"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Today, sun and clouds, stray afternoon shower, high 85. Tonight, partly cloudy, low 71. Tomorrow, partly sunny, warm, more humid, high 86. Weather map, Page B12.

VOL. CLXXIII .... No. 60,221 © 2024 The New York Times Company SATURDAY, JULY 20, 2024

Prices in Canada may be higher $4.00

Inside the Fight To Keep Biden Atop the Ticket

A 12-Day Campaign Is Undercut by Fumbles

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — Nothing President Biden did seemed to work.

He delivered an angry, defensive rant on MSNBC's "Morning Joe." He showed foreign policy chops at a news conference. He wrote a long letter to "fellow Democrats" demanding an end to the calls for him to step aside. He confronted lawmakers on a Zoom call that devolved into a tense, heated exchange about his age and mental competency.

Twelve days ago, the president and his closest family members and advisers went on the offensive, determined to end what already had been nearly two weeks of hand-wringing over his listless performance at a debate on June 27. The result was a flurry of interviews, rallies, defiant meetings with his closest allies and impromptu campaign stops — all intended to rebut the premise that he was too old and frail to win a second term.

But almost every step was undercut by his own fumbles and the steady drumbeat of calls from his friends and allies for him to step aside, even from loyalists like the actor George Clooney. Together, it was evidence that nothing he was doing was having much impact. Mr. Biden was racing from place to place, but nothing was changing.

This story of the 12 days that Mr. Biden has spent trying to rescue his hopes for a second four years in the Oval Office is based on interviews with people close to him, including lawmakers, current and

Continued on Page A16



EZRA ACAYAN/GETTY IMAGES

Airline passengers in Manila took to massage chairs to pass the time while waiting on Friday.



DAKOTA SANTIAGO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Check-in kiosks weren't working at La Guardia Airport, forcing passengers to seek human help.

Software Update Goes Awry, Causing Chaos Throughout the World

Error Shows Frailty of Tech Infrastructure

This article is by Adam Satariano, Paul Mozur, Kate Conger and Sheera Frenkel.

Airlines grounded flights. Operators of 911 lines could not respond to emergencies. Hospitals canceled surgeries. Retailers closed for the day. And the actions all traced back to a batch of bad computer code.

A flawed software update sent out by a little-known cybersecurity company caused chaos and disruption around the world on Friday. The company, CrowdStrike, based in Austin, Texas, makes software used by multinational corporations, government agencies and scores of other organizations to protect against hackers and online intruders.

But when CrowdStrike sent its update on Thursday to its customers that run Microsoft Windows software, computers began to crash.

The fallout, which was immediate and inescapable, highlighted the brittleness of global technology infrastructure. The world has become reliant on Microsoft and a handful of cybersecurity firms like CrowdStrike. So when a single flawed piece of software is released over the internet, it can almost instantly damage countless companies and organizations that depend on the technology as part of everyday business.

"This is a very, very uncomfortable illustration of the fragility of the world's core internet infrastructure," said Ciaran Martin, the former chief executive of Britain's National Cyber Security Center and a professor at the Blavatnik School of Government at Oxford University.

A cyberattack did not cause the widespread outage, but the effects on Friday showed how devastating the damage can be when a main artery of the global technology system is disrupted. It raised broader questions about CrowdStrike's testing processes and what repercussions such software firms should face when flaws in their code cause major disruptions.

While outages are common, often caused by technical errors or cyberattacks, the scale of what unfolded on Friday was unparalleled.

"This is historic," said Mikko Hypponen, the chief research officer at WithSecure, a cybersecurity company. "We haven't had an incident like this."

George Kurtz, CrowdStrike's chief executive, said that the company took responsibility for the mistake and that a software fix had been released. He warned that it could be some time before tech systems returned to normal.

"We're deeply sorry for the impact that we've caused to customers, to travelers, to anyone affected by this," he said in an interview on Friday on NBC's "Today" show.

Satya Nadella, Microsoft's chief executive, blamed CrowdStrike for the disruption and said the

Continued on Page A11

AVIATION It will take airlines a while to get stranded passengers to their destinations. PAGE B1

U.S. Journalist Given 16 Years In Russia Court

By IVAN NECHEPURENKO

A court in Russia on Friday sentenced Evan Gershkovich, a reporter for The Wall Street Journal, to 16 years in a high-security penal colony, ending his espionage trial on what were widely viewed outside Russia as fabricated charges. The verdict opens the way for a potential prisoner swap between the United States and Russia.

The harsh sentence represented the first espionage conviction of a Western reporter in modern Russia. But the expedited nature of the case suggested that Moscow might be ready to trade Mr. Gershkovich. The proceedings were recently moved up by more than three weeks, and the court concluded the case, a process that usually takes months, in a matter of weeks, with only three hearings.

The court said in a statement that Mr. Gershkovich did not admit guilt, but said "the totality of the evidence presented to the court was sufficient to render a guilty verdict." Judge Andrei N. Mincev, who presided over the case, sentenced Mr. Gershkovich to two years less than prosecutors were asking.

At no time during the case, however, did prosecutors publicly provide any evidence to back up the charge, and the trial was held behind closed doors. The Russian judicial system for years has served as a tool of President Vladimir V. Putin's domestic repression, handing down convictions and long sentences in cases with clear political motivations.

In Russia, once a person is charged with a crime, it is virtually impossible to get an acquittal in

Continued on Page A8

Musk Goes From Trump Skeptic to True Believer

Billionaire Emerges as Central Character in Presidential Race

By THEODORE SCHLEIFER and RYAN MAC

MILWAUKEE — A little over two months ago, Elon Musk found himself at Montsorrel, the palatial Palm Beach compound of Nelson Peltz, the famed activist investor. Mr. Musk knew the sprawling grounds well, having stayed in the guesthouse.

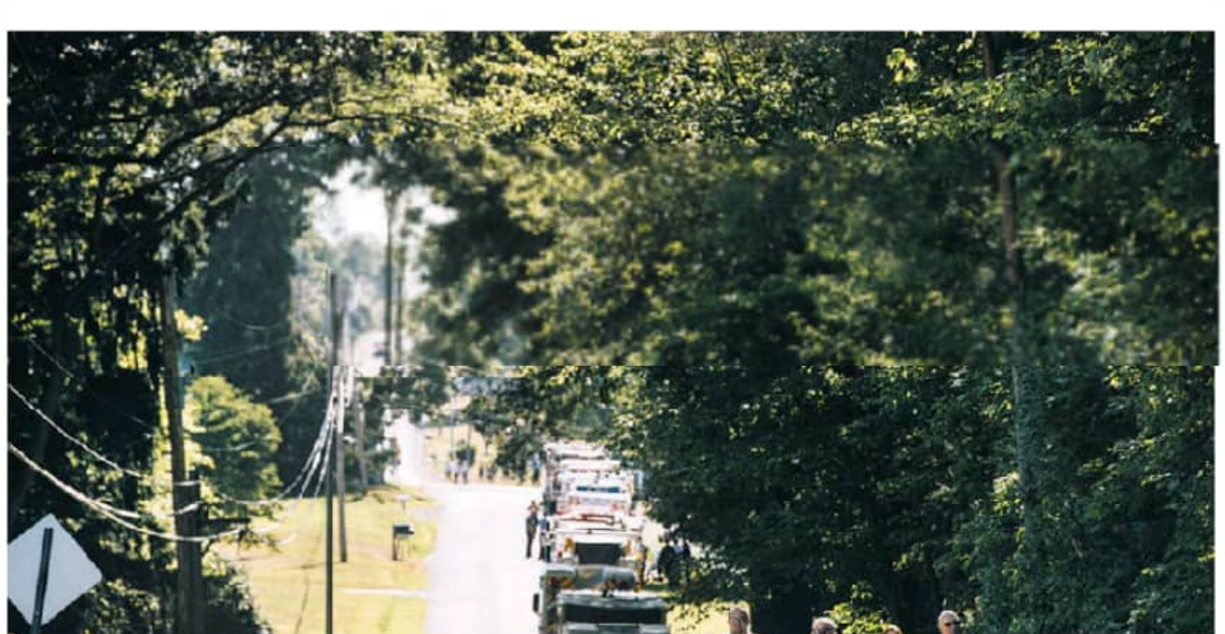
The conversation was a bit different than usual, though: Mr. Peltz had gathered a group of billionaire conservative financiers — including Steve Wynn, the Las Vegas casino magnate, and the hedge-funder John Paulson — to discuss whether Republicans could seize Senate control, as well as the party's weak ground game, according to a person with direct knowledge of what transpired.

But Mr. Musk had a darker message that spring day. He told the group that this would be the last free election in America — because if President Biden won, millions of undocumented immigrants would be legalized and democracy would be finished, according to the person.

Mr. Trump had to win, Mr. Musk said. He dispensed some advice for the veteran financiers, who had decades more experience in Republican politics than he did: Their emphasis on political advertising was misplaced, he said. Tesla, his electric car company, barely advertises, he said, but had still built a cult following through word of mouth. Why couldn't Republicans do the same?

The most important thing that the financiers could do, Mr. Musk said, was ask two people to support Mr. Trump, and urge them to ask two more. Two people by two people — that's how the former president would win.

Continued on Page A14



KRISTIAN THACKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Somber Procession
First responders at the funeral of a father of two killed in the attack on Donald J. Trump. Page A17.

A Houthi Drone Slips Into Israel, Striking Tel Aviv

This article is by Gabby Sobelman, Aaron Boxerman, Ronen Bergman, Lara Jakes and Erin Mendell.

REHOVOT, Israel — In a rare breach of Israel's multilayered air-defense system, a drone fired by the Houthi militia in Yemen slammed into an apartment building near the United States Embassy branch office in Tel Aviv early Friday, killing at least one person and wounding eight others.

Pentagon officials expressed doubt that the drone had specifically targeted the U.S. building, an attack that analysts assessed had possibly been an attempt by the Houthis to strike anywhere they could in Tel Aviv. The Houthis, an Iranian-backed militia that has been attacking ships in the Red Sea, claimed responsibility for the strike on the city of 450,000 people.

The Israeli military's chief spokesman, Rear Adm. Daniel Hagari, said the country's defense systems had apparently picked up the presence of the drone but had failed to register it as a threat. No air-raid sirens warned residents before the drone crashed into the building, causing an explosion that jolted people from their sleep, shattered windows and left shrapnel scattered on the streets.

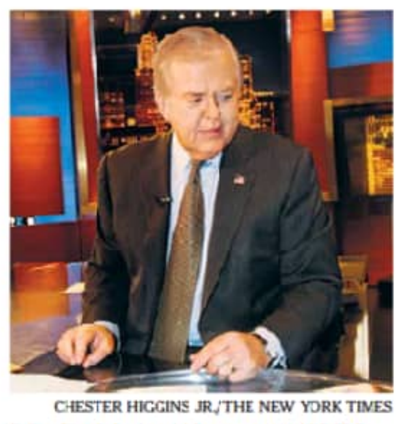
"We are investigating why we did not identify it, attack it and intercept it," Admiral Hagari said on Friday.

Another Israeli military official, who briefed reporters on the condition of anonymity, said there was a possibility that human error had allowed the drone to penetrate Israeli airspace.

Israeli officials did not an-

Continued on Page A5

LOU DOBBS, 1945-2024



CHESTER HIGGINS JR./THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mr. Dobbs on the set at CNN.

A Cable Pioneer Who Embraced Trump's Ascent

By ALEX WILLIAMS and MICHAEL LEVENSON

Lou Dobbs, the conservative television and radio host who loomed large over the cable news landscape for decades at CNN and Fox Business, and who later used his platform to promote baseless conspiracy theories and to lend unwavering support to former President Donald J. Trump, has died. He was 78.

His death was confirmed on Thursday on Mr. Dobbs's website and social media accounts after Mr. Trump announced it on the Truth Social platform. No cause of death was given, and where or when he died was not immediately clear. Mr. Dobbs had been absent from "The Great America Show," his podcast on the iHeartRadio network, for several weeks.

With his boyish face and authoritative demeanor, Mr. Dobbs had an on-air presence that could swing from folksy and avuncular

Continued on Page A21

BUSINESS B1-7

Housing Policy Renews Debate
A White House proposal to tie landlords' tax breaks with rent limits has drawn industry pushback. PAGE B1

Attracting China's Interest
Kazakhstan's bounty of minerals has drawn entrepreneurs seeking to fight climate change. PAGE B1

INTERNATIONAL A4-11

A Crocodile Comeback
The largest population of the endangered Siamese crocodiles this century hatched in Cambodia, a big moment for the species. PAGE A4

Congo's Other Deadly Conflict
Overshadowed by fighting in the east, a dispute in the west has resulted in thousands of civilians killed. PAGE A10

TRAVEL C7-8

Spain's Swaths of Purple
The annual lavender harvest has helped to revitalize the medieval town of Brihuega. PAGE C7

NATIONAL A12-20

Hanging On to Grievances
In his speech on Thursday night, Donald J. Trump couldn't resist the rambling, unscripted diatribe that has long been his signature style. PAGE A13

Vice President's Delicate Dance
Even as she has remained loyal to President Biden, Kamala Harris has sought to avoid having her own political strengths denigrated. PAGE A15

Rebuilding a Life Torn Apart
After a tornado killed the grandmother who raised him, Jaden Grayson went to live with his uncle, leaving behind everything he had known. PAGE A18

ARTS C1-6

What's Up With the Emmys?
Though the categories are confounding, this year's nominations also included some strong picks. PAGE C1

A Big Year for a Jazz Man
The pianist Luther S. Allison won a Grammy for his work with Samara Joy. He's releasing his debut album. PAGE C1

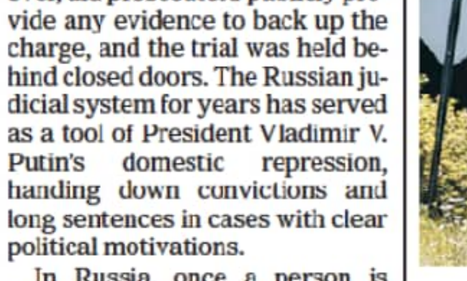
SPORTS B8-11

Middle East Entangles Soccer
FIFA put off a decision on a Palestinian bid to suspend Israel, whose path to the Paris Olympics was cleared. PAGE B10

All-Stars and Olympians
The W.N.B.A. All-Star Game is a battle between the U.S. national team and the best of who's left in the league. PAGE B11

OPINION A22-23

Maureen Dowd PAGE A22





PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604
COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW
pressreader

Inside The Times

The New York Times

A. G. SULZBERGER
Publisher

Founded in 1851

ADOLPH S. OCHS
Publisher 1896-1935

ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER
Publisher 1935-1961

ORVIL E. DRYFOOS
Publisher 1961-1963

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER
Publisher 1963-1992

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER JR.
Publisher 1992-2017

NEWS

JOSEPH KAHN
Executive Editor

MARC LACEY
Managing Editor

CAROLYN RYAN
Managing Editor

SAM DOLNICK
Deputy Managing Editor

MONICA DRAKE
Deputy Managing Editor

STEVE DUENES
Deputy Managing Editor

MATTHEW ERICSON
Assistant Managing Editor

JONATHAN GALINSKY
Assistant Managing Editor

HANNAH POFERL
Assistant Managing Editor and Chief Data Officer

SAM SIFTON
Assistant Managing Editor

KARRON SKOG
Assistant Managing Editor

MICHAEL SLACKMAN
Assistant Managing Editor

OPINION

KATHLEEN KINGSBURY
Opinion Editor

PATRICK HEALY
Deputy Opinion Editor

BUSINESS

MEREDITH KOPIT LEVIEN
Chief Executive Officer

WILLIAM T. BARDEEN
Chief Financial Officer

DIANE BRAYTON
Chief Legal Officer

JACQUELINE M. WELCH
Chief Human Resources Officer

R. ANTHONY BENTEN
Chief Accounting Officer, Treasurer

ALEXANDRA HARDIMAN
Chief Product Officer

DAVID S. PERPICH
Publisher, The Athletic

JOY ROBINS
Global Chief Advertising Officer

DAVID RUBIN
Chief Brand and Communications Officer of The Times, and Publisher, Wirecutter

JASON SOBEL
Chief Technology Officer

HANNAH YANG
Chief Growth and Customer Officer

Contact the Newsroom
To contact the newsroom regarding correction requests, please email corrections@nytimes.com.

Submit a Letter to the Editor
letters@nytimes.com

Send a Confidential News Tip
Reach us through tools that will help protect your anonymity at nytimes.com/tips.

Contact Customer Care
customercare@nytimes.com or call 1-800-NYTIMES (1-800-698-4637)

The Newspaper and Beyond

TODAY'S PAPER

Corrections A20
Crossword C3
Obituaries A21, 24
Opinion A22-23
Weather B12
Classified Ads B10







VIDEO

Videos, audio and photographs of the attempted assassination of Donald J. Trump revealed how a clear threat emerged minutes before the shooting. A Times video investigation showed how law enforcement was unable to protect Mr. Trump. *nytimes.com/video*

AUDIO

On "The Culture Desk," an audio show, Times critics discussed the ascent of Glen Powell, the star of the new epic disaster movie "Twisters," and the state of stardom in Hollywood. Listen at *nytimes.com/podcasts.*

T LIST

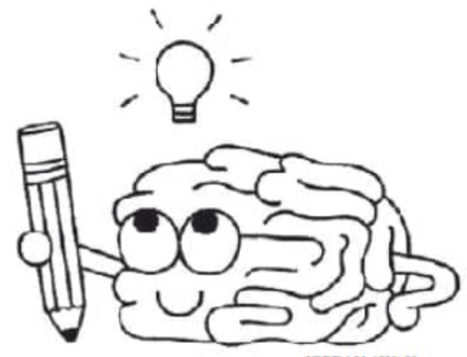
This week's picks from T Magazine editors include home goods inspired by hunting tools and sea creatures, a Miami riverfront restaurant and cashmere blankets. *tmagazine.com*

Quote of the Day

"Words are powerful weapons. But against the military, we need real weapons because they don't fight fairly."

KO MAUNG SAUNGKHA, *one of at least three poets who are leading rebel forces in Myanmar and inspiring young people to take on the government.* *Page A6.*

The News Quiz



JORDAN AWAN

Do you follow the headlines?
Take our quiz to find out.

1. Former President Donald J. Trump was wounded in an assassination attempt in Pennsylvania last Saturday. Which of the following is true of the gunman?

a. He drove from California to the rally.
b. He bought his gun illegally the day of the rally.
c. The police labeled him as suspicious before the shooting.
d. He posted a manifesto on his Facebook page.
e. Mr. Trump had visited his high school classroom in 2016.

2. Mr. Trump picked Senator J. D. Vance of Ohio as his running mate this week. Which *three* statements about Mr. Vance are true?

a. He is a New York Times best-selling author.
b. He is the first member of Generation X on a presidential ticket.
c. He once said Mr. Trump might become "America's Hitler."
d. He voted against giving Ukraine more military aid this year.
e. He was elected to the Senate in 2016.

3. Senator Bob Menendez, a New Jersey Democrat, was convicted on all 16 counts he faced for participating in a broad international conspiracy. What was *not* one of the charges?

a. Acting as a foreign agent
b. Bribery
c. Extortion
d. Obstruction of justice
e. Tax evasion

4. Elon Musk said he planned to move his companies out of California in protest of a new state law, which says schools cannot force teachers to notify parents when a student does what?

a. Gets into a fight
b. Fails to show up to school
c. Hands in an assignment written by A.I.
d. Uses a different name or pronouns
e. Uses a smartphone during class

5. Illegal crossings at the U.S. southern border dropped sharply last month after President Biden did what?

a. Announced more economic aid for Central America
b. Disbanded Immigration and Customs Enforcement
c. Endorsed Mr. Trump's plan to round up illegal immigrants
d. Imposed severe restrictions on asylum
e. Signed a bipartisan bill to hire more border patrol agents



KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

6. Gov. Jim Justice of West Virginia, who is running for the Senate, took the stage at the Republican National Convention accompanied by his 60-pound bulldog (above). What is the dog's name?

a. Babydog
b. Chuck
c. Mountaineer
d. Snookums
e. Ulysses

7. A federal judge dismissed the criminal case against Mr. Trump in which he was charged with illegally holding on to classified materials. What was her reasoning?

a. The documents were classified incorrectly.
b. The president is immune from the charges.
c. The appointment of the special counsel was unconstitutional.
d. The special counsel tampered with evidence.
e. The charges were filed in the wrong jurisdiction.

8. The television fitness guru Richard Simmons died last Saturday at 76. What was the title of his popular home-workout video?

a. "Body for Life"
b. "Jazzercise With Me"
c. "Prancercise"
d. "Sweatin' to the Oldies"
e. "The ThighMaster"

9. Novak Djokovic, the 37-year-old tennis legend, was defeated in last weekend's Wimbledon men's final by what young superstar?

a. Ben Shelton
b. Carlos Alcaraz
c. Frances Tiafoe
d. Jannik Sinner

10. Which series received 23 Emmy nominations this week, a record for a show in the comedy category?

a. "Abbott Elementary"
b. "The Bear"
c. "Curb Your Enthusiasm"
d. "Only Murders in the Building"
e. "Reservation Dogs"

11. Donald Glover, who has won multiple Grammys and Emmys, released a new album this week. He said it would be his last using what rap alter ego?

a. Childish Gambino
b. Common
c. Drake
d. Lil Wayne
e. Ludacris

The News Quiz is published on Fridays in the Morning newsletter. To sign up, visit nytimes.com/themorning.

Solutions: 1. C; 2. A, C and D; 3. E; 4. D; 5. D; 6. A; 7. C; 8. D; 9. B; 10. B; 11. A.

Today's Top Trending Headlines

What Caused Such a Widespread Tech Meltdown? Critical businesses and services, including airlines, hospitals, banks and TV stations, were disrupted on Friday by a global tech outage affecting Microsoft users. A trio of technology reporters for The Times broke down how a flawed software update sent out by the cybersecurity company CrowdStrike rapidly led to chaos around the world.

Melania and Ivanka Trump Fill Out the Family Portrait, but Not Barron After staying largely out of sight, former President Donald J. Trump's wife, Melania, and his eldest daughter, Ivanka, joined him on Thursday for his acceptance of the nomination at the Republican National Convention in Milwaukee. Missing from the scene was Mr. Trump's youngest son, Barron, whose privacy has been fiercely protected by his mother, Rebecca Davis O'Brien and Michael Gold wrote.

Bob Newhart, 94, Dies; Soft-Spoken Everyman Became A Comedy Star Bob Newhart, who burst onto the comedy scene in 1960 working a stammering character not unlike himself, died on Thursday at his home in Los Angeles. His long career included memorable television sitcoms — including "The Bob Newhart Show," "Newhart" and "The Big Bang Theory" — and movies like "Catch-22" and "Elf."

A Wildly Obscene Term's Path to Mainstream Usage If you suddenly feel like you're noticing the term "rawdogging" used in surprising contexts — for cooking without a recipe or staying sober at a party, for instance — you're not alone. A Styles article explained how the dirty slang word worked its way into parts of everyday speech.

A Headline From History

BRITAIN WILL NOT PROSECUTE IN CASE OF PALACE INTRUDER

July 20, 1982. An intruder who surprised Queen Elizabeth in her bedroom at Buckingham Palace over a week earlier would not be prosecuted because he did not commit a crime, The Times reported. The intruder, Michael Fagan, had trespassed in the palace a month earlier, too, but had gotten away (after drinking wine reportedly belonging to Prince Charles). On his second visit, on the morning of July 9, he scaled a wall, climbed a drainpipe and entered via a second-floor window. He was alone with the queen for several minutes before the police arrived. Because trespassing was a violation of civil law, not a criminal offense, he was not charged for the intrusion on the queen. He was portrayed by Tom Brooke in an episode of "The Crown" in 2020.

THE NEW YORK TIMES COMPANY
620 Eighth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10018-1405

The New York Times (ISSN 0362-4331) is published daily. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to The New York Times, 620 Eighth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10018-1405.

Mail Subscription Rates*	1 Yr.	6 Mos.
Daily and Sunday	$1326.00	$663.00
Monday-Saturday	1209.00	604.50
Sunday only	689.00	344.50
Times Book Review	$312.00	
Large Print Weekly	$182.00	

Higher rates available on request, for mailing outside the U.S., or for the New York edition outside the Northeast: 1-800-631-2580.

*Not including state or local tax.

The Times occasionally makes its list of home delivery subscribers available to marketing partners or third parties who offer products or services that are likely to interest its readers. If you prefer that we do not share this information, please notify Customer Service, 620 Eighth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10018-1405, or email help@nytimes.com.

All advertising published in The New York Times is subject to the applicable rate card, available from the advertising department. The Times reserves the right not to accept an advertiser's order. Only publication of an advertisement shall constitute final acceptance.

© 2024, The New York Times Company. All rights reserved.

A. G. Sulzberger, *Publisher*
Meredith Kopit Levien, *President and Chief Executive Officer*
R. Anthony Benten, *Treasurer*
Michael A. Brown, *Corporate Secretary*

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604
COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW
pressreader

Facts of Interest

In 2022, a Harvard report found that 50 percent of U.S. tenants, a record high, were "cost burdened," spending more than 30 percent of their income on rent.

Push for Cap Is Reigniting Rent Debate B1

A 2021 national survey found that only 12 percent of respondents believed that the moon landings were faked, but that millennials were more likely than other generations to deny it happened.

Making a Mockery of Denial C5

As a child, Donald J. Trump loved TV wrestling. As a businessman, he brought the WrestleMania event to Trump Plaza in Atlantic City, N.J. In 2007, he "fought" World Wrestling Entertainment's chief, Vince McMahon, in the "Battle of the Billionaires."

Trump Promised a Softer Image. He Delivered Hulkamania. A14

One automobile accident can lead to insurance payments that average 43 percent more than those for drivers with clean safety records.

How to Save on Auto Insurance As Rates Soar B5

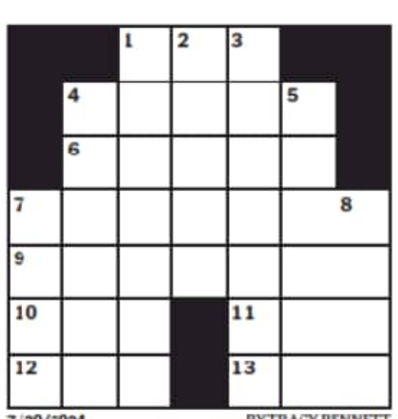
In December, the Apollo Theater in Harlem, renowned for its history as a debut venue for many Black performers at its famed amateur nights, will become the first institution to be recognized by the Kennedy Center Honors.

Kennedy Center Announces This Year's Honorees C5

The Mississippi Delta, a triangle of territory formed by the Mississippi and Yazoo Rivers, is known for having some of the most fertile soil anywhere, with its harvest distributed around the world.

A Tornado Wiped Out a Teen's World. Now, He's Rebuilding It. A18

The Mini Crossword



7/20/2024 BY TRACY BENNETT EDITED BY SAM EZERSKY

ACROSS
1 Reggae relative
4 Repeat a mantra during meditation
6 Perform better than
7 Collaboration that yields more than the sum of its parts
9 Exercise practiced in a steamy room
10 Had a nosh
11 Feeling poorly
12 Pre-___ (undergrad track)
13 Letter that's silent – and then not silent – in "Wednesday"

DOWN
1 Pushed out of the way
2 Actress Sagal
3 iOS alternative
4 Wile E., in the Looney Tunes cartoons
5 Flip on or off, as a switch
7 It's totally fake
8 Ivy League school in Connecticut

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

P	A	B	S	T
A	L	L	A	Y
S	L	U	R	P
T	I	N	G	E
A	N	T	E	S



DYLAN GLYNN

Might We Suggest . . .

Four Weekend Recommendations From Around the Newsroom

1 Feeling Over the Moon, Early

Are you in the honeymoon, er, early-moon phase? For couples eager to bask in the pre-wedding glow, taking an "earlymoon," a prenuptial trip, is becoming popular, wrote Allison Duncan in the Field Notes column. The vacation may bring respite to couples feeling stressed about big-day planning. Sound like you and your partner? *nytimes.com/love*

2 Treating Yourself to a Daycation

Our Frugal Traveler columnist, Elaine Glusac, offered an idea for a low-cost, highly relaxing afternoon: a daycation. Some hotels offer day passes that allow travelers and locals alike to enjoy amenities like pools, spas and tennis courts without staying overnight. Check in for a day of five-star treatment — just don't forget you have to go home at the end of it. *nytimes.com/travel*



LIAM EISENBERG

3 Making Summer Feel Spooky

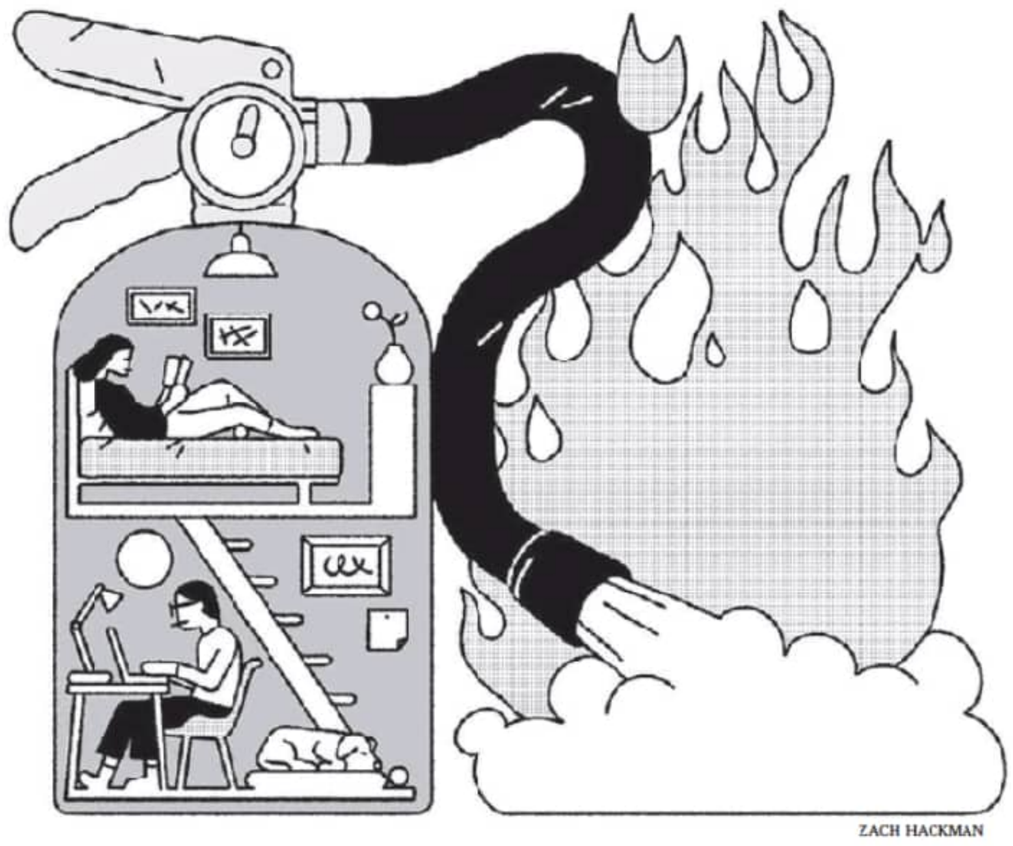
Instead of Christmas in July, how about Halloween? Horror meets heat in a mash-up that is gaining traction: Summerween. The holiday, which originated in 2012 on "Gravity Falls," an animated mystery TV series, has found new fans on social media, wrote Steven Kurutz for Styles. If you're not feeling up for carving a jack-o'-melon at a haunted pool party, a scary movie and lots of candy will suffice. (Hold off on pumpkin spice anything and everything until fall, please.) *nytimes.com/styles*

4 Reading 61 More Books

When editors for the Book Review published their list of the 100 best books of the 21st century, they knew they'd hear from readers about what did — and didn't — make the cut. And they were right. If you've somehow already made it through The Times's list, get going on the 100 best books of the century as selected by readers. Don't worry: There was a 39-book overlap, so you have only 61 new entries to go, including "All the Light We Cannot See," by Anthony Doerr, and "Educated," by Tara Westover. Better get to it. *nytimes.com/books*

Second Look

A House on Fire



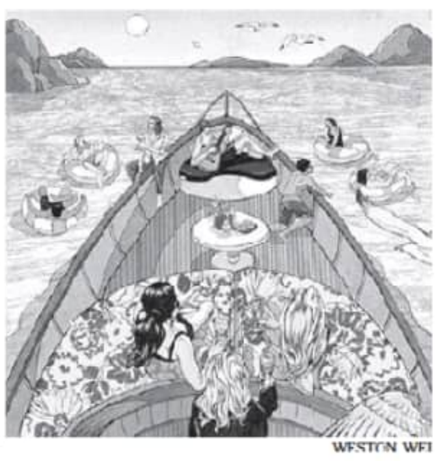
ZACH HACKMAN

Property insurers are burning down the (model) house. In an effort to protect buildings against wildfires, insurers are asking homeowners in fire-prone areas to comply with new specifications, including building fences and decks out of noncombustible materials, and cutting down greenery, like trees and shrubs. To make its point, the industry has been staging demonstrations where it burns down two structures — one built according to the new standards, and one that's not. Guess which one survives the flames? We're past debating whether or whose fault it is that wildfires are increasing in frequency and severity. Now it's a matter of finding ways to shelter against whatever nature throws at us next.

Here to Help

Travel 101: How to Charter a Boat

Even if you don't have a boat or boating experience, it's never been easier to make your nautical dreams come true — whether you want a day trip on a lake or a fully staffed multiday voyage in a far-flung locale. Here are questions to help plan an adventure on the water. LAUREN SLOSS



WESTON WEI

Who are you traveling with? Thinking about the size and dynamic of your group is a key first step, even if you are going on a day trip. Will children be on board? How old? What about elderly parents?

Do you want to be the captain, or do you want a captain? Some companies offer a "bareboat" charter, in which you rent the boat and take on the navigation and provisioning yourself. Others exclusively offer fully staffed options, including a captain and a cook. If you want to captain the boat, almost all outfits require some kind of proof of sailing or boating experience.

Where do you want to go? Popular cruising grounds include the Caribbean, Croatia, Alaska and French Polynesia. For help narrowing your focus, travel advisers often have relationships with charter companies or outfits around the world, and sailing publications offer recommendations.

What kind of boat? Where you want to travel and for how long will likely determine the kinds of boats that are available to you. Crucial at this point, too, is an understanding of the boat's layout and amenities.

Perhaps a group of friends might not mind a catamaran with functional but not luxurious marine bathrooms, but a multigenerational group might prefer more high-touch amenities.

When should I book? Often, charter trips are once-in-a-lifetime experiences that require a great deal of advanced planning. You don't want to be at sea in the Caribbean during hurricane season, or in the Mediterranean during winter storms. But you also might want to avoid peak cruising seasons.

How much does it cost? Charter costs vary greatly, depending on factors such as boat type and size, the destination, group size, crew size and amenities on board. Costs could range from $2,000 for a day on a sailboat to hundreds of thousands of dollars for a multiday mega-yacht charter.

Read the Travel 101 series at nytimes.com/travel.

Certified B Corporation



Make your *Statement.*

The "Marilyn" Link Bracelet

In 18K Gold or Sterling Silver with ceramic or pave diamond links

MONICA RICH KOSANN

Please call 866.598.2784 or Visit Us at MONICARICHKOSANN.COM



THE SETAI
MIAMI BEACH

A World-Class Destination

Reservations 866-990-6882, www.thesetaihotel.com or via your preferred travel consultant.

Forbes LEADING HOTELS

2001 COLLINS AVENUE MIAMI BEACH, FL 33139
www.thesetaihotel.com

The New York Times



Open the app.
Open the world.

The New York Times app.
Download now.

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604 COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW
pressreader

N

International

The New York Times

In Cambodia, Rare Crocodiles Could Be Poised For a Comeback

By AUSTYN GAFFNEY

Tiny snouts and long tails. Checkerboards of black and brown scales. Eggs the size of oranges cracking alongside hatchlings mewling and chirping like a choir of baby birds.

The birth of 60 Siamese crocodiles in the wild last month was all very Jurassic Park.

The hatchlings were the largest population born this century, representing two decades of conservation efforts. While the babies slipped and waddled through their trio of nests, their marble-like eyes blinked upon a bright new world for a species once nearly as extinct as the dinosaurs.

"There's a biodiversity crisis around the world, but in the tropics of Southeast Asia it's particularly acute," said Pablo Sinovas, the country director for the Cambodia program of Fauna and Flora, the conservation group monitoring the comeback. "The fact that we've been able to help these crocodiles recover and see this landmark breeding event, it's very significant."

Siamese crocodiles were first listed as virtually extinct in the wild in 1992. While captive populations lived in zoos and crocodile farms, decades of poaching of the animals for their soft, coppery hides that were used in the fashion industry, along with habitat degradation, had razed the wild population.

In 2000, a very small population was recorded in the remote Cardamom Mountains of Cambodia. The Indigenous population of Chorng people had protected the crocodiles, which they considered sacred, for generations. The species is smaller and less aggressive than its saltwater crocodile relative, and there is no recorded evidence of attacks by the animals on humans, including people who wash clothes and children who swim in the rivers the crocodiles call home.

For the last two decades, Fauna and Flora has worked with government agencies and local people to formalize species protection through a program that provides a modest stipend, along with work clothes, GPS devices and transportation like kayaks and motorcycles.

"The community members already protecting the sites is key to why this program works," Mr. Sinovas said. "Instead of a group coming from the outside, we're supporting what's already there." At last count, a very rough estimate of 250 adult crocodiles persisted in Cambodia, according to Fauna and Flora, and between 500 and 1,000 existed in the wild, according to the International Union for Conservation of Nature.

Siamese crocodiles "are a charismatic, large predator, so they naturally fascinate humans, and they have cultural importance," Mr. Sinovas said, noting that their conservation could have ripple effects.

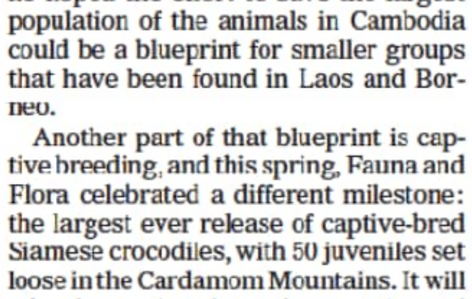
"If we're able to conserve Siamese crocodiles, which requires the conservation of wetlands they inhabit," he said, "then by default we're conserving the biodiversity that depends on those wetlands."

But bringing a species back from the brink is slow going, and the Siamese crocodile is still considered critically endangered by the International Union for Conservation of Nature. Mr. Sinovas said he hoped the effort to save the largest population of the animals in Cambodia could be a blueprint for smaller groups that have been found in Laos and Borneo.

Another part of that blueprint is captive breeding, and this spring, Fauna and Flora celebrated a different milestone: the largest ever release of captive-bred Siamese crocodiles, with 50 juveniles set loose in the Cardamom Mountains. It will take about a decade for the juveniles and the newest batch of hatchlings to reach sexual maturity. Then, scientists and local residents will have a better understanding of how likely the wild population is to survive and grow.

"They're very resilient animals," said Iri Gill, the manager for coldblooded animals, which includes snakes and crocodiles, at the Chester Zoo in Britain. "If you give them the right protection, they will bounce back."

Mr. Gill's ringtone is a recording of the chirping sound hatchlings make when they're born, a synchronous call for their siblings to emerge alongside them and their mother to find them. That first sound, he said, shows how they gain strength in numbers.



EROS POV/FAUNA & FLORA

A Siamese crocodile hatching at a national park in Koh Kong province.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY ALESSANDRO PENSO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Rev. Benedict Nivakoff during a feast this month. He is the abbot of a monastery whose restoration was partially funded by sales of its craft beer, Nursia.

Italian Monastery Leans on Faith and Ale to Rebuild After Quake

By ELISABETTA POVOLEDO

NORCIA, Italy — They may have chosen a contemplative life of prayer, detached from world affairs, but last month a small community of Benedictine monks threw a very big bash for the opening of their new monastery on a hill overlooking the central Italian town of Norcia, where St. Benedict was born.

After a Mass and a seated dinner for 1,000 — about half of them Norcia residents — the monks officially settled in, eight years after a devastating earthquake upended a sizable part of Norcia and destroyed their previous space.

At the festivities, they served Nursia, their craft beer whose sales supported the restoration of the 16th-century capuchin monastery that the community had bought after returning to Norcia 25 years ago, following a two-century hiatus. The celebration was also a moment of hope for an area struggling to revive itself after the earthquake compounded years of depopulation.

"They could have left after the earthquake," Alberto Naticchioni, a former mayor of Norcia, said of the 20 monks. "Instead they rolled up their sleeves and started rebuilding. It gave an important signal."

Norcia was among the 138 central Apennine towns and villages devastated by earthquakes in 2016. Two months after a temblor in the region killed nearly 300 people that August, Norcia was shaken by a magnitude-6.5 earthquake — the strongest in Italy since 1980.

No deaths were reported in the October quake, because many people had evacuated. But many houses and historic buildings collapsed, including the Basilica of St. Benedict and the monks' previous monastery. (St. Benedict, who was born in Norcia around 480, founded several monastic communities, and his philosophy formed the basic precept for thousands of monasteries in Europe.)

Since the quakes, many towns have struggled to rebuild, hobbled by bureaucracy, pandemic-related delays, a dearth of available construction companies and a steep rise in the cost of materials.

For the monks, however, fund-raising was helped by beer sales, "which remained pretty stable" throughout, "despite Covid and the war in Ukraine," said the Rev. Augustine Wilmeth, the head brewer at the monastery, which last month was elevated to abbey status, signaling it had taken root there.

The Rev. Benedict Nivakoff, the abbot, said beer sales covered about 15 to 20 percent of reconstruction, with donations funding the rest.

In his homily at a Mass celebrating St. Benedict's July 11 feast day, Father Nivakoff spoke of the "virtue of patience." But he said in an interview that for the monks, and residents of the region — some 575,000 people, according to government estimates — "it's been hard."

The area's depopulation had begun well before the earthquake, with younger people migrating to cities.

"A lot of people in the area are giving up," Giulia Bitrai, 27, a schoolteacher who shares a prefabricated home with her mother and grandmother, said on a sweltering afternoon while hanging laundry along a metal fence. "There aren't many opportunities for young people, and the elderly wonder whether they will ever see their homes again."

So rebuilding has also meant envisioning more viable communities.

Guido Castelli, a top official for Italy's post-earthquake reconstruction, said substantial investments were being made in digital connectivity, renewable energy and new railway hubs. In addition, a 7 percent flat tax introduced in 2019 to entice people to live in southern Italy's dwindling villages was extended to the earthquake-struck areas.

But there is still a question of where people might live. About 11,000 families affected by the 2016 earthquakes remain in subsidized temporary housing, according to government figures. Nowadays, Norcia's outskirts are pocketed with such makeshift neighborhoods.

After eight years, some front stoops are riotous with flowers while other residents have added barbecues and lawn furniture.

One resident, Maria Severini, 71, lamented that her house in San Pellegrino, a town just south of Norcia, was unlikely to be rebuilt anytime soon. The town, practically razed to the ground in the August quake, remains abandoned.

Her concerns may have some merit: In some parts of Italy, people have been living in post-earthquake temporary homes for over a century.

"At least here I don't have stairs to climb as I grow old," Ms. Severini said. It was unclear whether she was being ironic.

Several locals, asked why they stayed, replied that it was home.

"We created this — where are we going to go?" said Giuseppe Ansuini, 77, sitting at his Norcineria, the equivalent of a deli, that he inherited from his father and has passed down to his son.

Above him, a sign declared Norcia among "the most beautiful towns in Italy."

Tourism, a major economic driver, remains far below its pre-2016 levels, though. Then, the city could accommodate about 3,600 overnight guests, the mayor said. Now, it's down to 1,000.

The monks' presence has helped attract visitors, Mayor Giuliano Boccanera said. They have also drawn Roman Catholic families who moved to the area to participate in their traditional religious practices.

And the monks themselves are transplants: Only two are Italian, the rest coming from around the world, including several from the United States.

"We made vows here, vows which were for life," Father Nivakoff said. "Our hope was to stick to that."





Top, part of the rebuilt Norcia monastery; the original structure was destroyed in an earthquake in October 2016. Above, from left: Giuseppe Ansuini, Emiliano Ansuini and Giuseppina Panella outside their butchery, Ansuini Mastro Peppe. The monastery opening gave a moment of hope to an area struggling with decades of depopulation.

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER
PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604
COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW
pressreader

War in the Middle East

Houthi Drone Slips Into Israel, Striking Tel Aviv Building in Rare Breach

From Page A1

nounce an immediate military response against the Houthis, who control much of northwestern Yemen. The group has attempted several attacks on southern Israel, but this one managed to reach farther into the country. Israel's defense minister, Yoav Gallant, said that "anyone who tries to harm the state of Israel or sends terror against it" would meet an Israeli response "in a sharp and surprising way."

Israel has already been fighting what it calls a multipronged war against several militias backed by Iran, including Hamas, which led the Oct. 7 attack on Israel that led to the war in Gaza; and Hezbollah in Lebanon, which has been trading cross-border strikes with Israel for months in a conflict that has displaced more than 150,000 people on both sides of the Israeli-Lebanese border.

While Israel could strike back at Houthi targets in Yemen, Israeli military leaders have signaled they are more likely to continue fighting in Gaza and then focus more fire on Hezbollah.

The apartments hit were near an office of the U.S. Embassy.

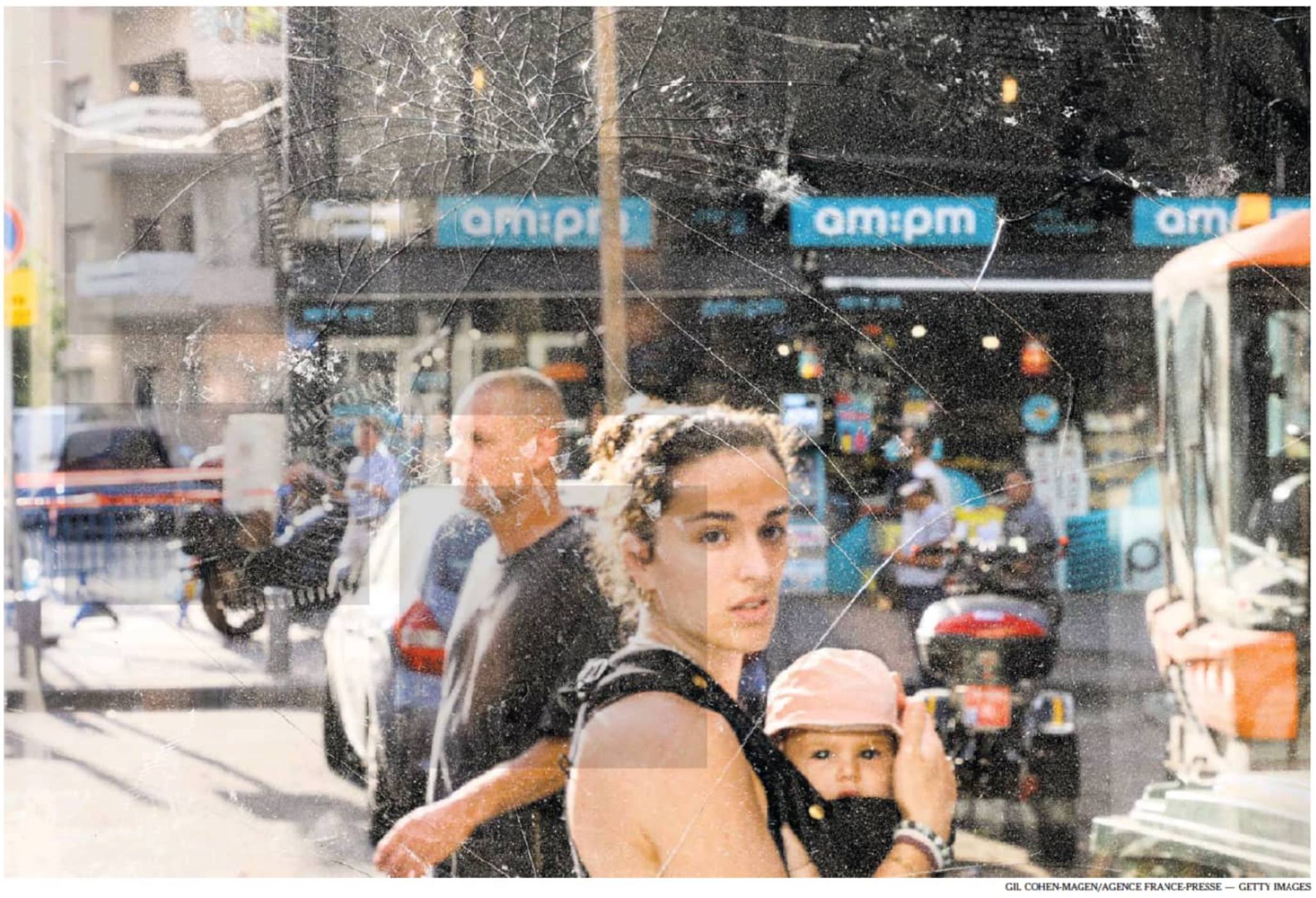
The Houthis have also been attacking ships in the Red Sea, in what they have described as a show of support for Palestinians in Gaza. In response, the United States, Britain and other allies have launched attacks on Houthi weapons depots, missile systems and radar facilities in Yemen. On Thursday, the United States imposed sanctions on about a dozen people, businesses and vessels that it said were linked to the Houthis' financial support network.

The drone strike on Tel Aviv was an unusual penetration of Israel's aerial defenses, which have allowed most Israelis to carry on a tense wartime routine even as the military's devastating offensive in Gaza has continued.

Admiral Hagari said that dozens of drones had been launched at Israel from Yemen since October, most of which had been intercepted by American or Israeli forces.

Nasruddin Amer, a Houthi spokesman, said in an interview that the drone had been manufactured in Yemen and had been equipped with technology that made it difficult to detect. He also described the attack as a response to "an escalation in massacres against the Palestinian people in Gaza."

He said that Iran had not been involved in the decision to carry out the strike, but that the Houthis had updated the Iranians afterward.



GIL COHEN-MAGEN/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES



YAHYA ARHAB/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK



SERGEY PONOMAREV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A drone that slammed into an apartment building in Tel Aviv, killing at least one person and wounding eight others, caused an explosion that left shrapnel on the streets and shattered windows, at top and right. Above, Houthi supporters on Friday.

Gabby Sobelman reported from Rehovot, Israel; Aaron Boxerman from Jerusalem; and Ronen Bergman from Tel Aviv. Reporting was contributed by Eric Schmitt, Michael Levenson, Rawan Sheikh Ahmad, Adam Rasgon and Adam Sella.

Weapons experts said the drone appeared to have been a variant of a Houthi-built, Iranian-designed Samad-3, which the Houthis have claimed they first launched in 2018 against airports in the United Arab Emirates. At a minimum, the experts said, it was painted darker to evade Israeli air defenses and equipped with a larger fuel tank and engine to give it the range to reach Tel Aviv.

Admiral Hagari said the Samad-3 was an Iranian model that had been adapted for long-distance flight but did not have stealth technology that enabled it to skirt Israeli surveillance.

The Israeli military said the drone had most likely flown from Yemen before approaching Tel Aviv from the coast. Video posted on the social media platform X and verified by The New York Times showed what appeared to be a pilotless aerial vehicle approaching west of the city, followed by a blast.

Jeremy Binnie, a weapons analyst and Samad drone expert at Janes, a defense intelligence firm, said the drone might have been tracked by Israeli defenses but mistaken for something else — particularly since it had approached Tel Aviv from the Mediterranean Sea and had not taken the shortest flight path from Yemen or Iran.

Israeli military personnel may have also missed the drone simply because of human error and "contributed to the Houthis achieving a lucky shot," said Fabian Hinz, an expert at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London.

Residents said the sound of the blast had awakened them in the predawn hours.

Yochai Afek, 35, said he had looked out his bedroom window to see his car in flames. Thinking that an air-conditioner had fallen on his vehicle, he and his wife ran outside with a fire extinguisher and a hose and were surprised to find a large crowd outside at 3 a.m.

"We didn't understand why the whole neighborhood came out to the streets because of a fallen AC unit," Mr. Afek said. "But, slowly, we began to hear buzz about a drone strike."

Emergency workers in Tel Aviv found the body of a 50-year-old man in his apartment building with shrapnel injuries, according to the Israeli authorities.

Shahar Dubb, 20, said Tel Aviv residents should not have been shocked by the attack.

She and her mother have been living in a hotel room in the city since their hometown, Kiryat Shmona, near Israel's northern border with Lebanon, was evacuated nine months ago because of repeated drone and rocket attacks by Hezbollah.

"I see people in a hubbub, but I ask myself, What's the uproar?" Ms. Dubb said. "This happens every day."

Israel's Occupation of West Bank and East Jerusalem Is Unlawful, World Court Says

By MATTHEW MPOKE BIGG

The International Court of Justice said on Friday that Israel's occupation of the West Bank and East Jerusalem, and its settlements there, violated international law — the most sweeping stance laid out by the world's highest court on an issue that has been the subject of debates and resolutions at the United Nations for decades.

The court was issuing an advisory opinion that, while not binding, carries authority and legal weight. It is unlikely to affect Israeli policy but could shape international opinion.

"The Israeli settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem and the regime associated with them have been established and are being maintained in violation of international law," the court's president, Nawaf Salam, said as he issued the opinion at the Peace Palace in The Hague.

The court also said that Israel's presence in the territories should come to an end "as rapidly as possible" and that Israel was "under an obligation to provide full reparation for the damage caused by its internationally wrongful acts to all natural or legal persons concerned."

Friday's pronouncement received heightened attention because of the war in Gaza, which began more than nine months ago, and because of a separate genocide case brought in the same court by South Africa against Israel in December over its conduct in the war.



TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Israeli soldiers on patrol last October in the occupied West Bank. Clashes have intensified there since the Oct. 7 attacks. Over 500,000 Israelis haver settled in the West Bank since 1967.

In an initial ruling on the genocide case in January, the court ordered Israel to restrain its attacks in Gaza, and in May it ordered the country to immediately halt its military offensive in the city of Rafah, in southern Gaza.

The U.N. General Assembly in 2022 asked the court for its opinion on the legal consequences of Israel's "prolonged occupation, settlement and annexation" of territories captured in the 1967 Middle East war, including the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel called the decision "mendacious" and said that Israeli settlement in all parts of its land was legal.

"The Jewish people is not an occupier in its land — not in our eternal capital Jerusalem and not in the tracks of our forefathers in Judea and Samaria," he said, using the Israeli designation for the territories that make up the West Bank.

In his response, Israel's far-right finance minister, Bezalel Smotrich, posted an Israeli flag emoji on social media and added: "The answer to The Hague — sovereignty now." The comment reflected the view of many Israeli religious nationalists and settlers

A ruling that Israel should vacate and provide reparations.

that the government should declare the occupied lands part of Israel.

Many Palestinians were likely to welcome the court's opinion as a vindication and the Palestinian Authority said in a statement that it was a "victory for justice" as it "affirmed that the Israeli occupation is illegal."

Israel annexed East Jerusalem decades ago, in a move that did not garner widespread international recognition.

The country regards the occupied West Bank as disputed territory and wants the future status of it to be decided in negotiations, but it has allowed hundreds of thousands of Jews to settle there, on land envisioned by Palestinians — and many of Israel's allies — as part of a future Palestinian state. Critics say the settlements carve the West Bank into a patchwork that make a potential state increasingly untenable, while many settlement advocates oppose Palestinian statehood and support annexation by Israel.

Israel withdrew from Gaza and dismantled its settlements there in 2005 but partly blockaded the territory, along with Egypt, for 17 years after Hamas seized control of it in 2007. Now much of Gaza is once again under Israeli military control.

The international court held hearings in February at the Peace Palace. Israel did not appear at that session but filed a submission rejecting the validity of the proceedings as biased. The Palestinian Authority's foreign minister, Riyad al-Maliki, told the court that Israel had subjected Palestinians to decades of discrimination, leaving them with the choice of "displacement, subjugation or death."

Over the course of several days, representatives of more than 50 countries, an unusually high number for the court, addressed the hearings. Most sided with the Palestinian representatives. But a few speakers at the court, including those from the United States, Britain and Hungary — among Israel's traditional allies — sided with Israel.

A U.S. State Department official argued before the court that Israel's policies toward the Palestinians were determined by its "very real security needs."

Two focal points of Friday's case were Israel's settlement policy in the West Bank and East Jerusalem as well as the government's tolerance of violent land grabs by Jewish settlers.

Every Israeli government has allowed some Israeli construction in the territories, but the Netanyahu government has expanded the program and announced plans for thousands of new housing units. More than 500,000 Israelis have settled in the West Bank since 1967.

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604 COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW pressreader



Ko Rakkha addressing 241 new recruits of the Bamar People's Liberation Army on their first day of training in May in Myanmar's Karen State.



Mr. Rakkha kept the soldiers moving. Otherwise, he said, they would not be ready for the front lines in three months' time.

THE GLOBAL PROFILE

The Poet Who Commands A Rebel Army

By HANNAN BEECH
Photographs by DANIEL BEREHULAK

KAREN STATE, Myanmar — Deep in the sweltering jungles of Myanmar this spring, a rebel commander stood in front of 241 recruits for Day 1 of basic training. The troops — part of a resistance fighting an unpopular military dictatorship — were organized in rows by height, starting at less than five feet tall. A spotted dog patrolled the ragged lines before settling in the dirt for a snooze.

The commander, Ko Maung Saungkha, has raised an army of 1,000 soldiers. But his background is not military. Instead, he is a poet, one of at least three who are leading rebel forces in Myanmar and inspiring young people to fight on the front lines of the brutal civil war.

"In our revolution, we need everyone to join, even poets," Mr. Maung Saungkha said.

He amended his statement.

"Especially poets," he added.

To his new recruits, though, Mr. Maung Saungkha delivered a lecture devoid of literary embellishments. The soldiers, roughly half from Yangon, the largest city in Myanmar, may have been lured by his social media presence, curated to appeal to romantic notions of resistance, or by the junta's ordering conscription for all young men and women in the country. But no rhyming couplet — no matter how deft — would save them in battle. For that, they had to learn how to shoot and fight.

The jungle simmered. Over the next few hours in Myanmar's eastern Karen State, more than a dozen enlistees would collapse from the heat, exhaustion or simply nerves. Ko Rakkha, Mr. Maung Saungkha's chief drill sergeant, kept the soldiers moving. Otherwise, he said, they would not be ready for the front lines in three months' time.

"Whether you're a doctor or a lawyer or a poet, forget your past, forget your pride," said Mr. Rakkha, himself a poet. "The point of training is to learn how not to die."

Myanmar is a country entranced by poetry. Poets are celebrities, accorded the kind of adulation that, in other places, might be showered on actors or athletes. And verse, delivered in punchy rhymes made easy by the Burmese language, has long been political, used to galvanize the masses.

Irreverent and waging a personal war against portliness, Mr. Maung Saungkha, 31, would not pass central casting for a battle-hardened militia leader. Before Myanmar's military junta seized full control of the country three years ago, he had gained a reputation as a literary wunderkind, standing in front of City Hall in Yangon, reciting his antiwar poetry. But the army coup in 2021, which displaced a civilian leadership and ended all political reforms, changed him.

"Words are powerful weapons," Mr. Maung Saungkha said. "But against the military, we need real weapons because they don't fight fairly."



Ko Maung Saungkha

In the tradition of Myanmar poets, Mr. Maung Saungkha was quick to oppose the junta's power grab. Earlier, as much of the country's political leadership ignored or even justified the military's persecution of Rohingya Muslims, Mr. Maung Saungkha defended the minority group. He also went to prison for writing a poem in which he juxtaposed a national leader and male genitalia.

Since the coup, at least half a dozen poets have been killed, as the military junta crushes dissent. More than 30 poets were imprisoned in the aftermath of the coup, according to the National Poets' Union.

With the help of longstanding ethnic militias, the rebel movement now claims control of more than half of Myanmar's territory. After a concerted offensive last autumn, the resistance is now threatening major urban areas. Still, the country's heartland remains in junta hands. And while the resistance says the Myanmar military's casualty count is high, many rebel soldiers are dying, too.

Mr. Maung Saungkha's Bamar People's Liberation Army, or B.P.L.A., does not fight as a separate army. Instead, its troops, which train in the forests of eastern Myanmar where an ethnic militia has given them refuge, are dispatched to other rebel armies. Since the fighting force formed in April 2021, more than 20 B.P.L.A. soldiers have been killed in action. In 2022, Ko Linn Htike, also a poet, was hit in the leg by mortar fire, just one week after he finished basic training. It took him months to recover. He has not written about his injury.

"I can stand the sound of guns," Mr.



Mr. Maung Saungkha's Bamar People's Liberation Army does not fight as a separate army. Instead, its troops, which train deep in the forest, are dispatched to other rebel armies.

pressreader PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604 COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW



"Whether you're a doctor or a lawyer or a poet, forget your past, forget your pride," said Mr. Rakkha, himself a poet. "The point of training is to learn how not to die."

Linn Htike said, explaining how he has come to dread another feature of life in the trenches. "The sound of cicadas on the front lines, that I cannot bear."

A Poet's Life

Mr. Maung Saungkha began writing poetry as a child. He entered comic verse competitions, and at bookstores, on the way home from school, checked the poetry journals — mimeographed compendiums of thin paper — to see if his entries had made it. Barely in his teens, he discovered he was a published poet.

His poetry matured into a bawdy, brawling verse. As he was coming of age, before 2010, the military completely controlled the country, with its censors slicing through media. There was almost no internet and few captivating T.V. shows. Cellphones were an unaffordable luxury. But people needed diversion. So comedians traveled the country, performing in village squares. Puppeteers roamed. Entertainers, poets included, knew to trade in allegory and allusion.

In college, from 2010 to 2012, Mr. Maung Saungkha studied chemical engineering, which led to a brief stint working at a sunscreen manufacturer. But he also started the Poetry Lovers' Association, which was far cooler than it might be in other countries. The group attracted the attention of military minders, who were suspicious of any subversive meaning. When the lovers of poetry tried to attach their club symbol — a dove holding a pen in its beak — to their graduation gowns, the university rector said "no."

Mr. Maung Saungkha was already part of a long tradition of political poets. Burmese kings employed troubadours to rouse soldiers in battle. An anticolonial movement depended on poets and other writers outsmarting British censors. When a paranoid general staged a coup in 1962, bringing a nation then known as Burma under what would become half a century of military rule, he targeted poets and other freethinkers. One poet died of a hunger strike in a remote island prison.

In later years, poets helped lead democracy movements that were bloodily suppressed. Others were arrested, such as one who wrote a poem in which the first letters of each line put together called a former junta leader "power-obsessed."

In 2015, the military allowed general elections for the first time in a generation. Among the candidates who ran for the National League for Democracy, led by the opposition leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, were nearly a dozen poets. All won. In Naypyidaw, the junta-built capital, a former defense minister lost his parliamentary seat to a poet who spent his years in prison carving his verse on scraps of plastic because pens were banned.

Mr. Maung Saungkha's poetry did not dwell in a gauzy past. He referenced Haruki Murakami, Cat Power and a girlfriend's breasts. He wrote of the intimidating muscle of social media.

All I have to do is stroke my
smartphone
to stoke war

In 2015, just as the National League for Democracy won the elections, Mr. Maung Saungkha posted a poem about a president (unnamed), a tattoo (of the leader) and a penis (his own).

On my manhood rests
a tattoo portrait of Mr. President.
My beloved found that out,
after we wed.
She was utterly devastated,
inconsolable.

Mr. Maung Saungkha was thrown in prison for defamation and violating a telecommunications act. By the time his trial wrapped up, Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi's National League for Democracy headed the civilian side of Myanmar's government. Nevertheless, Mr. Maung Saungkha was convicted and sentenced to six months in prison. He was 23 years old.

Poet 23 loves freedom.
He never wears undies.
He despises dictators.

On Feb. 1, 2021, Senior Gen. Min Aung Hlaing ordered the arrests of Myanmar's elected leaders, Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi included. His coup yanked a young populace, which had embraced the country's integration into the global economy, back into a closed, paranoid world.

Mr. Maung Saungkha joined hundreds of thousands of other peaceful protesters in Yangon. When the junta cracked down, he learned how to use a slingshot and craft Molotov cocktails. After soldiers combed each neighborhood, trying to obliterate dissent, he escaped to an area under the command of the Karen National Liberation Army, an ethnic armed group that has been fighting the Myanmar state for generations.

There and in other borderlands, a shadow pro-democracy government formed. Its defense minister is the poet who in the 2015 elections defeated the military's former defense minister.





Mr. Maung Saungkha, pointing, who inspires young people to fight, with Ma Wai, far right, and Mr. Rakkha, right.



Instructors helping recruits with heat exhaustion. At least three poets are leading rebel forces in Myanmar.



"In our revolution, we need everyone to join, even poets," Mr. Maung Saungkha said. "Especially poets," he added.

A Poet's Militia

Mr. Maung Saungkha did not know how to raise an army. Nor did most of the actors, lawyers, writers and even a runway model who tried to form guerrilla forces of their own. In unfamiliar jungles, given sanctuary by ethnic rebels wary of the new arrivals from the cities, they tried. Most failed.

Mr. Maung Saungkha's militia is the largest of those that survived. First, he designed a logo: a dancing peacock. He came up with the name after the country's Bamar ethnic majority, which has long occupied a privileged place in Myanmar society. Only those who identify as Bamar can rise to the top echelons of the military, whose history includes targeting ethnic minorities, using rape as a tool of war and ringing villages with land mines, human rights groups say.

For decades, Myanmar's democratic opposition was personified by a single woman: Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi, the Nobel Peace Prize laureate whose party has dominated Myanmar's elections. But Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi, now 79, did not cultivate political heirs. Her cult of personality endured even as she failed to stand up for Myanmar's ethnic minorities.

Although Mr. Maung Saungkha is Bamar, he decried the military's ethnic chauvinism. He called the army's persecution of Rohingya Muslims a genocide, a designation that the United States later came to use. Should the military fall, Mr. Maung Saungkha said Myanmar will only succeed as an equal federation of ethnic groups. In such a formulation, the Bamar, represented by his army, will be just one more ethnic militia.

But Mr. Maung Saungkha is wary of any future role in government.

"Revolution is the job of poets and artists," Mr. Maung Saungkha said. "Politics is the job for someone else."

Among his fighters now is Ma Wai, who before the coup was working as a saucier in Dubai, stirring hollandaise and reducing stocks. She was, she said, not political, but she happened to be home when the junta grabbed power three years ago. The resumption of full military dictatorship horrified her. She joined Mr. Maung Saungkha's fledgling army. She is not a poet, she says, but she can speak like one.

"One drop of water, like me, is nothing," she said. "But a wave is powerful."

Three years after forming his militia, Mr. Maung Saungkha's body is soft, his jawline less defined than when he sweated through his own basic training. About the only decorative items in the jungle shack where he sleeps are empty bottles of Johnny Walker. Squatting in a forest clearing where a bamboo pipe dripped rainwater for bathing, he groomed himself with an electric shaver.

He is, he said, deploying a newfound English word, "a metrosexual."

Some of his underlings grumble about Mr. Maung Saungkha's tendency to sleep past reveille or to spend his evenings attending Zoom meetings with armchair warriors discussing theoretical concepts like restorative justice.

Mr. Maung Saungkha dials in from the middle of a mosquito-swarmed forest, the only light coming from a candle jammed into an empty beer can. He visits trenches on the front lines, giving pep talks to the recruits who joined up because of him. Traveling near enemy territory, he sleeps in Buddhist monasteries, which have been hit by Myanmar military airstrikes. He may look slightly sheepish when he strokes the pistol at his side. But he is not playing at war.

At the basic training in May, his new recruits before him, Mr. Maung Saungkha raised a finger at one soldier. Her battle cry, he said, was hardly befitting that of a soldier. The young recruit, not quite five feet tall, blinked. Her jaw tensed. A rivulet of sweat surged down her cheek.

"If you feel tired, think of the people who have been killed and jailed," Mr. Maung Saungkha said. "We fight for them."

Mr. Maung Saungkha's voice softened. She would be OK, he told her. She blinked again, wordless.

Later in the day, the soldier crumpled in the heat. Fellow recruits dragged her off the field.

"For peace in Myanmar, we need war first," Mr. Maung Saungkha said that night. "When I have time, I will write a poem about that, about our revolution."

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604 COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW pressreader

Gershkovich Receives 16 Years in Russian Prison on Fabricated Charges

From Page A1

court. Only one in about 385 criminal court trials ended with an acquittal in 2023, according to court statistics.

Dow Jones, the parent company of The Journal, called the conviction "disgraceful" and a "sham." The company added in a statement that, "We will continue to do everything possible to press for Evan's release and to support his family."

In a statement President Biden said Mr. Gershkovich was wrongfully convicted and had committed no crime. "We are pushing hard for Evan's release and will continue to do so," he said.

Mr. Gershkovich's defense can appeal the verdict. If they don't, or if the appeal is overruled, he will be transferred to the sprawling Russian prisons system. According to the court, he will serve his sentence in a high-security penal colony reserved for repeat offenders and felons who committed grave crimes.

Russian officials have said that discreet talks were being conducted with the United States about Mr. Gershkovich, but that any prisoner swap would come only after a verdict was handed down.

On Wednesday, the Russian foreign minister, Sergei V. Lavrov, said that the two countries were holding talks on a possible swap involving Mr. Gershkovich, who was arrested almost 16 months ago. He was the first Western reporter to be arrested in Russia on espionage charges since the Cold War.

On Friday, Dmitri S. Peskov, the Kremlin's spokesman, said he would not comment on why Mr. Gershkovich's trial was expedited and on whether there would soon be an exchange, according to Tass, a Russian state news agency.

Asked in a television interview in February about Mr. Gershkovich's fate, Mr. Putin mentioned Vadim Krasikov, a Russian sentenced to life in prison in Germany for the brazen 2019 murder of a Chechen former separatist fighter in a downtown Berlin park. Mr. Putin hinted that he would consider a swap involving Mr. Krasikov, saying that it was up to the intelligence services "to come to an agreement" but that "some groundwork has been laid."

Russian prosecutors said in their indictment that Mr. Gershkovich used "painstaking conspiratorial methods" to obtain "secret information" about a major Russian weapons factory about 75 miles north of Yekaterinburg.

But Mr. Gershkovich, his employer, and the American government have repeatedly denied the espionage charges against him, saying that he was accredited to work as a foreign correspondent in Russia and was engaged in journalism, not spying. They have called the charges politically motivated.

The court in Yekaterinburg, where Mr. Gershkovich was initially detained while on a reporting assignment, said in a statement earlier on Friday that it had concluded hearing evidence, including testimony from witnesses and a statement from Mr. Gershkovich, who was also interrogated as a witness.

The case against Mr. Gershkovich picked up speed Tuesday, when it was announced that the second hearing in his case had been moved ahead by more than three weeks. The first hearing in Mr. Gershkovich's case took place on June 26.

On Thursday, during the second hearing, the court wrapped up its investigation of the evidence and hearing witness testimony.

Espionage cases in Russia usually take about four months but can take up to a year, according to lawyers who have worked on such cases.

There was no comment from Mr. Gershkovich's lawyers. His case is classified, meaning they are prohibited by law from speaking publicly about it, under penalty of imprisonment.

Yevgeny Smirnov, a Russian lawyer who worked on similar cases, said that he could not remember a case involving charges this serious that was heard as quickly by a court.

"Here it is clear that the government has accelerated, trying to finish the proceedings," Mr. Smirnov said in an interview with Zhivoy Gvozd, a news outlet. "I hope that the reason is positive, that an exchange has been agreed on."

Mr. Smirnov said a swap involving Mr. Gershkovich would be dependent on a pardon from Mr. Putin, a step that by definition requires a conviction. Mr. Gershkovich's defense might appeal the sentence, which would prolong the process.

Mr. Gershkovich is one of several American citizens who have been detained in Russia in recent years, and his case has raised fears that the Kremlin is seeking to use American citizens as bargaining chips to be exchanged for Russians held in the West.

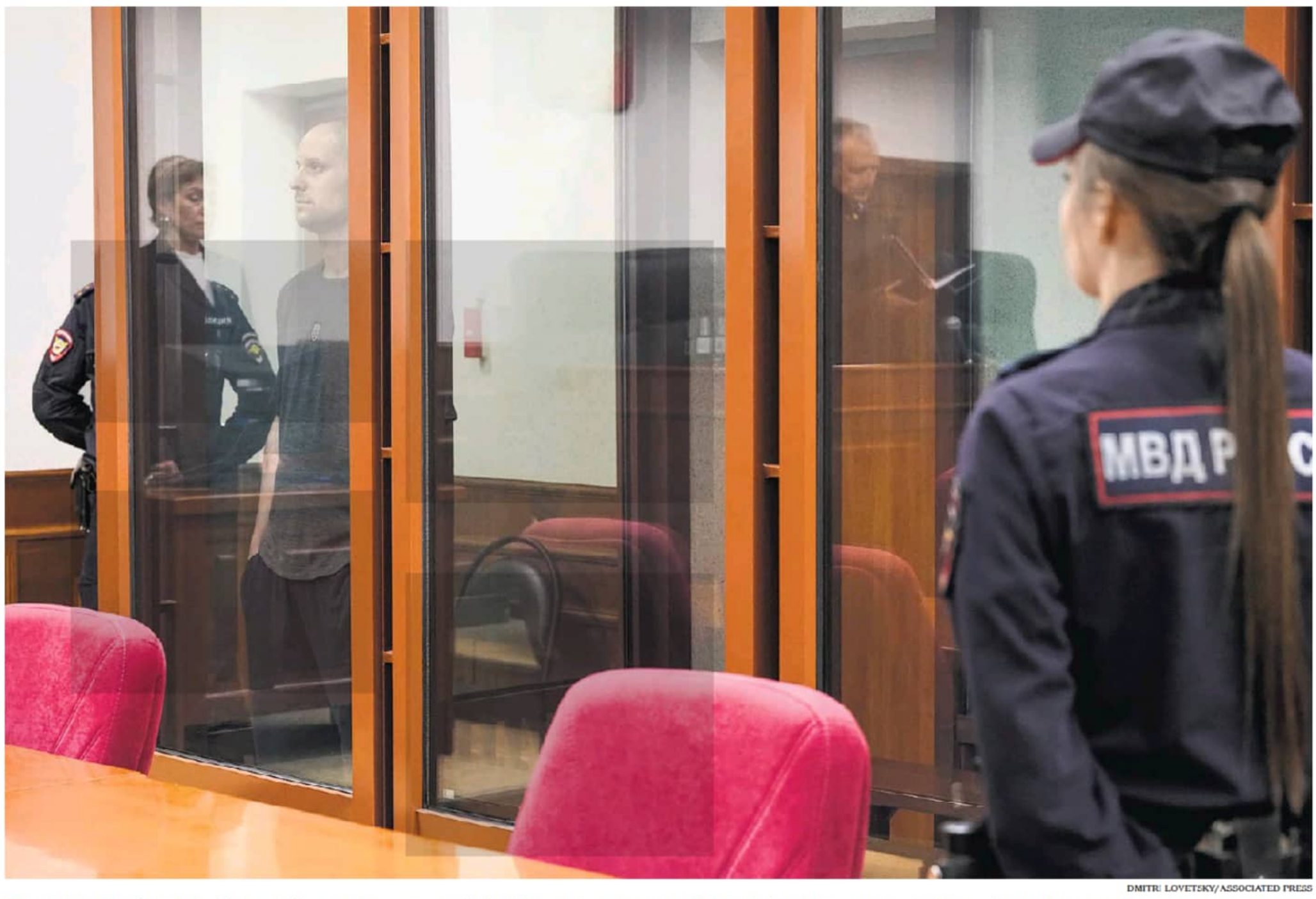
On Thursday, a court in Moscow sentenced Michael Travis Leake, an American rock musician who had been living in Russia, to 13 years in a high-security penal colony after prosecutors accused him of organizing a drug trafficking ring.

Mr. Leake's plea has not been made public. The court also sentenced Veronika Grabanchuk, whom it identified as his accomplice, to eight years in a penal colony.

Other Americans held in Russia include Paul Whelan, a Marine veteran; Alsu Kurmasheva, an editor working for Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty; and Marc Fogel, a teacher at the Anglo-American School in Moscow, who in 2022 was sentenced to 14 years in a penal colony for drug smuggling.

In June, a Russian court sentenced Yuri Malev, who holds both American and Russian citizenship, to three and a half years in a penal colony after he criticized Russia, its leadership and its war in Ukraine on social media.

Paul Sonne contributed reporting.



DMITRI LOVETSKY/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The trial of Evan Gershkovich on espionage charges was widely viewed as a sham outside Russia. But the verdict on Friday could set the stage for a prisoner exchange.

NEWS ANALYSIS

As U.S. Interest Wanes, Putin's Bet Might Pay Off

By ANTON TROIANOVSKI

BERLIN — President Vladimir V. Putin's strategy for defeating Ukraine can be summed up in one revealing moment from his February interview with the former television host Tucker Carlson. Addressing the possibility of heightened U.S. involvement in Ukraine, the Russian leader asked Americans: "Don't you have anything better to do?"

After several tumultuous weeks in American politics, Mr. Putin appears closer than ever to getting the answer he seeks.

President Biden, Ukraine's most important ally, is engulfed in the biggest political crisis of his tenure, with calls from fellow Democrats to withdraw from the presidential race. Former President Donald J. Trump, favored in the polls, has picked as his running mate one of the loudest critics of American aid to Kyiv.

And at the Republican National Convention Thursday night, Mr. Trump renewed his pledge to end the fighting and channeled Mr. Putin in warning of "World War III."

All told, the arc of American foreign policy could be moving closer to Mr. Putin's expectations of it: an inward-looking worldview that cares far less about Ukraine than Russians do, making it only a matter of time until Washington abandons Kyiv like its critics say Afghanistan was abandoned in 2021.

In Moscow, analysts are poring over American polls and news reports, while state television and pro-Kremlin blogs have featured extensive coverage of Mr. Trump's pick of Senator J.D. Vance as his vice-presidential candidate. Dmitri Trenin, the former head of the Carnegie Moscow Center, said his conclusion from the polling is that "all foreign problems" are low on the priority list for American voters.

"Putin's strategic calculus is built on this: at some point, Americans will get tired," said Mr. Trenin, who now teaches at a Moscow university and described Russia's war aims as "completely appropriate."

Polls show that while most Americans favor maintaining or increasing support for Ukraine in its fight against Russia, they do not see it as a key electoral issue.

While 50 percent of American adults told the Pew Research Center in April that limiting Russian influence should be a top foreign policy priority, only 23 percent said the same of support for Ukraine. And when YouGov surveyed Americans in June on 28 policies proposed by Mr. Biden, the least popular one — with 30 percent backing — was "pledging 10 years of U.S. military support for Ukraine in its war against Russia."

Mr. Putin, on the other hand, claims he is pursuing historical justice: Ukraine is a rightful part of Russia, he has said, describing his invasion as part of an existential conflict with the West.

He has shaped his foreign policy for years around the idea that America is led by a virulently anti-Russian elite pursuing world hegemony rather than the best interests of the American public — and that Russia can outlast that elite.

The stakes in that bet have never been as high as they are now, with Mr. Putin accepting enormous costs in lives and treasure to wage his third year of war in Ukraine. Analysts believe that Mr. Putin expects that eventually, the American-led West will stop arming Ukraine and push its leaders into an armistice on Russia's terms.

"You have issues on the border, issues with migration, issues with the national debt," Mr. Putin told Mr. Carlson in February. "Wouldn't it be better to negotiate with Russia?"

That Mr. Putin chose Mr. Carlson for his first interview with an American news outlet since 2021 was in itself revealing. A former Fox News host who often echoes Mr. Putin's talking points on Ukraine, Mr. Carlson is a leading figure among Mr. Trump's base, which Moscow views as potentially sympathetic.

In his speech to the Republican convention on Thursday, Mr. Carlson said the American military should be attacking drug supply routes into the United States rather than supporting Ukraine.

"You don't see our commander in chief suggesting that we use our military to protect our country or the lives of its citizens," Mr. Carlson said. "No, that's for Ukraine."

But it appears too soon for Mr. Putin to celebrate. His calculations about American policies have repeatedly been proved wrong.

The Kremlin bet on helping elect Mr. Trump in 2016, only to see him ship weapons to Ukraine and tighten sanctions against Russia. In 2022, when Mr. Putin invaded Ukraine, Russia was so caught off guard by the severity of the Western response that it didn't have time to move hundreds of billions of dollars in Russian Central Bank reserves to safety. As a result, they were frozen in Europe and the United States.

Russian officials and Kremlin-linked commentators are now far more cautious than they were in 2016 in casting a potential Trump re-election as a win for Russia. Dmitri S. Peskov, the Kremlin's spokesman, told reporters on Wednesday that "under Trump, there wasn't much good being done for Russia."

An inward-looking worldview that cares less about Ukraine.

This time around, Mr. Putin has said he would prefer a victory for Mr. Biden, citing the president's experience and predictable behavior. It was not clear the endorsement was genuine, given that support from Mr. Putin could damage a candidate's standing among American voters.

"There were many hopes in the first term of the Trump presidency," said Ivan Timofeev, director general of the Russian International Affairs Council, a research group close to the Russian government. "But even back then, Trump wasn't able to turn the relationship around."

Mr. Timofeev was a bit player in that drama: his communications in 2016 about possible meetings between the Trump campaign and the Russian government were an early focus of the inquiry by Robert S. Mueller III, the special prosecutor who investigated Russian interference in the presidential election.

The Mueller inquiry was widely seen in Russia as evidence of an American "deep state" that would never accept a leader seeking to improve relations with Moscow, even if he had been elected after promising to do so. Mr. Trump made similar arguments.

The dire state of U.S.-Russia relations is immune to the political winds, Mr. Timofeev said. "The relationship is bad, and gradually getting worse," he added. "I don't see what can change the situation."

Indeed, some Russians have noted that neither Ukraine nor Russia are coming up much in the U.S. presidential campaign these days. Mr. Vance, for all his criticism of Ukraine aid, did not mention the war in his prime-time speech on Wednesday.

Mr. Trump, in his speech Thursday, offered no details about how he would end "the horrible war with Russia and Ukraine." But he did say the globe was "teetering on the edge of World War III," echoing Mr. Putin's warnings that the Ukraine war was spiraling into a military conflict between Russia and NATO.

In Russia, many say that Americans are paying insufficient attention to those warnings.

"They're talking about Russia in America far less than they do in Russia about America," said Ekaterina Moore, a Russian American commentator based in Washington. "And in Russia, they would of course really like Russia to be more interesting to America."

Ms. Moore has been getting up at 3 or 4 a.m. on many recent mornings to appear on talk shows on Russian state television as an analyst of U.S. politics.

On those shows, the many challenges facing Russia — an overheated economy, the staggering war casualties and a system in which power is concentrated in the hands of one man — are elided. Instead, they focus at length on an American political system that both hosts and guests describe as fickle and broken.

American politicians "don't have the 20-year long view that Putin has," Ms. Moore said. "He's seen a lot."

Ruth Igielnik, Alina Lobzina and Oleg Matsnev contributed reporting.



NANNA HEITMANN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia in March. U.S. policy could be moving toward his expectations, but he has been wrong before.

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604 COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW pressreader

Zelensky Is First Foreign Leader to Visit a British Cabinet Since Clinton

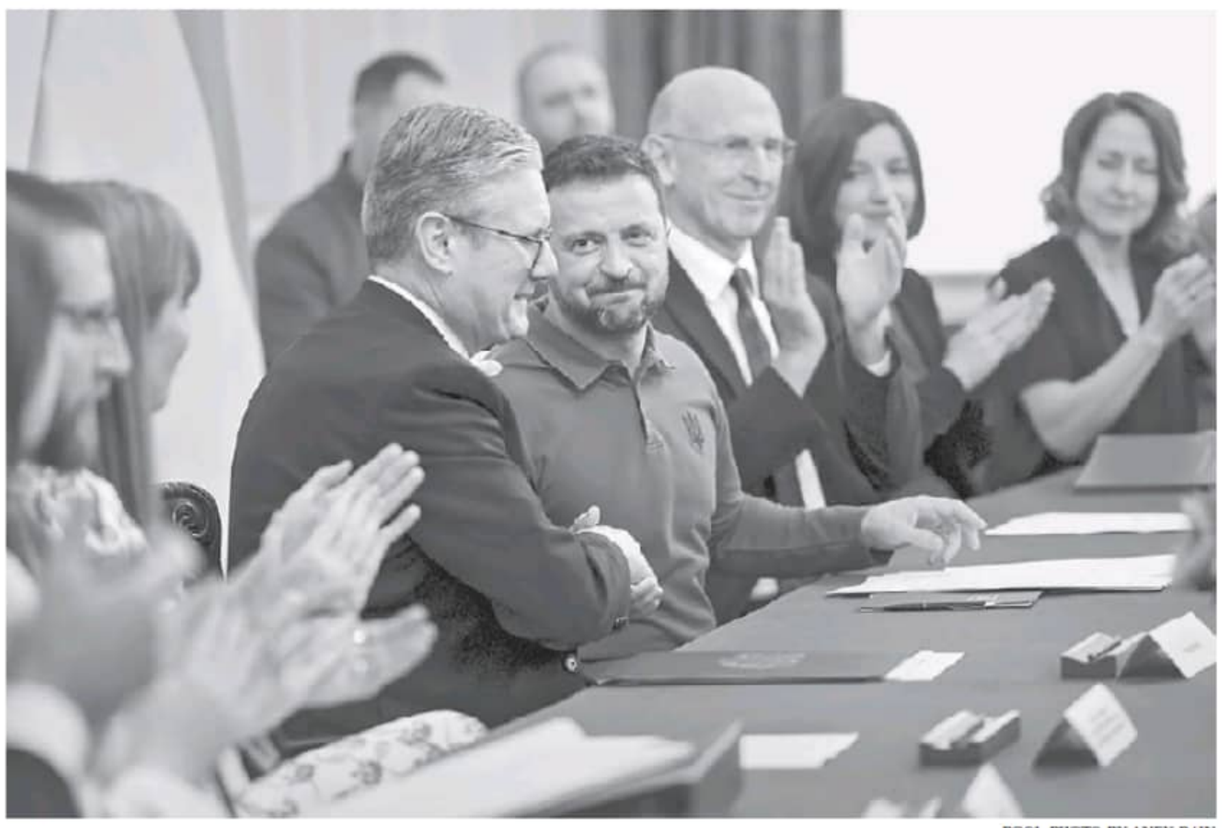
By STEPHEN CASTLE

LONDON — Ukraine's president, Volodymyr Zelensky, became the first foreign leader to attend Britain's cabinet meeting in person since former U.S. President Bill Clinton in 1997, in a public display of Britain's staunch support for Ukraine as doubts grow about future U.S. military aid if Donald J. Trump wins a second presidential term.

Mr. Zelensky briefed the British government's top ministers on Friday on his country's military conflict with Russia, while discussing moves to prevent oil tankers from breaching international sanctions against Moscow.

The Ukrainian president, who was greeted with a standing ovation, was the first foreign leader to be invited into Downing Street by Keir Starmer, the new British prime minister, after his general election victory earlier this month. The two leaders also agreed to a new defense export support treaty designed to bolster production of military hardware and weaponry in both countries.

Mr. Zelensky used the meeting to urge Britain to lobby its partners to allow the use of Western military weaponry against a greater range of targets, saying that what Ukraine lacked was long-range capability.



POOL PHOTO BY ANDY RAIN

President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine, center, with Prime Minister Keir Starmer of Britain during a meeting at 10 Downing Street. It was a show of Britain's staunch support for Kyiv.

Appealing for the removal of restrictions imposed by some nations, Mr. Zelensky said this would allow Ukraine to "strike further than just near the border, including Russian military airfields."

Mr. Zelensky's visit to Downing Street followed his attendance on Thursday at a summit of more than 45 European leaders at Blenheim Palace, near Oxford, where Ukraine was high on the agenda, and where he won renewed pledges of support for his battle against the forces of Russia's president, Vladimir V. Putin.

"Ukraine is, and always will be, at the heart of this government's agenda, and so it is only fitting that President Zelensky will make a historic address to my cabinet," Mr. Starmer said in a statement issued by his office ahead of the meeting.

Later on Friday, Downing Street said Mr. Starmer had described the meeting as a piece of history and the first time this century that a foreign leader has addressed the gathering in person.

That, Mr. Starmer said, demonstrated the high esteem in which Mr. Zelensky and the Ukrainian people are held in the United Kingdom, with people across the country flying the flag of Ukraine.

After his discussions with European leaders on Thursday, the British prime minister promised coordinated action against what he called Russia's "shadow fleet" of tankers that deliver Russian oil around the world in defiance of Western sanctions. Downing Street said around 600 vessels were involved: "Alongside our European partners, we have sent a clear message to those enabling Putin's attempts to evade sanctions: We will not allow Russia's shadow fleet, and the dirty money it generates, to flow freely through European waters and put our security at risk."

Britain has been one of the strongest supporters of Ukraine since Russia invaded the country in 2022, and Mr. Zelensky was welcomed to London several times under the previous Conservative government, including in 2023 when he addressed the British Parliament.

In the wake of Britain's general election, Mr. Starmer has been quick to signal a continuity of that policy.

The new defense treaty would allow Ukraine to draw on £3.5 billion of export finance to support its armed forces and to promote investment in further military capabilities, Downing Street said.

European support could become more important to Ukraine with the possibility of a second term for Mr. Trump, who has made no secret of his desire to bring the war to an end. Mr. Trump's pick for vice president, JD Vance, has in the past said that he "doesn't care what happens to Ukraine one way or the other," raising concerns about his support for the government in Kyiv.

"Maybe he really doesn't understand what goes on in Ukraine, so for us we have to work with the United States," Mr. Zelensky told the B.B.C. on Friday when asked about those comments.

Mr. Zelensky acknowledged that this conversation with Washington could become arduous but said the Ukrainians were not "afraid of hard work."



ANDRE PAIN/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

Jean-Luc Mélenchon, the leader of the far-left party France Unbowed, which rejected its allies' choice to be prime minister.

Win for the French Left Looks More Like Defeat

By EMMA BUBOLA

PARIS — When a left-wing coalition came first this month in France's parliamentary elections and upended a predicted victory for the far right, supporters filled the streets. Some cried, some danced. "The left has awakened," a supporter said. "We've shown that something else is possible."

Less than two weeks later, that seemed less certain.

Almost immediately after their victory, the parties in the coalition started fighting among themselves. Then on Thursday, their candidate lost the election for the president of the National Assembly, a vote that had gained outsize importance in a fragmented political landscape in which no party or bloc holds an outright majority.

Now, many are wondering what happens next.

"It's going to be hard," said Zahia Hamdane of France Unbowed, the far-left party of the firebrand leader Jean-Luc Mélenchon, on Friday. "I took it very badly yesterday."

The alliance of four left-wing parties — Communists, Socialists, Greens and France Unbowed — was hastily pulled together after President Emmanuel Macron dissolved the National Assembly and called for snap elections last month.

It called itself the New Popular Front, and at first its determination to prevent the surging far right from coming to power helped the parties set aside their differences.

After several days of negotiations that stretched into the early morning, the leaders agreed on a platform that included raising France's monthly minimum wage, lowering the legal retirement age and making the asylum process more generous and smooth.

That cooperation continued even into the second round of the election. Candidates from the left, and some from Mr. Macron's party, dropped out of three-way races so voters could focus on one adversary — the National Rally, Marine Le Pen's anti-immigrant party.

The plan worked. The New Popular Front won about 190 seats in the assembly, followed by Mr. Macron's party with 150. They sent the far right to the third place, an unexpected achievement that to many felt like a groundbreaking victory.

"We thought, finally," Ms. Hamdane said.



BERTRAND GUAY/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Two weeks ago, a group of left-wing parties came first in legislative elections. Now some wonder whether it will have any power at all.

But immediately, the problems started.

While formally it is in Mr. Macron's hands to pick the prime minister, the left claimed that its victory gave it the right to propose a name — only it could not agree on who that should be.

France Unbowed, the biggest in the left-wing coalition, supported the candidacy of Huguette Bello, the president of the regional council of La Réunion, a French island in the Indian Ocean and a former member of its Communist Party.

The Socialist Party, the second-biggest party in the group, backed Laurence Tubiana, a veteran climate negotiator. But the parties rejected each other's candidates, reflecting the deep differences between them.

The Socialist Party accused France Unbowed of being "radical" and uncompromising. France Unbowed said the Socialists had hegemonic ambitions and was unwilling to break decidedly with Mr. Macron.

When it came to the vote for the president of the National Assembly, the parties managed, at last, to present a common candidate, André Chassaigne, a Communist Party lawmaker.

"The people had faith, they followed it like the pope's death," Mr. Chassaigne told the French outlet Mediapart on Thursday. "We had rekindled hope."

But after three tense rounds of voting, he was defeated by Mr. Macron's candidate and incumbent president of the Assembly, who had also garnered the support of right-wing forces in Parliament.

That loss has further diminished the left's chances of influencing Mr. Macron's choice of a prime minister.

"It's a defeat for the left," said Patrick Weil, a historian at the Sorbonne University in Paris. "And a big deception for their voters."

He said the left's "fighting like dogs" to come up with a name for the prime minister instead of negotiating with the centrists in the National Assembly led to the result.

But Mr. Macron's centrists had made it clear that they would not engage with the far-left parties within the coalition.

Pieyre-Alexandre Anglade, a lawmaker from Mr. Macron's Renaissance group, said in the National Assembly on Thursday that centrist parties were ready to govern with the left "if they make the choice to leave their crazy alliance with France Unbowed."

Others agreed. "Escape the Stockholm syndrome that the New Popular Front has become," the independent senator Claude Malhuret said on Thursday in the Senate. "You deserve better than be treated like bedbugs."

But even Socialist lawmakers who were not shy about criticizing their allies feared that leaving the alliance would be seen as a betrayal by voters.

"We can't show the middle finger to the electoral results," said Emmanuel Grégoire, the former deputy mayor of Paris and a newly elected lawmaker with the Socialist Party.

He and others blamed underhanded maneuvering by Mr. Macron and the right, whom the French people had not chosen to govern.

"A pact between losers," Sarah Legrain, a lawmaker with France Unbowed, called it.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Canada Pledges, and Struggles, to Meet NATO Goal

By MATINA STEVIS-GRIDNEFF

Long seen as punching below its weight, Canada, the world's second-largest country by area and one of its seven wealthiest economies, said it would meet its NATO pledge to significantly bolster its military spending by 2032.

But everything about the commitment, which NATO is pushing all alliance members to make, is fraught.

Some have criticized the timeline as too protracted, though it is actually compressed if seen through the lens of the slow pace of global military hardware production.

Canadians, like many citizens across the developed world, are concerned about housing and public services. Convincing them that it is necessary to dedicate billions of dollars to military equipment will not be easy.

And Canada is expected to hold elections some time before October 2025, meaning that Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's pledge will not be binding if he loses to his conservative opponent, Pierre Poilievre, who is considered a serious challenger.

"I make promises that I can keep and right now we are, our country, is broke," Mr. Poilievre said last week, declining to abide by the spending target.

NATO members have pledged to spend at least 2 percent of their gross domestic product on their militaries.

Canada is far from the only NATO spending laggard. About a third of NATO's 32 members exceed the 2 percent target, but most of them have security concerns at their borders that motivate them to expand their militaries.

Another third say they will reach that target by the end of this year.

But Canada, much like France, Germany and Italy — which are all members of the Group of 7 industrialized nations — have been slow to catch up and spend below the target.

"We are rich enough that we should be able to do more, and have typically done just enough to keep our allies' frustrations with us in check," said Adam Chapnick, a professor of defense studies at the Royal Military College of Canada, although he also stressed that Canada is the seventh-biggest spender in the alliance in absolute dollar terms.

At the margins of a NATO summit in Washington this month, Mr. Trudeau and his defense minister, Bill Blair, announced a plan to spend 2 percent of the country's economic output on defense by 2032.

Canada currently spends roughly 1.4 percent of its economic output on defense and has plans to increase that to 1.7 percent by the end of the decade.

"We wanted to be able to provide a credible and verifiable response to our allies about what Canada will do to reach the 2 percent and the time frame," Mr. Blair said in an interview with The New York Times this week.

But the country could not spend faster than its military industry can produce, he said. "We were limited in part by how quickly it takes to actually acquire these big things that we had to procure."

The possibility of a second Trump presidency adds urgency to the matter. As president, Donald J. Trump browbeat NATO allies for overly relying on American military largess to guarantee post-Cold War peace and demanded that they spend more. The Biden administration has consistently, if more politely, delivered the same message.

But the war in Ukraine has depleted NATO allies' stocks, and the military industry requires vast investments to ramp up production.

As he seeks to reclaim the White House, Mr. Trump has said that he will not continue to support Ukraine's war efforts and will instead push for peace. This would most likely leave other NATO members having to either support Mr. Trump, or break with the United States, the heart of the alliance, and back Ukraine without Washington as a partner.

Mr. Blair did not comment on the possible link between the increased spending announcement and the prospect of a second Trump presidency. Instead, he said Canada's military needs were "urgent," especially in modernizing and ramping up its presence in the Arctic, which has become a source of tension among major powers.

The importance of reaching the spending target, Mr. Blair added, was to "get the capabilities that we require."

Still, experts said, declaring a sense of urgency does not necessarily expedite military procurement.

"Military procurements are multiyear projects and therefore threats that are a decade away must be treated as urgent so that the procurement process is finished by the time the need moves from hypothetical to real," Mr. Chapnick said.



SUSAN WALSH/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau of Canada, center, at the NATO summit this month. He pledged to increase military spending.

Canada also said it would buy 12 conventionally powered submarines, a key part of its strategy to expand its military presence in the Arctic, which it sees as an important theater of competition with Russia and China.

Mr. Blair said he expected to have the first submarine delivered by 2030.

On Thursday, the newly appointed chief of the Canadian Armed Forces, Gen. Jennie Carignan, said Canada needed to step up defense to face new risks.

"We are much more open now to both conventional threats and unconventional threats, all at the same time," she told the news media after officially taking on her position. "So I think that Canadians need to understand that if we are not ready, we might not be able to react appropriately in defense of them."

"I say we have about five years to get us close enough to be ready to counter those long-range type of threats," she added.

pressreader PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604 COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW

Ex-Communist Leader In Vietnam Dies at 80

By SUI-LEE WEE

Nguyen Phu Trong, the hardline general secretary of Vietnam's Communist Party, who presided over his country's economic and geopolitical transformation and reshaped its leadership with his "blazing furnace" anticorruption campaign, died on Friday in Hanoi. He was 80.

His death, in a hospital, was announced by the official Nhan Dan newspaper, which said that Mr. Trong had died of "old age" and an unspecified serious illness.

Speculation had swirled in January about Mr. Trong's health after he skipped meetings with several foreign leaders. The seriousness of his illness became clear on Thursday, when the party announced that he would step back from his duties to focus on his health, and that President To Lam, a former security minister, would take over his responsibilities.

For 12 years, Mr. Trong sat at the apex of power in Vietnam's Communist hierarchy. He served an unprecedented three terms as party chief and nearly three decades in the Politburo. He consolidated power in one of the world's few remaining Communist dictatorships, significantly weakening the collective form of leadership that had characterized the country's Communist Party.

His death leaves no obvious successor.

"He was the most powerful leader in Vietnam after the Vietnam War," said Nguyen Khac Giang, a visiting fellow at the ISEAS — Yusof Ishak Institute in Singapore. "I think anyone who will be chosen as the next leader of Vietnam will face an uphill battle in having the same kind of authority that Nguyen Phu Trong had."

Mr. Trong represented a conservative Marxist-Leninist faction within the party, which includes another faction that is seen as more pragmatic and moderate. His death is likely to raise hopes in the West that a less doctrinaire leader could emerge. Mr. Trong, the only one in the 18-member Politburo who grew up during the Vietnam War, was a generation older than many of his peers.

A conservative ideologue who viewed corruption as a threat to the party's survival, he began a wide-reaching anticorruption campaign in 2011 that has accelerated in recent years, investigating thousands of people and prompting the dismissal of several top ministers. The results have been mixed: The campaign created a fairer business environment but has also instilled fear in many officials and paralyzed decision-making.

Mr. Trong led the harshest crackdown on dissent in decades. Under his rule, the space for civil society — never abundant in a nation of roughly 100 million people — shrunk further.

Vietnam has the second-highest number of political prisoners in Southeast Asia, with more than 160 people currently detained for exercising their basic rights, according to Human Rights Watch.

At home, Mr. Trong was viewed as a frugal leader who, unusual in Vietnam, did not abuse his power to enrich himself or his family. His official vehicle was a two-decade-old Toyota Crown, according to a 2022 article in Vietnamnet, an online newspaper in Vietnam affiliated with the Ministry of Information and Communications. He refused to have new suits made.

Mr. Trong oversaw one of Asia's fastest-growing economies and raised Vietnam's prestige on the international stage. Under his term, the world's major superpowers courted the country aggressively.

Mr. Trong was adept at balancing relations with the United States and China, a strategy he termed "bamboo diplomacy" ("Strong roots, stout trunk and flexible branches"). He cultivated close ties with Xi Jinping, China's top leader, who visited Vietnam in December for the third time. Three months before that, President Biden had also been in Vietnam, cementing a new strategic relationship with Mr. Trong.



HOANG DINH NAM/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Nguyen Phu Trong, center at left, at the Vietnam Communist Party's 11th National Congress in Hanoi, in 2011, at which he was voted to be the party's new general secretary.

His 'blazing furnace' campaign reshaped the party's leadership.

"He was a master of hedging," said Alexander Vuving, a professor at the Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies specializing in Vietnam.

Mr. Trong was born in Hanoi on April 4, 1944, into a farming family.

In 1981, after joining Vietnam's Communist Party, he traveled to the Soviet Union, where he earned a postgraduate history degree in 1983. From 1991 to 1996, he was editor in chief of the Communist Review, the mouthpiece of Vietnam's Communist Party.

He was never seen as a strong candidate for party chief because he lacked extensive experience in government and economics. From January 2000 to June 2006, Mr. Trong was secretary of the party's Executive Committee of Hanoi, the provincial capital. From 2006 to 2011, he was chairman of Vietnam's National Assembly.

Vietnam's principle of leadership is a collective one, and unlike China it has long resisted having a supreme figure at the top. Mr. Trong's low-key manner made him a suitable compromise candidate for differing factions in the country's Communist Party, and at 68, he was not expected to have a long term. He was elected general secretary in 2011.

Mr. Trong's first term was notable for a sharp rise in anti-China sentiment, after China moved an oil rig in contested waters near Vietnam's coast in 2014. That led to protests in Vietnam and sent relations between the two nations to the lowest level in three decades.

Mr. Vuving of the Inouye center said the event shifted Mr. Trong's view of the West. Few countries spoke up publicly then for Vietnam, except for two: Japan and the United States.

In 2015, Mr. Trong became the first Vietnamese Communist Party chief to travel to the United States. He met with President Barack Obama and invited him to come to Vietnam. During his visit, Mr. Trong was asked about Vietnam's human rights situation.

Mr. Trong responded that "Vietnamese people have never lived in a democratic atmosphere like today," but added that "it is also important to see that individual rights must be placed in the context of the common interests of the community."

"The two sides' understandings are still different, so the best way, in my opinion, is to increase dialogue," he said. "But we should not let human rights issues hinder our relations."

In 2016, Mr. Trong agreed that Vietnam would sign on to the Trans-Pacific Partnership, Mr. Obama's trade initiative, which would entail Vietnam changing its laws to legalize independent unions and allow workers to strike.

Mr. Trong was re-elected that year. In his second term, he stepped up his anticorruption campaign, punishing several senior Politburo members.

He had been in poor health for years. In 2019, absent for an extended period, he skipped several state and party events. The government then said only that "his health was affected by the weather and work intensity."

At the end of his term in 2021, he was expected to step down. But the Communist Party gave him a third term, violating its own Constitution, which limits party chiefs to two terms.

Mr. Trong told reporters that he had not sought it, preferring to retire because of his health, but that he had to "comply" because the Congress had elected him.

While Mr. Trong was happy to open up Vietnam to the West, he remained suspicious of Western democracy.

"Behind the multiparty system in reality is still the tyranny of capitalist corporations," he wrote in a 2022 book.

He added: "The reality is that the democratic institutions according to the 'liberal democracy' formula that the West tries to promote and impose on the world do not ensure that power truly belongs to the people, by the people and for the people,."

He is survived by his wife, Ngo Thi Man. The Vietnamese government does not disclose details about the children of party officials, but it is believed that he is also survived by a son and a daughter.

Congo Disagreement Over Tax Explodes Into a Bloody Conflict

By ELIAN PELTIER

DAKAR, SENEGAL — A little-known conflict in the west of the Democratic Republic of Congo is raging close to the country's capital, Kinshasa, one of the largest cities in Africa.

Nine soldiers and 70 militiamen died in clashes last Saturday in Kinsele, a village 80 miles east of Kinshasa, according to the local authorities. It was the latest surge of violence in an area where thousands of civilians have been killed and more than 550,000 displaced since 2022, according to estimates from humanitarian organizations and United Nations agencies.

The initial spark for the conflict two years ago was a tax dispute between local ethnic groups, the Teke and the Yaka. It has since billowed into a fight over land access, with a bloody trail of summary executions, burned villages and sexual violence.

A militia pretending to defend some of the communities in the area has enlisted child soldiers, forced women to marry its fighters and looted villagers' crops, sending people fleeing toward Kinshasa, humanitarian groups and U.N. experts say.

This conflict is unfolding 900 miles away from a larger crisis that has plagued eastern Congo for three decades, killing about six million people and displacing 60 million others.



POOL PHOTO BY CHRISTOPHE ENA

A peace agreement signed before President Felix Tshisekedi of the Democratic Republic of Congo has been opaque and fragile.

From tax dispute to violence

For decades, two main ethnic groups in the western Congo region, the Teke and the Yaka, lived in relative peace in the Mai-Ndombe province under a mutually agreed rule: the Yaka rented land from the Teke, considered the customary landowners, by paying a tax on the crop they cultivated, regional experts said.

When Teke chiefs increased the tax in 2022, the Yaka refused to pay. One heated confrontation led to another, and soon farmers, mostly from the Yaka community, were forcing Teke villagers off their lands, according to human rights organizations and U.N. experts.

"There's now a lot of mistrust between populations who used to live together," said Liliane Bitong Ambassa, head of the Congo mission for Caritas International Belgium.

A militia, mostly made up of recruits from the Yaka community as well as others from ethnic groups including the Suku, Mbala and Songo, emerged in 2022 and grew throughout last year into a ruthless force. Their fighters wield military-style weapons and have seized dozens of villages in the provinces of neighboring Kinshasa.

The attackers who targeted Congolese soldiers in the village of Kinsele last Saturday were from that militia, known as the Mobondo. No civilians were killed: they had fled days earlier after a first assault by Mobondo fighters, according to local officials.

"Surrounding villages are also emptying themselves because villagers fear that they're next in line," David Bissaka, a local representative, said in a telephone interview.

Militiamen sent to Congo's east

The initial crisis in one community has now grown into a war plaguing four provinces.

Mobondo fighters now control large swaths of land, making aid access difficult. The Mobondo also ambush traders and seize crops to feed their fighters or finance their war effort, according to human rights groups and local news reports.

They have also tortured local residents and kidnapped them for ransom, according to the United Nations. A report by Caritas and local religious organizations last year highlighted cases of forced recruitment of young men, including minors; rape; sexual slavery; and executions — "often by beheading." Congolese soldiers also force women to marry them, according to Caritas.

"Getting a clear picture of the number of deaths and displacements is a real challenge," said Ms. Bitong Ambassa, of Caritas. "But in every village we visit, we hear about deaths, deaths, deaths."

The Congolese military and police still control the main roads in the region, but Mobondo fighters run military outposts in the villages they've seized, according to U.N. experts and humanitarian organizations.

To quell the violence, the Congolese military has conscripted about 1,000 of those involved in the conflict, including fighters from the Mobondo militia, according to U.N. experts.

They have been sent to north Kivu, at the opposite end of the country in the east, to fight the M23, a rebel group seeking to control the regional capital. The Congolese government, the United Nations and the United States say M23 is backed by neighboring Rwanda, which that country denies.

Fragile peace agreement

In April, leaders from the Teke and Yaka communities signed a peace agreement in front of the Congolese president, Felix Tshisekedi. But the agreement has yet to be made public, and Mobondo fighters attacked a village just days after the warring parties signed it.

Then came the attack on soldiers last Saturday.

"What do they want? We don't know," Mr. Bissaka, the local representative, said of the militiamen.

The conflict has created a displacement and food crisis as 80 percent of fields in the conflict areas aren't accessible, according to Caritas.

For now, the violence is not directly threatening Kinshasa, a sprawling metropolis of more than 15 million people.

But thousands of those displaced have found refuge in the capital, according to OCHA, the U.N. humanitarian agency.

"This crisis is overshadowed by the other crisis in the east," said Ms. Bitong Ambassa. "But in some courtyards of Kinshasa, you'll find 100, 200 people who have fled the violence from these areas."

Many Killed In Boat Fire As They Try To Flee Haiti

By DAVID C. ADAMS and JAMES WAGNER

MIAMI — At least 40 migrants were killed when a boat they were traveling on from Haiti caught fire, a United Nations agency announced on Friday. The boat, which was carrying over 80 people, left the northern coast of Haiti on Wednesday en route for the Turks and Caicos Islands 150 miles away, the agency said.

An additional 41 migrants were rescued from the boat by the Haitian Coast Guard, the agency said, with 11 taken to a hospital. It said the boat caught fire off the coast of Cap-Haïtien, a city in northern Haiti.

The cause of the fire was not immediately known.

The episode, which took place around 3 a.m. Wednesday, was another disaster for the Caribbean country, which has been upended by rampant gang violence and an unfolding humanitarian crisis. This year, coordinated gang attacks rocked the capital, Port-au-Prince, forcing the closure of its airport for nearly three months. Since then, nearly 580,000 Haitians have been displaced internally, according to the U.N.

"This devastating event highlights the risks faced by children, women and men migrating through irregular routes, demonstrating the crucial need for safe and legal pathways for migration," Grégoire Goodstein, the head of the U.N.'s International Organization for Migration in Haiti, said in a statement on Friday.

He said Haiti's socioeconomic situation was dire and "extreme violence" over the past months has pushed Haitians to resort to "desperate measures even more."

The U.N.'s International Organization for Migration in Haiti said it had confirmed the number of survivors with its personnel on the ground and with Haiti's National Office of Migration.

Cap-Haïtien, the country's second-largest city, has been relatively unaffected by the gang violence that has wracked the country in recent months, but it is a jumping-off point for migrants. Attacks on public transportation, including on the main road between Port-au-Prince and Cap-Haïtien, has limited the potential for migrant smuggling.

Haiti has experienced a wave of gang violence that has brought surges in kidnappings, killings and the takeover of much of Port-au-Prince since the assassination in July 2021 of President Jovenel Moïse by armed men who broke into his bedroom. His killing is still under separate investigations in Haiti and Florida.

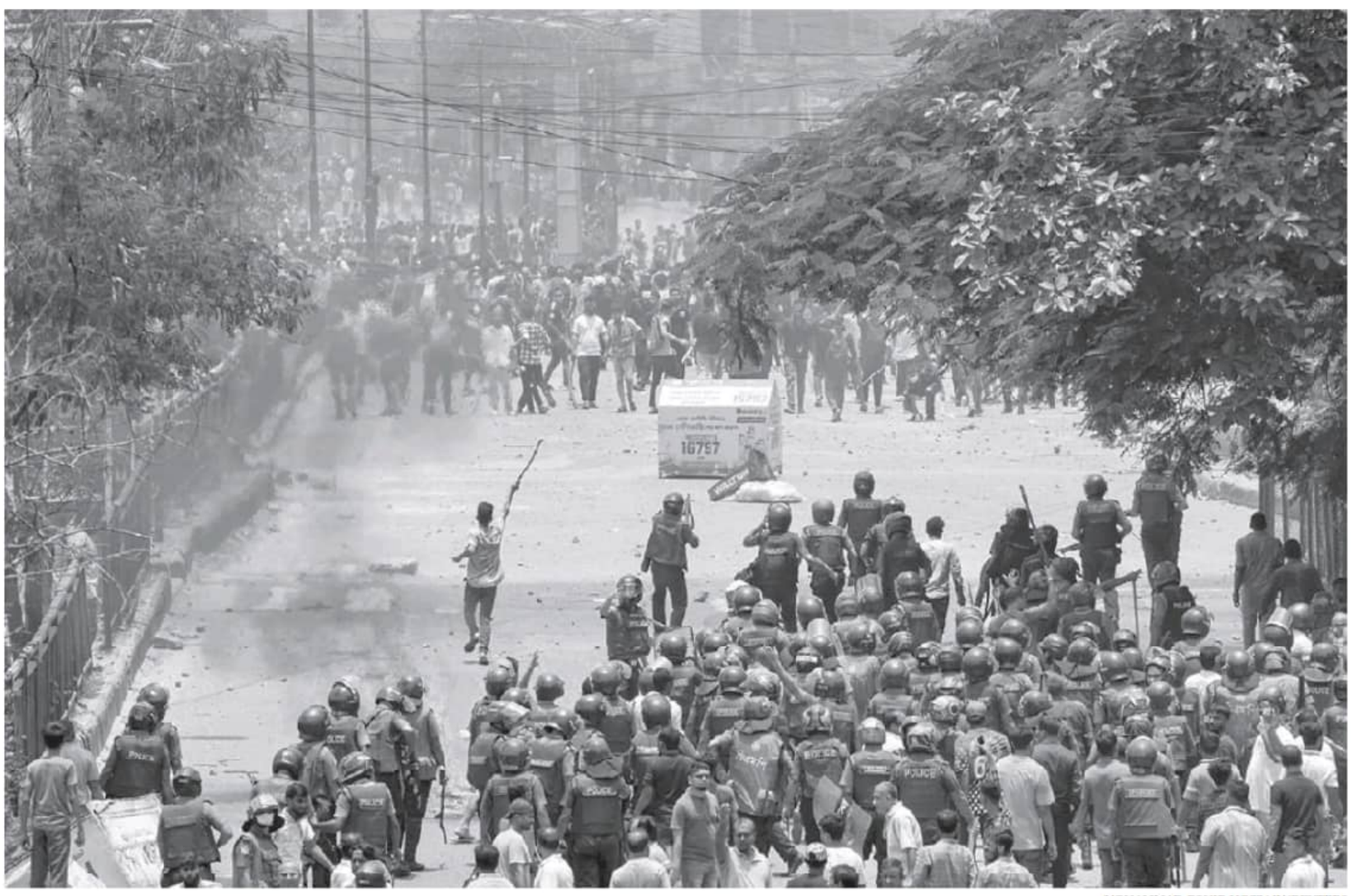
Student Fight For Jobs Roils Bangladesh

By The New York Times

For days, university students in Bangladesh have been locked in deadly clashes with police officers and supporters of Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina's party, in which over 100 people have been killed and more than 1,000 injured.

Students have been demonstrating against a quota system for government jobs, which they consider unfair. On Thursday, protesters set fire to at least two government buildings in Dhaka, the capital, including Bangladesh's national television station. The government has severed communications, with mobile internet service cut and TV stations knocked off the air.

Ms. Hasina's government has deployed police and paramilitary forces, including an antiterrorism unit, against the demonstrators. Students, armed mainly with sticks and bats, have fought the police and members of the student wing of the Awami League, Ms. Hasina's party.



MOHAMMAD PONIR HOSSAIN/REUTERS

Protesters confronting police officers and supporters of the Awami League in Dhaka, Bangladesh. Over 100 people have been killed.

The Times Book Review, every Sunday

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604 COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW pressreader

A Daily Pill May Prevent Sexually Transmitted Diseases, Scientists Say

By APOORVA MANDAVILLI

A daily dose of a widely used antibiotic can prevent some infections with syphilis, gonorrhea and chlamydia, potentially a new solution to the escalating crisis of sexually transmitted infections, scientists reported on Thursday.

Their study was small and must be confirmed by more research. Scientists still have to resolve significant questions, including whether S.T.I.s might become resistant to the antibiotic and what effect it could have on healthy gut bacteria in people taking it every day.

The approach would be recommended primarily to people at elevated risk of sexually transmitted infections during certain periods, said Dr. Jeffrey Klausner, an infectious diseases physician at the University of Southern California who was not involved in the new work.

"The number of people who are really going to be offered this and take this is still very small," he said. "In general, the more choices we have for people, the more prevention options we have, the better."

The results will be presented next week at a conference of the International AIDS Society in Munich.

The United States now has the highest rate of new syphilis infections since 1950, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention reported in January. In 2022, the last year for which data are available, there were 1.6 million cases of chlamydia and nearly 650,000 new cases of gonorrhea.

Previous studies have shown that the antibiotic doxycycline substantially cuts the risk of new infections if taken within 72 hours after unprotected sex. The C.D.C. now recommends taking doxycycline after "oral, vaginal or anal sex."

The recommendation applies only to gay and bisexual men and transgender women who have had an S.T.I. within the previous year or who may be at risk for one. There is not enough evidence that the strategy, called doxy-PEP, works for other groups, the agency concluded.

The new study took a different tack, looking instead at preventing S.T.I.s with a daily dose of the drug, which may be better for individuals with frequent exposure to infections.

Some providers have suggested that patients might balk at taking antibiotics every day. But many patients told the researchers it would be easier for them to remember to take a daily dose along with a daily pill for H.I.V. prevention or treatment, said Dr. Troy Grennan, who heads the H.I.V. program at the BC Center for Disease Control in Vancouver and led the study.

"Health care providers and researchers make a lot of assumptions about what the community would prefer, and they are often wrong," he said.

In small studies, the antibiotic doxycycline has shown promise.

A 2015 study looked at the daily use of doxycycline before sex for preventing S.T.I.s in gay and bisexual men who have H.I.V., but the sample was small and there was no placebo group.

Inspired by that study, Dr. Grennan and his team tested the approach in 41 gay and bisexual men in Toronto and Vancouver. The men were already taking a daily pill to treat H.I.V., and they added 100 milligrams of doxycycline each day for 48 weeks.

The researchers tested the men for S.T.I.s every three months and monitored microbial resistance to the antibiotic. They found that daily doxycycline slashed the rate of syphilis infections by 79 percent, chlamydia by 92 percent and gonorrhea by 68 percent.

The team has since found similar results in gay and bisexual men and trans women who do not have H.I.V.

Dr. Grennan said he was surprised to see that the strategy worked so well against gonorrhea, because about 60 percent of cases in Canada are resistant to tetracyclines, a class of antibiotics that includes doxycycline.

A similar study in France, where the rate of gonorrhea resistance is 65 percent, found that doxycycline after sex did not prevent new cases. Steady exposure to the antibiotic might be more effective than a single dose that drops off quickly, Dr. Klausner said.

Consistent with prior studies, the use of doxycycline to prevent S.T.I.s did not seem to increase microbial resistance to the antibiotic. But the study was too small to be sure, some experts warned.

The approach "required participants to take considerably more antibiotics," said Dr. Jonathan Mermin, director of the S.T.I. center at the C.D.C.

Dr. Grennan and his colleagues aim to recruit 560 men and trans women with and without H.I.V. to compare whether doxycycline taken every day is as effective as the antibiotic taken only as needed after sex.

Another study at the conference suggested that patients who take pills to prevent H.I.V. infection were not more likely to get S.T.I.s if they were screened twice a year instead of four times a year, as is currently recommended.

The reduced frequency may be more palatable and practical for patients, and may increase adherence to H.I.V. preventives, the researchers said.

The study, in the Netherlands, followed 448 gay and bisexual men in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Nijmegen who were taking H.I.V. preventive pills over 18 months. About half were scheduled to be screened for S.T.I.s every three months and the other half every six months.

Some participants in the six-month group sought out S.T.I. testing between the planned clinic visits. Even so, their overall visits were fewer than for those in the three-month group. Yet the rate of infections in the six-month group was only slightly higher.

Frequent S.T.I. screening is "burdensome" for many patients, especially for those who may need to take time off work or travel long distances, said Marije Groot Bruinderink, a graduate student at the University of Amsterdam who led the work.

More frequent screening also may lead to overtreatment, especially of asymptomatic cases of chlamydia and gonorrhea that may clear on their own, Dr. Klausner noted.

Publicly funded sexual health clinics in the United States are overwhelmed and don't have enough staff or time to diagnose and treat more urgent cases of S.T.I.s, including syphilis in pregnant women, let alone asymptomatic cases, he said.

While asymptomatic infections may cause lasting harm to patients, including infertility, there's no evidence that frequent screening and treatment for chlamydia and gonorrhea decreases rates in the population at large, Dr. Klausner said.



JACK TAYLOR/GETTY IMAGES

Travelers stranded at London Gatwick Airport on Friday. Airlines grounded thousands of flights, inconveniencing passengers from Hong Kong to Amsterdam.

Software Update Goes Awry, Causing Chaos Across the Globe

From Page A1

company was working to help customers "bring their systems back online." Apple and Linux machines were not affected by the CrowdStrike software update.

A White House official said the administration was in "regular contact" with CrowdStrike and had convened agencies to assess the impact of the outage on the federal government's operations.

CrowdStrike, founded in 2011 by Mr. Kurtz and others, has built a reputation over the years as a firm that could solve even the toughest security problems. It was tapped to investigate a 2014 hack of Sony Pictures and the 2016 hack of the Democratic National Committee, which exposed Hillary Clinton's emails.

But problems stemming from CrowdStrike's products have surfaced before. In April, the company pushed a software update to customers running the Linux system that crashed computers, according to an internal CrowdStrike report sent to customers about the incident, which was obtained by The New York Times.

The bug, which did not appear to be related to Friday's outage, took CrowdStrike nearly five days to fix, the report said. CrowdStrike promised to improve its testing process going forward, according to the report.

On Thursday, the tech issues began when Microsoft dealt with an outage on its cloud service system, Azure, which affected some airlines.

Then CrowdStrike sent an update for its software called Falcon Sensor, which scans a computer for intrusions and signs of hacking. If everything had gone according to plan, CrowdStrike's software would have received minor improvements and customers would have hardly noticed.

Instead, when CrowdStrike's faulty update reached computers running Microsoft Windows, it caused the machines to shut down and then endlessly reboot. Workers around the world were greeted with what is known as the "blue screen of death" on their computers. Insufficient testing at CrowdStrike was a likely source of the problem, experts said.

As computers restarted themselves over and over, known as the "doom loop," there was little CrowdStrike could do to fix the problem. Tech staff at affected companies were faced with a choice: walk around to each machine and remove the bit of flawed code, or wait and hope for a solution from CrowdStrike.

The problems cascaded instantly. At Sydney Airport in Australia, travelers encountered delays and cancellations, as did those in Hong Kong, India, Dubai, Berlin and Amsterdam. At least five U.S. airlines — Allegiant Air, American, Delta, Spirit and United — grounded all flights for a time, according to the Federal Aviation Administration.

Health care systems were crippled, forcing hospitals to cancel noncritical surgeries. In the United States, 911 lines went down in multiple states, though many of those problems were being resolved later on Friday. Britain's National Health Service also reported issues.

United Parcel Service and FedEx said they were affected. Customers with TD Bank, one of the biggest banks in the United States, reported issues accessing their online accounts. Several state and municipal court systems closed for the day because of the outage.

At CrowdStrike, engineers described an atmosphere of confusion as the company struggled to contain the damage.

Executives urged employees not to speculate on why the mistake happened and directed them to focus on a fix for the computers that were affected, said two engineers who spoke on condition of anonymity because they were not authorized to speak publicly. Computers not connected to the cloud required a physical fix to the error introduced by CrowdStrike, they said, which could take weeks.

Within several hours of the faulty software going out, CrowdStrike sent out a software patch as a fix that would stop computers from endlessly rebooting.

Lukasz Olejnik, an independent cybersecurity researcher and consultant, said the outage would still take time to resolve because a suggested solution for some organizations involved rebooting each computer manually into safe mode, deleting a specific file and then restarting the computer.

While that is a relatively straightforward process, security experts said, it may not be easy to do at scale. Those with organized and well-staffed information technology teams could potentially fix the issues more quickly, Mr. Olejnik said.

Unlike the iPhone software updates that Apple sends to customers, the incident highlighted information technology systems that operate in the background. The CrowdStrike issues were compounded because the software being updated performed critical cybersecurity tasks, giving it access to scan a computer to look for viruses and other malicious attacks.

Cybersecurity tools operate quietly in the background to defend computers against attacks. The software is frequently updated with new defenses as hackers develop fresh methods of attack, but constant updates mean there are many opportunities for mistakes to happen.

"One of the tricky parts of security software is it needs to have absolute privileges over your entire computer in order to do its job," said Thomas Parenty, a cybersecurity consultant and a former U.S. National Security Agency analyst. "So if there's something wrong with it, the consequences are vastly greater than if your spreadsheet doesn't work."

On Friday, the stock price of CrowdStrike, which reported $3 billion in annual revenue last year, closed down 11 percent.

The company faces questions about what liabilities it and other software makers face for major disruptions and cybersecurity incidents. The consequences for significant outages can be so minimal that companies are not motivated to make more fundamental changes, experts said. While a car manufacturer would face stiff penalties for faulty brakes, a software provider can often issue another update and move on.

"Until software companies have to pay a price for faulty products, we will be no safer tomorrow than we are today," Mr. Parenty said.

Meaghan Tobin and Aaron Krolik contributed reporting.



SAM BUSH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

An out of service A.T.M. in London. The software mistake, which will likely take days to fully repair, sent the stock price of CrowdStrike tumbling. It closed down 11 percent on Friday.

Cybersecurity Takes a Blow By the Hand Of a Protector

By KATE CONGER and CLAIRE MOSES

On Friday morning, flights were canceled, broadcasters went off air, trains didn't run and medical procedures were delayed around the world. Frustrated workers were confronted with blue computer screens and no obvious way to get back online.

The root of the problem? CrowdStrike, a cybersecurity company dedicated to preventing exactly this sort of global outage.

CrowdStrike, which was founded in 2011, is a cloud-based cybersecurity platform whose software is used by scores of industries around the world to protect against outside breaches.

Its software secures computers at many Fortune 500 companies, and the company has built a reputation over the years as one that can solve even the toughest security problems. CrowdStrike was tapped to investigate the hack of Sony Pictures in 2014, which resulted in the release of confidential data from the movie studio, and the hack of the Democratic National Committee in 2016, which exposed Hillary Clinton's emails. CrowdStrike serves about 29,000 customers and has about $4 billion in annual sales.

Cybersecurity software like CrowdStrike's has broad privileges to run across a computer system, including into sensitive areas. That means when errors occur, the ripple effect can be big.



JOHN G MABANGLO/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

CrowdStrike is a cloud-based cybersecurity platform.

CrowdStrike updates its security software automatically and silently. A flawed update on Friday morning, of its Falcon Sensor software, resulted in crashes of machines running Microsoft Windows operating system and caused the worldwide chaos.

" We're deeply sorry for the impact that we've caused to customers," George Kurtz, the chief executive of CrowdStrike, said in an interview on the "Today" show. "We know what the issue is. We're resolving and have resolved the issue now."

Mr. Kurtz said the outages were not the result of a security incident or cyberattack.

An updated fix of the software has been sent to computers, but experts said outages would most likely persist as CrowdStrike customers worked to reboot computers that had already been affected. Some systems were able to automatically install the fix, Mr. Kurtz said, while others would require manual intervention.

CrowdStrike, which went public in 2019, is worth about $76 billion. Its stock fell dramatically on Friday after news of the outage, and remained down about eight percent that morning.

"This is an unprecedented event and not something we or anyone had in their cards," analysts for Evercore, an investment banking firm, wrote in a note to investors. "This event clearly proves that cyber needs to be diversified and the idea of relying on one or two vendors will come under scrutiny."

pressreader PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604 COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW

N

National

The New York Times

At Convention: Glee, Exhaustion And Nail Art

By MARCO HERNANDEZ, ASHLEY WU and K.K. REBECCA LAI



'I'm currently stuck in a human traffic jam.'

A delegate emerging from the convention hall during a break, alongside scores of other attendees

'I want to immortalize this moment.'





'I might need to go to the corner and take a nap.'

An attendee before evening events began



'My nail girl is so creative.'

A delegate from Texas eating lunch outside the convention hall





'I think they're making the most money because they're in the shade and have lemonade.'

At a cheese curd and lemonade stand in the convention's vendor area



'I live 20 minutes away, so I just made them last night.'

A merchandise vendor at the convention



'Shut it down!'
'Save the babies!'

A group of protesters arguing with an anti-abortion group outside the convention hall



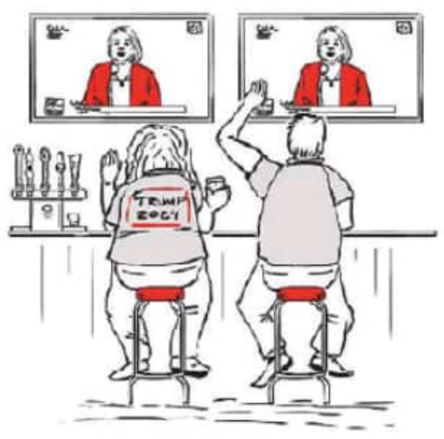
'Oh, I'm totally in for this. I want to see a woman behind that desk.'

A delegate at the C-SPAN "Presidential Hall" booth, where, for $15, a staff member would take your photo in the Oval Office scene



'For the signs, just cut out the P-E- and put in the V-A-.'

A couple discussing how one could alter outdated Trump-Pence signs to reflect J.D. Vance's name



'Aye!'

A group of delegates at a watch party as J.D. Vance's nomination was confirmed in a vote by acclamation



'I'm trying to get an Uber.'

An attendee walking in the rain toward the exit with other convention-goers as the evening's events wrapped up



'Cleveland was better.'

A delegate from Minnesota who had also attended the 2008 and 2016 conventions



'Fiserv, Fiserv, here we come. Donald Trump, here we come. R.N.C., here we come.'

Chants from protesters outside the Fiserv Forum, the convention's venue



'I don't have room in my suitcase. I went a little crazy yesterday.'

An attendee at a merchandise booth



'I was there when Reverend King and Kennedy got shot. I really don't want to do that again.'

A man at a neighborhood event promoting bipartisanship



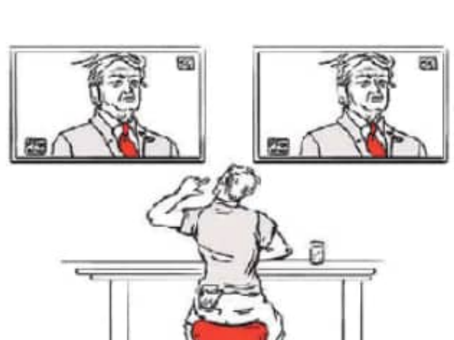
'I think we represent Michigan very well.'

A delegate from Michigan, with two of his colleagues



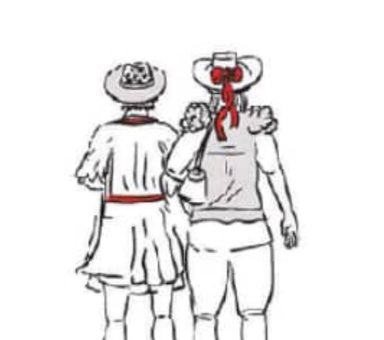
'What time is it?'
'1:43 p.m.'
'Oh, God. My feet hurt, and this goes until 5 p.m.'

Two volunteers outside the theater entrance for the movie "Trump's Rescue Mission: Saving America"



'I like this guy, not as much as Trump, though.'

An attendee from Rhode Island at a watch party, commenting on Ron DeSantis's speech



'It feels more important to be here now, more special.'

An attendee from Georgia reflecting on the assassination attempt on former President Donald J. Trump

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER
PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604
COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW
pressreader

After Address to G.O.P., Teamsters Leader Draws Labor's Rebuke and Praise

By JONATHAN WEISMAN

Of the dozens of speeches at the Republican National Convention in Milwaukee, none perhaps was as surprising — or as immediately divisive — as Teamsters President Sean O'Brien's on the conclave's first night.

Business groups recoiled. Many rank-and-file union members were furious. And within the labor movement's leadership, Mr. O'Brien's words — both soothing and challenging to the Republican Party — are still reverberating. Was the head of a union 1.3 million members strong actually flirting with former President Donald J. Trump, or was he surreptitiously sticking it to the party of Big Business?

Probably both.

"I, like others, wondered what he was doing," Randi Weingarten, the president of the American Federation of Teachers and a staunch Democrat, said in an interview Thursday, "but I listened to the speech, and I was impressed that he gave not only such a pro-worker speech, but at its foundation, he said these greedy corporations are hurting us, and you can't have it both ways, Republican Party. If you want labor's support, you can't just pander at election time. You have to walk the walk and give workers a chance to thrive."

That's not how others in unions saw it.

"O'Brien wants kinder, gentler, more patriotic bosses, and anyone that thinks he's preaching class war is a mark," fired back C.M. Lewis, president of the Seven Mountains A.F.L.-C.I.O. in Central Pennsylvania, on social media. "He heaped praise on Trump, a silver spoon-fed caricature of the corporate elite — utterly clownish."

In response to the criticism, Teamsters officials encouraged people to read the speech. In it, Mr. O'Brien began by extending a respectful hand to Mr. Trump, who stocked his Labor Department and National Labor Relations Board with anti-union lawyers and backed a series of court cases to weaken collective bargaining.

"In light of what happened to him on Saturday, he has proven to be one tough S.O.B.," the Teamsters leader said. He then praised other Republicans like Senator Roger Marshall of Kansas and Senator Josh Hawley of Missouri, who is running for re-election this year against a Democrat, Lucas Kunce, who has most of the state's unions behind him.

But once Mr. O'Brien softened the skeptical crowd, he turned to the labor part of his speech, castigating companies that stand against union organizing and that fire labor leaders for union activism. He called out Republican mainstays like the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and Business Roundtable as hypocritical: They oppose workers uniting to bargain collectively for wage and benefit improvements, he said, but they are functionally unions for big business, colluding against their workers.

And he singled out companies by name.

"Massive companies like Amazon, Uber, Lyft, and Wal-Mart take zero responsibility for the workers they employ," he told a hushed audience. "These companies offer no real health insurance, no retirement benefits, no paid leave, relying on underfunded public assistance. And who foots the bill? The individual taxpayer."

The response from the Republican attendees was not good. Most stood in silence. Some walked away. Business groups were none too pleased.

"The partnership between employers and employees in the United States has produced the strongest and most resilient economy in the world," said Michael Steel, a spokesman for the Business Roundtable, which represents the chief executive officers of the nation's largest corporations. "Attempts to pit American business and labor against each other for partisan gain make it harder for America to succeed."

The fallout from Mr. O'Brien's speech captures the dilemma facing organized labor as Mr. Trump emerges from his convention, and his brush with an assassin's bullet, confident he will recapture the White House. After he stepped down from the stage, Mr. O'Brien said on CNN that President Biden "is definitely the most pro-labor president we've ever had." The president pushed for and then invested $36 billion in rescuing the Teamsters' pension plan.

But that might be beside the point if he loses or drops his reelection bid, so do labor leaders attempt cooperation with Mr. Trump, or do they dig in and fight?

Ms. Weingarten's answer contradicted Mr. O'Brien's stance.

"Presidential elections are not times for games," she said. "They are serious, and this is particularly serious. We face a choice: democracy or autocracy."

The Teamsters are the last major union not to endorse in the presidential race, and Mr. O'Brien's words could be parsed to either side's advantage. Most union leaders fear that long after the substance of the speech is forgotten, the image of a burly, truck-driving union president will be heaped with others, from the former pro wrestler Hulk Hogan to the aging rocker Kid Rock, to attest to Mr. Trump's working class appeal.

"It gave the Republicans credibility," Randy Bryce, a Wisconsin iron worker who runs a pro-union super PAC, said of the O'Brien speech.

Still, most union members panned Mr. O'Brien's speech. A Teamsters-owned social media account this week appeared to have gone rogue, posting, "Unions gain nothing from endorsing the racist, misogynistic, and anti-trans politics of the far right." The post was quickly taken down and the Teamsters declined to comment on the matter.

And Mr. Trump's call in his acceptance speech on Thursday night for the United Automobile Workers to fire its aggressive and popular new president, Shawn Fain, for backing Mr. Biden and his administration's effort to get more Americans to transition to electric vehicles underscored his contempt for labor, U.A.W. officials said.

"America's autoworkers aren't the problem," Mr. Fain declared on Friday. "Our union isn't the problem. The working class isn't the problem. Corporate greed and the billionaires' hero, mascot, and lap dog Donald Trump, are the problem."

He added, "Don't get played by this scab billionaire," using slang for a strikebreaker.

Mr. Bryce said before the speech that he had been supportive of Mr. O'Brien's appearance at



KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Sean O'Brien, head of the 1.3 million-member Teamsters union, speaking on Monday at the Republican National Convention in Milwaukee.

the Republican convention, arguing to friends that the labor movement needed to take its message to people of all political persuasions. Afterward, he said that though he appreciated some of the messages, he thought it was a bad idea. Under Wisconsin's former Republican governor, Scott Walker, public sector unions were gutted and mandatory union dues at union-organized employers were ended.

With Republicans favored to take control of all three branches of the federal government, "this was not the time," Mr. Bryce said. "You have to pick one side right now. They're out to get us."

Mr. O'Brien's performance has Democrats in something of a bind. Mr. O'Brien, who declined to comment, has said publicly that he requested speaking slots at both the Republican and Democratic conventions. At Mr. Trump's insistence, the G.O.P. agreed. The Democrats have not.

Democratic convention and Biden campaign aides said they have not yet invited any speakers for the August convention in Chicago. And unlike the Republicans, the Democrats have numerous labor leaders who would love a slot. If they gave one to Mr. O'Brien, they would feel pressure from dozens of other union presidents.

For now, Mr. Biden is confident that unions are staying with him, perhaps among the last bulwark publicly calling him to stay in the race.

"Joe Biden knows unions built this country and the middle class," Julie Chavez Rodriguez, the campaign manager for Mr. Biden and Vice President Kamala Harris, said in a statement. "Donald Trump will always choose big greedy corporations and anti-union extremists over the working men and women of America."



KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

On Thursday night, Donald J. Trump promised to bridge political divides, but then he returned to delighting in deepening them.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Struggling to Turn the Page on the Past

By LISA LERER and MICHAEL C. BENDER

Donald J. Trump has long been a man undone by himself.

He imperiled his presidency and political campaigns with personal grudges, impulsiveness and an appetite for authoritarianism. His casual approach to the rule of law — and unwillingness to accept electoral defeat — resulted in $83 million in penalties, nearly three dozen felony convictions and additional legal trouble ahead.

But on Thursday night, with his right ear still bandaged five days after he was wounded by a would-be assassin's bullet, Mr. Trump attempted a politically cunning transformation.

He opened his address by casting himself as a unifying figure, promising to bridge political divides he had long delighted in deepening. He mentioned President Biden by name only once. At brief moments, he struck tones more similar to President Barack Obama's message of hope and healing than to the dark version of America that Mr. Trump described in accepting his first two Republican presidential nominations.

"The discord and division in our society must be healed — we must heal it quickly," Mr. Trump said on the Republican convention's final night. "As Americans, we are bound together by a single fate and a shared destiny. We rise together — or we fall apart."

With the Democrats divided and polls tipping in Mr. Trump's favor, Republicans used their national gathering in Milwaukee to bask in the moment. In their view, Mr. Trump — twice impeached, repeatedly indicted, convicted, fined and soon to be sentenced — appears on the verge of regaining control of the world's most powerful office.

Yet even this speech, designed to debut the new message, underscored Mr. Trump's challenge with discipline. He stuck to the script at the start. But as the clock ticked well beyond the one-hour mark, he couldn't resist falling back into the kind of rambling, unscripted diatribe that has long been his signature style. At more than 90 minutes, it was the longest Republican nomination address since at least 1956, when the American Presidency Project at the University of California-Santa Barbara started tracking the statistic on the G.O.P. side.

Mr. Trump's ultimate success will depend on whether, for the final 15 weeks of the campaign, he can contain his self-destructive tendencies and temper his preference for vengeance and unpopular, hard-right policies. Since voters rejected him at the ballot box in 2020, Mr. Trump has embraced an increasingly unrestrained and radical version of conservatism that has often bordered on authoritarian.

Last March, he framed his campaign as the "final battle" against his political opponents and told supporters, "I am your retribution." In October, he declared that immigrants were "poisoning the blood" of the country. A month later, on Veterans Day, he degraded adversaries as "vermin" who needed to be "rooted out." In December, he said he'd be a dictator — but only on his first day back in office. Last month, Mr. Trump promised to appoint a special prosecutor to target President Biden and his family.

For a night at least, such open threats and nakedly vicious imagery were largely absent from his address. Still, in a speech designed to place a friendlier face on Trumpism, the former president couldn't resist a handful of exaggerations and personal attacks on Democrats.



HAIYUN JIANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Since the shooting at his rally, Mr. Trump has appeared more concerned about his legacy and how he may be remembered.

He derided former House Speaker Nancy Pelosi as "Crazy Nancy." Less than four years removed from office, he said America was already a "nation in decline." He waxed hyperbolic about the immigration crisis, calling it "the greatest invasion in history" and compared undocumented migrants to Hannibal Lecter, the fictional serial killer and cannibal from "The Silence of the Lambs."

"In fact, I am the one saving democracy for the people of our country," Mr. Trump said, ignoring his role in setting off the Jan. 6, 2021, riot by his supporters on the Capitol.

Unlike his speeches at so many of his political rallies, Mr. Trump largely downplayed the causes that have dominated his political life since leaving office — his false charges that the 2020 election was stolen and that Democrats were weaponizing the justice system against him.

"I am running to be president for all of America, not half of America, because there is no victory in winning for half of America," Mr. Trump said.

According to close allies of Mr. Trump, much of the former president's newfound temperance was a result of a near-death experience at his campaign rally on Saturday.

Privately, Mr. Trump has long been terrified by the prospect of being assassinated — as president, he told at least two allies that he feared his killer would come from within his own administration's intelligence or law enforcement agencies. After narrowly escaping with his life on Saturday, Mr. Trump revealed a rarely seen level of reflection behind closed doors, as he talked to advisers about his legacy and how he may be remembered by his grandchildren.

On the stage on Thursday, Mr. Trump recounted the story of his shooting, telling the crowd that "you'll never hear it from me a second time, because it's actually too painful to tell." He seemed touched by the devotion of his supporters, describing the shooting as almost a spiritual experience — even "providential."

"Bullets were flying over us, yet I felt serene," he said. "I stand before you in this arena only by the grace of almighty God."

If it endures beyond the convention, Mr. Trump's new approach poses fresh challenges for Democrats. For eight years, Mr. Trump has been their most potent political weapon, a way to rally their base against a leader they reviled even more than they loved the leaders of their own party.

They have tried to transform this race into yet another referendum on Mr. Trump, rather than the question of whether Mr. Biden remains fit for a second term. Already, Biden aides say they've struggled to combat what some call "Trump amnesia," a sense that many Americans have forgotten how much they disliked the chaos and division of the Trump years.

The speech was a capstone to what has been a strikingly effective convention for Republicans.

Rather than focus on Mr. Biden, whose hold on the Democratic ticket seems to grow more precarious by the day, Republicans rallied around the type of unity that has evaded them for much of the Trump era. They devoted the week to recasting the former president as a devoted grandfather, caring friend and compassionate leader. Republicans portrayed their party as a kind of big tent of ideas with speeches from a top union leader and pro-business Republicans, conservative insurgents and establishment politicians.

It was a sharp departure for a party that has spent a decade revolving around the whims and views of one man. But its singular litmus test of loyalty remains in place: Republicans who have crossed the former president have retired, been defeated or been forced to embrace his agenda. The result is a purified party that has fully embraced an unadulterated strain of Trumpism that prioritizes winning over traditional conservative ideals.

On the convention's opening night on Monday, Mr. Trump appeared to be almost overcome by emotion when he entered the hall for the first time, seeming to fight back tears amid the roar that greeted him from his supporters. It was a notable moment for a man who built a political brand on populist rage and who views vulnerability as a weakness.

As the event came to a close on Thursday, the former president tried to draw on some of his new feelings to describe America's "true potential" and pivot away from "American carnage" — the bleak theme of his inaugural address.

"As long as our energies are spent fighting each other, our destiny will remain out of reach, and that's not acceptable," he said. "We must instead take that energy and use it to realize our country's true potential — and write our own thrilling chapter of the American story."

But after eight years in the spotlight, it will most likely take more than a meandering hour and a half on the stage to determine which story, and which version of Mr. Trump, America would remember.



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mr. Trump with his wife, Melania, thanking volunteers and staff members at the convention.

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604 COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW pressreader

2024 Election

Trump Promised a Softer Image. He Delivered Hulkamania.

JAMES PONIEWOZIK
CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

Who is Donald J. Trump?

After over four decades of tabloid celebrity, reality-TV stardom and presidential politics, you would think this would be a settled question. But after his near assassination in Pennsylvania, the Republican National Convention teased that the former president was going to unveil a softer, changed version of himself. He would recast his acceptance speech to emphasize "unity," a word that, in four days of TV coverage, was endlessly parroted and rarely defined.

Mr. Trump turned himself into his own surprise guest. Would the final night of the convention portray him as a bellicose, combative alpha male, or as a sensitive late convert to empathy and self-reflection?

The answer was: Yes, and yes. The night began with a pageant of hypermasculinity, with musclemen and ripped garments. It led to Mr. Trump's taking the stage with a new, somber voice as he recounted his brush with death. Then, over the course of a digressive hour-and-a-half speech, he somehow changed back before our eyes.

First came The Man Show. The introductory hours of the night featured a rotation of admirers, heavily male, who cited Mr. Trump's close call and defiant survival as testimony to his macho fighting spirit.

This is what male identity politics looks like. Tucker Carlson, the former Fox News personality — who has embraced the alt-right angst over testosterone levels — spoke off the cuff, suggesting that the shooting established Mr. Trump as a leader on a biological level. "A leader is the bravest man," Mr. Carlson said. "This is a law of nature." Kid Rock retooled his rap-metal anthem "American Bad Ass," exhorting the delegates to throw up their fists and "Say fight! Fight! Say Trump! Trump!" Dana White, the beefy chief executive of the Ultimate Fighting Championship, introduced Mr. Trump.

But the splashiest spectacle brought Hulkamania to Milwaukee. Terry G. Bollea, the handlebar-mustached wrestler who performs as Hulk Hogan, took the stage in character to praise "my hero, that gladiator," working himself into a rage over the attempt on Mr. Trump's life and ripping open his shirt to expose a "TRUMP-VANCE" tank top.

This was a protein shake of a closing-night program; they could sell it at GNC.

But if it was unusual for a party convention, it was of a piece with the nominee's tastes. Mr. Trump has long based his persona on strength, dominance and performative masculinity. He's drawn to strongmen, political and literal.



TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Speakers on the final night of the convention included Terry G. Bollea, who appeared in his wrestling persona, Hulk Hogan.

As a child, like many kids of the 1950s, Mr. Trump loved TV wrestling and its showmanship. As a businessman, he brought the WrestleMania event to the Trump Plaza in Atlantic City. In 2007, he "fought" World Wrestling Entertainment's chief, Vince McMahon, in the "Battle of the Billionaires."

Mr. Trump has always loved a fight and fight imagery. And his political followers love his pugilistic spirit; the Trumpamania of Thursday night had the convention floor as jubilant and electric as it had been all week. Mr. Trump's instinctual response to the shooting — a raised fist and the cry "Fight! Fight!" — was a convention refrain.

But all week, we had also heard that facing mortality had left Mr. Trump mellowed and that his acceptance speech would reveal a new person.

The opening section, as he recounted the shooting, was indeed a Donald Trump we had not heard before. His voice slowed and shook. His register was low, his tone hushed, his bearing subdued. The TV camera held tight to his face. "I'm not supposed to be here tonight," he said.

His imagery was different too. To the side of Mr. Trump stood the empty uniform of Corey Comperatore, the firefighter killed in the audience at Saturday's rally. At one point the overhead monitors showed close-up photos of Mr. Trump prostrate on the Pennsylvania stage, blood trickling down his face. It was almost eerie to see this bluster-ing, boastful omnipresence allow himself to be seen this way — wounded, vulnerable, mortal. The political world might well be talking about a new Donald Trump now, had the speech ended there.

It did not.

As Mr. Trump made the case that political comity required the dropping of the legal cases against him, his energy and volume shifted. He went repeatedly off-prompter, and Rally Trump returned, bashing "Crazy Nancy Pelosi," calling Covid-19 the "China virus," decrying Democratic election "cheating," giving a shout-out to Hannibal Lecter.

Mr. Trump seemed to be merging his promised reboot (sober, restrained) with his old self (digressive, aggrieved). The rest of the very, very long address became like a rendition of his riffing, hyperbolic stump speeches, played at half speed. Even the loyalist crowd, rapt at the beginning, seemed to drift off.

The speech capped off a convention that showed off a party ecstatic over its odds of winning. But it left open which Trump would finish out the campaign, let alone govern if he won. The new Trump or the old? The nice guy or the antihero? In wrestling terms, the face or the heel?

There's another term in pro wrestling, "kayfabe," the convention of pretending that the characters in the ring and their histrionic passions are real. Mr. Bollea strikingly broke kayfabe, telling the crowd that the amped-up "Hulk Hogan" was a character and that now he was speaking for his true self.

This is where the wrestler differed from the candidate. Only one was willing to spell out which of his two selves onstage was the performance, and which one might be him.

Once a Trump Skeptic, Musk Turns True Believer

From Page A1

Mr. Musk has transformed himself from an idealistic supporter of Democrats like Barack Obama into a fierce ally of Mr. Trump, whom he flirted with for months and endorsed last weekend roughly 30 minutes after the former president survived an assassination attempt.

In fact, Mr. Trump's campaign at one point had talked with Mr. Musk about him delivering remarks at this week's Republican National Convention. Mr. Musk said on Thursday he was not speaking.

Mr. Musk is more comfortable than ever revealing his conservative sympathies. But the role that he has played in supporting Republicans financially is not widely known, in part because he has tried to avoid making public donations.

He has emerged as a central character in the presidential race, targeted by the Biden campaign and celebrated as an almost mythical figure by Mr. Trump's advisers. Angry at liberals over immigration, transgender rights and the Biden administration's perceived treatment of Tesla, the mercurial Mr. Musk has undergone a midlife reinvention that has many Republicans salivating about him as the party's money-maker — if only he will deliver.

This article is based on interviews with about two dozen of Mr. Musk's political associates, friends and Republican Party allies, many of whom insisted on anonymity to disclose private conversations. Mr. Musk and his aides did not respond to requests for comment.

Woody Johnson, a pre-eminent Republican fund-raiser and Mr. Trump's former ambassador to Britain, said he welcomed Mr. Musk into the party as an ideological convert.

"Explore all ideas — and come up with the best one," Mr. Johnson quipped in an interview. "There's nobody in the world like Musk. We're lucky as Americans to have him. He is the most innovative — besides Trump."

Dismissing Trump As a 'Stone-cold Loser'

Mr. Musk was once allergic to Washington. He maintained a decent relationship with Mr. Obama and made several White House visits to build support for Tesla and SpaceX, his rocket manufacturer. But he generally disliked meeting with other politicians and saw political donations as a necessary evil, according to four people who worked with him.

Days before the 2016 election, he told CNBC that Mr. Trump did not "seem to have the sort of character that reflects well on the United States." After Mr. Trump won, Mr. Musk told some associates that the outcome was proof that they were living in a simulation, according to one person close to him. In 2020, Mr. Musk, in a private conversation with another associate, called Mr. Trump a "stone-cold loser."

In 2022, the former president, for his part, used an expletive to describe the Tesla chief executive at a rally.

Mr. Musk also predicted that Mr. Trump's days as a political force were finished, according to a private message that was viewed by The New York Times, as he prepared to voice support for Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida, whose campaign he helped kick off in 2023.

Big Promises, but Not A Lot of Follow-through

Mr. Musk has become an obsession of many Trump officials and Republican fund-raisers, who see him as the party's next great hope — or a meal ticket for themselves. But over the years, he has acquired a reputation in political circles as something of a flake.

Some conservative activists said they wished that Mr. Musk had followed through more on promises to fund free-speech lawsuits by people who believed that they had been censored on social media.

Mr. Musk can be hard to pin down, and rumors fly about him in Republican circles. In 2023, when Kevin McCarthy was elected as House speaker, the California politician gave a party at the Library of Congress, and some aides were told until shortly beforehand to expect Mr. Musk to show up and speak. But he didn't, disappointing some in the crowd, a person involved in the event recalled.

Mr. Musk has also been unreliable in local politics. He wrote last year on X that he planned to donate $100,000 to GrowSF, a centrist group in San Francisco, so it could help defeat a progressive city official. But Mr. Musk did not donate or even contact the group, said Steven Buss, one of GrowSF's founders.

An Embrace of Dark Money

Mr. Musk has said that he tries to stay out of politics, and he has not donated to a federal political group since the 2020 cycle, according to campaign finance records. He has gone to great lengths to avoid leaving a public footprint of the contributions he does make.

Indeed, he learned a tough lesson when he made his largest disclosed gift ever, a $50,000 donation in 2017, to the McCarthy Victory Fund, a group aligned with Mr. McCarthy. The disclosure of that donation angered liberals. He learned from that experience to prioritize giving to dark-money organizations, a person familiar with his thinking recalled.

In recent communications with Republicans, Mr. Musk and his associates have expressed a desire not to make political contributions to groups whose donations must be legally disclosed. He told a friend a few months ago that he wanted to find a way to support Trump but didn't want to do it publicly, the friend recalled.

During the Republican presidential primary race, Mr. Musk's team had detailed talks with allies of Vivek Ramaswamy about making a major donation to a dark-money group backing the entrepreneur's candidacy, according to a person briefed on the talks. Mr. Musk attended two fund-raisers for Mr. Ramaswamy, in California and Texas, two people briefed said, but he ultimately declined to cut a check.

In 2023, he strongly considered making a significant political donation to the American Action Network, a 501(c) (4) dark-money group steered by Mr. McCarthy's political operation, according to a person with knowledge of the discussions. It's not clear if he gave.

The Tug of War

As Mr. Musk sought help on politics, the people he turned to sought to influence him.

He had gotten to know Mr. McCarthy over the last decade thanks to the former speaker's advocacy for SpaceX. They now text frequently, and Mr. Musk has often relied on Mr. McCarthy over the years for advice on politics and lobbying.

Mr. McCarthy has been eager to highlight his relationship with Mr. Musk, and has gone to great lengths to cultivate him, according to people familiar with their relationship.

He interviewed the billionaire at an exclusive conference in Sea Island, Ga., hosted by the conservative American Enterprise Institute, and invited Mr. Musk to headline a fund-raising retreat for Mr. McCarthy's donors in Wyoming. Mr. Musk also flew to Washington for the congressman's birthday last year.

Mr. McCarthy has helped develop Mr. Musk's relationship with Mr. Trump, but he has not been alone. Three close friends of the former president — Mr. Peltz, Mr. Wynn and Steve Witkoff, whose firm invested in the billionaire's Twitter takeover — plus Mr. Musk's emerging confidant, Diesel Peltz, a son of Nelson Peltz — have played a role in encouraging Mr. Musk to draw close to Mr. Trump, according to people familiar with the relationships. Mr. Musk also talks frequently with Mr. Ramaswamy, who has become a Trump surrogate, another person said.

Mr. Wynn said in an interview that Mr. Musk was "dedicating himself to making sure this election ends up properly" but downplayed his own role.

"He did that without my help," he said. "Elon is a self-propelled rocket."

Some of Mr. Musk's friends in Silicon Valley have also bent his ear, including members of the so-called PayPal Mafia, a group of early executives at the payments company that includes the Trump donors David Sacks and Ken Howery, the people said.

Mr. Musk used to live primarily in Los Angeles, but people close to him said his politics had been shaped by his more conservative social circle in his new home state of Texas. Joe Lonsdale, a co-founder of Palantir who lives in Texas, and his aides have spent considerable time with Mr. Musk talking about politics, and Mr. Musk has told others that he is worried about what would happen to his businesses if Texas went blue, the people said.

But some of Mr. Musk's more liberal friends and associates, have expressed unhappiness to him about his rightward drift, according to three people familiar with the situation. Some said they have received private assurances from Mr. Musk that he is not donating to support Mr. Trump.

The extremist direction of Mr. Musk has bothered his own high-profile, celebrity lawyer, Alex Spiro, according to two people who have spoken to him. Mr. Spiro, who declined to comment, has encouraged Mr. Musk not to alienate Democrats from his businesses, citing the famous quip from Michael Jordan that "Republicans buy sneakers, too," one of the people said.

The Final Turn to Trump

It appears those liberal friends are losing the tug of war. Mr. Musk met with Mr. Trump in March and now talks with him directly on occasion, according to people familiar with the relationship. The two have spoken about electric vehicles, as well as technology like so-called deepfake videos, the former president has told donors who relayed his remarks.

During the Trump term, Mr. Musk once asked his top executives at Tesla how many of them had voted for Mr. Trump, and was alarmed to hear that none of them had, according to a person with knowledge of the meeting.

"I have had some conversations with him, and he does call me out of the blue for no reason," Mr. Musk said last month at Tesla's annual shareholder meeting.

Mr. Musk and Mr. Sacks organized a private dinner this spring in Los Angeles with several other anti-Biden billionaires, who talked about ways to oppose Mr. Biden's re-election.

Whether Mr. Musk might financially support the Republican ticket has flummoxed Mr. Trump's aides. For much of this year, Mr. Musk entertained to friends the notion of an endorsement, or at least urging his followers explicitly not to vote for Mr. Biden, according to two people who spoke directly with Mr. Musk. The billionaire told these people that he wanted to wait until the president formally captured the Democratic nomination before he made a proclamation.

Then came the assassination attempt.

Within an hour of the shooting, Mr. Musk went on X and endorsed Mr. Trump.

Mr. Lonsdale has helped start a new super PAC that its donors say will fund an aggressive field program to aid Mr. Trump, and several of Mr. Musk's close friends have pooled their millions behind the group. The Wall Street Journal reported that Mr. Musk had spoken of donating $45 million per month to the group — energizing both the Trump and Biden teams. But Mr. Musk has told people close to him that the figure is false, and while people close to the group said that while they expect him to give, they don't know how much.

In recent weeks, Mr. Musk privately lobbied Mr. Trump to choose Senator JD Vance of Ohio as his running mate. He celebrated vociferously on Monday after Mr. Vance was announced as the pick.

Trevor Traina, a Republican fund-raiser in San Francisco who served in the Trump administration and knows Mr. Musk socially, said he saw parallels between the two men.

"He has had to walk the same road as Trump — silenced, targeted, canceled — and within the last couple weeks," Mr. Traina said of Mr. Musk, "he has decided it's time to take action."



PABLO MARTINEZ MONSIVAIS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Elon Musk, left, and President Donald J. Trump in 2017 at the White House. Mr. Musk recently endorsed the former president.

Maureen Farrell and Kirsten Grind contributed reporting. Alain Delaquérière contributed research.



TANIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Nelson Peltz, the activist investor, is said to have played a role in encouraging Mr. Musk to draw closer to Mr. Trump.



HAIYUN JIANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Kevin McCarthy in 2023, then the House speaker. In 2017, Mr. Musk gave $50,000 to a group aligned with Mr. McCarthy.

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604 COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW pressreader

2024 Election

For Biden and Harris, a Delicate and Sometimes Awkward Dance

This article is by Michael S. Schmidt, Katie Rogers and Zolan Kanno-Youngs.

In the days after President Biden's disastrous debate performance, aides to Vice President Kamala Harris got word of an exchange that a staff member from the White House legislative affairs office had with a member of Congress about why Democrats should continue to support Mr. Biden's re-election bid.

Ms. Harris's aides were concerned that in making the case for Mr. Biden, the legislative affairs office had denigrated her political strength and suggested that she would not be as strong a candidate against Donald J. Trump.

The aides quickly reached out to Jeff Zients, the White House chief of staff.

Their message was that it was fine for the administration's surrogates to whip support for Mr. Biden — and that they were totally behind that effort — but that Mr. Biden's team needed to be careful not to do it at the expense of degrading the vice president.

Mr. Zients got in touch with the White House director of legislative affairs, Shuwanza Goff, and told her that her staff needed to be disciplined about not undercutting the vice president as the president's team navigated the treacherous topic of Mr. Biden's chances of winning and what the uncertainty meant for Ms. Harris.

The episode, described by White House aides and allies of the president and vice president, illustrates the highly unusual and delicate situation that Mr. Biden and Ms. Harris, and their staffs, allies, supporters and the campaign, have found themselves in since Mr. Biden plunged his candidacy into crisis on the debate stage just two and a half weeks ago.

Mr. Biden in the days after sought to quell any talk that there was a more attractive alternative to him — and that Ms. Harris was the most obvious alternative. Ms. Harris in turn has remained diligently loyal to Mr. Biden, but her allies do not want that loyalty to lead her to being cast as insufficiently strong to win in November if she were to end up leading the ticket.

The situation is only becoming more awkward as pressure grows on Mr. Biden from party leaders to bow out of the race, a step that would leave Ms. Harris as the most likely Democratic nominee. And it is all playing out in the close quarters of a White House that has sought for three and a half years to remain free of internal drama.

The discussions about the legislative affairs message also surfaced another tricky topic for the White House officials amid the intensifying maelstrom: Communications about Mr. Biden's campaign could violate the Hatch Act, which forbids federal employees from engaging in political activities while on the job.

Even before the debate, Mr. Biden had told confidants that he believed he had a far better chance than Ms. Harris of beating Mr. Trump. Mr. Biden further embraced that conviction as he deflected growing calls from Democrats for him to step aside — and it remains part of his consideration now about whether to remain in the race, according to two people familiar with his thinking.

By making the case for himself publicly and privately, Mr. Biden has implicitly had to downplay her chances of winning. And in supporting him, Ms. Harris has been careful not to come across as focused on her own political future, even at a time when she appears to be finding her footing and some polls show her faring just as well as, if not better than, Mr. Biden against Mr. Trump.

In recent days, according to three people familiar with the matter, Mr. Biden is said to be more receptive to listening to arguments for why he should step aside — and, instead of insisting that he alone can win, is asking questions about how Ms. Harris could win. Mr. Biden, ill with Covid, is spending the next several days secluded at his beach house in Delaware.

In the hours after the debate, Ms. Harris rallied to Mr. Biden's side, going on television to acknowledge that Mr. Biden had "a slow start" but to try to direct the attention back on Mr. Trump and the threat that the campaign says he poses to the country.

Less than two days later, one of the first examples of the awkward dance between them occurred when the Biden campaign sent out a fund-raising email that included a graphic showing how Mr. Biden stacked up against other Democratic alternatives.

"And at the end of the day, we'd switch to candidates who would, according to the polls, be less likely to win than Joe Biden — the only person ever to defeat Donald Trump," the email said.

The email showed that Mr. Biden and Ms. Harris had identical numbers when polled against Mr. Trump, with likely voters favoring Mr. Trump by three points over both of them.

Ms. Harris's staff was not asked to sign off on the email. But after it was sent, several of her allies and supporters grew angry, believing that the campaign was unnecessarily tarnishing her.

In response, Ms. Harris's aides tried to reassure her allies and supporters that Ms. Harris had a responsibility to stand by the president and allow him to say that he is uniquely positioned to win.

Ms. Harris's aides have kept up that refrain in the days since, telling anyone who will listen that they do not begrudge the line being pushed about Mr. Biden being the best candidate, as they know that Mr. Biden and the campaign have no other choice and that they do not interpret the claims as "throwing shade" on Ms. Harris.

"Vice President Harris is proud to be a loyal and steadfast partner to President Biden and has helped build and sustain the broad coalition of Americans that elected them in 2020," said Kirsten Allen, the director of communications for Ms. Harris.

Ms. Harris's aides know well that she is in a delicate position as she pursues an aggressive campaign schedule. The vice president is intent on calling out Mr. Trump — and now in taking on his running mate, Senator J.D. Vance of Ohio — but she also must not overshadow her boss.

In private calls and conversations, she has sought to rally Democrats behind Mr. Biden, according to an administration official, who said she had delivered a simple message: stay aligned.

But making the situation all the more complicated is that Mr. Biden's faltering led to Ms. Harris's two best weeks in the public eye, as she emerged as the most forceful messengers of the Biden campaign and convinced many Democrats, even some who were critical of her early performance in office, that she could lead the ticket.

After speaking to more than two dozen Democrats and donors at a recent private luncheon in San Francisco, one person in attendance said he had watched "a different Kamala" compared with the first two years of the administration.

Ms. Harris's rise has also caught the attention of Mr. Trump. He has increasingly attacked her at rallies, and his advisers are planning to portray her as the "radical left" at the Republican National Convention this week. Ms. Harris has in turn embraced the traditional vice-presidential role of attack dog to assail Mr. Trump, saying he would "weaponize the Department of Justice against his political enemies" during a rally in Dallas last week. The next day in Greensboro, N.C., she caught the attention of voters when she said Mr. Trump "bows down to dictators."

During a trip meant to galvanize Black voters in Nevada this week, Mr. Biden also made a point of commending Ms. Harris.

"She's not only a great vice president," Mr. Biden said at the N.A.A.C.P. conference in Las Vegas. "She could be president of the United States." Mr. Biden came up with the line himself, according to a senior White House official.

Ms. Harris's building momentum comes after she struggled to define her role in her first two years in office amid difficult assignments — such as addressing the root causes of migration and the Republican effort to restrict voting rights. She often appeared scripted and cautious in public settings, causing concern even among her allies and some aides who said privately that they needed to get Ms. Harris away from the teleprompter, out of Washington and on the ground.

In Mr. Biden's first two years in office, West Wing staff members privately expressed frustration about Ms. Harris's hesitation to being deployed to speak about certain crises. Those close to Ms. Harris have acknowledged that she at times has been concerned she was being deployed only to speak about Black or women's issues.

Brenda Pollard, a Democratic delegate for Mr. Biden, said she hoped Mr. Biden would not step down as the nominee. But she also said it was possible to envision Ms. Harris leading the ticket.

"If he cannot do it, he'll decide not to do it," said Ms. Pollard, of Durham, N.C. "And I hope he says, 'My vice president has been by my side.'"

"She knows the job," Ms. Pollard said. "She wants to get it done."



ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

In making his case, President Biden has implicitly had to downplay the chances that Vice President Kamala Harris, above, can win in November. Left, Jeff Zients, the White House chief of staff, has urged staff members to be mindful of Ms. Harris's situation.

Back the president, but don't denigrate the vice president in the process.

Is Biden's Exit Inevitable? Allies Begin to Think So.

By KATIE GLUECK

For years, President Biden has deployed a self-deprecating line when confronting a challenging political environment: "Don't compare me to the Almighty," he urges. "Compare me to the alternative."

Democrats are doing just that — and when it comes to winning the election, a growing number of them believe that Mr. Biden is no longer measuring up.

At the White House and on the Biden campaign, senior staff members are increasingly worried that Mr. Biden could lose Virginia, a state that last backed a Republican for president two decades ago and is typically not regarded as a presidential battleground, according to a senior Biden aide who insisted on anonymity to speak candidly about internal assessments.

In Michigan, some Democrats worry that Mr. Biden would not only lose the state in November to former President Donald J. Trump, but could sink candidates down the ballot, from Congress to state legislatures.

And from Connecticut to Colorado to California, long-simmering doubts about Mr. Biden's ability to win are bursting open, revealing a Democratic Party in chaos roughly one month before its convention in Chicago is set to begin.

"I've never seen a more despondent environment for my party," former Representative Steve Israel of New York, who served as chair of the House Democratic campaign arm and has been a Biden donor, said on Thursday morning.

"People are either angry or sad or engaged in wishful thinking," he added. "The Republicans are cruising on the highway toward their destination. And Democrats are having a fight about whether there's an off-ramp. It's not a sustainable model. You can't win an election this way."

Since Mr. Biden's disastrous debate performance late last month, a pattern has taken hold.

A smattering of Democratic lawmakers will speak out, publicly urging a new nominee or coming right up to the line. Party strategists predict the floodgates of high-ranking opposition to Mr. Biden will soon open. And then something happens — a slew of endorsements from members of the influential Congressional Black Caucus, a passable news conference from Mr. Biden, a shocking assassination attempt on Mr. Trump — that stops the public momentum of the president's critics.

But this time is different.

Mr. Biden has become more receptive to hearing arguments about why he should drop his reelection bid, Democrats briefed on his conversations said, after his party's two top leaders in Congress privately told him they were gravely worried about his prospects. Representative Nancy Pelosi, the powerful former House speaker, has also told Mr. Biden and House Democratic colleagues in recent days that she is pessimistic about his chances of beating Mr. Trump.

And as Mr. Biden sequesters himself in Delaware to recover from the coronavirus, the senior Biden aide said that at the campaign and the White House, senior staff members were increasingly, if informally, discussing among themselves their sense that Mr. Biden's exit from the race was starting to feel inevitable — only a matter of when and how.

Those conversations were taboo as recently as a few days ago, the person said.

Still, in a news conference on Thursday, Mr. Biden's team insisted that the president had no plans to go anywhere.

"Our campaign is not working through any scenarios in which President Biden is not at the top of the ticket," said Quentin Fulks, the president's deputy campaign manager. "He is going to be the Democratic nominee."

Asked about the Virginia concerns, Lauren Hitt, a spokeswoman for the Biden campaign, said that it had a strong ground game in the state, and that Mr. Trump's positions on federal entitlement programs and abortion rights were "toxic in Virginia."

"It's why we beat him last time and how Democrats flipped the House of Delegates," she said. "We're confident we'll defeat him there again."

Crucially, Mr. Biden retains the support of many prominent Black leaders in the party.

"If we don't have Joe Biden as the head of our ticket, we will lose to Donald Trump," said former Senator Carol Moseley Braun, Democrat of Illinois and the first Black woman to serve in the Senate, overlapping with Mr. Biden. "I'm still very much supporting him and confused why these people, why the drumbeat has started for him to leave."

But others are beginning to openly express doubts.

The Rev. Al Sharpton, the civil rights leader, said he told President Biden that it was time for "a serious calculation" of his standing in the 2024 presidential campaign and that remaining in the race may put at risk much of Mr. Biden's legacy in office.

One major reason more elected Democrats have begun sounding alarms is because public and private polling show Mr. Biden and members of his party in peril even in places he won comfortably in 2020.

"You can swim against the current, but if the current is so fast, there's only so much a down-ballot race can do," said State Representative Phil Skaggs, a Michigan Democrat. "He's no longer an effective campaigner, and you don't get to be president unless you win the election. And so, elections are not about, thank you for your previous service."

Mr. Skaggs is engaged in conversations with other state legislators and local officials about potentially issuing a joint letter urging Mr. Biden to "pass the torch."

In recent days, a series of polls have made clear that Mr. Biden's challenges are not just with the party's "elite," as he has suggested. Nearly two-thirds of Democrats said Mr. Biden should step aside and allow the party to select a different nominee, according to an Associated Press-NORC poll released this week.

Former Representative Stephanie Murphy, a Florida Democrat, noted that voters had in fact long made clear that they had serious concerns about Mr. Biden's age and abilities headed into a re-election campaign.

"This is a conversation that should have happened a year and a half ago," she said. "After the debate, President Biden staying at the top of the ticket is putting the American voters and his Democratic Party in an impossible position."

Larry David, a creator of "Seinfeld" and the star of "Curb Your Enthusiasm," who played Senator Bernie Sanders on "Saturday Night Live," offered what was surely a sarcastic summation of the sentiment on the left.

Asked how he would characterize the mood of the Democratic Party — and his own — right now, he replied in an email: "Fantastic! I'm brimming with optimism and exclamation points!! I'm, dare I say, enthusiastic! What a time to be alive!!"



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

A thorny dialogue, once taboo, is gaining traction among some worried Democrats.

Former supporters gathered outside the White House this month to send a message to the president, who is facing increasing pressure, even from loyalists, to leave the race.

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER
PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604
COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW
pressreader

2024 Election

Inside a 12-Day Fight to Keep Biden Atop the Democratic Ticket

From Page A1

former aides, friends and others. Most spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss one of the most difficult periods in Mr. Biden's political life.

At the end of two hectic days in the 110-degree heat of Las Vegas this week, it all seemed to catch up with him. Mr. Biden was coughing during interviews and seemed almost as tired and scattered as he did during the debate on June 27. At a campaign stop at a restaurant, he looked pale. He tested positive for Covid, canceled his final speech and flew back to his beach house in Delaware.

By Thursday, Mr. Biden's flashes of anger had given way to what allies perceived as the beginnings of acceptance that he might lose. People close to him began privately predicting that the end of the campaign was near, and that he might even drop out of the race within days.

MONDAY, JULY 8 Inside the White House and at the president's campaign headquarters in Delaware, the mood was grim.

The July 4 holiday had not stopped calls for the president to step aside and allow another candidate to run against former President Donald J. Trump. The campaign team had hoped that an interview with George Stephanopoulos of ABC would make the issue of the president's debate performance go away. It had not.

But that morning, Mr. Biden went on offense. In a letter sent to Democratic lawmakers at 9 a.m., he was blunt. There had been too much hand-wringing over his debate performance. Mr. Biden was done with all the talk about him dropping out of the race.

"I decline to do that," he wrote, making it clear that he wanted the conversation about his health to be finished. "It's time for it to end."

It did not.

On Capitol Hill, the letter was received poorly by some Democratic members who saw it as the president dismissing what they viewed as legitimate concerns about the party's chances in the fall. But Mr. Biden did not wait for their reaction before taking an even more aggressive move: calling in to MSNBC's "Morning Joe" program, ready for battle.

The idea, aides said later, was to take control of the story by making clear that he was not dropping out. But over the course of nearly 18 minutes, Mr. Biden raged against "the elites" he believed were trying to push him out. He dared his critics to "challenge me at the convention." And he bragged about his crowd sizes.

"Come out with me. Watch me. Watch people react," he told Joe Scarborough and Mika Brzezinski, the hosts. "You make a judgment. You make a judgment."

The president's wife, Jill Biden, tried to deliver the message in a softer way. At a brewery in Wilmington, N.C., she told reporters: "Joe has made it clear that he's all in." She added: "I am all in, too."

But it was the president's aggressive tone that dominated the headlines. Over the next two days, two more lawmakers went public. Representative Adam Smith of Washington, the top Democrat on the Armed Services Committee, said it was "clear that he's not the best person to carry the Democratic message."

Representative Mikie Sherrill of New Jersey said, "I am asking that he declare that he won't run for re-election."

WEDNESDAY, JULY 10 The day was already going poorly for the White House. Representative Nancy Pelosi of California, the former House speaker, said that morning that it was "up to the president to decide" whether he would continue to run for re-election.

Mr. Biden's aides were frustrated. Ms. Pelosi knew very well that Mr. Biden had already decided to stay in the race. She was deliberately sending a message, they thought. And then Mr. Clooney, a major Biden donor, wrote a guest essay in The New York Times with a devastating headline: "I Love Joe Biden. But We Need a New Nominee."

People close to Mr. Biden had tried for days to convince Mr. Clooney not to publish his concerns, fearing that it would create exactly the furor that it did. In the essay, Mr. Clooney was even more brutal than the headline suggested.

"This is about age," he wrote. "Nothing more. But also nothing that can be reversed. We are not going to win in November with this president."

The article upended the Biden team's hope that he had put the issue to rest. By the end of the day, four more high-profile Democrats turned on him.

"For the good of the country, I'm calling on President Biden to withdraw from the race," said Senator Peter Welch of Vermont.

THURSDAY, JULY 11 By the next day, the president and his aides were pinning their hopes on something Mr. Biden has done only rarely: a solo news conference, taking questions from the White House press corps.

White House officials were betting that the venue could play to the president's strengths, even though it would be unscripted. It would come at the end of the NATO summit of leaders in Washington, where they were discussing global affairs, a topic that often energizes the foreign policy-minded president.

But it was also a very long day, filled with intense, closed-door discussions with more than two dozen of the president's counterparts. Before the news conference would even start in the late evening, Mr. Biden would sit down with President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine for a discussion about the way forward in the war against Russia.

It was there that Mr. Biden would make his first stumble of the day, introducing Mr. Zelensky by calling him "President Putin." The quote was already zipping across social media before the news conference got underway.

For an hour, Mr. Biden parried with reporters who pressed him on his health, his age, his debate performance and the chances that he would drop out of the race. He stumbled over his words, at one point saying "Vice President Trump" when he meant "Vice President Harris." But he also held his own on complicated foreign policy questions.

National security officials in the White House focused on the substance of the day, including announcements about new arms for Ukraine and unity among NATO members. But the president's flubs got more attention, and the audience for the news conference was far smaller than the 50 million people who had watched the debate in June.

Moments after the news conference ended, Representative Jim Himes of Connecticut, the top Democrat on the Intelligence Committee, issued a statement: "We must put forth the strongest candidate possible to confront the threat posed by Trump's promised MAGA authoritarianism. I no longer believe that is Joe Biden."

Seven Democrats followed suit that night.

SATURDAY, JULY 13 Senator Chuck Schumer of New York arrived at Mr. Biden's house in Rehoboth Beach, Del., on Saturday with a grim message: Senators were deeply concerned about the president's chances in November and the fates of Senate candidates should he remain at the top of the ticket.

Mr. Schumer was armed with polls showing bad news for Mr. Biden, including data that the president's numbers in critical battleground states were dropping fast. The meeting was private, but Democrats inside and outside the campaign and the White House were bracing for another brutal weekend.

At 6:11 p.m., those fears temporarily abated when a gunman fired at a Trump rally in Pennsylvania, grazing the former president's ear, critically wounding two people in the bleachers and killing one person, a volunteer firefighter.

The assassination attempt silenced the public displays of Democratic anxiety as Mr. Biden delivered two back-to-back sets of remarks to the American people about the shooting over the course of the weekend.

"In America, we resolve our differences at the battol box," he said on Sunday night, apparently meaning "ballot box" as he read from a teleprompter in the Oval Office. "You know, that's how we do it, at the battol box, not with bullets," he said, making the mistake again.

He also said he was glad that "former Trump" was not seriously injured, dropping the word "president" from his remarks.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 17 It climbed to 110 degrees in Las Vegas on Mr. Biden's second day in Nevada, a critical battleground state. He had already spent Tuesday trying to shore up support with Black voters by speaking to the N.A.A.C.P. convention and sitting for an interview.

On Wednesday morning, he was at it again, this time in an appeal to Latino voters and trying to ignore the questions about his age.

The first stop of the day was The Original Lindo Michoácan Restaurant, where "Latinos for Biden Harris" signs were posted on one wall. "Burbujas de Amor" by Juan Luis Guerra played loudly. The president moved through the restaurant, taking selfies with guests at three different booths.

Reporters shouted to the president as they were led out, asking for any response to a new call by Representative Adam B. Schiff of California for him to step down. Mr. Biden did not answer.

After leaving the restaurant, he recorded an in-person radio interview with Luis Sandoval, the host of Univision's radio show "Buena Vibra," and was set to deliver a speech to the UnidosUS Annual Conference. After more than an hour of delay, it was clear something was wrong.

"I was just on the phone with President Biden, and he shared his deep disappointment at not being able to join us this afternoon," Janet Murguía, the president and chief executive of UnidosUS, told the audience. "He just tested positive for Covid."

The speech canceled, the president's motorcade headed for the Las Vegas airport. Crowded by Secret Service agents after the attempted assassination of his political opponent days earlier, Mr. Biden turned to gathered reporters and gave a thumbs-up. "I feel good," he said, wearing aviator sunglasses but no mask.

Three hours and 48 minutes later, the president unsteadily descended the small staircase from Air Force One. News organizations were reporting that Mr. Schumer and Representative Hakeem Jeffries of New York, the two top Democrats in Congress, had each privately conveyed that members were deeply concerned about his chances in November.

Mr. Biden emerged from Air Force One with a cap and a bomber jacket but no mask, holding himself steady with his right hand. He made it two steps before pausing, pointing and waving straight ahead, mouth agape. He took two more steps and stopped again, this time looking to his right. After three seconds, he turned to the left and raised both his hands when he found reporters gathered near the left engine of the plane.

Ten more steps and Mr. Biden made it to the ground. He turned again to reporters shouting questions about the race.

It was becoming clearer every day that the intense push to persuade Democrats to accept his candidacy was failing. Before gingerly getting into his limousine for the ride to his vacation home in Rehoboth Beach, the president looked back at the reporters.

"I am doing well," Mr. Biden said as he gave a thumbs-up.



YUKI GRIPAS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Biden gingerly exited from Air Force One on Monday after a flight from Las Vegas to Dover Air Force Base in Delaware.

Reporting was contributed by Peter Baker, Katie Rogers, Zolan Kanno-Youngs and Carl Hulse in Washington and Katie Glueck in New York.

Republicans Grapple With a Question: What's the Strategy if Biden Drops Out?

This article is by Kellen Browning, Simon J. Levien and Chris Cameron.

As Sam Brown, a Republican and Army veteran, has campaigned for Nevada's U.S. Senate seat against Senator Jacky Rosen, he has deployed a potent weapon against his Democratic foe: the unpopularity of President Biden among the state's voters.

Mr. Brown and his campaign have linked Ms. Rosen to Mr. Biden and his policies at every turn, slamming her support for him on the campaign trail and online and even occasionally referring to her as "Jacky Biden."

Now, with Mr. Biden's future at the top of the Democratic ticket in doubt, Republicans like Mr. Brown, campaigning in competitive down-ballot races that could decide control of Congress, are considering whether they will need to alter their messaging to account for a different Democratic presidential nominee — whether that is Vice President Kamala Harris or another challenger.

"It certainly changes things; changing a potential presidential candidate for November, that's going to do something," Mr. Brown said in an interview. "But at the end of the day, Jacky Rosen has her own record that she has to answer to."

Republicans viewed Mr. Biden as an easy target even before the renewed questions over his age and mental acuity stemming from his disastrous June debate performance. Many voters already viewed him as too old for a second term, and Republicans bashed him for his handling of the border and tried tying him to soaring inflation and gas prices.

The slate of Republicans challenging Democratic senators delighted in repeating a particular statistic: the percentage of the time, often close to 100, that their opponent voted for Mr. Biden's legislative priorities.

Still, asked directly whom they would prefer to be at the top of the Democratic ticket as they run in down-ballot races, G.O.P. candidates at the Republican National Convention in Milwaukee demurred. They said it did not matter to them because they could simply saddle Ms. Harris or another candidate with Mr. Biden's baggage, and focus more narrowly on the pertinent issues in their particular race, or on the Democratic platform as a whole.



"I want every Republican to understand we've got a serious fight," said Senator Ted Cruz.

But they offered a host of reasons for why Mr. Biden felt like a prime target, and some acknowledged they would need to readjust their strategy if a different candidate took the reins.

Representative Carlos Giménez, a Florida Republican, said it did not matter to him "who's on the top of the ticket," but added that he would mourn the loss of some particularly fertile lines of argument against Mr. Biden.

"With Biden, it's the argument that not only his policies are bad, but he's also incapable of being the president of the United States," Mr. Giménez said. "Harris, she still has full capacity. Her policies still are bad for the United States, but you can't make that other argument. So that changes somewhat."

The Biden campaign didn't immediately respond to a request for comment. Mr. Biden has given no public indication that he plans to bow to the rising pressure from within his party to step aside, and on Friday he said in a statement that he planned to get "back on the campaign trail next week." But if he does, his withdrawal could reverberate in key races for the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives, where some Democrats fear he has become a drag on their candidates.

The campaign of former President Donald J. Trump and its allies are among those who have relished facing Mr. Biden. This week, they ramped up efforts to criticize Democrats who hope for a different nominee, a tacit acknowledgment that Mr. Biden could be an easier opponent than alternatives.

Chris LaCivita, a top adviser to Mr. Trump's campaign, said that Democratic turmoil over selecting a new nominee was betraying the democratic process and the Biden campaign's framing of the 2024 election as a battle over democracy.

"They all want to talk about this notion of the war against democracy," but it was Democrats who were fomenting "a coup," Mr. LaCivita said at an event in Milwaukee on Thursday. He added that if they force the president to drop out, Democrats would be "disenfranchising" the 14 million people who voted in their primaries.

Natasha Halbfinger contributed reporting.



ERIC LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

A sign near the White House this month. In many down-ballot races, Republicans have centered their messaging around President Biden.

On the convention floor on Thursday, Senator Ted Cruz, the Texas Republican, told the conservative network One America News that he thought the Democratic nominee would be either Ms. Harris or Michelle Obama, the wife of former President Barack Obama, who has said repeatedly that she is not interested in running for office.

"Both of them, I think it's going to be a real challenge and a real fight," said Mr. Cruz, who is running against Representative Colin Allred, a Dallas-area Democrat. "I think we will win in November. But I want every Republican to understand we've got a serious fight."

In Ms. Harris, who performs better than Mr. Biden in some polls but not all, Republicans see an avatar of Mr. Biden and his policies. They view her as particularly vulnerable to attacks on immigration, because Mr. Biden tapped her to assist with the diplomatic mission of solving the "root causes" of migration from Central American countries.

Republicans took control of the House in 2022 in part by mobilizing voters in the New York suburbs and taking control of districts that Mr. Biden had won by more than 10 percentage points two years earlier. Vulnerable Republicans in those districts would face considerable re-election challenges if Mr. Biden or Ms. Harris drove turnout in those areas, but some projected confidence that the vice president would not pose a significant threat.

"It's the same race either way you look at it, whether you're talking about Joe Biden or you're talking about Kamala Harris — it's the same bad policies, it's the same bad decisions, it's the same liabilities," said Representative Anthony D'Esposito, a New York Republican locked in a tight re-election battle on Long Island. "Kamala Harris is Joe Biden, and Joe Biden is Kamala Harris."

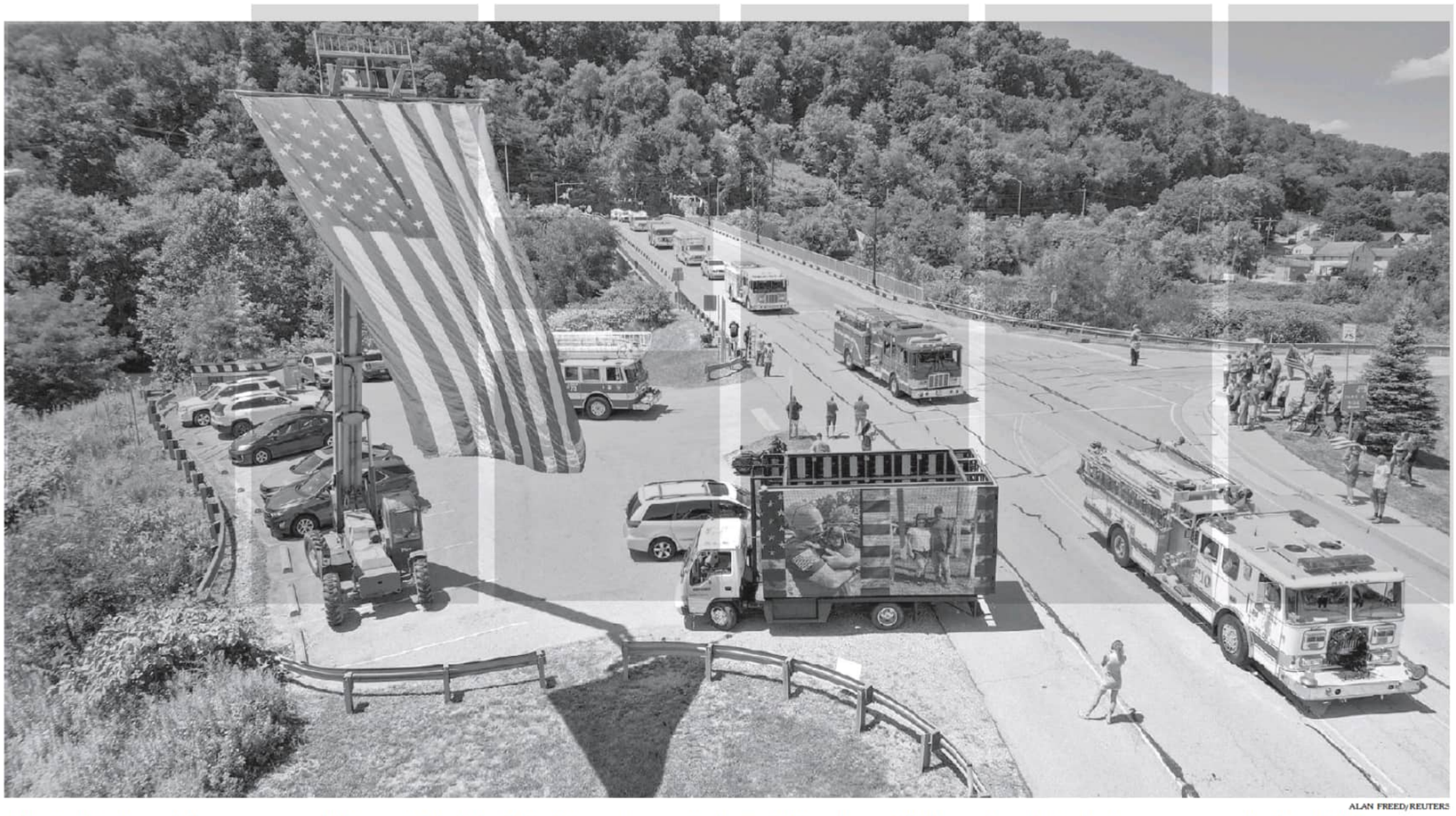
Representative Mike Lawler, a first-term New York Republican who won his seat by less than 2,000 votes in 2022, said it made no difference if Mr. Biden dropped out or stayed in the race, arguing that Republicans were running against the Democratic platform, rather than the top of their ticket — even if attacks against his Democratic opponent, Mondaire Jones, have highlighted Mr. Jones' relationship with Mr. Biden.

Still, some admitted that they did not want to see Mr. Biden and his troubles walk out the door.

"I'd like to see him stay in the race," said Senator Kevin Cramer, a Republican from North Dakota. "People will punish the Democratic Party if he is the nominee."

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604 COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW pressreader

Trump Rally Shooting



ALAN FREED/REUTERS

A line of police, fire and other emergency vehicles escorted the body of Corey Comperatore, a volunteer firefighter who was killed by gunfire on Saturday at a campaign event for Donald J. Trump.

Mourners Gather for Funeral of Pennsylvania Father Slain at Rally

This article is by Eduardo Medina, Emily Cochrane and Isabelle Taft.

CABOT, Pa. — One by one on Friday morning, people began to gather along the winding roads and corn fields to plant American flags, spread out their blankets and wait for the fire trucks.

They knew the nation was watching, after the attempted assassination of former President Donald J. Trump thrust their corner of western Pennsylvania into the spotlight. But the day was about honoring a local man: Corey Comperatore, the volunteer firefighter and father of two killed in the gunfire on Saturday.

"You couldn't comprehend that happened," said Michael Drane, 66, who stood across the street from the funeral service to pay tribute to a man he had only known as a familiar face in the neighborhood. He blinked back tears as he recalled the violence on Saturday. "Not here. Not home."

In a country still shaken by the assassination attempt, Mr. Comperatore has become a focus of grief and admiration, especially after officials and his relatives described how he shielded his family as shots rang out at Mr. Trump's rally.



EDUARDO MUNOZ/REUTERS

Firefighters carried the casket on Friday. Friends described how Mr. Comperatore had shielded his family as the shots rang out.

"This support that is poured out from all over the world is unprecedented for those of us in this region, but it's fitting for Corey," the Rev. Jonathan Fehl, the lead pastor at the church where Mr. Comperatore was a longtime member, said at a vigil on Wednesday, where the crowd lit prayer candles, turned on phone flashlights and cracked glow stick necklaces.

"It's a shame that the rest of the world had to learn it this way," Mr. Fehl said of Mr. Comperatore's generosity and deep Christian faith. "You've heard about who he is. You've heard about the man, his character. You've heard about his compassion, his love for his family."

Makeshift tributes and memorials have popped up across the small communities here. A large electronic billboard above a road in nearby Freeport displayed a photo of Mr. Comperatore. Next to his photo was a phrase that has been uttered by the governor and residents across Pennsylvania: "A Real Hero."

Mr. Trump, during his speech on Thursday night at the Republican National Convention in Milwaukee, lauded Mr. Comperatore, saying that he had "lost his life selflessly." Mr. Comperatore's firefighter uniform was displayed onstage near Mr. Trump as he spoke. At one point, the former president kissed the helmet and asked the crowd to observe a moment of silence for "our friend, Corey."

The name on the jacket, notably, was misspelled and missing an "A." It was because his name was too long for the jacket, said Melissa Stivers, adding that Mr. Comperatore was her nephew's godfather.

"His firefighter buddies would joke that he had lost his "A" game," Ms. Stivers said, seated in her pickup truck ahead of the funeral procession. "It was a running joke, and he never sent it back to get it fixed."

It served as a symbol of how Mr. Comperatore's life revolved around this pocket of Pennsylvania. He grew up in Sarver and still lived there with his high school sweetheart and two daughters.

He graduated from high school in nearby Freeport, and was a longtime member of a Methodist congregation in Cabot Church. And it was where, a month earlier, he had celebrated his 50th birthday.

On Friday, a fire truck draped in black bunting brought Mr. Comperatore's coffin, wrapped in an American flag, to Cabot Church for a private service. Nearby, a gentle breeze blew against a giant American flag hanging from the ladder of a fire truck parked next to the church. A sign outside the church read: "Our hearts are broken for the Comperatores."

On Winfield Road, where acres of wheat and soybean fields stretched across backyards, Lisa Gray and her two children were decorating their porch with red, white and blue wreaths to honor their neighbor who had lived down the street.

"He was always so friendly, and would wave at us with his two big dogs," Ms. Gray said. She gently reassured her daughter, who twiddled with a strand of wheat, that what happened at the Trump rally would not happen again in future visits to the same venue for barn shows.

Dozens of law enforcement officers were on hand Friday, as they had been during previous vigils and a public visitation Thursday at a banquet hall in Freeport. On Friday, similar to the banquet hall, snipers could be seen stationed on the roof of the building.

But police officers and firefighters from across the region also joined to honor Mr. Comperatore's service to his community, even as they, too, grappled with the toll of political violence.

"Why is this happening in our country?" said Kevin White, a 61-year-old retired firefighter who joined several dozen motorcyclists riding in the procession. "Why? What's the sense of this? A father — a hero — is gone now."

Just before 12:45 p.m., bagpipes signaled the end of the service. There was a gun salute before the coffin was brought back onto a fire truck, which joined hundreds of other emergency vehicles for the procession. Some had traveled from as far away as Florida and Texas.

As the procession passed by, parents hoisted their children in their arms. They raised their phones high, capturing the stream of fire trucks rolling in through the hilly road with their lights silently flashing.

One man holding an American flag mouthed the words, "Thank you."

Reporting was contributed by Elizabeth Dias, Chelsia Rose Marcius and Christina Morales.

Trump Recounts Attempt on His Life at Convention

By SHAWN MCCREESH

MILWAUKEE — In his first speech since a gunman tried to kill him, Donald J. Trump stood before an arena of supporters and began, simply, with what he knew they wanted to hear.

He told the tale.

It was a theatrical, dark and, at times, quasi-religious retelling. Mr. Trump spoke slowly, paused purposefully, and even re-enacted the way he had turned his head just as a would-be assassin's bullet sliced through his ear.

He would eventually slip into a version of his familiar stump speech, and the drama dissipated. But for those first 15 minutes, the former president delivered a campaign speech like no other — a remarkable narration of a near-death experience packaged as slick political theater.

And he knew how to hype it, telling his audience at the top that it was a one-night only, special event. "So many people have asked me what happened, 'Tell us what happened, please,'" he said. "And therefore, I will tell you exactly what happened, and you'll never hear it from me a second time. Because it's actually too painful to tell."

He began. "It was a warm, beautiful day in the early evening," he said, and his campaign "was doing really well" and "everybody was happy" and he was "speaking very strongly, powerfully, and happily."

His voice became solemn and the crowd sat transfixed as he told them of bullets flying and "absolutely blood all over the place." Giant photos taken that day showing his face, an inch from the ground and streaked with blood, filled the jumbo screens surrounding the stage. Behind him was an image of the White House north portico — lest viewers forget he was a once, and perhaps future, president.



KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Donald J. Trump with Corey Comperatore's uniform at the Republican National Convention.

Mr. Trump framed the episode as a communal experience, a reminder of the adamantine bond he has with his followers. He marveled at how the crowd in Butler, Pa., on Saturday would not forsake him, even as they were being fired upon. "This massive crowd of tens of thousands of people stood by and didn't move an inch," he explained. "This beautiful crowd, they didn't want to leave me. They knew I was in trouble."

"Bullets were flying over us," he said, "yet I felt serene."

There was an odd note in his timbre, something sullen and uncharacteristically vulnerable — and also inviting — in the way he said, "I'm not supposed to be here tonight. Not supposed to be here."

The arena instantly answered. "Yes you are! Yes you are!"

"Thank you," he paused. "But I'm not. And I'll tell you. I stand before you in this arena only by the grace of almighty God."

Mr. Trump recounted what was going through his mind in the moment before he popped back up with his fist raised, making an image that was instantly seared into political history. He saw a look of "great sorrow" on faces in the crowd, he said. "I wanted to do something to let them know I was OK."

He then turned to talk about others who were shot. Three men were hit that day, including a volunteer firefighter named Corey Comperatore, who died. "They were serious Trumpsters, I want to tell you," he said. "They were serious Trumpsters and still are. But Corey, unfortunately we have to use the past tense. He was incredible."

He turned around and approached a display holding Mr. Comperatore's firefighter's jacket, his helmet placed atop it. Mr. Trump gripped the jacket's shoulders, bent his head down and kissed the helmet.

He asked for a moment of silence. Down on the floor, the delegates from Texas removed their cowboy hats.

Mr. Trump sounded prayerful as he told them that "there is no greater love than to lay down one's life for others."

The crowd responded: "We love Trump. We love Trump."

Secret Service Chief Agrees To Testify Before Congress

By HAMED ALEAZIZ

WASHINGTON — The director of the Secret Service, Kimberly A. Cheatle, will appear before lawmakers for the first time on Monday as scrutiny intensifies over the security failures at the Pennsylvania rally where a gunman tried to kill former President Donald J. Trump, the agency announced on Friday.

"The Secret Service is fully accountable for the safety of its protectees. We are committed to better understanding what happened before, during, and after the assassination attempt of former President Trump to ensure it never happens again," Anthony Guglielmi, spokesman for the agency, wrote on social media on Friday.

As of Thursday, it was unclear whether Ms. Cheatle would appear before the committee. A letter sent by the Department of Homeland Security to lawmakers on Wednesday had urged the committee to allow for a later hearing date to give her more time to prepare.

Regardless, lawmakers on Friday said the hearing would take place Monday as scheduled.

"Americans have many serious questions about the historic security failures that occurred at the campaign rally in Butler, Pa.," wrote Representatives James R. Comer, Republican of Kentucky, and Jamie Raskin, Democrat of Maryland, in a statement on Friday. "Secret Service Director Kimberly Cheatle must appear before the House Oversight Committee without delay on Monday, July 22, to answer our many questions and provide the transparency and accountability that Americans deserve and that are at the foundation of our government."

Mr. Trump was injured when Thomas Matthew Crooks, 20, of Bethel Park, Pa., shot at him from a nearby warehouse roof during the campaign rally on Saturday. One attendee was killed and two more were injured. A Secret Service counter-sniper shot and killed Mr. Crooks at the scene.



MORRY GASH/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The director of the Secret Service, Kimberly A. Cheatle, will take questions from the House Oversight Committee.

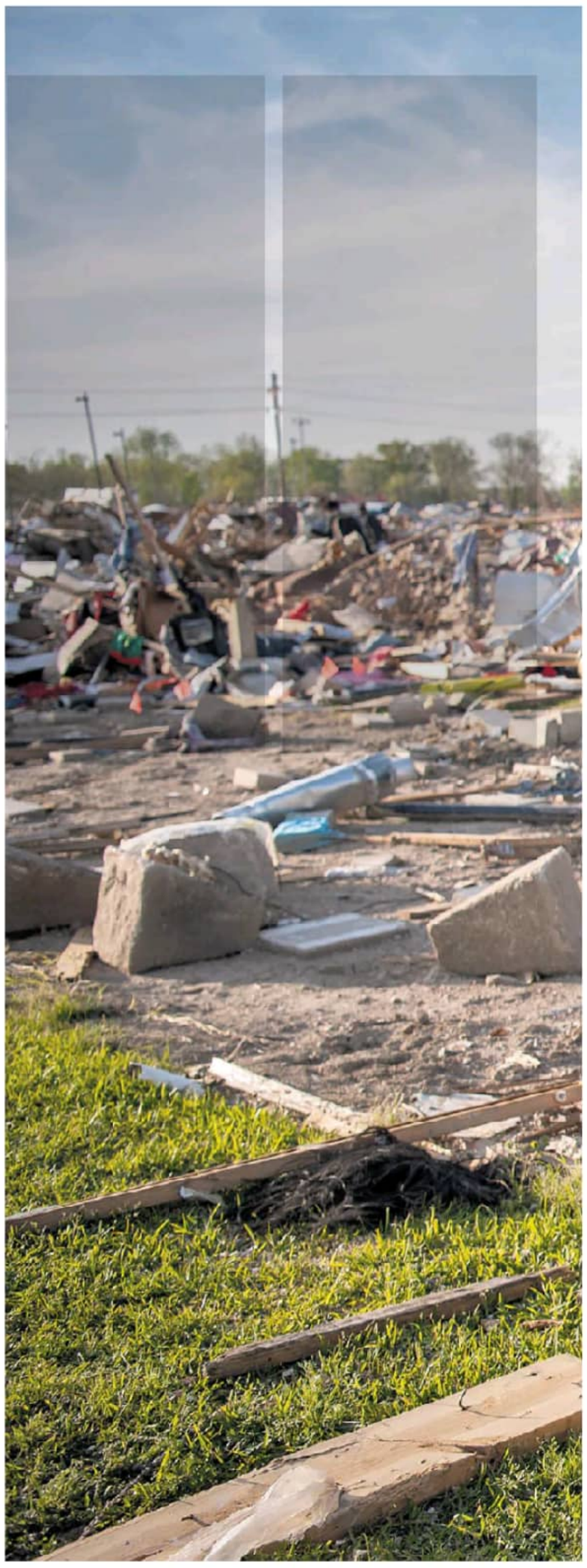
Ms. Cheatle has been sharply criticized by top Republican lawmakers who have said she needed to be removed from the post immediately. Biden administration officials have publicly backed Ms. Cheatle.

"I will tell you that my confidence in Kim is 100 percent," Alejandro N. Mayorkas, the secretary of homeland security, said in an interview earlier this week.

Ms. Cheatle is a longtime Secret Service official who has served in various roles at the agency. President Biden, in appointing Ms. Cheatle, said that she had his "complete trust."

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER
PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604
COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW
pressreader





At right, Jaden Grayson, far right, with his uncle Jarvis Odems on the steps of the Mississippi home Jaden shared with his grandmother before the tornado. Top, Jaden at Har-Ber High School, in Springdale, Ark. Above, with Tami Johnson, Jarvis's partner.

A Tornado Wiped Out a Teen's World. Now, He's Rebuilding It.

Photographs by RORY DOYLE
Article by RICK ROJAS

ROLLING FORK, Miss. — The road out of Rolling Fork unfurls for what seems like forever into the flat, yawning horizon of the Mississippi Delta. The relentless spread of fields is usually interrupted only by bumpy roads and the occasional gas station. On an April afternoon in 2023, though, there were also strips of metal twisted into abstract sculptures, the remnants of a tornado that had recently swept through.

All of it whooshed by Jaden Grayson that spring day, as he looked out the window of his uncle's car.

Weeks earlier, Jaden had survived the tornado that killed 17 people in and around Rolling Fork, including the grandmother who had stood in for his mother for most of his childhood. The home he shared with her was nothing but concrete steps and scattered debris. When Jaden, then 16, sifted through it, everything he recovered could fit in a laundry basket.

Then he was told that he was going to Arkansas. His Uncle Jarvis was taking him in.

THE CAR RIDE ended in Springdale, Ark., about 400 miles from Rolling Fork.

Jaden carried his things into the two-bedroom townhouse that he would share with four other people. There was Jarvis Odems, his 28-year-old uncle; Tami Johnson, Jarvis's longtime girlfriend; their 8-year-old daughter, Aubrielle; and Marco, Tami's 13-year-old son, with whom Jaden would share a room.

Jarvis and Tami split in 2022, deciding they needed time apart. But now Jarvis had to register Jaden for school, obtain legal custody and make sure he had what he needed to settle in and feel secure. Jarvis's job as a truck driver came with good pay, but also long days and odd hours.

He couldn't imagine taking on this new challenge alone. Tami told him he didn't have to.

TAMI POSTED AN APPEAL on Facebook, raising $3,000 to buy Jaden what he needed — everything, basically.

That week in April, he also started school.

Har-Ber High School in Springdale has students in 10th through 12th grades. It was designed almost 20 years ago to evoke a college campus, with a domed main academic building, impressive athletic facilities and room to accommodate more than 2,200 students.

Many of the students at Har-Ber live in the middle-class subdivisions that sprung up in Springdale as Northwest Arkansas exploded in population and prosperity, fueled by the presence of Walmart and Tyson Foods. Almost all of the students are Latino or white.

Jaden had come from South Delta High School in Rolling Fork, which had roughly 170 students enrolled before the tornado, most of them poor and Black. The district was strapped for resources, and Jaden felt it. "It was boring," he said of his old school.

But in Arkansas, his classes could sometimes feel like an avalanche of information. His teachers also seemed to demand more of him.

"It's pretty fast-paced here compared to Mississippi," said Jennifer Baker, a teacher at Har-Ber who has known Jaden's family for years and took it upon herself to get him situated, helping him pick classes, teachers and even friends, steering him toward students she thought would be good influences.

In more than two decades as a teacher, Ms. Baker had held onto a belief that her vocation was not limited by classroom walls. One student slept on her couch for a while. Another came home with her every day during a period of family turbulence.

It was only natural that she would look out for Jaden. She had also taught Jarvis and several other relatives. She knew Jaden's grandmother and considered her a friend.

"You raised the whole family," Jaden told her one day in her office, which had become an escape where he could vent, cry or do nothing at all.

He also joined the football team. The sport had long been a passion, but it also brought pressure: He hoped it would lead to a college scholarship. During the fall season, he struggled to focus, and then he hurt his shoulder.

"You think you held back a little bit this season?" Ms. Baker asked after the season had ended.

"I wasn't in it," Jaden replied. "I was going through it."

AT HOME, he had no space to think, much less grieve.

Jaden was almost 6 feet 3 inches with a sturdy build that caught coaches' attention. Marco, Tami's son, was a lanky middle-schooler and already about 6 feet tall. The two of them had to share a full-size bed.

Nerves frayed. Squabbling erupted over the most tedious things, like who was wearing whose sneakers.

Jaden and Marco developed a habit of locking their bedroom door, an attempt to carve out some privacy. Which was fine until Tami had to bang on the door and yell in the morning, to get Jaden up for football practice.

One day, Jarvis, who was trying to sleep after a shift, became fed up. He took the door off its hinges.

ALL HIS PAIN, all his frustration — Jaden saved it for the football field. Almost everyone around him had offered that advice: Harness the hardship.

"Football is my therapy," he said recently. "It lets a lot out."

Still, football could only do so much.

Jaden is quiet by nature, preferring to communicate through mumbles and whispers. Tami encouraged him to express his emotions. "Sometimes, you've just got to break down," she told him. "It's OK to not be OK."

There were days when he needed time alone in Ms. Baker's room with the lights off.

In moments like those, he relived the last time he saw his grandmother. He was out with friends, walking along the country highway that serves as Rolling Fork's main road, and she drove by on her way home from work. They waved.

Now, he tried to imagine what she would tell him, what she would want him to do.

He had little doubt about the answer.

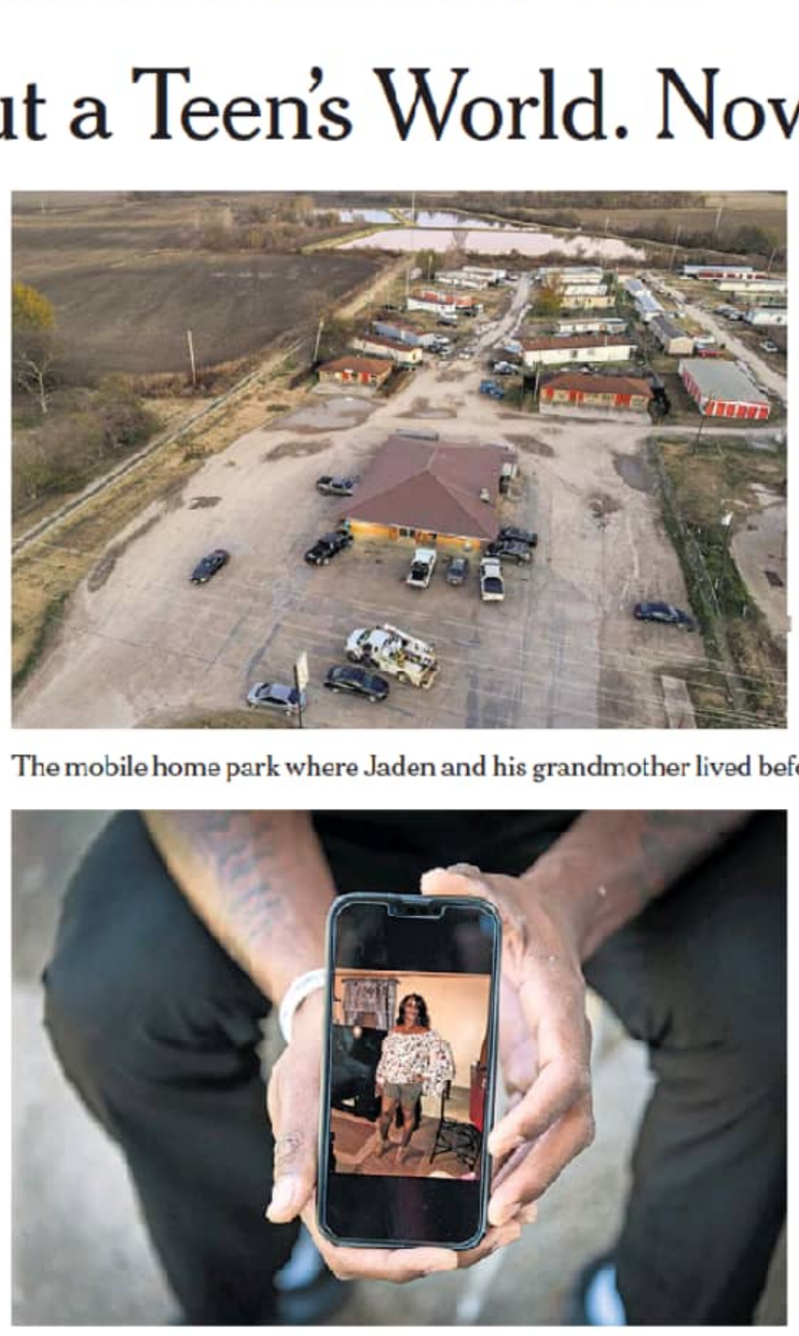
JADEN HAD BEEN the responsibility of his grandmother, Brenda Odoms, essentially since he was born. His mother — Ms. Odoms's daughter, Arielle — had chronic health issues and died when Jaden was 6. His father left for Texas, where he was serving an extended prison sentence.

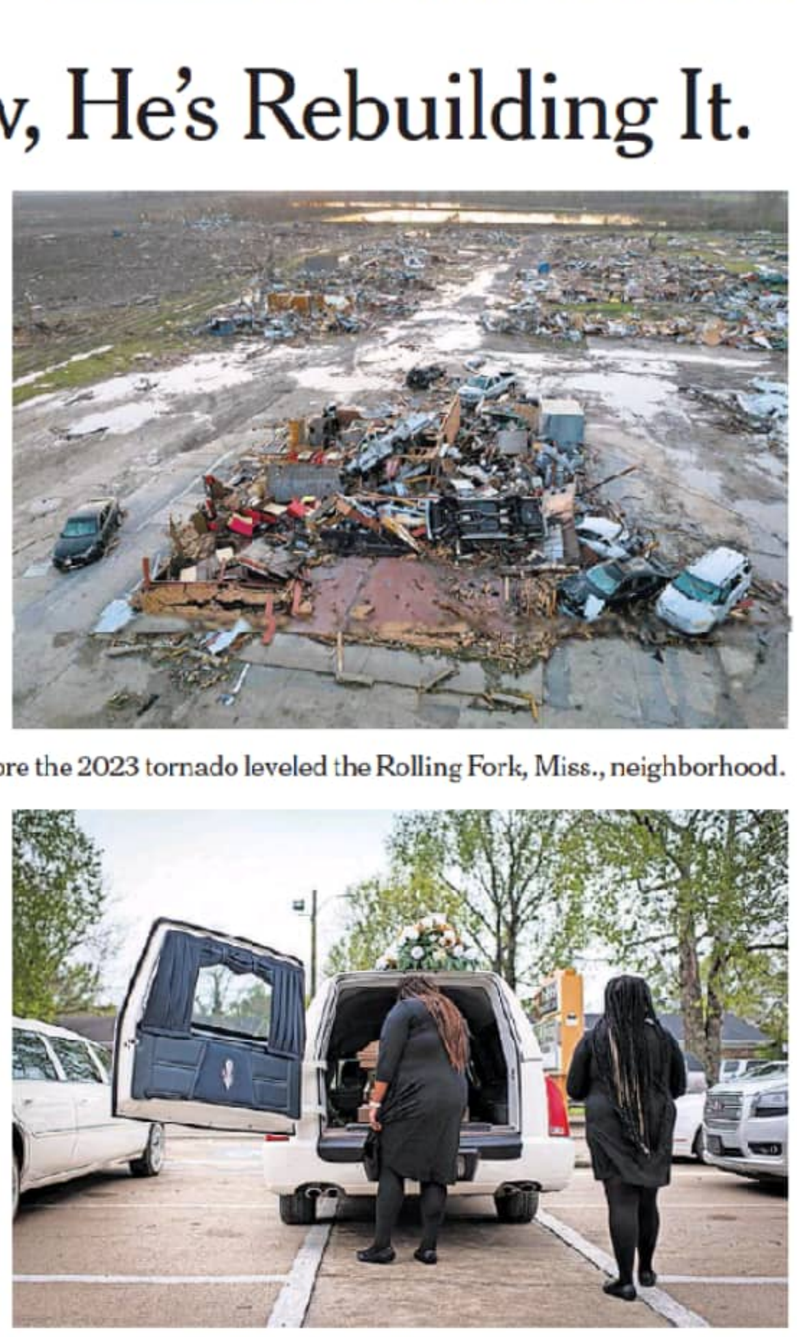
Ms. Odoms, 55, saw the Mississippi Delta as a series of traps for the young Black men growing up there. She was determined that Jaden and Jarvis would avoid them. It motivated nearly every one of her decisions as a mother and grandmother.

The Delta, a triangle of territory formed by the Mississippi and Yazoo Rivers, is known for having some of the most fertile soil anywhere. But the curse of its bounty



The mobile home park where Jaden and his grandmother lived before the 2023 tornado leveled the Rolling Fork, Miss., neighborhood.





Brenda Odoms was Jaden's grandmother and his guardian from his early childhood. Right, her coffin being prepared at the funeral.

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER
PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604
COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW
pressreader





'Football is my therapy. It lets a lot out.'

JADEN GRAYSON, 17, who also hoped the sport would lead to a college scholarship.

is that it is always bound for somewhere else: The harvest is distributed around the world, but grocery stores with fresh produce are scarce in the region. Similarly, its brightest young people often feel like they have no other option but to leave.

Ms. Odoms had made that choice for Jarvis. She sent him to Northwest Arkansas for high school, where he stayed with relatives who had left the Delta and found opportunity in this new destination.

Ms. Odoms had just as firm a hand with Jaden. She was the reason football was so important to him. There was no way he would waste his days sitting around at home. He had to be involved in something.

AS JADEN ADJUSTED to life in Springdale, Jarvis started taking him to the gym on the weekends. If football was Jaden's therapy, this was Jarvis's. He went no matter what, even if he had worked a 14-hour day.

There, he pressed his nephew to eke out one more rep as he did squats, to not slow down as he shoved a sled.

"I don't take it easy on him," Jarvis said.

Jarvis had once been like an older brother. Now, he was Jaden's guardian and disciplinarian, tasked with figuring out how to parent a teenager.

Jarvis had long conversations with Ms. Baker about it. One Sunday afternoon, they spent 45 minutes on the phone. "Don't sweat the small stuff," she told him. "Pick your battles."

It was funny, she said later, because she remembered Jarvis when he was Jaden's age.

"I almost wish Jaden was worse than he is," she joked, sitting in her office at school, instructing Jaden to cover his ears, "so I could say: 'Karma, Jarvis. Payback is a you-know-what.'"

She was proud of Jarvis, though. He had stepped up for Jaden.

"Without Jarvis," she said, "his life would have been much more difficult."

OVER HIS JUNIOR YEAR at Har-Ber, Jaden's grades improved.

He was up at 5 a.m. for football practice and did track and field in the afternoons. Ms. Baker had been helping him prepare for his driving test. He also developed a solid group of friends.

The biggest change came in January: Jarvis and Tami found a brick house with four bedrooms for rent on a quiet street. Jaden got his own room, where he could close his bedroom door and be alone.

But just as often, he hung out with Marco. Bug, he called him. "It's like we're brothers," Marco said.

IN LATE MARCH, Jaden climbed into Jarvis's truck and they headed toward Mississippi. His grandmother's ID badge from her job as a home health care aide hung from the rearview mirror. The anniversary of the storm was a day away.

Rolling Fork looked somewhat different: a rebuilt home here, a new gas station there. But the mangled remains of buildings still lined streets. And there was a void that made both of them reluctant to return.

"My grandma," Jaden said. "She isn't here."

He ran into some friends, but the vibe felt off after so much time and distance.

The next morning, the anniversary, he was already thinking about the six-hour drive back to Springdale and the 5 a.m. alarm for football practice.

Before he and Jarvis got in the car, Jaden stood by his grandmother's grave as family and friends prayed, shared memories, lamented all that had been lost. In a way, someone noted, that included Jaden. His absence was felt in Rolling Fork, too.

Everyone let go of balloons, looking up as the currents swept them away, black, silver and gold dots shrinking into a boundless horizon until they disappeared.

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604 COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW pressreader

U.S. Sues Contractor Over Sexual Abuse of Migrant Children

By AISHVARYA KAVI

The Justice Department has sued Southwest Key Programs, the nation's largest operator of shelters for unaccompanied migrant children, accusing its employees of repeatedly subjecting minors in its care to sexual abuse and harassment.

Employees at Southwest Key, a nonprofit based in Austin, "exploited the children's vulnerabilities, language barriers and distance from family and loved ones," according to the lawsuit, filed in federal court in Texas on Wednesday. From 2015 to at least 2023, children and teenagers at its shelters faced threats of violence intended to prevent them from reporting rape, solicitations of sex and entreaties for nude photographs, among other inappropriate conduct and abuse.

Southwest Key has worked with the federal government for more than two decades, playing a critical role in the shelter system. It has been awarded nearly $6 billion in federal funds since 2007, operating 29 shelters in Texas, Arizona and California that can house more than 6,300 children. The majority are 13 to 17 and come from Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador. They receive meals and educational opportunities in such shelters until they can be placed with a parent, relative or other guardian.

Southwest Key documented dozens of incidents of abuse reported by children, but according to prosecutors, employees did not report abuse they had observed or knew of, or violations of policies designed to protect minors.

Anais Biera Miracle, a spokeswoman for Southwest Key, said it continued to shelter children and remained focused on "the safety, health and well-being" of the children in its care.

"We continue to review the complaint, and it does not present the accurate picture of the care and commitment our employees provide to the youth and children," Ms. Miracle said in an email.

By one account, a worker who sexually abused three girls ages 5, 8 and 11 threatened to kill their families if they told. In another instance documented by Southwest Key, a supervisor deliberately changed shifts to be alone with a teenage girl he repeatedly raped, abused and threatened. At night, he would enter her bedroom and those of others in violation of Southwest Key's policies. The girl was transferred to a different shelter after she reported the abuse.



TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Casa Padre, a shelter for unaccompanied migrant children run by the nonprofit Southwest Key Programs, in Brownsville, Texas.

In yet another case, a Southwest Key clinician asked inappropriate questions about a girl's sexual experiences.

Southwest Key failed "to act promptly to correct and end the sexual abuse and harassment," the Justice Department said in its complaint, which seeks compensation for the children who were abused.

The secretary of health and human services, Xavier Becerra, whose department contracts with Southwest Key, said in a statement on Thursday that the lawsuit raised "serious pattern-or-practice concerns."

"H.H.S. has a zero-tolerance policy for all forms of sexual abuse, sexual harassment, inappropriate sexual behavior, and discrimination," Mr. Becerra said.

Caring for migrant children in federal custody is a lucrative, billion-dollar business with little transparency.

By law, children who arrive at the southern border with Mexico unaccompanied by parents or legal guardians are the responsibility of the federal government. The Department of Health and Human Services is then responsible for temporarily housing them, usually with a provider contracted to do so like Southwest Key.

Most unaccompanied migrant children who arrive in the United States have already endured a traumatic and treacherous journey north. But increasingly, watchdog groups have reported dangerous conditions at shelters run by government contractors.

It is not the first time Southwest Key has come under fire.

Southwest Key drew particular scrutiny when President Donald J. Trump enacted a family separation policy, forcing more than 5,000 children into federal custody after they were removed from their parents or guardians at the southern border. The separations, which largely took place in 2017 and 2018, were a financial boon to contractors like Southwest Key. Federal award money for the nonprofit more than doubled in that time.

In 2018, The New York Times revealed that Southwest Key had funneled government money through a web of for-profit companies to convert public funds into private money for the organization and pay top executives millions of dollars. Shortly after, the Justice Department opened an investigation into possible financial improprieties. Southwest Key also began an internal inquiry and high-level executives, including its founder and chief financial officer, eventually resigned.

Around the same time, Southwest Key also attracted attention over accounts of abuse at its shelters. In 2018, two of its workers were charged with sexually assaulting minors at Arizona facilities. That same year, videos emerged showing physical abuse at shelters in Arizona. Southwest Key paid a $73,000 fine and lost licenses for two shelters.

The health department at the time threatened to pull licenses for more shelters, underlining the complicated considerations at play by throwing into question the situation of thousands of migrant children. But the federal contracts continued to flow and the nonprofit remains the largest private provider of housing for unaccompanied migrant children arriving in the United States.

Top Officials Exit Cassava, Maker of Drug For Alzheimer's

By TEDDY ROSENBLUTH

Two top officials at Cassava Sciences — a small pharmaceutical company in Austin, Texas, embroiled in years of controversy over a proposed Alzheimer's drug — have resigned.

Remi Barbier, the chairman and chief executive, stepped down on Wednesday but will remain at Cassava "without duties or responsibilities" until September, according to a company statement.

Lindsay Burns, Cassava's chief scientist, who is married to Mr. Barbier, will also leave the company.

In June, a neuroscientist at the City College of New York, Hoau-Yan Wang, was charged with fraud by a federal grand jury for allegedly falsifying data to obtain research grants from the National Institutes of Health.

In collaboration with Dr. Burns, Dr. Wang published research studies in support of Cassava's drug candidate for Alzheimer's, called simufilam.

It is currently in advanced trials, although more than five of Dr. Wang's studies have been retracted or questioned by scientific journals.

A company entangled in years of controversy over research data.

Mr. Barbier, Dr. Burns and Dr. Wang could not immediately be reached for comment.

In a leaked report last fall, a City University of New York committee investigating the research faulted Dr. Burns for some of the errors discovered in the papers. Its members accused Dr. Wang of "longstanding and egregious misconduct in data management and record keeping."

In a regulatory filing earlier this month, Cassava reported that the Securities and Exchange Commission was investigating the company and two senior employees, who were not identified.

Scientists have long criticized the methodological "oddities" in Cassava's experiments with simufilam, citing suspicious figures in its published papers and questioning the underlying hypotheses about the drug's mode of action.

Dr. William Hu, an Alzheimer's disease expert at Rutgers University and early critic of Cassava's studies, said he hoped the resignations were the first of many steps the company would take to make its research rigorous and transparent.

Still, significant work needs to be done to "undo the harms from research misconduct," he wrote in an email.

Richard Barry, who has served on Cassava's board of directors since 2021, has replaced Mr. Barbier as chairman of the board. The company is in the process of finding a new chief executive.

Mr. Barry said in the statement that the board was committed to testing simufilam in Alzheimer's patients with "transparency, accountability and highest ethical business practices."

A spokeswoman at the Food and Drug Administration said it did not discuss ongoing clinical trials or products in development.

Date Is Set for Weinstein's Latest Trial

By HURUBIE MEKO

A Manhattan judge on Friday set Nov. 12 as the tentative date for the start of jury selection in a new sexual assault case against the disgraced Hollywood mogul Harvey Weinstein, whose 2020 sex-crimes conviction in New York was overturned in April.

Alvin L. Bragg, the Manhattan district attorney, has affirmed that he plans to retry the case against Mr. Weinstein, who was sentenced to 16 years in prison in a separate sex-crimes case in Los Angeles and is currently being held at the Rikers Island jail complex.

Justice Curtis Farber of State Supreme Court, who is presiding over the case, said at a hearing on Friday that he intended to keep the case moving, and wanted the schedule firmed up.

"As we progress toward the fall, I will start requesting commitments for trial dates," he said at the hearing.

Manhattan prosecutors said this month that they had identified allegations of rape and sexual assault against Mr. Weinstein that they planned to present to a grand jury. The accusations, some of which prosecutors were aware of at the time of the first trial, are based on events that occurred within the statute of limitations to bring charges, the prosecutors said.

Nicole Blumberg, an assistant district attorney, told the court last week that the women had previously not been ready to go forward, but that some were now ready. On Friday, Ms. Blumberg did not mention a new indictment or provide additional information about the allegations in question.

A disgraced movie mogul faces a new sexual assault case.

Mr. Weinstein, 72, was helped into court in a wheelchair on Friday. He was wearing a dark suit, a blue tie and dark rimmed glasses and was holding a brown folder.

Justice Farber told the lawyers on both sides they would return to court in September after a hearing officer had helped him review evidence, and he set the tentative November trial date. John S. Esposito, one of Mr. Weinstein's lawyers, said the defense did not want to delay the trial and would be "immediately ready" in September.

In the past, Mr. Weinstein's lawyers have accused prosecutors of using delaying tactics to stall a new trial while their client's health deteriorates in jail.

At the height of Mr. Weinstein's power, he was viewed as a producer who could make careers. According to his accusers, he also wielded that power to harass and sexually assault women, many of whom were young and trying to establish themselves in the film industry.

He was indicted in Manhattan in 2018 on charges of rape and criminal sexual act. As that case was going to trial, prosecutors in Los Angeles charged him with raping one woman and groping and masturbating in front of a second in 2013.



POOL PHOTO BY ADAM GRAY

Harvey Weinstein in court on Friday. He faces a 16-year sentence in California, and is being held at the Rikers Island jail complex.

Prosecutors said during the earlier Manhattan trial that Mr. Weinstein's history of assaults against women spanned decades. The judge allowed prosecutors to call witnesses who said Mr. Weinstein had assaulted them but whose accusations were not the basis for the charges against him.

He was convicted of raping one woman and committing a criminal sex act against another. But in a 4-to-3 decision, New York's Court of Appeals overturned the conviction, saying Mr. Weinstein had not received a fair trial because the judge had let prosecutors call the witnesses whose allegations were not connected to the charges.

At a hearing in May, prosecutors said they were examining the new sexual assault allegations against him to determine which one fell within the statute of limitations. Prosecutors did not offer details about how many accusers they were interviewing or about what they had said.

White House Lays Out a Plan to End Its Purchases of Single-Use Plastics

By HIROKO TABUCHI

Calling plastic pollution one of the world's most pressing environmental problems, the Biden administration on Friday said that the federal government, the biggest buyer of consumer goods in the world, would phase out purchases of single-use plastics.

The administration also said it planned tougher regulations on plastic manufacturing, which releases planet-warming greenhouse gases and other dangerous pollutants.

The efforts, which the White House called the first comprehensive strategy to tackle plastic use nationwide, aim to reduce demand for disposable plastic items while also helping to create a market for substitutes that are reusable, compostable or more easily recyclable.

Brenda Mallory, who heads the White House Council on Environmental Quality, said in a statement that the changes would "require unprecedented action at every stage of the plastic life cycle." Because of its purchasing power, the White House added, "the federal government has the potential to significantly impact the supply of these products."

The emphasis on curbing plastic use mirrors a growing recognition that the world can't recycle or manage its way out of a deluge of plastic waste. Global plastic production rose nearly 230-fold between 1950 and 2019, to more than 400 million tons a year, and is expected to quadruple from current levels by 2050. An estimated 40 percent of that is single-use plastic, which makes up the bulk of the world's plastic waste.

Around the world, the equivalent of one garbage truck of plastic enters the ocean every minute, experts estimate. And as those materials break down in the environment, microplastics are turning up in the stomachs of fish, birds and other animals, as well as in human blood and tissue.

Negotiators trying to hammer out a global plastic-waste treaty have also tried to include measures that would curb plastic demand and production, though that approach has faced pushback from producers of oil and gas, because petroleum makes up the building blocks of plastic.

Some environmental groups say that the United States still lags in tackling plastic waste, especially compared to nations in Africa like Rwanda and Kenya, which have adopted national bans on single-use plastic bags, and have led the global push to curb plastic. Within the United States, 12 states have adopted plastic bag bans, including California, Colorado, New Jersey and New York.

The cornerstone of the federal government's plan is to phase out purchases of single-use plastics for food, events and packaging by 2027. By 2035, it will banish single-use plastics from all government operations.

Overcoming some of these changes will be no easy feat.

The White House said some steps would be as mundane as switching to refillable printer cartridges and cleaning supplies and eliminating single-use plastic bottles, instead installing water-refill stations at government facilities. The Defense Commissary Agency is phasing out plastic bags in checkout lanes at U.S. military bases worldwide, while the Navy is reining in plastic waste generated aboard submarines and surface ships.

Other reductions could be more difficult to achieve, particularly if they involve single-use plastics for, say, emergency medical use or for materials designed for combat settings, where speed and efficiency are important considerations.

The United States generates more plastic waste than any other country. The average American generates almost 500 pounds of plastic waste a year. Only about 9 percent of plastic collected through municipal solid-waste collection programs is recycled, while the rest ends up in landfills or else incinerated, shipped overseas or dumped into the environment.

Stronger federal regulations on plastics manufacturing are also in the works.

The Environmental Protection Agency is preparing to regulate harmful per- and poly-fluoroalkyl substances, also known as PFAS or "forever chemicals," created during the manufacture of plastic containers. That came after a federal court this year blocked an attempt by the E.P.A. to ban a major container manufacturer from producing PFAS.

The Biden plans come with a big political asterisk. If former President Donald J. Trump retakes the White House in the November presidential election, his administration would be widely expected to roll back environmental and climate rules.

Still, if the effort sticks, it will "have a global impact," said Christy Leavitt, plastics campaign director at Oceana, an international advocacy organization dedicated to ocean conservation. "The U.S. has been a laggard on national action to address plastic pollution," she added. Today's commitment, at least, "puts the federal government in the driver's seat to tackle its own plastic use."

Corrections

FRONT PAGE

An article on Thursday about issues with cord blood banks misspelled the first name of a former sales representative for CBR. She is Stacey Seaver, not Stacy.

INTERNATIONAL

An article on Friday about Argentina's president, Javier Milei, and his public devotion to Judaism misstated the given name of a rabbi. He is Rabbi Alejandro Avruj, not Daniel.

ARTS

An article on Tuesday about the Oscar-winning actor Anthony Hopkins, included a statement from Mr. Hopkins in which he repeated a false rumor about William Wyler's production of "Ben Hur." No one died during the filming of the film's chariot race sequence.

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.

RELIGIOUS SERVICES

ROMAN CATHOLIC

AVE MARIA CHAPEL
Catholic Traditionalist Center
210 MAPLE AVE (off Post Ave)
WESTBURY, L.I., N.Y. 11590
TEL: (516) 333-6470
AT THE CHURCH'S DARKEST HOUR
THE CATHOLIC TRADITIONALIST
MOVEMENT I FOUND
FATHER GOMMAR A. DE PAUW, J.C.D.
KEPT THE FLAME OF THE
ROMAN CATHOLIC FAITH BURNING
AND THE VALID SACRIFICE OF THE
MASS ALIVE IN THIS
AVE MARIA CHAPEL.
FOR INFORMATION AND
VIDEO INTERNET MASS
www.latinmass.com.org
Facebook: Ave Maria Chapel

pressreader PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604 COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW

Lou Dobbs, 78, Cable Pioneer Who Embraced Trump's Ascent, Dies

From Page A1

to righteously indignant. He began his climb to cable news stardom as the host of "Moneyline" when CNN was founded in 1980.

Rising in prominence along with the skyrocketing Nasdaq during the dot-com boom of the late 1990s, Mr. Dobbs presided over a show that, as Ken Auletta wrote in a 2006 profile in The New Yorker, "served as a sort of video clubhouse for corporate America."

With his rising cult of personality, the show was renamed "Lou Dobbs Tonight" in 2003, and he remade himself as a conservative populist. The Harvard-educated Mr. Dobbs, who described himself as "a kid who grew up poor" in rural Texas, was now a "full-throated champion of 'the little guy,' an evangelical opponent of liberal immigration laws," Mr. Auletta wrote.

He added that Mr. Dobbs's hourlong program featured him "in a role that combines Ralph Nader and Pat Buchanan."

"On the air," Mr. Auletta wrote, "he boomingly assails the upper management of corporate America for its 'outrageous' greed, pay packages and corruption, its opposition to increasing the minimum wage, its hiring of 'illegal aliens,' its ties to 'Communist China,' and its eagerness to send American jobs overseas."

In a 2004 interview with The New York Times, Mr. Dobbs doubled down on what he considered a crisis of corporate outsourcing. "Are you willing to sacrifice 600,000 American jobs and employees to create jobs overseas?" he asked. "I love India. I love the Indian people. But the idea that we can sacrifice an American family to create jobs overseas is insensitive beyond belief."

As David Leonhardt wrote in a 2007 article in The Times, Mr. Dobbs's new incarnation made him "arguably this country's foremost populist," which was "an odd role, given that he spent the 1980s and '90s buttering up chief executives on CNN."

"But he is now playing it very successfully," Mr. Leonhardt continued. "He has become a voice for the real economic anxiety felt by many Americans."

Mr. Dobbs was part of a rising stable of cable hosts, which included Bill O'Reilly at Fox News and Keith Olbermann at MSNBC, who built national profiles as aggressively opinionated talkers.

Despite CNN's efforts to position itself as a home for straight news, Mr. Dobbs's 6 p.m. news program was accompanied with the disclaimer that it would contain "news, debate and opinion."

Some of those opinions were highly dubious — for example, Mr. Dobbs's questioning, against all evidence, of whether President Barack Obama was born in the United States, a conspiracy theory also adopted by Mr. Trump.



MANDEL NGAN/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Lou Dobbs at the Conservative Political Action Conference in February. Mr. Dobbs reached his apex with Fox during the Trump years.



JOHN LAMPARSKI/GETTY IMAGES

Mr. Dobbs interviewing Corey Lewandowski, Donald J. Trump's presidential campaign manager, in New York in May 2016.

In a 2009 episode of his show, Mr. Dobbs cast doubt on the president's origins: "Seemingly the questions won't go away because they haven't been dealt with." In a broadcast the next day, he put the onus on the president, saying, "All he has to do is produce the original birth certificate."

In 2011, President Obama attempted to quash the lingering "birther" conspiracy once and for all by producing a long-form version of his birth certificate that showed his birthplace as Honolulu, listed the hospital and attending physician, and was signed by state officials and his mother.

Mr. Dobbs abruptly left CNN in 2009; Jonathan Klein, the president of the network, said that Mr. Dobbs "decided to carry the banner of advocacy journalism elsewhere." The next year he joined Fox Business, lured by the Fox News co-founder Roger Ailes.

In his new network home, Mr. Dobbs would entrench his reputation as a beacon of lunch-pail conservatism — a stance that would bring him more fame, and controversy, with the emergence of Mr. Trump on the national political landscape.

Louis Earl Dobbs was born on Sept. 24, 1945, in the town of Childress, Texas, southeast of Amarillo. He was the younger of two sons of Frank Dobbs, an owner of a small propane business, and Lydia Mae (Hensley) Dobbs, a bookkeeper.

His father's business failed when he was 12, so the family pursued a new life on a farm in Rupert, Idaho, where Lou attended public schools and was encouraged by his teachers to apply to Harvard.

He graduated in 1967 with a bachelor's degree in economics and started his professional career working in federal antipoverty programs in Boston and Washington. He eventually concluded that his job was doing little to save the world, or to bolster his bank account, so he moved to Los Angeles and took a job as a cash management specialist at Union Bank.

In 1969, he married Kathleen Ann Wheeler. The first of the couple's two sons was born the next year. After their divorce in 1981, he married Debi Lee Segura, a former CNN sports anchor.

Before long, Mr. Dobbs grew weary of banking. Inspired by the exciting stories he heard from journalist friends, he turned his sights toward the news business and moved the family to Yuma, Ariz., where he took a job for a radio station covering police and fire news.

With his on-air ease, his talents were soon noticed, and Mr. Dobbs ended up at a local television affiliate. "I found what I really loved to do," he told The New Yorker.

In 1979, a recruiter contacted him about a job at CNN, the new cable news network that Ted Turner was launching. Over the next two decades, he remained a mainstay of the network.

But after disputes with the network's president, Rick Kaplan, Mr. Dobbs left CNN in 1999 and pursued his own dot-com dreams, starting a space and astronomy news site called Space.com. In 2001, with Mr. Kaplan gone from CNN, Mr. Dobbs returned.

As a lightning rod, Mr. Dobbs reached his apex with Fox during the Trump years, serving as one of the president's most ardent champions on television.

That affection flowed both ways. "At the White House, Mr. Trump came to see Mr. Dobbs's program as required viewing," The Times reported in 2021. "His allies learned that an appearance on 'Lou Dobbs Tonight' would guarantee attention in the West Wing."

On-air, he could swing from folksy and avuncular to righteously indignant.

At times, the article added, the president even patched in Mr. Dobbs during White House policy discussions with his staff.

That support of the president ultimately came at a cost for Mr. Dobbs. Following the attack on the U.S. Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021, Mr. Dobbs raised hackles by downplaying the violence.

"As I listen to some anchors on other networks describing what was happening," he told Fox viewers, "you would have thought it was a full-on riot with armed looters going through the building, when, as I watched, at least, on a number of occasions, looking at the Statuary Hall, the protesters who had invaded the Capitol were walking between the rope lines."

Repeating conspiracy theories on air that the election had been rigged to flip millions of Trump votes to Joseph R. Biden Jr., Mr. Dobbs ended up named in lawsuits by voting technology companies.

Fox canceled his weekday show, "Lou Dobbs Tonight," a day after the election technology company Smartmatic filed a $2.7 billion suit against Fox Corporation and Fox News and named Mr. Dobbs, along with the Fox hosts Maria Bartiromo and Jeanine Pirro, as defendants.

"Lou Dobbs is and was great," Mr. Trump said in a statement to The Times after Mr. Dobbs's departure. "Nobody loves America more than Lou. He had a large and loyal following that will be watching closely for his next move, and that following includes me."

Mr. Dobbs started his podcast on iHeartRadio later that year.

His survivors include his wife and four children, Chance, Jason, Heather and Hillary Dobbs.

Mr. Dobbs continued to ruffle feathers in support of Mr. Trump to the end, repeating a claim in a recent post on the social network X that "the F.B.I. investigation into the Trump assassination attempt stinks to high heaven."

Then again, he was never one to hold back. In his interview with The New Yorker, Mr. Dobbs brushed off a suggestion that some of his rock-hard convictions might represent only portions of the truth.

"In free trade?" Mr. Dobbs said. "In illegal immigration? In education? No. Everything I believe, I believe unequivocally."

James R. Tallon Jr., 82; Fought to Expand Health Care

By SAM ROBERTS

James R. Tallon Jr., a health care policy expert who as a New York State legislator spurred efforts to expand coverage for the poor, particularly children, died on July 9 in Endicott, N.Y. He was 82.

His son Michael said he died, in a hospice not far from his hometown, Binghamton, from idiopathic pulmonary fibrosis, a scarring or inflammation of the lungs that is more common in smokers, although Mr. Tallon never smoked.

As chairman of the Assembly Health Committee from 1979 to 1987 and leader of the chamber's Democratic majority from 1987 to 1993, Mr. Tallon was instrumental in striking bipartisan compromises that expanded Medicaid coverage for low-income New Yorkers, especially for children and for prenatal care; codified patient rights; curbed malpractice insurance rates; and subsidized AIDS research.

After 19 years in the Legislature, he served from 1993 to 2017 as president of the United Hospital Fund, a charitable foundation and research group that supports nonprofit hospitals. From 2007 to 2014, he was chairman of the Commonwealth Fund, which conducts research on health care issues.

Some of the policies he initiated in New York, in collaboration with Democratic as well as Republican governors and with a hearty assist from the hospital workers union, were embraced in Washington. Among them was the joint federal-state Children's Health Insurance Program, which was modeled on Child Health Plus, New York's program for subsidized health insurance for children, which was enacted in 1990.

Mr. Tallon accepted the United Hospital Fund presidency after turning down an offer from the Clinton administration to lead the Health Care Financing Administration, the division of the Department of Health and Human Services that regulates Medicare and Medicaid.

He later led the Kaiser Commission on Medicaid and the Uninsured and was a member of the New York State Board of Regents until 2017.

Dennis Rivera, who was president of Local 1199 of the hospital and health care workers union from 1989 to 2007, praised Mr. Tallon for his "immense knowledge and the respect he enjoyed from his fellow legislators," and for being "genuinely concerned about quality health care for all New Yorkers and Americans."

A legislator whose policies in New York were embraced in Washington.

James Raymond Tallon Jr. was born on Oct. 21, 1941, in Brooklyn, the son of James Raymond Tallon, a postal clerk, and Mary (Colbert) Tallon.

The family moved to Binghamton shortly after Jim was born. After graduating in 1963 with a bachelor's degree in political science from Syracuse University, where he enrolled in the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, he served with Army intelligence in Berlin. (He later received a master's degree in international relations from Boston University.)

He married Norma A. Parker, whom he had known since high school, in 1963. In addition to his son Michael, she survives him, as do two other sons, James and Edward, and five grandchildren.

The family returned to the Binghamton area from Berlin in 1968 and, after running unsuccessfully for the Assembly in 1970, Mr. Tallon became president of the NY-Penn Health Planning Council, a health care agency for a six-county area straddling the New York-Pennsylvania border. He succeeded in his second race for the Assembly in 1974.

Mr. Tallon's work on the planning council, his son Michael said, "exposed him to the difficulties faced by many in our community when attempting to access affordable, quality health care." He was inspired, Michael Tallon said, by John F. Kennedy and by Gene Roddenberry, the creator of "Star Trek," who was publicly committed to a social justice agenda.

"In time," Michael Tallon added, "the policy-planning complexity and the moral charge of ensuring health care was accessible to all became both his professional calling and his passion."



LORI VAN BUREN/ALBANY TIMES UNION, VIA GETTY IMAGES

James R. Tallon in 2011, when he was a member of the New York State Board of Regents. He was a state legislator for 19 years.

More obituaries appear on Page A24.

Deaths

Cronson, Mary
Marston, Robert
Mayer, Nancy
Mercy, Eugene
Miller, William

CRONSON—Mary Sharp. The Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation mourns the passing of Mary Sharp Cronson, a treasured 30-year member of the Board of Trustees. Mary leaves a legacy of profound impact not only on the Guggenheim but also on the arts community of New York City. As Founder and Board President Emerita of Works & Process, a performing arts program that began at the Guggenheim in 1984, Mary championed new works and offered audiences unprecedented access to generations of leading creators and performers. We honor her innovative spirit and remain grateful for her lasting contributions.

MARSTON—Robert.



Bob Marston, a longtime public relations executive and beloved husband and father, died Sunday morning at Stony Brook University Hospital on Long Island. His death came after a long illness. He was 86. As the founder and CEO of Robert Marston And Associates — and later, Marston Strategic Communications — Bob led two successful and highly-regarded PR firms that thrived in a competitive industry for more than half a century. He earned a reputation for integrity and excellence over a career spanning 65 years. Bob's family, friends, colleagues, and employees will remember him as generous, industrious, loyal, and kind. We miss him today, and every day. He is survived by his loving wife Maryann, and two sons, Robert and Bradford, all of whom reside in Manhattan. Funeral services will be held at Our Lady of Poland Church in Southampton, NY on Saturday, July 20.

MAYER—Nancy Sue Grant.



It is with heavy hearts we announce the passing of Nancy G. Mayer. She was born on August 3, 1934 in Rye, New York. She died June 29, 2024. Nancy was free-spirited, inquisitive, generous, fun-loving, and opinionated. She loved a good party and loved to dance, but most of all she adored her children and grandchildren. Nancy was the daughter of Arnold Monroe Grant and Frances S. Grant. Arnold was an entertainment lawyer whose clients included Johnny Carson, Orson Welles, Salvador Dali, Bing Crosby and Gary Cooper. He was profiled frequently in The New York Times. Grant was also an adviser to many prominent politicians including Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt, John and Bobby Kennedy and Adlai Stevenson. Active in Jewish affairs, he received the American Jewish Committee's Human Relations Award. Nancy graduated from the Rye Country Day School, the Connecticut College for Women and Radcliffe College (now Harvard University). Nancy was a journalist in New York City and had numerous cover stories for New York Magazine and Cosmopolitan. She was the author of the 1978 Book: 'The Male Mid-Life Crisis: Fresh Starts After 40.' The dedication in the book reads: "...to Carl and Daniel, whom I not only love, but also respect and admire." Nancy was married to Princeton Professor Arno Joseph Mayer and they were parents to Carl and Daniel. Nancy is survived by her two sons, Carl J. Mayer, an attorney, and author, whose cases and opinion pieces have been featured frequently in The New York Times, and Daniel P. Mayer, a lifelong public school educator and leader. She is also survived by five grandchildren: Nathaniel, Shane, Samuel, Ruby, and Lillian. And two daughters-in-law: Karen Zemble and Sarah Hemphill. Nancy will be deeply missed.

MERCY—Eugene. The Central Park Conservancy mourns the passing of Eugene "Gene" Mercy, Jr., a distinguished former trustee whose generosity, dedication and financial acumen profoundly benefited Central Park and its surrounding communities. Mr. Mercy, a former Partner at Goldman Sachs, served as a General Trustee (2011-2020) and as Emeritus Trustee (2020-2024). His tenure coincided with a period of continued restoration of Central Park as well as significant growth of the Conservancy. Mr. Mercy chaired the Audit Committee and served on the Executive and Finance Committees. Beyond his governance roles, he was a loyal supporter of the Park, demonstrating his deep personal investment in preserving and enhancing it for future generations. On behalf of the Board of Trustees and staff of the Central Park Conservancy, we extend our sincere condolences to his wife Carolyn and to the entire Mercy family. Mr. Mercy's legacy of service and stewardship will continue to guide us in our mission to care for Central Park as an urban oasis for all New Yorkers.

Elizabeth W. Smith,
President & CEO,
Central Park Conservancy
Thomas L. Kempner, Jr.,
Chair, Board of Trustees,
Central Park Conservancy

MILLER—William S. The congregation, clergy, and staff of Westchester Reform Temple mourn the death of our revered past president (1989-1993) and longtime, devoted member. We extend our deepest sympathy to his bereaved family.

Warren Haber, President
Jonathan E. Blake, Rabbi
Amanda Kleinman, Cantor
Rabbi Richard J. Jacobs,
Rabbi Emeritus

In Memoriam

GREENBERG—Saul N. 6/20/23-7/20/09. His spirit will live on through us.
Love, SMSJ

ANNOUNCEMENTS OF DEATHS MAY BE TELEPHONED FROM WITHIN NYC TO 212-556-3900; OR OUTSIDE NYC TOLL FREE 1-800-458-5522; OR SENT BY EMAIL TO NYTIMES@CLASSIFIEDSPLUS.COM FOR THE FOLLOWING EDITIONS:
Until 3:30 PM the day before for Tuesday through Saturday editions, until 4:00 PM on Friday for Sunday's national edition, until 12:45 PM Saturday for Sunday's New York and late national editions, until 2:00 PM Sunday for Monday's editions. Photos must be submitted by noon the day prior to publication Tuesday through Friday.

Honor your loved ones in our pages.
nytimes@classifiedsplus.com
1-800-458-5522
The New York Times

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER
PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604
COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW
pressreader

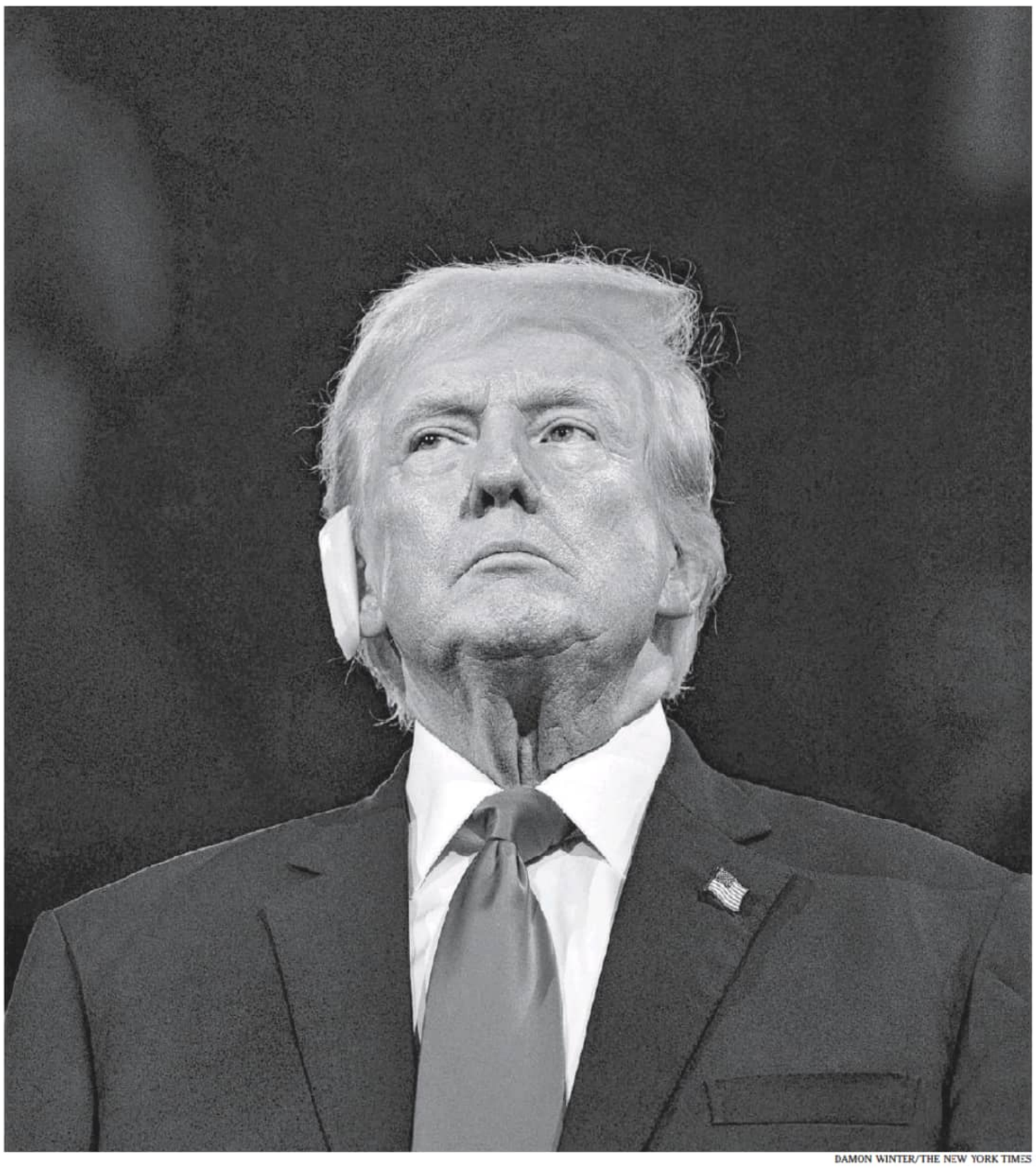
N

Opinion

The New York Times

COLUMNIST | MAUREEN DOWD

Trump the Lion, or Trump the Lyin'?



DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

After years on a self-mythologizing hero's journey, the former president finally had one true story to tell.

MILWAUKEE

NO ONE HAS ever said that Donald Trump doesn't know a good story when he hears one.

Trump is a master of narrative. Not always true narrative, and not always rational narrative. But the man knows dramatic narrative.

The former president lived through one of the most harrowing episodes in American history, and, thank God, survived it. And for his nomination acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention on Thursday night, he recounted it — to maximum primal and dark effect — before a spellbound audience in a subdued tone with a messianic vibe, as Melania, in a bright red suit, and other family members looked on from a V.I.P. box. (Barron, who was very upset by what happened to his father, according to Trump aides, was nowhere to be seen.)

"I'm not supposed to be here tonight," Trump told the crowd at Fiserv Forum, after walking out on a stage with a campy giant "TRUMP" in blazing white lights and a display of the White House portico.

"Yes, you are!" the MAGA crowd roared back at him.

"Thank you, but I'm not," he said. "I stand before you in this arena only by the grace of Almighty God."

He then unfurled the story of "that terrible evening," a story he said was "too painful to tell" more than once, that began as he was looking at an immigration chart at a sunset rally in Butler, Pa.

"In order to see the chart," he said, "I started to turn to the right, and was ready to begin a further turn, which I'm lucky I didn't, when I heard a loud whizzing sound and felt something hit me, really hard, on my right ear. I said to myself, 'Wow, what was that? It can only be a bullet,' and moved my right hand to my ear, brought it down. My hand was covered with blood, just absolutely blood all over the place."

Despite the blood pouring down, he said, "in a certain way, I felt very safe because I had God on my side."

He told the jubilant crowd, "Bullets were flying over us, yet I felt serene."

He added that, had he not moved his head "at the very last instant," the bullet would have "hit its mark." He loved that his followers at the rally stayed put, saying "tens of thousands of people stood by and didn't move an inch."

He said he raised his right arm to let the crowd know he was OK, and started shouting "Fight, fight, fight!"

The firefighting uniform of Corey Comperatore, who was fatally shot while attending the Butler rally, was on the convention stage. Trump kissed the helmet.

Trump has spent years on a self-mythologizing hero's journey, and finally that journey had a story to go with it, sealed with a kiss. A convention video introducing him on Thursday night called him "a folk hero," and his convention organizers wanted to reintroduce him to the country as a heroic unifier. But Trump couldn't slay his own ego.

He had originally written a speech that was "a humdinger," he said. His son Don Jr. called it "fire." But, after the assassination attempt, the former president tore it up and rewrote it, right up to the last minute, at first taking out any mention of Joe Biden and Kamala Harris.

He started out on the unity theme, noting gently that "the discord and division in our society must be healed," and saying: "We rise together. Or we fall apart."

But he soon strayed from the teleprompter and the unity theme, going back to the stream of consciousness he prefers, talking about Hannibal Lecter — "He'd love to have you for dinner" — and slamming "Crazy Nancy Pelosi," praising Viktor Orban and blasting the "green new scam."

He told Democrats to "drop these witch hunts" against him if they wanted unity.

He promised many things. But he couldn't even keep his promise to leave the president's name out of his speech. He trashed Biden as an "unthinkable" disaster, noting, "I'm only going to say his name once."

Trump got to be president by sowing discord and division, so it was unlikely he was suddenly going to have a Paul-on-the-road-to-Damascus conversion.

All week, we were held in suspense.

Would Donald Trump come into the arena a changed man after his brush with death, more spiritual and generous, less petty and cruel, his white bandage covering his red badge of courage?

Or would Trump still be Trump, the same old amoral, demonic showman, preaching unity for one night while continuing to nurse plans for retribution, government evisceration and a vicious smack-down of whichever Democratic nominee he ends up running against?

Is Donald Trump a man of destiny, as some conservatives are now claiming, or a con man of destiny? ("Napoleon in a golf cart," The Free Press called him.)

And can we even divine any of that on Trump's big night, given that the Republican ticket features two master shape-shifters?

Every night the look on the former president's face in his V.I.P. box was hard to decipher as the unmanageable candidate watched his well-managed convention unfold. He did not seem engulfed in the kind of euphoria that often follows a near-death experience. He did not seem gleeful. He seemed pensive, as though he were still absorbing the enormity of what happened to him. Every time he looked at a TV screen, he saw the terrifying, totemic moment, and he watched it over and over again in fascination.

He was no doubt trying to fathom his surreal lucky streak, not only with the botched assassination but also with court decisions and the remarkable split screen this week. His stunning triumphs contrasted with President Biden's stunning meltdown.

Trump had undermined democracy and encouraged the violence on Jan. 6. During the 2016 race, he told me he didn't mind violence at his rallies. He thought it added a frisson of excitement to the proceedings.

Yet despite his bullying, dishonest ways, he is winning. And winning some more.

"This is going to sound extraordinarily cocky, and I don't mean it to sound that way, or overconfident, but literally we stopped counting at 25 different paths to 270," Tony Fabrizio, one of Trump's pollsters, told reporters at an event Wednesday hosted by the University of Chicago's Institute of Politics.

As long as Biden remained in denial, he said, they were golden. And the only thing voters seemed to know about Kamala, he added, was her laugh — whether or not they liked her.

Since he escaped assassination, Trump has been getting deluged with the sort of positive attention from elites that he has always craved yet has rarely gotten. Jeff Bezos, the founder of Amazon and owner of The Washington Post, posted about Trump's "tremendous grace and courage," and Mark Zuckerberg wrote on Threads that he was "praying for a quick recovery for President Trump." Rupert Murdoch was at the convention, out and about, even though Trump rejected his choice for veep (Doug Burgum).

I've covered Trump since 1987, through all his iterations, including the first time he tentatively dipped his toe in the presidential waters with his maiden foreign policy speech to Cuban Americans in Miami in 1999. (He was counting the cameras, bragging about TV ratings and how "my women are more beautiful," and making bitchy comments about other pols even back then.)

I've covered him as a popular New York character and Democratic donor; a winning pol; a losing pol so determined to win that he was willing to overthrow the government he was running; a president more driven by flattery than principles; a scofflaw trying to stay out of jail; a martyr and self-styled Man on the Cross, tortured for our sins; a Bible and gold sneaker salesman.

At the convention, he had a new role: He played the Roman emperor, like a Julius Caesar who survived that "foul deed" and "bleeding piece of earth," fist in the air, sitting high in the forum, gloating, as his vanquished foes bent the knee. Caesar had a cult of personality as well, the epitome of the strongman authoritarian politician.

That Caesar was martyred. But before that he had already eroded republican rule and was on his way to emperor. (Some Trump supporters on X call Barron "Octavian.")

This week has been less a convention than a convocation, a MAGA congregation beatifying Trump, a man who delighted in breaking all Ten Commandments.

The former president's messiah complex was magnified by the assassination attempt; his habit of practicing what face he wants to use for a given occasion kicked in, leading him to instinctively create a blood-stained, defiant image for the ages.

The speeches were replete with references to Trump as a lion, a symbol of Jesus in Christianity and in C.S. Lewis's "Chronicles of Narnia." (Trump has a tawny mane but that's where the similarities end.)

Don Jr. said his father faced danger with "the heart of a lion." Lara Trump quoted a proverb: "The wicked flee, though no one pursues. But the righteous are as bold as a lion," adding, "He is a lion." Tim Scott said: "On Saturday the devil came to Pennsylvania holding a rifle. But an American lion got back up on his feet and he roared."

The message of Narnia was that good bested bad. But now it was a chronic liar and felon, a man also held liable for sexual abuse, who was getting cast as the sacred lion.

When I covered Trump's first campaign, it was Hope Hicks, Corey Lewandowski, Michael Cohen, a few young men at computers and a lot of pictures of Trump on a floor beneath him at Trump Tower.

Now he has the wise Susie Wiles and the cutting Chris LaCivita, famous for devising the "Swift Boat" strategy that smeared John Kerry, a war hero, as a war liar.

With Trump, LaCivita is doing the reverse: exfoliating the former president's criminality and autocratic schemes, including a Truth Social post about terminating the Constitution. I heard no prime-time mention at the convention of the rioters on Jan. 6, dubbed "patriots" by Trump; the day of infamy was wiped out, Lenin-style.

Unlike Biden, Trump has avoided any talk of being a grandfather — or anything at all that is humanizing. He wants to be seen as a strong man. He didn't want the intro video to be too schmaltzy; aides said he was able to deal with the very personal speech of his lovely 17-year-old granddaughter, Kai, because she is his golf buddy, the one who hangs out at Mar-a-Lago with him, practicing to turn pro.

So the torrent of humanizing anecdotes, meant to soften his image with suburban women and moderates and puncture blue strongholds like Minnesota, was probably, for him and for us, "frow up." That's how Dorothy Parker described her reaction to sentimental scenes.

JD Vance talked about how Trump kissed his sons good night on their cheeks. Kellyanne Conway talked about how he was amazing with working women — yes, the same president who appointed a bunch of religious fanatics to the Supreme Court, which took away women's rights to control their own bodies. Alina Habba, one of his lawyers, talked about what great taste Trump has in music and how he once chose a song to play at Mar-a-Lago called "Hold On I'm Coming."

Lara talked about how her kids loved to hug their gramps. Kai, a daughter of Don Jr., said "Grandpa" gave them candy and soda when their parents weren't looking; she also said he called her at school to talk about her expert golf game. He even sat with his 4-year-old granddaughter, Carolina, on his lap Thursday night, as she listened to her father, Eric, give a speech.

Thursday night's speakers were more in Trump's wheelhouse. He is not that keen on going to war, but he has always loved playing the tough guy, even to the point of praising killers such as Al Capone, Vladimir Putin and Hannibal Lecter. He seemed more faux tough than tough. Now, years after being christened Cadet Bone Spurs, he has an actual battle wound and can brag on being, in that moment of horror, "one tough S.O.B.," as Sean O'Brien, the president of the Teamsters, said at the convention.

Trump did not want too much softening, and he was eager to macho-up the convention. He entered the arena one night to the James Brown song "It's a Man's Man's Man's World," a version that featured Luciano Pavarotti. In the old days, before Trump brought isolationism to his party, Republican nominees used military imagery to show their toughness. But at his convention, Trump bragged: "We had no wars. I could stop wars with a telephone call."

Playing Caesar, Trump asked gladiators to speak before his speech: Dana White, the Ultimate Fighting Championship chief, to introduce him, which seemed fitting since Trump always treated politics like a blood sport, and Hulk Hogan, the W.W.E. star. Hogan ripped off his shirt to show his muscly arms and a red Trump-Vance T-shirt. He said he was "bleeding like a pig" the last time he saw Trump at a championship match at Trump Plaza.

"I know tough guys," Hogan said. "But let me tell you something, brother: Donald Trump is the toughest of them all."

Trump blew Hogan a kiss.

Trump's convention tried to normalize the former president and gloss over his coup attempt and efforts to strip women of their rights, pushing the Heritage Foundation's extreme Project 2025 to the side for the week.

Trump's brand of casual cruelty crept in at spots. In his introductory video, there was a shot of Biden falling on the stairs of Air Force One. (The video ended with the bloody fist pump, of course.)

But luck and political success — and even surviving a shooting — are not the same as destiny.

The notion of destiny confers an inevitability upon Trump's rise. It wasn't ever inevitable. His incredible rise was possible because of a coarsening of the culture, plagued by the nastiness on social media, and a decline in our society and our courts.

Besides, it's easier to rise if you are unscrupulous and you lie. That's not part of a hero's journey.

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604 COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW pressreader

Trump Has Abandoned Pro-Life Voters

Patrick T. Brown
A fellow at the Ethics and Public Policy Center, a conservative think tank, and a former senior policy adviser to Congress's Joint Economic Committee.



JESSE RIESER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

I AM far from the only young conservative whose interest in politics was sparked by the issue of abortion. In high school and college, we would stake out early-morning spots on the National Mall for the annual March for Life, write postcards to our elected officials and pray rosaries outside abortion clinics.

Along the way, many of us found ourselves in the Republican Party, often picking up other conservative causes along the way — low taxes, limited government, strong defense, border security. The bundle of preferences could be a bit ungainly at times, but we found progressive voices quick to shout down attempts for pro-lifers to work with Democrats. So the G.O.P. became home.

It's hard to feel that way now. While traditional social conservatives and the Republican Party might be allies on some key issues, it appears that it is no longer just one political party that wants us to shelve our convictions in the name of political expediency. It's both.

This shift has been a long time coming, but recent events have snapped it into focus. A secularizing America, plus the shifting composition of the Republican Party, means many G.O.P. voters are less churchgoing than prior generations. Many young conservatives, in particular, seem more enthusiastic about owning the libs than strengthening the family.

That might help explain why Republican politicians seemed so unprepared for the aftermath of the Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization decision, which overturned Roe v. Wade. They could have prepared by focusing on politically tenable compromise and a wider array of supports for pregnant women and families. Instead, their political strategy in 2022 largely consisted of trying to change the subject, then blaming pro-lifers for poorer-than-expected midterm election results. Meanwhile, the G.O.P. has been an unreliable partner in countering the state referendums that have expanded legal protections for abortion in Michigan, Ohio and other states.

Now a rewritten Republican Party platform rubber-stamped by Donald Trump loyalists largely backtracks from its goal of protecting the unborn nationwide. Sweeping language declaring a constitutional right to life has been replaced by a somewhat garbled mention of due process, specifying that states are "free to pass laws" that restrict abortion. A mention of the traditional understanding of marriage is also gone.

The platform even omits standing against taxpayer funding for abortion, offering only a mention of opposing "late-term abortion" — a category often understood as excluding the roughly 99 percent of abortion procedures that occur before 21 weeks of pregnancy. The new platform makes sure to include positive mentions of birth control and in vitro fertilization yet neglects any reference to pregnancy resource centers or child care.

The former president likes to encourage conservatives to place political victory over moral commitments: "You must follow your heart on this issue, but remember, you must also win elections," he said in an April video.

His running mate, Senator JD Vance of Ohio, previously described himself as "100 percent pro-life," supporting a national ban on abortion and even making a case against exceptions for rape and incest. He later encouraged conservatives to do a better job making the "moral argument" against abortion, which indeed they should. Yet this month on "Meet the Press," he echoed Mr. Trump's approval of the abortion pill, which is used in a majority of abortions nationwide. In Mr. Vance's acceptance speech for the vice-presidential nomination on Wednesday night, the unborn made no appearance at all.

The G.O.P. platform has backtracked from its goal of protecting the unborn.

There is a sound strategic case and even, perhaps, a constitutional one against pursuing a federal abortion ban, particularly while politics around the issue are so unsettled. Officeholders or candidates can express their skepticism that a federal abortion ban would be prudent or achievable, as the former governor Nikki Haley did repeatedly during her unsuccessful run for the nomination.

But there is a fine line between acknowledging politics as the art of the possible and setting aside core convictions in the pursuit of electoral success. Mr. Trump has repeatedly congratulated himself for having returned abortion decisions to the states. Yet I have found no high-profile statements from the nominee supporting state laws that restrict abortion. On the contrary, he criticized abortion "hardliners." In 2023 he called the six-week abortion ban in his home state, Florida, a "terrible thing."

All the while, the number of abortions has not fallen since the Supreme Court's decision to strike down Roe, fueled in part by the rising prevalence of medication abortions. And yet at the national level, the G.O.P. seems to hope the issue will simply fade away. Eric Trump recently suggested that conservatives who are disappointed by the new party platform should "stop worrying about the little spot on the wall in the basement" when the country is facing the equivalent of holes in the ceiling.

Pro-life organizations that insist the G.O.P. remains as pro-life today as it was in the recent past are deluding themselves. And the socially conservative groups that cheer the former president's commitment "to the causes that millions of Americans hold so dear — protecting life and promoting the family" — may be signing up for their own political obsolescence. Politics will always require some triangulation and prudence, but too much accommodation is a path to electoral irrelevance.

Many religious conservatives made common cause with Donald Trump's campaign in 2016 with an eye to the ideological makeup of the Supreme Court. He and his camp may feel that their end of the bargain has been upheld. Roe, after all, is consigned to the history books. Now, just like the G.O.P. establishment they supplanted, they seek to harness social-conservative votes for other policy ends.

Pro-life conservatives should be clear-eyed about this new phase of politics. The Republican nominee seems all too content to sell out those of us who got into politics to advance policies that protect what we see as human life from its earliest stages. Pro-life groups should not be too quick to offer Mr. Trump rhetorical cover or accommodate Mr. Trump's redefinition of common sense on the issue. At this point, the best-case scenario for pro-lifers may be hoping that a second Trump administration hires some social conservatives for key administration roles — but that is far from a given.

Getting rid of Roe was a tremendous legal victory for conservatives. Building on it will require political courage and savvy. But if it results in higher abortion rates, conservative leaders expressing support for the abortion pill and the continued diminishing of pro-life influence on the Republican Party, it will have cost a bitterly high price.

The Olympics Should Stand With Afghan Women

Friba Rezayee
One of Afghanistan's first two female Olympians and the founder and executive director of Women Leaders of Tomorrow, a nonprofit to empower Afghan women and girls through education and sports.

WHEN the Taliban regained control of Afghanistan in 2021, one of its first actions was to bar women and girls from participating in sports publicly. It came as no surprise to me, one of Afghanistan's first two female Olympians.

As a judo practitioner, I too have been forbidden to compete in my country. My life has been threatened by religious extremists and those who believe the country should adhere to strict Shariah law. Female athletes in Afghanistan today face similar threats from the Taliban, including physical abuse and raids on their homes.

What has been more surprising is the sports world's lack of support for the brave women and girls who, unlike me, have not been able to flee the country. The most recent example is the International Olympic Committee's decision to allow a team representing Afghanistan in the Paris Games. Instead, the committee, with the Games just days away, should reverse course and bar the team from competing on behalf of Afghanistan. It should let the athletes, most of whom live in exile, compete on the Refugee Olympic Team, which would send a message of hope to refugees around the world.

The Afghan team is made up of three women and three men, which the I.O.C. said met its gender equality requirement in this case. But none of the three women representing Afghanistan, in athletics and cycling, live and train in the country, nor could they visit without risking their lives. Two of the three male athletes, a sprinter and a swimmer, are also joining from exile. The third, a judoka like me, trains in Afghanistan. By allowing them to compete for Afghanistan, the I.O.C. is not only undermining its own commitment to Olympic values but also lending legitimacy to the Taliban's unrecognized regime.

For its part, the I.O.C. said it had dealt with an Afghan national Olympic committee that operates in exile and that no Taliban officials will be allowed to attend the games. But that is beside the point. Its decision to allow a team from Afghanistan to compete is a perhaps unintentional act of recognition of a regime that punishes women for participating in sports. The Olympic Charter states: "The practice of sport is a human right. Every individual must have access to the practice of sport, without discrimination of any kind." The I.O.C.'s role, the charter further states, is "to act against any form of discrimination affecting the Olympic movement."

This year's athletes ought to compete on the refugee team, not for Afghanistan.

There is a precedent for barring an Afghan team. The I.O.C. did so ahead of the 2000 Sydney Olympics on the basis of the Taliban's discrimination against women. That ban was reversed after the Taliban fell in 2001, paving the way for my own appearance at the 2004 Athens Olympics.

What followed was more than 15 years of slow, painstaking progress toward greater gender equality in Afghanistan. It did not come easily; it did not come without grave risks for the pioneering women who pushed for such progress. But it did come, until it was snatched away again in August 2021.

Since then, the Taliban has issued over 80 decrees targeting women and girls. Women can no longer obtain driver's licenses, nor can they travel more than 45 miles without a male guardian. Girls are banned from attending school past sixth grade. Women are no longer allowed to work at nongovernmental organizations or the United Nations.

Afghan women "are putting their lives on the line" to oppose the Taliban, a Human Rights Watch official wrote this year. "They deserve the international community's full solidarity." I couldn't agree more. One way to show solidarity is by refusing to offer the Taliban any impression of legitimacy.

To be clear, I respect and admire the hard work and dedication of the three female athletes in exile who plan to walk in the opening ceremony at the Paris Olympics. I believe they have every right to be there, but as refugees, not as representatives of a country where women are barred from sports.

As it stands now, they will compete for a country where stadiums are better known for public executions than athletic competitions. These women deserve a place on the global stage as the world tunes in to watch the Games. However, their presence should be a reminder of the cruel, unjust nature of the Taliban regime; it should not help pave the path to its legitimacy or serve as window dressing to distract from the Taliban's brutality toward women.

LETTERS

Donald Trump and the Stakes of the Election

TO THE EDITOR:

Watching the Republican convention this week was like watching a dystopian movie about the demise of a great nation that starts with the rise of a dangerous and messianic leader, continues with followers who ignore the stark history lessons staring them in the face, and ends with an election that erodes the people's hard-won freedoms in exchange for a handful of empty promises.

The only thing another Donald Trump term guarantees is four more years of divisive politics among family and friends and a lifetime of consequences for the rest of us.

Just pick your poison — more gun violence, a widening gap between rich and poor, fewer freedoms for women, minorities, L.G.B.T.Q. folk, non-Christians, teachers, workers, doctors and the press; fewer environmental and health care protections; an isolated America that turns its back on allies; an unchecked, ultra-right-leaning judiciary; more rulings that grant free rein to a megalomaniacal president; and the list goes on.

As Americans, our only response to this real-life horror show should be "fight, fight, fight back!"

LISA LA VALLEE, CHICAGO

TO THE EDITOR:

Donald J. Trump — failed businessman, inveterate liar, serial philanderer, twice-impeached former president, denier of the results of the 2020 election, instigator of a violent attempted coup, tax cheat and convicted felon — is the candidate of the Republican Party for the third time. Is this man really the best that the G.O.P. can do?

How pathetic, sad and frighteningly dangerous.

JEREMY THORNER
BERKELEY, CALIF.

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Donald Trump Is Unfit to Lead" (editorial, July 14):

I greatly applaud your incisive editorial on Donald Trump being unfit to lead. Yet it was notable that you did not mention his cognitive deficits, especially given the repeated scrutiny of President Biden's.

We seem to hold Mr. Biden to a much higher standard than Mr. Trump. Mr. Biden's every verbal slippage and fumble is highlighted ad nauseam, but journalists tend to gloss over the fact that Mr. Trump cannot string a sentence together.

Mr. Trump's incompetence to serve is on full display every time he opens his mouth, as he is unable to communicate his thoughts in a coherent fashion even when reading from a teleprompter.

Please add that to the long list of reasons that he is unqualified to serve as our president.

BARBARA CORN
MILFORD, CONN.

TO THE EDITOR:

Thank you for creating a timeline to remind readers of the cruel realities of Donald Trump's first presidential administration. It is critical that these deep, long-view perspectives do not get lost in the daily news cycle.

Now that you have outlined the stakes, please make clear to readers that voting for the Democratic presidential ticket, regardless of who is on it, is the only action that will keep Mr. Trump out of office. Not voting or voting for a third-party candidate will have the impact of allowing Mr. Trump an electoral victory that will jeopardize future elections.

AMY LIEB, BOSTON

Vance's Scary Stands

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Where Vance Stands on Key Political Issues, From Abortion to the Middle East" (news article, July 17):

As we witness blood baths in Russia's assault on Ukrainian villages, hospitals and schools, JD Vance had this to say last year: "I don't really care what happens to Ukraine one way or the other."

Climate change? Not a threat, he has said.

Should Donald Trump be elected in November, this man, with all his youthful vigor and Ivy League credentials, will be that proverbial heartbeat away from becoming our next president. It is so terrifying.

CATHY BERNARD, NEW YORK

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "An Apology Broke the Ice as Vance Courted Trump" (front page, July 18):

It sounds as if JD Vance played Donald Trump like a violin.

WINNIE BOAL, CINCINNATI

If Biden Drops Out, Imagine These Scenarios

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Biden Is Said to Soften on Ending His Campaign" (front page, July 19):

Here is a scenario: President Biden bows out in July. At the Democratic National Convention in August, delegates are energized. They find themselves going big and bold.

They nominate Vice President Kamala Harris for president and Gov. Gretchen Whitmer of Michigan, a swing state, for vice president. Two women who are smart, energetic and politically astute.

Two women. It's a shocker. All Americans take note. The presidential race suddenly comes alive.

Kamala Harris and Gretchen Whitmer are impressive as the campaign unfolds in the fall. Democratic voters come to see these tough, experienced women as the perfect candidates to take on and actually defeat Donald Trump.

The Democratic base gets fired up and organized. Its relatively youthful ticket has a sudden appeal to younger generations of voters. The campaign keeps on building steam, eventually taking on a life of its own.

The convention's bold gamble in August pays off big in November.

DAVID DILLMAN
OCCIDENTAL, CALIF.

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Pelosi Presses Biden on Odds" (news analysis, front page, July 19):

As much as we love him and respect his accomplishments, Democratic and independent voters are hoping that President Biden's Covid diagnosis might give him the medical rationale he needs to gracefully and honorably withdraw.

The most compelling idea I've heard for what comes next is for a "blitz primary." Mr. Biden steps aside with a heroic speech; Kamala Harris agrees to join in this process as the presumptive — but not actual — nominee, so that she can earn it rather than have it handed to her. Six finalists participate in a series of interviews, town halls and debates, leading up to a secret ranked-choice vote just before the convention by the delegates.

The whole process is designed to draw the attention of the American electorate (and the world) to a movement that is committed to defeating an avowed autocrat and protecting democracy, women's bodily rights and the planet — and is ready to innovate on a grand scale to make it happen.

Momentum can swing in both directions. Just imagine all the electricity this would generate!

ANDY CALKINS
GLOUCESTER, MASS.

TO THE EDITOR:

I am an 80-year-old registered Democrat who has voted for every Democratic presidential candidate since 1968, but I am seriously considering abstaining from this year's election because of the behavior of the Democratic leadership.

President Biden should have announced last year that he would not run for re-election, keeping his 2020 pledge to be a "bridge" to a new generation of leaders. The primary elections could then have served their intended purpose, allowing Democratic voters the opportunity to choose from among Kamala Harris, Gretchen Whitmer, Gavin Newsom or any other candidates.

Instead, the primaries were an empty exercise in Mr. Biden's coronation, and the party's elites are now debating how to proceed at a point where voters no longer have any say.

As a result, the Democratic candidate who appears on November's ballot will either be the incumbent, in whom a large portion of his own party has vocally lost confidence, or a pinch-hitter who will have been thrust upon the voters without their input.

Either option increases the likelihood of Donald Trump returning to the White House, an outcome I dread but that I will bitterly blame on the Democratic Party.

SUSAN BRUMBAUGH
WEST CHESTER, PA.

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER
PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604
COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW
pressreader

Renauld White, Debonair Model Who Broke Barriers, Dies at 80

By PENELOPE GREEN

Renauld White, who is widely considered to be the country's first Black male supermodel — and who for nearly half a century was an elegant and enduring image of American style, walking the runways for Bill Blass, Ralph Lauren, Calvin Klein, Jeffrey Banks and Donna Karan, as well as being the first Black American model to appear on the cover of GQ magazine — died on June 26 in Manhattan. He was 80.

His niece Alonda Gregory confirmed the death, in a hospital. No cause was given.

Mr. White, at a lanky 6-foot-2 with a chiseled face and aquiline nose, was for decades a sought-after avatar of male beauty, photographed for editorial and commercial work by fashion stars like Charles Tracy, Herb Ritts, Horst P. Horst and Bruce Weber. In the 1970s, he sported a short Afro and a mustache — and, often, a disarming smile, as he did for the cover of GQ's November issue in 1979.

That was a milestone: Though the first Black model to appear on GQ's cover, in 1977, was the Swiss-born Urs Althaus, Mr. White was the first American. (The showman Sammy Davis Jr. was the first Black man to appear on a GQ cover, which he did in September 1967.)

Mr. White was, for a time, the face of Arrow shirts and Black Tie cologne. He was a pitchman for Miller Lite and Delta Air Lines. He was the first Black model to sell a hair product mostly marketed to white men: Vitalis Hair Tonic. He appeared on the Phil Donahue show in 1978, to discuss the myth of the "cute but dumb" reputation that accrued to those in his profession. He was as ubiquitous and desirable, Mr. Banks said, "as Naomi Campbell would be later."

When he began designing under his own name in the late 1970s, Mr. Banks, who had worked at Ralph Lauren and Calvin Klein, made sure that Mr. White modeled every collection he produced.

"He carried the clothes; he looked beautiful," Mr. Banks said. "He was the quintessential American man."

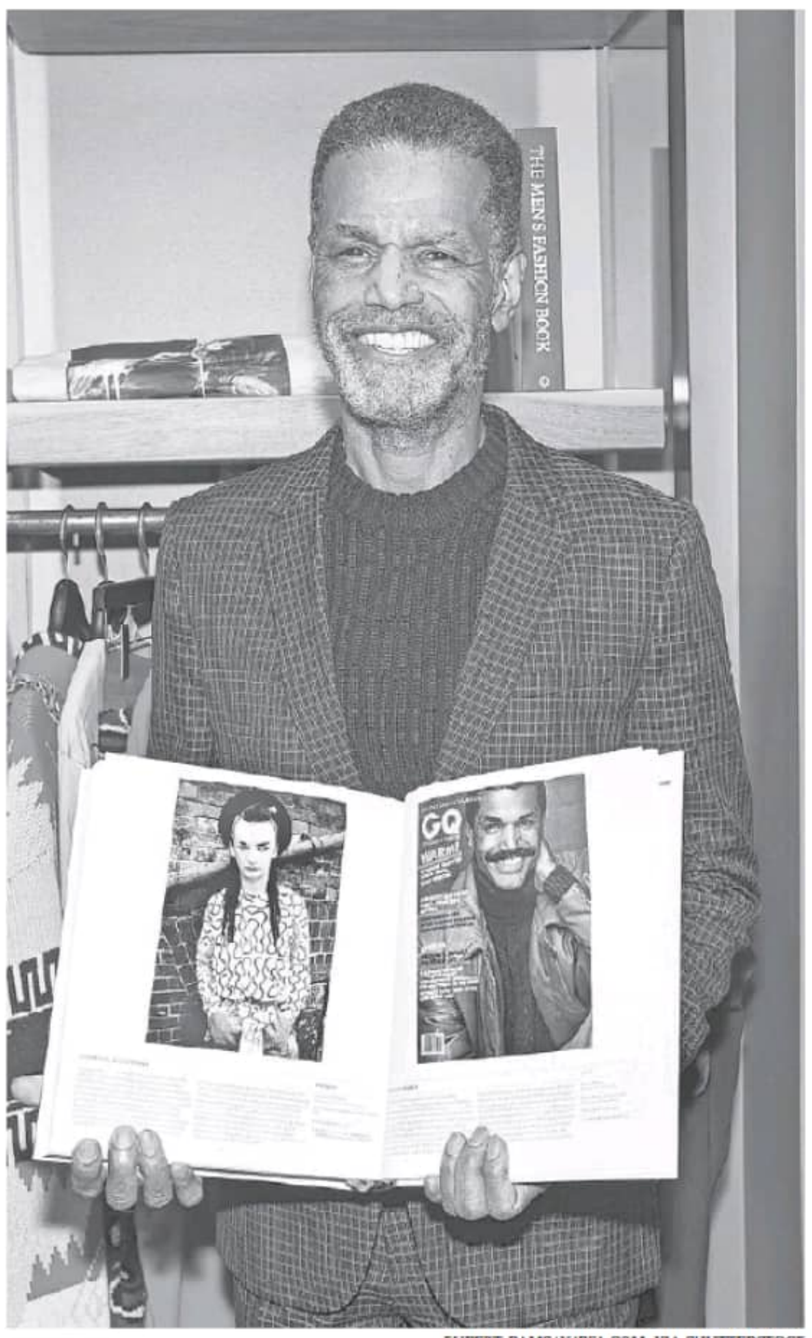
Mr. Banks recalled suggesting that Mr. White shave off his mustache in the early 1980s, for a Bruce Weber campaign of Mr. Banks's clothes; Mr. White, he said, balked.

"I looked at him as the Black Cary Grant, and I wanted him to stand out from all the other Black models, not that there were a lot of them," he said. "He resisted and resisted, but of course in the end he did it, and got tons more work as a result."

Mr. White even attracted the attention of the Queen of Soul. When Aretha Franklin saw him in a television commercial for Black Tie cologne in the mid-1980s, she reached out to him, and for the next decade or so he was a favored escort.



SAL TRAINA/WWD/FENSKE MEDIA, VIA GETTY IMAGES



RUPERT RAMSAY/BFA.COM, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

Renauld White in 1975 for Calvin Klein, one of several designers for whom he modeled. Right, in 2021 with the 1979 GQ cover.



NICK MACHALABA/WWD/PENSKE MEDIA, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Mr. White, above left, with Stephen Burrows and Vy Higginsen in an undated photo.



GUY DELORT/WWD, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Mr. White accompanied Aretha Franklin to receive her Kennedy Center Honor.

"Suddenly she was in my life," he told The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette in 1994, the year he accompanied Ms. Franklin to Washington to receive her Kennedy Center Honor. "I have always said my life is like a movie, and meeting her made it even more so."

When the reporter pressed him — was it a romance? — he was diplomatic. "We have a strong emotional tie," he said. "She's a legend, after all. An icon."

Interviewed by Ebony magazine the next year, Ms. Franklin said: "Renauld and I are close, very close. There's a kind of unexplainable something that happens between he and I. It's warm. I like it."

Mr. White, Mr. Banks said, was a private, disciplined man, fastidious in his dress and his diet, gentlemanly and gracious in all settings.

"I never heard him curse," he said. "He felt he was a standard-bearer for his race. As one of the first Black male models who broke through, he always felt he had to uphold a certain set of values."

Mr. White often described modeling as "silent acting."

"There's not much demanded from men when we get in front of the camera," he told the model Sharon Quinn in 2018 for her program "Model Behavior," now on YouTube. "We don't have to make great shapes. We have to be pillars of coolness, to stand there and be suave and debonair. You have to have something working in your mind so it comes out through your eyes."

A Black supermodel who was an avatar of male beauty for nearly half a century.

Renauld White was born on Feb. 1, 1944, in Newark, the second of four sons. His father, Robert White, was a truck driver and a natty dresser who favored suits on the weekend. His mother, Maybelline (Scott) White, was a hat model.

Renauld played right tackle on his high school football team and later performed in school plays. His parents divorced, and he began working right after graduating to support his mother. He had a clerical job at an electric company and took night classes in business; he found himself "hating it without doing anything about it," he told The Durham Morning Herald of North Carolina in 1976, "except to rebel in small ways by growing a beard."

On weekends he headed to Manhattan, where he danced the mambo at the Palladium, the storied Latin nightclub on West 53rd Street, and met the pioneering Black designer Stephen Burrows, who was also from Newark, and who encouraged Mr. White to pursue modeling.

Mr. White was rejected by the Ford agency because, an agent told him, he was too tall and had a scar on his nose (from being whacked by a bat during a childhood baseball game). The agent sent him to Wilhelmina, where, as he told Ms. Quinn, something came over him.

He remembered feeling, he said, that "you're a Black man, it's 1968, your city has been burned down" — Newark had been ravaged by racial unrest the summer before — "there are race riots in the South, but you're in the North and you can do something about it."

What Mr. White did was announce to the Wilhelmina receptionist that he was an official from the N.A.A.C.P. and demand to see the number of Black models being represented by the agency. "If I'm not satisfied," he recalled saying, "I will have pickets outside tomorrow!"

Instead, he got a modeling contract.

"Renauld made history," said Musa Jackson, the model, producer and founder of Ambassador Digital magazine, who in the early '80s was cast as the first Black male Gap model, and who was one of the many young men Mr. White mentored. He added: "He opened doors that he didn't even realize he opened. I am forever grateful I got to walk through those doors."

Mr. White also pursued a career as an actor. He was a stentorian Julius Caesar in "Julius Caesar Set in Africa," based on Shakespeare's original, at the Nuyorican Poets Café in the East Village in 1998. (Anita Gates, writing in The New York Times, said he "had the regal bearing of a king," though she thought he was a bit too loud.) His other roles, both on-stage and on television, included several episodes of the soap opera "Guiding Light."

Mr. White is survived by his brother, Colin White.

Mr. White never stopped modeling. In the year before his death, he starred in a Dolce & Gabbana ad, photographed by Steven Meisel, who requested him, according to his agent, Ray Volant. It's an arresting image: Mr. White in a pinstriped jacket, fingers forming a fist at his lapel, his gaze direct and challenging.

"Glamorous moments are few and far between," Mr. White told The Morning Call of Pennsylvania in 1983. "The glamour comes in certain moments in this profession and you know it because they're like gems, as when the right light is hitting a diamond. That's when the glamour comes. The rest is not silence, but, simply, work."

Naomi Pomeroy, 49, Self-Taught Chef Who Put Portland on the Culinary Map

By KIM SEVERSON

Naomi Pomeroy, a self-taught chef with an irreverent streak whose high standards and generosity of spirit made her the culinary matriarch of Portland, Ore., as it emerged as the locus of a radical new style of fine dining in the mid-2000s, died on July 13 near Corvallis, Ore. She was 49.

She died while tubing on the Willamette River, in western Oregon, said her husband, Kyle Linden Webster, a fellow restaurateur.

Ms. Pomeroy and Mr. Webster had joined a friend to float down the Willamette on Saturday afternoon. Their floats — two inner tubes and a paddle board that they had tied together — hit a partly submerged branch, and all three of them were thrown into fast-moving water, Mr. Webster said. He and the friend made it to shore.

Ms. Pomeroy's body was recovered on Wednesday.

Her death was reported on Monday evening by Portland Monthly magazine in an article by Karen Brooks, a food critic who had covered Ms. Pomeroy's career since 2002, when she and Michael Hebb, her first husband, hosted a series of underground suppers in their home. Those coveted gatherings helped start Portland's renegade restaurant culture and the national pop-up restaurant craze.

Although their quirky restaurant empire and marriage blew up in spectacular fashion several years later, they became so revered that W magazine crowned them the prince and princess of the Pacific Northwest food scene.

"She was kind of like Julia Child as a riot grrrl," Ms. Brooks said in an interview.

The couple had a child in 2000, and by 2004 were overseeing a collection of ventures called Ripe, which included three of Portland's most acclaimed restaurants. One day, in 2006, Mr. Hebb told Ms. Pomeroy that the money was gone. He left town that night, leaving her to face angry investors and nearly 100 disillusioned employees as a single mother with little money.

Ms. Pomeroy emerged from the ashes with Beast, a tiny French-influenced restaurant that opened the next year with little more than two induction burners and a couple of communal tables. It became a model for a sexy, D.I.Y. style of dining and attracted a new generation of young chefs, particularly women, to Portland.

"Cooking has helped me move on," Ms. Pomeroy said in a 2007 interview with The New York Times.

She was selected as one of America's best new chefs by Food & Wine in 2009. O, The Oprah Magazine, named her one of 10 women on the rise. The magazine Marie Claire called her the next Alice Waters, writing that Ms. Pomeroy's commitment to seasonal ingredients echoed that of Ms. Waters, the California chef who was an early champion of local food and farmers.

A popular figure who ushered in a new style of fine dining, loyal to her friends and causes.

A James Beard award followed, as did appearances on popular food competition television shows. Ms. Pomeroy lost to Jose Garces over a truffle battle on "Iron Chef" in 2010 and was a recurring judge on "Top Chef."

Traci Des Jardins, who competed against her on "Top Chef Masters" and who became a business mentor for her, remembered Ms. Pomeroy as a very focused chef with strong technique and an excellent palate.

"You know, when someone is that good and hasn't worked for a lot of great chefs, that the talent is innate," she said. "She was really, really smart and had an incredibly high standard. She was uncompromising."

In 2016, Ms. Pomeroy published her only cookbook, "Taste & Technique: Recipes to Elevate Your Home Cooking," with Jamie Feldmar, a writer.

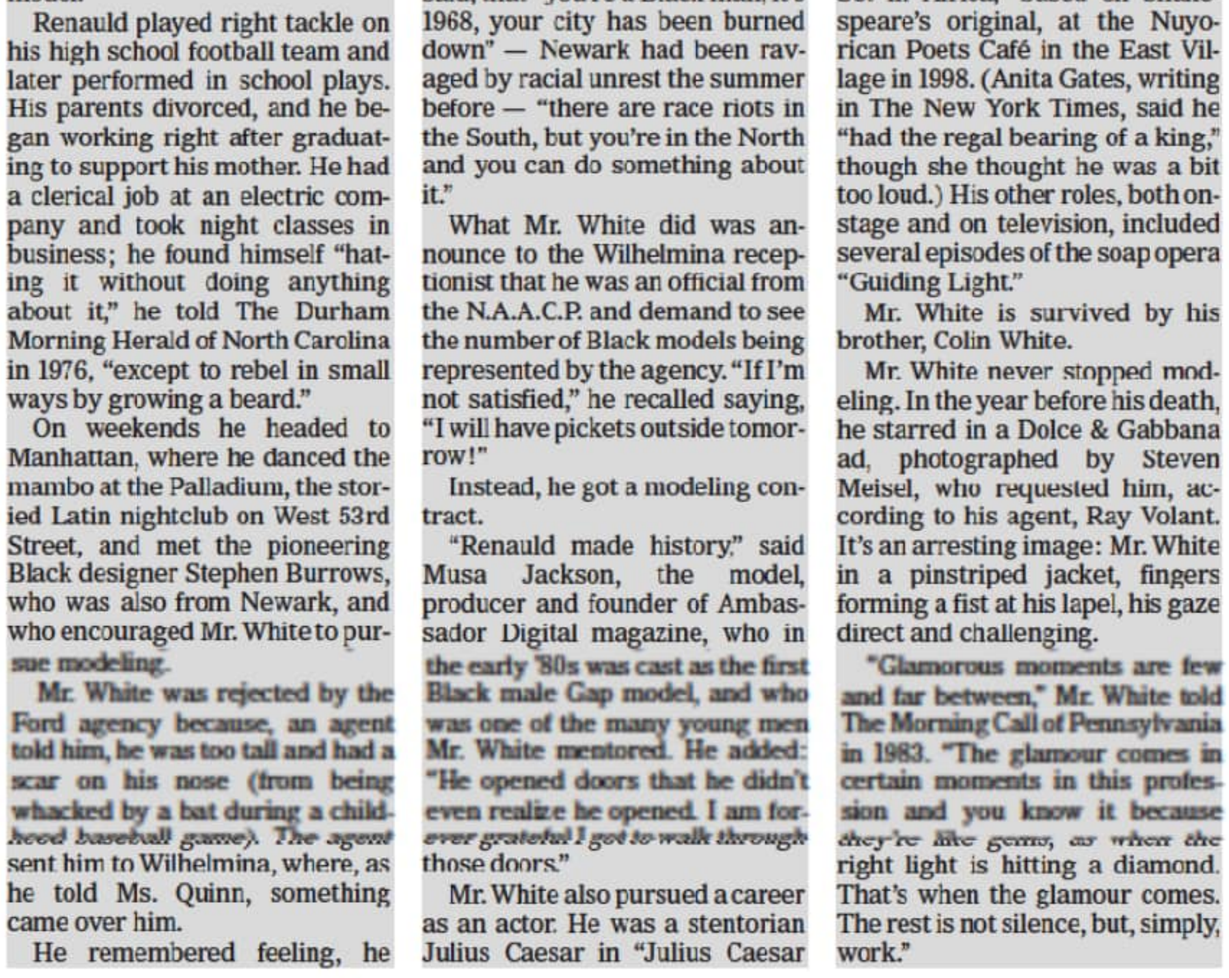
Beast closed during the height of the Covid-19 pandemic, and Ms. Pomeroy helped start the Independent Restaurant Coalition with other prominent American chefs to push for federal relief for restaurants and their employees. She was loyal to her friends and a supporter of several political causes, especially women's reproductive rights and issues of sexism in the kitchen, which were laid bare during the #MeToo movement.

"There is a long list of women that she uplifted, but she also helped give grace to men to embrace the softness and the kindness of the kitchen," said Kristen D. Murray, the chef behind Maurice, the intimate Portland restaurant where Ms. Pomeroy had an annual birthday lunch.

In addition to the bar and restaurant Expatriate, which Ms. Pomeroy owned with Mr. Webster, in May she opened Cornet Custard with Mika Paredes, her longtime friend and cooking partner.

Ms. Pomeroy cooked her last formal meal on Friday as part of a summer dinner series called Garden Party, with a $95 menu based on what was growing in her garden. The communal dinners were held in southeast Portland at the site where she and Luke Dirks, her business partner, planned to open a restaurant this fall.

"Naomi was pretty advanced in her understanding of this cool ride we're on," Mr. Webster said. "She was more at peace in the last six months than she ever was before. She said she had done everything she was put here to do."



CHANCE YEH/PATRICK MCMULLAN, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Naomi Pomeroy was named one of Food & Wine's best new chefs in 2009, among other accolades.



NICOLE WILDER/NBCU PHOTO BANK/NBCUNIVERSAL, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Ms. Pomeroy, second from left, with Traci Des Jardins, second from right, on "Top Chef Masters" in 2011. "She was really, really smart and had an incredibly high standard," Ms. Des Jardins said.

Naomi Pomeroy was born in Corvallis, about 80 miles south of Portland, on Nov. 30, 1974. Her father, Toby Gene Pomeroy, was a jewelry maker. She was raised largely by her mother, Karen Walz, who had spent part of her childhood in France and who stretched the tight family budget by making soufflés with groceries she bought with monthly government food benefits.

Ms. Pomeroy, who graduated with a degree in history from Lewis & Clark College in Portland in 1997, told Marie Claire in 2010 that she wrote her first recipe when she was 4. "It was 'Chew up five almonds, spit them out, mix them with powdered sugar, make it into a cake, bake it and add sprinkles,'" she said. "My mom still has it."

In addition to her husband, she is survived by her daughter, August; her parents; her stepmother, Ronna Pomeroy; and two half brothers, Andrew and Colin Pomeroy. Another half brother, Joseph Michael Vito, died in 2014.

Mike Thelin, a food writer and a founder of Feast, a now-defunct food festival that was Portland's largest, recently attended one of Ms. Pomeroy's garden parties. The food was deceptively simple, he said, and, as always, it was "ingredient-driven without any ego."

Ms. Pomeroy was the chef who best represented Portland's food culture, Mr. Thelin said.

"There is no existing in Portland, Ore., in the last 25 years," he said, "and not feeling like Naomi Pomeroy was some part of your life."

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER
PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604
COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW
pressreader



B INTERNATIONAL

The story about China's soaring emissions has a new plot twist, thanks to solar projects and wind farms.

5 PERSONAL FINANCE

The Biden administration is pausing student loan payments for millions of borrowers amid legal issues.



8 SPORTS

Caeleb Dressel has seven gold medals but lost his love for swimming. A break helped him rekindle it.

TECH | ECONOMY | MEDIA | FINANCE

Business

The New York Times

SATURDAY, JULY 20, 2024 B1

N



China Is Focused On the 'New Oil' From Kazakhstan

CHANG W. LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The global search for critical minerals is bringing investors to Kazakhstan's stark landscape. Through its state-owned mining firms, the country is a leading supplier not only of oil and uranium but also of chromium, gold and copper.

By DAISUKE WAKABAYASHI

ASTANA, Kazakhstan — Kenges Rakishev, one of the richest men in Kazakhstan, stepped off a private jet at a Soviet-era airport and hopped into the lead car of a convoy of sport utility vehicles. The cars tore down a two-lane road, zipping past the snow-covered steppe in eastern Kazakhstan at 90 miles per hour.

Riding shotgun, Mr. Rakishev gestured toward the vast emptiness.

"Nothing, right?" he said with a chuckle. "But it's a unique opportunity."

That opportunity is in nickel, a key mineral used in electric vehicles and other clean energy technologies. Kazakhstan, a mineral-rich country in Central Asia, has a lot of nickel, and Mr. Rakishev is investing tens of millions of dollars to extract it.

Mr. Rakishev, 44, is always chasing the next big investment. In February, he was the driving force behind the public offering of a Canadian maker of plant-based instant noodles on the Nasdaq stock exchange. Before that, it was blockchain technology. And before that, it was an Israeli photo-sharing app, called Mobli, that tried to become the next Instagram.

He has connections to Kazakhstan's ruling elite that are apparent in his energy investments and his purchase of a bank seized by the government. His close ties with a former prime minister of Kazakhstan brought him into the orbit of Hunter Biden, the American president's son whose business dealings became the focus of an impeachment inquiry by House Republicans.

But Mr. Rakishev's next big investment is much closer to home.

Bountiful minerals have enriched the country and lured those who want to control metals used to fight climate change.

The world's transition to renewable energy, including electric cars, requires huge amounts of nickel, copper, lithium and other so-called critical minerals. Kazakhstan has many of them, and China, the biggest producer of electric vehicles and batteries, is right next door and eager to buy.

"Everything is going to China," Mr. Rakishev said.

A former Soviet Republic, Kazakhstan borders Russia to the north and China to the east and retains close trade ties to Russia. But China is a much larger customer for Kazakhstan's critical minerals, using them to feed the insatiable needs of its factories churning out electric vehicles, batteries and solar panels. Kazakhstan said that it was also courting buyers from the West and that

CONTINUED ON PAGE B6

At Airports, Tech Issues Are Expected to Linger

By Niraj Chokshi, Corey Kilgannon and Derrick Bryson Taylor

Airlines resumed flights on Friday morning after a tech outage disrupted travel around the world, but problems were expected to linger throughout the day as carriers worked to get crews and planes to where they were needed.

The outage, which affected many industries and emergency services, caused chaos at airports, with more than half of flight cancellations concentrated in the United States, one of the busiest aviation markets in the world.

More than 2,000 flights across the country were canceled and at least 5,300 were delayed as of midday, according to FlightAware, a company that tracks flight information. Airports serving large cities, such as New York City, Chicago and Atlanta, were among the hardest hit.

There were about 110,000 commercial flights scheduled worldwide on Friday, according to Cirium, an aviation data company. A quarter were set to depart from U.S. airports, carrying up to 3.7 million passengers.

As the sun rose over the East Coast, major carriers, including American Airlines, Delta Air Lines and United Airlines, had paused flights, though each had begun to restart operations by around 9 a.m. Eastern time. It was not immediately clear how long the effects of the disruptions would last.

"The F.A.A. is closely monitoring a technical issue impacting I.T. systems at U.S. airlines," the Federal Aviation Administration said in a statement. "Several airlines have requested F.A.A. assistance with ground stops for their flights until the issue is resolved."

The agency said none of its systems, including those at its air traffic control operations, were affected by technology outages.

In a statement, American said it had been able to "safely reestablish" its operation as of 5 a.m. Delta said it had resumed most departures, too. Several carriers said they would waive fees for fare differences or offer refunds.

A Transportation Department representative said airlines should be obligated to provide travelers with ground transportation.

CONTINUED ON PAGE B4



NEW YORK TIMES

Push for Cap Is Reigniting Rent Debate

By TALMON JOSEPH SMITH

When the Biden administration laid out a suite of plans this week to address housing affordability, it added a bold update to previous proposals — and sent the housing industry and the economics world buzzing.

The White House called on Congress to pass legislation giving "corporate landlords" — defined by the White House as those with over 50 rental units — a choice to cap annual rent increases on existing units at 5 percent annually or lose federal tax breaks based on property depreciation.

The proposal is expected to go largely unaddressed this year, with Congress in campaign mode. But public reaction has been lively.

Tenant organizations and progressive leaders generally allied with the administration's economic team cheered the news. Yet a range of economists, Wall Street analysts, real estate groups and landlord associations responded

CONTINUED ON PAGE B3

Silicon Valley Propels Idea For Cash Aid

By DAVID STREITFELD

MOUNTAIN VIEW, CALIF. — For the last couple of years, the tech community has tested no-strings-attached payments of $500 or $1,000 a month to those in dire need. Some of these experiments have happened in the heart of Silicon Valley, where a one-bedroom apartment rents for $3,000 a month and a modest house is often an unaffordable luxury.

Silicon Valley's backing of these efforts has propelled the idea of a guaranteed income — also known as cash transfers, unconditional cash and, in its most utopian form, universal basic income — into the mainstream. But a bipartisan political consensus around the movement is fracturing even though the data seems to show that the programs are effective.

In recent months, the Texas attorney general went to court to prevent public funds from being used in a basic income program in Houston. Republicans in Iowa, Idaho and South Dakota banned

CONTINUED ON PAGE B5

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER
PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604
COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW
pressreader

The Digest

CREDIT CARDS

Cardmember Spending Makes Amex Profits Soar

American Express said Friday second-quarter profits jumped 39 percent as the credit card company benefited again from a broad increase in cardmember spending as well as more of its customers carrying a balance.

Profit reached $3.02 billion, compared with $2.17 billion in the same period a year ago. On a per-share basis, AmEx earned a profit of $4.15. Excluding one-time gains, AmEx earned $3.49 per share, handily beating analyst's forecasts of $3.24 per share, according to FactSet.

AmEx once again benefited from its cardmembers — who tend to be wealthier and less exposed to economic fluctuations — continuing to spend on their cards, despite the economic uncertain and the effects of inflation.

Amex customers spent $440.6 billion on their cards last quarter, up 3 percent from the year before. Merchants pay a fee for each time they accept an AmEx card. That fee ranges depending on industry and merchant size. *ASSOCIATED PRESS*

BANKING

Banks Raise Provisions For Credit Losses

U.S. banks have raised their provisions for credit losses as deteriorating commercial real estate (CRE) loans and high interest rates fuel fears of defaults, the regional lenders' second-quarter results show.

Some, such as M&T Bank, are also gradually reducing their exposure to the troubled CRE sector and repositioning their balance sheets to focus on commercial and industrial lending and build capital.

Office loans have been hit the hardest over the past 12 months as buildings remain vacant due to the post-pandemic adoption of remote working models.



BRENDAN McDERMID/REUTERS

The shift has hurt landlords who have been unable to pay back mortgages, while options to refinance the properties have been constrained by higher rates.

BankUnited had one of the largest CRE exposures by loan volume, according to data from S&P Market Intelligence. *REUTERS*

BEVERAGES

Champagne Producers Call for Cut in Harvest

France's champagne producers on Friday called for a cut in the number of grapes harvested this year after sales of the wine fell more than 15 percent in the first half of the year as customers tightened their belts due to an uncertain economy.

Champagne shipments in the first half of 2024 reached 106.7 million bottles, down 15.2 percent from a particularly high level recorded over the same period of 2023 and closer to the level in 2019.

"The gloomy global geopolitical and economic situation, as well as generalized inflation, is weighing on household consumption. Champagne also continues to suffer the consequences of overstocking by retailers in 2021 and 2022," David Chatillon, chairman of the Champagne Houses lobby, said in a statement issued by the producers association, the Comite Champagne (Champagne Committee).

The committee said that this year's harvest in Champagne had suffered from poor weather. *REUTERS*

S&P 500 INDEX
−0.7%
5,505

DOW JONES INDUSTRIALS
−0.9%
40,287.53

NASDAQ COMPOSITE INDEX
−0.8%
17,726.94

10-YEAR TREASURY YIELD
4.24%
+0.042 points

CRUDE OIL (U.S.)
$78.64
−$2.66

GOLD (N.Y.)
$2,399.10
−$57.30

Stocks & Bonds

Wall Street Finishes Worst Week Since April With More Losses

By The Associated Press

U.S. stocks slumped Friday in another washout, as businesses around the world scrambled to contain the effects of a disruptive technology outage.

The S&P 500 fell 0.7 percent to close its first losing week in the last three and its worst since April. The Dow Jones industrial average dropped 377 points, or 0.9 percent, while the Nasdaq composite sank 0.8 percent.

It was only on Tuesday that the S&P 500 set its latest high. At first, pressure built on the Big Tech stocks that have been the market's biggest winners, amid criticism they simply grew too expensive. Nvidia, for example, is still up 138 percent this year amid a frenzy around artificial-intelligence technology, even after falling 2.6 percent Friday and 8.8 percent over the week.

Gains for previously unloved areas of the market had helped to offset some of those declines: Smaller stocks and companies whose profits are closely tied to the economy's strength were rising. That sparked hopes for a market where more stocks are rising, rather than just a handful of dominating elites, which market watchers say would be healthier.

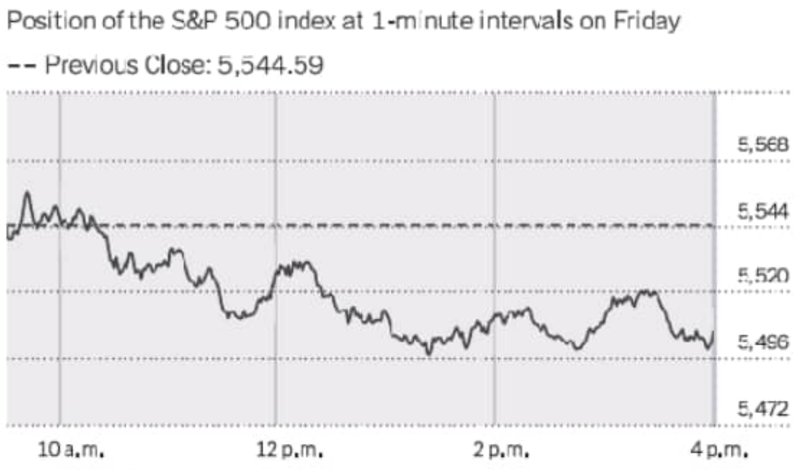
"This rotation can continue, but it doesn't always have to be where they're rising faster, it could be because they are falling less," according to Brian Jacobsen, chief economist at Annex Wealth Management.

Momentum for those beaten-down areas of the market may be sputtering. The Russell 2000 index of smaller stocks fell 0.6 percent Friday for its third straight drop, following its huge five-day run where it shot up 11.5 percent. Three out of every four stocks in the S&P 500 also sank.

Friday's moves came as a major outage disrupted flights, banks and even doctors' appointments around the world. Cybersecurity firm CrowdStrike said the issue believed to be behind the outage was not a security incident or cyberattack and that it had deployed a fix. The company said the problem lay in a faulty update sent to computers running Microsoft Windows.

The S&P 500 Index

Position of the S&P 500 index at 1-minute intervals on Friday



Source: FactSet THE NEW YORK TIMES

CrowdStrike's stock dropped 11.1 percent, while Microsoft's lost 0.8 percent.

Richard Stiennon, a cybersecurity industry analyst, called it a historic mistake by CrowdStrike, but he also said he did not think it revealed a bigger problem with the cybersecurity industry or with CrowdStrike as a company.

"We all realize you can fat finger something, mistype something, you know whatever — we don't know the technical details yet of how it caused the blue-screen of death" for users, he said.

"The markets are going to forgive them, the customers are going to forgive them, and this will blow over."

Crowdstrike's stock trimmed its loss somewhat through the day, but it still turned in its worst performance since 2022. Stocks of rival cybersecurity firms climbed, including a 7.8 percent jump for SentinelOne and a 2.2 percent rise for Palo Alto Networks.

The outage hit check-in procedures at airports around the world, causing long lines of frustrated fliers. That initially helped pull down U.S. airline stocks, but they quickly pared their losses. United Airlines flipped to a gain of 3.3 percent, for example. It said many travelers may experience delays, and it issued a waiver to make it easier to change travel plans.

American Airlines Group slipped 0.4%, and Delta Air Lines rose 1.2%.

Comerica dropped 10.5% for one of the market's sharper losses, even though it delivered better earnings for the spring than analysts expected. The bank said it received a preliminary notification that it won't continue as the issuer of the Direct Express debit card for about 4.5 million federal benefit recipients, a program it's had since 2008.

The S&P 500 fell 39.59 points to 5,505.00. The Dow dropped 377.49, or 0.9 percent, to 40,287.53, and the Nasdaq lost 144.28 to 17,726.94.

The yield on the 10-year Treasury rose to 4.24 percent from 4.20 percent late Thursday.

NEWSLETTER: DEALBOOK

DealBook helps you make sense of the day's most important business and policy headlines. Sign up for the newsletter at nytimes.com/dealbook

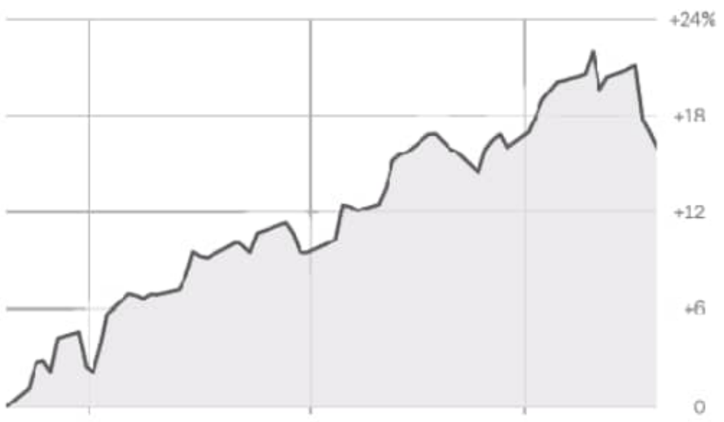
What Happened in Stock Markets Yesterday

POWERED BY FACTSET

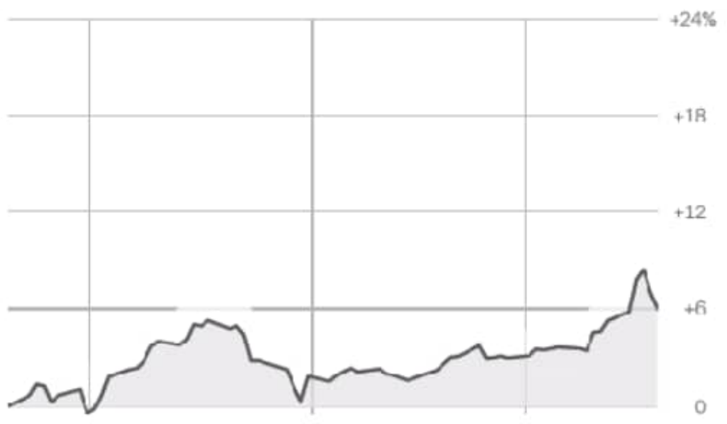
S&P 500 5,505.00 ↓−0.7%
3 month performance: **+10.8%**



Nasdaq Composite Index 17,726.94 ↓−0.8%
3 month performance: **+16.0%**



Dow Jones Industrials 40,287.53 ↓−0.9%
3 month performance: **+6.1%**



Best performers

S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE
1. Intuitive Surgical (ISRG)	$455.01	+9.3%
2. Starbucks (SBUX)	$79.27	+6.8
3. Huntington Bancshares (HBAN)	$14.86	+3.9
4. United Airlines Holdings (UAL)	$47.93	+3.3
5. Stryker Corp. (SYK)	$340.95	+2.9
6. Boston Scientific (BSX)	$77.56	+2.7
7. Royal Caribbean Cruises (RCL)	$166.29	+2.5
8. Estee Lauder 'A' (EL)	$98.18	+2.4
9. Palo Alto Networks (PANW)	$330.89	+2.2
10. Paycom Software (PAYC)	$158.10	+2.1

Worst performers

S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE
1. Crowdstrike Holdings A (CRWD)	$304.95	−11.1%
2. W.R. Berkley (WRB)	$51.54	−8.3
3. Travelers Companies (TRV)	$203.48	−7.8
4. Halliburton (HAL)	$34.40	−5.6
5. Intel (INTC)	$32.98	−5.4
6. American Intl. Grp. (AIG)	$74.42	−4.7
7. Electronic Arts (EA)	$140.20	−4.3
8. Monolithic Power Systems (MPWR)	$808.83	−4.1
9. Tesla (TSLA)	$239.20	−4.0
10. Cincinnati Financial (CINF)	$121.03	−4.0

Most active

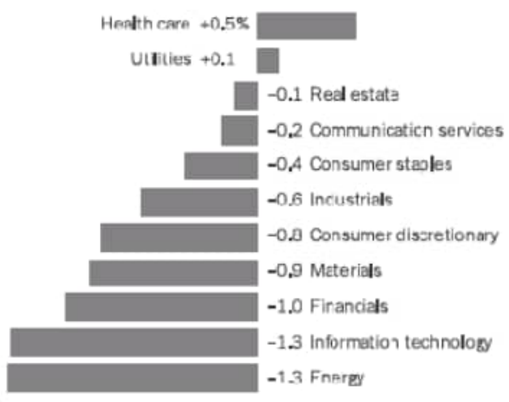
S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE	VOLUME IN MIL.
1. NVIDIA (NVDA)	$117.93	−2.6%	213
2. Tesla (TSLA)	$239.20	−4.0	87
3. Walgreens Boots Alliance (WBA)	$11.01	−3.1	81
4. Ford Motor (F)	$13.98	−3.9	78
5. Intel (INTC)	$32.98	−5.4	69
6. EQT Corp (EQT)	$35.68	+1.5	65
7. Apple (AAPL)	$224.31	+0.1	48
8. Advanced Micro Devices (AMD)	$151.58	−2.7	45
9. Amazon.com (AMZN)	$183.13	−0.3	43
10. Bank of America (BAC)	$42.90	−0.3	43

Regional and emerging markets

	TOTAL RETURN 1 YR	TOTAL RETURN 5 YRS	TOTAL ASSETS IN BIL.
1. Vanguard Emerging Markets Stock Index Fund Institutional Plus Shares (VEMRX)	+11.9%	+3.8%	107.8
2. American Funds New World Func Class R-6 (RNWGX)	+11.0	+6.8	60.4
3. DFA Emerging Markets Core Equity Portfolio Institutional Class (DFCEX)	+14.8	+5.9	27.8
4. Fidelity Series Emerging Markets Opportunities Fund (FEMSX)	+14.3	+4.3	23.9
5. GQG Partners Emerging Markets Equity Fund Investor Shares (GQGPX)	+31.2	+9.3	22.3
6. Invesco Developing Markets Fund Class R6 (ODVIX)	+3.2	+0.3	21.0
7. Strategic Advisers Fidelity Emerging Markets Fund (FGCMX)	+14.4	+4.6	16.7
8. Strategic Advisers Emerging Markets Fund (FSAMX)	+13.6	+3.8	11.0
9. DFA Emerging Markets Value Portfolio Institutional Class (DFEVX)	+16.7	+5.9	11.0
10. Fidelity Advisor Emerging Markets Fund - Class Z (FZEMX)	+15.1	+6.7	9.9

Source: Morningstar

Sector performance
S&P 500 SECTORS



How stock markets fared yesterday in Asia ...

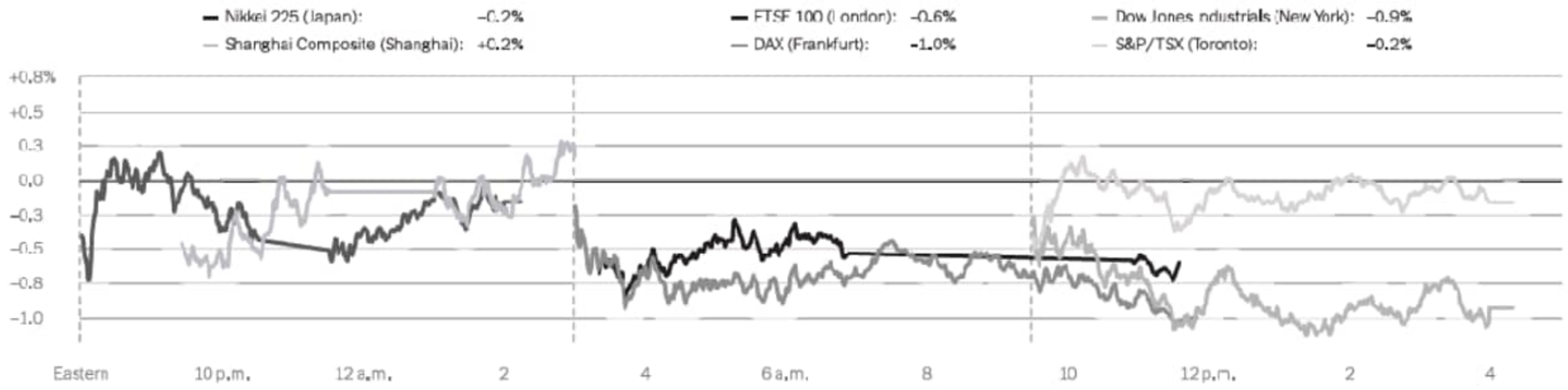
— Nikkei 225 (Japan): −0.2%
— Shanghai Composite (Shanghai): +0.2%

... in Europe

— FTSE 100 (London): −0.6%
— DAX (Frankfurt): −1.0%

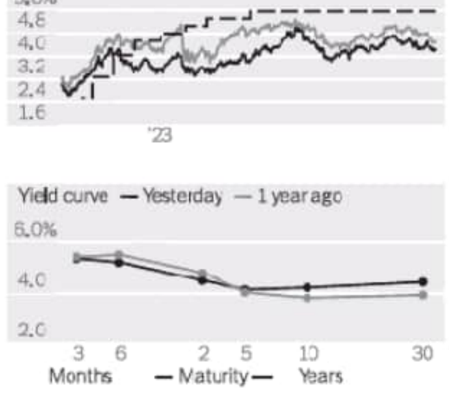
... and North America

— Dow Jones Industrials (New York): −0.9%
— S&P/TSX (Toronto): −0.2%

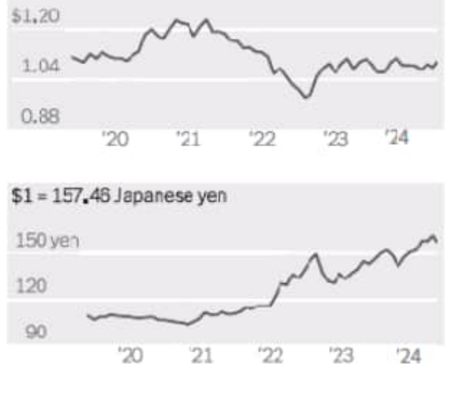


What Is Happening in Other Markets and the Economy

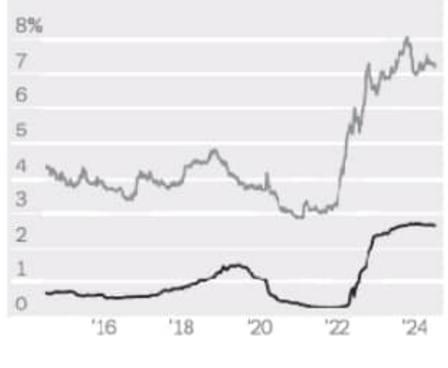
Bonds



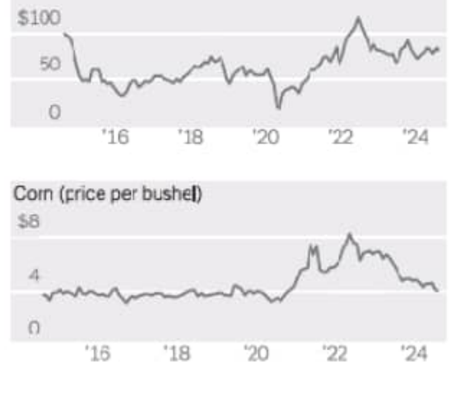
Currencies



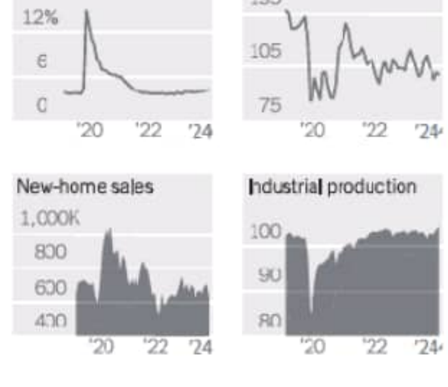
Consumer rates



Commodities



Economy



PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604 COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW pressreader

HOUSING | INTERNATIONAL | MEDIA



PAOLA CHAPDELAINE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Rents have surged 26 percent nationally since early 2020, one report found.

White House Proposal On Rent Caps Renews Housing Policy Debate

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

with forceful critiques, assailing the limits as counterproductive.

"Increasing the supply of affordable rental housing nationwide — not politically motivated and self-defeating rent control proposals floated during election campaigns — is the best way to alleviate affordability constraints for renters," Robert D. Broeksmit, the president of Mortgage Bankers Association, said in a statement.

The policy would affect about 20 million units in the country, roughly half of all rental properties.

Senior administration officials responding to questions about unintended consequences — like disincentives to build housing — noted that in addition to exemptions for new construction, the proposed caps would be in place for only two years. That, they argue, would aid tenants until more units are built.

The administration initiative comes as surveys indicate growing public concern about the cost and availability of housing for renters and first-time buyers.

Rents have surged 26 percent nationally since early 2020, according to a recent report from the Joint Center for Housing Studies at Harvard University. That increase has exceeded overall inflation. In 2022, a Harvard report found that 50 percent of all U.S. tenants, a record high, were "cost burdened," spending more than 30 percent of their income on rent.

The White House has undertaken previous efforts to increase housing supply. In 2022, the Transportation Department set up grant programs worth about $6 billion designed to award more dollars to jurisdictions that have deregulated zoning and land-use policies to allow more housing.

President Biden's 2023 fiscal year budget proposal called for two million new units with the same logic: States and localities that reduce constraints to building more housing would receive tens of billions of extra federal funding for development in return.

And the administration backed bipartisan legislation this year to expand the largest federal subsidy program for developers of affordable housing, the low-income housing tax credit. The bill was approved by the House but did not come to a vote in the Senate.

But for economists dedicated to a tight focus on relieving shortages of shelter, government caps on rent are taboo.

Economists of various ideological leanings cite years of research showing that aggressive rent control policies have often backfired, protecting renters from being displaced but failing to reduce overall prices in many cases for new tenants.



JIM WILSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Apartments being built in Oakland, Calif. The Biden administration's proposed caps to address affordability include exemptions for new construction.

Jay Parsons, a housing economist at Madera Residential, a property investment company, called the White House's rent cap exemptions for new housing developments "an empty promise." He specifically warned, "Look at New York, where rent control has been revised to 'recapture' units previously exempt from rent controls."

(New York is contending with a particularly dire housing shortage, though some researchers also put a hefty amount of blame on restrictive local permitting processes.)

There is an industrywide fear that limited rent stabilization rules, once enacted, inevitably expand to cover more units, hampering profits and limiting construction.

At the same time, some economists and developers contend that there is plenty of room for nuance in the matter — with the policy details of tenant protections, including their degrees of magnitude, mattering the most.

"Everyone on all sides is getting too worked up with their blinders on," said Paul Williams, the executive director of the Center for Public Enterprise, a think tank focused on increasing the public sector's capacity to fund and build infrastructure. "No one wants to strike a balance."

Moses Kagan, a co-founder and partner at Adaptive Realty, a multifamily development and property management firm in Los Angeles, argued that "most deals in most markets will look pretty good" for large landlords like his firm, even with a brake of 5 percent on annual rent growth.

Many real estate investors put their money in projects that are expected to be profitable with annual rent growth assumptions below that rate.

Nevertheless, some economists sympathetic to using government carrots and sticks to limit price gouging, such as Christopher Clarke, an assistant professor of economics at Washington State University, have made the case that 5 percent per year may still be too low a ceiling for rent growth.

The most vigorous support for the White House's rent cap plan has come from liberal organizations focused on economic justice issues.

Rakeen Mabud, the chief economist at Groundwork Collaborative, a progressive advocacy group, said it "simultaneously checks the exploitative behavior of corporate landlords, stems the upward pressure that housing puts on overall inflation, and most importantly, helps address the skyrocketing cost of housing for families around the country."

Many in housing development research hope that this latest debate will lead to bipartisan conversations in Congress next year about ways to encourage, subsidize or directly finance more housing.

"The piece of the puzzle that has yet to be addressed is financing constraints," Mr. Williams of the Center for Public Enterprise said.

A report by the center detailed how "a national housing construction fund" could help solve the housing crisis for renters overall and for prospective first-time home buyers, who have been hurt by the scarce sales inventory.

The fund would create a national market for construction financing loans indirectly backed by the federal government's buying power. The key idea is that federal backing would provide safety for investors and lower the cost of credit, as it does in the residential mortgage market.

That security, Mr. Williams and his co-author Yakov Feygin say, would allow the math to add up for lenders providing financing for housing development — whether they are banks or state housing agencies. The end goal is that funding would flow much more freely, even in uncertain economic cycles.

It is the sort of market-oriented policy intended to win over people like Jonathan Woloshin, a strategist at the bank UBS who tracks large firms in the U.S. real estate and lodging sector. He panned the White House proposal on rent caps in a note as soon as it was released.

"If the economics of building additional shelter are artificially capped and not reflective of the economics and risks of development," Mr. Woloshin said, "then developer capital will go elsewhere."

Renewables Help Shift China's Soaring Carbon Emissions

By MAX BEARAK

China, the world's biggest source of planet-warming greenhouse gases for most of the past two decades, is seemingly on the verge of bending its emissions curve from years of steep growth into a flat plateau.

The implications for climate change could scarcely be greater. Since China's emissions surpassed those of the United States in 2006, China's global share has grown to almost a third — a huge number, even with population differences taken into account.

A recent spate of data from China's government, as well as reports by energy analysts, have provided positive signs that while China's emissions may not decrease significantly, they also may not grow. China's president, Xi Jinping, had pledged to reach that turning point by 2030.

"The important thing to understand is that when China's emissions stop growing, it likely follows that the world's stop growing, too," said Dave Jones, global insight director at Ember, an energy think tank.

The biggest factor in the shift is changes to how China produces its electricity. In short, renewable sources are replacing coal, the most polluting fossil fuel.

Last year alone, China installed more solar panels than the United States has in its entire history, and connected most of them to its electricity grid.

Almost two-thirds of big wind and solar plants under construction globally are in China, according to a report last week from Global Energy Monitor. That is more than eight times the wind and solar capacity being planned in the United States.

And in May, China generated 53 percent of its electricity from coal, its lowest share since its government began publishing energy data decades ago, while nearly all the rest of it came from non-fossil-fuel sources. "This indicated that China may have peaked" its emissions, said Belinda Schäpe, a China analyst at the Centre for Research on Energy and Clean Air.

However, some observers caution that "peak" was perhaps the wrong word to describe the current trend in China.

"We've been talking about whether there's been a peak for almost a decade," said Li Shuo, the director of China Climate Hub at the Asia Society Policy Institute. "Peaking assumes persistent emissions decline after it is passed. That's not an assumption we can or should make."



PHOTOGRAPHS BY GILLES SABRIÉ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Last year, China installed more solar panels in arrays like the one above than the United States has in its entire history. Renewables, including large wind farms, are replacing coal plants, like the one below in Shandong Province.



Mr. Li said it was more likely that China's emissions would plateau. And he cautioned that while growth in renewable energy was responsible for replacing coal in electricity generation, other factors — such as China's recent real estate crisis and sluggish post-pandemic economy — have led to less consumption of energy overall, which might skew the data downward, but only temporarily.

"If you look at China's emissions profile of the past two decades, one particular source was hugely significant: real estate and construction, whose supply chain made up about a third of all emissions," he said. "That's cooling off."

More reliable signs have come from recent policy shifts, he said. In particular, a new ban on permits for steel factories that would use coal to fire their blast furnaces could have far-reaching effects. A huge push toward electric-vehicle production has also dampened demand for oil.

But, ultimately, China's emissions trajectory will come down to how quickly renewables can displace coal from its electricity mix. While coal's share has fallen, China is still investing in it as a power source.

Beijing's efforts to reduce pollutants offer some hope on climate change.

China alone accounted for two-thirds of the world's newly operating coal plants last year. In 2023, new coal-plant construction hit an eight-year high in China. If China were to build all the others it has proposed, it would add the equivalent of one-third of its current operating fleet. Today, China accounts for around 60 percent of the world's coal use.

Some of China's coal build-out is meant to provide a fallback option for when wind and solar generation dips. But China is also investing heavily in pumped-storage hydropower. Pumped hydro is a way to store energy by pumping water uphill to a reservoir during times of low demand for electricity, then releasing it later to generate extra electricity if demand surges.

Those systems could help reduce the demand for coal power during peak times.

Oil and gas are also used in Chinese industry as power sources. But Mr. Li cautioned that while both China's domestic production of petrochemicals was growing as well as its imports of them, the deciding factor in China's emissions trajectory will be coal's decline.

In the coming months, China's government is expected to unveil new commitments to reduce emissions ahead of November's United Nations-sponsored climate summit, COP 29, in Azerbaijan.

"Diplomatic attention is fixated on the question: Has China peaked or not," said Mr. Li. "You could imagine that if the answer is yes, so far ahead of schedule, it might give China more reason to be even more ambitious with its reduction targets."

25 Million Tuned In to See Trump's Convention Speech

By JOHN KOBLIN

The final night of the Republican National Convention, headlined by former President Donald J. Trump's first speech since an assassination attempt, drew 25.4 million viewers on Thursday night across more than a dozen cable and broadcast networks, Nielsen said.

That's an increase compared with the last night of the R.N.C. in 2020 (23.8 million viewers), but a decline from when Mr. Trump gave his acceptance speech on the fourth night of the 2016 convention (32.2 million), according to Nielsen data.

Viewership peaked on Thursday night starting around the 15-minute mark of Mr. Trump's speech, when more than 28 million viewers were tuned in, Nielsen said.

Fox News, by far, had the most viewership on Thursday. The network drew 10.4 million viewers during the 10 p.m. hour, setting a cable news convention viewership record. Its cable news competitors drew significantly lower viewership: CNN drew 2.2 million viewers during the 10 p.m. hour, and MSNBC, a venue for liberal viewers, had 1.3 million.

NBC led in the ratings among the broadcast networks, according to Nielsen.

Mr. Trump's speech, which lasted more than 90 minutes and ended just after midnight on the East Coast, set a record in length for a modern convention.

As Mr. Trump's speech dragged on, and the hour got late, a portion of the audience grabbed the remote. During the first 30 minutes of his speech, as Mr. Trump gave a vivid reconstruction of last weekend's assassination attempt, roughly 13.8 million viewers were watching the three major cable news networks, according to preliminary data from Nielsen. A vast majority of that viewership came from Fox News.

But in the final half-hour of the speech, beginning at 11:30 p.m. Eastern, that combined cable news figure fell to 10.9 million viewers, according to the preliminary data, roughly a 21 percent decline compared with an hour earlier.

Overall, viewership totals for each night of the 2016 convention eclipsed those for this year's convention. But this week's R.N.C. bested the 2020 convention in the ratings three out of four nights, including Thursday.

Nielsen tracks viewership off a television set in the United States, which includes streaming data, but it does not include viewing off a phone or laptops.

IN THE UNITED STATES BANKRUPTCY COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF DELAWARE

In re:
DERMTECH, INC., *et al.*,[1]
Debtors.

Chapter 11
Case No. 24-11378 (JTD)
(Jointly Administered)
Ref. Docket Nos. 40, 76 & 94

NOTICE OF DEADLINE FOR THE FILING OF PROOFS OF CLAIM, INCLUDING FOR CLAIMS ASSERTED UNDER SECTION 503(B)(9) OF THE BANKRUPTCY CODE

THE GENERAL BAR DATE IS SEPTEMBER 3, 2024, AT 5:00 P.M. (PREVAILING EASTERN TIME)

PLEASE TAKE NOTICE OF THE FOLLOWING:

On June 18, 2024 (the "Petition Date"), DermTech, Inc. and DermTech Operations, Inc. (each, a "Debtor" and collectively, the "Debtors"), as debtors and debtors in possession in the above-captioned chapter 11 cases, filed voluntary petitions for relief under chapter 11 of title 11 of the United States Code (the "Bankruptcy Code") with the United States Bankruptcy Court for the District of Delaware (the "Court"). On July 15, 2024, the Court entered an order [Docket No. 94] (the "Bar Date Order") establishing certain deadlines for the filing of proofs of claim in these chapter 11 cases. The Debtors' chapter 11 cases are being jointly administered for procedural purposes only under case number 24-11378 (JTD).

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, whether known or unknown, 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, **MUST FILE A PROOF OF CLAIM ON OR BEFORE 5:00 P.M. (PREVAILING EASTERN TIME), SEPTEMBER 3, 2024** (the "General Bar Date"), by sending an original (which may be signed with a PDF signature or DocuSign and need not be a "wet ink" signature) proof of claim form to Stretto, Inc. ("Stretto"), the Debtors' claims and noticing agent, or by completing the online proof of claim form available at https://cases.stretto.com/DermTech, 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 AGAINST THE DEBTORS IS DECEMBER 16, 2024 AT 5:00 P.M. (PREVAILING EASTERN TIME)** (the "Governmental Bar Date," and together with the General Bar Date, the "Bar Dates"). Proofs of claim must be sent by overnight mail, courier service, hand delivery, regular mail, or in person, or completed electronically through Stretto's website. Proofs of claim 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.

Acts or omissions of or by the Debtors that occurred, or that are deemed to have occurred, prior to the Petition Date, including, without limitation, acts or omissions related to any indemnity agreement, guarantee, services provided to or rendered by the Debtors, or goods provided to or by the Debtors, may give rise to claims against the Debtors notwithstanding the fact that such claims (or any injuries on which they may be based) may be contingent or may not have matured or become fixed or liquidated prior to the Petition Date. Therefore, any person or entity that holds a claim or potential claim against the Debtors, no matter how remote, contingent, or unliquidated, **MUST** file a proof of claim on or before the applicable Bar Date.

ANY PERSON OR ENTITY THAT IS REQUIRED TO FILE A PROOF OF CLAIM IN THESE CHAPTER 11 CASES WITH RESPECT TO A PARTICULAR CLAIM AGAINST THE DEBTORS, BUT THAT FAILS TO DO SO PROPERLY BY THE APPLICABLE BAR DATE, MAY BE FOREVER BARRED, ESTOPPED, AND ENJOINED FROM: (A) ASSERTING SUCH CLAIM AGAINST THE DEBTORS AND THEIR ESTATES (OR FILING A PROOF OF CLAIM WITH RESPECT THERETO), AND (B) VOTING UPON, OR RECEIVING DISTRIBUTIONS UNDER, ANY CONFIRMED PLAN IN THESE CHAPTER 11 CASES, OR OTHERWISE IN RESPECT OF OR ON ACCOUNT OF SUCH CLAIM.

A copy of the Bar Date Order and Proof of Claim Form may be obtained by contacting the Debtors' claims and noticing agent in writing by overnight mail, at DermTech, Inc. Claims Processing, c/o Stretto, 410 Exchange, Suite 100, Irvine, California 92602, or online at https://cases.stretto.com/DermTech. The Bar Date Order can also be viewed on the Court's website at www.deb.uscourts.gov. If you have questions concerning the filing or processing of claims, you may contact the Debtors' claims and noticing agent, Stretto, (x) by telephone at (855) 468-2381 (toll-free), or (y) by email at teamdermtech@stretto.com.

Erin R. Fay, Shane M. Reil, Catherine C. Lyons, **WILESON SONSINI GOODRICH & ROSATI, P.C.**, 222 Delaware Avenue, Suite 800 Wilmington, Delaware 19801, COUNSEL TO THE DEBTORS AND DEBTORS IN POSSESSION

[1] The Debtors in these chapter 11 cases, along with the last four digits of each Debtor's federal tax identification number are: DermTech, Inc. (0849) and DermTech Operations, Inc. (1997). The Debtors' service address is 12340 El Camino Real, San Diego, California 92130.

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER
PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604
COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW
pressreader

TECHNOLOGY

Airlines Restart Flights, but Outage Woes Are Expected to Linger

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

well as accommodation for those affected by overnight cancellations.

At Denver International Airport, large screens where arrivals and departures would usually be displayed were flashing blue error messages, leaving some passengers confused and uneasy about their travel plans.

Frank Tingley, a 42-year-old data analyst, was among thousands of travelers stranded at that airport.

"I'm not good, actually," he said, adding that he first noticed an issue when airport staff had difficulties scanning tickets for his flight to Boston Logan International Airport.

It may take some time to get the stranded passengers to their destinations.

Mr. Tingley said he was initially allowed to board the plane but after further complications and delays, passengers deplaned.

"The general mood is that people are finding a quiet corner and just trying to hunker down," he said.

At La Guardia Airport, would-be travelers stuck with canceled flights sat on benches and the floor working their phones to see if they could book other flights. As of 10 a.m., flights at the airport were delayed on average nearly two hours, according to the F.A.A.

More than a dozen Brazilian teenagers traveling together gathered next to a church group from Alabama as well as vacationers, who thought they were bound for the Caribbean. "I've never been affected by something like this before," said Chris Ocejo, 29, a personal trainer from Brooklyn, who arrived with his mother, Patty, for an American Airlines flight to the Bahamas.

"Then they told us something had gone wrong with their cybersecurity and they were sending a lot of people home because the flights are all canceled," Mr. Ocejo said. "We got on a waiting list to get another flight but we may just go home."



NICOLE CRAINE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

More than 2,000 flights across the United States were canceled and at least 5,300 were delayed as of midday on Friday, according to FlightAware.

The outage affected several airline systems.

For United, that included those used to calculate aircraft weight, check in customers and manage call center phones. At Taoyuan International, Taiwan's largest airport, and Hong Kong International Airport, airline agents had to manually check passengers in. And in India, some airlines issued handwritten boarding passes because they couldn't print them or issue them digitally.

In South Korea, Jeju Air, which flies to dozens of Asian and Pacific destinations, said on its website that a number of services, including flight reservations, were disrupted. Air Premia said its reservations and online check-in systems were affected, and urged passengers flying to San Francisco and Newark to arrive at Seoul's Incheon airport as soon as possible.

Planes already in the sky were able to continue to their destinations.

The delays and cancellations are expected to have a cascading effect because airport landing slots and support staff are limited, and crews often work several trips in a day.

When flights are canceled, pilots and flight attendants may be late to their next assigned trips, or unable to make them altogether, requiring airlines to assign backup crews. Aviation regulations also limit how many hours crews can work at a stretch, including time spent waiting at airports. That can force airlines to find and assign other pilots and attendants to take over, leading to further delays.

Carriers routinely deal with last-minute changes, but widespread disruptions like the one on Friday can quickly spiral out of control for even the most prepared airlines.

While delays and cancellations are expected to mount on Friday, the industry has had bigger disruptions this year. Bad weather forced U.S. airlines to scrap more than 3,100 flights on Jan. 15, the worst day for cancellations this year, according to FlightAware. On average, about 320 flights were canceled per day so far this year, while another 5,200 were delayed.

Over the winter holidays in late 2022, Southwest Airlines suffered a major disruption when it was unable to cope with severe weather at airports in Denver and Chicago. The airline, one of the nation's largest, ended up canceling nearly 17,000 flights — more than a third of its schedule — over the last 10 days of the year. That episode cost Southwest more than $1 billion.

On Friday, however, Southwest appeared relatively unscathed: While hundreds of its flights were delayed, only a handful had been canceled.

Christine Chung, Emily Flitter, Jenny Gross and Mark Walker contributed reporting.

Major Hospitals Are Hit by Technology Issues

By ANNIE CORREAL

Patients were told by hospitals and health care providers across the United States on Friday morning that a global technology outage had downed some information technology systems, resulting in canceled surgeries and other procedures, though hospitals emphasized that emergency departments remained open.

Some major hospital systems were affected, including the Kaiser Permanente medical system, which runs dozens of hospitals and hundreds of medical offices in the western United States and elsewhere in the country. Kaiser Permanente activated its national command center around 7:30 a.m. Eastern to address "widespread" effects of the outage on its system, said Steve Shivinsky, a spokesman for the health provider.

The outage was affecting "all of our hospitals," said Mr. Shivinsky, who called the situation "unprecedented."

Banner Health, a large system based in Phoenix that operates hospitals and health care centers in six states, said that it closed clinics, urgent care centers and other outpatient facilities on Friday morning, but that hospitals would remain open for inpatient care and medical emergencies.

Mass General Brigham hospital system — which operates 15 hospitals across New England — had canceled all nonurgent procedures, surgeries and visits, hospital officials said on Friday morning.

Several other hospitals and hospital networks also reported disruptions, which occurred after a software update issued by CrowdStrike, a cybersecurity firm, led systems to crash.

Seattle Children's Hospital said on social media that all outpatient clinics would be closed on Friday. The University of Vermont Medical Center also said that some of its services would be affected: "The global IT outage is impacting our outpatient phlebotomy department. We are encouraging patients to wait until further notice to get blood drawn."

Surgeries are canceled as emergency rooms still take in patients.

In New York, Memorial Sloan Kettering Cancer Center said on its website on Friday morning that it, too, was "having systems issues as a result of a worldwide technical disruption," and that it would be "pausing the start of any procedure that requires anesthesia." In the early afternoon, it said on social media that most systems and procedures had been reinstated.

Fresenius Medical Care, one of the largest providers of dialysis in the United States, said in a statement that it had also been "impacted by the CrowdStrike systems update," adding, "It is now mostly resolved, and there was no impact to patient care."

Ian Philp, who lives in Brooklyn, N.Y., said his family arrived at Maimonides Medical Center on Friday morning, only to learn that his son's tonsil and adenoid operation had been called off. The family had not received a call about the cancellation, Mr. Philp said, nor could they reschedule: The scheduling system was down.

His son, who is 7, was relieved, Mr. Philp said. "He gets a free day, but he was sad he was not going to have an all-ice-cream diet for a week."

(Citing the "global IT outage," Maimonides Medical Center said on social media that it had canceled some nonessential procedures, but we remain open and patients continue to receive safe, high-quality care.")

Similar problems were reported in Europe. In Britain, where the National Health Service largely relies on a common internal information technology system, the problems were widespread. At least two large hospitals in Germany canceled elective procedures on Friday.

Isabella Kwai, Megan Specia, Rachel Nostrant, Joe Rennison and Jonathan Wolfe contributed reporting.



GRANT HINDSLEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A faulty software update delivered to Microsoft devices overnight put some computers in an endless loop of reboots.

So Your Computer Is Suddenly Useless. Here Is What to Try After It Crashes.

By DAVID McCABE and KATE CONGER

An outage that crippled businesses around the world turned many Microsoft computers into bricks overnight.

That means a lot of people are seeing the blue screen of death as computers continually try to reboot. The issues stemmed from a faulty software update delivered to Microsoft devices and servers from CrowdStrike, a cybersecurity company that mainly works to help protect bigger companies from attacks.

On Friday, CrowdStrike said it had issued a software update fix that should repair the computers, and it posted instructions for manually fixing the problem. Customers can also call the company. But cybersecurity experts said the process might still be complicated.

Here's what to do if you're affected.

Why is your computer crashing?

If your computer is bricked, you're not alone. The problem, cybersecurity experts say, is with a bug in an overnight update caused by a bad file, which essentially sends the computers into an endless loop of reboots. That means the fix that CrowdStrike sent may not be able to repair your systems from afar.

About 300 companies on the Fortune 500 list are CrowdStrike customers, and it is the second-largest independent cybersecurity firm in the United States. If you work for a big company that is affected, your I.T. department will most likely need to be involved.

Adam Harrison, a managing director at FTI Consulting, which works with companies on their cybersecurity strategies, said smaller businesses were "less likely" to be using these kinds of security tools, although he added that many small businesses relied on vendors or suppliers who did.

So what should you do?

The truth is you probably can't do all that much. Cybersecurity experts are saying that if a computer has entered a doomloop, it will most likely take an expert to fix it.

If you do happen to be tech savvy, CrowdStrike has posted instructions advising customers to put computers into a recovery mode. Then, you would need to delete the file that is causing the problem.

But that might be more complicated than you'd expect, cybersecurity experts say. For example, businesses may be operating hundreds or thousands of computers, which would increase the work required to bring its systems back online, said Mr. Harrison. Or, if you work at a retail store, the self-checkout kiosks frequently don't have a mouse or keyboard — and there most likely isn't an I.T. specialist on site to help.

"There's lots of complexity in solving this problem," he said.

"This is millions of computers around the world," said Mikko Hypponen, a security expert and chief research officer at WithSecure, a cybersecurity company. "Many of them are at home because of remote work. It's going to take a long while, several days if not weeks, to fix them all if you have to go and physically touch every machine."

Can CrowdStrike fix the issue remotely?

Not necessarily. CrowdStrike has tweaked the faulty update already. That means computers that did not already download the software won't crash.

But machines that are already affected by the issue are stuck in a loop where they keep rebooting, making it harder to update them from afar. It is possible that CrowdStrike or someone else will come up with a way to automate the process of fixing the problem, which could make it easier for you or your employer to address the issue.

George Kurtz, the chief executive of CrowdStrike, said in an interview with the "Today" show that the update had been able to break through to some computers while they were rebooting, allowing them to receive the fix automatically. But many computers remain offline and will require a manual fix.

What are Microsoft and CrowdStrike saying about the outage?

In a post on X, Satya Nadella, the chief executive of Microsoft, said, "We are aware of this issue and are working closely with CrowdStrike and across the industry to provide customers technical guidance and support to safely bring their systems back online."

In a separate statement, Microsoft said to contact CrowdStrike. CrowdStrike advised customers who communicated through official channels.

"We understand the gravity of the situation and are deeply sorry for the inconvenience and disruption," Mr. Kurtz said in a statement. "We are working with all impacted customers to ensure that systems are back up and they can deliver the services their customers are counting on."

Meaghan Tobin contributed reporting.

In Tech Chaos, Some Get a Free Day Off

By EMMA GOLDBERG

It's a sensation familiar to anyone who has seen the 1986 movie "Ferris Bueller's Day Off": You wake up and find yourself with an unexpected day of freedom. And today, people didn't even have to fake a fever or dodge a tempestuous school principal.

For millions of people, the global technology outage on Friday was a source of distress. Airports were filled with disgruntled would-be travelers. Hospitals canceled noncritical procedures, and 911 lines went down in several states.

But for a small group of corporate workers, the global outage brought a welcome kind of chaos: a snow day in the middle of July. Some workers affected by the outage shared images of their computers on social media captioned "happy international blue screen day," referencing the error messages that overtook devices during the outage. On TikTok, users posted about clocking in only to find "the blue screen of death" (or hoping they would, for an extra day off).

CrowdStrike, the cybersecurity firm whose software update led to the outage, counts some 70 percent of Fortune 100 firms as customers. That means workers in cubicles all over the world felt the effects right away. JPMorgan, Bank of America and BlackRock were among the large financial firms affected.

"The reason why this particular outage was so visible is that the largest companies were hit," said Mikko Hypponen, the chief research officer at WithSecure, a cybersecurity company. "They don't control the whole cybersecurity market, but they do have a very large percentage of the largest companies in the world."

'Blue screen of death' brings an unexpected snow day in mid-July.

Yeves Perez, a founder of the start-up Workbnb, who lives in Las Vegas, woke up at 6 a.m. on Friday and was feeding his two children when he saw that he had a pileup of emails canceling his meetings for the day. He turned on CNN and saw news of the outage. Then he scrolled through social media and saw memes — which turned out to be misinformation — showing error messages on the face of the Sphere, an event venue in Las Vegas with 700,000 square feet of programmable screens.

"It felt like that movie on Netflix — that chaos situation of nobody knows what's going on," Mr. Perez said. "I'm like, 'OK, everybody's just taking the day off.'"

Mr. Perez figured that many of his friends and business associates who were visiting Las Vegas for work would be hitting the pools. "Here in Vegas, there's no shortage of summer fun," he said. "I'm planning to barbecue. I'll have people over, chill in the backyard, crack some beers."

Amid the tumult, a handful of freed-up workers were openly celebrating, or as one user posted on X, "I sent 'hope everyone's having a nice International Bluescreen Day' to the group chat."

Rohan Brown, an entrepreneur, had spent the last few days hosting an event called Pitch Mayhem, in which start-up founders gathered in Las Vegas to share pitches in a "March Madness meets Shark Tank"-style competition.

The event ended on Thursday, which is when Mr. Brown's week turned into actual mayhem. His flight out of Las Vegas was canceled and he missed four meetings as he scrambled to rebook. But the people on the other end of his emails were just as flustered.

"For one of my meetings, they just responded and said, 'Hey we're taking the whole day off,'" Mr. Brown said.

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER
PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604
COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW
pressreader

How to Save on Auto Insurance as Rates Soar

Improving your driving skills and credit score can help. So can shopping around for the best price.

Your Money Adviser
By ANN CARRNS

Even as inflation has eased, car insurance rates are rising by double digits. But drivers have some options for reining in premiums.

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, auto insurance costs were 19.5 percent higher in June than a year earlier. Insurers blame the higher cost of automobiles, parts and repairs, as well as more accidents because of lingering bad driving habits that spread during the depths of the pandemic. They have also cited increased losses from severe weather, including hailstorms.

Most drivers already know about discounts available for "bundling" auto and homeowner insurance policies with the same carrier or for insuring multiple cars. But other tactics can help.

Becoming a better driver may keep your costs down. Just one accident can mean you're paying an average of 43 percent more than drivers with clean safety records, according to the financial website Bankrate, which analyzed insurance data from Quadrant Information Services. The average annual premium for a driver with full insurance coverage and a pristine driving history is just over $2,300, the analysis found, while the average for a driver with one at-fault accident is about $3,300.

Cultivating safe habits behind the wheel — like setting your phone to "do not disturb" to avoid distraction, and keeping a safe distance from the car in front of you — can help avoid accidents, said Ryan Pietzsch, a driver safety expert with the National Safety Council, a nonprofit focused on reducing preventable injuries and deaths. He suggested following the "three second" rule: Note the car ahead of you as it passes a fixed object, like a sign along the road. Then, start counting slowly from one to three (say, "one, one thousand; two, one thousand; three, one thousand"). If your car passes the sign before you reach three, you're too close.

Taking a safe driver course may save you 10 percent on your auto premium, said Benjamin Preston, an auto writer at Consumer Reports. Check with your agent to see if it's an option in your state. Some courses charge a fee.



THOMAS FUCHS

Most insurers now offer monitoring policies, in which insurers track your driving habits, like speeding, hard braking and phone use, via an app or a device installed in your car. Drivers who perform well pay lower rates, but many people are wary of being tracked by their insurer. (Some automakers and apps have been criticized for sharing data without the drivers' awareness.) Mr. Pietzsch said he participates in such a program and thinks the trade-off is worth it. "Being aware of what you're doing is the first step," he said.

Seeking quotes from several insurers once a year can take time, but can yield lower rates, said Doug Heller, an insurance expert with the Consumer Federation of America. "Give yourself a couple of hours," he said, "and you could save a couple hundred dollars."

You can seek quotes online from individual insurers or use an independent insurance agent — one who represents multiple insurers. Consider not just the big companies that advertise with funny mascots, but also regional insurers that aren't household names but may offer better prices and good service. Have your current policy handy, so you can be sure you're comparing similar coverage.

Before choosing a carrier, review consumer complaint data reported to the National Association of Insurance Commissioners. "It is good to save money on auto insurance, but it's not good to have an unreliable company," Mr. Heller said.

A higher deductible — the amount you'll have to pay out of pocket for a claim — can reduce your premium. Increasing your deductible to $500 from $200 could reduce the cost of your collision and comprehensive coverage by 15 to 30 percent on average, according to the Insurance Information Institute, an industry group. Going up to a $1,000 deductible could save 40 percent or more. (Collision coverage pays for damage to your car from an accident, while comprehensive coverage covers theft and damage from events like hail, flooding or hitting a deer.)

The trade-off for a higher deductible, of course, is that you'll pay more out of pocket if you have to file a claim.

If your car is older, you can consider reducing or dropping collision and possibly comprehensive coverage, which are usually optional unless you have a loan or lease on the car. Consider dropping collision if the annual premium is more than 10 percent of a car's value, Mr. Preston said. (Various online sites, like Kelley Blue Book, can give you approximate values. But because used cars are worth more now, this may not be as much of an option as it used to be.)

Insurance experts advise caution before lowering liability coverage, which protects you financially in case you cause an accident that injures someone else or damages someone's property. Most states mandate minimum liability insurance, but bare bones coverage may not be enough to pay for damage and medical bills resulting from a serious crash. "I would not skimp on liability," said Beth Swanson, a licensed insurance agent and a writer at The Zebra, an insurance search site.

Improving your credit score — a three-digit summary of what's in your full credit report — could also help you qualify for lower auto rates. In most states, insurers can use a version of your credit score as a factor when setting auto premiums (exceptions include California, Hawaii, Massachusetts and Michigan), according to The Zebra. (Insurers say higher scores are correlated with a lower risk of filing claims.)

To bolster your credit score, pay your bills on time each month, refrain from opening new card accounts and reduce the proportion of your available credit that you are using — "utilization," in credit lingo. People with clean driving records and fair credit pay annual premiums that are on average 49 percent higher than similar drivers with excellent credit, according to a 2023 study by the Consumer Federation of America, based on the cost of state-mandated insurance coverage. (Many credit card companies allow you to see your credit score free online, so you can track your progress.)

Q. and A. About Auto Insurance

What other factors can affect my insurance premium?

If you've had a change in your life — say a child away at college who isn't driving your car for much of the year — you could get a lower rate because teenage drivers are typically more expensive to insure. Getting married may also help; married couples typically qualify for lower rates than single people.

If you've retired — or if you have moved closer to work or have switched to working at home rather than driving to an office — let your insurer know. Premiums are based partly on the distance you drive each year. So if you're logging fewer miles, you could qualify for a lower premium.

What is "accident forgiveness" coverage?

Some insurers may agree to exclude a first-time accident from premium calculations for customers who have had several years of incident-free driving, said Shannon Martin, a licensed insurance agent and a writer at Bankrate. Details vary by insurer, though. Some companies charge a fee to add the coverage if a customer qualifies, while others may add it free after a certain period of time.

Does the type of car I drive affect my insurance premium?

Yes. "Some cars are more expensive to insure than others," said Loretta Worters, a spokeswoman for the Insurance Information Institute. So if you are car shopping, check with your insurer to see what the premium for your preferred car would be. Factors like the cost of repairs, the likelihood of claims and a car's safety features can all affect premiums.

As A.I. Looms, Tech Sector Propels Idea of Cash Aid

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

similar programs. A ban in Arizona was vetoed by the governor.

The movement has scored a few victories, too. A proposal for a statewide basic income program is likely to be on the ballot in Oregon this fall. The measure would give $750 to each state resident annually, funded by a 3 percent tax on corporations with revenue over $25 million.

It is a critical moment for guaranteed income, which has been touted by the OpenAI chief executive Sam Altman, the Tesla chief executive Elon Musk, the Twitter co-founder Jack Dorsey, the Salesforce chief executive Marc Benioff and others.

On Monday, the results from the biggest direct income program to date, the Unconditional Income Study, will be released. The study was the idea of Mr. Altman, the chief cheerleader of a boom in artificial intelligence that, he says, will sweep away all that came before it. Anyone whose job can be done by A.I. software might need a guaranteed income by and by.

"It's impossible to truly have equality of opportunity without some version of guaranteed income," Mr. Altman said in 2016 when he announced the effort to gather data about a policy that had not been rigorously tested. Critics wondered if recipients would blow the funds on lottery tickets and booze.

Dozens of pilot programs that took fewer years than the Unconditional Income Study have since answered that question. Basic income is not a panacea, and it does not solve the problem of unaffordable housing, proponents said, but the payments have helped to stabilize families who live on the edge.

While they welcomed Mr. Altman's study, the issue for members of the basic income community has shifted to establishing the programs on a wider scale. The time for research, they say, is over.

"This country is on fire, Mr. Altman," said Jennifer Loving, who runs Destination: Home, a nonprofit that administers basic-income pilot programs in Silicon Valley. "Some people in America are becoming rich, and many, many more are becoming poor. What is your responsibility in bridging that divide rather than making it worse?"

Mr. Altman, who is one of those becoming rich, declined to be interviewed before his report is released. Ms. Loving has a few ideas for what he and other tech leaders should do then.

"I'd like to see Silicon Valley use its access to power to lobby for guaranteed income so the federal government will do it at scale," she said. "The government is ultimately responsible, but tech must be a partner."



RACHEL BUJALSKI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Tech leaders in Silicon Valley, home of upscale shopping like San Jose's Santana Row, have backed efforts to make universal basic income a reality.

Others think Silicon Valley has a more forceful role to play. Technology companies have created trillions of dollars of wealth over the last quarter century. If A.I. fulfills its hype, it will make trillions more while pushing down wages or eliminating many jobs altogether.

"Although all wealthy people and corporations should support a universal basic income, the tech industry has special responsibilities," said Karl Widerquist, a philosophy professor at Georgetown University in Qatar who has been a co-author and an editor of books on the topic. "They're using our data to create their products and haven't paid us back. And they're the ones saying they'll disrupt the economy and put people out of work."

A handful of tech people have played roles in bringing basic income this far. Mr. Dorsey made a $15 million commitment to fund programs at the height of the pandemic. Chris Hughes, a Facebook co-founder, has also been a prominent promoter. He helped to start the Basic Income Lab at Stanford University in 2017 and has funded several pilot programs.

"I talk to people about philanthropy and how to make change in the world, but not many are tech people," Mr. Hughes said, adding that he hasn't been in Silicon Valley in years, and the people there don't seek him out.

Michael Tubbs is a former mayor of Stockton, Calif., which started a guaranteed income pilot in 2019, and the founder of a group called Mayors for a Guaranteed Income. "I've approached dozens of folks in Silicon Valley," he said. "I get polite interest and no movement."

In Santa Clara County, Calif., which includes the communities of Palo Alto, Mountain View and Cupertino — the heart of Silicon Valley — a public-private partnership of local governments and nonprofits like Destination: Home have nine pilot programs either running or being developed, with 950 people getting around $1,000 a month. About a third of the $26 million budget comes from the tech community, including Google.org, the David and Lucile Packard Foundation and, indirectly, Cisco and Apple.

The budget for Mr. Altman's study was $60 million. He hired Elizabeth Rhodes, a scholar with a joint doctorate in social work and political science, to run the effort, set up an affiliate called OpenResearch to house it and spent $14 million of his own money to fund it.

Another $10 million came from OpenAI, $15 million from Mr. Dorsey's public fund for global Covid relief and $6.5 million from Sid Sijbrandij, a founder of the GitLab open source software platform. The rest came from foundations, federal grants and personal and anonymous donations. (The New York Times has sued OpenAI and Microsoft for copyright infringement.)

In 2019, after some preliminary work, OpenResearch began enrolling 3,000 people in Texas and Illinois who had annual incomes of less than $28,000. A third received $1,000 a month; the others, a control group, got $50. The program lasted three years.

Among the topics the experiment aimed to investigate was how unconditional cash shapes behavior, including its ability to affect stress levels and raise hopes for a better future. With increased financial security, some people might take a lower-paying job they like better or increase their participation in society by, say, volunteering. Others could go back to school or sign up for additional training.

Mr. Benioff, who co-founded the software company Salesforce in 1999, has long been critical of the tech community's philanthropic efforts. "Silicon Valley is good at building products and building companies and hiring lots of people, but it has a long way to go on social responsibility," he said in a text message.

In 2019, Mr. Benioff and his wife, Lynne, gave $30 million to fund the Benioff Homelessness and Housing Initiative at the University of California, San Francisco, which is studying basic income programs. He said basic income programs should be led by the government, although he also said any new programs would be "in direct conflict with the huge deficits and entitlements our government is already supporting."

Told that he was simultaneously arguing that Silicon Valley should do more and that it was really the government's job but that the government was overburdened, Mr. Benioff responded by texting a link to the Wikipedia page for capitalism.

Silicon Valley's zeal for all things A.I., just like its enthusiasm a few years ago for all things related to crypto and the blockchain, is capitalism unleashed. A few years ago, none of the top tech companies had market capitalizations of more than $1 trillion. Now, on the strength of A.I., Microsoft is worth $3.4 trillion; Google, $2.3 trillion; and the chipmaker Nvidia, $3.1 trillion.

Some people in the basic income movement are worried that it might become "a Trojan horse" for A.I., as Juliana Bidadanure, the former director of the Stanford Basic Income Lab, puts it.

"Is Silicon Valley pushing basic income as a way to make the state smaller? To replace all the other safety nets? A way to accelerate A.I.?" Ms. Bidadanure asked. "Personally, I think that unemployment due to A.I. is one important reason to build a robust floor through a universal basic income. But it is one reason among many."

Another reason basic income backers may not be able to rely on Silicon Valley is that the tech industry's support may prove fickle. Mr. Musk said in 2018 that "universal income will be necessary over time if A.I. takes over most human jobs." But in November he said: "We won't have universal basic income. We'll have universal high income." He didn't explain the difference.

In a podcast interview in May, Mr. Altman said he wondered "if the future looks more like universal basic compute than universal basic income."

In other words, people will get computing time rather than cash, and Silicon Valley — or perhaps just OpenAI — would take dominion everywhere.

Student Loan Payments Paused Over Legal Issues

By TARA SIEGEL BERNARD

The Biden administration is pausing student loan payments for eight million borrowers enrolled in its new repayment plan, known as SAVE, after a federal appellate court issued a ruling temporarily blocking the program.

"Borrowers enrolled in the SAVE plan will be placed in an interest-free forbearance while our administration continues to vigorously defend the SAVE plan in court," Miguel Cardona, the secretary of education, said in a statement. "The Department will be providing regular updates to borrowers affected by these rulings in the coming days."

For now, borrowers are unable to apply to the SAVE repayment plan, and applications for other income-driven repayment plans are also unavailable.

The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eight Circuit, based in St. Louis, granted a request by Missouri and other Republican-led states for an administrative stay, which prevents the Biden administration from "implementing or acting pursuant" to the rule that created the SAVE program last summer, according to the court filing.

Millions of enrolled borrowers will be put in an interest-free forbearance.

The SAVE program, which ties monthly payments to a borrower's income and household size, is more generous than previous iterations of income-driven repayment plans and has generated zero-dollar payments for 4.5 million low-income borrowers.

The one-page order, issued on Thursday, is just the latest in a series that have sprung from separate lawsuits brought by two groups of Republican-led states challenging the legality of the SAVE repayment plan, throwing millions of borrowers — and their financial lives — into limbo.

The legal action began in March, when eleven states led by Kansas filed a lawsuit in U.S. District Court for the District of Kansas. The next month, Andrew Bailey, the Missouri attorney general, and six other states sued in U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Missouri. Both suits argued that the administration had exceeded its authority, and that the repayment plan was a backhanded attempt to wipe debts clean.

The latest ruling granted a request from the group led by Mr. Bailey, who said in a post on the social media site X that the order was a "HUGE win for every American who still believes in paying their own way."

This latest action goes much further than the flurry of previous orders did. A preliminary injunction stemming from the Missouri case had suspended only some loan cancellations but did not stop the entire program from operating. And a Kansas ruling, which had initially halted only parts of the program that were not yet in place, had been blocked earlier this month by another federal appellate court, U.S. Court of Appeals for the 10th Circuit in Denver.

Before the ruling in Kansas was blocked, the Education Department had been preparing to pause three millions borrowers' payments to comply. The federal student loan machinery had already been struggling to return borrowers to repayment last fall after a 42-month, pandemic-related pause that began during the Trump administration.

The "extreme, unsigned, single-sentence order from a judge out of Missouri's Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals just sent the student loan system into chaos," said Mike Pierce, the executive director of the Student Borrower Protection Center, an advocacy group, "and borrowers will be forced to pay the price."

Under SAVE's income-driven repayment plan, borrowers make payments based on their income and household size, generally for 20 years (25 years for graduate degree borrowers). Any remaining debt at the end of that period is wiped out.

The time borrowers spend in this forbearance will not count as qualifying payments toward loan forgiveness, the Education Department said, and borrowers are also temporarily unable to consolidate their student loans.

Even when the payments turn back on, it's unclear how much borrowers' will owe each month. The Department had been in the process of putting the last pieces of the SAVE program into place; they were expected to take effect on July 1, and included reducing payments to 5 percent, from 10 percent of a borrower's discretionary income. But those recalculations have also been halted.

pressreader
PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER
PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604
COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW

INTERNATIONAL



An excavator loading copper ore at a mine in Karaganda, Kazakhstan. BHP Group, the world's largest mining company, selected an Australian company's copper exploration project in Kazakhstan for a grant among hundreds of applicants.

Bountiful Minerals Have Enriched Kazakhstan And Piqued the Interest of Buyers From China

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

it did not play favorites when it came to investors in mining.

"If somebody is doing geological exploration, I don't care what flag they carry," said Kanat Sharlapayev, Kazakhstan's minister of industry and construction and a former Citigroup executive in Kazakhstan and the Middle East.

Mr. Sharlapayev spoke from his office in Astana, the capital city, in a massive building known as the "House of Ministries." He had just returned from Canada, where he had attended an international mining conference.

In recent years, Kazakhstan has signed pacts with the European Union and Britain to cooperate on critical minerals. The United States held initial discussions with Kazakhstan and other Central Asian countries this year. On his trip, Mr. Sharlapayev stopped in Washington to meet with officials at a U.S. foreign development agency.

Kazakhstan is a longtime oil exporter, and Mr. Sharlapayev said years of working closely with American oil companies was proof that Astana was open to Western investment.

But after a short pause, he added, "Geography cannot be ignored, of course."

China's Europe Link

It's not just critical minerals that China wants from Kazakhstan. Beijing has invested billions of dollars, much of it as part of its Belt and Road foreign policy initiative, into upgrading Kazakhstan's railways and other infrastructure to establish easier trade routes to Europe, an essential trading partner of China.

China's economic influence is now apparent across the country. In Almaty, Kazakhstan's wealthiest city, new car dealerships for Chinese electric vehicle brands are popping up.

On the Chinese-Kazakh border, the two countries built the Khorgos Gateway, the world's biggest port used exclusively for handling cargo containers carried by trains. On Kazakhstan's western border along the Caspian Sea, China invested in a container hub in the port city of Aktau.

This is now a railway alternative for sending goods from China to Europe in half the time it takes for sea cargo to travel from Shanghai to Rotterdam, the Netherlands.

During a visit to Kazakhstan this month, Xi Jinping, China's leader, said the two countries had agreed to double their bilateral trade "as soon as possible" by cultivating growth and cooperation in areas such as important minerals.

"We are a natural, organic partner to China," said Nurlan Zhakupov, the chief executive of Samruk-Kazyna JSC, Kazakhstan's sovereign wealth fund. "We are very safe economically and politically."

For all the economic ties and expressions of friendship, there is a well of anti-Chinese sentiment and mistrust among some Kazakhs — especially among those outside the political class or the business elite.

China's detention of Uyghurs and members of other largely Muslim groups, including ethnic Kazakhs, in camps in Xinjiang has added to the misgivings. Roughly two-thirds of Kazakhstan's population is Muslim.

'The New Oil'

In three decades as an independent country after the fall of the Soviet Union, Kazakhstan has built an economy that is reliant on its natural resources. Through its state-owned mining firms, Kazakhstan is a leading supplier not only of oil and uranium but also of chromium, gold and copper.

For years, global miners stayed away from investing because it seemed risky. Kazakhstan was viewed as promising, but bogged down by bureaucracy, a lack of transparency and corruption. And eventually, new mining opportunities dried up.

Kazakhstan recognized it had a problem and rewrote its mining rules in 2018, using the investment-friendly regulations of Australia, a mining juggernaut, as a model.

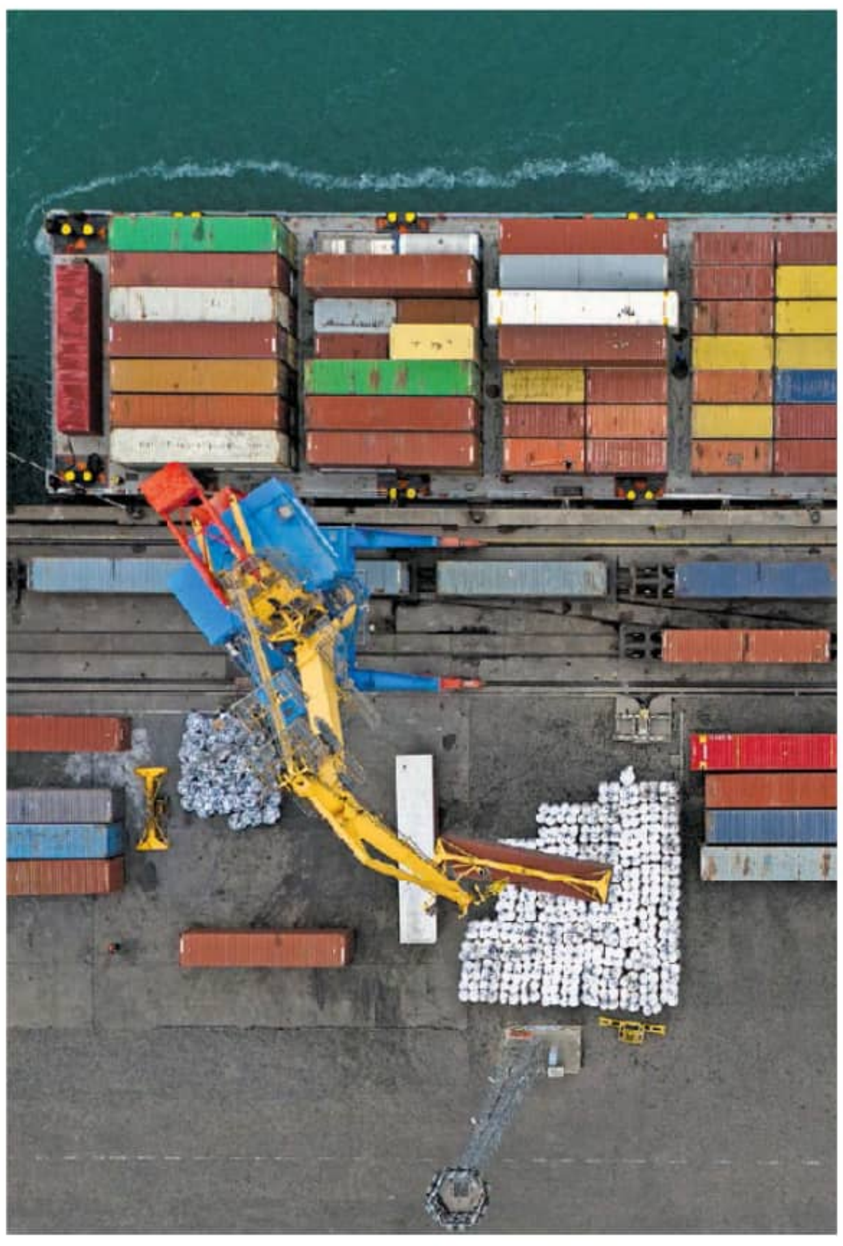
Still, foreign investors did not come pouring in.

First, Covid-19 struck. Then violent protests erupted in Kazakhstan, pitting loyalists of the longtime ruler, Nursultan Nazarbayev, against the government of the current president, Kassym-Jomart Tokayev. The unrest was quelled with the help of Russian forces. Mr. Tokayev became the country's undisputed leader and pledged to increase business privatization, combat corruption and limit the role of monopolies and oligopolies.

In a national address last year, Mr. Tokayev said he wanted to prioritize the development of rare and rare-earth metals, which he called the "new oil."

One of the prospectors lured to the country was Alex Walker, a 40-year-







Mr. Rakishev, top far left in back, at a soap lab in Almaty, Kazakhstan. The presidential palace in Astana, left. Loading containers from China at the Aktau port, above.

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER PressReader.com +1 504 278 4604 COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW

INTERNATIONAL









PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHANG W. LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Nickel collected at Kenges Rakishev's mine in Semey, Kazakhstan, top left. Mr. Rakishev, top right, is investing heavily to mine. Above, an employee at a copper mine near Karaganda.

old Australian entrepreneur who relocated to Kazakhstan after a mining project of his in Sweden had failed. Looking for a new place to explore for valuable minerals, he ruled out Canada and Australia, which were already heavily mined. Africa was too complex to operate in. But Kazakhstan had potential.

"It looked like a place where you could really get things done," he said.

Mr. Walker secured exploration licenses in partnership with Tau-ken Samruk JSC, the country's national mining company, and moved his family to Kazakhstan in 2021. But in January 2022, days before he was preparing to list his company on the London Stock Exchange, the protests, now known as "Bloody January," broke out. More than 200 people died, and thousands were arrested.

"The timing was horrible," Mr. Walker said. "We were trying to present this as a very safe jurisdiction."

Despite the upheaval, no investors bailed on the stock offering. Mr. Walker said his decision to search for critical minerals in Kazakhstan had proved to be the right move. BHP Group, the world's largest mining company, selected his company's copper exploration project for a grant among hundreds of applicants.

Western interest in mining Kazakhstan is picking up momentum like a "snowball rolling down a hill," said Kaisar Kozhamuratov, a partner at Aurora Minerals Group, a mining advisory company in Astana.

So far this year, the number of exploration licenses in Kazakhstan is on a pace to nearly double the average annual amount issued over the previous six years.

'A Pure Businessman'

Mr. Rakishev, the investor in nickel mining in eastern Kazakhstan, is not backed by a multinational mining giant, but he casts a long shadow in the country.

His company, the Fincraft Group, has holdings in oil and gas operations and a handful of technology startups. It recently sold its stake in a bank that Mr. Rakishev had bought from the state a decade earlier. Mr. Rakishev also owns a private school and a cosmetics company that he started with his wife, Aselle Tasmagambetova, an ecologist, a philanthropist and the daughter of Imangali Tasmagambetov, a former prime minister.

Mr. Rakishev seems to know every prominent Kazakh in the country. He and his wife started a charity program with Vyacheslav Kim, Kazakhstan's richest person, doling out grants to entrepreneurs. The former middleweight boxing world champion Gennadiy Golovkin, a national hero better known as GGG, is a friend and texting buddy. Mr. Zhakupov, the chief executive of the country's sovereign wealth fund, is a former classmate.

But these close relationships can create complications. In 2015, Mr. Rakishev accompanied Karim Massimov, Kazakhstan's prime minister at the time, on a visit to the United States. During that trip, the two men attended a group dinner at an Italian restaurant in Washington with Joseph R. Biden Jr., then the vice president, and his son Hunter.

That dinner — and a business relationship with a company affiliated with Hunter Biden — put Mr. Rakishev on the radar of the impeachment inquiry into President Biden.

The investigation found that Mr. Rakishev had wired $142,300 to Rosemont Seneca Bohai, a company affiliated with the president's son, in April 2014. The money was transferred to a car dealership to buy a vehicle for Hunter Biden, according to testimony by Devon Archer, Mr. Biden's former business partner.

In closed-door testimony with a House oversight committee, Mr. Archer said Mr. Rakishev was "a prominent businessman" from a "prominent family," according to a transcript.

In an interview, Mr. Rakishev said that he had met Mr. Archer in Kazakhstan and that they had become friends. He was planning to do business with Mr. Archer's firm, Rosemont Seneca, in mining and real estate. He said he had bought a car for the new venture's U.S. office. It was not supposed to be for Hunter Biden, whom he said he had met on several occasions. His understanding was that he, too, would drive the car when he visited.

"I don't have any business relationship with Hunter. I didn't ask him for any favors," Mr. Rakishev said. He said he had attended the dinner with the elder Mr. Biden as part of Kazakhstan's "official delegation," but had not spoken with him. A representative for Hunter Biden did not respond to requests for comment.

Despite his political connections and his wealth — an estimated $435 million, according to Forbes — Mr. Rakishev said it was incorrect to call him an oligarch. In his mind, an oligarch is a businessperson with the power to change the government.

"I am a pure businessman," he said.

Mr. Rakishev's company, Kaznickel, is producing nickel and cobalt in the Abay region of eastern Kazakhstan. The project resembles a modest farming outpost, nothing like the open-pit sites used to extract nickel in countries like Indonesia. In fields blanketed with fresh snow, borcholes stick out of the ground every few feet. Kaznickel injects a chemical solution into the ground through the openings. The nickel dissolves in the solution, which is then pumped to the surface and processed in a metal storehouse next to the site.

Kazakhstan has used a similar approach for decades to mine almost half of the world's uranium. Its use for nickel is more novel.

The Kaznickel project was started five years ago as a pilot. Mining requires a lot of patience and foresight — a lesson that, Mr. Rakishev said, other countries would be wise to heed.

The West, he said, is lagging behind when it comes to critical minerals. China started to secure supplies of lithium, cobalt and graphite decades ago.

"You need to have patience like China," he said. "They think strategically."



A freight train with containers from China crossing Kazakhstan's border. China is a major customer for critical minerals, using them to make electric vehicles.

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER
PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604
COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW
pressreader

N

Sports
The New York Times

OLYMPICS



Finding The Joy Within The Gold

A Needed Break From Swimming Has Given Dressel a New Outlook

DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

By NICOLE AUERBACH
The Athletic

The shimmer of Caeleb Dressel's seven Olympic gold medals may suggest otherwise, but he knows swimming can be a brutal and suffocating sport.

He is one of the best in the world at what he does, sprinting from one end of the pool to the other (and sometimes back). He holds the world record in the men's 100-meter butterfly, having first snatched it away from Michael Phelps in 2019. He lowered his record time in the event at the Tokyo Olympics, where he won gold medals in five events.

Despite it all, he was miserable.

He was fixated on where he felt he had failed. In one race, it was the turn. Another, the finish. His head position. It did not matter that he had touched the wall first over and over again. It did not matter that he was bringing gold home and helping the United States finish atop the medal count. He chased perfection. He chased times and chased stretch goals. He had not met them.

"I created a monster in myself — just so caught up in perfectionism," he told the Olympians Missy Franklin and Katie Hoff on their "Unfiltered Waters" podcast. "So caught up in, 'If I don't see these times, it means I'm a bad person, or it means I did not train hard enough. If I don't go a world record, it means I didn't obsess enough.'"

Nicole Auerbach is a senior writer for The Athletic.

MADDIE MEYER/GETTY IMAGES

'I created a monster in myself — just so caught up in perfectionism.'
CAELEB DRESSEL, who holds the world record in the men's 100-meter butterfly.

Caeleb Dressel in 2021 at the Tokyo Games, where he won five gold medals. A year later, he said he "broke" from pushing himself so hard and left the sport for eight months.

The sport he had been drawn to as a child because it was so delightfully fun was quite the opposite. And it had been that way for years. But Dressel kept pushing himself, listening to his internal critic ripping himself apart.

Until he "broke," he puts it now. He withdrew abruptly in the middle of the 2022 world championships in Budapest and disappeared from the sport for eight months.

Dressel, 27, has not gone into detail about that period of his life in Gainesville, Fla., other than to say he spent a lot of time with his therapist. His wife, Meghan, was there for him, too, though she also realized there were a lot of conversations he needed to have inside his own mind. Some days, he did not do much. Most days, he avoided routes that took

Continued on Page B11

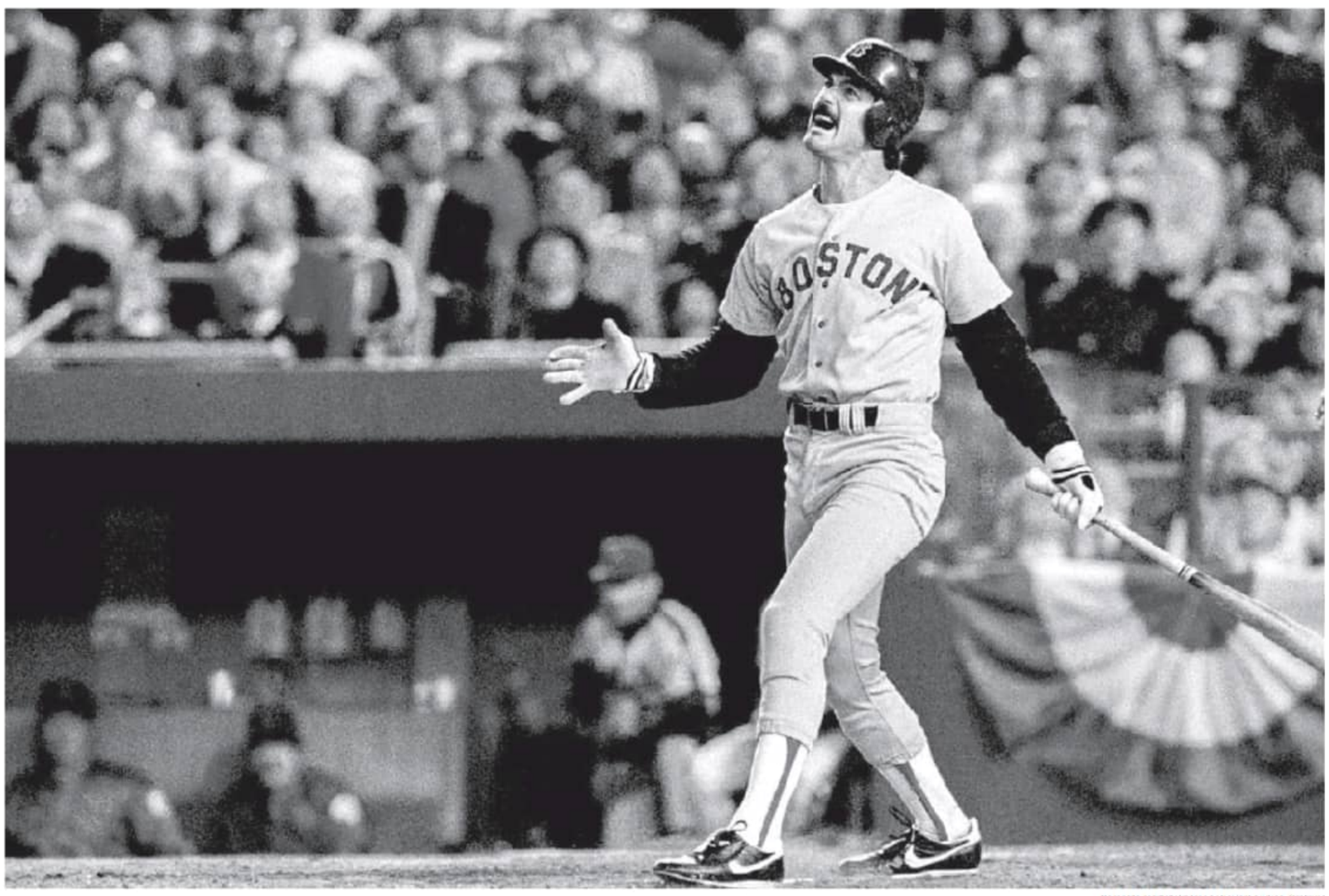
pressreader

BASEBALL

COMMENTARY

Misunderstood by His Peers, and Undervalued by Hall of Fame Voters

By TYLER KEPNER
The Athletic



RUSTY KENNEDY/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Dwight Evans in the World Series in 1986 and, below, in 2018. He was a pillar of understated excellence for Boston during his career.

It's the most spellbinding tableau on the baseball calendar: the stage at Cooperstown, N.Y., on induction day, dozens of the greatest living players seated side by side to greet the newest members of the sport's most hallowed club. More than 50 are scheduled to salute Adrián Beltré, Todd Helton, Jim Leyland and Joe Mauer on Sunday.

The best eligible player who won't be there — non-scandal division — might be Dwight Evans, a pillar of understated, all-around excellence for the Boston Red Sox in the 1970s and '80s. Voters have never quite grasped Evans's value, just as some peers never quite understood the man.

"This past winter someplace, I was around some guys that were pretty tough players, and George Bell — or someone like that — goes, 'I never wanted to talk to you; you looked like the angriest player who ever played baseball,'" Evans said in an interview last week. "I'm laughing and I go, 'Why?' And he said, 'Well, you just had a look on your face.'

"And of course I wasn't going to say what was going on at home, so I just said, 'I put a lot into the game, and it took a lot of concentration for me to do what I had to do.'"

Now Evans has told the world about the searing, almost unthinkable pain that he and his wife, Susan, have endured for so long. His new memoir, "Dewey: Behind The Gold Glove," with Erik Sherman, shares the family's struggle with neurofibromatosis, a genetic condition that causes tumors in the brain, spinal cord and nerves.

Two of the Evans's three children, sons Timothy and Justin, suffered from the condition and underwent more than 40 surgeries each throughout their lives. They died within a 10-month span — Justin at 42, Timothy at 47 — in 2018 and 2019. Evans said he hoped his story could inspire others dealing with loss.

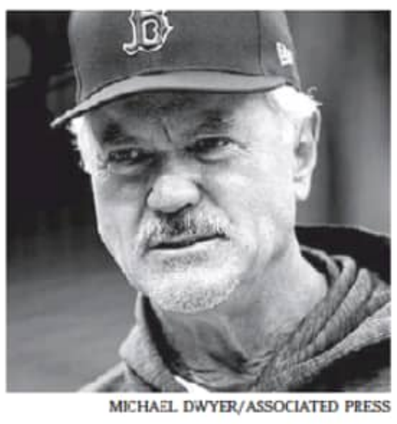
"I knew I had to open myself up and go to some places that were going to cause some pain," Evans said. "And there's still some parts in the book that are hard for me to read and bring back too many memories. But I'm hoping and praying that it means something special to somebody else going through the same kind of thing."

Evans, 72, recounts the challenges of neurofibromatosis on the family, weaving that private saga with a public career that required such profound mental discipline. He dedicates the book to Susan, who did not have the daily getaway of the ballpark.

"I'd come into the parking lot, and even if I left the hospital just 10 minutes earlier to get to batting practice, it was a refuge," Evans said. "It was free time and a time to let my mind go. And I played long enough to where I could really get into the game and separate the two, because if I didn't, I never would have played as long as I did or accomplished what I did. But my wife couldn't. She always had that burden of being there and never had that escape."

There's plenty of baseball in the book, naturally, and not just the good times; Ted Williams chewed him out, Nolan Ryan threw at his head, Luis Aparicio left him stranded on the streets of Caracas, Venezuela, after a dispute in winter ball. And Evans survived two near-death experiences — one in a boat, one in a taxi — with Carl Yastrzemski, a teammate he describes as a big brother.

Evans ranks second to Yastrzemski on Boston's career list for games played, and only five players had more wins above replacement with the franchise:



MICHAEL DWYER/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Williams, Yastrzemski, Roger Clemens, Wade Boggs and Cy Young. That puts Evans ahead of Pedro Martinez, David Ortiz, Jim Rice, Carlton Fisk and eight others wearing Red Sox caps on their plaques in the Hall.

And while wins above replacement is an imperfect statistic, it's useful as a measure of a player's overall contribution across eras. Evans — who played 19 seasons with Boston and one with Baltimore — had a 67.2 career WAR, according to Baseball-Reference, to go with an .840 career on-base plus slugging percentage.

Only 50 others in history can match both of those figures. All of them are in the Hall of Fame except four with ties to steroids (Barry Bonds, Rafael Palmeiro, Manny Ramirez and Alex Rodriguez) and three who are not yet eligible (Mookie Betts, Mike Trout and Albert Pujols).

Yet Evans lasted only three years on the writers' ballot in the late 1990s, peaking at 10.4 percent. He collected eight of 16 votes on the Contemporary Baseball Era Committee ballot in 2020, but was left off that ballot entirely in 2023.

That snub was confusing to Evans, who led M.L.B. in extra-base hits in the 1980s, won eight Gold Gloves in right field and excelled in the memorable 1975 and 1986 World Series, hitting .300 with 14 R.B.I.

"I don't talk much about it, but I always felt that you should be graded, if you will, on your era," Evans said. "And I couldn't even get on that ballot. That's one thing that bothered me."

Voting trends have evolved in recent elections, rewarding players like Evans who fell short of benchmarks like 400 homers and 2,500 hits but made up for it with superior defense and O.P.S. (Scott Rolen and Larry Walker, for example.)

Evans's greatness, it seems, was also obscured by more famous players around him. Fred Lynn, Rice, Clemens and Cal Ripken won M.V.P. awards as Evans's teammate; Yastrzemski, Boggs, Fisk and Dennis Eckersley reached the Hall with relative ease.

The book may help elevate Evans's profile, historically, and the Red Sox do their part when he visits Fenway Park. Evans, who still lives locally, will rise from his seat in a luxury box, wave to the crowd, and savor his achievements in a way he never could in the moment.

"I really didn't enjoy my career like most people did," Evans said. "I played through a lot of injuries, my boys, the strain of playing every day — I just didn't enjoy it. But when I go to this Legends Suite, they'll show a two-minute film of my highlights or whatever, and I actually look and I go, 'You know, you were pretty good.' And that kind of makes me happy."

Gimme Five

The way things have gone this century, the Hall of Fame might open a separate wing just for St. Paul, Minn. This weekend, Joe Mauer will become the fourth native enshrined in Cooperstown in the 2000s, after Dave Winfield (2001), Paul Molitor (2004) and Jack Morris (2018).

Mauer was a career Twin, but Winfield, Molitor and Morris all chose to sign with the Twins late in their careers, like another All-Star, Terry Steinbach. There must be something that makes the North Star State seem like the Baseball Star State, so we asked the former pitcher Glen Perkins, a three-time All-Star from St. Paul who is now a Twins broadcaster, to explain.

The Cooperstown guys are outliers. "The Hall of Famers stand on their own, like Joe and Winfield and Molly and Jack. Joe getting picked 1-1 out of high school was crazy for a Minnesota kid. But the Hall of Famers are so good that they're going to succeed no matter what because they're just freak athletes."

Patience pays off. "Most guys are late bloomers; my senior year in high school, I threw like 75 innings, but they were all crammed together, and there are always weather issues in the spring. ... There's more and better players coming out of Minnesota now, because we have some really good indoor facilities and travel programs."

It helps when the Twins win. "It certainly inspired me. I was eight for the second [championship, in 1991], and Kent Hrbek was a local guy from Bloomington. He was my favorite player growing up, him and Frank Viola.... The kids coming out now, a lot of them say that Justin [Morneau] and Cuddy [Michael Cuddyer] and Joe were their favorite players. I know Michael Baumann on the Mariners, he had my baseball card as a kid. Makes me feel old. But we had some really good teams that probably inspired some late-90s, early-00s kids by the time they were eight or so."

There's no place like Dome. "The Dome was the best. We practiced there after the first of the year, and that was unbelievable for us to have. It gave us a leg up on everybody else in the Big 10. We were not outside, but we had a full field. ... But the Dome was a huge part of [amateur] baseball then; it was there for a long time and they would use that around the clock. There were small schools going in to play there in the middle of the night. Pretty much anybody that's in their 20s now had to play some baseball when they were high school- and college-age in the Dome."

The locals have been a priority for the Twins. "I know for a long time, it was. Now we have Louie Varland and Matt Wallner, they're both Minnesota kids. And I think some guys just want to go home and play for the team they watched growing up — and in the summer, Minnesota's the best. But winters are horrible."

Tyler Kepner is a senior M.L.B. writer for The Athletic.

The Mets Did Not See What Lugo, An All-Star, Always Saw in Himself

By RUSTIN DODD and ENO SARRIS
The Athletic



SARAH STIER/GETTY IMAGES

Seth Lugo spent seven seasons with the Mets, who would not let him escape the bullpen.

Seth Lugo, a right-handed starter for the Kansas City Royals, has an arsenal of pitches that includes a curve, a sinker, a cutter, a four-seam fastball, a slider, a sweeper, a changeup and a slurve.

According to Baseball Savant, MLB.com's clearinghouse for Statcast data, Lugo throws eight different pitch types, which would tie him with Chris Bassitt of the Toronto Blue Jays and Yu Darvish of the San Diego Padres for the most in baseball.

Yet as Lugo listened to the list, he tried to correct the record.

"I think it's a few more," he said. "But they kind of blur them a little bit."

In baseball's era of pitch design, Lugo, 34, has become the sport's mad scientist forever in search of the perfect pitch shape. An All-Star this year for the first time, he entered the second half of the season in the top five among starters in earned run average (2.48), wins (11), innings pitched (127) — and, unofficially, in quantity of pitches.

"It's actually 10 different pitch types," the Royals' pitching coach, Brian Sweeney, said.

Bassitt, a former teammate of Lugo's in New York, calls Lugo a tinkerer, while the Mets' pitching coach, Jeremy Hefner, said he was "one of the most creative thinkers that I've been around."

His superlative performance so far in 2024 has kept the upstart Royals in the playoff hunt. His breakthrough has also revealed a cruel paradox in his career: The pitcher with more pitches than anyone else, who spent all those hours poring over scouting reports and studying swings, was for years confined to the Mets' bullpen, where he was both a good major league reliever and incapable of using the full breadth of his arsenal.

"His journey, to me, is fascinating," Sweeney said. "When his name came up in the off-season for us, I was like: I love that journey. Because it's not typical. He had to earn the right to do a lot of different things."

Once a long shot to even make the majors, Lugo made his debut with the Mets when he was 26 and spent most of seven seasons as a mainstay in the bullpen. It was not until last season, when he signed with San Diego, that he could prove himself in a rotation. Yet in all his years as a reliever, he never wavered from his belief that he could start. He told pitching coaches that he still viewed himself as a starter. He prepared that way, too. He wanted to be a pitcher in full, to embrace the cat-and-mouse games, to adjust to an umpire's zone, to pitch deep into games and live the roller coaster of managerial moves.

As he waited for his chance, he came to understand: If he ever gave up on the dream of starting, it would be as if he gave up on the entire sport.

In February, when the Royals gathered for spring training, the club's pitching coaches searched for a method to liven up the tedious days of fielding practice. They settled on a contest to rank the best athletes on the team's pitching staff.

The name at the top seemed to be an upset: Lugo?

The argument was simple: When he was in high school in Bossier City, La., he lettered in baseball, football and soccer, a rare combination. How many pitchers could kick a soccer ball, punt a football, spin a breaking ball, showcase a sterling short game on the golf course and then take money from their friends in pool?

"He's a great pool player," said Mike Diaz, one of Lugo's former coaches at Centenary College of Louisiana. "He's got all the shots."

Since childhood, Lugo was the coordinated kid with athletic skills. What he did not seem to be was a future major leaguer. When he finished high school, his best college baseball options were a junior college or Centenary, in Shreveport. When he did not perform well as a freshman, he was nearly cut from the team.

Lugo had a big frame, a strong arm and a curveball with plenty of bite. The Mets took a flier on him in the 34th round in 2011; he was the 1,032nd overall pick. He made his debut in 2016, for a Mets team coming off a World Series appearance the previous October.

He made eight starts as a fill-in in 2016 and another 18 in 2017, returning from a partially torn ulnar collateral ligament to post a 4.71 E.R.A. But by 2018, the Mets had a rotation of Jacob deGrom, Zack Wheeler, Noah Syndergaard, Steven Matz and Jason Vargas. They also had a significant issue in the bullpen.



ED ZURGA/GETTY IMAGES

Now starting for the Royals, Lugo can better use an arsenal of at least eight different pitch types.

"We had a desperate need in the bullpen for someone like him," said Dave Eiland, who began a two-year stint as the Mets' pitching coach that season. "The bullpen was just in shambles when I got there. And really, they did nothing to address it while I was there."

Lugo grew into one of the Mets' most consistent relievers. He also kept reminding Eiland that he wanted to start. The questions and conversations about getting an opportunity continued when Hefner replaced Eiland in 2020.

"If not monthly, weekly," Hefner said.

There would be more opportunity as Wheeler departed for Philadelphia and Syndergaard began to decline. But as the years passed, Lugo became more entrenched in the bullpen, the front office experienced waves of turnover, and once the team owner Steve Cohen took control, the Mets kept acquiring free-agent starters. The Mets, as Hefner put it, followed the evidence in front of them, which was that Lugo was a valuable reliever.

"I don't know if 'regret' is the right word," Hefner said. "But obviously looking back now, it's easy to say we should have given him some runway in spring training to build up as a starter."

Most starters cannot handle using 10 different pitches. The Mets, for instance, tried to de-emphasize his sinker use based on metrics and industry trends. But he believed in its utility against specific hitters. He also throws three different fastballs: four-seam, sinker and cutter.

"Everyone knows he can spin a baseball," Sweeney said, "but which one is it going to be? Is it going to be the vert sweeper, the regular sweeper, the curveball, the hard slider?"

The main beneficiary of Lugo's sudden dominance has been the Royals, who signed him to a three-year, $45 million contract last winter. (Lugo can opt out after 2025.) The club's front office believed Lugo could help stabilize their rotation after he posted a 3.57 E.R.A. in 26 starts last season. But they did not forecast how his cerebral nature would rub off on the rest of the rotation.

"He has something to prove," Sweeney said. "And when Seth has something to prove, usually he's going to prove that he's right."

One day this season, Lugo found personal validation in an unusual place: He stumbled upon a statistic that position players who had been called upon to pitch in mop-up outings had thrown 16 consecutive scoreless innings. To Lugo, it made sense. If a batter sees 100 miles per hour all game, he will be able to time it. But if a pitcher keeps the hitter guessing, it can sow doubt. Then you win.

"It's all timing," he said. "As soon as you're thinking about something, the brain's going to slow down."

Rustin Dodd is a features writer for The Athletic; Eno Sarris is a senior writer covering baseball analytics.

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER
PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604
COPYRIGHTED AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW
pressreader

SOCCER

FIFA Puts Off Decision In Bitter Israel Dispute To After the Olympics

By TARIQ PANJA

Soccer's global governing body, FIFA, said it had reached an agreement on Thursday with the federations representing Israelis and Palestinians that put off a decision on a potentially explosive dispute until after the Olympics.

The dispute, prompted by a Palestinian bid to temporarily suspend Israel from the sport over its actions in the Gaza Strip and the Israeli-occupied West Bank, spares FIFA from a ruling that could have led to Israel's team being thrown out of the men's tournament at the Games less than a week before the competition is to begin.

The issue, a long-simmering source of controversy for FIFA and the soccer neighbors, was rekindled by the raging war that has claimed tens of thousands of lives, including of soccer players and other athletes.



ROBERT MICHAEL/DPA, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

The FIFA president, Gianni Infantino, said he would seek "independent legal expertise."

FIFA had already put off a decision once, but boxed itself in at its annual congress in May when it said it would make an announcement on the Palestinian complaint before the start of the Olympics, where the men's soccer tournament opens on Wednesday.

It had already bought itself time by pushing the decision to the FIFA Council, its top executive body, after Palestinian soccer officials made an impassioned appeal for action to be taken by FIFA's entire membership at its annual congress in Bangkok.

The FIFA president, Gianni Infantino, told delegates that he would seek "independent legal expertise" to see if Israel was in breach of its statutes, the claim made by Palestinian officials, who called for Israel's suspension citing "international law violations committed by the Israeli occupation in Palestine, particularly in Gaza," and violations of FIFA's human rights and discrimination statutes.

Israeli described the claim as "cynical."

A report by the two legal experts hired by FIFA was submitted several days ago. Then on Thursday, FIFA said a decision would be delayed until August.

"Following requests for extension from both parties to submit their respective positions, duly granted by FIFA, more time is needed to conclude this process with due care and completeness," FIFA said.

Israeli and Palestinian soccer officials had been lobbying members both before and after Infantino's announcement, with Israeli officials traversing the world to state their case and the Palestinians, backed by human rights groups, making theirs.

Jibril Rajoub, who leads both the Palestinian soccer and Olympic federations, has for years pursued sanctions against Israel and its teams over a variety of issues, including freedom of movement for Palestinian players and for allowing teams based in territory overseen by the Palestinian soccer federation to play in Israel's domestic leagues, which it argues is a clear violation of FIFA statutes.

Since Israeli forces invaded Gaza after the Hamas-led attacks on Oct. 7, all soccer infrastructure in the territory, including a historic stadium, has been destroyed, Rajoub told FIFA's membership in May.

Rajoub had forced FIFA to investigate the issue once before in 2015. That led to a yearlong study ordered by Sepp Blatter, then the president. Its conclusions arrived just as Blatter was being ousted while FIFA almost collapsed under the weight of an enormous corruption scandal.

Looming over the decision is FIFA's treatment of Russia, which was exiled from world soccer — with both its club and national teams barred from international games — after invading Ukraine in 2022.

FIFA defended its decision after Russia appealed to the top sports court, arguing that allowing Russian teams to participate, even on neutral territory, would create "an enormous security risk for all participating teams and delegations" wherever the games are held.

In recent days, the same concerns were raised about hosting Israeli teams. Officials in Belgium said they would not host a scheduled game against Israel on Sept. 6, citing security concerns, and the Italian city of Udine also rebuffed an attempt to host Israel's game with Italy there.



ZSOLT CZEGLEDI/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

A Palestinian bid called for a suspension of Israel from the sport.

THE NEW YORK TIMES CLASSIFIED LISTINGS

New Jersey Houses for Sale 1905

ENGLEWOOD, NJ 294 Coolidge Ave. GREAT HOME FOR AN EXTENDED FAMILY. Large 7 bed, 5.5 bath home with over 5,000 SF of living space. $1,199,000 OPEN HOUSE

The New York Times

On the job. Out in the world.

Provide a companywide subscription to The Times.
nytimes.com/atwork



The New York Times Games

Give the gift of play.



Stop puzzling over gifts. Send New York Times Games, featuring Spelling Bee, Wordle, The Crossword and more.

nytimes.com/gamesgift



NICK WASS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

On Tuesday, Lindsey Horan addressed the crowd during a send-off ceremony following a friendly against Costa Rica, a 0-0 tie.

Paris Will Spotlight New Captain's Leadership

By STEPH YANG
The Athletic

The rules of international soccer say that while team captains take responsibility for their team, the role comes with "no special status or privileges."

But Lindsey Horan could have special status and privileges as captain of the U.S. women's national team. It's the most prominent public-facing role on a prominent team, a vote of confidence from the manager and a position of trust for teammates. Accordingly, it's a position that engenders huge respect alongside the huge expectations that have followed the U.S. team for decades. The captain is the leader on the field, in the locker room and in front of the press. The prestige can at times be overwhelmed by the scrutiny.

Different players have adapted to this role in different ways. The classic archetypes tend to be the loud leader or the silent skipper, the one who speaks up to inspire or the one who quietly sets the example.

"She's somewhere in the middle," the defender Tierna Davidson said. "I feel like she's louder with the people that she knows and more outgoing with people that she knows, but a little bit more reserved with people that she doesn't, which is natural for pretty much everybody.

"So somewhere in the middle, maybe leaning a little bit more toward the introverted side."

Maybe that's more of a fair reading of Horan than the overly serious picture she painted of herself when she spoke to The Athletic earlier this year, an interview in which she disapproved of wacky starting lineup photos and said, "We need to get back to the football."

Davidson seemed to pin Horan more as the captain trying to be what everyone needs her to be.

Former U.S. Coach Vlatko Andonovski named Horan as captain alongside Alex Morgan in July 2023 ahead of the Women's World Cup, and she officially stepped into a role that she had already held informally after the previous captain, Becky Sauerbrunn, was injured. Horan said that learning from Morgan during the World Cup was a crucial experience. Now, with Emma Hayes in charge and Morgan left off the Olympic roster, Horan is the sole captain.

It's an interesting change in vibe after years of Morgan and Sauerbrunn, and before them Megan Rapinoe, with the captain's armband. You cannot find a louder, more vibrant presence than Rapinoe, Morgan is no shrinking violet herself, and Sauerbrunn has a reputation for calm, cerebral focus.

"It hasn't been long," Horan said of her tenure as captain. "I think there are so many things that I've learned.

"I think I can continue to grow and also just continue to have voices on this team and push more players to be leaders as well because we need everyone and those voices can't just be mine."

Her balanced style, a kind of ambiversion amid so many different personalities on the team, doesn't necessarily imply a milquetoast leadership. A common theme among her teammates has been how much work Horan puts into being captain.

"I think Lindsey has been very good at connecting with every single player, checking in on every player," midfielder Rose Lavelle said before the United States played South Korea in June. "Players that have been here, players that are new, and making them know that she is available to talk, ask questions too."

In the U.S. training camp for the Gold Cup earlier this year, defender Emily Fox said Horan had given her a one-on-one talk.

"For me, she did that a lot — like the first game of the World Cup and I really needed that, just a one-on-one talk to prep you and tell you that you got this," Fox said.

Horan has had to navigate captaincy through a transitional period from Twila Kilgore, who served as the interim head coach, to Hayes, who was officially appointed in November 2023 but only arrived in person to take the reins in May. While Hayes was technically in charge, everything had to be relayed through Kilgore and her staff. Horan provided backup on the field.

"As a professional soccer player, you have to know that change is always there," Horan said in May. "I think through my career, you always know that there's going to be a next coach and that's another opportunity to learn from someone else."

Horan doesn't hide that she needs support. This is not a role in which you can go it alone and put on a brave face to the 20-odd other players around you.

"I need the leaders in this group as well to help me out," Horan said. "I think giving voices to them and making sure that they know that this is their team. I think some of those young ones, they make up a good chunk of their team, and I think that's important for them to know that I will need them and we are one. It's not just me at the end of the day."

Steph Yang covers women's soccer for The Athletic.



NICK WASS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Horan was a consistent presence as the national team installed Emma Hayes as its new coach.



RYAN RUIZ/ASSOCIATED PRESS

At the Paris Games, Horan will lead a team that is a mix of veteran and younger players, such as Trinity Rodman, above left.

A balanced style somewhere between loud leader and silent skipper.

Davidson said she has seen the growth in Horan as she takes on the responsibility of captaincy, and acknowledged just how much weight the role carries.

"I think she's understood the importance of what that role means not just for herself as a player, but also as an ambassador for the sport, as an ambassador for the team," Davidson said.

Horan got a good dose of what it means to be under the microscope while she still had Morgan sitting next to her. The captain might get to give pump-up speeches and lift trophies, but she also has to face the media scrutiny after bad games or negative incidents.

A sober-faced Horan and Morgan sat together and read a prepared statement after anti-L.G.B.T.Q. social media posts from their teammate Korbin Albert garnered widespread attention in March.

"We've worked extremely hard to uphold the integrity of this national team through all of the generations, and we are extremely, extremely sad that this standard was not upheld," Horan said. "Our fans and our supporters feel like this is a team that they can rally behind, and it's so important that they feel and continue to feel undeniably heard and seen."

That day's press availability was originally scheduled for Mal Swanson and Catarina Macario. But Horan and Morgan went first, heading off the questions that would have been asked of their teammates while also emphasizing that the team was handling things internally.

Though Horan is on her own now as captain, she has a strong coach beside her. Hayes's charismatic on-camera style has given Horan some additional breathing room to say things as "just Lindsey" and not as "team captain Lindsey Horan."

"She gives a lot to us, and she tries to take a little bit of that pressure off and takes it on herself," Horan said of Hayes. "I think it brings strength, calmness. I think when a coach takes that stress away from the team, it brings that strength and that collectivity to the group."

Even with Hayes's support, Horan's leadership during the Olympics will be her biggest test to date, maintaining team cohesion under a new coach with a good mix of veteran and younger players, and without the co-captain she learned from at the beginning.

So far, it seems that Horan has been able to find her footing with increasing confidence.

pressreader

PRO BASKETBALL | W.N.B.A. ALL-STAR GAME

Before Paris, U.S. Olympic Team Faces Tough Test Against All-Stars

By BEN PICKMAN
The Athletic

From the first possession of the 2021 W.N.B.A. All-Star Game, the competition level was elevated. The U.S. Olympic team was matched against a collection of W.N.B.A. All-Stars who were not headed to Tokyo.

"This, right from the tip, felt different," Sue Bird, a 13-time All-Star, said afterward. "It had an intensity about it. You could tell."

The game featured 13 ties and 10 lead changes. Team W.N.B.A. held Team U.S.A. to less than 20 points in two of the four quarters. Jonquel Jones, who was named the league's most valuable player that season, played 30 minutes. It wasn't a typical exhibition.

Three years later, the W.N.B.A. All-Stars will again face the U.S. national team. On Saturday night, less than a week before the Paris Olympics begin, it should become immediately clear what competition level fans will see.

Here are The Athletic's bold predictions about the showcase.



CANDICE WARD/GETTY IMAGES

The All-Star M.V.P. award hasn't gone to a forward or center since 2013, but A'ja Wilson (22) of Las Vegas could end the drought.



MIKE LAWRENCE/NBAE VIA GETTY IMAGES

Ellie the Elephant has become a star for the league, too. The New York Liberty mascot has been featured on TV and in magazines.



TONY GUTIERREZ/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Caitlin Clark has recorded at least 12 assists in six of her 26 W.N.B.A. games, including five times in her past seven games.

A big will finally win M.V.P.

All-Star Games usually bring out the best in guards. With no stakes for their teams, they often trot up the court and fire deep 3-pointers. Get hot — like Jewell Loyd did last year by making an All-Star Game record of 10 3s — and a player seems likely to take home the event's most important hardware.

Not since Candace Parker in 2013 has a forward or center won the game's M.V.P. honor. But that should change this year. After last season's 143-127 affair, Breanna Stewart, A'ja Wilson and Brittney Griner indicated that they would try to win the award this year. All three are certainly skilled enough to earn it, and every positive moment from Griner could feel even more momentous considering that she will be playing in front of her home fans.

But if I'm picking one big to win M.V.P., I'm taking the Liberty's Jones. She has averaged 21 points and 12.3 rebounds in her four prior All-Star Game appearances, and she just missed on the 2021 M.V.P. If Team W.N.B.A. defeats Team U.S.A. for the second consecutive cycle, she should be a main reason.

No player will score 30 points.

A decade ago at an All-Star Game in Phoenix, the rookie guard Shoni Schimmel scored 29 points, the most in the exhibition to that point. A year later, Maya Moore scored 30, and in 2022 and 2023, at least one player scored 30 points. (Kelsey Plum hit the mark both years, and Loyd set a scoring record last summer with 31.)

The recent 30-point showings came in high-scoring All-Star Games. Last year's exhibition produced 270 combined points, but the 2022 game had 246 combined points. But given the format of this year's game, we should expect a lower-scoring contest. In 2021, Team W.N.B.A. defeated Team U.S.A. by 93-85, and only one player (Arike Ogunbowale) scored more than 20 points. I would bet that history repeats itself and more defense is on display than viewers might expect.

Caitlin Clark will set the All-Star assist record.

In 2017, Bird set the W.N.B.A. All-Star Game record with 11 assists. That record should fall this year with Clark's debut. Sure, the Fever guard will pull up for a few deep 3-pointers, but the All-Star Game really provides a perfect forum for Clark's passing to shine. She can push the pace and find open teammates streaking up the court or cutting for a backdoor pass. Playing alongside some of the league's top players, Clark can create magic with new partners and delight the crowd without needing a high-scoring game.

Clark set a W.N.B.A. regular-season record with 19 assists on Wednesday against the Dallas Wings. So getting 12 dimes Saturday seems even more within reach. She recorded at least 12 assists 22 times as a college star at Iowa. She's done so in six of her 26 W.N.B.A. games, including five times in her past seven games.

Twelve assists is becoming an almost nightly occurrence for Clark. Why should the All-Star Game be any different?

Ellie the Elephant will steal the show.

There will be lots of stars in the Footprint Center on Saturday, including league M.V.P.s, multi-time Olympians and record-setting rookies. The Grammy-award winner Pitbull will perform at halftime. Celebrities are sure to be sitting courtside.

But the biggest draw may just be a mascot.

As the New York Liberty surged to a 21-4 record during the first half of the season, Ellie, their beloved elephant, drew an army of fans. Ellie recently posed for a cover shoot for Time Out New York. Vogue, "Good Morning America" and "CBS Mornings" have covered her this season. ESPN's Andscape produced a 15-minute video feature on her. Even the author Fran Lebowitz has reflected on Ellie's ability. New York's opponents have taken note, too; during a recent fourth quarter, a few visiting players spent time not checking on their team's huddle, but on watching Ellie dance.

All 11 mascots will be present at the All-Star Game, but no mascot has risen in profile like Ellie.

Team W.N.B.A. will win again.

The U.S. national team is the most talented collection of 12 players in the world. It is rightfully favored to win an eighth consecutive gold medal. But I am also a bit wary about its chances Saturday. The main reason: A number of players enter the weekend with nagging injuries. The team has far bigger goals in mind than an All-Star Game win, so putting any additional strain on the likes of Stewart, Napheesa Collier and Diana Taurasi feels unwise. Will coach Cheryl Reeve alter her rotations or be especially mindful of minute loads as a result?

Likely playing with added motivation after a loss to Team W.N.B.A. in 2021, Team U.S.A. will have held multiple practices leading up to the game and might be crisper. Yet Team W.N.B.A. enters with the freedom of knowing it has a multiweek break to come. Plenty of players — Clark, Jones, Ogunbowale, Kayla McBride, Kelsey Mitchell — could also get hot from deep and shoot their group to a win.

With that in mind, I'm guessing that Team W.N.B.A. will celebrate in Phoenix on Saturday, while Team U.S.A. will play the long game and prepare for a grander celebration in a few weeks.

Ben Pickman covers women's basketball for The Athletic.

OLYMPICS

After a Break, He's Seeking Happiness In His Quest

From First Sports Page

him past the University of Florida pool. He did not want to smell the chlorine.

He had to reorient himself, how he believed others felt about him and why they loved him. He had to learn how to smile again. The process was not easy, but it is why he is back in the pool and headed to the Paris Games with the U.S. swim team. There is outside pressure, yes, but Dressel's biggest critic is quieter.

"It's really tough," Dressel said in an interview last month. "It's embedded in me — where you always want to look for ways to get better. I'm still doing that, but I'm not becoming obsessed and so fixated on it that I lose sight of what's actually fun with the sport."

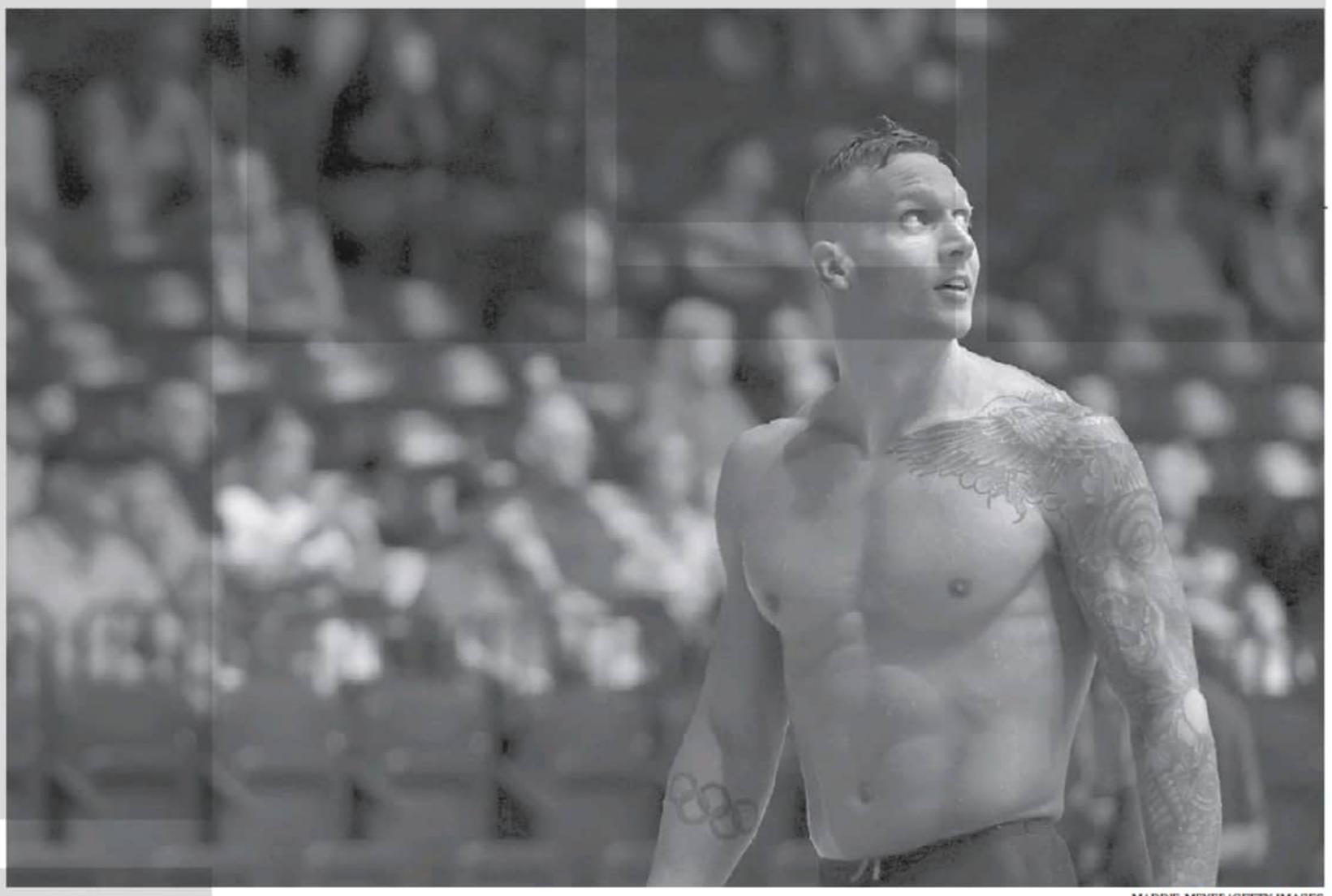
One of the first things he will tell you is how helpful his regular appointments with his therapist have been.

"I've been trying to not be so fixated on results and just simply enjoying racing and training — those are the two parts of the sport that I really enjoy," Dressel said. "There are parts of the sport that I really dislike, that I really hate. But it's worth putting up with for the moments that I really do enjoy. It's going to be a balance; I'm not expecting every part of the sport to just be the best thing ever for me. But I've really leaned into the parts of the sport that I do enjoy.

"That's been the main difference for me. I've always loved training. I've always loved being around the team. The actual racing portion, I do really, really enjoy — as soon as the gun goes off, it's just simply fun. So I've just been trying to keep it just simply swimming. Simply swimming this year."

Dressel will simply swim the 50-meter freestyle and the 100 fly as individual events at the Games, and he will most likely take part in multiple relays. At the U.S. Olympic trials in Indianapolis, he finished third in the 100 free, which cost him the opportunity to defend his gold medal in the event in Paris.

But he is happy to be a part of the Olympic team. He is proud of what he accomplished at trials. And he is thrilled that his infant son, August, got to be there.



MADDIE MEYER/GETTY IMAGES



KATE MEDLEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Caeleb Dressel with his son, August, left. Dressel will swim the 50-meter freestyle and the 100 fly as individual events.

"No one can take that away," Dressel said in Indianapolis. "He's not going to remember it. I will tell him, trust me. I got photos so I can prove it."

He added: "That was a really special moment. Meghan knows what goes into this, not just the parenting side of things, but she gets to see firsthand the struggles that come with the sport. The tears that come with it, the frustration and then also the high points, and getting to share that with them, because they go through that as well — that was really special, August getting to see that."

Dressel's wife and son will be in Paris, too, alongside Dressel's parents and other family members. He said he would not be ~~where he is today without their~~ support. And he certainly would not be where he is without Meghan, whom he calls the superhero of their family.

Parenthood is wonderful for many reasons, but perhaps the greatest lesson it teaches is one of perspective — especially for someone who has spent most of his life chasing times and hunting perfection that does not and cannot exist.

"I don't know if I'll ever go a best time ever again, and that's tough to say out loud. It really is," Dressel said. "When you're 19, 20, 21, you keep chipping away, chipping away, chipping away. I'm still working harder than ever, finding every path I can take to shave those couple of tenths. But I don't know. I don't know if I can do that. I'm really good at racing. You put me in a race, I will make it close, as close as I possibly can, even if I have to try to kill myself to get there. I will put myself in those situations."

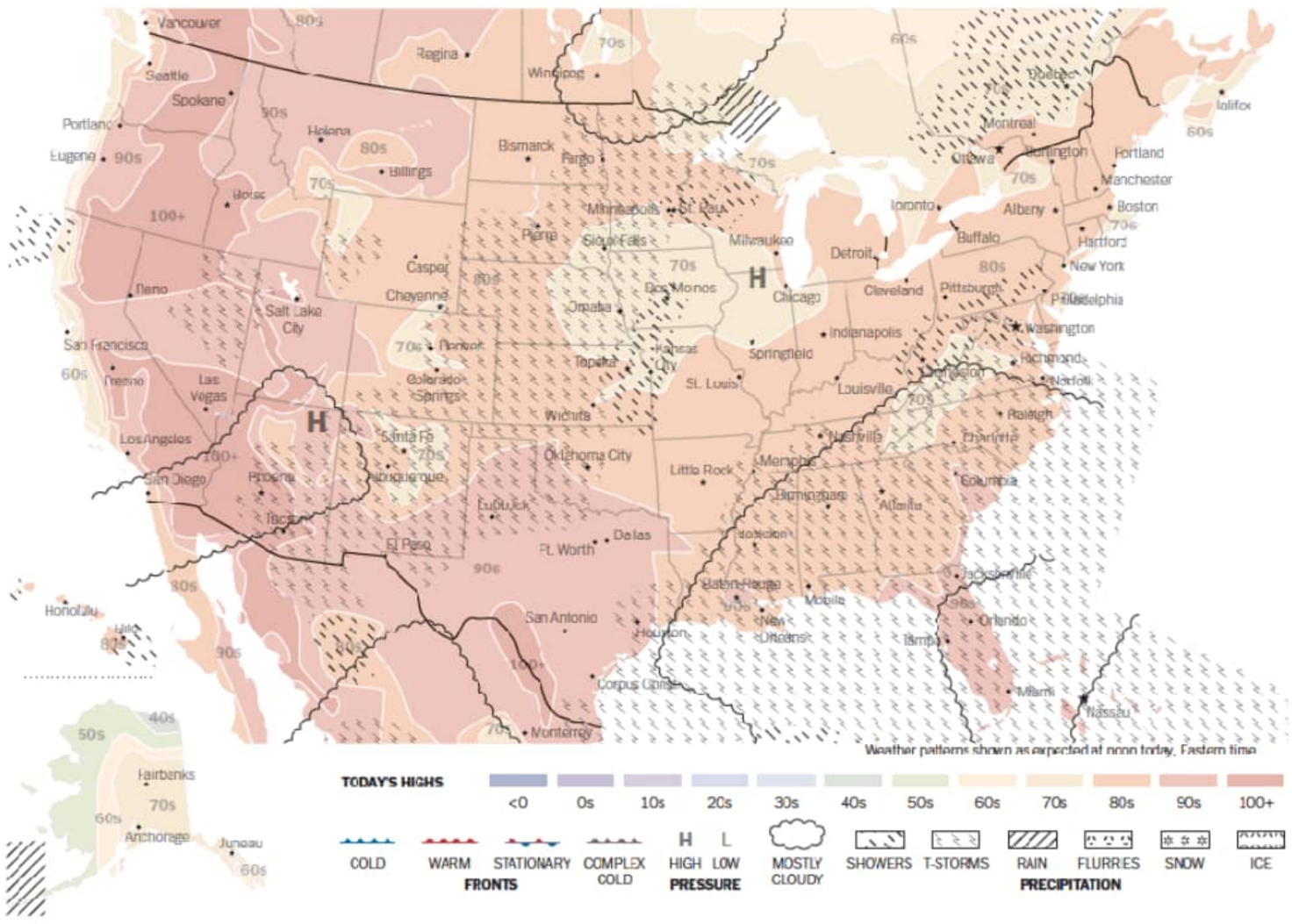
So he does not know exactly how Paris will go. But he knows he is older, wiser and genuinely happier than he was before the last Olympics. Others see it, too, and not just when he is straddling the lane line after a race or punching the water in celebration.

"He's always had that smile," Katie Ledecky, a seven-time Olympic gold medalist, said. "He took that time away, and when he came back, he's had that smile every day. Just to see his progression over this past year, how he's just gotten better and better each meet — he seems to just be loving the racing, and he loves the training probably more than the racing, and that makes everyone around him better."

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER
PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604
COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW
pressreader

Weather Report

Meteorology by **AccuWeather**



Metropolitan Forecast

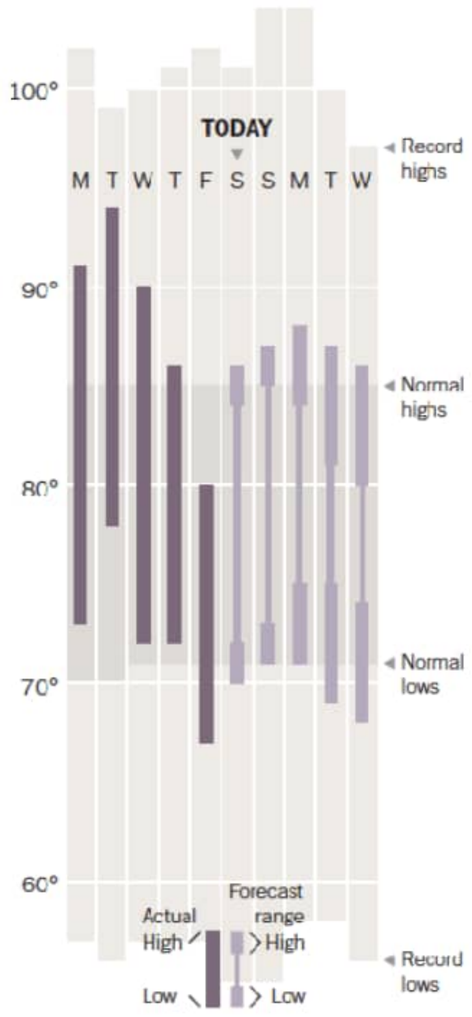
TODAY .....Clouds and sunshine
High 85. It will be partly cloudy with showers during the afternoon. Temperatures will be close to average.

TONIGHT .....Clouds breaking
Low 71. After a cloudy evening, it will be partly cloudy overnight. Winds will be light and variable and temperatures will be close to average.

TOMORROW .....Sunshine and clouds
High 86. As high pressure slowly moves off the coast, it will be dry under a partly sunny sky. The air will be warm with slightly higher humidity levels.

MONDAY .....Thunderstorms
High 86. Warm and moderately humid air will move in during the day with a mixture of clouds and sunshine. Thunderstorms will occur in the afternoon.

TUESDAY
WEDNESDAY .....Showers
Tuesday will be mostly cloudy and humid with showers and thunderstorms. High 84. Wednesday will be cloudy with high humidity, showers and thunderstorms. High 83.



Highlight: Heat Expands North

An area of high pressure will strengthen across the Northwestern states and southwestern Canada into early week, resulting in high temperatures 10 to 20 degrees above average in the 90s and 100s. Daily record highs are likely to be challenged, and the hot pattern will bring an increased risk of heat-related illnesses. The heat is expected to drop by the middle and latter portion of the week.



National Forecast

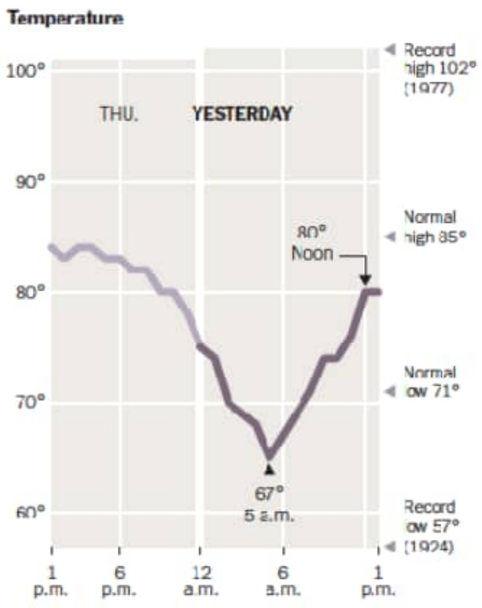
Thunderstorms in the Southeast may bring damaging wind gusts and flooding downpours today. Across the Florida Peninsula, slow-moving thunderstorms may cause flooding in low-lying and poor drainage areas. Showers and thunderstorms may occur in the central and northern Plains, primarily in the afternoon.

An area of high pressure centered over the Rocky Mountains will cause afternoon thunderstorms, which may bring strong winds. It will be very hot across the interior Northwest and California. Many locations will break daily record high temperatures.

It will be pleasant, sunny and dry across the Northeast, Midwest, Ohio Valley and middle Mississippi Valley.

Metropolitan Almanac

In Central Park, for the 13 hours ended at 1 p.m. yesterday.



Avg. daily departure from normal this month ..... +3.2°

Avg. daily departure from normal this year ..... +3.2°

Reservoir levels (New York City water supply)

Yesterday 87%
Est. normal 92%

Precipitation (in inches)

Yesterday 0.00
Record 1.82

For the last 30 days
Actual 4.66
Normal 4.16

For the last 365 days
Actual 64.60
Normal 49.48

LAST 30 DAYS

Air pressure
High ..... 30.15 10 a.m.
Low ..... 30.05 1 a.m.

Humidity
High ..... 79% 5 a.m.
Low ..... 37% noon

Cooling Degree Days
An index of fuel consumption that tracks how far the day's mean temperature rose above 65

Yesterday 9
So far this month 299
So far this season (since January 1) 719
Normal to date for the season 545

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.

Cities

High/low temperatures for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday, Eastern time, and precipitation (in inches) for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday. Expected conditions for today and tomorrow.

C ..... Clouds
F ..... Fog
H ..... Haze
I ..... Ice
PC ..... Partly cloudy
R ..... Rain
Sh ..... Showers
S ..... Sun
Sn ..... Snow
SS ..... Snow showers
T ..... Thunderstorms
Tr ..... Trace
W ..... Windy
– ..... Not available

N.Y.C. region	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
New York City	80/ 67 0	85/ 71 PC	86/ 72 PC
Bridgeport	78/ 63 0	83/ 70 PC	85/ 69 PC
Caldwell	81/ 64 0	87/ 67 PC	89/ 65 PC
Danbury	77/ 60 0	85/ 66 PC	88/ 65 S
Islip	80/ 66 0	83/ 70 PC	85/ 69 PC
Newark	81/ 66 0	88/ 72 PC	91/ 71 PC
Trenton	81/ 61 0	84/ 66 PC	88/ 67 PC
White Plains	79/ 59 0	84/ 66 PC	85/ 66 PC

United States	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Albany	82/ 58 0	84/ 62 S	85/ 62 S
Albuquerque	92/ 68 0.02	88/ 68 I	83/ 64 I
Anchorage	63/ 51 0	70/ 53 S	66/ 55 S
Atlanta	83/ 72 0.24	83/ 72 T	86/ 71 T
Atlantic City	78/ 67 0	76/ 67 PC	78/ 72 PC
Austin	93/ 72 0.06	95/ 72 S	93/ 74 PC
Baltimore	87/ 69 0	84/ 68 PC	89/ 73 T
Baton Rouge	88/ 76 0.36	91/ 76 T	87/ 75 T
Birmingham	81/ 72 0.35	83/ 72 T	84/ 72 T
Boise	105/ 70 0	106/ 73 S	108/ 78 S
Boston	79/ 68 0	85/ 72 PC	85/ 67 PC
Buffalo	76/ 58 0	80/ 63 S	79/ 63 PC
Burlington	81/ 59 0	85/ 64 S	80/ 56 PC
Casper	91/ 54 0.04	87/ 51 S	82/ 50 PC
Charlotte	84/ 72 0.52	86/ 71 T	86/ 72 T
Chattanooga	86/ 71 0.19	85/ 72 T	85/ 69 T
Chicago	80/ 62 0	83/ 65 PC	83/ 65 PC
Cincinnati	82/ 62 0	85/ 66 S	87/ 68 PC
Cleveland	77/ 55 0	81/ 59 S	84/ 63 PC
Colorado Springs	86/ 59 0.04	81/ 56 T	73/ 53 T
Columbus	81/ 61 0	85/ 62 S	87/ 68 PC
Concord, N.H.	84/ 56 0	85/ 60 PC	84/ 55 S
Dallas-Ft. Worth	92/ 73 0	94/ 77 PC	89/ 73 T
Denver	88/ 61 0.04	83/ 58 T	75/ 59 T
Des Moines	82/ 64 0	74/ 63 Sh	77/ 64 T
Detroit	79/ 59 0	82/ 64 PC	83/ 66 PC
El Paso	96/ 75 0.08	97/ 74 PC	85/ 70 PC
Fargo	85/ 64 0	87/ 66 T	85/ 65 T
Hartford	85/ 60 0	87/ 67 PC	89/ 64 PC
Honolulu	87/ 76 0.07	89/ 77 Sh	89/ 76 Sh
Houston	90/ 76 0.14	92/ 77 T	91/ 77 T
Indianapolis	79/ 60 0	81/ 63 PC	85/ 67 PC
Jackson	85/ 73 0.86	88/ 74 T	88/ 72 T
Jacksonville	94/ 75 0.75	93/ 76 T	94/ 75 T
Kansas City	81/ 63 0	75/ 65 Sh	78/ 64 T
Key West	91/ 84 0	91/ 85 T	90/ 83 T
Las Vegas	110/ 90 0	112/ 90 S	110/ 87 PC
Lexington	87/ 65 0	88/ 67 PC	90/ 69 PC
Little Rock	86/ 68 0	88/ 69 S	86/ 71 T
Los Angeles	86/ 66 0	89/ 66 S	88/ 65 S
Louisville	85/ 66 0	88/ 68 PC	88/ 71 PC
Memphis	85/ 72 0	88/ 73 T	86/ 71 T
Miami	92/ 83 0.05	92/ 82 T	92/ 80 T
Milwaukee	80/ 63 0	81/ 66 PC	80/ 65 T
Mpls-St. Paul	81/ 66 0	80/ 66 PC	81/ 67 T
Nashville	87/ 71 0	87/ 71 I	87/ 69 I
New Orleans	87/ 77 0.55	88/ 78 T	87/ 76 T
Norfolk	85/ 76 0	84/ 75 T	84/ 73 T
Oklahoma City	89/ 66 0	85/ 68 T	86/ 67 T
Omaha	82/ 65 0.01	72/ 64 T	74/ 64 T
Orlando	92/ 76 0.14	94/ 76 T	94/ 76 T
Philadelphia	87/ 69 0	87/ 70 PC	89/ 71 PC
Phoenix	113/ 92 0	115/ 90 T	112/ 88 T
Pittsburgh	82/ 63 0	85/ 61 S	88/ 64 PC
Portland, Me.	81/ 60 0	83/ 62 S	79/ 58 PC
Portland, Ore.	89/ 62 0	95/ 63 S	86/ 59 T
Providence	83/ 62 0	84/ 68 PC	86/ 61 PC
Raleigh	84/ 75 0.51	87/ 72 T	87/ 74 T
Reno	100/ 69 0	102/ 70 PC	103/ 72 S
Richmond	86/ 70 0	79/ 68 T	87/ 71 T
Rochester	77/ 57 0	81/ 60 S	77/ 63 PC
Sacramento	104/ 65 0	99/ 60 S	93/ 59 S
Salt Lake City	96/ 73 0	100/ 72 S	99/ 71 S
San Antonio	93/ 74 0.90	96/ 76 S	94/ 78 PC
San Diego	79/ 68 Tr	80/ 68 PC	78/ 66 PC
San Francisco	76/ 57 0	69/ 58 PC	67/ 56 PC
San Jose	92/ 63 0	82/ 61 S	82/ 60 PC
San Juan	86/ 81 0.36	89/ 81 R	90/ 80 W
Seattle	83/ 59 0	87/ 60 S	83/ 57 PC
Sioux Falls	81/ 66 0.11	79/ 63 T	81/ 61 T
Spokane	96/ 66 0	101/ 70 S	105/ 71 S
St. Louis	81/ 63 0	83/ 68 PC	84/ 70 T
St. Thomas	88/ 82 0.18	90/ 81 PC	90/ 81 PC
Syracuse	80/ 60 0	85/ 62 S	83/ 62 S
Tampa	92/ 79 0.04	93/ 79 T	93/ 77 T
Toledo	80/ 55 0	83/ 61 PC	83/ 61 PC
Tucson	104/ 81 0.02	105/ 80 T	103/ 79 PC
Tulsa	88/ 67 0	86/ 70 PC	86/ 68 T
Virginia Beach	80/ 75 0	83/ 75 T	82/ 74 T
Washington	87/ 74 0	83/ 70 PC	90/ 72 T
Wichita	88/ 66 0	83/ 67 T	83/ 64 T
Wilmington, Del.	86/ 67 0	83/ 68 PC	90/ 72 PC

Africa	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Algiers	90/ 76 0	96/ 75 S	93/ 71 S
Cairo	99/ 79 0	102/ 80 S	104/ 81 S
Cape Town	59/ 54 0.26	57/ 43 C	59/ 41 PC
Dakar	90/ 76 0.03	88/ 81 PC	88/ 82 PC
Johannesburg	70/ 41 0	68/ 40 PC	67/ 45 C
Nairobi	72/ 56 0	73/ 57 C	75/ 59 C
Tunis	95/ 72 0	99/ 76 S	108/ 75 S

Asia/Pacific	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Baghdad	115/ 90 0	116/ 91 PC	115/ 90 PC
Bangkok	89/ 81 0.14	89/ 79 T	91/ 80 Sh
Beijing	101/ 74 0	99/ 78 PC	99/ 74 T
Damascus	103/ 72 0	102/ 69 PC	102/ 70 S
Hong Kong	91/ 84 0.11	92/ 84 R	92/ 83 T
Jakarta	94/ 79 0	92/ 75 S	92/ 75 C
Jerusalem	89/ 70 0	90/ 70 S	91/ 69 S
Karachi	97/ 88 0.01	97/ 86 PC	97/ 87 C
Manila	90/ 79 0.41	89/ 79 T	88/ 80 T
Mumbai	83/ 77 1.28	83/ 79 T	84/ 81 T
New Delhi	94/ 83 0.05	97/ 85 PC	95/ 81 T
Riyadh	113/ 87 0	113/ 86 PC	115/ 87 PC
Seoul	89/ 74 0.05	82/ 76 R	84/ 78 T
Shanghai	100/ 84 0	102/ 84 PC	97/ 80 PC
Singapore	91/ 80 0	90/ 80 PC	87/ 81 PC
Sydney	68/ 43 0	63/ 51 W	65/ 47 W
Taipei City	95/ 82 0.09	100/ 80 C	101/ 79 PC
Tehran	102/ 79 0	100/ 83 S	103/ 81 S
Tokyo	92/ 82 0	90/ 79 PC	90/ 80 PC

Europe	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Amsterdam	82/ 64 0.01	84/ 66 R	76/ 60 PC
Athens	100/ 88 0	98/ 78 S	96/ 78 S
Berlin	84/ 57 0	86/ 65 PC	90/ 70 S
Brussels	84/ 64 0.03	86/ 66 T	77/ 58 Sh
Budapest	91/ 68 0	87/ 71 C	89/ 69 S
Copenhagen	72/ 54 0	72/ 59 S	75/ 63 C
Dublin	72/ 57 0	64/ 48 Sh	63/ 56 C
Edinburgh	70/ 61 0.01	69/ 50 R	64/ 50 C
Frankfurt	90/ 64 0	90/ 69 S	84/ 66 C
Geneva	86/ 61 0	87/ 65 PC	68/ 61 T
Helsinki	68/ 61 0.33	73/ 58 Sh	72/ 60 Sh
Istanbul	92/ 80 0	94/ 78 S	93/ 76 S
Kyiv	83/ 67 0	82/ 62 PC	82/ 64 C
Lisbon	88/ 67 0	80/ 64 PC	81/ 63 S
London	86/ 63 0	78/ 64 C	71/ 56 PC
Madrid	102/ 65 0	98/ 66 S	95/ 64 S
Moscow	76/ 64 0.29	74/ 59 Sh	75/ 61 Sh
Nice	87/ 77 0.01	86/ 73 S	82/ 70 T
Oslo	75/ 67 0	79/ 57 C	80/ 64 PC
Paris	91/ 63 0	89/ 66 C	79/ 55 Sh
Prague	82/ 57 0	81/ 61 C	86/ 66 PC
Rome	92/ 68 0	90/ 69 S	90/ 71 S
St. Petersburg	71/ 61 0.17	73/ 60 Sh	73/ 60 Sh
Stockholm	73/ 59 0	75/ 55 S	74/ 59 Sh
Vienna	88/ 64 0	77/ 62 C	87/ 65 S
Warsaw	81/ 61 0	81/ 61 PC	85/ 63 S

North America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Acapulco	88/ 77 0	90/ 77 T	86/ 77 R
Bermuda	86/ 78 0.02	85/ 79 PC	86/ 79 S
Edmonton	75/ 53 0	91/ 61 S	93/ 64 S
Guadalajara	73/ 64 0.04	74/ 62 T	79/ 61 T
Havana	91/ 73 0	92/ 76 T	91/ 75 Sh
Kingston	93/ 81 0	92/ 83 PC	92/ 81 W
Martinique	88/ 77 0.15	90/ 79 T	90/ 77 T
Mexico City	69/ 58 0	74/ 57 Sh	76/ 57 R
Monterrey	85/ 71 0	93/ 70 S	93/ 71 S
Montreal	79/ 61 0	81/ 61 S	78/ 58 S
Nassau	90/ 80 0.09	91/ 81 C	89/ 79 T
Panama City	84/ 75 0.24	88/ 76 T	87/ 76 T
Quebec City	75/ 55 0	77/ 53 Sh	75/ 53 PC
Santo Domingo	88/ 77 0.05	86/ 77 T	93/ 75 PC
Toronto	73/ 55 0	81/ 65 PC	77/ 61 PC
Vancouver	70/ 60 0	78/ 63 S	78/ 60 PC
Winnipeg	79/ 63 0	84/ 58 PC	84/ 61 S

South America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Buenos Aires	59/ 52 0	54/ 51 R	60/ 53 C
Caracas	88/ 77 0.09	90/ 76 T	90/ 76 T
Lima	66/ 68 0	66/ 57 PC	66/ 57 C
Quito	71/ 46 0	73/ 46 PC	74/ 45 S
Recife	84/ 75 0.01	80/ 74 R	83/ 74 PC
Rio de Janeiro	73/ 68 0	73/ 63 S	75/ 65 S
Santiago	56/ 43 0	65/ 45 S	60/ 39 PC

Recreational Forecast

Sun, Moon and Planets

	Full	Last Quarter	New	First Quarter
	July 21 6:13 a.m.	July 27	Aug. 4 7:13 a.m.	Aug. 12

Sun	RISE	5:42 a.m.	Moon	S	4:15 a.m.
	SET	8:23 p.m.		R	8:25 p.m.
	NEXT R	5:43 a.m.		S	5:29 a.m.
Jupiter	R	2:21 a.m.	Mars	R	1:38 a.m.
	S	5:08 p.m.		S	4:06 p.m.
Saturn	S	10:06 a.m.	Venus	R	6:44 a.m.
	R	10:43 p.m.		S	9:08 p.m.

Boating

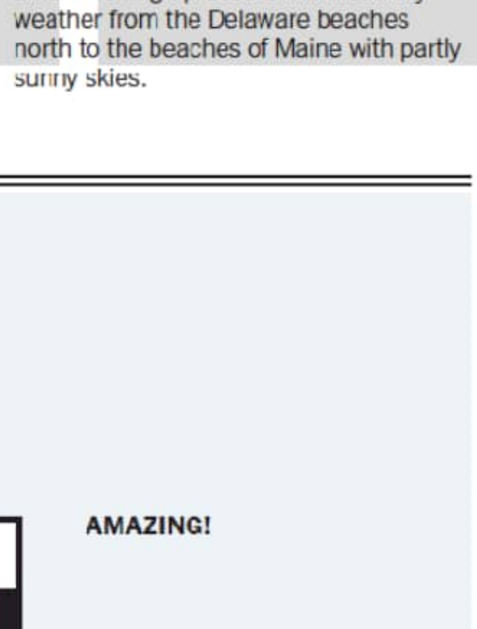
From Montauk Point to Sandy Hook, N.J., out to 20 nautical miles, including Long Island Sound and New York Harbor.

Winds will be south at an average speed of 7-14 knots. Waves will average 1-2 feet on Long Island Sound and 2-3 feet on the ocean. Visibility will be generaly unrestricted.

High Tides

Atlantic City	7:14 a.m.	7:36 p.m.
Barnegat Inlet	7:30 a.m.	7:47 p.m.
The Battery	8:01 a.m.	8:12 p.m.
Beach Haven	8:55 a.m.	9:11 p.m.
Bridgeport	11:12 a.m.	11:23 p.m.
City Island	11:16 a.m.	11:13 p.m.
Fire Island Lt.	8:23 a.m.	8:30 p.m.
Montauk Point	8:53 a.m.	9:08 p.m.
Northport	11:21 a.m.	11:30 p.m.
Port Washington	11:23 a.m.	11:24 p.m.
Sandy Hook	7:37 a.m.	7:53 p.m.
Shinnecock Inlet	7:22 a.m.	7:42 p.m.
Stamford	11:12 a.m.	11:24 p.m.
Tarrytown	9:50 a.m.	10:01 p.m.
Willets Point	11:20 a.m.	11:17 p.m.

Beach and Ocean Temperatures



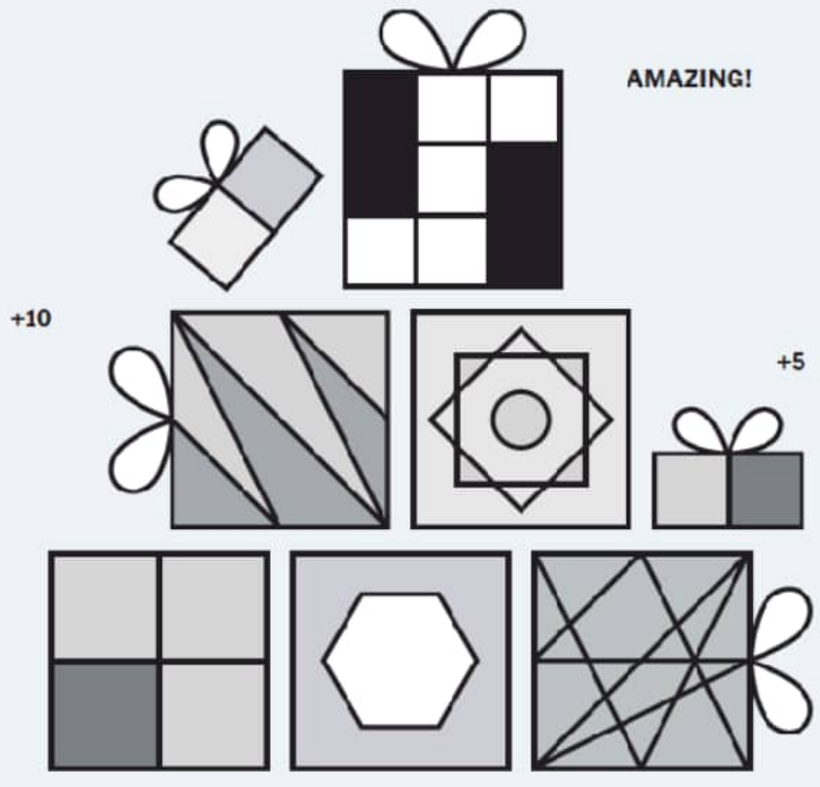
With a frontal boundary stalled over North Carolina, mostly cloudy skies will extend across the Virginia beaches with thunderstorms in some locations. Farther north, an area of high pressure will mean dry weather from the Delaware beaches north to the beaches of Maine with partly sunny skies.

The New York Times
Games

Give the gift of play.

Stop puzzling over gifts. Send New York Times Games, featuring Spelling Bee, Wordle, The Crossword and more.

nytimes.com/gamesgift

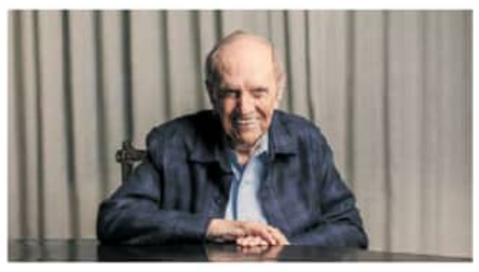


PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604
COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW
pressreader

2 BOOKS
A marine biologist and her passion for sharks.

3 COMEDY
Bob Newhart was a source of comic brilliance for decades.

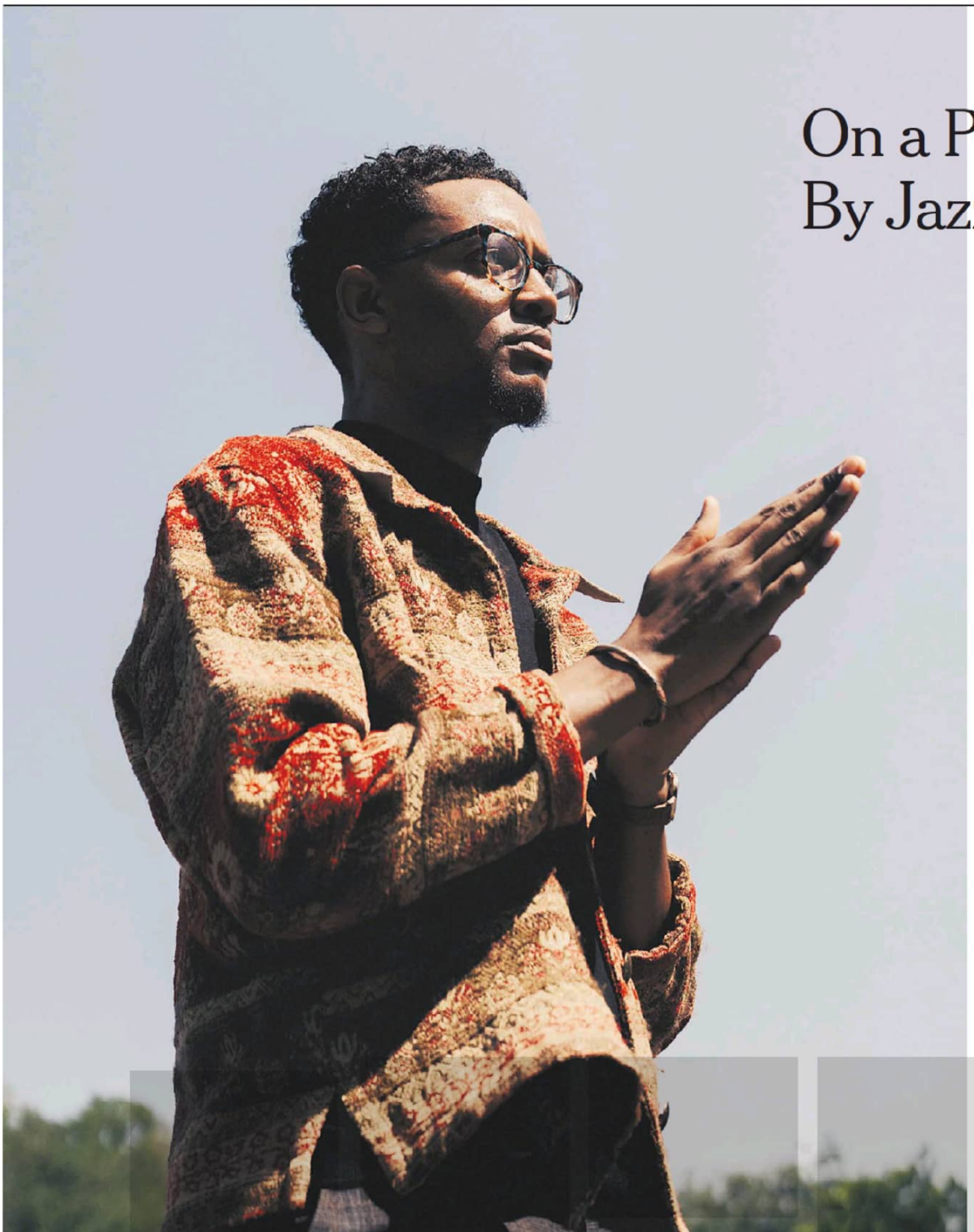






7 TRAVEL
Delighting in the stunning lavender fields found in Central Spain.

Arts
The New York Times



On a Path Paved By Jazz Mentors

A new album by the pianist Luther S. Allison is a nod to his elders.

By HELENE STAPINSKI

On a beautiful day in Harlem a few months before the release of his debut album, Luther S. Allison stood chatting a few yards away from Duke Ellington's white baby grand. Allison, a wiry 6-foot-4 with huge hands and a contagious enthusiasm, was surrounded by history at the National Jazz Museum — Eddie Lockjaw Davis's tenor saxophone, the famous Great Day in Harlem photo of 57 musicians taken on a stoop on 126th Street. It was a fitting scene for the pianist, a 28-year-old up-and-comer who has drawn comparisons to Mulgrew Miller and has learned to use the past as fuel for his own future.

Over the last whirlwind year, Allison won his first Grammy (for his work with the jazz vocalist Samara Joy), acted in and played music for Maggie Gyllenhaal's movie "The Bride," toured nationally with the singer Ekep Nkwelle, performed at the Mary Lou Williams Jazz Festival with the bassist Endea Owens and landed a fellowship at the Jazz Museum's Jazz Is: Now! program, which involves playing and curating a series of events. It's all happened so quickly, he hasn't even had time to hire a manager.

On Friday, Allison released his first LP, "I Owe It All to You," on Posi-Tone, and soon he will hit the road again. Jazz at Lincoln Center has chosen him as a featured artist for a 40-city bandleading tour across the country, arranging, playing and directing the music of New Orleans; he'll also tour Mexico with his own band in October.

"I've had unique opportunities to play with my elders," Allison said in his Southern lilt. "That gave me a lot more visibility than if I was only playing with people my age range." While an undergraduate student at the University of Tennessee, his mentor was Donald Brown, the Jazz Messengers pianist who schooled him on Memphis greats like Miller, Harold Mabern and James Williams.

"Donald would tell stories about them," Allison said, smiling at the memory. "It felt like we could have been just in his living room. He was just playing us music and ex-

CONTINUED ON PAGE C4

'Playing a song by someone I've admired for so much of my life is exciting but it's also daunting.'
LUTHER S. ALLISON

AMIR HAMJA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Surprises Abound At Emmys

Despite confusing categories, there were thrilling picks.

The 2024 Primetime Emmy nominations were announced on Wednesday. James Poniewozik and Margaret Lyons, television critics for The New York Times, discussed who made it and who didn't, why Emmy categories are increasingly irrelevant and which nominations made them smile.

JAMES PONIEWOZIK It seems like we were just talking about the Emmys — which we kind of were, the most recent awards having been handed out in January because of a strike delay.

That strike pause — coupled with the recent retirement of some hall-of-fame shows like "Succession" — may have something to do with one of the larger trends this year: The cupboard feels a little bare. There's plenty of good-enough TV (dare I say Mid?) on the prize list, not a lot of great. (Though

CONTINUED ON PAGE C4

'Conservative' Art or Not?

Valparaiso University says it should never have acquired an O'Keeffe and another painting.

By ANNIE AGUIAR

What makes a painting conservative?

An Indiana judge is facing that very question as Valparaiso University contends that it should be able to sell high-value paintings it owns, including a Georgia O'Keeffe landscape of the New Mexico desert, to finance a renovation of freshman dormitories.

When the private, nonprofit university announced its plan last year, it said the sale was necessary because enrollment had declined, which has also prompted the school to cut some programs and positions.

After opposition to the sale of the art that had long hung in its on-campus museum, the college is now arguing before a court that selling two of the paintings is justified because they should never have been acquired in the first place.

The stipulations of the 1953 gift used to purchase them, which Percy Sloan donated in honor of his father, Junius R. Sloan, a self-taught Hudson River School artist, said it could be spent only on "conservative" works.



TAYLOR GLASCOCK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Georgia O'Keeffe's "Rust Red Hills" (1930). Valparaiso University is arguing in an Indiana court that the university has the right to sell the work. A 1953 gift was to be spent only on "conservative" art.

The gift, which included money and hundreds of paintings, specified that any art acquired with the funds must be "exclusively by American artists preferably of American subjects" and "of the general character known as conservative and of any period of American art."

The paintings in question are "Rust Red Hills" by O'Keeffe (1930) and "The Silver Veil and the Golden Gate" by Childe Hassam (1914), an American Impressionist. In a court petition, the university says that because the paintings are from modernist art

CONTINUED ON PAGE C2

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER
PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604
COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW
pressreader

Deep Lessons And Cute Sharks

A marine biologist reflects on the barriers that she refused to let sink her studies.

By KATRINA MILLER

Jasmin Graham was on a mission. The marine biologist wanted to change not only the public's often misleading perception of sharks — in many cases, drawn from their harrowing portrayal in the novel "Jaws" and calcified in pop culture over the last 50 years — but also that of the people who study them.

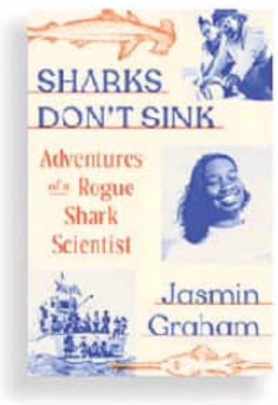
Once a marine biology Ph.D. student at Florida State University, Graham understood firsthand what it was like to try to make it in the field — and to be one of few Black women doing it. The challenges she faced in academia led to her fateful decision to leave the program in 2020 and pursue a career as a rogue scientist.

Graham, now 29, has since found success her own way, researching vanishing populations of sawfish, the harmful impacts of red tides on sharks and even the local ecological knowledge found among Black American fishers. In the same year she left graduate school, she teamed up with three other Black women to create Minorities in Shark Science, a global organization that promotes diversity and inclusion in the field.

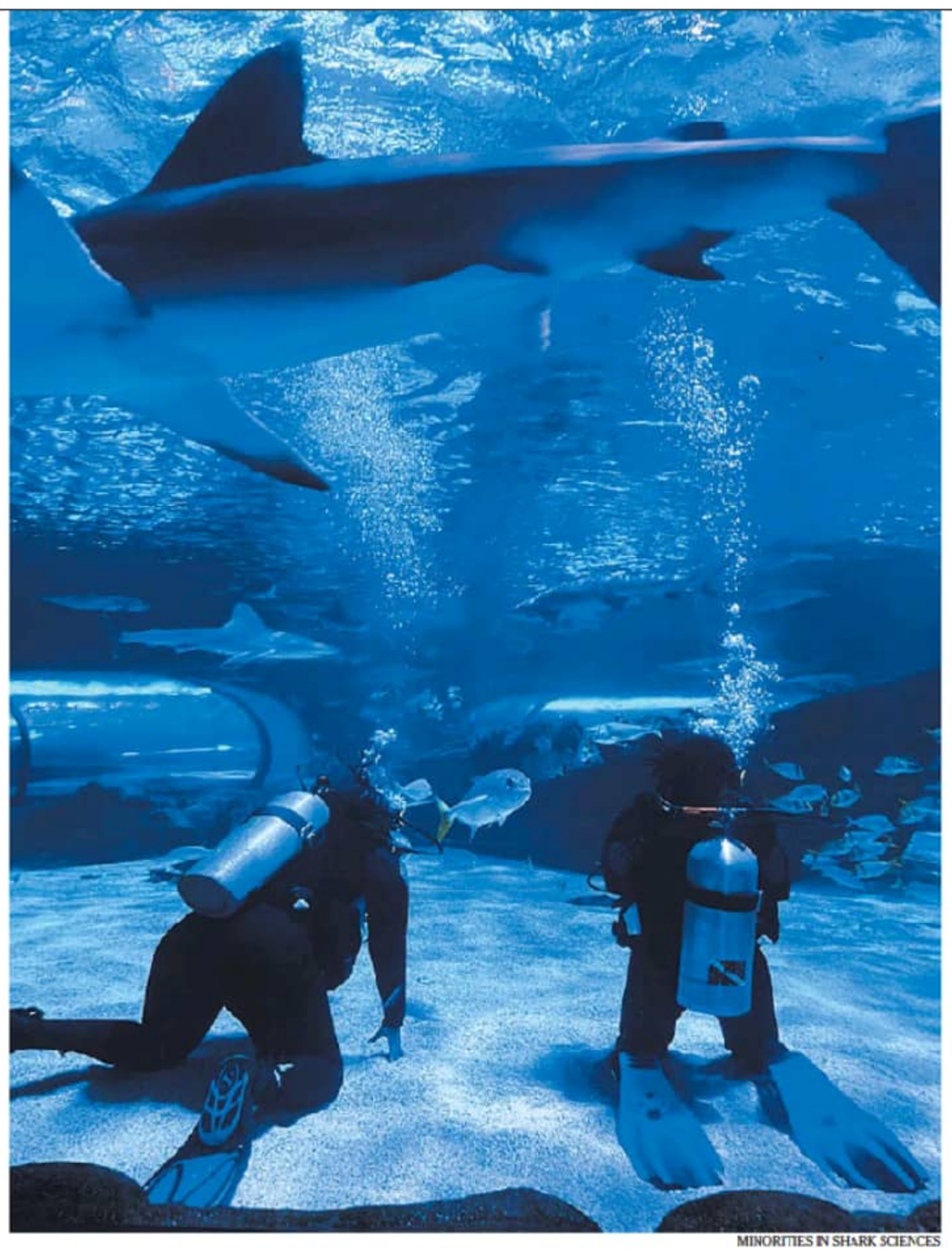
Graham's disenchantment with the traditional path to being a scientist — and how she overcame those bounds to forge her own trail — is explored in her new memoir, "Sharks Don't Sink," published by Pantheon on Tuesday.

Sprinkled between shark facts throughout the book, Graham also describes how she came to identify with the animals she studies. "When Black women fight back, we are seen as the enemy," she writes, "just like sharks, who, more often than not, bite only when provoked."

In a recent interview, Graham spoke with The New York Times about why sharks are misunderstood and what these large sea creatures have taught her — about science, life and, most importantly, herself. This conversation has been edited and condensed for clarity.



Graham describes how she came to identify with the animals she studies.



MINORITIES IN SHARK SCIENCES



TONYA WILEY/HAVENWORTH COASTAL CONSERVATION

Jasmin Graham co-founded Minorities in Shark Science after leaving academia. At far left, studying in Ripley's Aquarium and, in bottom photo, downloading data from an acoustic receiver.



MADELINE GRAY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

What do you wish people knew about sharks?

The image that people have of sharks is more of the exception, not the rule. People usually think about the big three: great whites, tiger sharks and bull sharks. The truth is there are about 500 species of sharks. Most are small — the average size of a shark is about three to four feet long — and most live in the deep sea, so you're not ever going to interact with or see them.

Some sharks are apex predators. But a lot of them are actually in the middle of the food chain, just vibing. There are a lot of them that are quite cute and adorable. Small and silly-looking.

Explain the parallel you draw between public perception of sharks and Black people.

Sharks have a bad reputation. They can't catch a break in the media. There might be a shark bite and maybe it was a little leopard shark, but what would be shown was a picture of a big, scary great white.

And similarly, in police brutality incidents, when somebody died, what got shown was the most thugged-out picture of this person. Yet people who commit very heinous crimes who are not Black get a graduation photo or something. I started seeing that, Ah, this is the same thing, and maybe we need to use similar approaches to tackling both of these issues.

In your book, you wrote a lot about the support you had growing up and in college to pursue marine biology. How did that change in graduate school?

The academic toxicity, the competition and the distrust was all very different from what I had experienced before. I'd ask somebody for notes and they didn't want to share. Or I'd ask somebody who won a grant if they could share their proposal with me, and they didn't want to share because we were in direct competition for money.

I didn't like that I was being forced into competition with a lot of people. I was raised in a community that was very much about lifting as you climb, that rising tides lift all boats.

I was definitely relieved to leave. We have this idea in society that quitting is weak, or that just because you leave something means you can't cut it. But some people just decide that they don't want it, that it's not worth it. And that's a valid choice.

Did you ever feel like you were too young to write a memoir?

When my literary agent reached out originally, I didn't know that I had anything to say. But then I started thinking about why my gut reaction was that I didn't have a valuable story. And how I probably thought that, as a young Black woman who is nearly 30 years old, it may be because I haven't seen a young Black woman who is 30 do something like this.

That felt like reason enough to do it: to be the example that it can be done, that you don't have to live this whole extravagant life to have a story worth telling. A story that is unfinished is still a beautiful story. I decided to write this book so that the next person that looks like me who gets asked to write a book doesn't hesitate.

That seems like the same philosophy that led you to help found Minorities in Shark Science. Has the field improved?

I met my first Black marine biologist in person when I was 22, while doing an internship at the Smithsonian Environmental Research Center. She was on a panel. I grabbed lunch with her afterward and told her she was the first I had ever met.

She asked me how old I was. And then she said: "Well, it's getting better. I was 32 the first time I met someone that looked like me." I think about that a lot, especially when I go to schools and talk to students. I'm keeping track in my mind that if I'm the first Black marine biologist they've met, then that experience for them was at age 12, or younger. It's getting better.

Does seeing those changes ever make you want to go back to finish your Ph.D.?

At this point, I don't feel like I need to go back to school. It wouldn't do anything extra for me. If I wanted to teach and be a professor, I'd probably need a Ph.D. But I don't think I ever want to give up the autonomy I have to go do that, and be absorbed by a larger institution.

It also feels a little redundant because I've done the equivalent of a Ph.D. in research. So it would just be going back to have somebody validate me, which feels unnecessary. I don't need a piece of paper to tell me who I am or what I can do.

To Sell Paintings, College Says They're Not 'Conservative'

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

movements and are not representational, they are not conservative and therefore can now be sold.

"At the time those paintings were purchased in the 1960s, the committee knew that it was straying from Sloan's directive to acquire conservative art," the petition reads.

The third painting the university wants to sell, Frederic E. Church's "Mountain Landscape," was a part of Sloan's original donation and is not included in the "conservative" argument.

Valparaiso also argued in its petition that its financial situation makes it impossible to care for and display the three paintings properly and to protect them from any protests. It cited as examples the climate activists who have targeted famous museums like the Louvre and the National Gallery in London.

All three paintings were removed from the campus's Brauer Museum in September and have since remained in what the university called a "secure off-site location."

The university needs legal permission to stray from the terms of Sloan's donation, which preceded the existence of the Brauer. It contends that fulfilling the specific intention of the gift is no longer possible, and that improving conditions for the student body is a suitable charitable use.

The Indiana attorney general's office, which represents the state in charitable trust litigation, declined to object to the petition. Judge Michael Fish of Porter County Superior Court is considering the university's petition as well as a motion to intervene from Richard Brauer, 96, whom the museum is named after.

Jonathan Canning, who was the director of the Brauer before the position was terminated last month, said that declaring that a painting was not "conservative" enough to be in the Sloan collection was a legal tactic that did not make sense in a museum context.

"I think it was a clever way of trying to pick at the validity of the paintings, and it was done because they thought they wouldn't have to answer to anyone but the judge," Canning said after his position was cut.

Valparaiso confirmed that Canning's job was "eliminated as part of an administrative restructuring" but did not answer questions about its court petition or any potential sales.





In 1962, when Brauer was a Valparaiso art professor and a member of the committee created to administer the gift, he successfully lobbied the rest of the committee and the Sloan-appointed trustee, Louis Miller, to expand the collection to include American modern art.

Notes from that meeting included in the university's petition show that Miller agreed that the collection's effectiveness was limited by its focus on the Hudson River School. "He suggested that we should gather paintings of diverse styles — including some of the extremes of 'modern' art," as long as they communicated to students a greater awareness of beauty, the notes read.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY TAYLOR GLASCOCK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Valparaiso University Center for the Arts in Indiana. The university has petitioned a court, seeking to sell Childe Hassam's "The Silver Veil and the Golden Gate" (1914), top left, and a Georgia O'Keeffe work. It also plans to sell Frederic E. Church's "Mountain Landscape" (circa 1849), left.

Miller disliked abstract art, according to a chronological history of the Sloan collection that Brauer wrote for its 50th anniversary in 2003, but would not veto acquiring a work unless it was "totally abstract."

Brauer wrote that the committee had "many heated discussions" about major modern acquisitions. "What was done, rightly or wrongly, in the years 1958 to 1972, with the great help of a very favorable art market, was to purchase nine paintings by first-ranked 20th-century American painters," he wrote.

The university's petition says the committee bought the O'Keeffe in 1962 for $5,700 and the Hassam in 1967 for $9,000. "Rust Red Hills" renders New Mexico mountains in draping, muscular forms, and "The Silver Veil and the Golden Gate" explodes a pre-bridge San Francisco Bay into an impressionistic light-dappled array.

Those modernist American landscapes are now the most valuable works in the Brauer's collection. Appraisals commissioned by the university estimated fair market values of $10.5 million to $15 million for the O'Keeffe and $1 million to $3.5 million for the Hassam. (The Church is valued at $1 million to $3 million.)

Whether the paintings are actually sold, though, may depend on how the judge interprets the word "conservative," and the definitions presented have varied widely.

In a filing alongside the university's petition, the boutique appraisal and art advisory firm Sterling Teel Capital argues that "Rust Red Hills" (and American modernist art in general) is not conservative because it is abstract and "rejects the mere transcription of a place."

In Brauer's motion, the Chicago art historian Wendy Greenhouse argues that "conservative" is a highly relative term and that if the collection abided by the word as defined when the trust agreements were written, it could exclude work by Native American or Black artists.

"The university is being extremely conservative — that is literal — in its interpretation of Percy Sloan's trust," Greenhouse wrote.

Linda Grasso, an O'Keeffe scholar, said the painter largely avoided political language but did see her work as part of an avant garde movement.

A broad spectrum of observers appreciated her work: The conservative presidents Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan recognized O'Keeffe with some of the nation's highest honors.

The partisan preference of Hassam, whose most famous work is of American flags on New York City's Fifth Avenue at the outset of World War I, is somewhat clearer. In a 2004 review of a Hassam retrospective, the New Yorker art critic Peter Schjeldahl called him "conservative to the core."

Because Percy Sloan never married and has no known descendants, Brauer appears to have the best chance of preventing the paintings from being sold.

He said the fact that the trustee approved of including modern art in the collection was reason enough to reject the university's argument for selling the paintings. He is vigorously fighting the sale, he said, because he feels strongly that dormitory renovations are not equivalent to exposing students to prized artwork.

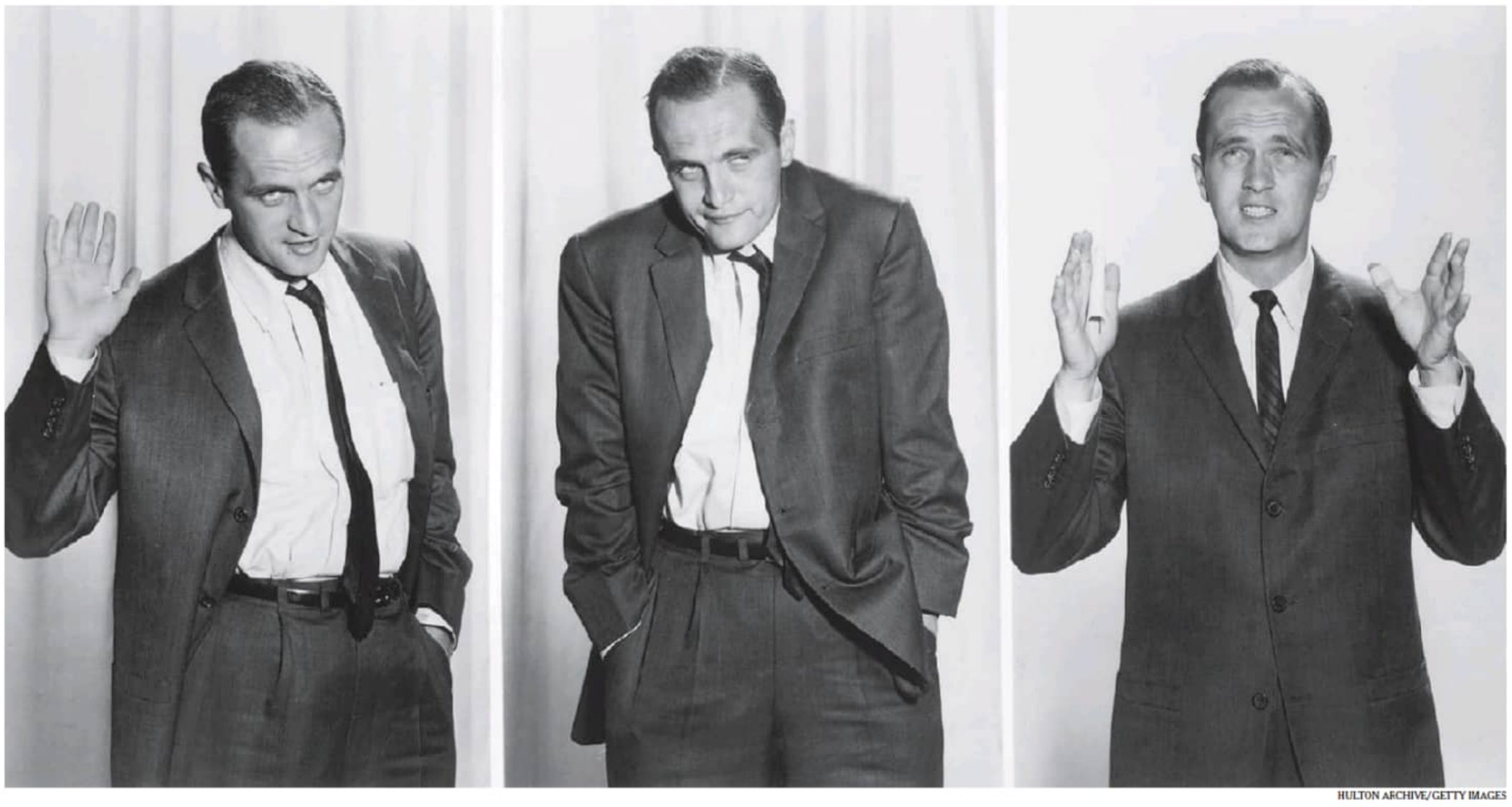
"The masterpiece painting is a great painting, and it's a great teacher," Brauer said. "We'd lose three great teachers."

Sloan never defined what he meant by "conservative," with that qualification coming in his last will and testament, a largely terse legal document. But in the trustee agreement, he went into more detail about what he hoped the collection would deliver.

"It is asserted that beauty is everywhere observable," he writes. "Strange to say, this truth must be demonstrated: people must be shown."

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604 COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW pressreader

JASON ZINOMAN | AN APPRAISAL



HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

Hello? Do I Have a Stand-Up Performer for You.

The comedy of Bob Newhart continued to be a source of brilliance until his final years.

BOB NEWHART, WHO DIED on Thursday at the age of 94, has been such a beloved giant of popular culture for so long that it's easy to forget how unlikely it was that he became one of the founding fathers of stand-up comedy.

Before basically inventing the hit stand-up special, with the 1960 Grammy-winning album "The Button-Down Mind of Bob Newhart" — that doesn't even count his pay-per-view event broadcast on Canadian television that some cite as the first filmed special — he was a soft-spoken accountant who had never done a set in a nightclub. That he made a classic with so little preparation is one of the great miracles in the history of comedy.

Onstage, he didn't curse, bust taboos or show anger. His style was gentle and wry. As opposed to motormouth contemporaries like Lenny Bruce or Mort Sahl, his defining trait was a cheerful, sloth-paced delivery, stammering, pausing, gradually, meticulously working his way through a sentence. He belonged to neither of the great branches of American humor — the legacies of Jewish or Black comedy. A Roman Catholic from the west side of Chicago, Newhart came off as an entirely respectable example of Midwestern nice.

Newhart brought his own kind of neurosis, a comedy rooted in nuanced deadpan and silence. He was exasperated, clinging to sanity. He wasn't one to get revenge in a joke. When I met him at his home for an interview tied to his 90th birthday, he had no scores to settle, no grievances or assumptions he was looking to upend. He was even humble and magnanimous talking about death, saying he thought he knew what awaited him after he passed away, but wasn't sure. Then he joked about a comic who famously (and unfairly) accused him of stealing a bit: "Maybe I'll come back as Shelley Berman and be pissed at myself."

Bob Newhart could occasionally get lumped in with the "sick comics" of the mid-20th century and his early work did have a political, even slangy edge. One of his signature bits, where an advertising man coaches Abraham Lincoln before the Gettysburg Address, was a pointed critique of the cynicism of professional politics. "Hi, Abe, sweetheart" begins the man from Madison Avenue, who encourages him to work in a plug for an Abraham Lincoln T-shirt. When the president says he wants to change "four score and seven years ago" to "87," the ad man first patiently explains they already test marketed this in Erie. Then he says: "It's sort of like Mark Antony saying "Friends, Romans, countrymen, I've got something I want to tell you."

This joke seems less subversive today, but just as funny. And that gets to the most remarkable achievement in a career filled with them. Bob Newhart holds up. In fact, it's hard to think of a stand-up from that era who is a better argument against the commonplace idea that comedy does not age well. His work doesn't just live on in its influences, although you can definitely hear his pregnant pauses in the stand-up of Ellen DeGeneres (who has cited him as a key figure in her career).

Bob Newhart, above, whose comedic style was rooted in nuanced deadpan and silence.

Put on his old comedy albums and you will chuckle. "The Bob Newhart Show" is half a century old and remains hilarious. Paving the way for shows like "Seinfeld," he played a straight man surrounded by eccentrics, giving him an opportunity to express endless kinds of exasperation.

Later, his friendship with Don Rickles gave him another wonderful foil to play off. Newhart, who got started in comedy in the 1950s working on bits he taped with a friend, understood that the real partnership in comedy is with the audience, and knew how to plant an idea in their heads and let them run with it. That's why the phone was such an effective and enduring tool for him. It allowed him to use pauses to tell the story of what you don't hear.

What made Newhart endure is that the core of his comic appeal was not in a particular satirical target or style, but in its formal brilliance. For a 2014 tribute to Rickles, he made a video whose entire joke was that he was too inept to tell one effectively. The iconic final moment of his series "Newhart" in 1990 ends on a callback to his previous show that finished its run in 1978, essentially making a joke with a punchline that took 12 years.

People are always saying comedy is about timing, but no one tells you what the right speed is. Newhart talked about being born with a sense of time, and even used the metaphor of a metronome inside one's head. But an art form (and Newhart is part of the reason it's not pretentious to refer to comedy as one) cannot be broken down like a machine. It evolved in part because of the bold efforts of its greatest artists.

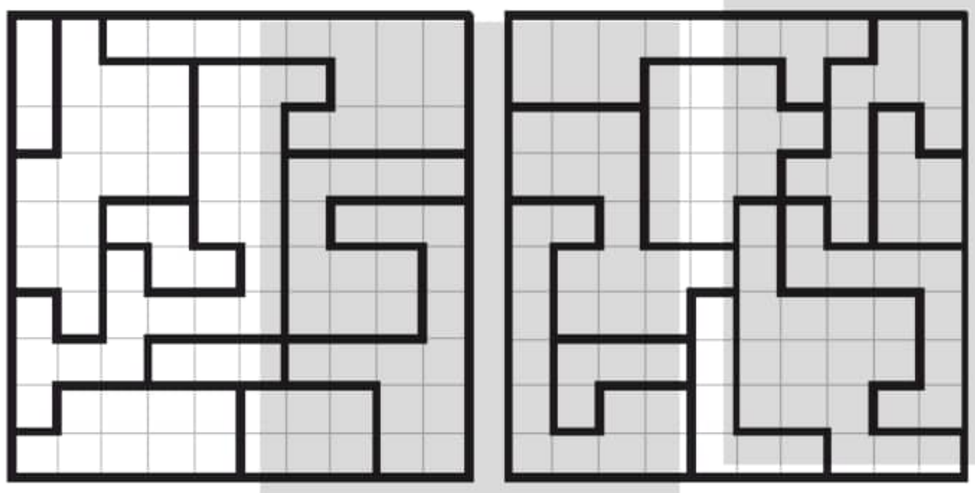
Newhart's legacy is changing the pace of comedy. To be sure, he was building on the work of Jack Benny, who also knew the value of a long pause and a simple gesture. There is as much music in his reticence as there is in Richard Pryor's volubility.

Most comedians are in a hurry, filling the room with quips. There's a wonderful tension to this brand of comedy, but Newhart showed us there is another way. You can find surprise in adjusting speeds just as basketball players like Luka Doncic can get past defenders by moving between slow and slightly less slow.

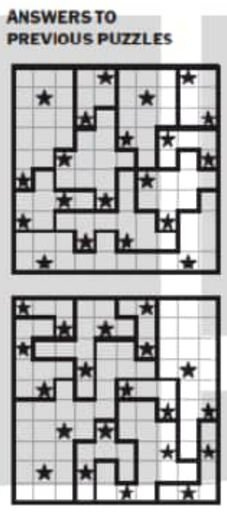
Not everyone understood. Newhart's stammer was an incredible tool, but network executives for his TV show told him to stop using it. His response was that the stammer got him a house in Beverly Hills.

Like so many comedians, Newhart lived a long life. Some conclude from this that laughter is the best medicine. Newhart credited it as the secret to a long marriage. But when you listen to his work, a different thought comes to mind. Bob Newhart just took his time.

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.

Copyright © 2024 www.krazydad.com

Wit Twister

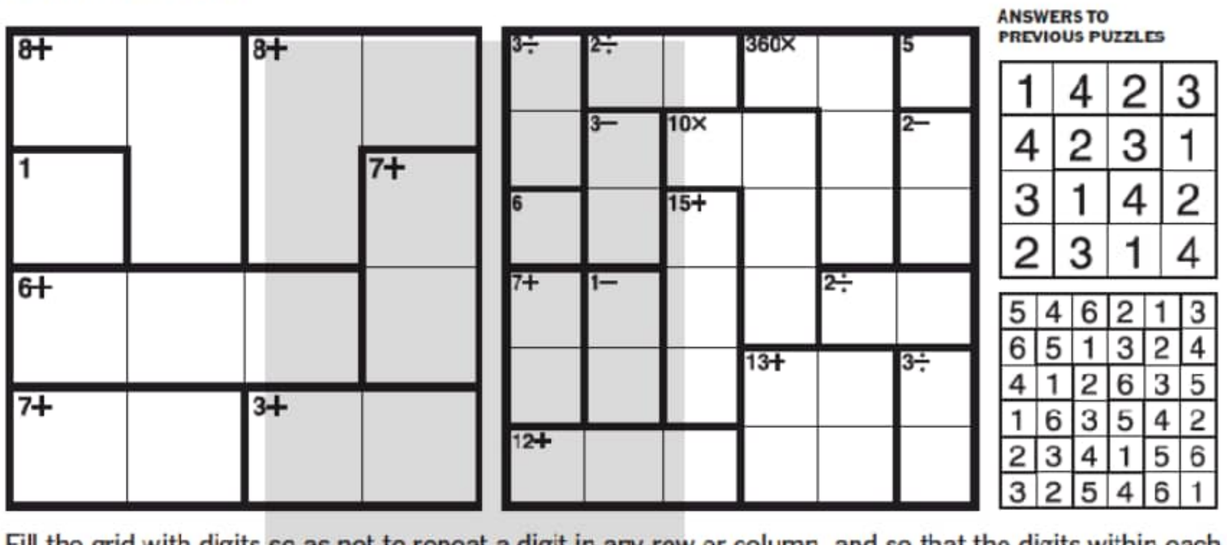
"That new kid _ _ _ _ _ _'_ really great — I'm quite impressed!"
Exclaimed the Quidditch coach. "So Malfoy (he's a rotter)
Will warm the bench as Harry soars. Do not _ _ _ _ _ _ _
That it's unsafe; I'll put in Weasley as his _ _ _ _ _ _ _."

Complete the verse with words that are anagrams of each other. Each underline represents a letter.

PUZZLE BY STUART CLELAND

YESTERDAY'S ANSWER Straw hat --> thwarts

KenKen



ANSWERS TO PREVIOUS PUZZLES

1	4	2	3
4	2	3	1
3	1	4	2
2	3	1	4

5	4	6	2	1	3
6	5	1	3	2	4
4	1	2	6	3	5
1	6	3	5	4	2
2	3	4	1	5	6
3	2	5	4	6	1

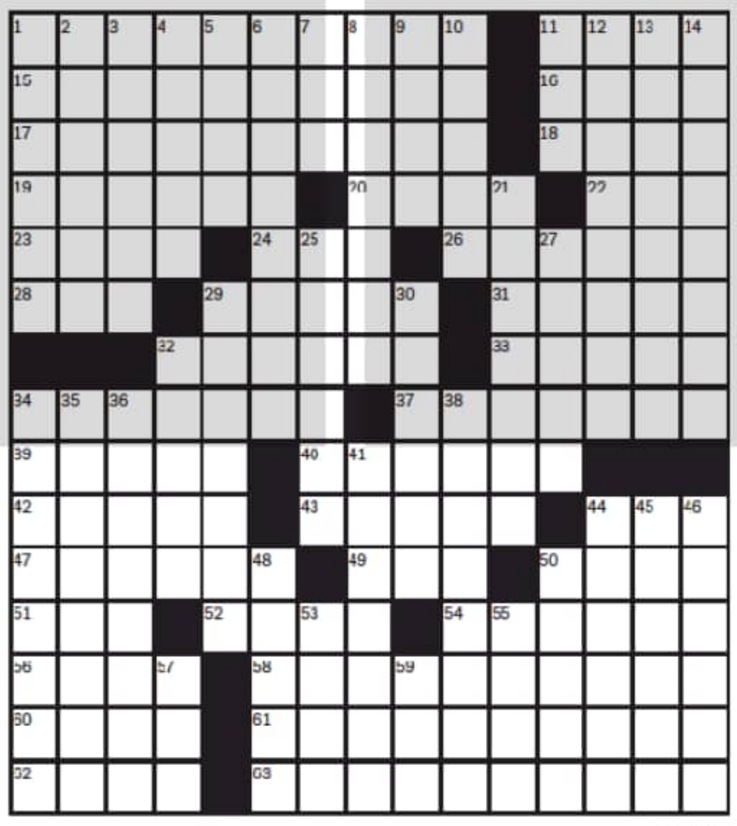
Fill the grid with digits so as not to repeat a digit in any row or column, and so that the digits within each heavily outlined box will produce the target number shown, by using addition, subtraction, multiplication or division, as indicated in the box. A 4x4 grid will use the digits 1-4. A 6x6 grid will use 1-6.

For more games: www.nytimes.com/games

KenKen® is a registered trademark of Nextoy, LLC. Copyright © 2024 www.KENKEN.com. All rights reserved.

Crossword | Edited by Joel Fagliano

PUZZLE BY RICKY J. SIROIS



7/20/24

ACROSS

1 Bungee jumping might be seen on it
11 Aggressively promote
15 About to get it
16 ___ Wood, portrayer of the Bond girl Plenty O'Toole in "Diamonds Are Forever"
17 Touring show for figure skaters
18 Part of UX
19 Actors Feldman and Haim
20 28-Across, for one
22 "We'll update you once we know," in brief
23 Liberal arts college in Michigan
24 Compose
26 A bad look
28 Receiving gains: Abbr.
29 General idea
31 Company descended from the Rockefeller oil empire
32 David ___, Grammy-winning French D.J.
33 Courage
34 "Ain't happenin'"
37 Like some window shades
39 Dance around
40 Plot
42 Characters in "300"
43 "___ you!"
44 Arthur of "Maude"
47 Bit of advice from an expert
49 Test important to M.A. seekers
50 Some disposable razors
51 Academic extension
52 Place to pick up a puppy, perhaps
54 Settle (on)
56 Supreme leader?
58 Many a retiree these days
60 Tech news website
61 Popular choice for un antojito ("little craving")
62 Elusive, in a sense
63 "Makes sense"

DOWN

1 Spanish province whose capital is Bilbao
2 Vast
3 Magic words
4 Where the Hangul writing system is used
5 ___ shop (modern-day "storefront")
6 Like some basic bikes
7 Office hookup, for short
8 Defensive denial
9 Small denomination
10 Reward for staying
11 Seasonal threat
12 The end of the road, say
13 Singly
14 Got deep in the weeds?
21 Eponym for a ship in a famous thought experiment
25 Punish like Montresor does Fortunato in "The Cask of Amontillado"
27 An Englishman in New York, maybe
29 Starts to pay attention
30 Beat poet?
32 Gal of note
34 Indigenous people of the Pacific Northwest
35 Tired
36 Horses around?
38 Have to shave one's head, perhaps
41 Precursor to precalculus
44 Fast-food classic
45 Online payment option
46 Team whose Triple-A affiliate is called the Sugar Land Space Cowboys
48 Historic Milwaukee brewer
50 Local life
53 Something worn in the woods
55 Noted fantasy series, for short
57 Dump
59 "And ___ ..."

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

A	V	I	L	A	■	L	A	W	■	■	P	O	N	D
R	A	R	I	N	T	O	G	O	■	D	O	V	E	R
I	C	A	N	T	E	V	E	N	■	O	P	E	R	A
S	A	T	E	■	N	E	D	■	N	O	T	N	O	W
E	Y	E	D	R	O	P	■	■	I	N	O	T	■	■
■	■	■	P	R	O	F	I	L	E	P	I	C	S	■
S	W	I	N	G	S	T	A	T	E	■	L	M	A	O
L	I	M	O	S	■	I	N	S	■	S	I	E	N	A
O	D	O	R	■	G	O	T	A	B	A	D	R	A	P
W	E	N	T	B	A	N	A	N	A	S	■	■	■	■
■	■	A	H	E	M	■	■	H	A	S	S	L	E	D
B	U	R	P	E	E	■	M	O	I	■	T	A	X	I
A	F	O	O	T	■	P	E	N	N	Y	A	N	T	E
L	O	L	L	S	■	S	M	O	G	A	L	E	R	T
I	S	L	E	■	■	Y	E	R	■	M	E	S	A	S

Online subscriptions: Today's puzzle and more than 9,000 past puzzles, nytimes.com/crosswords ($39.95 a year).
Read about and comment on each puzzle: nytimes.com/wordplay.

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604 COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW pressreader

On a Path Paved By Jazz Mentors

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

pressing himself freely and it was so soulful."

Brown was equally impressed by his young pupil. When he first heard Allison play, he was struck by how much he sounded like Miller, "that big beautiful sound and touch," he said in an interview. "You can feel the warmth and love that went into molding him, and that comes across when he plays."

Allison grew up in North Carolina, steeped in the traditions of Sunday church hymns and the blues soundscape resonating from parks, restaurants and bars. His home was full of music, though no one in his family was a musician. His mother was always dancing, and his father, who built up a huge CD collection, would play Stevie Wonder, smooth jazz and more. Allison asked for drums for his fifth birthday, and later picked up the saxophone.

He recalled his parents' mind-set as "Let's invest in this," he said of his budding musicianship. "They never said, 'You need to have a backup plan.'"

As a boy, Allison took piano lessons but didn't get serious about the instrument until he was a junior in high school, when he was discovered by the Jazz Arts Initiative in Charlotte in 2011. That program, now called JazzArts Charlotte, had just begun and was looking for a pianist for its all-star ensemble to perform gigs out in the community and serve as a student ambassador. When a friend brought Allison in one day and he started playing, the program's co-founder Lonnie Davis was a bit shocked.

"I was so blown away," Davis said in an interview. "He didn't have a lot of jazz chops. But with what he was able to articulate, I knew he was special." She proudly shared a video of Allison sitting on a piano bench next to Sean Mason, another program alum who is also now a rising piano star. The two remain friends.

Allison's professional recording debut came in 2015, at age 19, when the trombonist Michael Dease recruited him to play drums on his album "Father Figure." Dease introduced him to the drummer Ulysses Owens Jr., who hired him just after graduate school at Michigan State University to play piano on a world tour in his first Generation Y quintet. Owens encouraged Allison's move to New York City in 2019, where he quickly scored gigs at clubs like Smalls, Minton's and Smoke.

"He's just a great talent," Owens said. "He's reamplifying the tradition of jazz piano and he's lifting up a legacy that's the foundation for many people. He's the blue-collar guy, rolling up his sleeves and giving everybody what they need."

Soon after Allison joined Owens's band, Joy saw him playing in a video online and decided she needed him to join her. By November 2022, they were touring around the world.

"What sets Luther apart, for me," Joy said in an interview, "is the fact that his openness and generosity as a person translates to how he interacts with everyone in the band on his instrument. The passion that he plays with uplifts those around him and inspires everyone to play at their best."

Allison started work on "I Owe It All to You" in 2018 but laid down all 10 tracks in one day at Michael Brorby's Acoustic Recording studios in Brooklyn in May 2023. The album, which features a simple trio of piano, bass (Boris Kozlov) and drums (Zach Adleman), was produced by Marc Free, the Posi-Tone label boss. It's steeped in the straightforward tradition of deep blues, gospel and hard bop, and nearly captures Allison's intensity and charisma playing live. All that's missing is his perennially pumping loafer-clad left foot and his megawatt smile.

The album's four original compositions build on what Allison learned from his college mentor, Brown, and its title cut is dedicated to everyone who's paved the way for him: God, Brown, his parents and all those in between. That song, which opens the LP, starts with Allison playing a low tremolo that establishes a blues groove, before snapping into lightning fast melodies, lush chords and glissandos.

A pianist who tries to uphold a musical legacy and uplift other musicians has had a busy year.

The LP's covers include Miller's waltz "From Day to Day," Mahern's "There But for the Grace of . . . " and a piece from Brown, "New York," which Allison sped up and reharmonized in a couple of sections.

"Playing a song by someone I've admired for so much of my life is exciting but it's also daunting because I want to do this person justice," Allison explained, waving his big hands for emphasis. "You're a little fearful but you're also very excited to pay tribute."

One standout is the original, achingly tender ballad "Until I See You Again," which Allison wrote for his girlfriend, now his fiancée, the day he moved from Michigan to New York. It's classic blues improvisation — "not just off the top of your head, but from the bottom of your heart," he said.

When he listens to his album, Allison can hear the places where he's grown and stretched in just the past year. He's already working on composing his next one, which will branch out into orchestration, including strings, horns and woodwinds, as well as vocals, which he's never written before.

Brown said he was happy to see Allison coming into his own not only as a player but as a composer. "But he's still that humble and modest guy," he said. "The talent is there but also the work ethic and the creativity, which you can't really teach."



AMIR HAMJA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Luther S. Allison's first album, "I Owe It All to You," includes original compositions and music from some of the musicians he admires.

Surprises Abound in This Year's Emmy Nominations

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

we can discuss the exceptions: Very happy to see recognition for "Reservation Dogs.")

Still, there are simply a lot of awards, so there's always something to talk about. It was a big year for "The Bear" in comedy (is it one?) and "Shogun" in drama series (it sure felt like a limited series when I watched it complete its story). It feels like there has been a lot more talk this year about categorization and category-gaming, but let me know how you're feeling.

MARGARET LYONS The categories are illegible and increasingly nonsensical. What do we gain by, for example, putting "Finding Your Roots With Henry Louis Gates Jr." in competition with "How To With John Wilson"? The double-dipping between talk and variety is snoozy, and the category gaming for "The Bear" and "Shogun" feels if not sleazy, then at least kind of dumb! The Emmys wax and wane in terms of legitimacy, and I wonder if it's even possible for a structured awards format like this to retain meaning when TV itself is more flexible, its genres more porous.

PONIEWOZIK Yes, the way to eliminate the arbitrary category divisions would be . . . just not have them. Just have best series! Best cinematography! Best directing! Unless we resurrect Aristotle to sort this out, I think any proposed tweaking (sort series by run time? broadcast vs. cable vs. streaming? weight class?) would just invite other absurdities. But the Emmys exist to give out Emmys, and I assume reducing the number of them would be the Hollywood equivalent of campaigning on entitlement cuts.

But whether or not "Shogun" is a drama series, it at least classed up what was shaping up to be a pretty weak category. Although I would have hoped that it would have left room for the excellent "The Sympathizer" in limited series; instead, that show got noted only for its weakest aspect, the multiple stunt-casting of Robert Downey Jr.



MAX

SHANE BROWN/FX

AMAZON PRIME VIDEO

Top, "Scavengers Reign," which was nominated for best animated series. Above left, D'Pharaoh Woon-A-Tai, nominated for "Reservation Dogs." Above right, Jharrel Jerome as seen in "I'm a Virgo."

LYONS Jim, free your mind from the shackles of "best"! My dream Emmys would honor however much excellence was present in any given year. If five great dramedies blow us all away, then five great dramedies get Emmys; if everyone's mid, we'll try again next year. Think of it as higher but wider standards. It'll never happen — but then again, I thought the Emmys would never wake up to Matt Berry's performance on "What We Do in the Shadows," and I am thrilled to be wrong.

PONIEWOZIK Margaret, I just want to hear a Matt Berry acceptance speech. He doesn't even have to win — he could give Jeremy Allen White's if necessary!

There was a lot that made me smile on this list. The gorgeous animated series "Scavengers Reign" may have been cut short on Max, but the Emmys didn't forget it. D'Pharaoh Woon-A-Tai broke into the comedy acting category for the last season of "Reservation Dogs" (though Devery Jacobs should have as well). And all hail the reality-hosting nomination for Alan Cumming, a peacocking Shakespearean hoot on "The Traitors."

LYONS Along with "Scavengers," I was jazzed to see "Blue Eye Samurai" get a nod — a gorgeous, violent historical epic that will be up against "Bob's Burgers" because, again, Emmy categories are bad.

I was also glad to see the documentary mini-series "Telemarketers" nominated; that was one of my favorites last year, a show that was about a lot of things at once without being messy or unfocused. I also loved John Early's special "Now More Than Ever," which is nominated for outstanding writing for a variety special — a category that also includes the Oscars.

I am mystified by the lack of recognition for "The Righteous Gemstones." Who's missing for you?

PONIEWOZIK I have some snubs too. But I believe that if I complain about what should have been on a list, I have to say what I'd take off to make room. Only life can pay for life. So: Put the inventive "I'm a Virgo" on the outstanding comedy list and cut the try-hard period satire "Palm Royale." Sub in Jharrel Jerome of "Virgo" for any of Larry David, Steve Martin or Martin Short. (You are national treasures! You don't need this!) Swap out the fancy mediocrity "The Gilded Age" for the bananas cringe-horror of "The Curse."

Then there are the just plain surprises. "Elsbeth" has been such a full-employment program for top-notch guest stars that I was expecting it to get multiple nods, say Linda Lavin or Jane Krakowski. And speaking of "The Curse," no Emma Stone? Does TV awards' deference to movie stars count for nothing anymore?

LYONS Wild that "The Curse" came up empty and also shocking to me that "Expats" met the same fate. I thought Lulu Wang's direction there was breathtaking.

If there was a show this year that was undeniable, though, it was "Baby Reindeer," and indeed that notched a ton of nominations.

PONIEWOZIK "Baby Reindeer" was what I wanted more of this year — something that grabbed me and slapped me awake.

Instead, this felt a bit like a half-season of TV, and I can only get half-passionate about this Emmy list. Like Randy Jackson of "American Idol," I ain't mad at it. Most of what was good got recognized. "The Bear" may be a comedy, it may be a drama — it is the savory cannoli of television — but it was one of the best *shows* of the season. (Keep in mind we are talking the glorious Season 2, not the step-down of Season 3.) Ultimately that's what matters, not how you organize the menu.

Film at Lincoln Center
LAST SUMMER DAILY: 12:00, 2:10, 6:30, 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)
KINGDOM: RETURN OF THE GREAT GENERAL: 12:30PM (WITH INTRO AND Q&A)
BRIEF HISTORY OF A FAMILY: 4:15PM
18X2 BEYOND YOUTHFUL DAYS: 6:30PM
OPERATION UNDEAD: 9:15PM (WITH INTRO AND Q&A)
144 & 165 W. 65th St. filmlinc.org

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER
PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604
COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW
pressreader

Making a Mockery of Denial

Using a hoax to play a joke on moon-landing conspiracy theorists. But which will they believe?

By ANNIE AGUIAR

The new Scarlett Johansson-Channing Tatum vehicle, "Fly Me to the Moon," uses a long-debunked conspiracy theory as the jumping-off point for a space-race romantic comedy. At the end of the 1960s, a wary NASA recognizes the need for better public relations during the Vietnam War. The resulting campaign leads to a faked version of the Apollo 11 mission being shot on a sound stage even as the real mission is unfolding. Shenanigans, and romance, ensue.

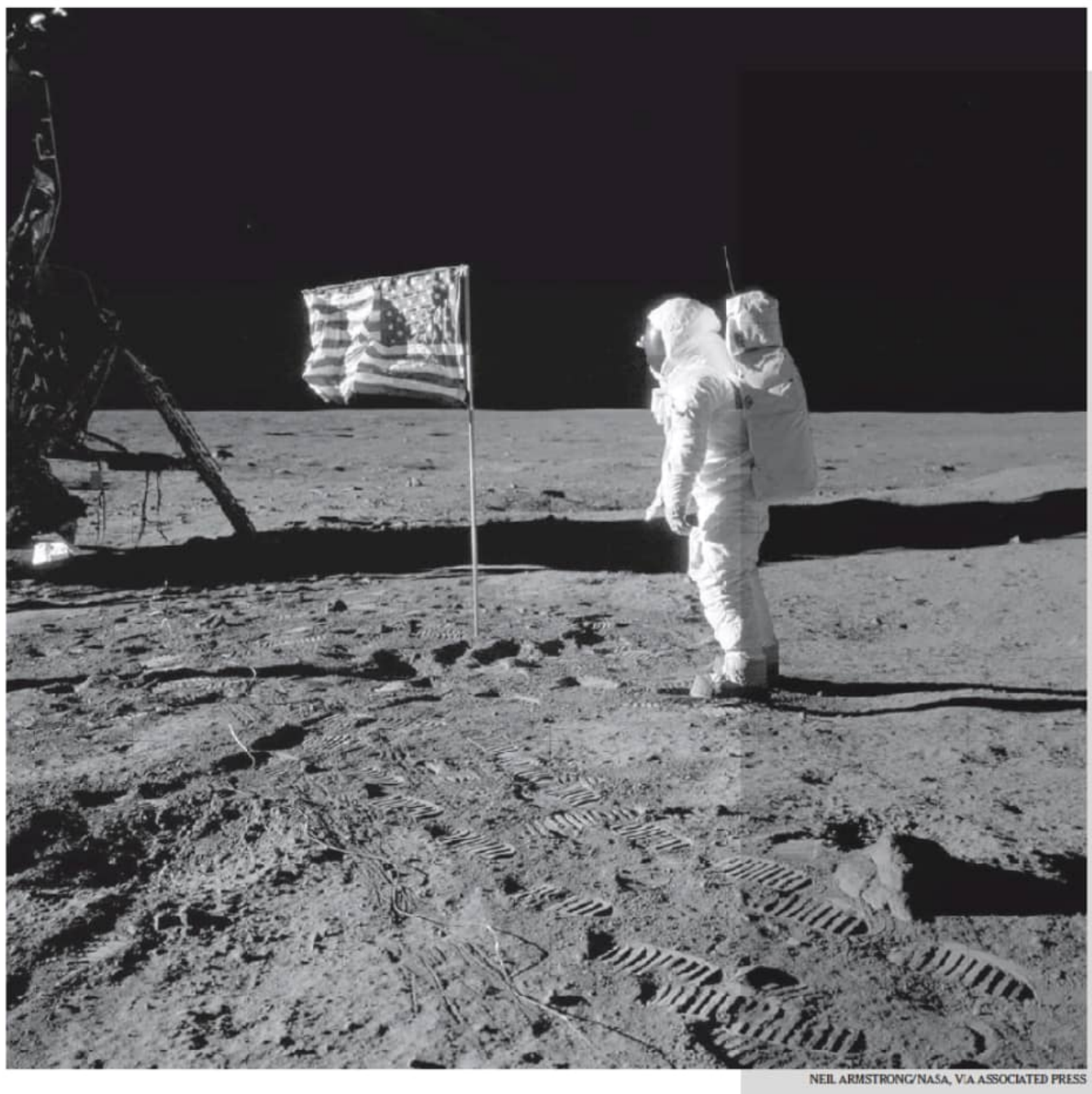
"Fly Me to the Moon" isn't the first movie based on the mistaken belief that the moon landing was a hoax, a conspiracy theory that first arose in the 1970s. "Capricorn One" (1978), about a faked mission to Mars, taps into Watergate-era institutional distrust, and more recently, "Moonwalkers" (2015) pairs a C.I.A. agent with a rock band manager to fake the Apollo 11 landing.

What sets "Fly Me to the Moon" apart is its insistence on the truth. The movie's writers say they hope it will reinforce the real story of the moon landing. But is that possible in a post-Covid age when conspiracy theories are amplified on social media?

The screenplay, written by Rose Gilroy and based on a story by Keenan Flynn and Bill Kirstein, plays with the theory, including a joke on some conspiracists' belief that the director Stanley Kubrick supposedly had a hand in faking the historic event. (He did not.) But ultimately the film emphasizes that the Apollo 11 landing did take place.

Flynn said the initial idea for the movie came in 2016. As the nation wrangled with questions about truth during a presidential campaign in which Donald J. Trump frequently castigated the "lying" media, the moon landing made for a perfect setting.

"That was the assignment," Flynn said. "How do you have your cake and eat it, too? You have fun with the fake moon landing, but you really bring home that truth matters by highlighting that achievement."



NEIL ARMSTRONG/NASA, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS



WARNER BROS., VIA GETTY IMAGES



DAN McFADDEN/SONY PICTURES

Above, Buzz Aldrin in a NASA image from the moon landing in 1969. The film "Fly Me to the Moon" walks a fine line to debunk the myth that it was fake. Left, Scarlett Johansson and Channing Tatum star in "Fly Me to the Moon." Far left, Sam Waterston, O.J. Simpson and James Brolin as seen in "Capricorn One," a 1978 movie about a fake Mars landing.

Gilroy said that she had read some books to better understand the conspiracy but that there was simply nothing to them.

"We wanted to build a story around the idea of these people coming together to ensure that the mission is real," she said. "Not in any of my research did I ever come across one iota of a fact that made me question in any way the validity of this accomplishment."

Adam Frank, an astronomer and physicist at the University of Rochester whose work focuses on science denial, said pop culture had a responsibility to fight a nihilistic tendency to doubt science and human potential.

"It's lazy writing to say 'the government was in on the conspiracy' as opposed to 'people actually all worked together and they found the answer,'" Frank said. "They worked for 20 years and sent a probe to Mars and it did exactly what they said they were going to do. Somehow, that is less exciting than 'It didn't work and they had a conspiracy.'"

"Fly Me to the Moon" does focus on the laborious team effort that went into the landing. But now that it's easier than ever to take an image out of context and spread it online, good intentions can be lost. Fretting about the film may also be quaint at this point: Images generated by artificial intelligence showing a faked-moon-landing film set went viral earlier this year.

Lawrence Hamilton, a professor of sociology at the University of New Hampshire who studies anti-science conspiracy belief, pointed to an image used by moon landing deniers as a cautionary tale. The photo, showing astronauts without their helmets during a training exercise at the Kennedy Space Center, has been shared repeatedly on social media over the years.

"They said, 'This is them faking the moon landing, and it's proof,'" he recalled. "And they will do the same thing with clips from this movie. They'll do whatever it takes to say, 'This proves what we've said all along.'"

For people who don't have strong memories of watching the moon landing, that influence can be strong. In a 2021 national survey, Hamilton found that only 12 percent of respondents believed that the moon landings were faked, but that millennials were more likely than other generations to deny it happened.

Gen Z-ers were more likely to be unsure if it happened. A recent TikTok filter asking users to rank things on a scale of one to 10 based on how much they believe in them, with one being more likely and 10 being less likely, inspired multiple videos with people placing the moon landing below things like God, magic and ghosts. But the existence of a few popular videos doesn't mean Gen-Zers are flocking to moon landing conspiracies en masse, as the survey shows.

One person who isn't worried about the movie unintentionally bolstering conspiracy beliefs: Anna Garcia, the actress who plays Ruby, an assistant to Johansson's character.

"I think if someone's really dumb, they'll definitely get that message," Garcia told Variety at the movie's premiere. "I think if someone is sort of dumb as rocks, they'll be like, 'It was fake.'"

She Faced The End Head-On

Shannen Doherty used her podcast to reckon with her life.

By ELENA BERGERON

It did not take long for Shannen Doherty to establish that hers was a different sort of celebrity podcast.

Doherty began recording episodes of "Let's Be Clear" from her home in November, as she received treatment for a recurrence of breast cancer. As the podcast's title suggests, the assertive star of "Beverly Hills 90210," "Heathers," "Mallrats" and "Charmed" — as famed for her acting as for reports of her on-set infighting and partying — reckoned with her life and career with a candor that distinguished her project amid a glut of often aimless celebrity podcasts.

Doherty was similarly confrontational as she wrestled with her own mortality — not in the abstract, but in wrenching specifics. She matter-of-factly recounted getting rid of her collection of antique furniture so her mother wouldn't be faced with clearing out a storage unit after her death. On another episode, Doherty described selling off a property in Tennessee and choked up over what the decision meant.

"I felt like I was giving up on a dream and what did that mean for me?" she asked rhetorically before taking a deep breath. "Did it mean that I was giving up on life? Did it mean that I was, like, throwing in the towel?"

Doherty, who died last Saturday at 53, didn't do rewatches or share cute behind-the-scenes stories. Neither did she make oblique references to unnamed power brokers. Doherty faced the past and present head-on, hosting former co-stars, directors, an ex-boyfriend and an ex-husband in conversations that sometimes exonerated her and that other times offered her the chance to assume culpability.

In one of the earliest episodes, Doherty dived deep into the dispute with her former "Charmed" co-star Alyssa Milano that led to Doherty's departure after the third season of the show, which was reported at the time as a voluntary decision.

"I don't think that there's anybody in their right mind that would quit a hit show, that's paying them a good amount of money, that they actually really enjoy working on," Doherty said on the podcast. She and Holly Marie Combs, the third star of the show, said that a dispute over Doherty being paid more led to a rift that ended with Milano getting her fired from the show, Doherty's second dismissal from an Aaron Spelling-produced hit series.

"I wish that I had been older and wiser because I definitely would have sued," Doherty said, "and I would have been honest about the situation because the rumors followed me regardless."

When Milano refuted the podcast version of events, Doherty appeared on a panel with the rest of her "Charmed" castmates and said she wouldn't hold back to protect an established, or perhaps negotiated, narrative.



VALERIE MACON/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Shannen Doherty, the "90210" star, died at 53.

"At this point in my life with my health diagnosis — I'm sorry if I start crying — with fighting horrific disease every day of my life, it is also incredibly important to me that the truth actually be told as opposed to the narrative that others put out there for me," she said.

Doherty said her "Charmed" dismissal particularly hurt as it built on her reputation for being *difficult*, a loaded criticism for actresses. She had been written off "90210" after her fourth season as a lead, at the behest of her co-star Tori Spelling, the daughter of the producer.

In a pair of "Let's Be Clear" episodes released in April, Doherty and Spelling reassessed what went wrong, reminiscing about a friendship that had been close enough at one point that they vacationed together. Neither could point to a specific fracture in their relationship but allowed their parts in its demise.

Co-stars of "90210," including Spelling, cornered Doherty over posing for a Rolling Stone cover without the entire cast. Spelling said that being "swayed" by her peers on set had contributed to the deterioration of their relationship.

"I'm sorry," Spelling said. "I couldn't, I still can't speak up for myself sometimes — at 50."

Other episodes focused on the progression of her disease and treatment, as when Doherty invited her doctors on to discuss her mastectomy, and refuted tabloid headlines about her concurrent divorce proceedings from her third husband, Kurt Iswarienko.

In her ardent assertions, and sometimes with dark humor, Doherty showed she was not resigned to fading quietly. Talking to her best friend during one episode, she joked that the list of people who should not be allowed to attend her funeral was "way too long."

"There is a lot of people that I think would show up that I don't want there," she said, adding: "They have their reasons and good for them. But they don't actually like me enough to show up to my funeral, but they will because it's the politically correct thing to do and they don't want to look bad.

"I kind of want to take that pressure off of them."

Kennedy Center Announces This Year's Honorees

Recipients include the Grateful Dead, Bonnie Raitt and the Apollo Theater.

By ANNIE AGUIAR

When Bonnie Raitt heard she had been chosen as a Kennedy Center honoree, she kept asking her manager: "Are they sure?"

Raitt, whose song "Just Like That . . . " beat out higher-charting pop acts last year to win the Grammy for song of the year, said the honor was a surprise because after years of recognition mostly confined to blues and Americana spaces, she did not consider herself a mainstream artist.

"I don't live by the validation of either commercial success or getting awards," Raitt, 74, said. "But because this is such an esteemed weekend and event and process, I don't think there will ever be anything that I receive that is as important."

Raitt will receive a lifetime artistic achievement award at the 47th Kennedy Center Honors on Dec. 8 along with the filmmaker Francis Ford Coppola, the beloved rock band the Grateful Dead, the Cuban American jazz trumpeter and composer Arturo Sandoval and the Harlem landmark the Apollo Theater.

The Kennedy Center Honors will be broadcast on Dec. 23 by CBS and streamed on Paramount Plus.

In the past, entities such as "Sesame Street" and "Hamilton," have been honored, but the Apollo will be the first institution to be recognized. The theater is renowned for its history as a debut venue for many Black performers at its famed amateur nights, including Ella Fitzgerald and Billie Holiday.

Michelle Ebanks, president and chief executive of the Apollo, said receiving the news was a surreal moment because it was so unexpected. "It is as unique as the Apollo is itself," said Ebanks, who was sitting in the office with Kamilah Forbes, the institution's executive producer, when she heard. "It's a tremendous recognition of the very special place that the Apollo has played in culture."

DONAVON SMALLWOOD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Apollo will be the first institution to be recognized at the Kennedy Center Honors.

Coppola, the 85-year-old filmmaker behind American classics including "The Godfather" and "Apocalypse Now," said his entire career had taken place in the shadow of the Academy Awards. But for someone who grew up in an Italian American family, he said, the Kennedy Center honor felt like it came from the country itself.

"My mother said, 'You're an American, it's the greatest country in the world,'" he said. "And my father said, 'But you're also Italian — that's a country that produced such wonderful artists and history.' I was thrilled I had both. So, this means a lot to me as an American."

When reflecting on his contributions to culture, Coppola said he thought of "The Godfather," particularly the gangster movie's first line: "I believe in America."

"Even though it takes a tricky path through right and wrong, legal and illegal, ultimately at its root, it's an American parable," Coppola said.

This year's honorees also include four original members of the Grateful Dead: the drummers Mickey Hart and Bill Kreutzmann, the bass guitarist Phil Lesh and the guitarist Bob Weir.

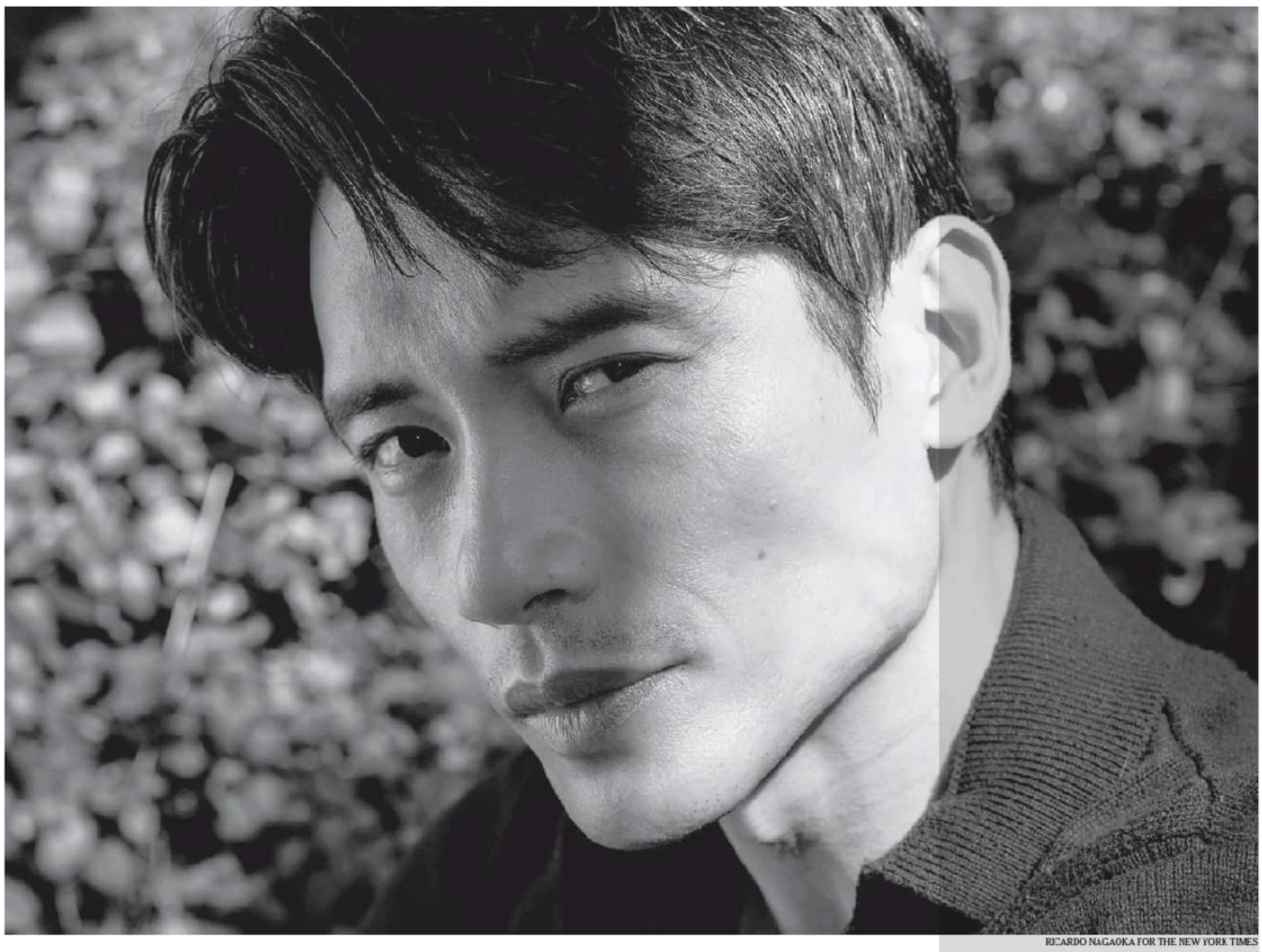
Kreutzmann said that while the Kennedy Center honor was nice, the Dead always put more emphasis on playing music than winning awards.

"This was just another kind of feather in a hat," he said. "We felt really good about it, but it's not that big a deal to us."

Sandoval, a virtuosic trumpeter, winner of multiple Grammys and a recipient of the Presidential Medal of Freedom, defected from Cuba in 1990 before being granted political asylum by the United States. He said the honor was inspiring.

"When something like the Kennedy Center recognizes your effort," he said, "it puts a lot of gasoline into your soul to keep trying and improving."

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604 COPYRIGHTED AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW pressreader



RICARDO NAGAOKA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Journey Leads Him to the Dark Side

Manny Jacinto discusses his complex role in 'The Acolyte,' the latest 'Star Wars' series.

By MATT STEVENS

This interview includes spoilers for the first season of "The Acolyte."

As it turns out, Manny Jacinto brought some relevant experience to "The Acolyte": He understands how to change characters.

Jacinto is best known for "The Good Place," the hit NBC sitcom on which he played an unspeaking Buddhist monk before being unmasked as Jason Mendoza, a lovable, Jacksonville Jaguars-obsessed dummy who is anything but mute. "I had no idea what I was stepping into," Jacinto said in an interview. "It was my first job in the States. I didn't even have a green card yet."

He has since worked alongside some of Hollywood's biggest stars, including Nicole Kidman, in the television series "Nine Perfect Strangers," a series in which he showed a more stoic side, playing a character who essentially served as Kidman's acolyte.

He then appeared with Tom Cruise in "Top Gun: Maverick." And this summer he added arguably the biggest franchise of all to his résumé, taking a role in the latest big-budget "Star Wars" series on Disney+. Created by Leslye Headland, "The Acolyte" wrapped up its first season on Tuesday.

As was the case in "The Good Place," Jacinto's character was not who he seemed.

Jacinto, who is Filipino and Canadian, starred as Qimir, a pharmacist who began the show as a kind of accomplice to a young woman named Mae (Amandla Stenberg), who is on her mission to hunt and kill Jedi. In the fifth episode of the season, he was revealed to actually be a Sith Lord known as the Stranger, elevating Jacinto from an afterthought apothecary to a top-line "Star Wars" villain. In Tuesday's season finale, he fought another lightsaber battle and got the acolyte his character always wanted.

In two interviews, one early in the season and another after the finale premiered on Tuesday, Jacinto discussed how he entered the "Star Wars" universe, his shift to the dark side and the possibility of more seasons of "The Acolyte." Here are excerpts from the conversations.



LUCASFILM/DISNEY+

I read that you wrote an essay to get this part in "The Acolyte." Did that really work?

Leslye was very kind to me. When we met, she wanted to figure out how to tackle this character — kind of a lower status of character within the galaxy. And I gave her a bunch of ways. I was looking at this email a couple days ago, and it was like seven different options in terms of how to tackle Qimir.

I sent it off to Leslye, and she saw how passionate I was about it. And next thing you know, I got the call. But with that being said, she's mentioned before that she always had me in mind for the character.

It became clear later in the season that the part was much bigger than it initially seemed to be. What have you enjoyed about getting to go from Qimir to the Stranger?

At first it was very much just the archetype of the drunken master. You have the low-status character, and he turns a heel, and he's actually the mastermind pulling the strings.

But as we started filming, I started to approach the character more as a trio. First you had him as the apothecary salesman. And then in the middle of the season, you have this masked character that's kind of just plowing through all the Jedi — he has no mercy in regards to his enemies. And then you see this third character in Episode 6 that has this greater sense of empathy, and you get to see his side of things. It was a plethora of things to explore.

That's why I keep saying, like, "Maybe I should just quit and retire": How do you top diving into a character like this?

Top, Manny Jacinto, a "Good Place" star, took a more sinister turn in "The Acolyte." Above, Jacinto with Amandla Stenberg, as seen in the new "Star Wars" series.

You have said working on this show was very collaborative. Is there a specific thing you suggested that you're most proud of?

In terms of the Stranger's lightsaber, we had talks about how he needed to play dirty and how he didn't really fight fair. So having that sneaky blade underneath the main blade was something that we really all agreed on.

The greatest thing about that aspect is it parallels Filipino martial arts — like having the two sticks in the hand. I was able to train that martial art with the stunt choreographers and really incorporate it into the series. So that was a super-proud moment for me to be able to give a shout out to my culture and to the Philippines.

There's also Episode 6: At first it was written like I gave the helmet to Osha. And in our discussions with Amandla [Stenberg] and I, we agreed that it just didn't feel right. We really wanted her to make the choice of putting on the helmet.

'How do you top diving into a character like this?'

MANNY JACINTO ON HIS 'ACOLYTE' ROLE

Did your background in dance help with the lightsaber fight scenes?

The choreography wasn't necessarily the problem. It was getting my body prepped — to be able to go that hard and that fast without injuring myself or pulling any muscles. And getting a real feel for wielding a lightsaber. Because there's a difference between wielding a lightsaber for a year and wielding it for a month. You can see the difference.

The thing about our lightsabers is that we wanted to be able to use the light. I believe the lightsabers in other projects, it's very much C.G.I. I don't know if the light is really there. But Leslye and our props department really wanted to be able to utilize the light so it can reflect and be displayed on people's faces. But along with that, the lightsabers are heavier, so that was a difficult part.

How is it wearing the mask?

You can breathe, but it's very difficult, and then obviously your hearing is impaired and the vision is horrible. That's why we had three different masks — ones that got progressively bigger in the eye holes.

What is the Stranger's deal — what does he want?

He wants an acolyte. He wants freedom. He wants the ability to be able to live on his own terms.

He doesn't seem purely evil. How should we feel about him?

It's always come down to this feeling of being an outsider, being in a place that doesn't accept you. I think that's the reason it really resonated with Leslye and me. Leslye being a female, gay showrunner in this industry and me being an Asian American male in this industry, we've constantly had to fight for our position and we've constantly had to prove ourselves. So, I think it really is just a parallel to that type of feeling of wanting to be accepted and wanting to be able to really express oneself.

Vernestra Rwoh, a Jedi Master played by Rebecca Henderson, goes back to some of the "Star Wars" novels. Is the Stranger Vernestra's former Padawan?

I cannot confirm or deny, but with the evidence that's been brought forward, especially in Episode 8, that's a fair assumption.

In the last two scenes of the finale, the Stranger is standing unified with Mae's twin, Osha, and Vernestra rushes in to tell Yoda there's a problem. They seem to set up a second season. Should we expect one?

I think in Leslye's mind, there are definitely more seasons to play, whether it would be a second season or three seasons or more. I think there's much more to tell. We'll see. Fingers crossed. I'd be more than happy to run it back and do it again. I just gotta lay off the burgers and the pizza.

These "Star Wars" shows are a huge investment, and fans have a lot of opinions. Do you think this one has been successful?

Success for me is always based on whether or not I felt creatively fulfilled. If it resonates with other people or if it makes people feel something, I think that's always a success to me.

Was this a success for you?

Absolutely. Not that it's been a battle, but a lot of people have resonated with my character on "The Good Place." Whenever they see me, they see Jason Mendoza. At least in my inner circles, people have been very complimentary [about "The Acolyte"]. Like: "I never knew you were able to do something like that. I never knew that you could tap into a character like this." This is coming even from people I worked with on "The Good Place." So, that in itself is a huge win for me.

Do you see it as a shift from some of your other work?

The path forward is to not just take on characters that are supporting or just the best friend: It's making a move toward leading-male projects or characters that push the narrative as opposed to just supporting it. I'm curious to see what "The Acolyte" brings or the doors it might open.

Backlash Spurs Marvel To Alter Superhero's Past

Sabra, originally an Israeli agent, will be a U.S. official in a new Captain America movie.

By MARC TRACY

When Marvel Studios announced two years ago that it had cast the Israeli actress Shira Haas to play Sabra, a superhero Mossad agent, in its next "Captain America" film, the news was cheered by Israelis and denounced by Palestinians.

The studio said at the time that the makers of the film, "Captain America: Brave New World," would be "taking a new approach to the character," but did not elaborate.

The contours of that reimagined character became clearer last week when Marvel released a trailer of the coming film. The accompanying announcement made no mention of Sabra as an agent of Mossad, the Israeli intelligence service, as she is depicted in comic books, but described her as "a high-ranking U.S. government official."

The change drew criticism from some who saw it as diminishing Israeli and Jewish representation onscreen. A headline in Haaretz, an Israeli newspaper, proclaimed, "'Sabra' Superhero in Marvel's 'Captain America' Stripped of Israeliness Amid pro-Palestinian Backlash," and one in The Jerusalem Post said, "Marvel removes Jewish superhero Sabra's Israeli identity for new Captain America movie."

The American Jewish Committee said on social media that Marvel's "decision to strip the Israeli identity of Sabra is a betrayal of the character's creators and fans and a capitulation to intimidation. Sabra is a proud Israeli hero, and should be portrayed as such. Taking away such a central part of her identity would be like making Captain America Canadian."

It was not clear whether Sabra — alter ego: Ruth Bat-Seraph — still has Israeli origins in the movie, as her superhero name suggests. "Sabra" is a Hebrew word for a local cactus bush that doubles as an affectionate term for native Israelis.

It also the name of a refugee camp in Lebanon where Palestinians were massacred in 1982 by a Christian militia while Israeli troops stood by, though the superhero predated that event. Haas appears only briefly in the new trailer, and a Marvel spokeswoman declined to comment.



MARVEL/DISNEY

Shira Haas as the superhero Sabra, front, in the coming Marvel movie "Captain America: Brave New World," set to be released in February.

When Marvel said Sabra would be introduced in this "Captain America" movie two years ago, the prospect drew criticism from Palestinians and their supporters who argued that the comic book character, which dates back to 1980, unduly glorified Israel. The hashtag #CaptainApartheid began to appear on social media.

"The bottom line is that to Palestinians, Marvel having an Israeli superhero whitewashes the occupation," Sani Meo, publisher of This Week in Palestine, a magazine about Palestinian issues, said at the time.

In the aftermath of Hamas's Oct. 7 attack in southern Israel, and Israel's war in Gaza, questions arose again about how Marvel Studios, which is owned by Disney, would handle the character. Newsweek wrote in October that "Marvel's Israeli Superhero Poses Huge Headache for Disney."

Just what kind of character Sabra will be in the film, set to be released in February, remains to be seen.

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604 COPYRIGHTED AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW pressreader

Travel



PHOTOGRAPHS BY EMILIO PARRA DOIZTUA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Inside a Spanish Town, a Lavender Delight

An annual lavender harvest has revitalized the small, medieval city of Brihuega and given tourists a new destination spot.

By SHAAN MERCHANT

A day in Brihuega during the lavender bloom requires only one set plan: Get to the fields by sunset, to view an unexpected, lush swath of purple as far as the eye can see, with the orange glow of the Spanish sun directly behind it.

Brihuega, a small medieval town in the roughly 4,700-square-mile province of Guadalajara and about an hour's drive from Madrid, is surrounded by farmland, villages and nature preserves of brown and soft-green hues. But each year in summer, on fields where some of the bloodiest battles of the Spanish Civil War were once fought, those colors change with the bloom of a thousand hectares of lavender, the equivalent of about 2,500 acres or 3,000 American football fields.

In the past decade, the lavender harvest has revitalized Brihuega, drawing welcomed visitors — and their euros — with natural beauty rivaling vacation favorites like Provence in France.

"Not to say anything bad about the French, but the Spanish, we're maybe more — dicharacheros," said Ángel Corral Manzano, the town's major lavender farmer, using a difficult-to-translate Spanish term that means outgoing and talkative. "We're very eager, excited to welcome you."







Blooming Industry

I first learned about Brihuega while studying in the nearby university town of Alcalá de Henares. Craving manchego cheese and jamón Ibérico one afternoon, I stumbled into Vinoteca Esencias del Gourmet, a wine bar. While I feasted on croquetas and cheeses and drank a spicy syrah, the bar owner, Javier Hernández, told me about his hometown, Brihuega.

For generations, his family was the town churreros, the churro-makers. But like many young people in small Spanish villages, Mr. Hernández left Brihuega.

"I couldn't see a future," he said. He wasn't alone.

"Brihuega was starting to lose its population," Luís Viejo Esteban, Brihuega's current mayor, told me later in an email. "That was the trend before we started developing our socioeconomic model, principally on tourism."

Now, Brihuega is growing, thanks to its lavender-centered tourism. Last July, during peak bloom, more than 120,000 tourists visited, Mr. Viejo said. Lavender annually generates between 4 million to 6.5 million euros, roughly $4.3 million to $7 million, according to a study from the University of Alcalá de Henares and Fadeta, a local rural development group.

"If you told me 10 years ago that, thanks to lavender, there would be so much tourism, that so many shops would open, so many restaurants, I wouldn't believe you," Mr. Corral said. "We're just farmers. We live off the land and live for the land."

Mr. Corral and his two brothers started planting lavender in earnest in 2007 after his oldest brother, Andrés, visited Provence and noticed the French region had similar terrain to his home.

Guadalajara already had espliego, a wild, mountain plant in the lavender family that is difficult to cultivate. But the Corral brothers started to grow French lavender, which is used in perfumes and high-end applications, and lavandin, a hybrid plant of espliego and lavender that can be used for commercial products, like cleaners.

"We had planted grains — wheat and barley — but we knew it would be good to diversify," Mr. Corral said. Tourism was never in their minds. They started slowly, planting a few fields of lavender and lavandin at a time. But that grew as the brothers recognized a hectare of lavender — about two and a half acres — could make them a bit more money than a hectare of wheat. They later brought in Emilio Valeros, a Spanish perfumer, and the longtime "nose" for Loewe Perfumes, as a partner in their distillery to transform their crops into oil.



An intimate concert evolved into a festival toured by thousands.

In 2013, the family hosted a sunset concert in their lavender fields, inviting 40 friends to drink beer and lavender gin and tonics. The event's success evolved into the popular lavender festival the town hosts each July.

A Sunset View

During my mid-July visit, I was accompanied by Mr. Hernandez. We started at a bar, Los Guerrilleros, drinking ice-cold beer and eating fresh, shatteringly crisp guerrilleros, the bar's namesake specialty of tempura-battered shrimp and anchovies. We then roamed the pedestrian-only streets decorated with lavender streamers and hanging purple umbrellas, stopping by the old washing fountains, the bull ring, the cathedral; we picked up lavender-laced cookies from the local bakery and shopped for gifts in the boutiques. Moorish walls surround the town and the Piedra Bermeja Castle, the roof of which offers picturesque views of the Tajuña River below, where, Mr. Hernández said, the town's children learn to swim.

Last fall, Guadalajara's first five-star hotel, Castilla Termal Brihuega, opened in a converted royal textile mill.

"Brihuega is the ideal site for the opening of Castilla Termal Brihuega for many reasons," said the hotel's chief executive, Roberto García, citing the region's heritage, beauty and proximity to Madrid. The mill's 19th-century gardens were deemed a cultural heritage site by the Spanish government.

As the sun began to set on my July afternoon visit, we drove out of town to view the lavender fields. We stopped at a scenic lookout and took in the vast fields of lavender on either side: The work of the Hermanos Corral was magnificent.

Family Recipes, Farther Afield

The region's charm and similarities to Provence do not end in Brihuega's lavender fields. Guadalajara Province boasts a bounty of appealing gastronomy, viticulture, hiking trails and bike routes, and charming stone villages.

The town of Cogolludo, a 45-minute drive north of Brihuega, is home to the Renaissance-style castle Castillo de Cogolludo, but just outside the town is a winery with a renaissance of its own. La Finca Río Negro is a family-owned estate in the foothills of the Central System mountains, where flat farmland transforms into rocky hills with tall pines. Just on the other side of the mountains from Spain's prominent Ribera del Duero wine region, this area once had a winemaking culture of its own.

"This town was important enough to have a palace and dukes; it made a living from viticulture," said Fernando Fuentes, the Finca's manager. "But then it was very poor during the postwar period. As people left for the cities, the vineyards were abandoned little by little."

When Finca Río Negro opened in Cogolludo, there were no other vineyards in the region. "Twenty years ago, we weren't seen as pioneers, we were just seen as crazy," Mr. Fuentes said. Today, they make award-winning wines and have rediscovered and cultivated a variety of grapes endemic to the region, Tinto Fragoso. It has red fruit flavors with unexpected floral notes and spice from the French oak in which it's aged.

I also visited Hiendelaencina — a town of under 150 — for the lunch at Mesón Sabory. The decades-old restaurant has been serving locally grown and raised food in a home built in the 1870s. I wasn't given a menu because they only serve what's fresh.

My meal started with Patatas bravas: chunks of crispy potatoes, fluffy inside, with a spicy bravas sauce, a recipe from the mother of Julián Illana, one of the owners. A salad of tomato and sweet onions came next and a plate of liver and heart, cooked with onions. Then a big black clay pot arrived with two roasted goat legs inside. I tore the tender meat off the bone, and used crusty bread to make little boats, or hacer barquitos, to sop up the juices.

Back in Alcalá de Henares, I asked Mr. Hernández how he felt about the renaissance of his hometown.

"I'm so proud," Mr. Hernández said. "There was a long history of the village, and now there are many more stories to be told. I didn't always see its future, but now I do, thanks to tourism, thanks to the lavender."

Top, the lavender fields of Brihuega in Spain. Second row, from left: the pedestrian-only streets decorated with lavender streamers and purple umbrellas; and the Despeñalagua waterfalls. Above, Castilla Termal Brihuega. Left, the Sabory House, which serves locally grown food.

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604 COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW pressreader

36 HOURS

IZMIR, TURKEY

For much of its history, Izmir, Turkey's third-largest city, was arguably the center of the world. Halfway down the Aegean coast, Smyrna, as Asia Minor ancients called it, was where East met West as an economic and cultural synapse at the end of the Silk Road. Today, the vibrant, 8,500-year-old "Pearl of the Aegean" — flanked to the north and south by the UNESCO World Heritage city ruins of Pergamon and Ephesus, among the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World — has again redefined itself as a hub for international explorers. The 2,400-year-old bazaar and the ancient Agora remain Izmir's chief attractions. But the city, which played a key role in Turkey's independence 100 years ago, has also reopened a former tobacco factory as a culture and art complex and opened a 300-mile, sea-hugging section of the EuroVelo 8 cycle route.

ALEX CREVAR



PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARIA MAVROPOULOU FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES







Top, Izmir's two-mile shoreline promenade known as Kordon, a popular spot for many. Above from left: The city's attractions include ornate tiles at Yali Mosque; jazz at Hayyam wine bar; and Reyhan Patisserie, an institution known for its cases of cakes, pies and cookies.

Friday

3:30 P.M. | ELEVATE YOUR POSITION

Start from a bird's-eye vantage of Izmir with a ride up the Historical Lift (free). The elevator — once steam-powered, now electric — was built in 1907 to connect lower districts to hilltop neighborhoods, which are separated by 190 feet of elevation. The tower-top terrace provides panoramic views of the coast, the ferries traversing Izmir Bay and neighborhoods influenced across epochs by Hittites, Greeks, Persians, Macedonians, Romans, Ottomans and Sephardic Jews. More recently, this port city on the western shore of Anatolia includes a mix of immigrant communities including Italians, Armenians and French. Settle into the historical vista at the terrace's Tarihi Asansor Cafe with a cup of stove-brewed Turkish coffee or traditional tea (both cost 40 Turkish liras, or about $1.20).

4:30 P.M. | WALK THE WALK

Come down to Izmir's two-mile shoreline promenade known as Kordon, where college students play music on surrounding grassy quads, families picnic, fishermen cast into the bay, and vendors hawk mussels, nuts and fruit. A bike lane, part of a 30-mile path, runs along the walkway. Saunter to Ataturk Square, or, more colloquially, Konak Square. The octagonal, 82-foot clock tower at the plaza's center, built in 1901, has ornate Ottoman motifs spread across its four levels of carved marble, fountains and columns. The mechanical clock, a gift from the last German emperor, Wilhelm II, is still reset manually every sixth day. On the square's sea side, the First Bullet Monument depicts the first shot fired in Izmir during the Turkish War of Independence in 1919. Across the square, the tiny, 18th-century Yali Mosque is adorned with exquisitely painted tiles.

6 P.M. | APPRECIATE CHANGE

Izmir's constant is change. The city weaves disparate eras, styles and architecture: Ancient ruins meld with Ottoman, Neo-Romanesque and Art Nouveau architecture and glass-and-steel constructions. The other consistent theme is the image of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk on buildings, flags and signs. The country's founder, in 1923, he espoused secularism and is a hero to the Izmirli people, who are stereotypically more progressive than the rest of Turkey. Stop at the Izmir Atatürk Museum (free), in a 19th-century neoclassical house Ataturk used when in Izmir, to glimpse photos, his living space and clothing, and to learn how he helped shape the nascent country. Then amble along Kordon to the patio at Sirena, an open-air locals bar since 1976. Order a half-liter mug of Turkish Efes beer (120 lira) and watch the sun disappear into the Aegean.

9 P.M. | EMBRACE THE SEA

The artful preparation of food, especially seafood, anchors Izmir's social life. Over the past four decades, no spot has mastered this art like Deniz Restaurant ("deniz" means sea). After diners take their seats on the sea-facing terrace, a waiter will present a tray of mezes, or appetizers (typically vegetable- and yogurt-based), to be paired with wine, beer or raki (pronounced rah-kuh), a liqueur of grapes and aniseed. People from Izmir often don't consult menus, preferring to let waiters guide the experience. Try the fava beans with red onions and dill, wedges of grilled local cheese, grilled eggplant with yogurt, and shrimp wrapped in kataifi (crunchy, shredded phyllo dough). Then, savor the sea bass sauteed in light cream before a bowl of melon and strawberries appears with the coup de grâce: housemade baklava. Dinner for two costs around 4,000 lira.

Saturday

10 A.M. | BREAKFAST AT THE BAZAAR

For much of its 24-century existence, the Kemeralti Bazaar was the beating heart of Izmir, a key western port on the Silk Road. This open-air market — Turkey's largest — united Asian and European traders exchanging goods and world news. Today, mosques, cafes, restaurants, approximately 2,000 protected buildings and thousands of shops crowd the market's tangle of nearly 100 streets. Start with brunch at Aysa Bosnak Borekcisi in the public courtyard of Abacioglu Han, formerly a marketplace inn. Aysa specializes in borek: phyllo-dough filled with minced beef, cheese, spinach, potato or eggplant (around 100 lira per portion). Turkish cay (pronounced chai), or tea, costs 15 lira.

11 A.M. | SHOP FOR TREASURES

Smells of incense, roasting coffee and spices waft through Kemeralti's pedestrian-only labyrinth filled with coppersmiths, cobblers, gold and silver merchants, and artisans. Along a street named Havra (the word for synagogue), one of the market's busiest corridors, fishmongers, butchers and produce vendors vie for customers. Around the corner, stop in at the Yazihane Hat atelier to peruse traditional, framed calligraphic art painstakingly crafted by the shop's master, Ilkay Kanar, who also makes the paper and ink (prices from 1,500 to 200,000 lira). At Ekim Seramik, Yesim Sahin sells intricately painted plates, tiles and other clay pottery (from 200 to 4,000 lira). Inside Kemeralti Antikacilar Carsisi's (Kemeralti Antique Market) two floors of antique shops, visit Lula & Loop for curated, vintage Turkish clothes, hats and handbags that make story-worthy souvenirs (from 450 to 5,000 lira).

12:30 P.M. | FOLLOW THE DREAM

According to lore, Alexander the Great took a nap on Pagos Hill above Izmir, where the ruins of Kadifekale castle are today, and dreamed of relocating the city known then as Smyrna to its current position. The Oracle of the god Apollo confirmed Alexander's vision and that the move would make citizens at least three times happier. The Smyrna Agora — the result of that dream, originally constructed in the fourth century B.C. on the slopes of that hill and behind Kemeralti — acted as the newly moved city's social, governmental and commercial hub. Roam the ruins (entrance, 210 lira) to get a sense of the sprawling site's importance. Of particular note: the intact Corinthian portico columns; the subterranean arched architecture, aqueduct and cistern system; and graffiti adorning merchant stalls believed to be more than 1,500 years old.

2 P.M. | EAT UP CULTURE

Melding culinary traditions is the philosophy at Balmumu Dukkan Lokanta, a diner with a clutch of tables in an intimate covered garden in the Alsancak neighborhood. There's no fixed menu. Inventive soups and dishes are created from daily market finds. If available, try the baked mullet with red peppers, green beans, onions, dill and local olive oil (400 lira). Afterward, stroll to the recently opened Izmir Culture and Arts Factory, a 19th-century tobacco factory turned cultural complex housing museums, libraries and art workshops. One ticket (350 lira) provides entry to the 78,000-square-foot Archaeology and Ethnography Museum, with artifacts like coins, lamps and jewelry from the Archaic Period (approximately 700 to 500 B.C.), and the Izmir Painting and Sculpture Museum, which showcases works by renowned Turkish artists.

5 P.M. | FIND YOUR FLAMBOYANCE

Take a ferry from the Alsancak terminal to the Bostanli terminal in the Karsiyaka district on Izmir Bay's north side. Like the Konak and Alsancak districts, Karsyaka has pedestrian shopping streets, cafes and bistros, but with a more residential vibe. Then, either walk or take the tram to the Mavisehir fishermen's harbor for a 90-minute Flamingo Road Boat Tour along the shore of the nearly 100,000-acre Gediz Delta, protected under the Ramsar Convention, an international treaty for the conservation of wetlands (180 lira per person). The wetland is home to around 300 identified bird species and more than 80,000 wintering fowl, including Dalmatian pelicans, great cormorants and oystercatchers. The stars, however, are the gangly, majestic pink flamingos feeding in estuary grasses.

7:30 P.M. | DRINK ON THE WATER

Back in Konak, head to the Konak Pier. Designed by Gustave Eiffel's firm in the late 19th century, the iron-girded building has served as a customs office, fish market and, today, a collection of shops, restaurants and bars. Grab a waterside table at North Pier's and honor the flamingos with a Pink Paradise cocktail concocted from raspberry gin and melon liqueur (450 lira). For a classic Izmirli dinner, walk to Sevince Lokantasi in Alsancak. Consult the kitchen's glass case and choose dishes such as fried squash, sun-dried tomatoes and peppers, hummus, arugula salad, sarma (rolled grape leaves stuffed with rice and ground meat), grilled cow liver and boiled lamb brain soft enough to spread on fresh pita. Then, order raki and find a weathered wooden table with a red-checkered cloth inside or on the sidewalk. Dinner for two, around 2,500 lira.

10:30 P.M. | MAKE A SPLASH

After dining, dive into Alsancak's lounges, tattoo parlors, palm-lined avenues and kebab kiosks. Test the waters at Hayyam wine bar, which has live jazz on the weekends, with a glass of local red: A cabernet, merlot, petit verdot blend from Sevilen Saraplari Vineyard costs 185 lira. Slip next door for a more raucous experience and live blues at Cinati (cover, 200 lira), where photos of Nina Simone, Janis Joplin and Herbie Hancock line the walls. Try the Cinati special: Beefeater gin, tequila, Malibu rum, lime juice and apple juice (350 lira). Finally, immerse yourself at Tato, a rocker bar that features live local metal (cover, 100 lira) and cold draft beer (150 lira).

Sunday

8:30 A.M. | GET ON YOUR BIKE

Fuel up at Reyhan Patisserie, an institution in Alsancak for almost six decades. Cases of cakes, pies, pastries and cookies dominate the entrance. Find a spot on the covered terrace and try the simit toast, a breakfast standard that is something between a bagel and a soft pretzel covered in poppy seeds. Here, it is served with cheese, spicy green peppers, tomatoes and olives (130 lira). Also order the milk pudding called kazandibi (150 lira); similar to crème caramel, it is caramelized on the bottom and served upside down. Then, hop on a bike and pedal part of Turkey's 300-mile section of the Europe-traversing EuroVelo 8 cycle route. (BisiKoop, in Karsiyaka, rents touring bikes for 200 lira per day.) Your stage hugs the Aegean Sea for 23 miles of easygoing, paved and photograph-begging road to the beach community of Urla.

11:30 A.M. | UNWIND SEASIDE

For many Izmirli people, weekends mean getting out of the city. Urla is a go-to spot because of its old town, outdoor market, vineyard-covered countryside, and surrounding peninsula with both secluded and lively beaches. Jump off your bike in the traditional bazaar and have lunch at the Michelin-recommended Begendik Abi, a family-run restaurant surrounded by olive and fig trees. Order baked lamb with cream sauce, sauteed leeks with sun-dried tomatoes and chickpeas, and beef-and-vegetable stew slow-cooked in a clay pot. For dessert, indulge in girit boregi: walnuts and cottage cheese in phyllo dough drizzled with simple syrup. Lunch for two, about 1,200 lira. Finish your odyssey with a celebratory cocktail at Urla Berlin's, a drinking hole next to Urla's harbor. The Yuzu Passion combines gin, passion fruit and yuzu juice (350 lira).

KEY STOPS

The **Historical Lift**, built in 1907 to connect neighborhoods of different elevations, has a tower-top terrace providing panoramic views of Izmir and the bay.

Ataturk Square, better known as Konak Square, has historical sites like the clock tower, First Bullet Monument and the Yali Mosque.

WHERE TO EAT

Deniz Restaurant, on the Kordon promenade, specializes in seafood and has been an Izmir cornerstone for four decades.

Aysa Bosnak Borekcisi, within Kemeralti Bazaar's Abacioglu Han courtyard, specializes in borek: phyllo-dough pies filled with various delicacies.

Hayyam, a wine bar in Alsancak, stages live jazz on the weekends.

Cinati has live music on the weekends, specializing in blues, and serves cocktails to a relaxed crowd of patrons.

Tato, in Alsancak, is a go-to spot for more raucous shows featuring local acts playing heavier rock and metal.

Reyhan Patisserie, an institution for almost six decades, is a good place for breakfast and people watching.

Begendik Abi is a Michelin-recommended, family-run restaurant surrounded by olive and fig trees in Urla.

WHERE TO STAY

The **Izmir Palas Hotel**, which opened in 1927 and is the oldest hotel in the city, sits directly on Kordon, Izmir's seaside promenade. Modernized multiple times over the years, the Palas has kept pace with newer hotels and has 148 rooms (65 with sea views), a bar on the top floor, a library and a fitness room looking out to the Aegean. Room, breakfast included, from 3,200 lira, or about $97.

L'Agora Old Town Hotel and Bazaar is the only hotel inside the Kemeralti Bazaar. In the Kucuk Karaosmanoglu Han, a former marketplace inn built in 1750, the 18-room boutique hotel also has a cafe, bar, restaurant, shops and often live music. Rooms, breakfast included, start at around 2,600 lira.

For **short-term rentals**, Izmir has plenty of options through platforms such as Airbnb and Booking.com. Alsancak and Konak are perhaps the most popular districts for visitors, but the Karsiyaka district, on the north side of the bay, has plenty of shopping, cafes and restaurants, and a slightly more neighborhood feel.

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER
PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604
COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW
pressreader

Cooking

What to Make Next Week

When it to comes to cooking and the senses, we think of taste and smell. But there's plenty to hear, too, a kind of kitchen symphony: slicing and dicing, a pan sliding into the oven, pasta boiling, simmer and sizzle, the whisper of the whisk. And each one of next week's meals offers its own singular cooking tune: the cold spicy kimchi noodles; the chile-crisp tofu, tomatoes and cucumbers; and the sticky miso salmon bowl. And, too, the easy turkey meatloaf and the fresh tomato, basil and prosciutto pasta. So, be sure to listen for your favorite kitchen music.

Visit NYT Cooking for thousands more recipes, advice and inspiration: nytcooking.com



JOHNNY MILLER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES. FOOD STYLIST: SAMANTHA SENEVIRATNE.

Sticky Miso Salmon Bowl

The word "sticky" in the title of Andy Baraghani's new recipe is extremely delicious, as is this dinner that combines grapefruit with honey, miso and ginger for a combination marinade and glaze. This is a remarkably fast way to do a lovely dinner. *EMILY WEINSTEIN*

TIME: 35 MINUTES
YIELD: 4 SERVINGS

- 2 cups sushi rice
- 3 tablespoons white miso
- 2 tablespoons honey
- 1 tablespoon vegetable oil
- 1 tablespoon freshly grated ginger
- 2 teaspoons fresh grapefruit zest plus 1 tablespoon juice
- 4 (6- to 8-ounce) skinless salmon fillets, patted dry
- Salt and pepper
- 4 scallions, thinly sliced
- 1 tablespoon unsalted butter, cubed
- Any combination of kimchi, chile crisp, toasted nori sheets, and sliced cucumber, avocado or radish, for serving

1. Put the rice in a medium bowl and fill with cool tap water. Run your fingers through the rice, gently swooshing the grains around to loosen the starch. Dump out as much water as you can and repeat until the water runs slightly more clear, another two to three rinses.

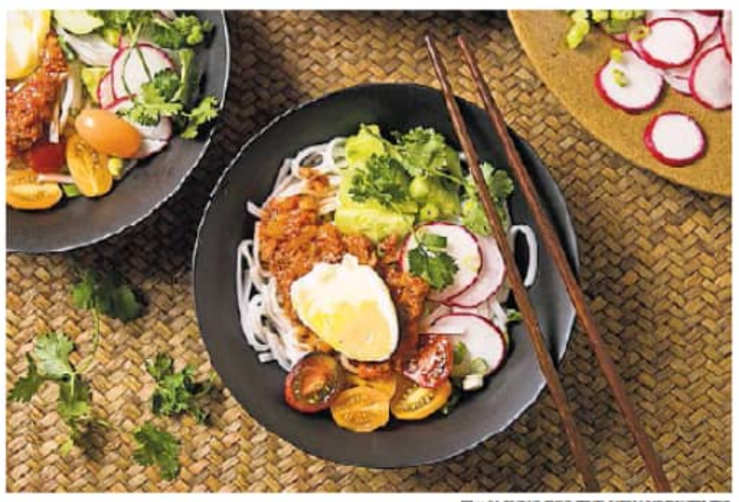
2. Drain the rice and transfer to a small or medium saucepan that has a tight-fitting lid. Pour in 2¼ cups cool water and bring to a boil over medium-high. Give the rice a stir to help keep it from sticking to the bottom of the pot, then cover and decrease heat to low. Cook without lifting the lid for 18 minutes. (Set your timer!)

3. While the rice is cooking, place a rack about 5 inches from the broiler heat source and set the broiler to high. Whisk the miso, honey, oil, ginger and grapefruit zest and juice in a large bowl. Season the salmon lightly with salt and add to the bowl. Gently toss to coat. Marinate at room temperature until the timer for the rice goes off.

4. Remove the pot of rice from the heat and let steam, covered, for 10 minutes, while you cook the salmon.

5. Using tongs, arrange the salmon on a foil-lined rimmed sheet tray. Make sure to leave the marinade on and spread any excess on top of the filets. (This step will make for better browning.) Broil the salmon until glossy and charred in most spots, about 5 minutes for medium-rare or 7 minutes for medium. Your timing will also depend on whether or not you'd like a little char on top.

6. Uncover the rice and add the scallions and butter. Season with salt and several grinds of pepper. Fluff the rice with a rubber spatula until each grain is coated. Serve the salmon over the rice and add any of the toppings you desire.



EVAN SUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Cold Spicy Kimchi Noodles

David Tanis's recipe for cold spicy kimchi noodles is one of the great summer meals, a fiery antidote to high temperatures and higher humidity. I like mine with extra lime, but either way, it'll take you into the weekend nicely. *SAM SIFTON*

TIME: 30 MINUTES
YIELD: 4 TO 6 SERVINGS

For the dressing:

- 1 cup finely chopped kimchi, plus 2 tablespoons kimchi juice
- 1 medium garlic clove, grated
- 2 teaspoons grated ginger
- 2 tablespoons brown sugar
- 1 tablespoon gochujang (Korean hot pepper paste)
- 1 tablespoon Japanese red miso
- 1 tablespoon sesame oil
- 1 tablespoon rice vinegar
- 2 tablespoons lime juice
- 1 teaspoon orange zest
- 1 teaspoon fish sauce
- ½ teaspoon gochugaru (Korean red pepper flakes)
- Salt

For the noodles:

- 8 ounces flat rice noodles or soba noodles
- 1 medium cucumber, peeled, halved and sliced into half-moons (about 1 cup)
- 1 cup halved cherry tomatoes
- 3 or 4 large red radishes, sliced into thin rounds
- ½ cup scallions, slivered
- 1 serrano chile, thinly sliced (optional)
- 3 eggs, boiled for 7 minutes, cooled in ice water, peeled and halved (cook 9 minutes for a firmer yolk)
- 2 tablespoons toasted sesame seeds
- Cilantro sprigs or chopped cilantro, for garnish
- Lime wedges, for serving

1. Make the sauce: Put the kimchi, juice, garlic, ginger, brown sugar, gochujang, miso, sesame oil, rice vinegar, lime juice, orange zest, fish sauce and gochugaru in a mixing bowl, and stir well to combine. Taste and adjust salt. Let stand at room temperature for at least 10 minutes (or you can store overnight in the fridge, covered).

2. Bring a large pot of generously salted water to a boil. Add noodles and cook for about 5 minutes, or until cooked through but still firm. Drain in a colander, transfer to a bowl of cold water to cool, then drain again and set aside, covered with a towel.

3. Just before serving, put noodles in a large mixing bowl. Add the sauce, along with cucumber, tomatoes, radishes, scallions and chile (if using) and toss gently to coat. Divide among individual serving bowls. Top each bowl with a halved egg, sesame seeds, cilantro and a squeeze of lime juice.



DAVID MALOSH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES. FOOD STYLIST: SIMON ANDREWS.

Fresh Tomato, Basil and Prosciutto Pasta

I like this new recipe for tomato, basil and prosciutto pasta by Christian Reynoso for its utter simplicity: fresh tomatoes sizzled with garlic in oil, with freshly torn basil, melting prosciutto and a few dollops of ricotta on top. It's barely cooked. Just sprinkle with red-pepper flakes and serve. *SAM SIFTON*

TIME: 30 MINUTES
YIELD: 4 SERVINGS

- 12 ounces spaghetti
- Salt and pepper
- 6 garlic cloves
- 1½ pounds ripe tomatoes (any variety)
- ⅓ cup olive oil, plus more for drizzling
- 1½ cups fresh basil leaves
- 3 to 4 ounces thinly sliced prosciutto, preferably at room temperature
- ½ cup fresh ricotta, preferably at room temperature

1. Cook pasta according to package instructions in a large pot of salted boiling water until al dente, then drain.

2. While the pasta is cooking, thinly slice the garlic and cut the tomatoes into large bite-size pieces (¾- to 1-inch chunks, wedges or slices, or just halves of cherry tomatoes, if using).

3. Heat the olive oil in a large skillet or sauté pan over medium. After 2 minutes, add the garlic and let sizzle for about 1 minute without browning, then add the tomatoes and use tongs to toss in the garlic oil. Season with salt and cook, tossing gently, until tomatoes are warmed through and have started to release their juices but are still intact, about 3 minutes. Turn off heat.

4. Add the pasta to the warm tomatoes, then tear the basil into pieces and toss together with the pasta, tomatoes and garlic. Season with salt and pepper.

5. To serve, transfer warm pasta onto plates, tear the prosciutto into pieces and drape them over top. Dollop on the ricotta, season with salt and pepper and finish with a drizzle of olive oil.*



RACHEL VANNI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES. FOOD STYLIST: BARRETT WASHBURNE.

Chile-Crisp Tofu, Tomatoes and Cucumbers

Ali Slagle's new recipe for chile-crisp marinated tofu and tomatoes is a lovely riff on Chinese smashed-cucumber salads, with a combination of hot, cold, juicy and crisp that makes for a refreshing midweek meal. It's great with rice, and you wouldn't be wrong to augment the whole thing with slivered snap peas and a handful of cilantro leaves. *SAM SIFTON*

TIME: 30 MINUTES
YIELD: 2 SERVINGS

- 2 Persian or mini seedless cucumbers
- 1 pint cherry tomatoes, halved
- 2 tablespoons chile crisp, plus more to taste
- 2 tablespoons lemon juice
- 1 tablespoon soy sauce
- 1 garlic clove, grated
- 2 tablespoons extra-virgin olive oil
- 1 (14- to 16-ounce) block extra-firm tofu, cut into ½-inch cubes and patted dry
- Salt
- Rice and/or salad greens, for serving

1. Smash the cucumbers with the side of your knife until ragged and split. Rip into roughly 1-inch pieces and transfer to a large bowl. Add the tomatoes, chile crisp, lemon juice, soy sauce and garlic and stir to combine. Set aside.

2. Heat the oil in a large skillet over medium-high. Add the tofu, season with salt and cook, stirring occasionally, until golden brown, 7 to 10 minutes. Pour the tofu into the large bowl and stir to combine. Season to taste with salt and chile crisp, then serve right away or let sit for up to 2 hours. Leftovers keep for up to 2 days, though cucumbers will soften as they sit.



CHRISTOPHER TESTANI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES. FOOD STYLIST: SIMON ANDREWS.

Easy Turkey Meatloaf

Here's a taste of the Midwest for a weeknight win: Melissa Knific's recipe for turkey meatloaf moistened with grated apple. With a glaze of ketchup, vinegar, Worcestershire sauce and loads of black pepper, it makes for a lovely dinner alongside puréed potatoes or buttered noodles, and for a superior sandwich the following day. *SAM SIFTON*

TIME: 1 HOUR 30 MINUTES
YIELD: 4 TO 6 SERVINGS

For the meatloaf:

- Nonstick cooking spray
- 1 large egg
- 1½ pounds ground turkey (90 percent lean)
- 1 medium apple, cored and grated (6 ounces)
- 1 small yellow onion, finely chopped (1 cup)
- ¾ cup seasoned panko bread crumbs
- 2 teaspoons Worcestershire sauce
- 1 teaspoon garlic powder
- 1¼ teaspoons kosher salt (such as Diamond Crystal)
- ½ teaspoon black pepper
- 1 teaspoon Italian seasoning (optional)

For the sauce:

- ½ cup ketchup
- 1 tablespoon packed brown sugar
- 1 teaspoon vinegar (cider, distilled, or white or red wine)
- 1 teaspoon Worcestershire sauce
- ¼ teaspoon black pepper

1. Heat oven to 350 degrees. Line a sheet pan with parchment paper and coat with cooking spray.

2. Prepare the meatloaf: In a large bowl, beat the egg. Add ground turkey, apple, onion, panko, Worcestershire, garlic powder, salt, pepper and Italian seasoning, if using. Using hands, combine until everything is well mixed. Transfer to the prepared sheet pan and form into a football-shaped loaf, about 9-by-5 inches.

3. Make the sauce: In a small bowl, mix ketchup, brown sugar, vinegar, Worcestershire and pepper until well combined. Pour evenly over the top of the meatloaf, allowing the sauce to drip down the sides.

4. Bake meatloaf until the temperature in the center registers 160 degrees on an instant-read thermometer, 45 to 55 minutes. Let rest for 10 minutes before slicing.

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY PRESSREADER PressReader.com +1 604 278 4604 COPYRIGHT AND PROTECTED BY APPLICABLE LAW