fire Island Lt. | 5:39 a.m. | 6:10 p.m. |
| Montauk Point | 6:41 a.m. | 6:54 p.m. |
| Northport | 8:56 a.m. | 9:07 p.m. |
| Port Washington | 9:08 a.m. | 9:00 p.m. |
| Sandy Hook | 4:53 a.m. | 5:24 p.m. |
| Shinnecock Inlet | 4:49 a.m. | 5:17 p.m. |
| Stamford | 8:38 a.m. | 8:52 p.m. |
| Tarrytown | 7:14 a.m. | 7:10 p.m. |
| Willets Point | 9:05 a.m. | 8:45 p.m. |

**Beach and Ocean Temperatures**




A southwest flow of very warm and humid air will control the weather at the beaches from Maine south to Virginia. There will be a blend of clouds and sunshine, and most of the day will be dry. As a cool front approaches from the west, it will produce heavy, gusty thunderstorms by evening.

## 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 | 92/ 78 0 | 94/ 73 T | 84/ 68 T |
| Bridgeport | 89/ 72 0 | 89/ 72 T | 84/ 66 T |
| Caldwell | 95/ 74 0 | 94/ 72 T | 87/ 64 T |
| Danbury | 89/ 69 0.02 | 91/ 70 T | 86/ 61 PC |
| Islip | 91/ 74 0 | 89/ 72 T | 85/ 68 T |
| Newark | 94/ 82 0 | 96/ 75 T | 89/ 69 T |
| Trenton | 95/ 76 0 | 92/ 71 T | 84/ 62 T |
| White Plains | 92/ 70 0 | 90/ 71 T | 86/ 62 T |

| United States | Yesterday | Today | Tomorrow |
|---|---|---|---|
| Albany | 93/ 71 0.20 | 88/ 66 T | 86/ 60 PC |
| Albuquerque | 98/ 73 0 | 93/ 67 T | 91/ 69 C |
| Anchorage | 59/ 49 0.10 | 60/ 50 C | 62/ 51 R |
| Atlanta | 90/ 76 0.08 | 94/ 74 T | 87/ 72 T |
| Atlantic City | 86/ 75 0 | 86/ 73 T | 81/ 66 T |
| Austin | 98/ 73 0 | 98/ 75 T | 94/ 73 C |
| Baltimore | 101/ 77 0.04 | 99/ 75 T | 87/ 66 T |
| Baton Rouge | 93/ 78 0 | 91/ 77 T | 92/ 75 T |
| Birmingham | 95/ 77 0.08 | 94/ 74 T | 85/ 71 T |
| Boise | 102/ 71 0 | 101/ 71 PC | 104/ 70 S |
| Boston | 94/ 77 0 | 91/ 73 T | 81/ 69 T |
| Buffalo | 83/ 69 0.54 | 78/ 61 C | 75/ 58 PC |
| Burlington | 90/ 68 0.20 | 83/ 66 T | 82/ 60 Sh |
| Casper | 91/ 51 0.02 | 89/ 53 T | 93/ 57 C |
| Charlotte | 95/ 76 0.04 | 93/ 73 T | 88/ 71 T |
| Chattanooga | 96/ 76 0.03 | 95/ 73 T | 87/ 71 T |
| Chicago | 81/ 68 0.01 | 79/ 61 PC | 75/ 60 S |
| Cincinnati | 89/ 70 0.40 | 82/ 62 T | 79/ 60 PC |
| Cleveland | 90/ 72 0.04 | 81/ 64 C | 73/ 59 S |
| Colorado Springs | 85/ 60 0.19 | 80/ 56 T | 83/ 58 C |
| Columbus | 88/ 69 0.35 | 81/ 62 T | 77/ 59 PC |
| Concord, N.H. | 97/ 69 0 | 92/ 67 T | 88/ 59 PC |
| Dallas-Ft. Worth | 103/ 81 0 | 98/ 79 T | 92/ 76 T |
| Denver | 87/ 61 0.15 | 87/ 61 T | 91/ 63 PC |
| Des Moines | 82/ 65 0 | 80/ 58 PC | 79/ 59 S |
| Detroit | 89/ 68 0.04 | 81/ 58 PC | 76/ 58 PC |
| El Paso | 103/ 77 0 | 102/ 78 PC | 97/ 75 PC |
| Fargo | 78/ 52 0.08 | 74/ 54 S | 81/ 61 S |
| Hartford | 98/ 73 0.04 | 95/ 70 T | 88/ 64 PC |
| Honolulu | 87/ 74 0 | 87/ 77 S | 88/ 75 PC |
| Houston | 95/ 77 0 | 93/ 78 T | 90/ 74 T |
| Indianapolis | 87/ 70 0.07 | 83/ 59 T | 76/ 58 S |
| Jackson | 99/ 77 0.04 | 95/ 75 T | 87/ 72 T |
| Jacksonville | 90/ 76 0.39 | 93/ 75 T | 92/ 75 T |
| Kansas City | 84/ 67 0.82 | 82/ 62 PC | 78/ 60 S |
| Key West | 90/ 83 0.12 | 91/ 84 PC | 89/ 82 T |
| Las Vegas | 108/ 88 0 | 110/ 87 S | 107/ 87 PC |
| Lexington | 96/ 74 0.05 | 83/ 66 T | 82/ 61 C |
| Little Rock | 99/ 79 0 | 91/ 74 T | 85/ 69 T |
| Los Angeles | 83/ 62 0 | 84/ 65 S | 86/ 66 S |
| Louisville | 91/ 74 0.18 | 85/ 67 T | 82/ 64 C |
| Memphis | 97/ 79 0 | 89/ 73 T | 81/ 68 T |
| Miami | 92/ 80 0.37 | 92/ 81 PC | 91/ 81 T |
| Milwaukee | 78/ 68 0.02 | 78/ 62 PC | 76/ 61 S |
| Mpls-St. Paul | 80/ 60 0 | 75/ 60 PC | 79/ 61 PC |
| Nashville | 101/ 79 0 | 91/ 74 T | 81/ 67 T |
| New Orleans | 91/ 79 0.23 | 89/ 78 T | 91/ 77 T |
| Norfolk | 99/ 80 0 | 94/ 78 T | 85/ 74 T |
| Oklahoma City | 99/ 74 0.03 | 85/ 69 T | 88/ 65 PC |
| Omaha | 85/ 64 0 | 82/ 58 PC | 82/ 63 PC |
| Orlando | 93/ 75 0.60 | 95/ 76 T | 95/ 76 T |
| Philadelphia | 100/ 79 0.04 | 96/ 74 T | 86/ 68 T |
| Phoenix | 110/ 89 0 | 112/ 89 S | 112/ 91 PC |
| Pittsburgh | 90/ 72 0.18 | 78/ 64 T | 78/ 56 PC |
| Portland, Me. | 91/ 71 0 | 88/ 69 T | 81/ 62 C |
| Portland, Ore. | 97/ 62 0 | 87/ 62 S | 87/ 63 S |
| Providence | 93/ 73 0 | 89/ 70 T | 81/ 63 T |
| Raleigh | 100/ 79 0.04 | 99/ 77 T | 90/ 74 T |
| Reno | 94/ 64 0 | 96/ 63 PC | 99/ 64 S |
| Richmond | 100/ 78 0.04 | 96/ 75 T | 86/ 71 T |
| Rochester | 85/ 70 0.49 | 79/ 60 T | 76/ 57 PC |
| Sacramento | 86/ 54 0 | 93/ 60 S | 100/ 63 S |
| Salt Lake City | 96/ 72 0 | 101/ 76 PC | 101/ 71 PC |
| San Antonio | 97/ 77 0 | 97/ 77 PC | 96/ 74 T |
| San Diego | 75/ 66 0 | 73/ 65 PC | 73/ 67 PC |
| San Francisco | 71/ 57 0 | 71/ 58 PC | 72/ 57 PC |
| San Jose | 80/ 57 0 | 81/ 59 PC | 85/ 60 PC |
| San Juan | 90/ 79 0.07 | 92/ 81 T | 91/ 80 T |
| Seattle | 86/ 63 0 | 84/ 57 S | 79/ 55 PC |
| Sioux Falls | 80/ 59 0.09 | 79/ 52 PC | 80/ 60 PC |
| Spokane | 97/ 69 0 | 99/ 66 PC | 99/ 67 S |
| St. Louis | 83/ 74 2.05 | 85/ 65 PC | 80/ 62 S |
| St. Thomas | 88/ 81 0.16 | 90/ 81 T | 91/ 82 T |
| Syracuse | 90/ 71 0.59 | 82/ 63 T | 80/ 61 PC |
| Tampa | 92/ 78 0.04 | 91/ 79 T | 94/ 79 T |
| Toledo | 89/ 68 0 | 82/ 58 PC | 76/ 56 PC |
| Tucson | 102/ 80 0.04 | 103/ 80 S | 104/ 79 T |
| Tulsa | 102/ 75 0.04 | 85/ 69 T | 88/ 66 PC |
| Virginia Beach | 95/ 79 0 | 91/ 78 T | 84/ 74 T |
| Washington | 104/ 79 0.04 | 97/ 75 T | 85/ 69 T |
| Wichita | 96/ 73 Tr | 87/ 67 T | 86/ 65 S |
| Wilmington, Del. | 98/ 77 0.04 | 95/ 74 T | 86/ 65 T |

| Africa | Yesterday | Today | Tomorrow |
|---|---|---|---|
| Algiers | 95/ 70 0 | 90/ 72 S | 92/ 74 S |
| Cairo | 100/ 80 0 | 98/ 78 S | 100/ 79 S |
| Cape Town | 59/ 47 0.08 | 61/ 53 C | 59/ 50 Sh |
| Dakar | 88/ 79 0 | 87/ 79 PC | 86/ 73 C |
| Johannesburg | 67/ 37 0 | 70/ 50 S | 72/ 43 S |
| Nairobi | 77/ 57 0.14 | 74/ 56 Sh | 72/ 55 C |
| Tunis | 101/ 70 0 | 97/ 73 S | 97/ 73 S |

| Asia/Pacific | Yesterday | Today | Tomorrow |
|---|---|---|---|
| Baghdad | 114/ 88 0 | 115/ 86 PC | 114/ 88 PC |
| Bangkok | 88/ 81 0.08 | 87/ 78 T | 88/ 78 T |
| Beijing | 85/ 74 0.27 | 94/ 71 PC | 102/ 73 PC |
| Damascus | 100/ 72 0 | 102/ 66 S | 104/ 70 S |
| Hong Kong | 93/ 83 0.32 | 94/ 82 R | 94/ 84 T |
| Jakarta | 91/ 75 0 | 91/ 75 PC | 92/ 75 PC |
| Jerusalem | 88/ 70 0 | 91/ 70 S | 91/ 69 S |
| Karachi | 101/ 88 0 | 99/ 86 PC | 98/ 85 C |
| Manila | 91/ 80 0.18 | 89/ 80 T | 89/ 79 T |
| Mumbai | 82/ 79 0.23 | 85/ 81 R | 87/ 81 T |
| New Delhi | 100/ 85 0.05 | 98/ 82 R | 94/ 82 T |
| Riyadh | 105/ 87 0 | 111/ 87 S | 112/ 87 S |
| Seoul | 86/ 75 0.60 | 80/ 75 T | 79/ 74 Sh |
| Shanghai | 98/ 81 0 | 99/ 83 PC | 101/ 85 T |
| Singapore | 90/ 79 0.01 | 90/ 81 T | 90/ 82 T |
| Sydney | 61/ 45 0.03 | 65/ 49 S | 65/ 44 S |
| Taipei City | 95/ 82 0 | 101/ 81 PC | 100/ 79 T |
| Tehran | 100/ 79 0 | 101/ 79 S | 100/ 78 S |
| Tokyo | 79/ 73 1.19 | 84/ 76 T | 89/ 79 C |

| Europe | Yesterday | Today | Tomorrow |
|---|---|---|---|
| Amsterdam | 68/ 63 0.41 | 72/ 54 S | 77/ 61 PC |
| Athens | 100/ 64 0 | 100/ 83 S | 101/ 86 W |
| Berlin | 82/ 66 0.01 | 77/ 58 PC | 81/ 61 C |
| Brussels | 66/ 59 0.11 | 74/ 56 Sh | 79/ 60 C |
| Budapest | 94/ 77 0.01 | 96/ 71 T | 96/ 69 S |
| Copenhagen | 72/ 61 0.21 | 72/ 57 PC | 72/ 56 C |
| Dublin | 66/ 55 0.02 | 70/ 57 C | 67/ 57 C |
| Edinburgh | 67/ 57 0.05 | 70/ 56 Sh | 67/ 57 C |
| Frankfurt | 77/ 64 0.02 | 80/ 59 PC | 85/ 63 PC |
| Geneva | 79/ 66 0.03 | 82/ 59 S | 88/ 62 S |
| Helsinki | 77/ 55 0.01 | 74/ 58 Sh | 73/ 59 PC |
| Istanbul | 95/ 77 0 | 94/ 79 S | 96/ 79 S |
| Kyiv | 97/ 71 0.12 | 98/ 75 C | 89/ 68 T |
| Lisbon | 77/ 63 0 | 84/ 60 S | 90/ 65 S |
| London | 72/ 57 0 | 76/ 56 PC | 80/ 61 PC |
| Madrid | 92/ 63 0 | 100/ 66 S | 102/ 69 S |
| Moscow | 82/ 70 0 | 87/ 68 PC | 76/ 62 Sh |
| Nice | 83/ 73 0 | 84/ 73 S | 87/ 76 S |
| Oslo | 70/ 57 0.08 | 66/ 59 R | 79/ 59 PC |
| Paris | 75/ 61 0.06 | 80/ 59 S | 86/ 63 PC |
| Prague | 84/ 68 0.11 | 79/ 57 PC | 82/ 59 PC |
| Rome | 90/ 66 0 | 93/ 67 S | 93/ 66 S |
| St. Petersburg | 78/ 57 0 | 84/ 65 PC | 75/ 59 Sh |
| Stockholm | 77/ 55 0 | 71/ 57 Sh | 70/ 55 Sh |
| Vienna | 90/ 72 0 | 89/ 67 PC | 89/ 66 S |
| Warsaw | 90/ 68 0 | 84/ 63 PC | 82/ 61 PC |

| North America | Yesterday | Today | Tomorrow |
|---|---|---|---|
| Acapulco | 89/ 79 0 | 92/ 77 T | 91/ 78 PC |
| Bermuda | 84/ 76 0.01 | 86/ 79 S | 86/ 80 PC |
| Edmonton | 77/ 59 0 | 90/ 56 S | 91/ 58 T |
| Guadalajara | 75/ 63 0 | 81/ 64 T | 80/ 63 T |
| Havana | 90/ 74 0 | 91/ 74 T | 91/ 73 Sh |
| Kingston | 93/ 81 0 | 92/ 82 PC | 92/ 82 PC |
| Martinique | 90/ 77 0 | 90/ 78 Sh | 88/ 79 T |
| Mexico City | 70/ 54 0 | 76/ 57 PC | 75/ 58 Sh |
| Monterrey | 84/ 70 0 | 86/ 72 C | 88/ 70 T |
| Montreal | 82/ 70 Tr | 82/ 63 T | 78/ 60 PC |
| Nassau | 90/ 79 0 | 92/ 80 T | 92/ 80 T |
| Panama City | 90/ 76 0.02 | 87/ 76 T | 85/ 75 R |
| Quebec City | 80/ 66 0.06 | 80/ 62 T | 76/ 54 C |
| Santo Domingo | 91/ 75 0.01 | 90/ 76 T | 90/ 76 T |
| Toronto | 73/ 68 0.31 | 80/ 58 S | 74/ 56 S |
| Vancouver | 70/ 59 0 | 80/ 61 S | 77/ 60 PC |
| Winnipeg | 66/ 55 0.09 | 72/ 52 PC | 81/ 60 S |

| South America | Yesterday | Today | Tomorrow |
|---|---|---|---|
| Buenos Aires | 57/ 48 0 | 60/ 50 S | 62/ 52 C |
| Caracas | 89/ 77 0.24 | 91/ 77 T | 91/ 77 T |
| Lima | 63/ 59 0 | 64/ 57 PC | 65/ 59 PC |
| Quito | 68/ 44 0 | 71/ 45 C | 70/ 46 C |
| Recife | 84/ 75 0 | 83/ 76 Sh | 84/ 76 S |
| Rio de Janeiro | 73/ 66 0 | 74/ 67 S | 75/ 67 S |
| Santiago | 63/ 37 0 | 68/ 45 PC | 57/ 41 C |

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2 FILM
Osgood Perkins gives a jolt of horror to 'Longlegs.'

3 BOOKS
J.D. Vance's transformation to vice-presidential candidate.







6 ART
A new terminal at Kennedy Airport will be a showcase for 18 contemporary artists.

NEWS | CRITICISM

Arts
The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, JULY 17, 2024 C1

A rehearsal for "The Ritual of Breath Is the Rite to Resist," an opera that premiered in 2022 and arrives at Lincoln Center this week.

MICHELLE V. AGINS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

# Singing for the Man Who Couldn't Breathe

An opera honors Eric Garner, the New Yorker whose last words to the police became a rallying cry for activists.

By JAVIER C. HERNÁNDEZ

In the middle of "The Ritual of Breath Is the Rite to Resist," an opera about the police killing of Eric Garner, a singer portraying his daughter reflects on his famous final words: "I can't breathe."

"I can't let go," she sings. "I hear his words again and again. A scream in a dream that escapes as a gasp."

A decade after Garner's death, "Ritual of Breath," which comes to Lincoln Center's summer festival Friday, aims to shine light on Garner's legacy and the broader problem of police violence in America. The opera, composed by Jonathan Berger to a libretto by the poet Vievee Francis, focuses on Garner's daughter, Erica, as she grapples with the pain, guilt and anger she feels over her father's death. But "Ritual of Breath" also spotlights the stories of other Black people killed by the police, and issues a spirited call for empathy and change from performers, including a 90-member choir spread across the stage and in the audience.

"It's not enough to say that someone died on the street — to reduce them to a chalk outline," Francis said. "If we don't know who that was, if we don't see them as human, no difference will be made. Art allows us to feel that life."

The creators of "Ritual of Breath," which premiered in 2022, hope that the opera will bring fresh attention to social injustice in American society. Niegel Smith, the show's

CONTINUED ON PAGE C5





FROM LEFT: EA SPORTS; ERIC GAY/ ASSOCIATED PRESS

The likeness of Texas quarterback Quinn Ewers in EA Sports College Football 25, left, and Ewers in an actual game, right.

# Paydays Before Touchdowns

A rebranded college football video game franchise is back, and the players depicted are benefiting financially.

By MATT STEVENS

Quinn Ewers is among the legions of sports fans who will rejoice over a subtle change when the first new college football video game in more than a decade debuts this week.

Ewers will be able to play as himself rather than as an unnamed 6-foot-2-inch athlete with strikingly similar features who also wears a No. 3 orange-and-white jersey.

"As far back as I can remember, I was always trying to create myself and always playing for the Longhorns," said Ewers, the starting quarterback for the University of Texas.

A primary reason many fans buy a new version of the same sports video game every year is to play with updated team rosters, ones filled with offseason acquisitions and unbridled optimism. But to comply with amateurism rules, college sports titles like the popular N.C.A.A. Football franchise long had to fill those rosters with thinly veiled stand-ins.

That practice came under fire as the push to pay college athletes gained steam, drawing lawsuits that shelved the series after N.C.A.A. Football 14. But the landscape has undergone seismic shifts, and players can

CONTINUED ON PAGE C6

MARGARET LYONS | AN APPRAISAL

# She Revealed the Hurt Of a Modern Teenager

On 'Beverly Hills, 90210,' Shannen Doherty helped shift TV drama toward adolescents.

IF YOU LIKED WATCHING TV on Thursday nights in 1990, you could have spent your spring with Audrey Horne and Donna Hayward, in "Twin Peaks," and your fall with Brenda Walsh in "Beverly Hills, 90210." And Brenda, as played memorably by Shannen Doherty, who died of cancer on Saturday at 53, knew who her peers were. When she dons a (hideous) hat in Season 1, she is met with derision. "Hippie witch is out," sneers Kelly (Jennie Garth).

"It's not hippie witch; it's 'Twin Peaks,' and it's very in," Brenda snaps back. Ah, back then we were so rich in pouty, put-upon brunettes with brooding motorcycle boyfriends, fraught taste in companions and a desire to listen to the same song over and over.

No, Brenda's outfit is not "Twin Peaks" in any way, but her affection and affectation create a fun hall of mirrors. Brenda herself was a character whose style many sought to emulate, though sadly, God blesses so few of us with such magnificent bangs. Still, it was far easier to incorporate a Walshian choker or silver belt buckle than to pull off an arch "Twin Peaks" saddle shoe.

CONTINUED ON PAGE C4



As Brenda Walsh on "Beverly Hills, 90210," Shannen Doherty, who died Saturday, evolved from naïf to vixen.

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ASTERIOS MOUTSOKAPAS/NEON

Osgood Perkins talks about his movie-star father, making 'Longlegs' with Nicolas Cage and finding a scarier approach to horror.

# Stillness Deepens The Creepiness

By ERIK PIEPENBURG

Many directors fall in love with scary movies through late-night cable binges or with friends at a drive-in. Osgood Perkins had a leg up: His father was the actor Anthony Perkins, a Hollywood heavyweight and the star of "Psycho," Alfred Hitchcock's 1960 horror movie game changer.

"My father was absent, more oblique and abstract but a movie star, a public figure, an icon," said Perkins, 50, in a recent interview over video. "Something very big lived with me."

The younger Perkins said that his father, who died of AIDS at 60 in 1992, was a spirit guide as he made his new horror movie "Longlegs." It stars Nicolas Cage as a fiendish clown-looking evildoer who vexes a green F.B.I. agent, played by Maika Monroe, via handmade evil-summoning dolls.

What would Perkins's father have thought of the film, now in theaters?

"He probably would have really dug it," he said.

Perkins talked about what inspired "Longlegs" and working with the chameleonic Cage. The interview has been edited and condensed.

**Where did the idea for "Longlegs" originate?**

I decided to hitch my star to one of the greatest pictures ever made. The idea became how to play with the left hand a "Silence of the Lambs" movie, while lying in wait with the right hand. It started as a crossword puzzle way of thinking.

**At the heart of the film is a mother-daughter relationship.**

The real issue in the movie is a mother's decision to create the ultimate protective womb around her kid. She goes to pretty grisly lengths to maintain it. The question becomes, is it wrong to do everything you can to protect your own child? One of the more exaggerated, brilliant examples of that is Yorgos Lanthimos's "Dogtooth." It's like, you can teach a child *whatever* version of the world you want.

**It's also an evil doll movie.**

The dollness comes from "The Golden Bough," that huge encyclopedic record of cultures and superstition and ceremony and ritual, and how different cultures have coped. One of the sections that stuck out to me was about sympathetic magic, voodoo dolls, effigies, in the way that in some countries they burn puppets of their leaders. This idea that you can affect a living thing by working the effigy and by some sympathetic transference the object will become messed up. That did feel like a fresh turn on the creepy doll.

**Nicolas Cage has done a lot of nutty roles, but this one is particularly nutty.**

When Nic read the script and said, "I want to do this," the first thing I said was, you're Nicolas Cage. You can do whatever you want. He said, no, I want to do all the words as you've written them with the punctuation as you've done it, because it was really punctuated to give it flavor. Nic is an insanely deliberate and focused artist. There's nothing vague about Nicolas Cage. A lot of people feel Nic just goes big. But he goes big from an extremely controlled place.

**Maika Monroe really underplays her character, a lot like she did in "It Follows."**

Less can be so much more when a camera understands an actor. I had seen her work, and you meet her in person, she's very kinetic and silly and never stops. The real estate between the person who she is in real life and on camera — that chasm is really charged. She really gets it that you don't need to be histrionic to be interesting.

**There's a creepy stillness in much of your film, a scarier approach to horror than being all about blood and monsters.**

A movie like "Uncle Boonmee Who Can Recall His Past Lives" has a stillness to it that is super captivating. In horror pictures, stillness, silence, waiting is the heart of the matter. Because however much we think about it or not — and hopefully we don't think about it very much — we're all waiting for the end.

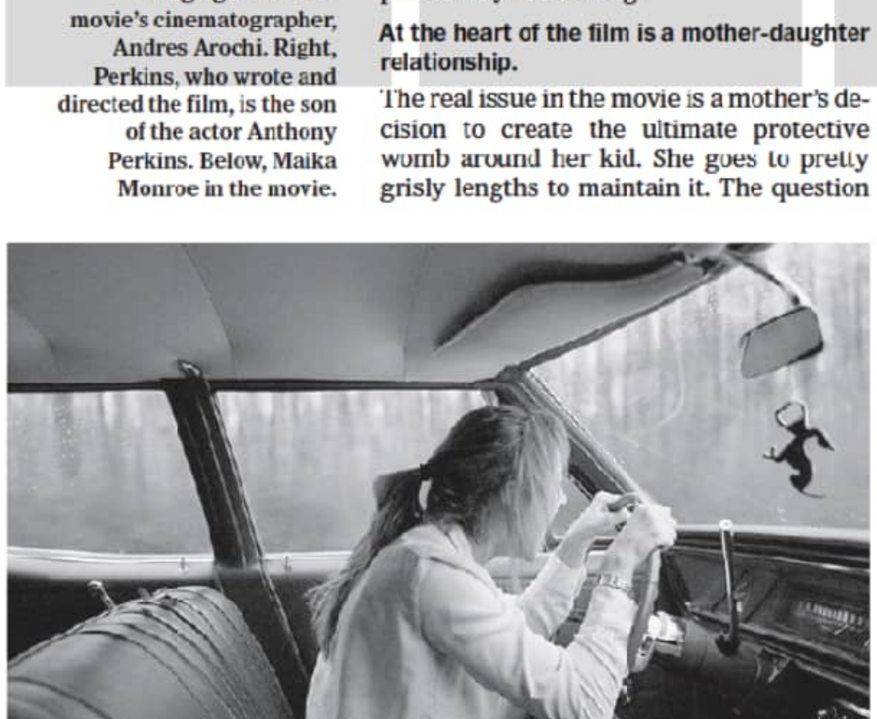
**In the documentary "Queer for Fear," about queer horror, you said your father "introduced a significant wrinkle into my understanding of how the world works." How so?**

I had a limited window to consciously understand my dad. He died when I was 18. He was away a lot and he was a movie star. A lot of that emanates through the fact that he directed "Psycho 3." It was sort of porno. It was dirty-funny in a very different way than the second movie was. I think that his willingness to do that in that movie was super interesting to me. It's always been in my mind as like, wouldn't it be great to make a horror picture that's also funny and sort of dirty? "Longlegs" was supposed to be the funny, dirty one.



AUSTIN LEONG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Top, Osgood Perkins, right, on the set of the horror film "Longlegs" with the movie's cinematographer, Andres Arochi. Right, Perkins, who wrote and directed the film, is the son of the actor Anthony Perkins. Below, Maika Monroe in the movie.



NEON

ALISSA WILKINSON | DOCUMENTARY LENS

# Scorsese's Love Letter to Two English Filmmakers

A new movie explores the lives and careers of Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger.

**WHAT YOU CAN LEARN** about movies from just reading about them is pretty limited — an ironic admission from a movie critic, I know. The best way to understand what makes a film or a filmmaker interesting is to submerge yourself in their work, to binge a whole catalog. But when that's not possible, or if you want more context, a great guide and a well-crafted essay film can be invaluable.

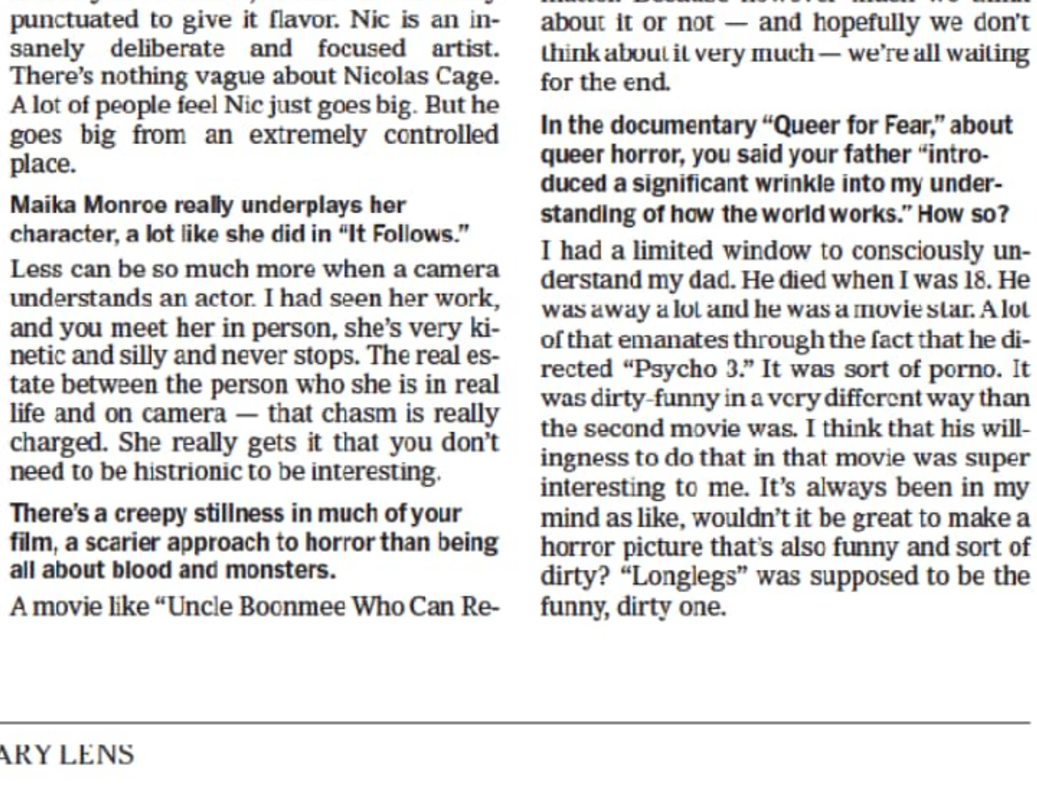
Few such guides could outpace Martin Scorsese, whose narration (often delivered directly to camera) powers **"Made in England: The Films of Powell and Pressburger"** (in theaters), directed by David Hinton. Scorsese's Film Foundation World Cinema Project restores movies from underrepresented and forgotten filmmakers from around the world, works that might otherwise be lost to time. Among those were "The Life and Death of Colonel Blimp" and "The Red Shoes," two seminal movies from the 1940s by the duo Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger. Scorsese has long counted the pair among his greatest influences; their movies pushed the boundaries of color, story and passion.

What makes "Made in England" so compelling is how effortlessly it swings from film analysis to cinema and cultural history to personal narrative. It's a roughly chronological documentary about the filmmakers, but it's also the story of personal obsession. For Scorsese, that story started in his own childhood, when he saw rough black-and-white transfers on TV that transfixed him. Later, he became obsessed with the filmmakers' works, and Powell in particular eventually became a mentor and a friend. He and Scorsese's longtime editor, Thelma Schoonmaker, were married until Powell died in 1990.

The film works through the history of both men, the origins of their collaboration and the ways their films evolved during and after World War II, particularly as commercial taste shifted. Their experimentations with sound, music and heightened realism are illuminated through "The Red Shoes," "Colonel Blimp" and films like "Black Narcissus," "The Tales of Hoffmann," and the nearly career-killing "Peeping Tom," all lovingly explored through Scorsese's viewpoint.

Scorsese has narrated documentaries about film history before (including "A Personal Journey With Martin Scorsese Through American Movies" and "My Voyage to Italy"), always with a distinctive angle. It's easy to see why. The average viewer — that is to say, someone not quite as obsessed with movies as Scorsese is — pops open the queue on a streamer of choice and starts drowning. There are more movies now than there have ever been, and even a fairly sophisticated viewer can struggle to choose.

"Made in England" is remarkably engaging thanks to Scorsese's animated commentary and some flourishes, like comparisons between shots from Powell and Pressburger's films and Scorsese's. But whether you are lucky enough to attend the summer of Powell and Pressburger in New York's cinemas, enjoy streaming from home or are just curious about these fascinating filmmakers, the documentary is a personal, vibrant gift.



COHEN MEDIA GROUP

Emeric Pressburger, far left, and Michael Powell are the subjects of "Made in England."

**Delving into the work of creative collaborators, but also plumbing one director's obsession.**

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# From Writing 'Hillbilly Elegy' to MAGA All-Star

How J.D. Vance, a bootstrap memoirist, turned into a vice-presidential candidate.



RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

**"I AM NOT A SENATOR,** a governor or a former cabinet secretary," J.D. Vance wrote on the first page of "Hillbilly Elegy," by way of establishing his regular-guy bona fides. That was all true in 2016, when Vance was a former Marine and Yale Law School graduate with "a nice job, a happy marriage, a comfortable home and two lively dogs." His memoir reads a little differently now.

This is partly because Vance is, in fact, a senator, and also, as of Monday, the Republican vice-presidential candidate. Much has been made of his political evolution over the past eight years, from never-Trump conservative to MAGA loyalist, from analyzing right-wing populism to embodying it. While Vance's critics view this as brazen opportunism, he has explained his ideological shifts (including in a recent interview with Ross Douthat of The New York Times) as a result of a twofold intellectual awakening: It turned out that Donald Trump wasn't as bad as Vance had thought, and that American liberals were much worse.

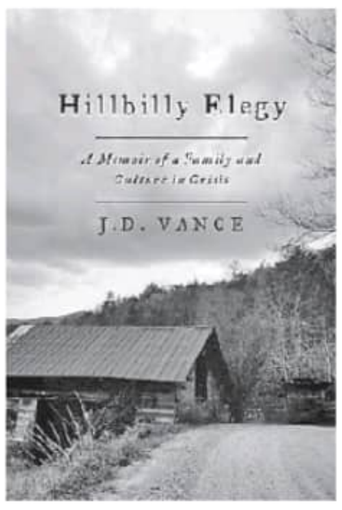
This turnabout is notable because part of the legend of "Hillbilly Elegy" is that liberals were its intended audience and biggest fans. Published by a major trade house, respectfully (if at times skeptically) reviewed and widely discussed, it was both a message to the establishment and an application for membership.

The book tells the story of two migrations. One is the large-scale movement of poor whites, among them the author's maternal grandparents, from rural Appalachia to the cities and towns of the Rust Belt. The other is Vance's path from one of those places — Middletown, Ohio — to the geographic and demographic precincts of the ruling class: New Haven; Silicon Valley; Washington, D.C.

To the extent that "Hillbilly Elegy" is a bootstrap narrative — the chronicle of a young person's rise in the face of adversity — it can be read as a vindication of the status quo. An imaginary reader, comfortably ensconced in the seat of relative privilege, will be gratified to learn that this ambitious Ohioan has pulled up a neighboring chair, and fascinated by the story of how he got there. The tale is painful but also inspiring. Vance's childhood was shadowed by his mother's struggle with opioid addiction, but he was saved by his loving grandparents, in particular by his salty, tenacious grandmother, Mamaw, whose portrait is the book's most memorable literary achievement.

Mamaw, the Marine Corps and Ohio State lifted young J.D. out of Middletown and helped give him the confidence and the skills to write "Hillbilly Elegy." (Yale did its part to supply him with connections, most consequentially his mentor and contracts professor Amy Chua, author of "Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother," among other books.)

Part of the message of this kind of memoir is humble and aspirational: If I can make it, the writer suggests, anybody can. But that encouraging moral is accompanied by the somber acknowledgment that many people don't. The plucky, lucky protagonist is at once representative and exceptional, a paradox that gives personal reflection the weight of social criticism. What's stopping everyone else? Why do so many of Vance's peers seem destined for joblessness and underemployment, substance abuse and domestic chaos, poverty and despair?




Senator J.D. Vance of Ohio in June after the Trump-Biden debate. In his 2016 book, "Hillbilly Elegy," Vance suggested the American working class was to blame for its troubles. Now he appears to doubt that thesis.

Often, in the autobiographical genre to which "Hillbilly Elegy" belongs — a genre whose shelves are full of books by Black, Indigenous and immigrant writers — the answers are systemic. What the author has overcome is injustice, prejudice, a fundamental unfairness in the way the world is organized. The implicit political claim is usually more reformist than radical: We need to fix things so that more kids like this can make it, by removing barriers and expanding opportunities.

Vance's argument is emphatically not that. If the Americans he calls hillbillies — a somewhat elastic category that can be regional (Appalachian), ethnic (Scots-Irish) or sociological (white working class) — are falling or stuck, it's largely their own fault.

The same cultural traits that make Mamaw and her kin such vivid presences on the page and in Vance's life — love of fighting, clannishness, hatred of authority — have trapped them in poverty and dysfunction. "Working class" may be a misnomer: "People talk about hard work all the time in places like Middletown," Vance writes. "You can walk through a town where 30 percent of the young men work fewer than 20 hours a week and find not a single person aware of his own laziness."

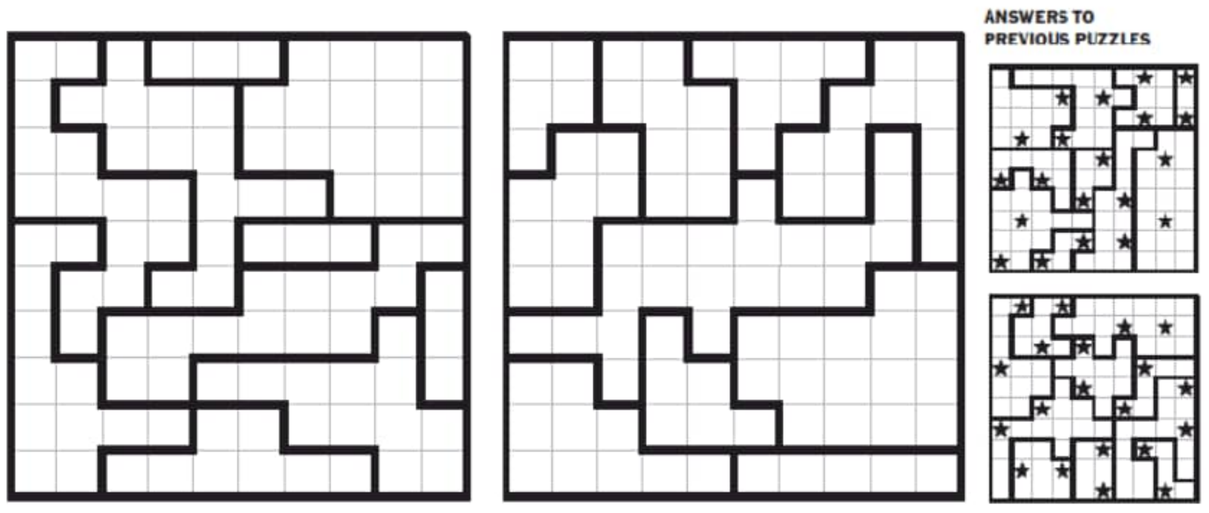
The harshness of this judgment — and the cultural determinism underpinning it — drew some criticism, including from writers with backgrounds like Vance's. At the same time, the idea that members of a marginal or disadvantaged group have caused their own misfortune is music to the ears of those in power. If *those people* are just *that way* — lazy, uncooperative, sexually promiscuous — then any policy designed to help them is useless.

That kind of argument has long been marshaled by conservatives against social programs aimed at African Americans, Latinos and the urban poor. Vance was not the first writer on the right to wield it against rural and proletarian whites. Charles Murray's "Coming Apart: The State of White America, 1960-2010," published in 2012, anticipates some of the themes of "Hillbilly Elegy." During the 2016 presidential campaign, Kevin D. Williamson published a series of caustic essays in National Review linking the rise of Trump with the decline of the white working class, concluding that the woebegone citizens of places like Middletown had "failed themselves." "*Nothing happened to them,*" Williamson wrote. "There wasn't some awful disaster. There wasn't a war or a famine or a plague or a foreign occupation."

In the years since, it's safe to say that this perspective hasn't found much purchase on the intellectual right, which is now less interested in diagnosing Trumpism than in writing its playbook. Vance has been part of both projects, which has involved a change in tone and orientation, and not only with respect to Trump himself.

There is a tension in "Hillbilly Elegy," a dissonance between the way Vance celebrates his family and the way he sells them out, othering them in the service of a dubious argument. I say dubious because it's clear now that he doubts the thesis that the American working class is to blame for its own troubles, or at least doubts the political utility of saying as much. He is more apt to blame China, NAFTA, Mexico and certain corporations, and also the political and cultural establishment that he was once determined to join. In other words: He has turned against the most devoted readers of his book.

# Two Not Touch



ANSWERS TO PREVIOUS PUZZLES



Put two stars in each row, column and region of the grid. No two stars may touch, not even diagonally.

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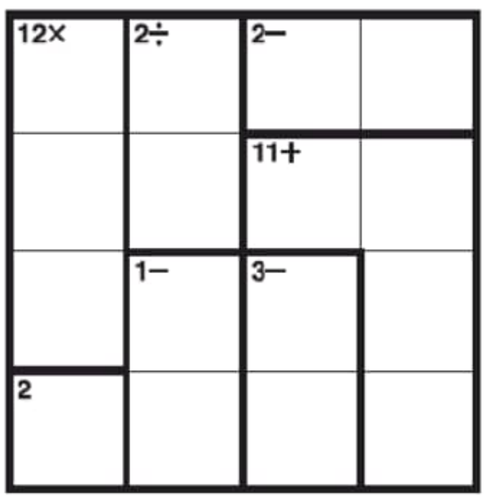
# Brain Tickler

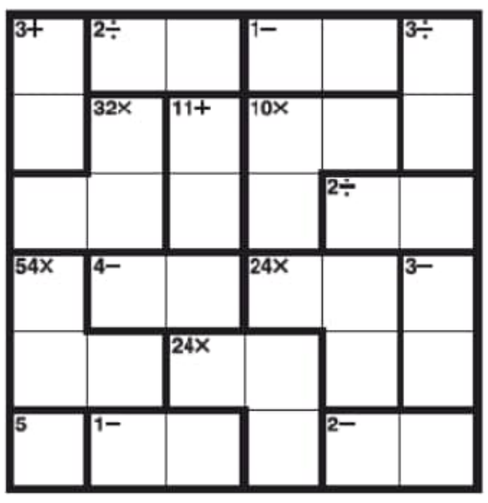
**The names of which two U.S. states end in doubled letters?**

PUZZLE BY WILL SHORTZ

**YESTERDAY'S ANSWER** Unfortunately, my boss is a big dope who doesn't know what he's doing. Worse, I'm self-employed.

# KenKen




ANSWERS TO PREVIOUS PUZZLES

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | 4 | 2 | 1 |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2 | 1 | 4 | 3 |
| 4 | 3 | 1 | 2 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | 1 | 6 | 2 | 5 | 3 |
| 1 | 2 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 6 |
| 5 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 6 | 2 |
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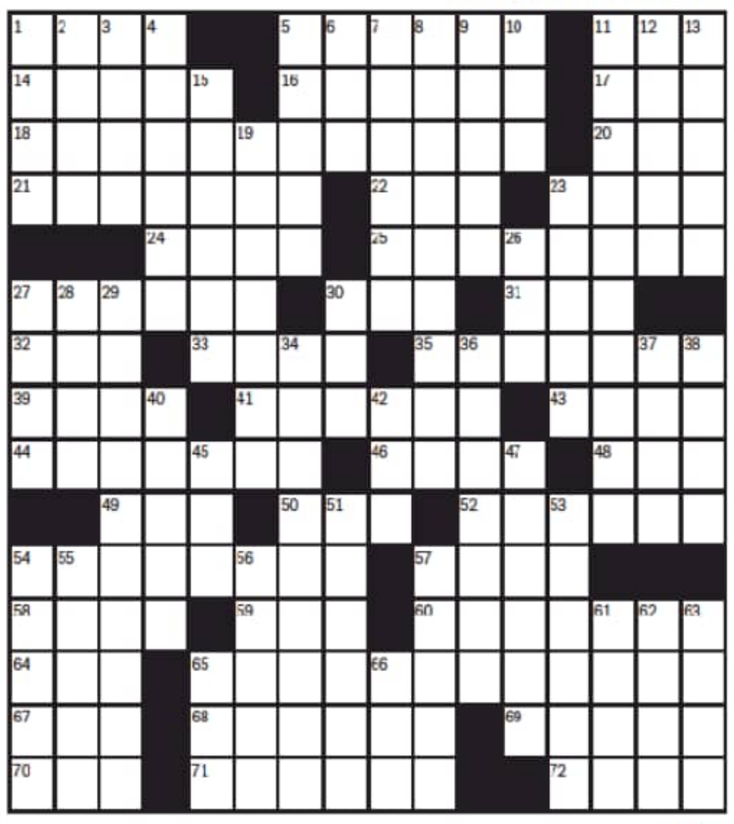
Fill the grid with digits so as not to repeat a digit in any row or column, and so that the digits within each heavily outlined box will produce the target number shown, by using addition, subtraction, multiplication or division, as indicated in the box. A 4x4 grid will use the digits 1-4. A 6x6 grid will use 1-6.

For more games: www.nytimes.com/games

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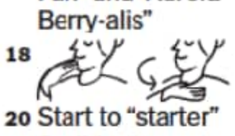
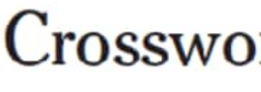
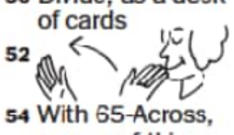
# Crossword | Edited by Joel Fagliano

PUZZLE BY ALEX EATON-SALNERS



7/17/24

**ACROSS**

1 Over 3,500 feet, for the George Washington Bridge
5 Takes care of
11 "As if!"
14 Change
16 Secure, as to a pole
17 Nail polish brand with colors like "Berry Fairy Fun" and "Aurora Berry-alis"
18 
20 Start to "starter"
21 Caribbean country whose capital is Castries
22 With it, in old slang
23 Waited for a customer service representative, say
24 Work station
25 
27 
30 Unwritten code?
31 "___ told ..."
32 Representative's affirmative
33 "Shogun," e.g.
35 Major undertaking?
39 Diana of Motown
41 Melancholy
43 Portent
44 What "down" means in diner lingo
46 Future D.A.'s exam
48 Multivolume ref.
49 "It's c-c-c-cold!"
50 Divide, as a deck of cards
52 
54 With 65-Across, source of this puzzle's pictorial clues
57 Rival of Chanel
58 "Finding ___" (Pixar sequel)
59 "Razor-billed" bird
60 Knock around, say
64 Company that purchased Time Warner in 2001
65 See 54-Across
67 Greek consonant hidden in the names of two Greek vowels
68 Prepare to release, as a fish
69 "___ Kitchen" (cooking show)
70 Largest of the three-letter numbers
71 Stinging plant
72 Feature of some dresses

**DOWN**

1 Displays, as the time
2 It might thicken or be full of holes
3 ___ Gawande, author of the 2014 best seller "Being Mortal"
4 Poet Pablo
5 For which you might tell a chef "Well done!"
6 Caterpillar roll ingredient
7 Engrave
8 They often take bows
9 Allegro or adagio
10 Prospector's find
11 Throat-soothing type of tea
12 Olympic gold medalist Ohno
13 Like the "Ramayana"
15 School break
19 Smart aleck
23 
26 Kilmer of "Top Gun: Maverick"
27 Burning man?
28 R&B singer Bridges
29 One side of Checkpoint Charlie
30 Reservoir creator
34 Was apprehended
36 Podium delivery
37 ___ Squad (tech support group)
38 Wraps up
40 
42 Sandwich whose "California" version contains avocado
45 Pop star Grande, to fans
47 Nevertheless
51 Take apart, as 8-Down
53 Contends
54 Bring to the big screen, perhaps
55 Mammal whose babies can outrun humans at only three days old
56 Michael of "The Dark Knight"
57 Male duck
61 Corridor
62 Fruit named for its unsightly appearance
63 Bother
65 Light source
66 "What a hoot!," in brief

**ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE**

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | T | R | I | C | K | | S | A | G | A | S | | |
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| | S | O | M | E | L | I | K | E | I | T | H | O | T | |
| W | E | T | | A | L | C | O | V | E | S | | R | I | M |
| A | V | O | N | | S | K | I | E | S | | T | I | R | E |
| S | E | N | O | R | | | | | | T | H | E | I | R |
| P | R | E | C | E | P | T | | A | R | I | A | D | N | E |
| | | | O | V | E | R | S | L | E | P | T | | | |
| P | A | W | N | | P | E | A | C | H | | S | H | A | M |
| A | L | I | T | | P | E | K | O | E | | T | O | M | E |
| L | I | N | E | | A | S | S | A | M | | H | U | B | S |
| M | E | N | S | A | | | | | | O | A | S | I | S |
| | N | O | T | M | Y | C | U | P | O | F | T | E | A | |
| P | A | W | | P | E | A | S | A | N | T | | C | N | N |
| A | T | E | | L | A | Y | E | T | T | E | | A | C | E |
| R | E | D | | E | H | S | | H | O | N | | T | E | E |

Art credit for clue illustrations: Daniel Savage

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# Film Studio Defends Its Partnership With The Daily Wire

'Sound of Hope' producer is upset by the film's use for 'divisive political purposes.'

By MARC TRACY

The studio behind last year's unexpected hit "Sound of Freedom" defended a partnership with the conservative website The Daily Wire to promote "Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot" after complaints by the actress Letitia Wright, an executive producer of the film.

"Sound of Hope" is based on the true story of a Christian couple in Texas who adopted 77 children from foster care. The distributor, Angel Studios, framed the film as a spiritual sequel to "Sound of Freedom," which starred Jim Caviezel as a real-life former federal law enforcement official who combats human trafficking.

On the day "Sound of Hope" received its full theatrical release, Matt Walsh, a commentator and podcaster for The Daily Wire, posted on social media about the inspiration for the movie and added that "leftists are trying to stop Christians from saving more children."

In a series of posts on X, Walsh then condemned states that he said had prevented adoptions by parents who declined to recognize gender transition in children. He detailed two cases involving lawsuits in Oregon and Vermont.

Wright, whose acting credits include "Black Panther" and "Ready Player One," said on social media days later that she did "not condone using this beautiful film for divisive political purposes."

"This story isn't about politics, it's about children," she posted. "It's about sacrificial love for children who have experienced unthinkable horrors."

She added, "Any conversation that detracts from that is unnecessary and harmful."

Several of those involved suggested that the controversy was an example of the tension between a right-leaning, faith-based segment of the moviegoing public and a more progressive entertainment industry that is often accused of overlooking that audience.

Jordan Harmon, president of Angel Studios, said in a statement last week that "Angel Studios is grateful for both Letitia and Daily Wire's partnership on getting this story out into the world." In a separate statement, the filmmakers apologized to Wright for not informing her of the association with The Daily Wire while noting that there were "real efforts to prevent families of faith from adopting."

The chief executive of The Daily Wire, Jeremy Boreing, declined to discuss details of the partnership with Angel Studios. He said in an interview on Monday that while the film was screened early for the company's employees, Walsh's posts were made in a personal capacity and not as part of the formal association.

Boreing, a co-founder of The Daily Wire with Ben Shapiro, chided Wright for "doing the thing she said she didn't want to see done — creating polarizing content around the film." He added: "I think she felt cultural pressure to do it, because she occupies a space within a system that is more hostile to conservatives than affirming of the good that 'Sound of Hope' is attempting to do."

A representative for Wright did not reply to a request for comment.

Though "Sound of Hope" was independently produced, Angel Studios distributed the movie through a crowdfunding model in which "angel investors" select movies to distribute and market, funding those expenses in exchange for revenue-sharing.

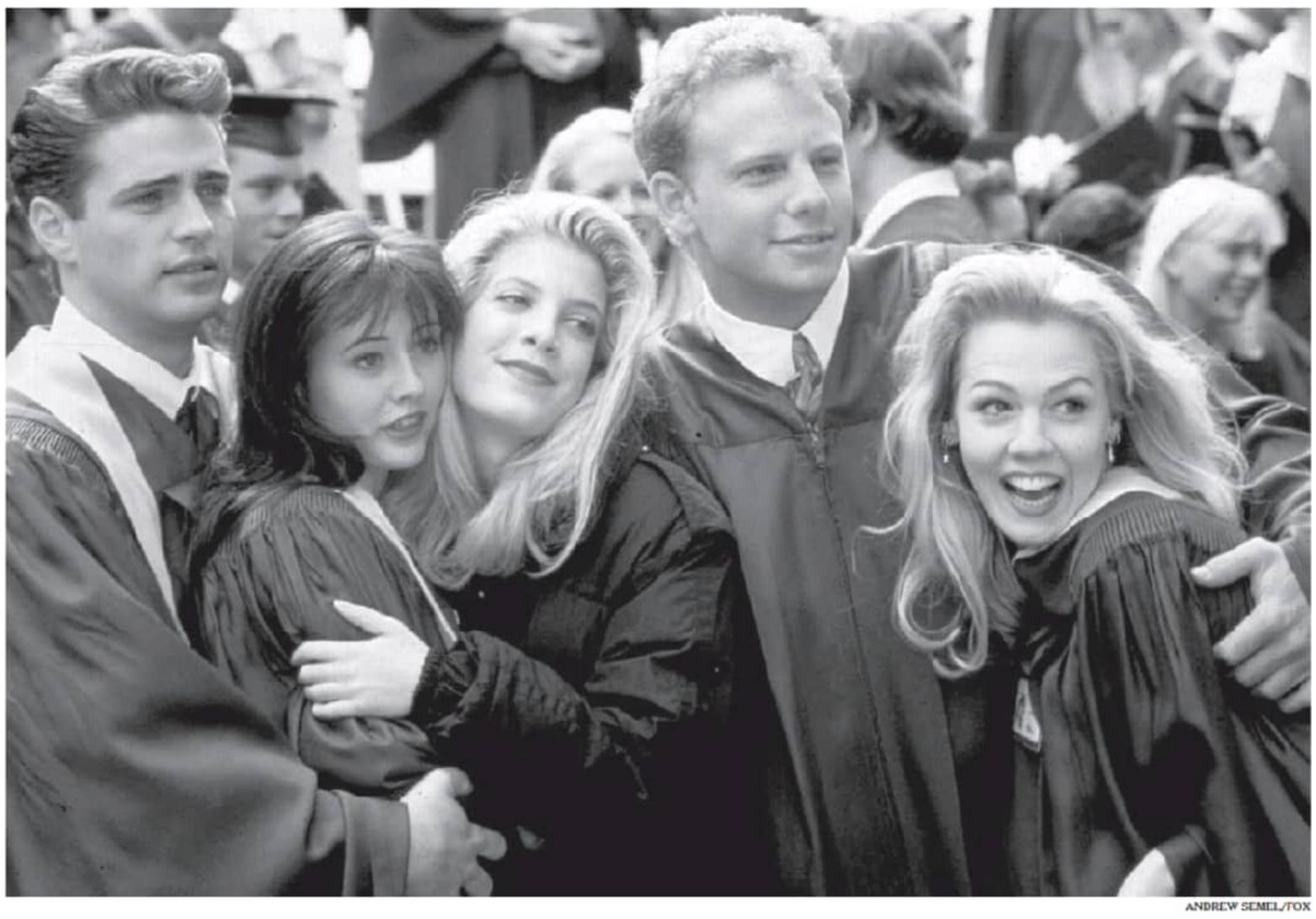
The studio, based in Provo, Utah, scored its biggest success last year by picking up the distribution rights for "Sound of Freedom," which brought in $250 million worldwide, making it one of the most successful independent movies ever.



TOLGA AKMEN/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

Letitia Wright voiced concerns after a post by a commentator and podcaster.

**MARGARET LYONS** | AN APPRAISAL



ANDREW SEMEL/FOX

# She Showed the Hurt of a Modern Teen

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

Teens were all over prime time in 1990. "Parker Lewis Can't Lose" and "The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air" also debuted that season, and shows like "Growing Pains," "Who's the Boss," "A Different World" and "Doogie Howser, M.D." were already airing.

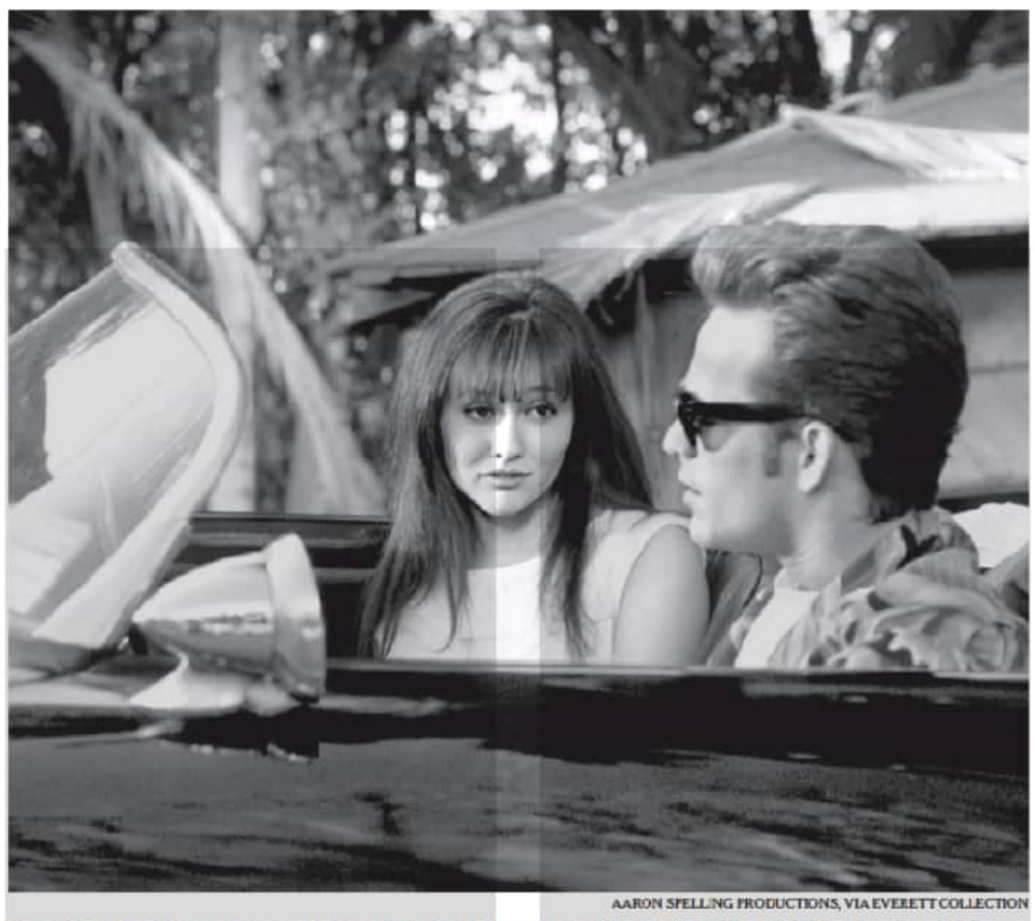
But it was "Beverly Hills, 90210" that established the blueprint for what a modern teen drama would be: glossy, aspirational, tackling the topics of the day but bending inexorably — if it lasted — toward soapiness. It was a template followed by series like "Dawson's Creek," "One Tree Hill," "Gossip Girl" and "The O.C.," among many others.

And of all the young beautiful people who populated West Beverly Hills High, it was Brenda who made the show go. As she went from naïf to vixen, from humble Minnesotan to globe-trotting romantic, her transformations transformed the show itself. Grander tragedies befell other characters, but no one suffered heartbreak or betrayal with more intensity than Brenda, the show's most authentically teenage character. In Doherty's hands, Brenda was both vulnerable and vituperative, delivering the sharpest insults but in the most pain.

It's now easy to forget that early on, "90210" could traffic in hokey wholesomeness, especially around "issue" episodes, and that before it was soapy-soapy, it was more of a realistic drama. "'Beverly Hills' is 'Thirtysomething' for teenagers, a show in which viewers see their own problems magnified, chewed over and worried to death by its characters," Caryn James wrote in The New York Times in 1991. Jim and Cindy Walsh (James Eckhouse and Carol Potter), the earnest parents of "90210," could easily have befriended the parents of "Life Goes On," another of its contemporaries that also dealt with subjects like teen sexuality and ableism.

"90210" got sudsier as it went on, partly because its characters aged and partly because any show that turns out 32-episode seasons — as "90210" did in five of its 10 seasons — will burn quickly through relatable drama. Also, prime-time soaps like "Dallas" and "Knots Landing" were wrapping up, and our nation had to meet its slaps-and-deceit needs somehow.

Most of the core characters remain static in the early years — except for Brenda. The intensity of Brenda's huffy petulance grew with the tabloid stories of Doherty's volatility, and by the time she left the show in 1994, "90210" was fully in soap territory, with blown-up cars, meth addictions and madcap teen parenting.



AARON SPELLING PRODUCTIONS, VIA EVERETT COLLECTION

Top, Shannen Doherty, second from left, in the TV series "Beverly Hills, 90210," with, from left, Jason Priestley, Tori Spelling, Ian Ziering and Jennie Garth. Above, Doherty and Luke Perry.

If you want to observe the evolution of "90210" now, there are a few things you should know: First, not all of the episodes are streaming. While much of "90210" is on Paramount+, dozens of episodes are missing, and many are the best ones. If you wanted to watch the girls sing "Breaking Up Is Hard to Do" or see Scott meet his untimely end, you'll have to scrounge up a DVD. Retro!

Second, as with most old shows, episodes are surprisingly long — these clock in close to 47 minutes, while most current network shows are closer to 42.

And finally, be prepared for scenes that play differently now, sometimes sadly so. If you grew up obsessing over "90210" as I did, scenes of Doherty together in blissful teen TV love with Luke Perry, who died in 2019, now land like the last act of "Our Town." There's also a Season 1 episode, "It's Only a Test," in which Brenda discovers a lump in her breast, which obviously takes on new resonance after Doherty's death.

The episode is a classic example of Original Recipe "90210." It is incredibly direct and thorough about the mechanics of breast self-exams, which was unheard-of on television at the time and still feels surprising in its overall frankness. But there is also a small moment when Cindy and Brenda share a shocked glee that Brenda's doctor is a woman; 1990 really was a long time ago.

Film at Lincoln Center
LAST SUMMER
5:30, 8:45PM
JANET PLANET
DAILY: 1:00, 3:30, 6:00, 8:30PM
EVIL DOES NOT EXIST DAILY: 4:20PM
NEW YORK ASIAN FILM FESTIVAL (NYAFF)
CITY OF WIND: 3:30PM
FIGHT FOR TOMORROW: 6:00PM
CUSTOMS FRONTLINE: 8:30PM (WITH INTRO AND Q&A)
144 & 165 W. 65th St. filmlinc.org

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Yesterday's Response:
WHO IS TIMOTHY LEARY?
Watch JEOPARDY!
7 p.m. on Channel 7

# Judge in Young Thug Trial Is Ordered Off the Case

A meeting without the defense leads to yet more upheaval.

By JOE COSCARELLI

The unpredictable, much-delayed criminal trial of Young Thug, the Atlanta rap star, has been thrown for another loop: The judge overseeing the case for two years has been ordered to step aside.

After weeks of upheaval in the courtroom over an uncooperative witness, a judge in Fulton County, Ga., ruled on Monday that Judge Ural Glanville, who has already presided over 10 months of jury selection and eight months of arguments, must recuse himself to preserve "the public's confidence in the judicial system."

The trial has been paused for two weeks and will resume once a new judge is assigned to the case.

The move to have Judge Glanville removed stemmed from motions by lawyers for Young Thug, born Jeffery Williams, and another of the rapper's five co-defendants in the sprawling gang conspiracy case after the judge met secretly with prosecutors and a key witness who refused to testify last month. The defense lawyers said they should have been present for, or at least informed of, the meeting, calling it "improper and coercive."

The ruling by one of Judge Glanville's judicial colleagues disagreed. "While the meeting could have — and perhaps should have — taken place in open court, nothing about the fact of the meeting or the substance discussed was inherently improper," Judge Rachel Krause wrote in her decision.

But the fact that Judge Glanville defended his actions regarding the meeting in court and ruled on related motions instead of immediately referring those decisions to another judge meant that he should step aside to assure fairness, Judge Krause wrote.




KENT D. JOHNSON/ATLANTA JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Judge Ural Glanville was ordered to recuse himself from a sprawling gang conspiracy case in Georgia to preserve "the public's confidence in the judicial system."

"This court has no doubt that Judge Glanville can and would continue presiding fairly over this matter if the recusal motions were denied," the decision said, "but the 'necessity of preserving the public's confidence in the judicial system' weighs in favor of excusing Judge Glanville from further handling of this case."

Representatives for the Fulton County district attorney's office and lawyers for Mr. Williams did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

Mr. Williams was initially charged in May 2022, alongside 27 associates, with violating the Georgia state criminal racketeering law, or RICO, the same statute used to indict former President Donald J. Trump and others in what prosecutors called a conspiracy to overturn the 2020 election.

Prosecutors say that Mr. Williams was a leader of YSL, or Young Slime Life, a subset of the national Bloods gang, and that he oversaw a criminal conspiracy to commit murder, attempted murder, armed robbery, witness intimidation and drug dealing. Jury selection in the complex case began in January 2023, although opening statements were not delivered until Nov. 27.

**Two years of scheduling and procedural issues, and a jail stabbing.**

Despite being whittled down to six defendants, the case has continued to be plagued by scheduling complications, procedural roadblocks and dramatic delays, like the jail stabbing of one of the defendants.

When the trial resumes after the assignment of a new judge, the prosecution witness at the heart of the disagreement with Judge Glanville, Kenneth Copeland, will likely continue his testimony, which has been at turns halting and dramatic.

Last month, Mr. Copeland was held in contempt and jailed for a weekend when he attempted to invoke his Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination despite having been granted immunity. He was then called to the meeting in Judge Glanville's chambers, along with his lawyer and prosecutors, to discuss whether he had been working behind the scenes with the defense and the potential consequences if he continued to refuse to testify.

Mr. Copeland eventually agreed to take the stand, although he seemed to answer questions only begrudgingly.

In taking issue with the terms of the meeting, Brian Steel, a lawyer for Mr. Williams, was held in contempt by Judge Glanville for refusing to disclose how he found out about it.

Mr. Steel was sentenced to a maximum of 20 days in jail, to be served on the weekends. He is appealing Judge Glanville's decision.

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PHOTOGRAPHS BY MICHELLE V. AGNS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

# Singing for the Man Who Couldn't Breathe

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

director, quoted a line from the opera's final scene in explaining its message: "When a brother's breath fails, we pick it up. When a sister's breath fails, we pick it up."

Smith added: "When those around us are struggling, we step in, we help out. We've got each other, and we have within us all the many ways we can keep breathing and supporting and showing up for one another."

Garner died in July 2014, at 43, after a struggle with a police officer who held him in a chokehold on a sidewalk in New York. He quickly became a symbol in the national movement against police violence. A cellphone video of the episode replayed on screens around the world, and his final words became a rallying cry.

Outraged by Garner's death, Berger, a Stanford professor, began speaking with Enrico Riley, an art professor at Dartmouth College, about ways to respond. (Riley's paintings and drawings are featured throughout the 75-minute work.)

They turned to Francis for the libretto. She decided to focus the work on the journey of Garner's daughter.

"Opera can hold tragedy," she said. "This is an American tragedy. These stories should be told with the largess they deserve."

Berger incorporated the rhythms and sounds of Garner's final struggle with the police into the score, which draws on jazz and pays homage to artists like Marvin Gaye.

"We wanted to create something not just about murder and violence, but also about activism," Berger said. "The idea was really to engage the audience."

At Lincoln Center, which is devoting this year's summer festival to themes of civic participation, the work will be performed in Damrosch Park in a concert version.

A dancer, Trebien Pollard, will represent Garner's spirit, and a saxophonist, Greg Ward, will repeat "I can't breathe" from the stage. In one scene, Isaiah Robinson, the lead chorus member, recites a list of other Black men and women who have died during encounters with the police — Tanisha Anderson, Samuel Dubose and George Floyd among them — as Erica Garner records them in a notebook.

The soprano Neema Bickersteth, who plays Erica Garner in the opera, but also herself at times, said the work's subject matter could be overwhelming.

"Sometimes my heart or spirit starts flailing," she said. "I take a moment and recognize that it is hard and important to honor these people, and to also honor myself. Then I feel ready to continue."



Top, Neema Bickersteth, left, who portrays Erica Garner, daughter of Eric Garner, a victim of police violence a decade ago, in a rehearsal for the opera "The Ritual of Breath Is the Rite to Resist." (She also plays herself.) Above, Nigel Smith, the director of the production, says, "We have within us all the many ways we can keep breathing and supporting and showing up for one another."

During rehearsals this week, mothers whose children had been killed by the police, including Garner's mother, Gwen Carr, visited the "Ritual of Breath" team. Carr said that she still remembered her son's "smile, his gentleness, his love of people, his love of holidays like Christmas and his birthday, how he loved his children, how he confided in me."

She said it was bittersweet to watch the opera, which brought back the pain of losing her son, as well as her granddaughter. (Erica Garner, who became an activist against police brutality, died in 2017, at 27, after an asthma episode precipitated a major heart attack.)

"My heart is warm, although it takes me back to that fatal day," Carr said. "This has to keep getting put out there, so people will see this is not just a news story; this is my life, and I have to continue, even though I never get over it."

At the rehearsal, the cast, crew and guests took turns describing their connections to the opera. Carr said she was there because "there are thousands of others who have suffered the same loss."

"We still have to continue to show up," she said. "We have to continue to fight."

# Blending Three Greek Tragedies Into a Modern-Day Story

Tales of revenge, murder and war surround a contemporary adaptation of 'The Oresteia.'

By DAVID BELCHER

Staging "The Oresteia," Aeschylus' epic Greek tragedy, is a daunting task for any theater company, especially if you add a dash of Sophocles and Euripides when portraying one of history's most dysfunctional families.

The Thalia Theater in Hamburg, Germany, will premiere its nearly four-hour production "Die Orestie" at the Salzburg Festival for eight performances Aug. 3-15 (and in Hamburg starting on Oct. 30). It is adapted and directed by Nicolas Stemann, who has staged two plays at the festival: a nine-hour adaptation of Goethe's "Faust" in 2011 and "Die Rauber" ("The Robbers") by Friedrich Schiller in 2008.

This production, which takes its name from the Aeschylus three-part epic and is to be performed in German with English supertitles, combines three playwrights' versions of the tragedies that befall the fabled house of Atreus. In the Aeschylus play, first staged in 458 B.C., Agamemnon, the king of Mycenae, returns from the Trojan War but is killed by his wife, Clytemnestra, to avenge the sacrifice of their daughter Iphigenia in an effort to win the war. Their son, Orestes, urged by the god Apollo, kills Clytemnestra, only to be pursued by the Furies, the goddesses of vengeance. Only when the goddess Athena intervenes is he granted justice and allowed to live.

The Sophocles play "Electra" (its exact date is unknown, but most scholars put it around 420 to 414 or 416 B.C.) explores his sister's revenge against their mother. And the Euripides play "Orestes," first staged in 408 B.C., gives a more cynical take on his fate: Only after a bloody rampage and an intervention by Apollo are the condemned siblings allowed to live.



ARMIN SMAILOVIC



Top, rehearsing "Die Orestie" are, from left: Sebastian Rudolph, Barbara Nüsse, Sebastian Zimmler, Julia Riedler and Patrycia Ziolkowska. Above, Nicolas Stemann is the creator and director of the production, which will premiere at the Salzburg Festival in August.

In a video interview, Stemann discussed the challenge — and the excitement — of combining these nearly 2,500-year-old plays. The following conversation has been edited and condensed.

**What is different about this version of "The Orestia"?**

I take the first of the three plays in the "Orestia" cycle by Aeschylus, then add "Electra" by Sophocles, then another part of the Aeschylus trilogy, and then "Orestes" by Euripides. I'm doing this because it covers 50 years in which we have the birth of Athenian democracy but also the decline of it. You can feel it in the way that each playwright approaches the story. It's a story of hatred, murder and revenge. The question that occurs is how we can step out of this vicious circle.

**How was it different for Sophocles and Euripides decades after Aeschylus regarding that vicious circle?**

With Aeschylus, it's a happy ending. There's peace. Orestes is pardoned. But Euripides takes the same plot and writes it in a completely contrary way. Orestes is not pardoned. He and Electra are condemned to death by stoning. They run amok, storm the palace and burn the whole city down. It reminds me a lot of the storming of the U.S. Capitol. We have the dream of Aeschylus and the nightmare of Euripides. It's like pieces of a puzzle that don't fit together, and that interests me.

**What inspired you to write this combined version of "The Orestia?"**

We are living in time of wars in Ukraine and the Middle East, yet we in Middle Europe still think that we live in a peaceful society. These questions about war and democracy coexisting are still with us. Aeschylus wrote about the war against the Persians because he fought in that war. In the first part of his trilogy, they have won the war, but nobody is happy. This victory party never starts. In fact, war comes home. Murder comes home.

**How are you casting this "Orestia"?**

I'm doing all three plays with only five actors. They're the chorus and all of the characters. The ancient playwrights did it with even fewer actors. In the second part, I go to just one character with long monologues.

**Do you think it's mostly unknown how short-lived democracy was in its initial form in ancient Greece? Is that a big history lesson in "The Orestia"?**

Democracy lasted longer, but in a weakened way. And at that time, it was unique, so it was radical. They benefited from winning the war against the Persians. It reminds me a bit of the United States after World War II. And now we have decline. You feel this in these Greek tragedies. After they commit these murders, they want to have peace. But it doesn't work like that. Peace always comes with a power imbalance, so it's always based on some sort of injustice. That's why, tragically, it's never stable for a long time.

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# Player Paydays Before Touchdowns

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

now be paid for the use of their name, image and likeness (or N.I.L.).

When the rebranded EA Sports College Football 25 is released this week, it will contain more than 11,000 real-life players.

Building the rosters for every Division I football team from scratch was a technical challenge for EA Sports, a studio at Electronic Arts that created a machine-learning tool to build player likenesses and spent more than $6 million to secure athlete participation. Each player who opted in and was ultimately included — whether Heisman Trophy favorite or third-string guard — is receiving $600 and a deluxe edition of the game (retail value $100).

At least 100 college athletes, including the three on the cover — Ewers, University of Michigan running back Donovan Edwards and Travis Hunter, a wide receiver and cornerback for the University of Colorado — were offered additional money to promote the game on social media, said Sean O'Brien, who runs strategic partnerships at EA Sports. (The game's standard edition costs $70.)

To reach the young athletes who did not immediately respond to inquiries through their university email addresses, the commercial rights company OneTeam Partners slid into their Instagram inboxes, called their mothers and video conferenced into team meetings.

In the end, more than 14,000 athletes gave their consent to be included, though the game will feature fewer — roughly 85 players from each of the 134 Division 1 teams. They signed up via an app and will be paid directly into their bank accounts this summer.

"Ninety-plus percent of these athletes will never have an N.I.L. opportunity" aside from this one, O'Brien said. "And the fact that they can be in a video game is just cool."

About five years ago, EA Sports began building an internal team that could develop a new version of its college football game once the broader licensing issues were resolved. There was no question the company would return to college sports, said Cam Weber, the president of EA Sports, which also makes the Madden and FC franchises.

"It was just a matter of when," he said.

With its rich history and intense rivalries, college football generates particularly intense passion that can border on religious fervor. Service members pour themselves into the pageantry of the annual Army-Navy game. Michigan and Ohio State alums rarely judge a season successful unless their team vanquishes its rival.

And unlike the National Football League, college teams use an array of offensive schemes that can be particularly fun to emulate in a video game.

"Running the read-option was always fun back in 2014, because it was hard to stop," said Hunter, the two-way University of Colorado star. "Get a fast quarterback and fast running back. Marcus Mariota on Oregon and those guys in it were crazy."

In the interim between college football video games, some dedicated fans have been manually updating the rosters of N.C.A.A. Football 14, carefully crafting each avatar to mimic a real player's height, weight, appearance and skill. To make accurate rosters for EA Sports College Football 25, professional developers had to dig even deeper, contacting each and every player from Air Force to Wyoming.



EA SPORTS



LM OTERO/ASSOCIATED PRESS



EA SPORTS



PAUL SANCYA/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Top left, the video game version of Travis Hunter catching a pass for Colorado in EA Sports College Football 25, and the live Hunter, right. Above left, the video game version of the Michigan running back Donovan Edwards, and, above right, the actual Edwards during a game.

Brig Hartson, who walked on to the Colorado State roster, has filled in as a quarterback, running back, wide receiver and tight end in practice but has never appeared in a game.

Yet after a morning workout last month, Hartson got an email saying he would be included in EA Sports College Football. He immediately called his siblings and high school coach to tell them the good news.

"I may not be at C.S.U. forever, but I will always have that," he said of being in a video game. "That's one of those things that lasts forever."

O'Brien said every team's roster should be "close to 100 percent" by the end of August. Officials said that they did not believe that any notable players decided to forgo the money they were offered, but that some were quicker to sign up than others.

"I think there was some digestion of: 'If I make a couple million bucks to play football, I'm going to make $600 to be in a video game? It just doesn't add up,'" O'Brien said.

ESPN reported in March that Arch Manning, Ewers's backup at Texas and part of one of football's most famous families, would not participate; he posted a video on social media last week saying he would be included.

Although the ability to customize player names and attributes will exist in some modes, gamers will be prevented from creating specific players who have not opted in.

"We're making sure that you can edit some things, but not all things to make an exact copy," said Daryl Holt, the general manager in charge of American football at EA Sports.

The studio knew it would not be possible to bring thousands of college football players into a motion-capture facility as is often done for Madden, its N.F.L. title. Instead a machine-learning tool used artificial intelligence to build a likeness of each player based on his official college photo, with designers later making tweaks by hand.

Electronics Arts executives have emphasized that the gameplay for College Football will feel different from what longtime Madden players are used to. It will be faster, twitchier and more unpredictable, they said.

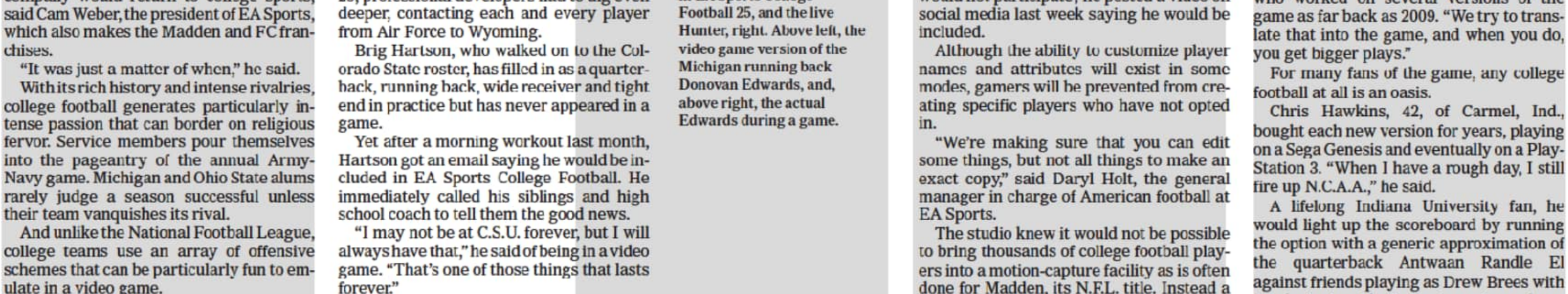
"The range of talent on the field is a much wider gap in college than the pros," said Seann Graddy, an EA Sports vice president who worked on several versions of the game as far back as 2009. "We try to translate that into the game, and when you do, you get bigger plays."

For many fans of the game, any college football at all is an oasis.

Chris Hawkins, 42, of Carmel, Ind., bought each new version for years, playing on a Sega Genesis and eventually on a PlayStation 3. "When I have a rough day, I still fire up N.C.A.A.," he said.

A lifelong Indiana University fan, he would light up the scoreboard by running the option with a generic approximation of the quarterback Antwaan Randle El against friends playing as Drew Brees with Purdue's air raid offense. Later, in graduate school at Florida State, Hawkins and a half-dozen classmates played through a season together, each adopting a team in the Atlantic Coast Conference.

Hawkins still plays an old version of N.C.A.A. Football that he keeps current by downloading new sets of rosters with actual player names. In his dynasty mode, it is the year 2041.



FROM LEFT, MARCO GIANNAVOLA, ALEXANDRE GUIRKINGER, ANDREA ROSSETTI, JESPER DAMSGAARD LUND, DANIELA KOHL, JOHN D. AND CATHERINE T. MACARTHUR FOUNDATION, JASON SCHMIDT AND CLIFFORD PRINCE KING

# High-Flying Artists for a Kennedy Airport Terminal

The new space will showcase works by Charles Gaines, Barbara Kruger and others.

By HILARIE M. SHEETS

John F. Kennedy International Airport's new Terminal 6, scheduled to open in 2026, will host installations by 18 contemporary artists from seven countries, the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey announced on Tuesday.

The $4.2 billion terminal in Queens will showcase the largest number of works of any New York airport by major figures from the United States, including Nina Chanel Abney, Teresita Fernandez, Charles Gaines and Barbara Kruger, alongside emerging international talents such as Felipe Baeza from Mexico, Kerstin Brätsch from Germany, and Uman, born in Somalia (all now living in New York).

During the past four years, a broad range of public artworks have been unveiled by the Port Authority in new terminals at La Guardia Airport in Queens and Newark Liberty International Airport in New Jersey as the agency expands its popular art program. La Guardia's Delta Terminal C has six permanent artworks that celebrate New York's energy and diversity and its Terminal B has five installations; Newark has two large works that reflect the New Jersey landscape.

"The lessons and the positive feedback we've gotten from both the La Guardia terminals and at Newark have really hit home," said Rick Cotton, executive director of the Port Authority, which runs the major New York area airports, citing surveys of its new facilities showing improved ratings for ambience and passenger experience at La Guardia's Terminal B and Terminal C and Newark's Terminal A. "What you're seeing at J.F.K.'s Terminal 6 is the increased recognition of the impact and the importance of the art."



THE PORT AUTHORITY OF NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY

The art budget for Terminal 6 is $22 million, about double what was spent on art in each of La Guardia's new terminals. Terminal 6, including the art, is funded entirely by JFK Millennium Partners, a consortium of private developers led by the Vantage Group, which is also one of the primary investors and developers at La Guardia's Terminal B. The Port Authority has made art a requirement of all private developers building its new airport terminals.

For J.F.K., the Port Authority has again teamed up with the Public Art Fund, the New York-based nonprofit that led the commissioning of the installations at La Guardia's Terminal B and Newark. (The Queens Museum curated the site-specific works at La Guardia's Terminal C.)

George Casey, the chair and chief executive of Vantage who is steering JFK Millennium Partners, said, "Just watching people go through La Guardia's Terminal B, anecdotally, we see our investment making sense."

Councilwoman Vickie Paladino, representing District 19 in Queens, has some reservations about the cost. "This will be good for New York as a global hub, and provide much needed local jobs," she wrote in an email. "I have concerns about how some of this money is being spent, of course, and $22 million on artwork seems like a missed opportunity for savings."

Top, from left, Charles Gaines, Laure Prouvost, Kerstin Brätsch, Nina Chanel Abney, Nevin Aladag, Dyani White Hawk, Eddie Martinez and Felipe Baeza. Above, a rendering of Terminal 6 at John F. Kennedy International Airport.

A striking feature of the new terminal will be 10 large-scale glass mosaic floor medallions that create moments of surprise. Artists working in this format include Candida Alvarez and Charline von Heyl, with well-established careers, and rising talents such as Shara Hughes, Eddie Martinez, Kambui Olujimi, GaHee Park and Dyani White Hawk.

Abney, Laure Prouvost and Haegue Yang will make sculptural installations suspended from the ceiling, and Nevin Aladag and Sky Hopinka will produce wall works. For most of these artists — including Gaines and Kruger who are also contributing wall pieces — it will be their first permanent public commissions in New York City, according to Nicholas Baume, the artistic and executive director of the Public Art Fund.

The organization reviewed hundreds of artists in the research process, from which a short list of candidates emerged who developed proposals. The 18 artists were chosen by a committee with representatives from the Port Authority and JFK Millennium Partners and one independent art expert.

"The artist group is global, both in the sense of those who were born in different parts of the world but also many New York artists who've found their way here from other places," Baume said. "We really tried to dig in and think about the significance of J.F.K. as a global connector and welcome point to the United States as well as to New York."

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All-day cafes for relaxing on Fridays. BY NIKITA RICHARDSON





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Learning from five masters of kimchi. BY HAHNA YOON

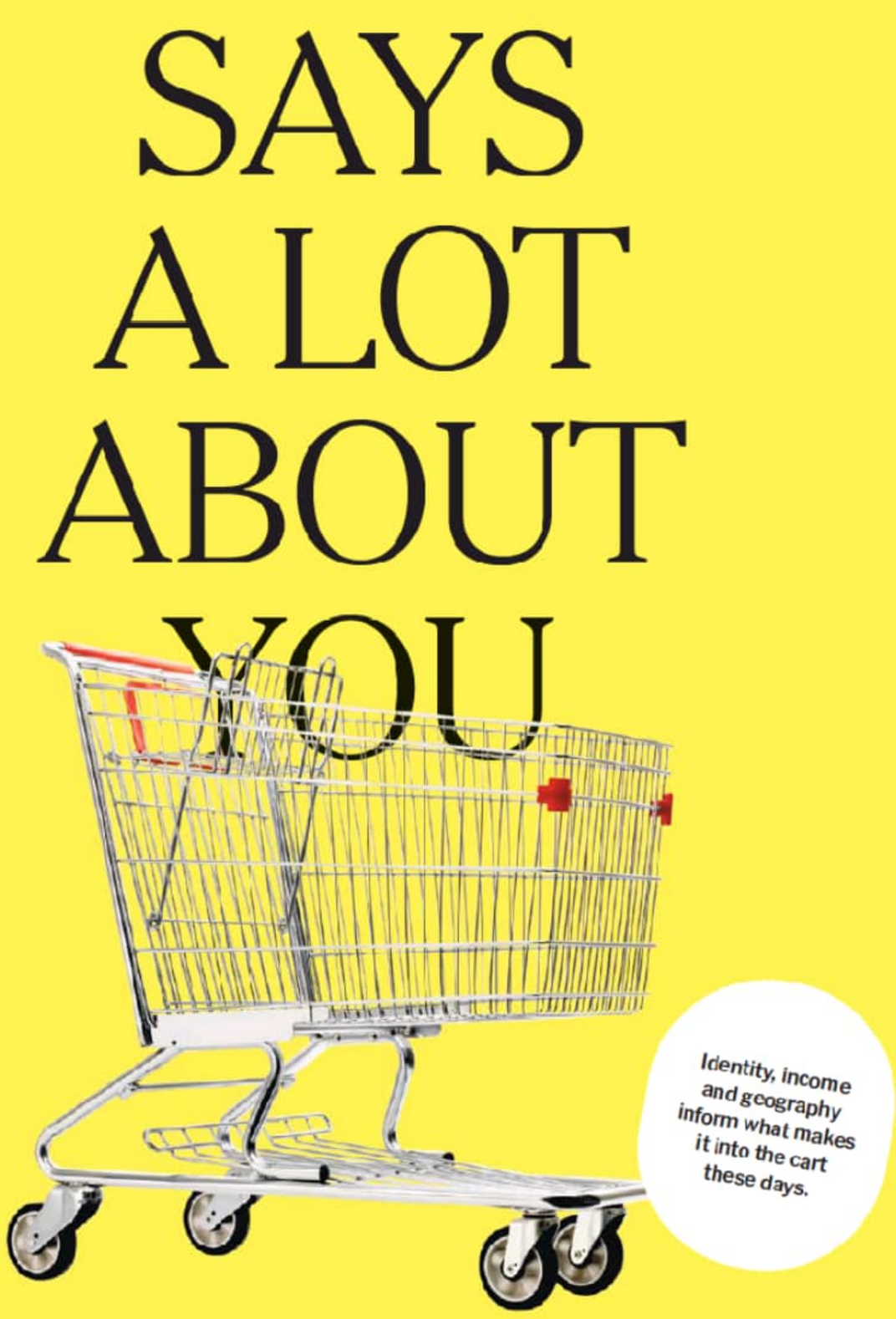
7 OLYMPIC DINING
France goes for cuisine gold at the Games. BY PRIYA KRISHNA



Food
The New York Times



# WHAT'S IN YOUR GROCERY CART SAYS A LOT ABOUT YOU



Identity, income and geography inform what makes it into the cart these days.

We reviewed receipts from 27 people across the U.S. to better understand our relationship to food.

PAGES 4-5

ALEAIMAGE/GETTY IMAGES

CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK | PETE WELLS

# It's a Fitting Time to Leave the Table

After 12 years, moving on from a role that has offered up numerous rewards and maybe too many courses.

EARLY THIS YEAR, I went for my first physical in longer than I'd care to admit. I was about halfway through a list of 140 or so restaurants I planned to visit before I wrote the 2024 edition of "The 100 Best Restaurants in New York City." It was a fair bet that I wasn't in the best shape of my life.

My scores were bad across the board; my cholesterol, blood sugar and hypertension were worse than I'd expected even in my doomiest moments.

The terms "pre-diabetes," "fatty liver disease" and "metabolic syndrome" were thrown around. I was technically obese.

OK, not just technically.

I knew I needed to change my life. I promised I'd start just as soon as I'd eaten in the other 70 restaurants on my spreadsheet.

But a funny thing happened when I got to the end of all that eating: I realized I wasn't hungry. And I'm still not, at least not the way I used to be. And so, after 12 years as restaurant critic for The New York Times, I've decided to bow out as gracefully as my state of technical obesity will allow.

Not that I'm leaving the newsroom. I have a couple more restaurant reviews in my back pocket that will appear over the

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# The Feed

NEWS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

**WHERE TO EAT** | NIKITA RICHARDSON

# Three Day-to-Night Cafes For Your Summer Fridays



BRIAN LE

Where breakfast sandwiches and lattes give way to kosho cod and Lambrusco.



CHE



CHRIS COE

WELL, I'M BACK. My trip to Madrid and San Sebastián (Donostia, if you're Basque-y) was vermouth-filled and wine-soaked — I went to a wine battle — and now what lie before me are the humid, languorous days of a New York City summer. I could become depressed by the bright relentlessness of summer, or I could take the opportunity to lean into the slowness of it all.

And where better to do that than at an all-day cafe, where you can seamlessly transition from coffee to wine, from emails to "talk on Monday" with a few good bites in between. They are especially useful if you're lucky enough to have Summer Fridays or just need a delightful third space that's not your home or office.

Here are a few of my current favorites, but I'd love to know where you close out the week on the most relaxing note possible. Send me an email at wheretoeat@nytimes.com and you may see your response in a future column.

## Spanish Tortillas

The inspiration for this newsletter was **Che**, a tiny coffee shop and wine bar that opened last year on Malcolm X Boulevard in Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn. It's run by a group of friends with a ton of barista and cafe experience, all native New Yorkers, and attracts a very, well, attractive and eclectic crowd from the surrounding neighborhoods.

People-watching aside, Che won me over with one of the best lattes I've had in this city (a very close second to the lattes at Sey Coffee in Bushwick) and the Spanish tortilla, a robust thing layered with seasonal vegetables and sprinkled with flaky sea salt. Around 4 p.m. (or 2, I'm not your mom!), you can order a glass of wine or a cocktail, I like this one olive juice and Aperol joint, or a glass of wine from a small but delightful selection of natural wines. Friday through Sunday the cafe stays open until 9 p.m., so you can enjoy what they call "night plates." Go for the kosho cod, it's clean tasting, dead simple and as slow-going as the summer months.

## Go for the TLT

If your version of a lazy Friday doesn't involve a laptop then I would recommend a trip to **Little Canal** in Chinatown. It's situated on a prime corner, just outside the Rutgers Street entrance to the East Broadway F station at Canal and specializes in good coffee and an almost entirely vegetarian breakfast and lunch menu.

I dropped by before work and managed to snag a pink marble table in the corner. Just over my shoulder I spotted a sign emphasizing that there is no Wi-Fi, and laptops or tablets are not allowed either. So post up with a book or a magazine over a long breakfast or lunch. I enjoyed the filling breakfast burrito well enough, but I think next time I'll go for the TLT, tempeh bacon, avocado, greens, tomato and chipotle mayonnaise on focaccia. Note: Little Canal closes from 4 to 6 p.m., then reopens for wine, cocktails and small plates. I'd mark it down as a good stop while waiting to get into Eel Bar.

From top: Little Canal, which serves a mostly vegetarian-leaning menu; the Spanish tortilla at Che; and an egg sandwich at Cafe Mado.

## One With a Michelin Pedigree

An exciting development on the fancier front: In May the space that was formerly Oxalis, the Michelin-starred restaurant in Prospect Heights, Brooklyn, from the people behind Place Des Fêtes, became **Cafe Mado**. The good news? The space is large and airy and laptops are allowed. The better news? This isn't your usual tiny-kitchen-with-limited-offerings type of cafe.

In the morning there are high-end egg sandwiches, one with pork sausage and another with a hash brown, both on a sweet potato bun. The bun is made by Laurel Bakery (from the same owners) in Cobble Hill, which also makes Cafe Mado's pastries, including a delightfully crackly kouign-amann, the queen of sweet breakfast pastries.

Around noon, the cafe transitions to the kind of lunch that requires a kitchen line with a sous chef and a chef de cuisine. There's handmade pici pasta with fava beans, proper French fries and pissaladière, a caramelized onion and anchovy flatbread native to Provence that you rarely see on menus at New York's numerous French restaurants. In other words, it's the kind of neighborhood cafe worth leaving your own neighborhood and braving the heat for.

**Che,** 302 Malcolm X Boulevard (MacDonough Street)

**Little Canal,** 26 Canal Street (Rutgers Street)

**Cafe Mado,** 791 Washington Avenue (Lincoln Place)

Sign up to get Nikita Richardson's restaurant recommendations in your inbox every Tuesday: nytimes.com/where-to-eat

**OFF THE MENU** | FLORENCE FABRICANT



JEENAH MOON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A recent scene at Caffè Panna on Norman Avenue in Greenpoint, Brooklyn.

## OPENING

**● CAFFÈ PANNA BROOKLYN**

Ready for a summery sundae with no less than lemon bar and vanilla ice creams, lemon curd, graham crunch, lemon bar chunks and raspberry compote? It shares the spotlight with granitas, fruit and coffee, all making their debut at Hallie Meyer's new Greenpoint branch of the Irving Place spot she opened in 2019. Ms. Meyer is a daughter of Danny Meyer, and her ice creams are freshly churned on premises. This location is more spacious, with indoor and outdoor seating and a room for parties.

16 Norman Avenue (Banker Street), Greenpoint, Brooklyn, caffepanna.com.

**● PSARAKI**

Taking its cue from Greece's seaside tavernas, this addition to the Williamsburg waterfront with seating indoors and out is done in whitewashed stucco and white marble. It features seafood, like a cone of fried baby fish with onion, branzino crudo, pan-seared scallops and lobster pasta. The fisherman's table, $74 per person, offers an array of dishes for a group. (Wednesday)

420 Kent Avenue (South Eighth Street), Williamsburg, Brooklyn, 212 205 5035, psaraki.com.

**● CÉSAR**

Bolstered by acclaim for his previous work at Brooklyn Fare, the chef César Ramirez is now out on his own. His restaurant, airy and spacious with counter seating for 13 and tables for another three dozen, presents a view of the kitchen and its centerpiece, a giant Bonnet range. He plans a 12- to 14-course tasting menu, for $365, that will feature a collection of new dishes, including quail, while showcasing a couple of his signatures.

333 Hudson Street (Charlton Street), 212-220-5152, cesar.restaurant.

**● FAIRWEATHER**

In the leafy sunken courtyard of the High Line Hotel is an alluring oasis. This seasonal installation offers classic and summery cocktails with and without spirits, spritzes, wines and beers. It's from Crew, which runs Grand Banks, the bar on a boat on the Hudson River, among others.

180 Tenth Avenue (20th Street), thehighlinehotel.com/fairweather.

**● WONDERLAND**

This gastrobar delivers Sichuan heat with spicy chicken sliders, Sichuan cold noodles, and drinks that involve Sichuan peppercorns along with other Asian ingredients. Peter He, an owner of Chili, is the executive chef.

92 Second Avenue (East Fifth Street), 212-814-2943, wonderlandbarnyc.com.

**YOUNG GOURMANDS CLUB AT LE B**

Recalling her experiences with fine dining as a child, the chef and restaurateur Angie Mar is welcoming youngsters up to the age of 15 to have dinner in her luxe West Village restaurant this summer. It's very similar to a program that the original Four Seasons restaurant ran for a number of years. The three-course menu, $60, will include grilled cheese prepared tableside, lollipops of lamb bourguignon, fancy chicken nuggets and a banana split with flambéed bananas.

283 West 12th Street (West Fourth Street), 212-675-2808, lebnyc.com.

**● KLOCKE ESTATE**

Increasingly the Hudson Valley is home to distilleries of all sorts. A grand newcomer, in the works since 2016 but finally opening this week, is this 160-acre estate near Hudson with its own orchards and vineyards. It's making spirits in the Cognac and Calvados styles, and also fruit brandies and eaux de vie. Its spacious restaurant with views of the gleaming distillery, orchards, vineyards and the Catskills has the chef Becky Kempter in charge of the kitchen. (Wednesday)

2554 County Route 27, Claverack, N.Y., 518-672-1166, klocke-estate.com.

**● PAPAYA KING**

Why did the hot dog (and papaya drink) cross the road? To reopen in a new location after its previous sliver of a store on the corner of Third Avenue and East 86th Street fell victim to developers.

206B East 86th Street

## BRANCHES

**● SARTIANO'S AT THE HEDGES INN**

After he failed to move an outpost of his Manhattan club, Zero Bond, into the venerable Hedges Inn in East Hampton, the restaurateur Scott Sartiano took a more conservative approach and is opening a copy of his SoHo restaurant instead; his company will also manage the 13-room hotel. The menu, overseen by Alfred Portale and Chris Lewnes, tilts to crowd-pleasers like tuna tartare and baked clams. (Thursday)

74 James Lane (Woods Lane), East Hampton, N.Y., 631-324-7101, bondhospitality.com.

## LOOKING AHEAD

**'WIDOW CLICQUOT'**

A 90-minute biopic of Barbe-Nicole Ponsardin-Clicquot (1777-1866), best known as Veuve Clicquot on the orange Champagne label, will open in theaters Friday. It's based on the book "The Widow Clicquot," by Tilar J. Mazzeo.

## SHOPPING

**GRANDS MOULINS DE PARIS**

You might not try your hand at making a Cronut anytime soon, but there's an incentive now that its creator, the chef Dominique Ansel, has started selling the imported flour he uses. For years he has been relying on flours from Grands Moulins de Paris, a company that has supplied chefs for more than a century. For home bakers he has selected soft wheat T55 flour, milled from French wheat to a finer texture than American all-purpose flour, and with less gluten to enhance delicate pastry making. It comes in a convenient resealable carton.

Dominique Ansel x Grand Moulins de Paris Pastry Flour, $8.50 for 750 grams (1.65 pounds), dominiqueanselonline.com.

## LISTING

**MICHELIN CALIFORNIA**

In the run-up to the announcement on Aug. 5 of the ratings for California restaurants, Michelin has added 13 new places with potential for stars to its roster. They are Barro Santos, Danbi, Grá, Leopardo, Mae Malai Thai House of Noodles, and Stella in Los Angeles; Azalina's, Hed 11, and Tiya in San Francisco; Silver Omakase in Santa Barbara; Burdell in Oakland; Molti Amici in Healdsburg; and Ambrogio by Acquerello in La Jolla.

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# Secrets to the Best Grilled Chicken

Expert advice on yielding succulent breasts and thighs.

By CLARE de BOER

Grilling dogma dictates that you shouldn't move meat at all when it's over the coals. While this advice prevents sticking, tearing and juice loss, those in the trade know that blindly adhering to it eliminates the possibility of a layered crust — and the potential for greatness.

You don't have to be a professional cook to make irresistible grilled chicken, whether bone-in or boneless. At a carnal level, we all have grill intuition: Our eyes, nose and appetite compel us to turn, flip and plate. What follows is a guide to applying those instincts at the right moment and not before (or after), and many of the lessons apply more broadly to all kinds of meat.

**START WITH THE BASICS** Heat the grill, clean the grates, place the meat and don't touch it until it has a confident color and releases graciously. Despite best efforts, some meats never come up without fuss, so use an upturned fish spatula to lift rather than tug on any sticky areas for the first move. Then switch to tongs for the fun part: rotating.

**ROTATE, AND ROTATE AGAIN** You've probably noticed the crosshatch marks on those juicy sirloins and pieces of chicken in TV ads. Their angles are for vanity, but the extra grill marks are for flavor (more color means more flavor). You want a spectrum of color, from golden to chestnut with some dark dots. With their longer cook time, larger or bone-in cuts give you plenty of opportunity to cultivate this kind of crust, allowing more time to rotate them before they're cooked. But even one rotation, as you get with smaller, boneless cuts, will do.

**USE HOT AND COOL SPOTS TO YOUR ADVANTAGE** If a piece of meat is developing too much color but isn't yet cooked through, move it to a cooler area of the grill or turn down the temperature. If the crust is looking a little sad but you know the meat is almost cooked, show it intense heat.

**GIVE EACH CHICKEN BREAST OR THIGH EXACTLY WHAT IT NEEDS** Follow your instincts. Just because a recipe says place, then flip, your chicken thighs, that doesn't mean you shouldn't line them up on their sides against one another like dominoes to render fatty pockets. It doesn't mean you can't hold a fat-cap to the fire to render and puff.

**REACT TO FLARE-UPS RATHER THAN AVOID RENDERING FAT FOR FEAR OF FLAMES** If fat flares up when it drips on the coals, remove the meat and spritz the flames with a spray bottle, or just let them dissipate. Then, brush the grates clean and go back to cooking as usual.

**STAY WITH IT** Good grilling is a something you will get better at each time you put something on the grates, and no piece of meat will cook in quite the same way. Make your marinade, then put away the recipe, and follow your appetite to make each chicken thigh or breast off the grill a crusted delight.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY KATE SEARS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES. FOOD STYLIST: CHRIS LANIER.

### GRILLED CHICKEN THIGHS WITH TOMATOES

TIME: 45 MINUTES
YIELD: 4 SERVINGS

- 2 pounds bone-in, skin-on chicken thighs
- 1 tablespoon herbes de Provence
- 4 garlic cloves, finely grated
- 4 tablespoons red wine vinegar
- 2 tablespoons Dijon mustard
- Kosher salt (such as Diamond Crystal)
- 2 tablespoons olive oil, plus extra for drizzling
- 4 beefsteak tomatoes, sliced in half through the stem end
- 1 cup arugula

1. Begin by slashing the chicken thighs: Hold each thigh down on a cutting board with skin facing up and pierce the skin with a knife, then drag the knife perpendicular to the bone to make a deep cut. Repeat on each thigh to make two slashes through the skin and flesh to the bone.

2. In a large bowl or container, combine the herbes de Provence, garlic, 3 tablespoons vinegar, 1 tablespoon mustard and 1¾ teaspoons salt. Add chicken and toss and squelch the marinade into the slashes. Let marinate at room temperature while the grills heats up or, ideally, cover and marinate in the refrigerator overnight.

3. When ready to cook, remove the chicken from the fridge to come to room temperature if needed. Light the grill to medium.

4. Meanwhile, in a small bowl, mix the olive oil with the remaining 1 tablespoon vinegar, 1 tablespoon mustard and ¼ teaspoon salt. Stir vigorously until the ingredients come together into a thick vinaigrette. Set aside.

5. When the grill is hot, place the chicken on the grill skin side down and close the lid. Grill until the skin has dark brown char lines and releases easily from the grates, about 3 minutes, then uncover. If there are any flare ups, remove the chicken from the grate and let the flames die, then wipe off any fat on the grate with tongs gripping a dish towel. Rotate the chicken 45 degrees without flipping, and allow the chicken skin to color for 3 to 4 more minutes.

6. Flip the chicken and add the tomatoes to the grill, cut sides down. Close the lid again and grill the second side of the chicken and the tomatoes until the chicken is cooked through and the tomatoes are charred and soft, 7 to 9 minutes. To check if the chicken is cooked, poke a knife into a slash. The juices should run clear and the meat should not be pink by the bone. If using a meat thermometer the internal temperature should reach 165 degrees.

7. While the chicken is cooking, prepare the serving platter by spreading about a tablespoon of the mustard vinaigrette on the plate. Place the chicken and tomatoes on top of the mustard vinaigrette. Spoon the remaining vinaigrette onto the tomatoes. Let everything rest for 5 to 10 minutes, then top with arugula and drizzle over some olive oil.

### GRILLED CHICKEN THIGHS AND CORN WITH LIME-BASIL BUTTER

TIME: 40 MINUTES
YIELD: 4 SERVINGS

- 2 pounds boneless, skinless chicken thighs
- 3 garlic cloves, finely grated
- 1 tablespoon olive oil
- Kosher salt (such as Diamond Crystal) and black pepper
- Juice and zest of 2 limes
- 4 tablespoons unsalted butter, at room temperature
- 1 cup basil leaves
- 4 ears of corn, shucked
- Flaky sea salt, to finish

1. Place the chicken thighs in a large bowl and season with the garlic, olive oil, 1¾ teaspoons salt and juice of 1 lime. Toss to coat. Let marinate at room temperature while the grills heats up or, ideally, refrigerate, covered, overnight.

2. To make the lime-basil butter, place the butter, lime zest, ¾ cup basil leaves, ¼ teaspoon salt and 1 teaspoon freshly ground black pepper in a food processor and whizz until basil is chopped and incorporated. Refrigerate overnight or leave out of the fridge if you're ready to grill.



3. When ready to cook, light the grill to medium-high. If needed, remove the chicken and lime-basil butter from the fridge and place the butter near the grill so it softens. Place the ears of corn on one side of the grill, turning every 3 minutes or so, until cooked through and lightly charred, 10 to 20 minutes total. Pull the corn off the grill and slice off the charred kernels. Place them on a serving platter and top with some of the basil butter.

4. While the corn is cooking and being sliced, place the chicken on the grill flat sides down. Char until it releases from the grates easily, 5 to 7 minutes. Rotate the chicken slightly, without flipping, to get more color on the first side. Pay attention to how the color develops and when areas of the first side become chestnut in color and look delicious, flip the chicken and grill for another 3 to 5 minutes. Continue rotating and flipping every few minutes until the chicken is cooked through. To check if the chicken is cooked, poke a knife into the thickest part of the meat. The juices should run clear and the meat should no longer be translucent.

5. Remove the chicken from the grill, slice each thigh in half across its widest part and place slices on top of the corn. Spoon the remaining basil butter on top of the hot chicken and sprinkle over remaining basil leaves, the remaining lime juice and flaky salt. Grind some extra black pepper over the top.

**MELISSA CLARK** | A GOOD APPETITE

# Put Canned Tuna in the Weeknight Spotlight

It makes a fish-forward pantry meal that's bright and easy.

TINNED FISH IN pasta can be shy. Anchovies, for example, are often dissolved in oil for a midnight pasta, camouflaged under the olives of a puttanesca or hidden among garlicky bread crumbs. Their deep umami quietly integrates the other ingredients without imposing much substance of their own. Small children and the fish-finicky are never the wiser.

Pasta with tuna, on the other hand, is fish forward. Mixed in at the end of cooking (tuna can toughen if heated too much), the chunks keep a high profile, asserting their oceanic brightness and adding protein and heft.

Tuna pasta isn't only for fish fans, but for anyone who loves an easy, weeknight-friendly pantry meal. Stir a can or two of tuna into a big bowl of pasta and you don't have to do much more. A few alliums sautéed in olive oil, a ladleful of pasta water and a scattering of herbs or capers are all it takes to bring everything together.

It's pretty much the same routine with this simple recipe, with a significant, summery addition: I sauté thick zucchini slices along with some scallions and garlic, letting them condense, brown and release their sweet juices into the pan. The zucchini lightens the pasta with its soft, slippery texture, while grounding it with subtle earthy notes.

As always, when using any kind of tinned or canned fish, look for something high-quality and preferably packed in olive oil. Clear jars that allow you to see what you're getting are often better than tins.

Many fish pasta dishes rely on red-pepper flakes for a pop of heat. But here, I wanted something brighter and rounder.

So instead, I dollop on some chile paste right at the end.

Now, I've made this dish with several types — chile crisp, Calabrian chile paste, sambal oelek, Sriracha. Each paste contributes a host of nuances, spices and textures, leading the dish in slightly different directions. Stick with your favorite and you'll do no wrong.

Since their heat levels vary, go slow, spooning on a little at a time and along the way. Then place the jar on the table and let your guests help themselves to more if they like. I wouldn't overdo it, though. Tuna performs best when it has the spotlight to itself.



RACHEL VANNI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES. FOOD STYLIST: BARRETT WASHBURNE.

### ZUCCHINI PASTA WITH TUNA AND CHILE PASTE

TIME: 30 MINUTES
YIELD: 2 TO 3 SERVINGS

- ½ teaspoon fine sea or table salt, more as needed
- 8 ounces long, thin pasta, such as bucatini, spaghetti or linguine
- 3 tablespoons extra-virgin olive oil, more for drizzling
- 4 scallions, thinly sliced, white and green parts separated
- 1 pound zucchini, trimmed, halved lengthwise and sliced into ½-inch-thick half-moons
- 3 garlic cloves, thinly sliced
- 3 tablespoons drained capers
- ½ to 3 teaspoons chile paste, more to taste
- 1 cup roughly chopped fresh herbs, such as cilantro and mint
- 1 (5- or 6-ounce) can tuna, drained
- 2 teaspoons fresh lemon juice, more to taste

1. In a well-salted pot of boiling water, cook pasta according to package directions until al dente. Drain, saving ½ cup pasta water.

2. Meanwhile, in a large skillet, heat the oil over medium. Add scallion whites and cook until fragrant, about 1 minute. Add zucchini and ½ teaspoon salt, and cook until golden brown and tender, 7 to 12 minutes. Add garlic, capers and chile paste, and cook, 1 to 2 minutes, or until the garlic is fragrant. Taste and season with more salt if needed.

3. Add ½ cup pasta water, let it reduce until there is just a little left in the pan, 3 to 4 minutes, then add pasta and ½ cup herbs, and toss well to coat. Stir in tuna and lemon juice, tossing well. Taste and add more chile paste, lemon juice or salt as needed.

4. Serve, topped with remaining ½ cup herbs, scallion greens, and a drizzle of olive oil.

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# What to Buy When You . . .

### ARE TAKING MOUNJARO

"My whole life, breakfast was incredibly important. Now that I am on Mounjaro, I have completely changed my shopping habits in that I am not picking out breakfast items for myself. We spend at least $50 less a week because we are not buying five different kinds of chips and desserts. We do a lot more fresh vegetables than we used to."

**MINDY HUSKINS**
NEWARK, DEL.

### SUPPLEMENT SHOPPING WITH HUNTING

"There is a lottery for residents to have the opportunity to hunt. In 2019, I harvested the moose, and that feeds our extended family on red meat for a couple of years. I rarely buy or eat commercial meat, so subsistence hunting and fishing affects my diet in that I eat fish and game only when it's available. I call it Alaskatarian."

**AMY O'NEILL HOUCK**
CORDOVA, ALASKA

**52%**
of shoppers purchased alcohol during a food run. Sales of beer, wine and liquor are permitted at grocery stores in 20 states.

**Methodology**
More than 1,000 readers responded to an article we published in March asking grocery shoppers to share their receipts. We itemized receipts from 27 participants and filtered out nonfood items to analyze shopping patterns among 3,269 purchases.

We did our best to reflect each transaction accurately. But precision is limited by the nature of the receipts themselves, which vary in detail from grocer to grocer. For instance, some stores price lemons individually, while others price them by the pound. So we counted any amount of lemons on a single receipt as one purchase of lemons. For products always sold and priced individually, like a tub of yogurt, we reflected the total number of packages purchased in our count. And receipts often gave no information on package sizes.

# The Tale of the Tape: You and Your Grocery Cart

**89%**
of shoppers bought cheese in April. It was the most commonly purchased item among the group, with more than 35 varieties.

## JACKIE KESTERSON OMAHA

With two children under the age of 3, Jackie Kesterson is finding grocery shopping to be far less fun. "The last couple years haven't been as joyful as it once was," she said, "just because there's a lot more pressure and a lot less time."

After her son was born in 2021, she made all of his food herself, followed the baby-led weaning approach and aspired to introduce him to diverse flavors. But come the arrival of her daughter, who is now 11 months old and picky about eating vegetables, those priorities shifted. "You have all these big dreams of building these food traditions with your kids, but I just don't have the time," said Ms. Kesterson, 36, who works in finance. "It is like, 'Oh do you want a quesadilla or a peanut butter sandwich, or do you want chicken nuggets?'"

Baby-food pouches have become an easy way to sneak in vegetables. "I certainly feel conflicted about it," she said.



REBECCA GRATZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**JACKIE'S APRIL SHOPPING**

**Total shopping trips** 9

**Frequent purchases** Baby food (43 items), cheese (23)

**Impulse purchase** Wuju chile crisp ($12.99)

**In the cart** Hy-Vee, April 5

- bananas
- grapes
- strawberries
- romaine lettuce
- squeezable guacamole
- deli turkey
- coffee creamer
- shredded cheese
- brat buns
- flour tortillas
- low-carb tortillas
- honey-roasted almonds
- individual baby-food pouches
- Belvita breakfast cookies
- lemon Oreo thins
- Pringles
- teething waters
- unsalted tortilla chips
- store bakery tiramisù

## KIMBERLY UHURU DETROIT

Growing up in a low-income household, Kimberly Uhuru watched her mother bring a calculator to the grocery store, and grew accustomed to eating processed foods. Now she makes a comfortable living as a lawyer, and she and her husband can afford to prioritize buying fresh, organic ingredients. But the closest well-stocked grocery store is still a 25-minute drive from her home in Rosedale Park.

So she buys most of her groceries at Target, where the produce selection is limited but she can still get tomatoes, her favorite food. She can also find staples like yogurt and cereal, as well as Nature Valley bars, Sunchips and peanut butter cups for her two vegetarian teenagers. "My cart looks ridiculous," said Ms. Uhuru, 48, who supplements her hauls with vegetables grown in her garden. "It looks like I am holiday shopping, and that will just be a regular Sunday for me." At the store, Ms. Uhuru is in the zone. "I have a list on my phone and I click off each item," she said.



SYLVIA JARRUS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**KIMBERLY'S APRIL SHOPPING**

**Total shopping trips** 7

**Most expensive item** Birthday cake for a colleague ($39.99)

**Impulse purchase** Five mangoes ($3.45 total)

**In the cart** Target, April 14

- apples
- bananas
- berries
- lemons
- grapes
- broccoli florets
- corn
- lettuce
- tomatoes
- onions
- chicken
- Impossible Foods plant-based meat
- eggs
- milk
- oat milk
- frozen mixed fruit
- frozen shrimp
- Drumstick ice cream cones
- bagels
- bread
- canned beans
- maple syrup
- rice
- Kettle Brand potato chips
- Nature Valley snack bars
- Izze sparkling juice drinks
- Topo Chico seltzer
- bottled smoothie

## SAWYER BONSIB MALVERN, ARK.

What might a stranger notice if she peered into Sawyer Bonsib's cart? A lot of liquids. "Food-to-beverage ratio is unusual," Mr. Bonsib said.

As a member of Alcoholics Anonymous, he stocks his fridge with a variety of drinks, in part to replace alcohol. "It just helps me relax, to drink something cold," he said. There's iced tea, milk (almond, oat and cow's) and strawberry-kiwi juice. And there's Red Bull, ginger ale and root beer. But his favorite beverage? "When I am thirsty, there is nothing like water," he said.

Mr. Bonsib, 37, lives alone and works from home. He isn't always keen to meal-prep, so he often eats frozen meals for lunch — his favorite is spaghetti with meat sauce — and saves more elaborate cooking for dinner. In April, he made a crispy tamari-marinated tofu stir-fry one night; on another, he pan-seared a filet mignon, which is "more of a splurge."



WILL NEWTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**SAWYER'S APRIL SHOPPING**

**Total shopping trips** 14

**Impulse purchases** Castelvetrano olives ($5.99) and sparkling water (prices vary)

**Share of drinkable purchases** 70 percent

**In the cart** Walmart, April 20

- celery
- shredded collard greens
- red onion
- tomatoes
- deviled egg potato salad
- deli salami
- deli turkey
- pulled rotisserie chicken
- milk
- oat milk
- coconut water
- raspberry lemonade
- strawberry lemonade
- Blackberry La Croix
- Waterloo black cherry sparkling water
- Waterloo cherry limeade sparkling water

## AYSE GILBERT ANCHORAGE

It's tough being the host with the most when you live in a state that imports 95 percent of its food, and pays dearly for the transport. But that's reality for Ayse Gilbert, an artist who with her husband entertains weekly at their home. Her elaborate menus rarely repeat. An April dinner party featured a berbere-spiced rack of lamb and an orange marmalade cake.

While some people associate sparse grocery shelves with the pandemic, in Alaska shortages are the norm. "I have to maintain flexibility, because if I decide I am going to stir-fry Indian-style okra, it may not be there," said Ms. Gilbert, 71, who moved to Anchorage from Carmel, Calif., in 1974.

She's moved by attractive fruits and vegetables — a fragrant buddha's hand, a citrus fruit, caught her eye on one shopping trip, and she misses the fresh artichokes of her West Coast upbringing. "I go to California, I have a $20 bill and I can get a ton of great produce," she said.



KERRY TASKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**AYSE'S APRIL SHOPPING**

**Total shopping trips** 14

**Frequent purchases** Cheese (15 items) and scallions (10)

**Impulse purchase** Buddha's hand ($22.30)

**In the cart** Costco, April 19

- raspberries
- asparagus
- mixed bell peppers
- grape tomatoes
- tomatoes on the vine
- deli turkey
- lamb rib racks
- milk
- Pecorino Romano
- pistachios

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By PRIYA KRISHNA, TANYA SICHYNSKY and ALIZA AUFRICHTIG

We've all peeked into the cart next to ours in the checkout line and tried to piece together a person's life from its contents. How you grocery shop says a lot about who you are.

Grocery runs have changed a lot in recent years. Prices have soared and packages have shrunk. The pandemic normalized the presence of in-store shoppers for services like Instacart and Amazon Grocery. Consumers are spoiled — and perhaps paralyzed — by a staggering array of choices.

To better understand our relationship to the food we buy, we asked readers to send us their grocery receipts for the month of April, and selected 27 people from across the United States to focus on. Some shopped nearly every day, others only a few times a month. Some relied on frozen meals, while others sought out the freshest produce.

In combing through their receipts — 283 of them, totaling more than $18,500 — we saw how identity, income and geography inform what makes it into the cart.

Go ahead. Look into eight of their carts.

## SONAL SINGH FOSTER CITY, CALIF.

Sonal Singh distinctly remembers what shopping was like in 2004, when she immigrated to the United States from India to get her master's degree at the University of Georgia. "My grocery bill was $50 a week at most," she said. Now that she is married, with two teenagers, and living in California, the bill is closer to $500 a week. Her twins are experiencing major growth spurts — and snacking accordingly — so she picks up Cheez-Its, Pocky and Annie's fruit snacks in bulk at Costco.

Ms. Singh, 43, a partner at a consulting firm, has no trouble finding Indian staples like $45 boxes of Kesar mangoes and dosa batter in Foster City, which has a large Asian American population. But her children have a low tolerance for spicy foods and often request dishes like pasta with vodka sauce and smash burgers.

Ms. Singh's parents were visiting from India in April, so she made sure to stock up on parathas, honeydew melon and grapes, adding to her grocery bill.



CAROLYN FONG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**SONAL'S APRIL SHOPPING**

**Total shopping trips** 17

**Snacks and treats purchased** 26 items

**Most expensive item** Bulk olive oil ($59.99)

**In the cart** Indian Cash and Carry, April 6

- guava
- papaya
- chikoo slices
- frozen dosa batter
- paratha
- chaat masala
- chole masala

## ABDUL BINGAHLAN NEW YORK CITY

Grocery shopping is meditative for Abdul Bingahlan, a statistical analyst who cooks for himself and his wife, Anisah, a medical school student. "As I got older, it became a place of experimentation, trying new things," he said. While he is content to cook the same dish on repeat, his wife has encouraged him to seek variety in different cuisines. So in April, he bought herbs and chiles to make a new pad krapow recipe. "We're now left with an abundance of green chiles, so I'm spinning my brain on how we can put them to use," said Mr. Bingahlan, 27, who bought a container of roughly 50 for less than $3. Among his options: making chicken karahi with them, or seeing if his neighbor could use any.

Since he was observing Ramadan through April 9, he sometimes shopped on an empty stomach. "The old adage 'Don't go grocery shopping when you are hungry,' applies triply during Ramadan," he said.




BRITTAINY NEWMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**1,001**
The number of fresh produce items purchased. Fresh produce made up one-third of purchases. Berries, bananas and oranges topped the list.

**ABDUL'S APRIL SHOPPING**

**Total shopping trips** 15

**Different grocery stores visited** 10

**Impulse purchase** A single brown-butter chocolate chip cookie ($1.50)

**In the cart** H-Mart, April 2

- Thai basil
- Thai green chiles
- garlic
- scallions
- fresh lo mein noodles
- rice vinegar

## GABBY CAVAZOS AUSTIN, TEXAS

Many parents are familiar with the term "berry budget," the outsize percentage of grocery funds spent on berries for young children. Gabby Cavazos said her 2-year-old son, who she brings to the store with her, typically eats a carton of blackberries before they even get to the checkout counter. She reaches for whichever berry is least expensive — blackberries were unusually cheap on a recent trip, so she stocked up. "Ten dollars a week on berries is where we try to cap him," she said.

Ms. Cavazos, 32, an account executive at a software company, still feels the effects of inflation and doesn't shy away from deals, like $7 sushi or nearly expired sliced watermelon. "I am like, 'What did I even buy? How am I spending 100 bucks?'" she said.

Still, you can count on one item to almost always end up in her cart: the famous tortillas from the Texas-based grocer H-E-B. "We always have those in our fridge for a quesadilla or breakfast taco."




JESSICA ATTIE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**GABBY'S APRIL SHOPPING**

**Total shopping trips** 14

**Frequent purchases** Berries (17 items) and canned beans (10)

**Favorite deal** 6 Quantum Energy Square

**In the cart** H-E-B, April 13

- blackberries
- blueberries
- strawberries
- lemons
- limes
- mini avocados
- celery
- dill
- garlic
- mint
- parsley
- scallions
- sugar snap peas, chicken thighs
- salted butter
- Cool Whip
- Greek yogurt
- canned chickpeas
- cooking spray
- honey
- vegetable oil
- caramel-almond caffeine bars
- brownies snack pack
- tortilla chips
- angel food cake
- orange juice

## ALAN YOUNG HILO, HAWAII

On the mainland, finding ingredients like galangal root, Chinese chives or purple snap peas might prove tricky. Not on the Big Island of Hawaii. The state is home to many cultures and even more varieties of fresh produce, and thankfully for Alan Young, many grocery stores, farmers' markets and bakeries accept his Electronic Benefit Transfer card, loaded with $500 every month.

Mr. Young, 80, a retired caterer, is one of 41.9 million Americans — nearly 13 percent of the population — who are part of the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, which provides financial aid for groceries to individuals with low incomes. Although food in Hawaii can be expensive, the monthly stipend goes a long way for him. In April, he bought local radicchio, heirloom tomatoes and various kinds of bananas — and a few extra treats.

"One of my indulgences is La Croix seltzer," said Mr. Young, who lives with his partner, doesn't own a smartphone and declined to be photographed.




**ALAN'S APRIL SHOPPING**

**Total shopping trips** 8

**Frequent purchases** Chocolate (10) and parsley (5)

**Impulse purchase** Mango ($8.07 before senior discount)

**In the cart** Abundant Life Natural Foods, April 24

- apples
- pears
- cucumbers
- parsley
- purple snow peas
- radicchio
- buckwheat ramen
- peppermint dark chocolate bar
- sea salt dark chocolate bar
- checkerboard cookies

**70%**
of shoppers bought at least one bag of chips — potato, plantain, shrimp, corn, pita — the most popular snack and the fifth most-purchased product.

## SHOP EXCLUSIVELY ONLINE

"Most grocery stores are designed to be loud and distracting. I am autistic and have A.D.H.D., and the sensory overload is really oppressive. Coordinating cooking and having several dishes on the stove is stressful, so I buy a lot of frozen dinners, canned soup and frozen vegetables. Things are just as easy if not easier to get online. I like to be able to see all of the products, and if something is out of stock, I know at that moment."

**MARTHA GOFF**
SACRAMENTO

## ARE A COLLEGE STUDENT

"I ride the Atlanta buses and the Emory shuttles to grocery shop, and they run only on the weekends. If I missed a Saturday, I wouldn't have a necessary item for another week, so I had to be very thorough. It's hard to keep vegetables and fruits edible two weeks from when you purchased them, so I would have to freeze a lot of things."

**NAEMAN MAHMOOD**
ATLANTA

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**CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK** | PETE WELLS



ILLUSTRATIONS BY NIEN-KEN ALEC LU

# It Is a Fitting Time to Leave the Table

CONTINUED FROM PAGE D1

next few weeks, and I plan to stick around at The Times long after that. But I can't hack the week-to-week reviewing life anymore.

The first thing you learn as a restaurant critic is that nobody wants to hear you complain. The work of going out to eat every night with hand-chosen groups of friends and family sounds suspiciously like what other people do on vacation. If you happen to work in New York or another major city, your beat is almost unimaginably rich and endlessly novel.

People open restaurants for all kinds of reasons. Some want to conjure up the flavors of a place they left behind, and consider their business a success if they win the approval of other people from the same place. Others want to dream up food that nobody has ever tasted or even imagined before, and won't be satisfied until their name is known in Paris, Beijing and Sydney.

And there are a hundred gradations in between. The city is a feast. Exploring, appreciating, understanding, interpreting and often even enjoying that feast has been the greatest honor of my career. And while the number of restaurant critics is getting smaller every year, everybody I know who works in this endangered profession would probably say the same thing.

So we tend to save our gripes until two or three of us are gathered around the tar pits. Then we'll talk about the things nobody will pity us for, like the unflattering mug shots of us that restaurants hang on kitchen walls and the unlikable food in unreviewable restaurants.

One thing we almost never bring up, though, is our health. We avoid mentioning weight the way actors avoid saying "Macbeth." Partly, we do this out of politeness. Mostly, though, we all know that we're standing on the rim of an endlessly deep hole and that if we look down we might fall in.

"It's the least healthy job in America, probably," Adam Platt said recently when I called him to discuss the unmentionable topic. Mr. Platt was New York magazine's restaurant critic for 24 years before stepping away from the trough in 2022.

"I'm still feeling the effects," he said. He has a flotilla of doctors treating him for gout, hypertension, high cholesterol and Type 2 diabetes.

"I never ate desserts but when I took the job I started eating desserts," he said. "I became addicted to sugar. You drink too much. You're ingesting vastly rich meals maybe four times a week. It's not good for anybody, even if you're like me and you're built like a giant Brahman bull."



WE TALKED ABOUT the alarming frequency with which men in our line of work seem to die suddenly, before retirement age. A. A. Gill, restaurant critic of The Sunday Times of London, was killed by cancer at 62. Jonathan Gold, critic for The Los Angeles Times and LA Weekly, died at 58, right after he was diagnosed with pancreatic cancer. Back in 1963, A.J. Liebling of The New Yorker died after checking into a hospital for bronchial pneumonia. He was 59.

These are isolated stories to be sure, but I'd see the headlines projected on my bedroom ceiling when I woke up in the night with my insides burning like a fire at a chemical refinery.

The women I looked up to lasted longer. Gael Greene, who invented Mr. Platt's job at New York, lived to 88. Mimi Sheraton, critic for Cue, The Village Voice and The New York Times, made it to 97, despite a professed aversion to exercise.

Christiane Lauterbach, a restaurant critic for Atlanta magazine for more than 40 years, told me she was in good health. She attributes that to "not going to the doctor," although she was recently talked into having her cholesterol and blood sugar tested. (Both were normal.) "I just take little bites of this and that," she said. "I never finish a plate in a restaurant. If I finished my plate, I would just be 300 pounds."

**Restaurant critics avoid mentioning weight the way actors avoid saying 'Macbeth.'**

S. Irene Virbila, who ate out six nights a week for 20 years as restaurant critic for The Los Angeles Times, used to bring along a man to finish her plates. She called him Hoover.

"Restaurant food is rich," she said. "To make those flavor bombs it has to have a lot of rich elements. It's more of everything than you would eat if you could eat exactly what you wanted."

After she left the post, she lost 20 pounds in two months, "without thinking about it." Today, aside from taking medication for an inherited vulnerability to cholesterol, she is in good health.

Virtually all of my 500 or so reviews were the result of eating three meals in the place I was writing about. Typically, I'd bring three people with me and ask each to order an appetizer, main course and dessert. That's 36 dishes I'd try before writing a word.

This is the simple math of restaurant reviewing, but there is a higher math. Critics eat in a lot of restaurants that Gael Greene once described as "neither good enough nor bad enough" for a review.

Then there are the reference meals, the ones we eat to stay informed, to not be a fraud. Often, this is where I got into real trouble. How many smash burgers did I need to taste, or taste again, before I could write about the ones at Hamburger America, a restaurant I reviewed in the same months I was eating my way toward my "100 Best Restaurants " list, for which I needed to make sure that the Uyghur hand-pulled noodles and Puerto Rican lechon asado and Azerbaijani organ-meat hash that I loved were, at least arguably, the best in the city?

This is probably the place to mention that naming 100 restaurants was totally my idea. My editors had asked for 50, and I'll bet they would have settled for 25. When I did do 100, and the time came a year later to do it again, they didn't ask me to go back to all of them. That was my idea, too.

OMNIVOROUSNESS, in the metaphorical sense, is a prerequisite for a good critic. My favorite movie critic is still Pauline Kael, who wrote as if she had seen every film ever made. But movies won't, as a rule, give you gout.

Food writing's most impressive omnivore was Jonathan Gold. There didn't seem to be a dish served anywhere in Los Angeles that he hadn't eaten at least once, and usually several times, until he was sure he understood it. His knowledge inspired me. It also tormented me — there was no way to catch up to him.

Years ago, he used to tell people he had eaten every taco on Pico Boulevard. This was merely an appetizer. His larger goal was to eat in every restaurant on the street "at least once."

Pico Boulevard is more than 15 miles long.

I have not eaten in every restaurant on Roosevelt Avenue in Queens, far and away the most significant taco artery in my own city. There have been nights, though, as I walked for miles under the elevated No. 7 train, watching women press discs of fresh masa and men shave cherry-tinted strips of al pastor pork from slowly revolving trompos, when it seemed like an excellent idea.

At a certain point, this kind of research starts to look like a pathology.

"Your body changes over time," Mr. Platt said. "You have this giant distended belly which wants to be filled. All those weird sensors in your brain that cry out for deliciousness are at DEFCON 1 all day. You become an addict."

When, in the line of duty, you have spent enough hours loading up your tray with mashed potatoes, rolls, biscuits and an extra slice of pie, you eventually have to ask yourself whether you are standing in the buffet line for the audience or for yourself.

"In truth, I would have to say that I probably have pursued this career as an excuse to overeat," Mimi Sheraton told the interviewer Terry Gross in 1987. "I think that the people who are really good at it are all in that position."

Did that apply to me? Not at first. But over time, I came to see relentlessly stuffing my face as one way to become really good at the position. By browsing my way across the city like a goat, I could try to level a playing field that is deeply tilted in favor of restaurants with money.

Manhattan's sea-urchin spaghetti factories can always buy attention. It's not as easy for a soul-food hangout in Stapleton or a Palestinian kitchen in Bay Ridge or an Ensenadan aguachile specialist in Jackson Heights. So off I would go, because if I didn't, a really important restaurant might be overlooked.

This seemed normal right up until May, when I took two weeks away from my restaurant rounds while I recovered from a hernia repair. The night after the operation I wasn't hungry. The next night I ate soup. The next day, salad. Without menus and dinner guests and a notebook to fill, I ate just what I wanted and nothing more. I slept through the night. I stayed awake through the day. I took long walks, not all of which ended at bakeries. And at some point in those two weeks, it occurred to me that I am not my job.

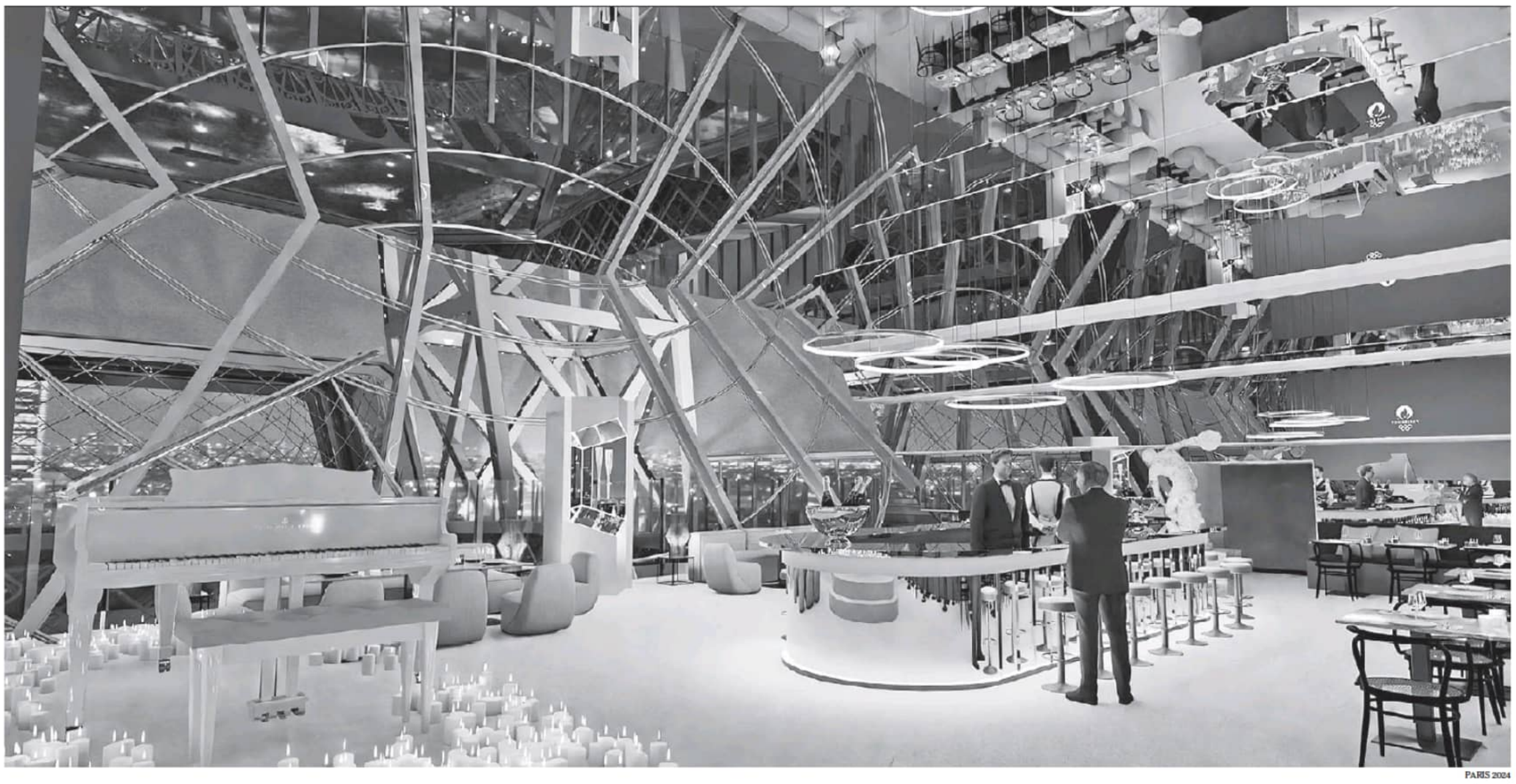
When I first came to The Times in 2006, a reporter warned me not to identify myself too heavily with my work. "Any job at The Times is a rented tux," she said.

I nodded, but didn't get the point until this year.

It's time to return the tux. I've had the trousers let out a few inches, but a tailor can take them in again. As for the stain on the jacket, that's just pork fat. I think it adds character.

**PETE WELLS** *is the restaurant critic at The Times.*

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PARIS 2024

# French Cuisine, With a Side of the Games

France's culinary options upgraded for the Olympics.

By PRIYA KRISHNA

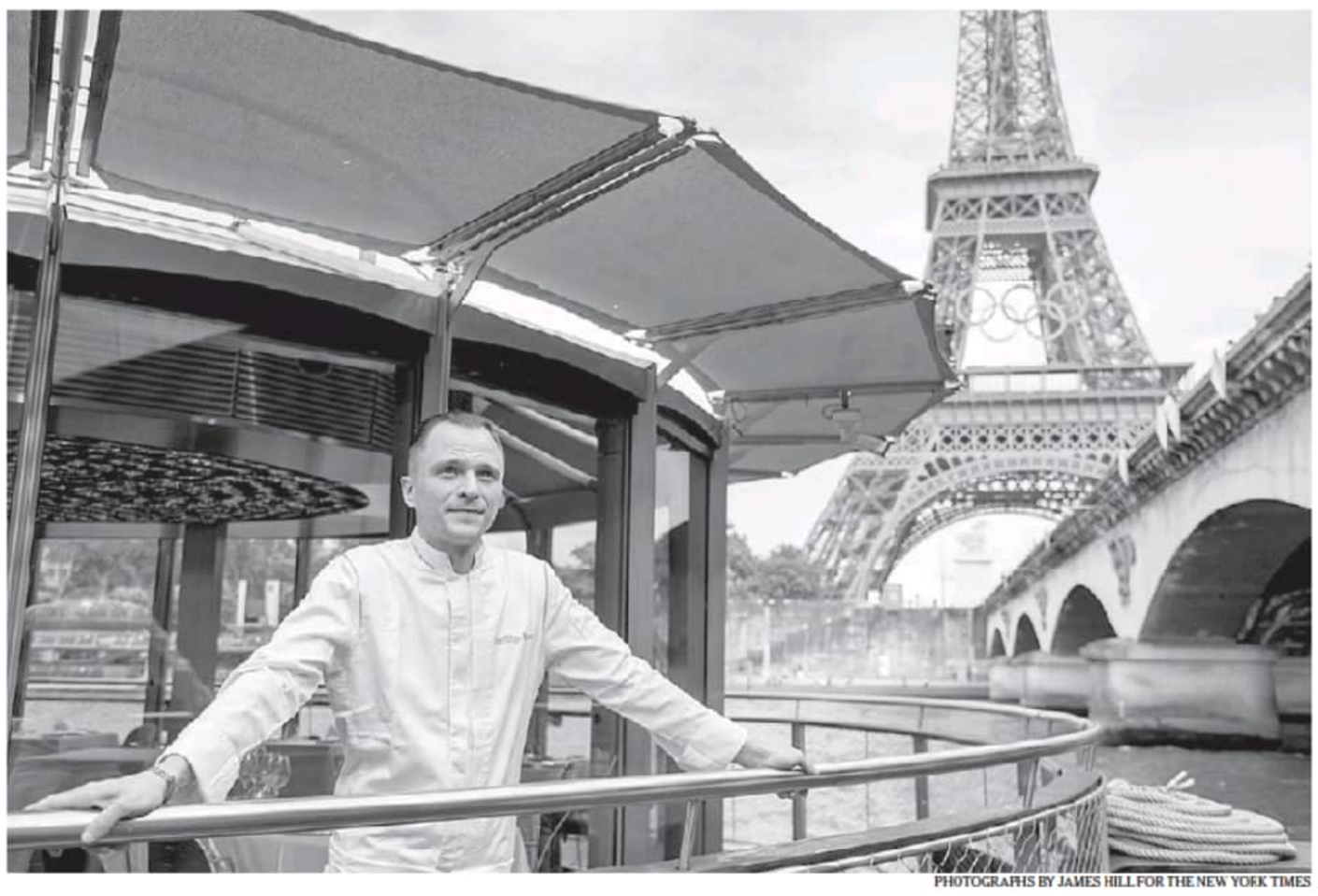
PARIS — A wing of the Eiffel Tower has been cleared out to make way for a brand-new restaurant called Gustave 24. A fully built commercial kitchen is set to be airlifted into the Palais de Tokyo, a contemporary art museum on the Right Bank. Open-air brasseries will soon be erected on two bridges across the Seine.

Oh, and there's also some kind of athletic event about to take place.

As it prepares to host the Olympics, France — a nation already sitting on an elaborate culinary infrastructure — is creating a from-scratch collection of pop-up restaurants and dining experiences on a scale far beyond past Games' offerings.

Some 80 temporary restaurants are being set up in Paris and other locales around the country where competitions will be staged. They will serve an average of 30,000 diners a day, each offering a different menu and format. And they'll offer visitors a chance to experience the Olympics as dinner theater.

At Versailles, they can feast on lobster ravioli in the gardens while watching equestrian events. In the Eiffel Tower, they'll be able to enjoy moules frites and live music while observing beach volleyball down below. And when competitions aren't taking place, these restaurants will host speeches from past Olympic winners, and virtual-reality experiences that simulate participating in a swimming race or standing on a podium to receive a medal.









PARIS 2024

PHOTOGRAPHS BY JAMES HILL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Top, a rendering of a wing in the Eiffel Tower that has been privatized for a high-end restaurant called Gustave 24. Clockwise from above, Felix Zafra, vice president of On Location, on the Ducasse boat; the chef Jean-Philippe Berens, who prepared the cuisine for a boating dinner on the Seine; a restaurant at the Palais de Tokyo, a contemporary art museum that's set to become an international food hall; and a rendering of the Stade de France, which will have several luxury dining options for spectators.

A food program this sweeping may come as little surprise in a country whose cuisine is so revered that it was named part of UNESCO's "intangible heritage of humanity" in 2010. But France is hoping to draw even more attention to its culinary traditions, and the multicultural country it has become.

"Food is such an important message for French people," said Christine Doublet, the co-director of Le Fooding, a restaurant guide and food events company in Paris. "For the Olympics, which are going to be this huge international platform viewed all across the world, they want to show how powerful French gastronomy still is."

If all runs smoothly, a similar culinary program will be adopted at the 2026 Winter Olympics in Milan and the 2028 Summer Games in Los Angeles, said Felix Zafra, a vice president at On Location, the North Carolina-based events production company overseeing the new restaurants. He and his team have already been contracted by the International Olympic Committee, the event's overseeing body, for those Games.

Mr. Zafra oversaw the creation of a few pop-up restaurants at the 2020 Summer Olympics in Tokyo, but his company had to dismantle them when the Games were canceled because of the pandemic. When the Tokyo Olympics were finally held a year later, spectators weren't permitted and food options were severely limited.

"We went through a difficult time with Covid, and these Games in Paris are going to be really unique," he said. "They are the perfect time to be starting this new model."

**Feast on lobster ravioli or try a new collection of pop-up restaurants.**

THE POP-UPS, MOST of them in Paris, vary in cuisine, ambition and price. They include a food hall around the Palais de Tokyo selling chouquettes, bao and gazpacho alongside a virtual-reality swimming experience (85 euros, or about $92, to start), and a lounge next to the finish line of the 100-meter dash at Stade de France that will serve rhubarb consommé and smoked eggplant with haddock cream (for up to a staggering 8,500 euros).

All tickets include a guaranteed seat at the games — a big draw, given the unpredictability of the lottery system for securing tickets. Some restaurants are one-night-only affairs, while others will last throughout the Games.

These elaborate dining arrangements reflect bigger changes in the sporting world at large, where the food has become as important as the games being played. Matches and tournaments are now regarded as opportunities to wine and dine, with signature cocktails, seafood bars and concession stands headed by famous chefs.

But no organization has ever attempted that kind of service at the scale of the Paris Games. The 2012 London Olympics and 2016 Rio Olympics offered some dining within the stadiums, but no new options elsewhere in those cities, Mr. Zafra said.

France's big plans will pose formidable logistical challenges. For just the brasseries overlooking the Seine, for example, the On Location crew will have to haul in furniture, install plumbing and set up electrical connections on two centuries-old bridges. The food at all the attractions must meet strict sustainability standards set by the Paris organizers; 80 percent of it must come from France, and each venue must offer vegetarian options.

"There is quite a bit of anxiety over getting produce delivered," said Carrie Solomon, a Paris chef and cookbook author who will prepare dishes like chilled green tomato soup and white truffle risotto within the tennis complex Roland-Garros. "I know a lot of people are trying to figure out how to order certain things in advance and there are concerns like: What if they block off certain main roads into Paris?"

Mr. Zafra said he was confident the chefs could handle the operational challenges; instead of hiring only established names, his team also picked up-and-coming chefs who are nimble enough to cook in a pop-up environment.

IN LATE JUNE, EVEN as the Eiffel Tower sported a colossal set of steel Olympics rings, and a torch-shaped countdown clock nearby read 28 days until the opening ceremony on July 26, Parisians seemed more preoccupied with the coming national election and the city's worsening traffic conditions.

"A lot of people want to be around to see what is going to happen but are worried about getting to work, getting home, child care," said Ms. Doublet of Le Fooding. "How is everything going to run in a city that is already pretty saturated?"

And because many of the new restaurants will appear in already-busy tourist attractions, the installations had barely begun. The plaza outside the Palais de Tokyo teemed with skateboarders doing tricks along the stairs. The running track was still being laid at the Stade de France. Soon, these places will house charcuterie stations and international food stalls.

Mr. Zafra hopes the pop-ups will help change global perceptions of French cuisine. "We are trying to send a message that French food is accessible, it doesn't have to be expensive and presented on a silver cloche," he said.

That is, unless you're talking about the 15,000-euro-a-person dinner that will be served on a boat cruising the Seine during the opening ceremony. Diners will float on the river alongside delegations from every competing nation, also on boats, while enjoying a multicourse meal conceived by the chefs Alain Ducasse and Jean-Philippe Berens.

During a recent trial run for a group of Parisian influencers, waiters in crisp uniforms filled glasses with Moët Impérial and served plates of poached lobster dressed in lemon and basil. Diners stepped out on the deck to pose with the Olympic torch, the sunset-washed Notre-Dame cathedral visible in the background. On Location declined to disclose how many tickets for this event — or any others — had been sold.

Clarisse Castan, a talent agent who was sipping Champagne on the deck, said she hoped the city would provide financial assistance to markets and restaurants whose business might be hurt by road closings. "We need to find the right balance locally, but globally, it is freaking amazing," she said. "I am so proud to have the Olympics in Paris."

Jennifer Davis, the author of "Defining Culinary Authority: The Transformation of Cooking in France, 1650-1830," said she was somewhat disappointed that Olympics organizers were creating their own restaurants rather than directing people to existing establishments, many of which are staying open for the Games rather than taking their usual summer breaks.

"There is a kind of state control and centralization that continues in presenting the culinary face of France," she said. "That has some really good qualities. It will make for a more uniform experience for tourists. I think that it won't necessarily move money from tourists to the diversity of eating around that region."

She offered a suggestion: "Send people to Chinatown rather than set up the imaginary noodle shop within Olympic Village."

Mr. Zafra said the pop-ups and local restaurants would "not compete, but complete each other." The events "will showcase the best of France, and we want people to experience more outside of our walls," he said.

And for spectators who don't care or have time to dine in a restaurant, Olympics-affiliated or otherwise, there are always the concession stands.

More typical stadium fare will also be available — like hot dogs. But in keeping with the ethos of the Paris Olympics, the bun is freshly baked, the mustard is homemade and in the name of sustainability, the dog is vegan.

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# Secrets From Five Masters of Kimchi

South Korea's experts can teach you a thing or two.

By HAHNA YOON

SEOUL — They have more than 200 years of combined kimchi experience, but ask any one of South Korea's most esteemed kimchi makers the secret to a good one and you will get a different answer.

"Delicious kimchi begins with good ingredients," said Lee Hayeon, 65, one of five people designated as a "Korean Food Grand Master" by South Korea's agriculture department, which gives the title to makers across various categories, including liquor, tea and jang.

The Times spoke to all five current kimchi masters to learn what their kimchi journeys might teach a lover of this foundational Korean dish. All of the masters expressed concern about changes in how kimchi is made and consumed. They waxed lyrical about the health benefits of traditional kimchi but worried about the rise of mass-produced, exported kimchi.

## Haemul-Seokbakji

**LEE HAYEON, MASTER OF SEAFOOD KIMCHI**

Ms. Lee's signature kimchi bears little resemblance to the spicy red cabbage kimchi found at Korean restaurants the world over. The stars of her kimchi are five types of seafood — abalone, conch, octopus, oysters and raw shrimp — along with cabbage, garlic and gochugaru (Korean red pepper powder).

Haemul-seokbakji directly translates to "seafood mix" and was one of three types of kimchi served to royals during the Joseon dynasty (1392-1894). Ms. Lee's grand master application was over 200 pages and took into consideration her culinary résumé, along with the fact that her paternal grandmother had passed down the recipe to her mother.

Ms. Lee's mother grew cabbages on her small family farm, dried and ground the red chile flakes in the sun, and salted her own fish for jeotgal (salted fish sauce), teaching Ms. Lee the importance of ingredients.

Ms. Lee sold dumplings from a street stall in the '80s to support her family and opened a restaurant called Bongwoori in 1997. She is the president of the Kimchi Association of Korea, and a YouTuber who runs a channel devoted to the dish.

Name any fruit, vegetable or type of meat, and Ms. Lee will tell you, it's possible to kimchify it. "If you make it a kimchi, it can be kimchi," she said.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHANG W. LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Lee Hayeon making haemul-seokbakji, a seafood kimchi once served to royalty, with abalone, conch, octopus, oysters and raw shrimp, at her home in South Korea.

## Baek-Kimchi

**KANG SOONEUI, MASTER OF WHITE KIMCHI**

Kang Sooneui, 76, a master of baek-kimchi (white kimchi), learned it and most of her other recipes the way most women of her generation did — from her mother-in-law. When she was 24, she married the first son of the 25th generation of the Naju Na clan.

Her husband had a responsibility to hold ancestral memorial rites, or jesa; as his wife, it was Ms. Kang's duty to learn his family's recipes and cook for these occasions and to cook five meals a day for the household of 30. "If you're a woman who married into a family with elders," she said, "you could never get a proper night's rest because you never knew when they might wake you for a meal."

As was common practice at the time, Ms. Kang reserved the best ingredients for the elders and used the leftovers to prepare meals for herself and the household servants.

Baek-kimchi, made with cabbage and typically seasoned with jujubes, pears and chestnuts, has a milder flavor because it lacks gochugaru. Brainstorming ideas for the kimchi served to younger family members, Ms. Kang remembered that her grandmother-in-law once said red pepper seeds were as effective as gochugaru to achieve flavor. Over time, this recipe became her signature — winning awards and landing her media attention.

She advises kimchi makers not to take shortcuts. "You have to make kimchi honestly," Ms. Kang said. Too often, she said, people try to achieve the superficial look and taste of a kimchi without going through the labor — adding sugar to quicken fermentation, opting for cheap and easy-to-find salt, using processed jeotgal — instead of juicing up fruit to add natural sugar, and taking the time to make or find good ingredients. "You can never make authentic kimchi without being true to quality."



"Younger generations aren't able to make kimchi like we did," says Kang Sooneui, who learned how to make baek-kimchi (white kimchi) from her mother-in-law.

## Pogi Kimchi

**YOO JUNG-IM, MASTER OF CABBAGE KIMCHI**

Yoo Jung-im, 68, holds the title for pogi kimchi — the well-known variety of napa cabbage seasoned with red pepper paste — and is a pioneer in the world of commercial kimchi. She is the chief executive of Pungmi Foods, a company that has made kimchi since 1986.

Most of her recipes are from her mother, who went to work making banchan after Ms. Yoo's father died when she was 11. Ms. Yoo developed a reputation after bringing in family lunches for the poultry farm where she worked. Encouraged by the farm's owner, she set up a kimchi business in Suwon, a suburb just south of Seoul.

In the early days, she developed recipes and established relationships with cafeterias. She said businessmen tore up her business card at the suggestion they purchase mass quantities of kimchi. "Everyone took kimchi for granted because it was everywhere," she said.

It's rare for a kimchi business to have had the same leadership for as long her company. Part of the difficulty, she said, is that it's hard to keep the prices and quality consistent when one recipe calls for many ingredients and the price of ingredients, especially cabbage, can fluctuate wildly.

She credits her broth for her company's success. Her recipe uses glutinous flour, instead of the more common rice flour, to thicken her broth, which is made with dried shrimp, dried mussels and dried shiitake mushrooms. Protein adds flavor and nutrition, she said.



Yun Mi-Wol, a former pop singer credited with popularizing kimchi in Japan, specializes in whole cabbage kimchi. She owns Yunke, a restaurant in Tokyo with two Michelin stars.

## Soongchimchae

**YUN MI-WOL, MASTER OF WHOLE CABBAGE KIMCHI**

Yun Mi-wol, 66, a former pop singer, is often credited with popularizing kimchi — and Korean food more broadly — in Japan. In the '80s, she occasionally flew to Japan for concerts, but moved there after a divorce left her with two children and limited finances. She now owns Yunke, a restaurant in Tokyo with two Michelin stars.

Her specialty is soongchimchae, a whole cabbage kimchi recorded in "Siuijeonseo," a 19th-century cookbook for noble families. While similar in look to pogi kimchi, soongchimchae is fermented with abalone, octopus and jeotgal of yellow stonefish for a more refreshing flavor.

She often tells her students that good kimchi — or any good Korean food — requires patience. "Only when you give kimchi the right time it needs to age does it have just the right amount of sourness," she said.

A typical kimchi is at its height of delicious, she said, 15 days to a month after it's made, but soongchimchae is best between 100 days to six months after. "The smell of kimchi when it's ready, I call it the 'flower scent,'" she said, referring to the slightly sour aroma the dish gives off when ripe.

## Banji

**OH SUK-JA, MASTER OF STUFFED WHITE KIMCHI**

Oh Suk-ja, 83, is a master of banji, a white kimchi stuffed with over a dozen ingredients, tied together with straw and soaked in beef broth. This labor-intensive kimchi, with a shorter shelf life, is lesser known even among Korean food devotees.

Ms. Oh realized only later in life that her name — and her family's banji — were indicative of a higher social status. As a child, she sampled the dish only on the rare occasion that her grandfather would give her a bite. In her early 20s, her grandmother taught her to make the dish, but she found the process long and tedious.

Ms. Oh credited the food researcher Hwang Hye-song with helping her to realize the significance of banji. She has devoted herself to preserving banji's place in history — giving lectures on how to make it and passing down her recipe to her daughter, Yoon Na-ri, who is apprenticing to become a kimchi master herself.

"Banji takes a lot of work," Ms. Oh said. "But the secret to making it well is putting heart into it. If you consider the person eating your dish, you can't help but think of the details to make the dish nutritious and delicious."



Oh Suk-ja, left, teaching her daughter Yoon Na-ri the family recipe for the banji style of kimchi, which is stuffed with more than a dozen ingredients.*









From top: Baek-kimchi or white kimchi; whole cabbage kimchi; jeotgal, or fermented seafood; haemul seokbakji, or seafood kimchi.

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