

## BREYER TO RETIRE, GIVING BIDEN A COURT PICK



ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Justice Stephen G. Breyer, 83, a member of the Supreme Court's liberal wing, was appointed in 1994 by President Bill Clinton.

### Chance to Name Black Woman as Pledged

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR and CHARLIE SAVAGE

WASHINGTON — President Biden and his legal team have spent a year preparing for this moment: the chance to make good on his pledge to name the first Black woman to the Supreme Court at a time of continuing racial reckoning for the country.

The decision by Justice Stephen G. Breyer to retire will give Mr. Biden his most high-profile opportunity since taking office to reshape the federal judiciary, having already nominated dozens of district and appeals court judges from a range of racial, ethnic and legal backgrounds.

His promise also underscores how much Black women have struggled to become part of a very small pool of elite judges in the nation's higher federal courts. Speculation on Wednesday focused on a rarefied group of well-credentialed Black women who have elite educations and experience on the bench.

The short list included Ketanji Brown Jackson, a 51-year-old judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit who graduated from Harvard Law School and clerked for Justice Breyer, and Leandra R. Kruger, a 45-year-old justice on the California Supreme Court who graduated from Yale Law School and clerked for former Justice John Paul Stevens.

J. Michelle Childs, 55, a little-known Federal District Court judge in South Carolina whom Mr. Biden recently nominated for an appeals court, is also seen as a potential contender. One of Mr. Biden's top congressional allies, Representative James E. Clyburn of South Carolina, told Mr. Biden during the presidential campaign that he believed she should be appointed, in part because she came from a blue-collar background, another underrepresented group among federal judges.

Judge Jackson and Justice Kruger attended Ivy League law schools, unlike Judge Childs, who attended the University of South Carolina. And while there are some differences in the women's backgrounds and experience, they are united in being among a relative handful of Black women who have the kind of credentials normally considered qualifications for the Supreme Court.

The first Black woman to serve as a federal appeals court judge — an experience that in the modern era is usually a key credential in becoming a justice — was appointed by President Gerald R. Ford in 1975. By the time Mr. Biden took office more than 40 years later, only seven more had served in such a position.

"If you just look at the raw numbers, it's a telling and a sobering statistic," said Leslie D. Davis, the chief executive of the National Association of Minority and Women. Continued on Page A17

### Democrats Want Confirmation to Be Fast

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — Justice Stephen G. Breyer, the senior member of the Supreme Court's three-member liberal wing and a persistent if often frustrated advocate of consensus as the court moved sharply to the right, will retire upon the confirmation of his successor, people familiar with the decision said, providing President Biden a chance to fulfill his pledge to nominate a Black woman.

Mr. Biden is expected to formally announce the retirement at the White House on Thursday, but the partisan machinery that has built up in recent decades around Supreme Court confirmations was already swinging into action on Wednesday as word of Justice Breyer's decision raced through Washington.

Justice Breyer, 83, the oldest member of the court, was appointed in 1994 by President Bill Clinton. After the death of Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg in 2020 allowed President Donald J. Trump to appoint Justice Amy Coney Barrett as her replacement, Justice Breyer became the subject of



MICHAEL A. MCGOY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Supreme Court's conservative majority will not change.

an energetic campaign by liberals who wanted him to step down to ensure that Mr. Biden could name his successor while Democrats control the Senate.

With conservatives now in full control of the court, replacing Justice Breyer with another liberal would not change its ideological balance or affect its rightward trajectory in cases on abortion, gun rights, religion or affirmative action.

But the opening provides Mr. Biden a chance to put his stamp on the court — the last justice nominated by a Democrat was Elena Kagan by President Barack Obama nearly a dozen years ago — and Democratic leaders on Capitol Hill said they intended to move quickly to begin the confirmation process once Mr. Biden selects a successor for Justice Breyer.

Their goal, they said, was to have hearings completed and a nominee confirmed in time to be sworn in soon after the court completes its current term in late June. Continued on Page A14

**NEXT STEP** Democrats can confirm a successor to Justice Breyer without any Republican support, but they have to stay united. PAGE A16

**LOOKING BACK** Justice Breyer, a moderate who rejected the label of liberal, worked to protect the reputation of the court. PAGE A15

### Fed Indicates It Will Increase Rates in March

By JEANNA SMIALEK

Federal Reserve officials signaled on Wednesday that they were on track to raise interest rates in March, given that inflation has been running far above policymakers' target and that labor market data suggests employees are in short supply.

Central bankers left rates unchanged at near-zero — where they have been set since March 2020 — but the statement after their two-day policy meeting laid the groundwork for higher borrowing costs "soon." Jerome H. Powell, the Fed chair, said officials no longer thought America's rapidly healing economy needed so much support, and he confirmed that a rate increase was likely at the central bank's next meeting.

"I would say that the committee is of a mind to raise the federal funds rate at the March meeting, assuming that the conditions are appropriate for doing so," Mr. Powell said.

While he declined to say how many rate increases officials expected to make this year, he noted that this economic expansion was very different from past ones, with "higher inflation, higher growth, a much stronger economy — and I think those differences are likely to be reflected in the policy that we implement."

The Fed was already slowing a bond-buying program it had been using to bolster the economy, and that program remains on track to end in March. The Fed's post-meeting statements and Mr. Powell's comments. Continued on Page A18

### Putin Overhauled Hollowed-Out Russian Forces

This article is by Anton Troianovski, Michael Schwartz and Andrew E. Kramer.

MOSCOW — In the early years of Vladimir V. Putin's tenure as Russia's leader, the country's military was a hollowed-out but nuclear-armed shell.

It struggled to keep submarines afloat in the Arctic and an outgunned insurgency at bay in Chechnya. Senior officers sometimes lived in moldy, rat-infested tenements. And instead of socks, poorly trained soldiers often wrapped their feet in swaths of cloth, the way their Soviet and Tsarist predecessors had.

Two decades later, it is a far different fighting force that has

### A Modernized Military and a Potent Arsenal Menace Ukraine

massed near the border with Ukraine. Under Mr. Putin's leadership, it has been overhauled into a modern sophisticated army, able to deploy quickly and with lethal effect in conventional conflicts, military analysts said. It features precision-guided weaponry, a newly streamlined command structure and well-fed and professional soldiers. And they still have the nuclear weapons.

The modernized military has emerged as a key tool of Mr.

Putin's foreign policy: capturing Crimea, intervening in Syria, keeping the peace between Armenia and Azerbaijan and, just this month, propping up a Russia-friendly leader in Kazakhstan. Now it is in the middle of its most ambitious — and most ominous — operation yet: using threats and potentially, many fear, force, to bring Ukraine back into Moscow's sphere of influence.

"The mobility of the military, its preparedness and its equipment are what allow Russia to pressure Ukraine and to pressure the. Continued on Page A10

**OPTIONS** Diplomats gave a formal reply to Russia, offering areas for new negotiations. PAGE A11



SERGEY PIVOVAROV/REUTERS

Carrying a howitzer shell Wednesday during Russian Army drills in the region bordering Ukraine.

### After Backlash, D.A. Vows to Fight Gun Crime

By JONAH E. BROMWICH

When Alvin Bragg was a candidate for Manhattan district attorney, he spoke often about gun possession cases that did not merit harsh prosecution or imprisonment, saying that not every person charged with such a crime was linked to violence.

But on Wednesday, facing a backlash over the lenient policies

### A Change in Emphasis Since the Campaign

he put in place upon taking office earlier this month and following a string of high-profile shootings, Mr. Bragg announced the appointment of a new prosecutor dedicated to preventing gun violence

— and acknowledged that his emphasis, if not his approach, had changed.

Mr. Bragg said that he had been overly focused during the campaign on what he called "exceptional" cases in which gun possession should not be prosecuted. Since taking office, he said, he realized he needed to be more clear about when traditional prosecuted. Continued on Page A20

### Omicron Ebbs, but 'Ending Is Not Written Yet'

By APOORVA MANDAVILLI

After a frenetic few weeks when the Omicron variant of the coronavirus seemed to infect everyone, including the vaccinated and boosted, the United States is finally seeing encouraging signs.

As cases decline in some parts of the country, many have begun to hope that this surge is the last big battle with the virus — that be-

### New Variants Among Hurdles to Normalcy

cause of its unique characteristics, the Omicron variant will usher Americans out of the pandemic.

The variant spiked in South Africa and Britain, then fell off

quickly. Twitter is agog over charts showing declining virus levels in sewage in Boston and San Francisco. On Monday, the top European regional official of the World Health Organization suggested that "Omicron offers plausible hope for stabilization and normalization."

"Things are looking good," Dr. Anthony S. Fauci, the Biden ad- Continued on Page A18



INTERNATIONAL A4-11

### Legacy of a Dictator

Kazakhstan's ex-ruler all but vanished after violent unrest. Kazakhs wonder if anything will really change. PAGE A4

### Prison Recaptured From ISIS

Kurdish-led forces in Syria prevailed in a six-day siege that cast a light on humanitarian and security problems. PAGE A6

NATIONAL A12-20

### Pollution Risk for Older People

The four-year study of air pollution found that exposure to even low levels of particulate matter increased the risk of death in older people. PAGE A19

### Surge in Seaborne Migration

A search was still underway for 38 people missing after a boat capsized off Florida, part of a dangerous new increase in water crossings. PAGE A13

### He Thought He Was Out

In Maine, he was known as a helpful neighbor and fun-loving friend. Then his old life of crime in New York City got him killed. PAGE A12



SPORTS B7-11

### The Power of Positivity

A former marketing executive turned mind-set coach is keeping stars centered at the Australian Open. PAGE B9

### Where Is Peng Shuai?

The question represents concern for the embattled player but also for the future of women's tennis in China. PAGE B7

ARTS C1-8

### More Than Just a Singer

Anthony Roth Costanzo, a countertenor with a vast network of collaborators, has planned a wide-reaching festival for the New York Philharmonic. PAGE C1

BUSINESS B1-6

### Push for U.S. Competitiveness

Democrats are trying to revive legislation to pour billions of dollars into scientific research and domestic manufacturing — all to counter China. PAGE B1

OPINION A22-23

### Charles M. Blow

PAGE A22



THURSDAY STYLES D1-8

### High-Wattage Fashions

After two years of pandemic limbo, the men's shows in Paris offered up a mood elevator, Guy Trebay says. Above, models in Rick Owens's show. PAGE D2



0 354613 9

CONDEMNING RUSSIA, BIDEN ISSUES SANCTIONS

How Russian Troops Closed In on Ukraine

Russian military positions: Existing position New position

Since October, Russia has built an enormous military force along Ukraine's borders that appears prepared to attack from the north, east and south.



Source: Rochan Consulting | Note: Troop positions in eastern Ukraine and Transnistria include Russian-backed separatists. JOSH HOLDER AND SCOTT REINHARD/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Joins Allies in Financially Cutting Off Kremlin Over Ukraine 'Invasion'

This article is by Michael D. Shear, Richard Pérez-Peña, Zolan Kanno-Youngs and Anton Troianovski.

WASHINGTON — The United States and its allies on Tuesday swiftly imposed economic sanctions on Russia for what President Biden denounced as the beginning of an "invasion of Ukraine," unveiling a set of coordinated punishments as Western officials confirmed that Russian forces had begun crossing the Ukrainian border.

Speaking from the White House, Mr. Biden condemned President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia and said the immediate consequences for his aggression against Ukraine included the loss of a key natural gas pipeline and cutting off global financing to two Russian banks and a handful of the country's elites.

"Who in the Lord's name does Putin think gives him the right to declare new so-called countries on territory that belonged to his neighbors?" Mr. Biden said on Tuesday afternoon, joining a cascade of criticism from global leaders earlier in the day. "This is a fla-

grant violation of international law and demands a firm response from the international community."

Mr. Biden warned Mr. Putin that more sanctions would follow if the Russian leader did not withdraw his forces and engage in diplomatic efforts to resolve the crisis.

But that prospect remained dim by the end of the day, as Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken canceled plans to meet with the Russian foreign minister on Thursday, saying that it does not "make sense" to hold talks while Russian forces are on the move.

"To put it simply, Russia just announced that it is carving out a big chunk of Ukraine," Mr. Biden said, adding, "He's setting up a rationale to take more territory by force."

The global response began early on Tuesday, just hours after Mr. Putin recognized the self-declared separatist states in eastern Ukraine and Russian forces started rolling into their territory, according to NATO, European Un-

Continued on Page A11

Residents Facing Hard Choice As Fighting Nears: Stay or Flee

By ANDREW E. KRAMER

SEVERODONETSK, Ukraine — For days, Viktoria Gudyatskaya listened nervously as the escalating fighting along the front lines in eastern Ukraine approached her home in the town of Novoaidar. The thrumming booms of shelling became so insistent that on Tuesday, Ms. Gudyatskaya decided to take her teenage daughter and flee.

"We can hear it now through our closed windows," she said from the platform at the ramshackle station in Severodonetsk, near her hometown, as she and her daughter prepared to board an early morning westbound train to Kyiv.

For nearly a decade, violence has defined life for the residents of

this pocket of eastern Ukraine, where Russian-backed separatists have carved out two enclaves and waged a steady skirmish with Ukrainian soldiers on the other side of the conflict line. But the decision announced by President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia on Monday night to recognize the two separatist enclaves as independent republics — and to order in Russian troops as "peacemakers" — has suddenly brought new and pressing peril to an already fraught region.

The European Union's foreign policy chief, Josep Borrell, said on Tuesday that Russian troops had entered the separatist region.

On Tuesday morning, shelling

Continued on Page A13

PIPELINE HALTED Germany scrapped the approval of Nord Stream 2, abandoning a major link to Russia and a source of natural gas. PAGE B1

Putin Aims to Blot Out History. Who Will Write Europe's Future?

By ROGER COHEN

PARIS — For the prime minister of Lithuania — and Lithuania knows something of life in Moscow's imperium — President Vladimir V. Putin's rambling dismissal of Ukrainian statehood, used to justify sending Russian troops into the eastern part of that state, "put Kafka and Orwell to shame."

There were "no lows too low, no lies too blatant," the prime minister, Ingrida Simonyte, said of Mr. Putin's menacing explanation on Monday of his decision to recognize two separatist regions of Ukraine, Donetsk and Luhansk. But if the speech revived the doublespeak of the

Soviet Union, more than 30 years after its demise, did it also rekindle the Soviet threat and the Cold War that went with it?

On many levels, the challenge Mr. Putin's revanchist Russia presents to the West is different. This Russia has no pretense of a global ideology. The Cold War depended on closed systems; computer technology put an end to that. No Soviet tanks are poised to roll across the Prussian plains and absorb all Europe in a totalitarian empire. Nuclear Armageddon is not on the table.

Yet, perhaps because of the way he prepared the ground for full-scale war, saying Russia has "every right to take retaliatory measures" against what he called a fictive nation led by usurpers who would be responsi-

West Hears the Echoes of the Continent's Darker Days

ble for the bloodshed, Mr. Putin's decision felt like a breaking point that went beyond his annexation of Crimea in 2014. It held up the specter of Europe's darkest days. He laid down a marker, setting the outer limit of the Europe whole and free of 1989.

The Russian president's aggressive move was a slap in the face to President Emmanuel Macron of France, who has led efforts to engage with Russia, and it left, at least for now, the idea of some reconfigured Euro-

pean security architecture moribund.

In its place, division and confrontation loomed in a world marked by what Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken called "President Putin's flagrant disrespect for international law and norms." The White House called Russia's move "the beginning of an invasion."

China, walking a fine line between its support for Mr. Putin and its support for the territorial integrity of sovereign nations, has declined to criticize Russia, while saying those norms must be upheld. Still, in a month when Russia and China cemented a friendship with "no limits," Mr. Putin's order to dispatch troops into Ukraine suggested how

Continued on Page A8

U.S. Women's Soccer Players Win a Promise of Equal Pay

By ANDREW DAS

For six years, the members of the World Cup-winning United States women's soccer team and their bosses argued about equitable treatment of female players. They argued about whether they deserved the same charter flights as their male counterparts and about the definition of what constituted equal pay.

But the long fight that set key members of the women's team against their bosses at U.S. Soccer ended on Tuesday just as abruptly as it had begun, with a settlement that included a multimillion-dollar payment to the players and a promise by their federation to equalize pay between the men's and women's national teams.

Under the terms of the agreement, the women — a group of several dozen current and former players that includes some of the world's most popular and decorated athletes — will share \$24 million in payments from U.S. Soccer. The bulk of that figure is back pay, a tacit admission that compensation for the men's and women's teams had been unequal for



Alex Grimm/Getty Images American players after capturing the World Cup in 2019.

years.

Perhaps more notable is U.S. Soccer's pledge to equalize pay between the men's and women's national teams in all competitions, including the World Cup, in the teams' next collective bargaining agreements. That gap was once seen as an unbridgeable divide preventing any sort of equal pay settlement. If it is closed by the federation in negotiations with

Continued on Page A18

Federal Jury Finds That Arbery Killing Was Motivated by Racism

This article is by Tariro Mzezewa, Audra D. S. Burch and Richard Fausset.

BRUNSWICK, Ga. — A jury on Tuesday found the three white Georgia men who murdered Ahmaud Arbery guilty of a federal hate crime, determining that they were motivated by racism when they chased the 25-year-old Black man through their neighborhood.

The case was one of the most high-profile hate crime trials in years, and came after a rash of acts of violence against African Americans, including Mr. Arbery and George Floyd, led to protests and soul-searching around the nation. It was seen as a victory for the Justice Department, which has pledged to make such cases a priority.

While legal analysts say that hate crimes are especially difficult to prove, federal prosecutors in the Georgia trial presented voluminous evidence of the defendants' racist beliefs and crude language, leaving some jurors visibly shaken. It took them roughly four hours to reach a verdict. When it was read aloud in court, some jurors wept.

National civil rights leaders

hailed the conviction as a victory for racial justice.

"As the nation continues to grapple with racially motivated violence by police and vigilantes who shroud themselves in self-appointed authority, the jury sent a powerful message: We see you for what you are, and we will not tolerate your deadly campaign of intimidation," said Marc H. Morial, chief executive of the National Urban League. "This verdict draws a clear line in the sand."

Mr. Arbery's mother, Wanda Cooper-Jones, said she never doubted that the jury would find the defendants guilty, but her satisfaction was tempered with grief. "As a mother I will never heal," she said. "They gave us a small sense of victory, but we will never get victory because Ahmaud is dead."

In addition to the hate crime convictions, the jury also found the three men — Travis McMichael, 36, his father, Gregory McMichael, 66, and their neighbor William Bryan, 52 — guilty of attempted kidnapping and found the McMichaels guilty of one count each of brandishing or discharging a firearm during a vio-

Continued on Page A15



DUSTIN CHAMBERS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES Ahmaud Arbery's mother after the verdict in Brunswick, Ga.



INTERNATIONAL A4-13

U.N. Climate Change Report

Rising heat may bring a 50 percent increase in the occurrence of severe wildfires by the century's end. PAGE A6

A Rise in Attacks in Pakistan

The Taliban takeover in Afghanistan has led to more terrorism, putting Pakistan in a tight spot. News Analysis. PAGE A4

NATIONAL A14-18

Checking In on Subway Plan

In the first morning rush hour since a policy to remove the homeless from the system took effect, there were signs of change and plenty of gripes. PAGE A17

Revisiting Gay Marriage Issue

The Supreme Court will look at how to reconcile claims of religious liberty with laws barring discrimination. PAGE A16

OBITUARIES A20-21

A Spy With the Gift of Gab

Peter Earnest, who spent decades at the C.I.A., was also a savvy raconteur who led a spy museum. He was 88. PAGE A20

BUSINESS B1-5

Treasury Pushed on Its Hiring

Two Democratic lawmakers asked for an investigation into the revolving door between the department and the country's biggest accounting firms. PAGE B3

SPORTS B6-8

Five Weeks in Las Vegas

A new league with a short season has offered some women's basketball players a lifeline. PAGE B6

Mickelson Offers an Apology

Facing a backlash, Phil Mickelson said he regretted supporting a breakaway Saudi Arabia-backed golf tour. PAGE B7



FOOD D1-8

Savoring Miami's Croquetas

These finger foods come in flavors like ham, chicken or fish, but a new era of chefs isn't stopping there. PAGE D6

Man's Best Dinner Companion?

Paleo, vegan, gluten-free: Owners are putting pets on human regimens, but some experts are skeptical. PAGE D1

ARTS C1-6

Putting 'Killing Eve' to Rest

Sandra Oh and Jodie Comer talked about their journey together through four seasons of the series. PAGE C1

A Linguistic Struggle

In a play by Sanaz Toossi, four Iranians and a language teacher find much to learn in a second tongue. PAGE C1

OPINION A22-23

Madeleine Albright

PAGE A23



0 354613 9

## RUSSIA ATTACKS AS PUTIN WARNS WORLD; BIDEN VOWS TO HOLD HIM ACCOUNTABLE



TYLER HICKS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Ukrainian soldier on Wednesday. President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia said his goal was to demilitarize but not occupy Ukraine.

### Large Explosions in Ukrainian Cities — Moscow Says Not to Interfere

By ANTON TROIANOVSKI and NEIL MacFARQUHAR

MOSCOW — President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia declared the start of a “special military operation” in Ukraine, pledging in a televised speech broadcast just before 6 a.m. Thursday that he would seek to demilitarize but not occupy the country.

Minutes after Mr. Putin announced that he was ordering his troops to war, large explosions were visible near Kharkiv, Ukraine’s second-largest city. Explosions were also reported in other Ukrainian cities, including the capital, Kyiv.

The invasion had begun, the Ukrainian interior ministry said in a statement. Mr. Putin said the operation would aim for the “demilitarization” of Ukraine. Evoking the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia in 1999 and the American invasion of Iraq in 2003, Mr. Putin cast his action as a long overdue strike against an American-led world order that he described as an “empire of lies.”

Even as he spoke, the United Nations Security Council held an emergency meeting imploring him not to invade.

Mr. Putin said he was acting after receiving a plea for assistance from the leaders of the Russian-backed separatist territories formed in eastern Ukraine in 2014 — a move that Western officials had predicted as a possible pretext for an invasion.

Mr. Putin also described the operation as a response to a “question of life or death” that he said Russia was facing as a result of the eastward expansion of the NATO alliance — which Ukraine has aspired to join.

“This is that red line that I talked about multiple times,” Mr. Putin said. “They have crossed it.” The operation’s goal, Mr. Putin said, was “to defend people who for eight years are suffering persecution and genocide by the Kyiv regime,” citing the false accusation that Ukrainian forces had been carrying out ethnic cleansing in separatist regions of east-

Continued on Page A10

### Europe Hopes to Pressure Putin By Crimping Cronies’ Lifestyles

By MATINA STEVIS-GRIDNEFF

BRUSSELS — The list included some of the Kremlin’s highest ranking officials, the top Russian military leadership, senior bank executives, a prominent news anchor, the head of a global television network and a Russian businessman with links to a mercenary group.

For years, as part of the circles of power that surround President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia, many have enjoyed lavish lifestyles — villas on Lake Como in Italy, jetting to see children living in European capitals, shopping on the Continent’s glitziest boulevards.

On Wednesday, the European Union took aim at them with an array of sanctions.

E.U. officials said the bloc’s nearly 600-page list of penalties —

including travel bans and asset freezes — was just a first step, punishing those involved in the recognition on Monday of the so-called republics of Donetsk and Luhansk, which the bloc regards as a violation of Ukraine’s territorial integrity.

They also banned Russia from raising funds in European capital markets through short- and long-term bonds.

In Washington, President Biden stepped up sanctions as well, a day after blocking two large Russian companies from doing business with the U.S.

Continued on Page A9

SHOCK WAVES The fallout from an invasion could further delay a U.S. economic rebound. PAGE B1

## Sleepless Nights in Moscow as a Nation Lurches Into a Conflict

By ANTON TROIANOVSKI

MOSCOW — Waiting for her friends on Moscow’s primly landscaped Boulevard Ring earlier this week, Svetlana Kozakova admitted that she’d had a sleepless night. She kept checking the news on her phone after President Vladimir V. Putin’s aggrieved speech to the nation on Monday that all but threatened Ukraine with war. “Things are going to be very, very uncertain,” she said, “and, most likely, very sad.”

For months, Russians of all po-

litical stripes tuned out American warnings that their country could soon invade Ukraine, dismissing them as an outlandish concoction in the West’s disinformation war with the Kremlin. But this week, after several television appearances by Mr. Putin stunned and scared some longtime observers, that sense of casual disregard turned to a deep unease.

Early Thursday morning, any remaining skepticism that their country would invade was put to rest, when Mr. Putin declared a “special military operation” in Ukraine.

### Ordinary Russians Feel Powerless to Change Kremlin’s Course

Pollsters said that most Russians probably supported Mr. Putin’s formal recognition of the Russian-backed territories in eastern Ukraine this week, especially because they had no choice in the matter and because no significant political force inside the country has argued against it.

War is a different matter altogether, though; in recent days, Russia has not seen any of the jubilation that accompanied the annexation of Crimea in 2014.

Going to war is one of Russians’ greatest fears, according to the Levada Center, an independent pollster. And after Mr. Putin’s angry speech and his cryptic televised meeting with his Security Council on Monday, Russians realized that possibility was lurching closer toward becoming reality.

“This hatred that you could read in him so clearly, it wasn’t

Continued on Page A11

## 2 Manhattan Prosecutors Quit, Putting Trump Inquiry in Doubt

This article is by William K. Rashbaum, Ben Protess, Jonah E. Bromwich, Kate Christobek and Nate Schweber.

The two prosecutors leading the Manhattan district attorney’s investigation into former President Donald J. Trump and his business practices abruptly resigned on Wednesday amid a monthlong pause in their presentation of evidence to a grand jury, according to people with knowledge of the matter.

The unexpected development came not long after the high-

stakes inquiry appeared to be gaining momentum and now throws its future into serious doubt.

The prosecutors, Carey R. Dunne and Mark F. Pomerantz, submitted their resignations because the new Manhattan district attorney, Alvin Bragg, indicated to them that he had doubts about moving forward with a case against Mr. Trump, the people said.

Mr. Pomerantz confirmed in a brief interview that he had resigned but declined to elaborate. Mr. Dunne declined to comment.

Without Mr. Bragg’s commitment to move forward, the prosecutors late last month postponed a plan to question at least one witness before the grand jury, one of the people said. They have not questioned any witnesses in front of the grand jury for more than a month, essentially pausing their investigation into whether Mr. Trump inflated the value of his assets to obtain favorable loan terms from banks.

The precise reasons for Mr. Bragg’s pullback are unknown, and he has made few public statements about the status of the in-

Continued on Page A17



ANNA WATTS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES  
Alvin Bragg, the Manhattan district attorney, started Jan. 1.



GILLES SABRIÉ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Brain Failure, a Beijing band, in Wuhan. China’s clubs had a mix of local and foreign musicians.

## Xi’s China-First Policy Is Shutting Out the World

By VIVIAN WANG

The miracle of modern China was built on global connections, a belief that sending young people, companies and future leaders to soak up the outside world was the route from impoverishment to power. Now, emboldened by its transformation, the country is shunning the influences and ideas that nourished its rise.

### Curbing Flow of Ideas That Lifted Country

The country’s most dominant leader in decades, Xi Jinping, seems intent on redefining China’s relationship with the world, recasting the meeting of minds and cultures as a zero-sum clash.

Education officials are imposing restrictions on English education and requiring that scholars ask permission to attend even virtual international conferences. Regulators have punished Chinese companies for raising money overseas. Mr. Xi has exhorted artists to embrace “cultural confidence” by promoting traditional Chinese literature and art, and

Continued on Page A6

## M.T.A. to Test Safety Barriers In the Subway

By MICHAEL GOLD  
and ANA LEY

For years, the Metropolitan Transportation Authority had resisted calls to install the platform barriers that are used in subway systems around the globe to block access to tracks, citing the “special complexities” of bringing such technology to a century-old system not designed for it.

But on Wednesday, more than a month after a woman was shoved to her death in front of a train at the Times Square subway station, transit officials reversed course and said they would move to test such barriers.

While the pilot program will be limited to three stations, it does include some platforms at the Times Square station, one of the system’s busiest stops, and officials say it could lay the foundation for an eventual expansion elsewhere.

More than one-fourth of the system’s stations have layouts that could eventually accommodate platform barriers, according to an analysis commissioned by the

Continued on Page A19

### INTERNATIONAL A4-13

#### Anti-Mandate Protests Spread

An occupation in New Zealand’s capital shows the influence that American disinformation about vaccines is having on other democracies. PAGE A4

#### A Regal President’s Softer Side

As elections near, Emmanuel Macron of France is aiming to put a more human face on his powerful position. PAGE A4

### OBITUARIES B10-11

#### Growling Voice of Grunge

In bands like Screaming Trees and Queens of the Stone Age, Mark Lanegan, 57, helped lift a genre. PAGE B10

### NATIONAL A14-19

#### Backing Florida’s Covid Policy

Gov. Ron DeSantis has a partner in Dr. Joseph Ladapo, the state’s new surgeon general, who has vowed to “reject fear” in managing the pandemic. PAGE A14

#### Ivanka Trump May Face Panel

Donald J. Trump’s elder daughter is in talks to sit for an interview with the Jan. 6 committee, which regards her as an important witness. PAGE A18

#### Transgender Care Criticized

Gov. Greg Abbott of Texas told state health agencies that medical treatments for transgender adolescents should be classified as “child abuse.” PAGE A15

### BUSINESS B1-6

#### Apple vs. the Netherlands

Apple is fighting a Dutch regulator’s effort to make the company give people multiple payment options for using dating apps on their phones. PAGE B5

### SPORTS B7-9

#### Soccer by Numbers

For many clubs, the pursuit of a top data analyst has become as important as the pursuit for the best players. PAGE B7

#### It’s College Basketball’s Turn

With the N.C.A.A. tournament fast approaching, we get up to speed with how the season is shaping up. PAGE B9

### ARTS C1-8

#### Restarting ‘Law & Order’

The show’s first episode in 12 years has the intro and some old stars. But it’s missing a few things. A review. PAGE C1

#### A Brutal Expression of Love

The Israeli dance troupe L-E-V displayed its sensuality in a work’s premiere at the Joyce Theater. PAGE C8



### THURSDAY STYLES D1-6

#### A Lens on the World

Marilyn Stafford, who photographed a good bit of the 20th century, finally gets recognition in the 21st. PAGE D1

#### Italy’s Powerhouse Siblings

The social media personalities Chiara and Valentina Ferragni have emerged as a major force in fashion. PAGE D5

### OPINION A20-21

#### Gail Collins

PAGE A21



# WAR IN UKRAINE

## RUSSIANS PUSH INTO OUTSKIRTS OF CAPITAL AS DEATHS RISE AND THOUSANDS FLEE WEST



EVGENIY MALOLETKA/ASSOCIATED PRESS

**DESTRUCTION** A military facility in southern Ukraine on Thursday as Russian forces unleashed artillery strikes across the nation.

### Big Explosion Is Seen Over Kyiv; Zelensky Says He's 'Target No. 1'

This article is by Michael Schwartz, Eric Schmitt and Neil MacFarquhar.

SLOVYANSK, Ukraine — Russia continued its attack on Ukraine early Friday, one day after it invaded the country by land, sea and air, killing more than 100 Ukrainian soldiers and civilians and ominously touching off a pitched battle at the highly radioactive area around the Chernobyl nuclear reactor that melted down in 1986.

Videos verified by The New York Times showed a large explosion in the sky over the outskirts of southern Kyiv, the capital, around 4:20 a.m. Friday. Witnesses filmed fiery debris falling over parts of the city, and videos appeared to show at least two surface-to-air missiles being fired from Kyiv before the explosion.

On Thursday, Day 1 of the first major land war in Europe in decades, the Russian military began its attack before sunrise with the terrifying thud of artillery strikes on airports and military installations all over Ukraine. A senior



SARAHBETH MANEY/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Biden denounced a "brutal assault" and said that "America stands up to bullies."

Pentagon official said that three lines of Russian troops and military forces were moving swiftly toward Ukrainian cities — one heading south from Belarus toward Kyiv; another toward Kharkiv, in northeast Ukraine; and a third toward Kherson in the south, near Crimea. The forces were using missiles and long-range artillery, the official said.

By Thursday's end, Russian  
*Continued on Page A6*



EMILE DUCKE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**DESPERATION** A bus station in Kyiv, the capital. The roads were snarled with Ukrainians seeking the relative safety of the far west.

### Russians Wake Up to Discover They Didn't Really Know Putin

By ANTON TROIANOVSKI

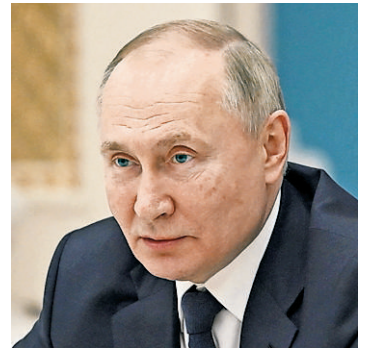
MOSCOW — Russians thought they knew their president. They were wrong.

And by Thursday, it appeared too late to do anything about it.

For most of his 22-year rule, Vladimir V. Putin presented an aura of calm determination at home — of an ability to astutely manage risk to navigate the world's biggest country through treacherous shoals. His attack on Ukraine negated that image, and revealed him as an altogether different leader: one dragging the nuclear superpower he helms into a war with no foreseeable conclusion, one that by all appearances will end Russia's attempts over its three post-Soviet decades to find a place in a peaceful world order.

Russians awoke in shock after they learned that Mr. Putin, in an address to the nation that aired before 6 a.m., had ordered a full-scale assault against what Russians of all political stripes often refer to as their "brotherly nation."

There was no spontaneous pro-



ALEKSEY NIKOLSKIY/SPUTNIK

President Vladimir V. Putin at the Kremlin on Thursday.

war jubilation. Instead, liberal-leaning public figures who for years tried to compromise with and adapt to Mr. Putin's creeping authoritarianism found themselves reduced to posting on social media about their opposition to a war they had no way to stop.

Other Russians expressed themselves more openly. From St. Petersburg to Siberia, thousands took to city streets chanting "No to war!" clips posted on social me-

*Continued on Page A5*

### Sanctions Aim to Isolate Banks And Cut Off Russia Tech Imports

This article is by Edward Wong, Michael Crowley and Ana Swanson.

WASHINGTON — President Biden, vowing to turn President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia into a "pariah," announced tough new sanctions on Thursday aimed at cutting off Russia's largest banks and some oligarchs from much of the global financial system and preventing the country from importing American technology critical to its defense, aerospace and maritime industries.

The package unveiled by the U.S. government is expected to ripple across companies and households in Russia, where anxiety over Mr. Putin's full-scale invasion of Ukraine has already begun setting in. The nation's stock market fell more than 30 percent on Thursday, wiping out a huge amount of wealth. [Page B1.]

The new U.S. sanctions include harsh penalties against the two largest Russian financial institutions, which together account for more than half of the country's banking assets.

### Putin Will Be 'Pariah,' Biden Declares After Imposing Penalties

U.S. officials are also barring the export of important American technology to Russia, which could imperil industries there. In addition, the United States will limit the ability of 13 major Russian companies, including Gazprom, the state-owned energy conglomerate, to raise financing in Western capital markets. And it is penalizing families close to Mr. Putin.

The sanctions against the financial giants will cause immediate disruptions to Russia's economy but are manageable over the longer term, analysts said. The technology restrictions, on the other hand, could cripple the ability of certain Russian industries to keep up.

"Putin chose this war, and now  
*Continued on Page A8*

### U.S. Intelligence Strengthens Biden's Hand in Uniting Allies

By JULIAN E. BARNES and DAVID E. SANGER

WASHINGTON — The United States intelligence agencies unearthed Russia's war plans. They accurately assessed President Vladimir V. Putin's intentions and, through strategic public releases of information, complicated his efforts to create a pretext to send his armed forces into Ukraine. They got the timing of his invasion right almost to the hour.

The success of American intelligence in reading Mr. Putin and stripping away any element of surprise is one of the most striking developments of the crisis and has had substantial implications as the conflict has exploded into bloodshed.

It was not enough in the end to deter Mr. Putin from carrying out the broad assault that got underway early on Thursday.

But the depth and quality of the American intelligence strengthened President Biden's hand in bringing the trans-Atlantic alliance into a unified front against

### Accurate Assessments Helped Buy Time for Global Response

Moscow. It provided time to prepare waves of sanctions and other steps to impose a cost on Russia, dispatch troops to bolster NATO allies and move Americans out of harm's way.

And after high-profile intelligence failures in Afghanistan, Iraq and other global crises over the past several decades, the accuracy of the intelligence gave the C.I.A. and the broader array of U.S. intelligence agencies new credibility at home and abroad.

The result has been a remarkable four months of diplomacy, deterrence and American-led information warfare, including the last-ditch effort to disrupt Mr. Putin's strategy by exposing it publicly. Unlike the withdrawal from Afghanistan last year, it was  
*Continued on Page A10*

### An Untested President Steps Up To Rally His People in Wartime

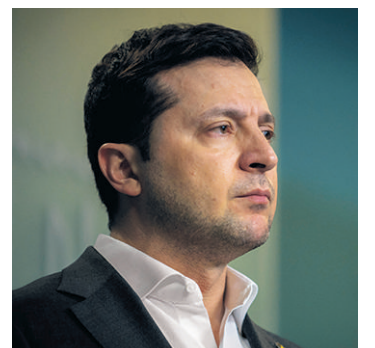
By VALERIE HOPKINS

KYIV, Ukraine — He appeared on Ukrainian television early on Thursday morning, as the threat of war was pressing down. First, President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine addressed the 44 million citizens of Ukraine. Then he turned to the 144 million Russians living next door and beseeched them to prevent an attack that evoked the darkest eras in Europe since World War II.

"Listen to the voice of reason," Mr. Zelensky said after midnight Thursday in Kyiv. "The Ukrainian people want peace."

It was an impassioned bid to save his country — and it did not work. Hours later, a full-scale Russian invasion had begun, and Mr. Zelensky, a former television actor and comic, had become a wartime leader. And for the moment, as the Russian attack is continuing, Ukrainians have rallied around him.

His dramatic speech on Thursday and his appearance at the Munich Security Conference last



UKRAINE PRESIDENCY, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Volodymyr Zelensky was elected as a corruption fighter.

weekend, where he warned European allies about "appeasement" of Russia, have given Mr. Zelensky something that even his allies would not normally ascribe to him — gravitas.

He will now face the greatest crisis in his country's modern history, even as he must face off against President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia.

"Putin began a war against  
*Continued on Page A7*



## West Steps Up Pressure On Putin, Curbing Coal And Restricting Trade

### U.N. Pulls Russia From Rights Council Amid New Evidence of Atrocities

This article is by *Matina Stevis-Gridneff, Michael Levenson and Steven Erlanger.*

BRUSSELS — Western nations on Thursday escalated their pressure on Russia over its invasion of Ukraine, with the European Union approving a ban on Russian coal and the United States moving to strip Russia's trading privileges and prohibit its energy sales in the American market.

The new punishments came as the United Nations General Assembly took a symbolically important vote to penalize Russia by suspending it from the Human Rights Council, the 47-member U.N. body that can investigate rights abuses. Western diplomats called the suspension a barometer of global outrage over the war and the growing evidence of atrocities committed by Russian forces.

That evidence includes newly revealed radio transmissions intercepted by German intelligence

in which Russian forces discussed carrying out indiscriminate killings north of Kyiv, the capital, according to two officials briefed on an intelligence report. Russia has denied any responsibility for atrocities.

Together, the steps announced Thursday represented a significant increase in efforts led by Western nations to isolate and inflict greater economic pain on Russia as its troops regroup for a wave of attacks in eastern Ukraine, prompting urgent calls by Ukrainian officials for civilians there to flee.

"These next few days may be your last chance to leave!" the regional governor of Luhansk, Serhiy Haidai, declared in a video on Facebook. "The enemy is trying to cut off all possible ways to leave. Do not delay — evacuate."

But the Western penalties were unlikely to persuade Russia to stop the war, and they revealed how the allies were trying to minimize their own economic pain and prevent themselves from becoming entangled in a direct armed conflict with Moscow.

In some ways, the efforts underscored internal tensions among Russia's critics over how best to manage the next stage of the conflict, which has created the biggest refugee crisis in Europe since World War II. The war is also indirectly worsening humanitarian and economic problems far from Ukraine, including rising food and energy prices that are exacerbating hunger and inflation, particularly in developing nations.

It took two days of protracted talks in Brussels for the European  
*Continued on Page A8*



ILYA NAYMUSHIN/REUTERS  
Trains being loaded with coal near Borodino, Russia, in 2017.

## 'He Is a Child of War': Giving Birth Amid Chaos in Ukraine

By **ANDREW E. KRAMER**

KYIV, Ukraine — Before the war, Alina Shynkar's gynecologist advised her to avoid stress during her pregnancy, suggesting she spend time "just watching cartoons and being silly." It was simple enough advice, but not so easy to follow after air-raid sirens wailed, artillery booms rattled windows and vicious street fighting broke out a few miles away from her maternity hospital.

Then, keeping calm for her baby became Ms. Shynkar's quiet, personal battle in the Ukraine war. She checked into Maternity Hospital No. 5 in the capital, Kyiv, before the war began in late Febru-

ary for bed rest because of a risk of preterm labor, only to witness the hospital unravel into a chaotic, panicked state weeks later.

"The girls were under so much stress they started to deliver" prematurely, she said. Doctors in her hospital moved frightened pregnant women, some of them already in labor, in and out of a bomb shelter multiple times a day. Some were crying and some were bleeding.

"They were scared," Ms. Shynkar recalled. "It was hard to see."

The Russian assault on Ukraine has been a nightmare for expectant mothers, particularly in cities like Mariupol, Kharkiv and Chernihiv that have been under almost constant bombardment from the beginning of the war in late February.

In the besieged city of Mariupol, in southern Ukraine, last month, Russian artillery struck a maternity hospital, resulting in the death of a pregnant woman and wounding a number of others, according to the Ukrainian authorities.

Women in war zones throughout the country have been forced to give birth in cold, decrepit basements or subway stations crowded with people cowering from shelling, and without elec-



LYNSEY ADDARIO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES  
Lina Chayka, Vladimir Shynkar and their newborn, Maxim.

*Continued on Page A9*

## JACKSON CONFIRMED TO SUPREME COURT AS BACKERS HAIL A LANDMARK MOMENT



### First Black Woman to Serve as Justice — Vote Is 53-47

By **CARL HULSE**  
and **ANNIE KARNI**

WASHINGTON — The Senate on Thursday confirmed Judge Ketanji Brown Jackson to the Supreme Court, making her the first Black woman to be elevated to the pinnacle of the judicial branch in what her supporters hailed as a needed step toward bringing new diversity and life experience to the court.

Overcoming a concerted effort by Republicans to sully her record and derail her nomination, Judge Jackson was confirmed on a 53-to-47 vote, with three Republicans joining all 50 members of the Democratic caucus in backing her.

The vote was a rejection of Republican attempts to paint her as a liberal extremist who had coddled criminals. Dismissing those portrayals as distorted and offensive, Judge Jackson's backers saw the confirmation as an uplifting occasion for the Senate and a mark of how far the country had come.

Judge Jackson, whose parents attended segregated schools, has two degrees from Harvard University and, at 51, is now in line to replace Justice Stephen G. Breyer when he retires at the end of the court's session this summer, making her a justice in waiting.

"Even in the darkest times, there are bright lights," Senator Chuck Schumer, Democrat of New York and the majority leader, said on the Senate floor. "Today is one of the brightest lights. Let us hope it's a metaphor, an indication of many bright lights to come."

He added, "How many millions of kids in generations past could have benefited from such a role model?"

At the Capitol, the galleries, closed for much of the pandemic, were filled with supporters on hand to witness the historic vote. The chamber erupted in cheers, with senators, staff and visitors all jumping to their feet for a lengthy standing ovation, when the vote was announced.

"After weeks and weeks of racist, misogynistic and stomach-churning attacks, we cannot wait to finally call her Justice Jackson," said Derrick Johnson, the president of the N.A.A.C.P., describing the moment as one of "enormous consequence to our nation and to history."

Not everyone shared in the joy  
*Continued on Page A14*

**IN HER FOOTSTEPS** Black women at Harvard Law School reflect on a barrier-breaking rise. **PAGE A12**

ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Bigger Impact, at First, on History Than Rulings

By **ADAM LIPTAK**

WASHINGTON — Judge Ketanji Brown Jackson, the first Black woman confirmed to the Supreme Court, will in one sense transform it. Once she replaces Justice Stephen G. Breyer, one of the 108 white men who preceded her, the court will look a lot more like the nation it serves.

There will, for the first time, be four women on the court. Also for the first time, there will be two Black justices. And a Latina.

But that new tableau on the court's grand mahogany bench

### NEWS ANALYSIS

will mask a simple truth: The new justice will do nothing to alter the basic dynamic on a court dominated by six Republican appointees.

However collegial she may be, whatever her reputation as a "consensus builder" and whether her voting record will be slightly to the right or the left of Justice Breyer's, the court's lopsided conservative majority will remain in charge. Judge Jackson will most likely find herself, as

Justice Breyer has, in dissent in the court's major cases on highly charged social questions.

Indeed, in an institution that prizes seniority, the court's three-member liberal wing is apt to lose power.

The viciousness of the fight over Judge Jackson's confirmation was, then, wholly at odds with what was at stake in the actual work of the court, at least in the short term.

Justice Breyer will stay on the court through the end of the current term, in late June or  
*Continued on Page A15*

## Budget Agreement for New York Toughens Bail and Eases Gas Tax

By **LUIS FERRÉ-SADURNÍ** and **GRACE ASHFORD**

ALBANY, N.Y. — Faced with rising concerns over crime in an election year, Gov. Kathy Hochul and New York State legislative leaders on Thursday reached agreement on an expansive budget that included measures to strengthen bail restrictions and tighten rules for repeat offenders.

The \$220 billion budget would provide hundreds of millions of dollars in relief for New Yorkers grappling with skyrocketing gasoline prices by suspending some taxes at the fuel pump. The spending plan also commits billions of

dollars toward affordable child care and includes a substantial taxpayer subsidy for a new Buffalo Bills stadium.

The most contentious negotiations had nothing to do with money but with the governor's push to include changes to the state's bail laws in the budget discussions. It was a stumbling block that caused lawmakers to miss the April 1 deadline.

Under the agreement, Ms. Hochul, a moderate Democrat running for her first full term this  
*Continued on Page A16*

## Citing Safety, Medicare Limits Coverage of Alzheimer's Drug

By **PAM BELLUCK**

Ever since Medicare proposed to sharply limit coverage of the controversial Alzheimer's drug Aduhelm, the agency has been deluged with impassioned pleas.

Groups representing patients insisted the federal insurance program pay for the drug. Many Alzheimer's experts and doctors cautioned against broadly covering a treatment that has uncertain benefit and serious safety risks.

On Thursday, Medicare officials announced their final decision. Though the Food and Drug Administration has approved

Aduhelm for some 1.5 million people, Medicare will cover it only for people who receive it as participants in a clinical trial.

Chiquita Brooks-LaSure, the administrator of the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services, or C.M.S., said the decision was intended to protect patients while gathering data to indicate whether Aduhelm, an expensive monoclonal antibody given as a monthly infusion, could actually help them by slowing the pace of their cognitive decline.

*Continued on Page A17*

### INTERNATIONAL A4-10

#### Shanghai Seethes in Lockdown

Residents of China's most cosmopolitan city have responded to the government's pursuit of zero Covid with a rare outpouring of criticism. **PAGE A5**

### NATIONAL A11-19, 24

#### D.A. Speaks of Trump Inquiry

Alvin Bragg, in his first public comments about the Manhattan investigation, insisted his office was continuing to pursue the matter. **PAGE A19**

### SPORTS B9-14

#### Back With Scars, and Smiles

Tiger Woods was a little rusty in his first competitive round in 17 months, but a one-under 71 at the Masters was more than just commendable. **PAGE B9**

### WEEKEND ARTS C1-16

#### A Romantic Turned Reformist

A painting that served as an awesome indictment of the Atlantic slave trade is at the heart of an exhibition in Boston of the works of J.M.W. Turner. **PAGE C1**

### OPINION A22-23

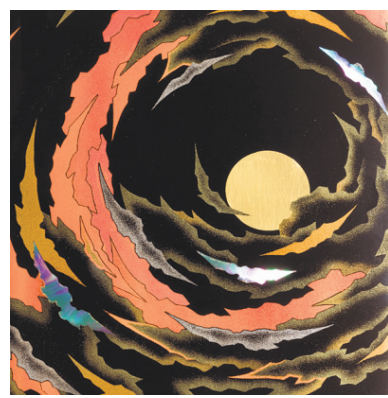
#### Frank Bruni

**PAGE A22**



A BENEFIT FOR EAST SIDE HOUSE

# THE WINTER SHOW *in spring!* 2022



**APRIL 1 - 10**  
**660 MADISON AVE**  
**NEW YORK CITY**

**LAST WEEKEND**

**5000 YEARS OF**  
**ART/ANTIQUES/DESIGN**

"All the News  
That's Fit to Print"

# The New York Times

Late Edition

Today, humid, morning fog, showers in areas, high 76. Tonight, partly cloudy, humid, low 64. Tomorrow, strong afternoon thunderstorms, high 78. Weather map, Page 26.

VOL. CLXXI ... No. 59,424

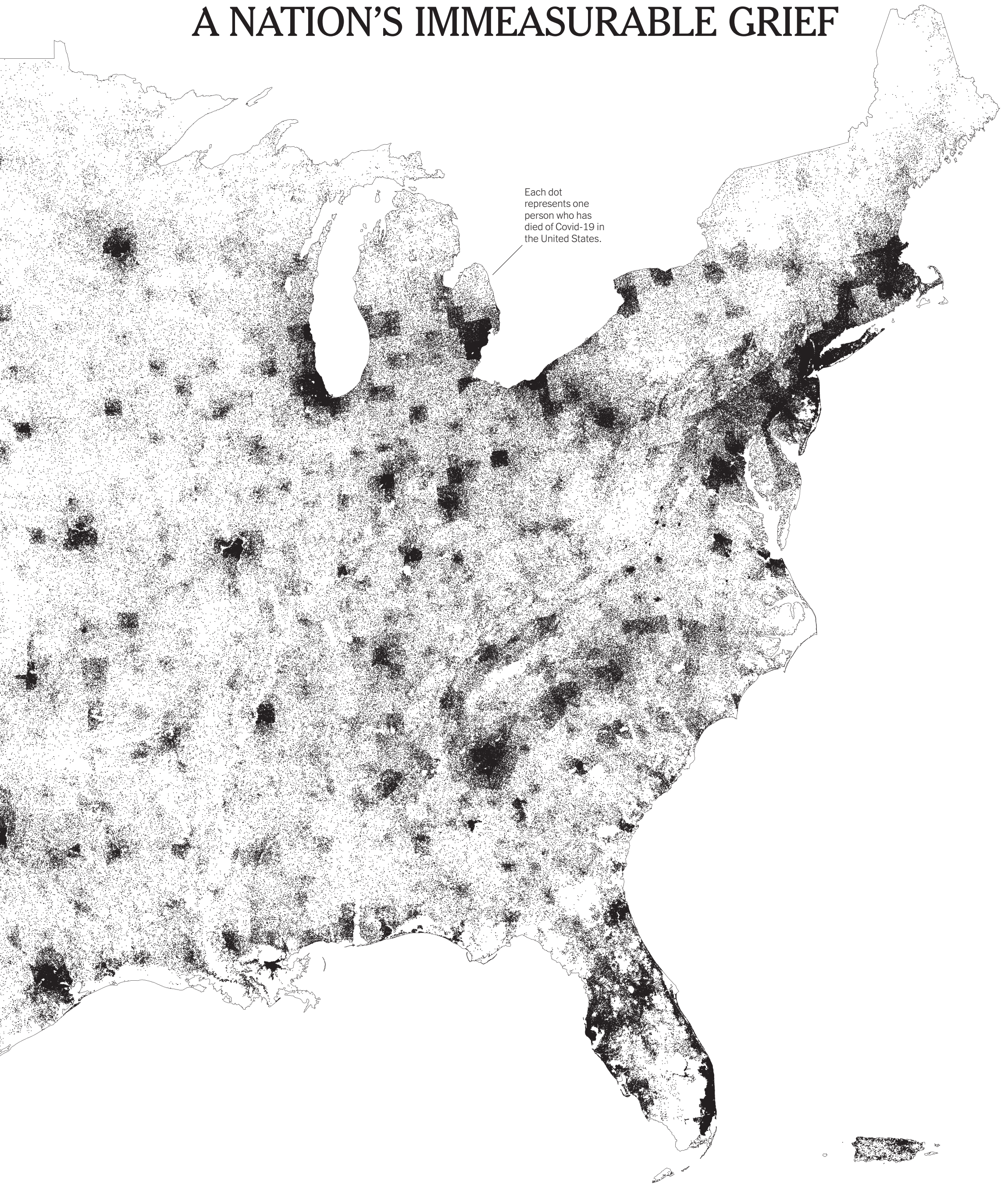
© 2022 The New York Times Company

NEW YORK, SUNDAY, MAY 15, 2022

\$6.00

# ONE MILLION

## A NATION'S IMMEASURABLE GRIEF



They were mothers and fathers, sisters and brothers, daughters and sons. More Americans have died in the pandemic now than in two decades of car crashes or on battlefields in all of the country's wars combined — a death rate higher than in almost any other wealthy nation. Each dot on this map represents a person who died of Covid, a rendering of the toll that traces the entire United States. Their families have been left behind facing an isolating sorrow, and the worry that their loved ones will be forgotten in a nation determined to move on. PAGES 15-22



# ROE OVERTURNED

## A 6-to-3 Ruling Ends 50 Years of Federal Abortion Rights



ANTI-ABORTION VICTORY Outside the Supreme Court on Friday. The ripple was felt across the country, with state bans taking effect.



A STINGING DEFEAT The pain was severe for much of the country. President Biden called it "the realization of extreme ideology."

*'We therefore hold that the Constitution does not confer a right to abortion. Roe and Casey must be overruled, and the authority to regulate abortion must be returned to the people and their elected representatives.'*

Justice Samuel A. Alito Jr., in the majority opinion

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court on Friday overturned Roe v. Wade, eliminating the constitutional right to abortion after almost 50 years in a decision that will transform American life, reshape the nation's politics and lead to all but total bans on the procedure in about half of the states.

"Roe was egregiously wrong from the start," Justice Samuel A. Alito Jr. wrote for the majority in the 6-to-3 decision, one of the most momentous from the court in decades.

Bans in at least eight states swiftly took effect after they enacted laws meant to be enforced immediately after Roe fell. More states are expected to follow in the coming days, reflecting the main holding in the decision, that states are free to end the practice if they choose to do so.

The decision, which closely tracked a leaked draft opinion, prompted celebrations and outcries across the country, underlining how divisive the topic of abortion remains after decades of uncompromising ideological and moral battles between those who see making the choice to terminate a pregnancy as a right and those who see it as taking a life.

The outcome, while telegraphed both by the leaked draft opinion and positions taken by the justices during arguments in the case, nonetheless produced political shock waves, energizing conservatives who are increasingly focused on state-by-state fights and generating new resolve among Democrats to make restoring abortion rights a central element of the midterm elections. Protests swelled across the

country on Friday evening. Outside the Supreme Court, thousands of abortion rights supporters demonstrated alongside small groups of celebrating anti-abortion activists, who blew bubbles. Throngs spilled into the streets in large cities like Los Angeles, Chicago and Philadelphia, and smaller crowds gathered in places like Louisville, Ky., and Tallahassee, Fla.

Speakers at some rallies exhorted abortion rights supporters to take their anger to the polls during the midterm elections in November, a point echoed by President Biden, who said the court's decision would jeopardize the health of millions of women.

"It is the realization of extreme ideology and a tragic error by the Supreme Court," Mr. Biden said.

The ruling will test the legitimacy of the court and vindicate a decades-long Republican project of installing conservative justices prepared to reject the precedent, which had been repeatedly reaffirmed by earlier courts. It will also be one of the signal legacies of President Donald J. Trump, who vowed to name justices who would overrule Roe. All three of his appointees were in the majority in the ruling.

Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. voted with the majority but said he would have taken "a more

Continued on Page A12

**ROBERTS'S LOST COURT** The chief justice is powerless to pursue his incremental approach. PAGE A14

**PARSING THE TEXT** Annotated excerpts from the majority opinion and the dissents. PAGE A10

### NEWS ANALYSIS

## A Conservative Supermajority May Be Just Getting Started

By CHARLIE SAVAGE

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court's decision on Friday to end the constitutional right to abortion concluded one battle for now but immediately posed another far-reaching question: whether the judicial ground under rights in other personal matters, including contraception and same-sex marriage, is now also shaky.

The lack of a clear and consistent answer among the supermajority of conservative, Republican-appointed justices who control the Supreme Court prompted fear on the left, and anticipation among some on the other side of the ideological divide, that the abortion decision could be just the beginning of a sharp rightward shift on issues that directly touch intimate personal choices.

Those reactions were stoked by Justice Clarence Thomas's concurring opinion, in which he explicitly said that precedents establishing those rights —

### Sign of Shaky Ground for Other Rights

which relied on the same legal reasoning as the now-overturned Roe v. Wade — should be reconsidered.

The majority opinion by Justice Samuel A. Alito Jr. sought to be more reassuring to those who see a judicial assault coming on same-sex marriage and contraception. He declared that a ruling that the 14th Amendment — which forbids the government to take away people's freedom unfairly — does not protect abortion rights should not be seen as imperiling precedents unrelated to ending fetal life. Yet his legal rationale implicitly called a series of such precedents into doubt.

The three dissenting liberals on the court said, in essence, don't be fooled. "No one," they

Continued on Page A13

## Ending One Fight and Starting Another in a Polarized America

By KATE ZERNIKE

Within minutes of the Supreme Court's overturning of Roe v. Wade on Friday, the attorney general in Missouri issued an opinion banning abortion in his state. Abortion clinics in several cities, including Montgomery, Ala., and Sioux Falls, S.D., shut down. But others in Illinois and Ohio kept seeing patients.

At a Phoenix clinic, 40 women were waiting to schedule appointments, setting the staff scrambling for answers about whether it

was still allowed to perform abortions. "We sent a bunch of people home, and they were hysterical," said Dr. Gabrielle Goodrick, the clinic's owner.

In Ohio, Candice Keller, a former state representative who sponsored a law banning abortion after six weeks of pregnancy, broke down in tears of joy. "I just started to cry," Ms. Keller said. "It has been a real battle. It felt like you are never going to win. But we did win."

The overturning of Roe on Friday, stunning even as it was long predicted, set off waves of tri-

### Digging In on Each Side for Bitter Struggle at the State Level

umph and of despair, from the protesters on either side massing in front of the Supreme Court, to abortion clinics and crisis pregnancy centers, and in texts with friends and social media feeds.

The split-screen reaction reflected a polarized nation: jubila-

tion and relief on one side, outrage and grief on the other.

"If I had confetti I would be tossing it high," said Dale Bartscher, the director of South Dakota Right to Life. "Today, we're celebrating a day that we've long dreamed of, advocated for and worked for: the overcoming of Roe v. Wade."

David Ripley, the director of Idaho Chooses Life, said he did not think he would be alive to see the day when Idaho's trigger ban on abortion — making it illegal upon Roe's fall — would actually take effect.

Continued on Page A14

## For Collins, Decision Is a Betrayal by Kavanaugh

By CARL HULSE

WASHINGTON — During a two-hour meeting in her Senate office with the Supreme Court nominee Brett M. Kavanaugh on Aug. 21, 2018, Senator Susan Collins of Maine pressed him hard on why she should trust him not to overturn Roe v. Wade if she backed his confirmation.

Judge Kavanaugh worked vigorously to reassure her that he was no threat to the landmark

### Was Assured That He Respected Precedent

abortion rights ruling.

"Start with my record, my respect for precedent, my belief that it is rooted in the Constitution, and my commitment and its importance to the rule of law," he said, according to contemporaneous notes kept by multiple staff mem-

bers in the meeting. "I understand precedent and I understand the importance of overturning it."

"Roe is 45 years old, it has been reaffirmed many times, lots of people care about it a great deal, and I've tried to demonstrate I understand real-world consequences," he continued, according to the notes, adding: "I am a don't-rock-the-boat kind of judge. I believe in stability and in the Team of Nine."

Continued on Page A11

## In an Instant, Midterm Contests Are Scrambled

By KATIE GLUECK

GRAND RAPIDS, Mich. — The Supreme Court's decision overturning Roe v. Wade on Friday catapulted the explosive battle over abortion rights into the center of several marquee midterm races, turning the fight over key governor's contests and coveted Senate seats into heated debates about personal freedom and public health.

Devastated Democrats, facing

### Swing Voters' Focus: Inflation or Abortion

staggering political challenges amid high inflation and President Biden's low approval ratings, hoped the decision might reinvigorate disaffected base voters. They also saw the moment as a fresh chance to hold on to the moderate, suburban swing voters who

have helped them win recent elections.

Republicans, for their part, publicly celebrated the ruling as the realization of a decades-long effort, even as some strategists — and former President Donald J. Trump — privately acknowledged that the issue created at least some risk for a party that has enjoyed months of political momentum. Many argued that competitive races would ultimately be de-

Continued on Page A11



## ENRAGED TRUMP ENCOURAGED VIOLENCE AND SOUGHT TO JOIN MOB, AIDE TESTIFIES



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

### Insider's Account of a President's Volatility

By LUKE BROADWATER and MICHAEL S. SCHMIDT

WASHINGTON — The first White House aide to testify publicly before the House committee investigating the Jan. 6 attack provided a damning account on Tuesday of how former President Donald J. Trump, knowing his supporters were armed and threatening violence, urged them to march to the Capitol and sought to join them there, privately siding with them as they stormed the building and called for the hanging of the vice president.

The testimony from the aide, Cassidy Hutchinson, was extraordinary even by the standards of Mr. Trump's norm-busting presidency and the inquiry's remarkable string of revelations this month. In fly-on-the-wall anecdotes delivered in a quiet voice, she described how frantic West Wing aides failed to stop Mr. Trump from encouraging the violence or persuade him to try to end it, and how the White House's top lawyer feared that Mr. Trump might be committing crimes as he steered the country to the brink of a constitutional crisis.

Drawing from conversations she said she overheard in the West Wing and others contemporaneously relayed to her by top officials, Ms. Hutchinson, a 26-year-old who was an aide to Mark Meadows, Mr. Trump's final chief of staff, provided crucial details about what the former president was doing and saying before and during the riot. She painted a portrait of an unhinged president obsessed with clinging to power and appearing strong, and willing to tolerate violence as a result — as long as it was not directed at him.

"They're not here to hurt me," she testified that Mr. Trump said as he demanded that security checkpoints be removed outside his rally on the Ellipse on Jan. 6, knowing that many of his supporters were armed and threatening violence. "Take the f-ing mags away. Let my people in. They can march to the Capitol from here."

It was an act of vanity by Mr. Trump, who wanted his crowd to appear as large as possible, that recalled his first day in office, which was consumed by his false claims about the size of the crowd at his inauguration. Ms. Hutchinson recounted it as she laid out a day of chaos in the White House, *Continued on Page A14*



PETE MAROVICH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES  
Frantic aides tried to rein in President Donald J. Trump.

### 'Let my people in. They can march to the Capitol from here. Let the people in.'

CASSIDY HUTCHINSON, former White House aide, summarizing Donald J. Trump's demand on Jan. 6, 2021, to remove metal detectors as a mob gathered at the Ellipse.

### Vivid Testimony Could Undercut A Possible Free-Speech Defense

By ALAN FEUER and GLENN THRUSH

It was one of the most dramatic moments in a presentation filled with them: Just before President Donald J. Trump went onstage near the White House last year and urged his supporters to "fight like hell" and march on the Capitol, an aide testified on Tuesday, he was told that some of them were armed.

It was also a potentially consequential moment for any prosecution of Mr. Trump, legal experts said. Knowing that his crowd of supporters had the means to be violent when he exhorted them to march to the Capitol — and declared that he wanted to go with them — could nudge Mr. Trump closer to facing criminal charges, legal experts said.

"This really moved the ball significantly, even though there is still a long way to go," said Renato Mariotti, a legal analyst and former federal prosecutor in Illinois.

The extent to which the Justice Department's expanding criminal

### Witness Says President Knew of Weapons

inquiry is focused on Mr. Trump remains unclear. But the revelations in the testimony to the House select committee by Cassidy Hutchinson, a former White House aide, both provided new evidence about Mr. Trump's activities before the Jan. 6, 2021, assault on the Capitol and chipped away at any potential defense that he was merely expressing well-founded views about election fraud.

"There's still a lot of uncertainty about the question of criminal intent when it comes to a president, but what just happened changed my bottom line," said Alan Rosenzstein, a former Justice Department official who teaches at the University of Minnesota Law School. "I have gone from Trump is less than likely to be charged to he is more than likely to be

*Continued on Page A16*

### Increasingly Unhinged as Power Slipped Away

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — He flung his lunch across the room, smashing the plate in a fit of anger as ketchup dripped down the wall. He appeared to endorse supporters who wanted to hang his own vice president.

And in a scene laid out by a former aide that seemed more out of a movie than real life, he tried to wrestle away the steering wheel of his presidential vehicle and lunged at his own Secret Service agent.

Former President Donald J. Trump has never been seen as the most stable occupant of the Oval Office by almost anyone other than himself, but the breathtaking testimony presented by his former aide, Cassidy Hutchinson, at Tuesday's House select committee hearing portrayed an unhinged commander in chief veering wildly out of control as he desperately sought to cling to power and egged on armed supporters to help make it happen.

The president that emerged

### Trump's Erratic Actions Came as No Surprise at White House

from her account was volatile, violent and vicious, single-minded in his quest to overturn an election he lost no matter what anyone told him, anxious to head to the Capitol to personally disrupt the constitutional process that would finalize his defeat, dismissive of warnings that his actions could lead to disaster and thoroughly unbothered by the prospect of sending to Congress a mob of supporters that he knew included people armed with deadly weapons.

A president who liked to describe himself as a "very stable genius" was anything but that as Ms. Hutchinson observed in those final, frenzied days of his time in office. Hers was not a description that surprised many of those who worked for Mr. Trump and had seen him up close in the preceding four years,

or for that matter, many who had known him in the decades that preceded his life in politics. But hearing her recount it all under oath, on live television, brought home how much Mr. Trump and his White House spiraled in its perilous last chapter.

"This is f-ing crazy," Pat A. Cipollone, his White House counsel, declared at one point on Jan. 6, 2021, as Ms. Hutchinson recalled it, when Mr. Trump was busy castigating Vice President Mike Pence rather than trying to call off the attack on the Capitol.

Mr. Cipollone was not the only one who thought so. By Ms. Hutchinson's account, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo and others in the cabinet were so concerned about Mr. Trump's behavior that they discussed invoking the 25th Amendment, used to remove a president deemed unable to discharge his duties.

Mr. Trump, who regularly accuses his critics of being "crazy" and "psycho," bombarded his new social media site during the hearing on Tuesday with posts assailing Ms. Hutchinson and denying the most sensa- *Continued on Page A15*

### Women Fear What More They Might Lose

By JULIE BOSMAN

CHICAGO — Countless women wept. Some spent the weekend burning with rage, commiserating with friends and mothers and sisters. Many were fearful, recognizing the feeling of a freedom being taken away and thinking to themselves: This could only get worse.

Millions of American women spent the past five days absorbing the news that the Supreme Court had overturned Roe v. Wade, erasing the constitutional right to a legal abortion that had held for nearly a half-century.

The decision instantly reor-

### Feeling Angry and Sad at Reversal of Roe

dered the lives of women across the country.

Some women, especially conservative Christians, reveled in the decision as a victory. But a poll released on Sunday revealed that a sizable majority of women in the United States — 67 percent — opposed the court's ruling to overturn Roe, and 52 percent of Americans said it was a step backward for the nation.

For women who had sought abortions in states where clinics were forced to shutter, the ruling was an immediate catastrophe, jeopardizing their decision to terminate their pregnancies.

Yet the decision reached far beyond them — across generations and geography, across race and class. Many women were sent spinning, questioning their place in society, at least in the eyes of the Supreme Court.

In dozens of interviews this week, American women who support abortion rights recalled the moment when they heard that *Continued on Page A18*

### Outdated Radios Proving Costly for Ukraine

By THOMAS GIBBONS-NEFF and NATALIA YERMAK

SLOVIANSK, Ukraine — In the waning days of the battle for the eastern city of Sievierodonetsk, a Ukrainian National Guard sergeant had a problem: His platoon's flank was exposed and he needed to tell his men the Russians were approaching.

But he couldn't. For 15 soldiers spread across a defensive line stretching roughly 200 yards, he had only two radios. And no matter how much he yelled into the surrounding forest, over the din of artillery and machine gun fire

### Poor Communications Leave Troops at Risk

there was no response.

By the time the sergeant, who goes by his nom de guerre, the General, managed to run to his men's position, three of them had been killed.

"We did not have a connection to each other," he said. "We came up to the right flank and the guys who stayed there were already dead." As government leaders in Kyiv

clamor for more high-tech, longer-range weapons to compete with Russia's superior firepower, shortcomings on a much smaller but just as important scale are undermining the ability of Ukrainian forces to defend what territory they still hold in the east and re-take what they've lost.

The breakdown in communication that the General's platoon suffered this month is not an anomaly *Continued on Page A8*

**NATO EXPANSION** Turkey will no longer bar Sweden and Finland from joining the bloc. PAGE A6





MIKHAIL S. GORBACHEV, 1931-2022

## Visionary Soviet Leader Who Lifted the Iron Curtain

By MARILYN BERGER

Mikhail S. Gorbachev, whose rise to power in the Soviet Union set in motion a series of revolutionary changes that transformed the map of Europe and ended the Cold War that had threatened the world with nuclear annihilation, has died in Moscow. He was 91.

His death was announced on Tuesday by Russia's state news agencies, citing the city's central clinical hospital. The reports said he had died after an unspecified "long and grave illness."

Few leaders in the 20th century, indeed in any century, have had such a profound effect on their time. In little more than six tumultuous years, Mr. Gorbachev lifted the Iron Curtain, decisively altering the political climate of the world.

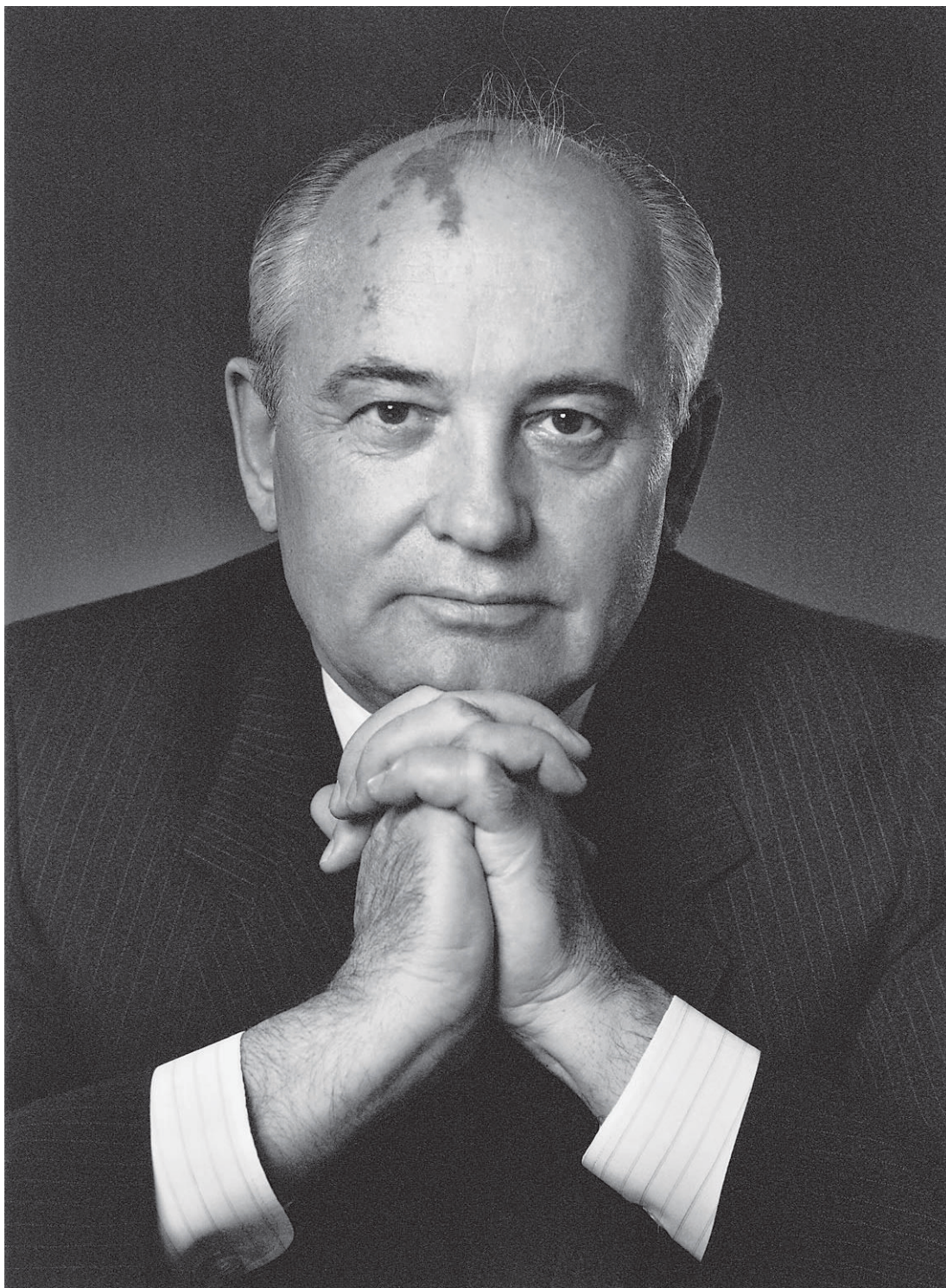
At home he promised and delivered greater openness as he set out to restructure his country's society and faltering economy. It was not his intention to liquidate the Soviet empire, but within five years of coming to power he had presided over the dissolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. He ended the Soviet debate in Afghanistan and, in an extraordinary five months in 1989, stood by as the Communist system imploded from the Baltics to the Balkans in countries already weakened by widespread corruption and moribund economies.

For this he was hounded from office by hard-line Communist plotters and disappointed liberals alike, the first group fearing that he would destroy the old system and the other worried that he would not.

It was abroad that he was hailed as heroic. To George F. Kennan, the distinguished American diplomat and Sovietologist, Mr. Gorbachev was "a miracle," a man who saw the world as it was, unblinkered by Soviet ideology.

But to many inside Russia, the upheaval Mr. Gorbachev had wrought was a disaster. President

Continued on Page A8



YOUSUF KARSH

Mikhail S. Gorbachev in 1990. He oversaw the end of the Cold War and the breakup of the U.S.S.R.

## Life Expectancy For Americans Sharply Drops

By RONI CARYN RABIN

The average life expectancy of Americans fell precipitously in 2020 and 2021, the sharpest two-year decline in nearly 100 years and a stark reminder of the toll exacted on the nation by the continuing coronavirus pandemic.

In 2021, the average American could expect to live until the age of 76, federal health researchers reported on Wednesday. The figure represents a loss of almost three years since 2019, when Americans could expect to live, on average, nearly 79 years.

The reduction has been particularly steep among Native Americans and Alaska Natives, the National Center for Health Statistics reported. Average life expectancy in those groups was shortened by four years in 2020 alone.

The cumulative decline since the pandemic started, more than six and a half years on average, has brought life expectancy to 65 among Native Americans and Alaska Natives — on par with the figure for all Americans in 1944.

In 2021, the shortening of life span was more pronounced among white Americans than among Black Americans, who saw greater reductions in the first year of the pandemic.

While the pandemic has driven most of the decline in life expectancy, a rise in accidental deaths and drug overdoses also contributed, as did deaths from heart disease, chronic liver disease and cirrhosis, the new report found.

Until now, experts have been

Continued on Page A17

## Neglect Leads to Water Crisis in Mississippi City

By RICK ROJAS

JACKSON, Miss. — More than 150,000 people in Mississippi's capital were without access to safe drinking water on Tuesday, forcing officials to tackle what they described as the "massively complicated task" of distributing bottled water and devising a plan to restore service without a firm sense of how long that would take.

The water system in Jackson, the state's largest city, has been in crisis for years, hobbled by aging and inadequate infrastructure and, many in the city argue, a failure to devote sufficient resources to fix it. Residents have long con-

### Governor Declares State of Emergency for Over 150,000 in Capital

tended with disruptions in service and frequent boil-water notices, including one that had already been in effect for more than a month because of cloudiness in water samples.

But the situation worsened dramatically this week as officials said that the city's largest water treatment plant was failing, pushed to the brink by torrential

rains. Homes and businesses were left with little to no water pressure, schools switched to virtual learning, and hospitals brought in portable restrooms as a vital element of a functioning city suddenly collapsed.

"Until it is fixed, it means we do not have reliable running water at scale," Gov. Tate Reeves of Mississippi said during an emergency briefing on Monday evening. "It means the city cannot produce enough water to fight fires, to reliably flush toilets, and to meet other critical needs."

And, he added, it was unclear how long it would take to fully re-

Continued on Page A20



KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

### A Twilight Moment

After losing Tuesday at the U.S. Open, Venus Williams would not hear talk of retirement. Page B9.

## Troops at Front Offering Tanks For Launchers

### Ukraine Soldiers Swap Captured Equipment

By THOMAS GIBBONS-NEFF and NATALIA YERMAK

DONETSK REGION, Ukraine — The Ukrainian sergeant slid the captured Russian rocket launcher into the center of a small room. He was pleased. The weapon was practically brand-new. It had been built in 2020, and its thermobaric warhead was deadly against troops and armored vehicles.

But the sergeant, nicknamed Zmei, had no plans to fire it at advancing Russian soldiers or at a tank trying to burst through his unit's front line in eastern Ukraine.

Instead, he was going to use it as a bargaining chip.

Within the 93rd Mechanized Brigade, Zmei was not just a lowly sergeant. He was the brigade's point man for a wartime bartering system among Ukrainian forces. Prevalent along the front line, the exchange operates like a kind of shadow economy, soldiers say, in which units acquire weapons or equipment and trade them for supplies they need urgently.

Most of the bartering involves items captured from Russian troops. Ukrainian soldiers refer to them as "trophies."

"Usually, the trades are done really fast," Zmei said last week during an interview in Ukraine's mineral-rich Donbas region, where the 93rd is now stationed. "Let's just call it a simplification of bureaucracy."

Despite the influx of Western weapons and equipment in recent months, the Ukrainian military still relies heavily on arms and vehicles captured from their better-equipped Russian foe for the matériel needed to wage war; much of Ukraine's aging Soviet-era arsenal is either destroyed, worn down or lacks ammunition.

That has left Ukrainian soldiers scrounging the battlefield for essentials as their own supply lines have been strained. And the relatively small numbers of big-ticket foreign weapons, such as the American-made M777 howitzer, are thinly spread on the 1,500-mile front.

"We have hopes for Kyiv," said Fedir, one of the brigade's supply sergeants and an understudy of Zmei, referring to military commanders in the capital. "But we rely on ourselves. We aren't trying to just sit and wait like idiots until Kyiv sends us something."

To protect against reprisals, Zmei, Fedir and others interviewed for this article requested that only their given names or nicknames be used.

The Ukrainian military did not

Continued on Page A7

NEWS ANALYSIS

## Putin Wields Power Plant As a Weapon

### New Nuclear Threat Tests Inspection Team

By DAVID E. SANGER

As international nuclear inspectors head toward Ukraine's Zaporizhzhia power plant, they face a situation that few had ever envisioned: a vast nuclear power plant that could be deliberately turned into a potential dirty bomb, with Russia using it to intimidate its enemy and the world.

At a minimum, President Vladimir V. Putin has found a way to employ the civilian facility as a shield for his troops, who are occupying the facility and betting Ukraine will not take the risk of shelling it and triggering the release of a cloud of radiation. But at times, Mr. Putin also appears to have found a way to employ the plant as something of a strategic auxiliary to his nuclear arsenal.

Over the past six months, Mr. Putin has repeatedly invoked the potential for nuclear escalation, even if some of his aides have later dismissed the possibility. Early in the war, the Russian leader issued a series of thinly



LYNSEY ADDARIO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The nuclear power plant in Zaporizhzhia, Ukraine.

veiled nuclear threats, at one point ordering his aides, on television, to put his nuclear forces on alert. There is no evidence that they actually did so, but his message got across, a crude effort to intimidate Ukraine's leaders and warn the West to stay out of the conflict.

Now, in the assessment of some American intelligence officials and policymakers, who declined to speak on the record about the standoff at Europe's largest nuclear plant, Mr. Putin is using the threat of disaster at the

Continued on Page A6

**RISKY MISSION** Ukraine warns of pitfalls as experts arrive to inspect a nuclear plant. PAGE A7

## Right Spreads Violent Rhetoric After the Search of Mar-a-Lago

By ALAN FEUER and MAGGIE HABERMAN

One week after a team of F.B.I. agents descended on his private club and residence in Florida, former President Donald J. Trump warned that his followers were enraged by the search — and that things could get out of hand if the Justice Department kept the heat on him.

"People are so angry at what is taking place," Mr. Trump told Fox News. "Whatever we can do to help because the temperature has to be brought down in the country. If it isn't, terrible things are going to happen."

This week, one of Mr. Trump's closest allies, Senator Lindsey Graham, Republican of South Carolina, issued a similar warning that Mr. Trump reposted on his so-

### Trump and Allies Echo Lead-Up to Jan. 6

cial media platform. Mr. Graham, in a Fox News appearance on Sunday, predicted that if the search of Mar-a-Lago led to a prosecution of the former president, there would be "riots in the streets."

The assessments by both men were worded carefully enough that they could be defended as efforts to spare the nation unnecessary strife, and on Monday, Mr. Graham tried to walk back his remarks, saying, "I reject violence."

But the statements could also be perceived as fanning the same flames of outrage they claimed to be trying to avert. They carried a

Continued on Page A14

NATIONAL A13-17, 20

### Biden Defends the F.B.I.

Speaking in Pennsylvania, the president called the recent wave of attacks on the bureau "sickening." PAGE A13

### Times Square, and Then Some

A gun law has forced the city to define the Crossroads of the World. It's bigger than New Yorkers thought. PAGE A20



INTERNATIONAL A4-12

### Iraqi Shiite Factions Clash

With no functioning government and no common ground, tensions among different groups have become a deadly matter in Baghdad this week. PAGE A4

### Repealing a Gay Sex Ban

Singapore plans to get rid of the colonial-era law, but said it would also protect the definition of marriage from being challenged in court. PAGE A5

### Sexism and an Anchor's Ouster

A Canadian news network pushed back against allegations that sex, age or gray hair were factors in the abrupt dismissal of a veteran journalist. PAGE A6

BUSINESS B1-6

### Energy Creativity in Germany

Industries across the country are finding unique ways to cut their dependence on natural gas as Russia's war in Ukraine keeps prices high. PAGE B1

### Worker Says Google Retaliated

A highly visible opponent of a contract with the Israeli military has quit, citing an environment of fear. PAGE B1

SPORTS B7-11

### Another Defection to LIV

Cameron Smith, the British Open winner and the No. 2 golfer in the world, is the latest to leave the PGA Tour. PAGE B10

ARTS C1-6

### Reflections on a Blockbuster

Joseph Kosinski, the "Top Gun: Maverick" director, discusses dogfights and the film's nameless enemies. PAGE C1

### Shakespeare With a Melody

"As You Like It" at the Delacorte Theater, with Ato Blankson-Wood, center, finds room for songs. PAGE C1



FOOD D1-8

### Buying Groceries on Credit

"Buy now, pay later" services for food have become more popular, but have led to deeper debt for some. PAGE D1

### Great Taste, Less Mess

Pie bars offer most of the same delights as regular pies but make your life a lot easier, Melissa Clark writes. PAGE D2

OPINION A18-19

### Neal K. Katyal

PAGE A18



## QUEEN AND SPIRIT OF BRITAIN

### Elizabeth II, Whose 7-Decade Reign Linked Generations, Dies at 96



MAX MUMBY/INDIGO, VIA GETTY IMAGES

#### A Country in Turmoil Enters a Period of Mourning and Transition

By MARK LANDLER

LONDON — Queen Elizabeth II, whose seven-decade reign made her the only sovereign that most Britons had ever known, died on Thursday at her summer estate in Scotland, thrusting a bereaved country into a momentous transition at a time of political and economic upheaval.

The queen's death at Balmoral Castle, announced by Buckingham Palace at 6:30 p.m., elevated her eldest son and heir, Charles, to the throne. He is Britain's first king since 1952, taking the name King Charles III.

At 96, visibly frail, and having survived multiple health scares, the queen had been in the twilight of her reign for some years. But news of her death still landed with a thunderclap across the British realm, where the queen was a revered figure and an anchor of stability.

In itself, the queen's death is a watershed moment. But it also comes at a time of acute uncertainty in Britain. A new prime minister, Liz Truss, has been in office for only three days, following months of political turmoil in the British government. The country faces its gravest economic threats in a generation, besieged by inflation, soaring energy bills and the specter of a prolonged recession.

The death of Elizabeth sets in motion a royal transition more complicated than any change in prime ministers. It will be meticulously choreographed in its rituals, but what kind of monarchy it will produce is a mystery. At 73, Charles is the oldest person to become monarch in British history — a familiar figure, to be sure — but one who has made clear he wants to transform the nature of the royal family.

"The Queen died peacefully at Balmoral this afternoon," the palace said in a stark, two-line statement affixed to the front gate of Buckingham Palace. "The King

and Queen Consort will remain at Balmoral this evening and return to London tomorrow," it said, referring to Charles and his wife, Camilla.

The announcement came after an anguished vigil of several hours, following a lunchtime statement by the palace that the queen had been placed under medical supervision. Family members rushed to her side at Balmoral Castle, suggesting this was no ordinary medical crisis but that the end was near.

News of the queen's decline began circulating as Parliament was debating an emergency aid package to protect Britons from huge increases in gas and electricity bills. After a senior minister whispered in her ear, Ms. Truss rose to leave the chamber. Hours later, clad in black, she emerged from Downing Street to pay tribute.

"Queen Elizabeth II was the rock on which modern Britain was built," Ms. Truss said. "She was the very spirit of Great Britain, and that spirit will endure." Ms. Truss concluded by swearing fealty to the new monarch, disclosing for the first time that he would be known as King Charles, rather than by another name, as is a monarch's prerogative.

"God save the king," Ms. Truss declared. The new king said in a statement, "We mourn profoundly the passing of a cherished sovereign and much-loved mother. I know her loss will be deeply felt throughout the country, the realms and Commonwealth, and by countless people around the world."

Tributes also poured in from around the world. President Biden and his wife, Jill, said in a statement that the queen was "the first British monarch to whom people all around the world could feel a personal and immediate

Continued on Page A9

#### The Steady Hand of a Nation

Through seven decades on the throne, Queen Elizabeth II was an enduring presence, one who remained determinedly committed to the hallmark aloofness, formality and pageantry of the monarchy.

Her reign survived tectonic shifts in Britain's post-imperial society as well as challenges posed by the marriages and missteps of her descendants. In many ways, hers was an accidental reign. It was the abdication of her uncle, King Edward VIII, that put her in the direct line of succession. When her father, King George VI, died, she was 25.

Some predicted that she would recede into the shadows after the death in April 2021 of Prince Philip, her husband of 73 years. However, she surprised many by re-emerging into public life.

OBITUARY, SPECIAL SECTION



HULTON ARCHIVE, VIA GETTY IMAGES

### Charles, Long in the Wings, Ascends a Throne He Was Born To

By MARK LANDLER

LONDON — Never, perhaps, has an heir been more ready for the crown.

Charles, the eldest son of Queen Elizabeth II and a man born to be king, acceded to the throne on Thursday after being the designated successor for longer than anyone in the history of the British monarchy. As King Charles III, he will become sover-

eign of the world's most important constitutional monarchy, head of the most storied royal family, and a symbol of continuity in a storm-tossed country.

Having aged from an awkward, self-doubting young man into an unhappy middle-aged husband, Charles has become, at 73, a self-assured, gray-haired eminence, steeped in causes like climate change and environmental protection, which were once quirky but now seem peculiarly in sync

#### From Awkward Prince to Self-Assured King

with the times.

Whether Charles will ever enjoy the respect or affection showered on his mother is another question. Thrust on to the throne at 25, Elizabeth reigned for longer than most Britons have been alive, anchoring her country with

stoic dignity as it made a turbulent passage from globe-spanning empire to reluctant member of the European Union to an uncertain future after Brexit.

Charles's journey was, perhaps inevitably, less acclaimed. His foibles and frustrations were mercilessly dissected by the news media; his pet hobbies, from architecture criticism to organic farming, were frequently mocked; his marriage to Diana, Princess of

Continued on Page A10



ANDREW TESTA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Outside Buckingham Palace on Thursday after the queen's death.

### Trump Fund-Raising After Loss Is Investigated by Justice Dept.

This article is by Alan Feuer, Maggie Haberman, Adam Goldman and Kenneth P. Vogel.

A federal grand jury in Washington is examining the formation of — and spending by — a fund-raising operation created by Donald J. Trump after his loss in the 2020 election as he was soliciting millions of dollars by baselessly asserting that the results had been marred by widespread voting fraud.

According to subpoenas issued by the grand jury, the contents of which were described to The New York Times, the Justice Department is interested in the inner workings of Save America PAC, Mr. Trump's main fund-raising vehicle after the election. Several similar subpoenas were sent on Wednesday to junior and midlevel aides who worked in the White House and for Mr. Trump's presidential campaign.

The fact that federal prosecutors are now seeking information about the fund-raising operation is a significant new turn in an already sprawling criminal investigation into the roles that Mr.

Trump and some of his allies played in trying to overturn the election, an array of efforts that culminated with the mob attack on the Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021.

The expanded Jan. 6 inquiry is playing out even as Mr. Trump is also under federal investigation on an entirely different front: his decision to hold onto hundreds of government documents marked

Continued on Page A15



ASH ADAMS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Former President Donald J. Trump at a rally in July.

### Oberlin Will Pay \$36 Million To Bakery Over Racism Claim

By ANEMONA HARTOCOLLIS

Oberlin College, known as a bastion of progressive politics, said on Thursday that it would pay \$36.59 million to a local bakery that said it had been defamed and falsely accused of racism after a worker caught a Black student shoplifting.

That 2016 dispute with Gibson's Bakery resulted in a yearslong legal fight and resonated beyond the small college town in Ohio, turning into a bitter national debate over criminal justice, race, free speech and whether the college had failed to hold students to account.

The decision by the college's board of trustees, announced Thursday, came nine days after the Ohio Supreme Court had declined to hear the college's appeal of a lower-court ruling.

"Truth matters," Lee E. Plakas, the lawyer for the Gibson family, said in an email Thursday. "David, supported by a principled community, can still beat Goliath."

In a statement, Oberlin said that "this matter has been painful for everyone." It added, "We hope

that the end of the litigation will begin the healing of our entire community."

The college acknowledged that the size of the judgment, which includes damages and interest, was "significant." But it said that "with careful financial planning," in-

Continued on Page A19



DAKE KANG/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Gibson's Bakery in Oberlin, Ohio, won a defamation case.

### Global Economic Shock Waves Pose the Gravest Risk to Europe

By PATRICIA COHEN

Russia's invasion of Ukraine and the continuing effects of the pandemic have hobbled countries around the globe, but the relentless series of crises has hit Europe the hardest, causing the steepest jump in energy prices, some of the highest inflation rates and the biggest risk of recession.

The fallout from the war is menacing the continent with what some fear could become its most challenging economic and financial crisis in decades.

While growth is slowing worldwide, "in Europe it's altogether more serious because it's driven by a more fundamental deterioration," said Neil Shearing, group chief economist at Capital Economics. Real incomes and living standards are falling, he added. "Europe and Britain are just worse off."

Just how steep a challenge was sharply underlined on Thursday. The European Central Bank, which oversees economic policy for the 19 nations that use the euro, took an aggressive step to combat inflation, matching its big-

gest-ever rate increase of three-quarters of a percentage point. At the same time, it acknowledged the severe impact of the energy crisis and issued a dour forecast for growth. "It's a really dark downside scenario," Christine Lagarde, the president of the E.C.B.,

Continued on Page A8



HANNIBAL HANSCHKE/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

Russia has shut off a natural gas pipeline to Germany.





ANDREW TESTA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Members of the royal family watched as a cortege carried the coffin of Queen Elizabeth II away from Westminster Abbey at her state funeral in London on Monday.

## With Sadness and Uncertainty, Britons Close an Elizabethan Age

By MARK LANDLER

LONDON — Queen Elizabeth II was laid to rest on Monday after a majestic state funeral that drew tens of millions of Britons together in a vast expression of grief and gratitude, as they bade farewell to a sovereign whose seven-decade reign had spanned their lives and defined their times.

It was the culmination of 10 days of mourning since the queen died on Sept. 8 in Scotland — a highly choreographed series of

rituals that fell amid a deepening economic crisis and a fraught political transition in Britain — and yet everything about the day seemed destined to be etched into history.

Tens of thousands of people lined the route of the cortege past the landmarks of London. In Hyde Park, people watching the service on large screens joined in "The Lord's Prayer" when it was recited at Westminster Abbey. Thousands more cheered, many strewing flowers in the path of her

### Majesty and Mourning at a State Funeral for the Queen

glass-topped hearse, as the queen's coffin was driven to Windsor Castle, where she was buried next to her husband, Prince Philip.

"In this changing world, she was a pillar of the old world," said

Richard Roe, 36, who works in finance in Zurich and flew home for the funeral. "It's nice to have something that's stable and stands for good values."

An unbroken thread of sadness ran through the day, but also an acute sense of uncertainty. The queen, who died at 96, was one of the last living links to World War II and the twilight of Britain's imperial age. The country she embodied with such dignity has fundamentally changed.

Continued on Page A10

## New York City Slides to Edge Of Fiscal Crisis

By DANA RUBINSTEIN

New York City, battered by economic headwinds and mired in a stubborn pandemic-driven downturn afflicting employment, tourism and tax revenue, is teetering on the brink of a severe budget crisis.

For the first time in six years, city officials expect that business tax revenue will decline. Personal income and related tax revenue is expected to fall by 7.7 percent, the largest drop in a dozen years.

And Wall Street's struggles may require the city to fork over billions of dollars to its workers' pension funds, to meet its obligation to provide guaranteed minimum returns.

The city's commercial office market is on the precipice of a potential work-from-home abyss. The transit system's financial situation is so grim that the state comptroller has warned that the Metropolitan Transportation Authority may seek more financial support from the city. And while the nation has regained the jobs it lost during the pandemic, New York City is still 162,000 jobs short, with the situation especially dire for Black New Yorkers, whose un-

Continued on Page A20

## MISSILE MENACES A NUCLEAR PLANT IN SOUTH UKRAINE

### YARDS FROM REACTOR

### Kyiv's Top Energy Official Accuses Moscow of a Form of Terrorism

By MARC SANTORA

KYIV, Ukraine — A powerful Russian missile exploded less than 900 feet from the reactors of a Ukrainian nuclear power plant early Monday, according to Ukrainian officials, a reminder that, despite battlefield setbacks, Russia can still threaten disaster at any of Ukraine's four active nuclear plants.

The strike on Monday landed near the South Ukraine Nuclear Power Plant, some 160 miles west of another nuclear complex that has been a focus of global concern, the Zaporizhzhia plant, where the United Nations sent a team of experts to stabilize the situation this month.

Unlike the Zaporizhzhia plant, which sits in an active battlefield, the South Ukraine site is far from the frontline fighting, and the strike on Monday appeared to illustrate Russia's long reach, and the catastrophic potential of an attack on such a plant.

Security camera footage showed a huge fireball lighting up the night sky over the site, and the shock wave blew out more than 100 windows at the South Ukraine plant. Energoatom, Ukraine's national nuclear energy company, said the blast did extensive damage around a hydroelectric power station near the complex, forced the shutdown of one of the plant's hydraulic units, and caused partial power outages in the area.

The source of the explosion could not be independently confirmed, but the strike fit a long-established pattern of Russia attacking critical Ukrainian infrastructure, even when it poses a serious threat to civilians. Russia has battered the energy systems that Ukrainian civilians rely on with artillery, briefly set up a base in the Chernobyl exclusion zone, and has occupied the Zaporizhzhia plant, Europe's largest nuclear power station, for months, steady-

Continued on Page A6



PLANET LABS PBC, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

An overview of the South Ukraine Nuclear Power Plant.

## Canadian Mine May Hold a Key To Electric Cars

By JACK EWING

About 350 miles northwest of Montreal, amid a vast pine forest, is a deep mining pit with walls of mottled rock. The pit has changed hands repeatedly and been mired in bankruptcy but now it could help determine the future of electric vehicles.

The mine contains lithium, an indispensable ingredient in electric car batteries that is in short

### RACE TO THE FUTURE

Sourcing in North America

supply. If it opens on schedule early next year, it will be the second North American source of that metal, offering hope that badly needed raw materials can be extracted and refined close to Canadian, U.S. and Mexican auto factories, in line with Biden administration policies that aim to break China's dominance of the battery supply chain.

Having more mines will also help contain the price of lithium, which has soared fivefold since mid-2021, pushing the cost of electric vehicles so high that they are out of reach for many drivers. The average new electric car in the United States costs about \$66,000, just a few thousand dollars short of the median household income last year.

But the mine outside La Corne, Continued on Page A13



RICARDO ARDUENGO/REUTERS

Members of the Puerto Rico National Guard rescued a woman from her home on Monday.

## Fiona's Fury Fractures Puerto Rico's Shaky Grid

By LAURA N. PÉREZ SÁNCHEZ and PATRICIA MAZZEI

SALINAS, P.R. — Hurricane Fiona deluged Puerto Rico with unrelenting rain and terrifying flash floods on Monday, forcing harrowing home rescues and making it difficult for power crews to reach many parts of the island.

Now the island is once again in darkness, five years after Hurricane Maria inflicted more damage on Puerto Rico than any other disaster in recent history.

### Millions in the Dark — Flashbacks of Maria

While Fiona will be the direct culprit, Puerto Ricans will also blame years of power disruptions, the result of an agonizingly slow effort to finally give the island a stable grid. Hurricane Maria, a near-Category 5 storm, hit on

Sept. 20, 2017, leaving about 3,000 dead and damaging 80 percent of the system. The last house was not reconnected to the system until nearly a year later. Hurricane Fiona, with far less ferocious winds, is the strongest storm to reach the island since.

Its copious rains on Sunday and Monday — more than 30 inches in some areas in southern Puerto Rico and its central mountainous region — caused the island's vast

Continued on Page A18

## As Inflation Unnerves Voters, G.O.P. Holds Tight to Message

By JONATHAN WEISMAN

Zach Nunn, an Iowa Republican challenging one of the House's most vulnerable Democrats, had been talking for months about rising prices when

a Texas congressman two weeks ago invited him to visit the Mexican border — to see the fentanyl confiscated, hear tales of dying migrants and witness overwhelmed border agents.

Mr. Nunn took it all in, he said. Then, he went back to a district that stretches from Des Moines to the Missouri line to talk about

inflation some more. "You know, from knocking on 10,000 doors, what people are interested in," Mr. Nunn said. It would not matter, he said, if he were speaking in Clarinda, Iowa — a city of 5,300 — or West Des Moines, a city of 70,000. "People are all talking about what is going on with the economy," he said.

In the six-month primary season that came to a close last Tuesday, issues like abortion, crime, immigration, the Jan. 6 attack on the Capitol, and Donald Trump's return to the White House

Continued on Page A20



### INTERNATIONAL A4-13

#### The Spirit of Colombia

Viche, a liquor invented by formerly enslaved people, is a symbol of the country's Afro-Pacific culture. PAGE A4

#### U.S.-Afghan Prisoner Swap

The Taliban said they freed an American engineer in exchange for a tribal leader held in drug trafficking. PAGE A8

### NATIONAL A14-21, 24

#### Pandemic Over? Biden Says So.

The president's comments on CBS's "60 Minutes" set off a backlash as the daily death toll remains high. PAGE A17

#### Using Cruise Ships as Shelters

New York City has been overwhelmed with migrants, but homeless advocates say the idea is insulting. PAGE A16

### OBITUARIES B11-12

#### Pioneering Comic Book Artist

Lily Renée Phillips, a refugee from Nazi-annexed Austria, broke barriers in the 1940s by drawing strong, glamorous heroines. She was 101. PAGE B12

### BUSINESS B1-6

#### Hyper-Targeting Political Ads

Data mining plus streaming can direct commercials household by household, and it's mostly unregulated. PAGE B1

#### Waiting on the Fed

Stock markets wobbled between small gains and losses ahead of a pivotal Federal Reserve meeting. PAGE B1

### SPORTS B7-10

#### Looking Postseason Ready

The Mets have not shaken the Braves in the National League East race, but a sweep of the Pirates shows they have the right mind-set. PAGE B7



### SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

#### Taking the Long View

Researchers marvel at the bar-tailed godwit's migratory flight of 7,000 miles from Alaska to New Zealand. PAGE D2

#### A Rural Doctor's Burden

Physicians have a disturbingly high burnout rate. A West Virginia doctor found that out the hard way. PAGE D1

### ARTS C1-6

#### Turning Over the Reins

Two of the stars of "House of the Dragon" discuss their memorable stint on HBO's biggest hit. PAGE C1

#### A Relentless Defense Lawyer

Jennifer Bonjean is known for her aggressive approach in defending men accused of sexual misconduct. PAGE C1

### OPINION A22-23

#### Gina McCarthy

PAGE A22



## DEMOCRATS HOLD THE SENATE WITH NEVADA WIN



**HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS** Kherson, Ukraine, on Saturday. Despite the city's joy, there was no heat, water or electricity. Page 8.

### Trump's Grasp On the G.O.P. Poses Conflict

By LISA LERER and REID J. EPSTEIN

Before the votes are even fully counted in the 2022 midterm election, Republicans are starting to face a decision: Do they stick with Donald J. Trump into 2024 or leave him behind?

For seven years, in office and out, before and after his supporters overran the Capitol, Mr. Trump has exerted a gravitational pull on the party's base, and through it, the country's politics, no matter how hard lawmakers, strategists, officials and even his own vice president tried to escape his orbit.

Now, after a string of midterm losses by candidates Mr. Trump supported, there are signs of another Republican effort to inch the party away from the former president ahead of his expected announcement on Tuesday of another run for the White House — even as his allies in Capitol Hill demand new acts of fealty to him.

It has not escaped Republicans that last week represented the third consecutive political cycle in which Democrats ran with considerable success against the polarizing former president. While they rarely spoke his name, Mr. Trump formed the background music to their attacks asserting that the Republican Party had grown too extreme.

He was featured in their fundraising solicitations and made cameos in their television ads. The party even meddled in Republican primaries to help Trump-aligned candidates Democratic leaders thought would be easier to beat. Democrats won each of those races.

The tactics helped Democrats cast the election not as a referendum on the current, unpopular president, President Biden, but on an even more unpopular ex-president and his allies. It is a strategy they will try again next month in Georgia, where Senator Raphael Warnock faces a runoff contest against Herschel Walker, a Republican plucked from pro-football retirement by Mr. Trump. Already, some are looking beyond that race, dreaming of a 2024 con-

Continued on Page 23

### Control of the House Remains Unclear

By JONATHAN WEISMAN

Democrats sealed control of the Senate on Saturday as Senator Catherine Cortez Masto of Nevada narrowly defeated Adam Laxalt, a Republican former state attorney general, a decisive moment in an extraordinary midterm election in which Democrats defied historical patterns and predictions of major losses.

Control of the House has still not been decided, several days after an Election Day that fell short of predictions that Republicans would sweep to power in Washington in a repudiation of President Biden's leadership. Though Republicans still have an edge in capturing the House, their majority would certainly be small.

But with Ms. Cortez Masto's victory in Nevada, Democrats have nailed down the 50 seats they need to retain control of the upper chamber, a major feat considering that voters typically punish the president's party during the midterms.

The Democratic victory will bolster Mr. Biden's political capital as he moves toward a possible bid for a second term. Even if Republicans do take the House, he will be able to stock the judiciary with his nominees and will be insulated from politically freighted G.O.P. legislation. And Democrats will be free to mount their own investigations to counter the threatened onslaught from a Republican-controlled lower chamber.

"I feel good, and I'm looking for-

Continued on Page 24



MIKAYLA WHITMORE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES  
Senator Catherine Cortez Masto has won re-election.

### Ukraine Signals No Slowdown During Winter

By CARLOTTA GALL

As jubilant Ukrainian troops hoist their national flag over Kherson after a comprehensive Russian retreat, they give no sign of stopping their offensives for the winter, or allowing the war to settle into a stalemate.

In the east, Ukrainian forces continue to grind forward and have repelled repeated Russian efforts to seize towns like Bakhmut and Pavlivka, reportedly killing hundreds of Russian soldiers. In the south, they are striking deep behind Russian lines, hitting Moscow's troops before they can settle and build defenses on the eastern bank of the Dnipro River, across from Kherson.

And there are growing hints from troops on the ground, and volunteers close to them, that the Ukrainians are preparing for a new land offensive between those two fronts, south through the Zaporizhzhia region toward Melitopol, challenging Russia's hold on the entire southern area that it seized in the invasion that began in February.

"The logic of war is not to pause and somehow continue to move forward," said Senior Lt. Andriy Mikheichenko, a commander of an anti-tank unit defending the embattled town of Bakhmut, in the eastern Donbas region. "I think there will be counterattacks

Continued on Page 10

### U.K. Legal Tactic Unevenly Hits Black People

By JANE BRADLEY

MANCHESTER, England — The United Kingdom's highest court delivered what seemed like a major victory for civil liberties in 2016, ruling that prosecutors had overreached for decades in using a tactic that sent hundreds of people to prison for life — for murders committed by others.

Defense lawyers, academics and activists had waged a decade-long legal battle, arguing that these so-called joint enterprise cases were unfair and racially biased. They rejoiced at the Supreme Court decision — heralded as historic in headlines around the country — and expected a sharp drop in prosecutions, as well as scores of overturned convictions.

Six years later, none of that has happened.

Rather than be constrained by the ruling, senior prosecutors

### Despite Ruling, Group Prosecutions Persist

have quietly devised strategies to keep bringing joint enterprise cases and winning convictions. New data, obtained by The New York Times through public records requests, reveals that the Crown Prosecution Service, the national prosecutor, has actually stepped up the pace of such prosecutions since the ruling — even as the homicide rate remained largely stable.

"The C.P.S. said: 'Don't worry. It's not going to be this radical change,'" said Simon Harding, a senior detective who ran a homicide unit at London's Metropolitan Police until 2021. "By the time all the questions had been asked, it was business as usual."

The zealous use of these prosecutions is one example of how British leaders from both parties have pursued criminal justice policies that have disproportionately punished Black people. Black defendants are three times as likely as white defendants to be prosecuted for homicide as a group of four or more — a widely accepted measure of joint enterprise cases — according to the new data.

Joint enterprise itself is not a charge. Rather, it is a legal principle that gives prosecutors the power to charge multiple people with a single crime. It became notorious more than a decade ago in a string of highly publicized cases. In one, a teenager was imprisoned and then deported for a murder he did not even witness, much less carry out. In another, a partly blind 16-year-old, who said he

Continued on Page 12



SANG AN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

### Pumpkin, You've Got Company

Nine Thanksgiving-ready pies with classic diner spirit, updated with flavors we crave now. From left: pecan sandie, blackberry apple and cranberry lemon meringue. A Special Section.

### Internal Papers Show How Close F.B.I. Came to Using Spyware

By MARK MAZZETTI and RONEN BERGMAN

WASHINGTON — During a closed-door session with lawmakers last December, Christopher A. Wray, the director of the F.B.I., was asked whether the bureau had ever purchased and used Pegasus, the hacking tool that pene-

trates mobile phones and extracts their contents.

Mr. Wray acknowledged that the F.B.I. had bought a license for Pegasus, but only for research and development. "To be able to figure out how bad guys could use it, for example," he told Senator Ron Wyden, Democrat of Oregon, according to a transcript of the hearing that was declassified.

But dozens of internal F.B.I. documents and court records tell a different story. The documents, produced in response to a Freedom of Information Act lawsuit brought by The New York Times against the bureau, show that F.B.I. officials made a push in late 2020 and the first half of 2021 to deploy the hacking tools — made by the Israeli spyware firm NSO

— in its own criminal investigations. The officials developed advanced plans to brief the bureau's leadership, and drew up guidelines for federal prosecutors about how the F.B.I.'s use of hacking tools would need to be disclosed during criminal proceedings.

It is unclear how the bureau was contemplating using Pega-

Continued on Page 19

#### INTERNATIONAL 4-14

##### Erosion of Egypt's Antiquities

The effects of global warming on the country's monuments are already striking, amplifying centuries of destructive human impact. PAGE 4

#### ARTS & LEISURE

##### Growing Up Spielberg

Making his autobiographical film "The Fabelmans," the director confronted some painful family secrets, and what it means to be Jewish in America. PAGE 12

#### SUNDAY STYLES

##### An Anchor Amid Turbulence

Judy Woodruff, called "the last grown-up in Washington journalism" for her objectivity and restraint, prepares to sign off from "PBS NewsHour." PAGE 14

#### SUNDAY BUSINESS

##### Burlington's Bicycle Hunters

A search for stolen bikes put citizens and business owners in Vermont's biggest city in the center of a debate about policing and crime. PAGE 1

#### SUNDAY OPINION

##### Ezra Klein

PAGE 6



# THE SHOW OF A LIFETIME

THE LION KING

ON BROADWAY SINCE 1997

GET TICKETS TODAY at LIONKING.COM

G.O.P. TAKES HOUSE WITH A SLIM MAJORITY

Gay Marriage Clears Hurdle In Senate Vote

12 in G.O.P. Cross Aisle to Back Rights Bill

By ANNIE KARNI

WASHINGTON — The Senate on Wednesday took a crucial step toward passing landmark legislation to provide federal protections for same-sex marriages...

The 62-to-37 vote, which came only days after the midterm elections in which Democrats retained control of the Senate but lost the House to Republicans...

It also signaled a remarkable shift in American politics and culture, demonstrating how same-sex marriage, once a divisive issue, has been so widely accepted...

Senator Chuck Schumer, the majority leader, said that passage of the legislation, now expected after Thanksgiving, would be "one of the true highlights of the year for this body"...

Speaking on the Senate floor, Mr. Schumer noted that his daughter and her wife were expecting a baby in the spring and that he wanted "them, and everyone in a loving relationship, to live without the fear that their rights could one day be stripped away."

The measure still must win passage. Continued on Page A18

Launch Blazes Trail for NASA Back to Moon

By KENNETH CHANG

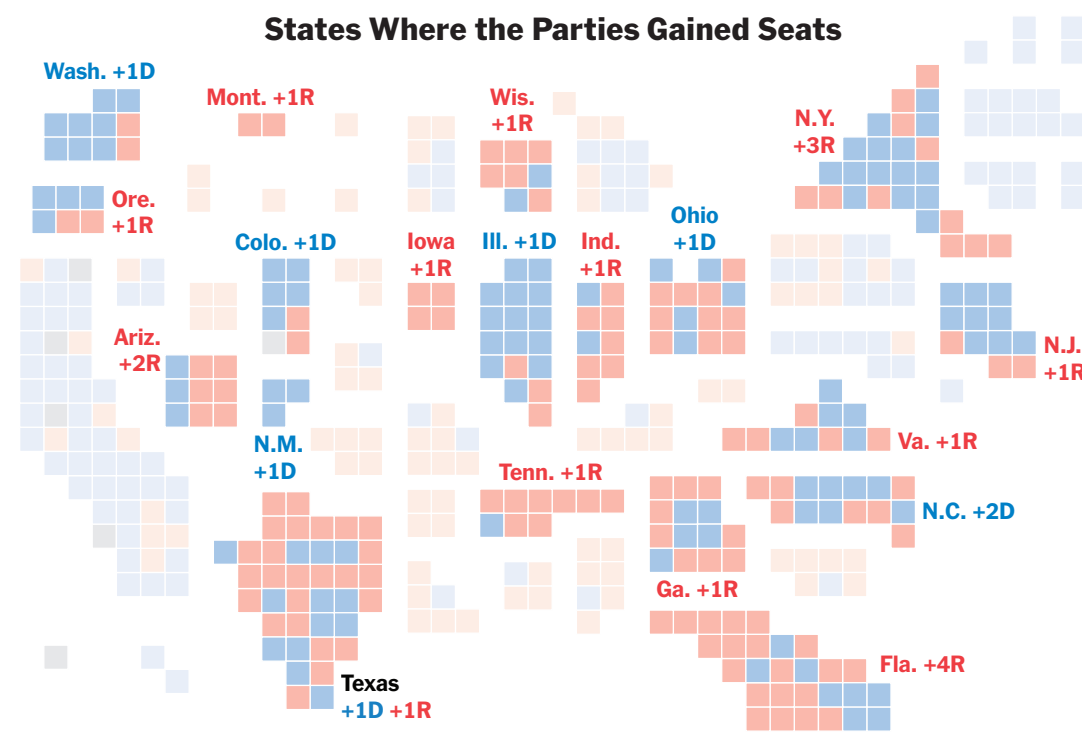
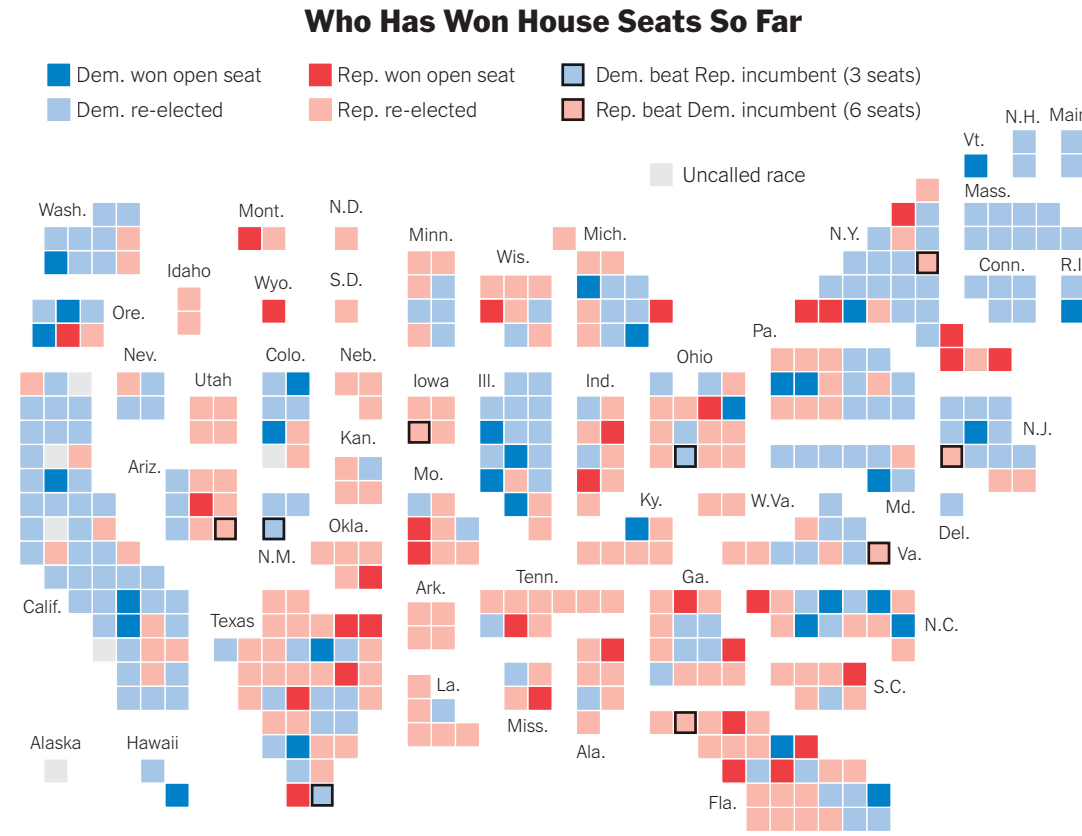
KENNEDY SPACE CENTER, Fla. — NASA's majestic new rocket soared into space for the first time in the early hours of Wednesday, lighting up the night sky and accelerating on a journey that will take an astronaut-less capsule around the moon and back.

This flight, evoking the bygone Apollo era, is a crucial test for NASA's Artemis program that aims to put astronauts, after five decades of loitering in low-Earth orbit, back on the moon.

"We are all part of something incredibly special," Charlie Blackwell-Thompson, the launch director, said to her team at the Kennedy Space Center after the launch. "The first launch of Artemis. The first step in returning our country to the moon and on to Mars."

For NASA, the mission ushers in a new era of lunar exploration, one that seeks to unravel scientific mysteries in the shadows of craters in the polar regions, test technologies for dreamed-of journeys to Mars and spur private enterprise to chase new entrepreneurial frontiers farther out in the solar system.

As China and other countries are vying to explore space, Wednesday's launch also highlights a growing philosophical tenet. Continued on Page A17



Source: The Associated Press | Note: California's 34th District is uncalled; both candidates are Democrats. Because of redistricting, Texas' 34th District and Florida's Second had both a Democratic and a Republican incumbent. Gains by state do not add up to each party's total gains because some states added or lost seats in reapportionment. Filled vacant seats are counted as gains. Results are as of 8:30 p.m. Eastern time.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Party to Face Internal Divisions and Democratic-Held Senate

By SHANE GOLDMACHER

Republicans secured a slender majority in the House of Representatives on Wednesday, a delayed yet consequential finish to the 2022 midterm elections that will reorder the balance of power in Washington and is expected to effectively give the party a veto on President Biden's agenda for the next two years.

With vote counting stretching for over a week, the Republican Party formally captured the 218 House seats needed to claim the majority after just four years out of power. The outcomes in six close races that remain undecided will determine the final size of a slim Republican majority that will be far narrower than party leaders had expected, though Republicans still cheered the achievement.

"The era of one-party Democrat rule in Washington is over," Representative Kevin McCarthy, the House Republican leader, said this week on Capitol Hill, as his Republican colleagues nominated him to serve as House speaker. "Washington now has a check and balance."

The victory of Representative Mike Garcia of California pushed Republicans into the majority, a somewhat anticlimactic finish to an election that was an overall disappointment for House Republicans, who had arrived at Election Day with grandiose predictions of a red wave.

Of the six remaining uncalled House races, Republicans were ahead in four, and Democrats were leading in two.

In the Senate, Democrats maintained control of the chamber, which has been split 50-50, and could even expand their majority if Senator Raphael Warnock, Democrat of Georgia, prevails in a runoff election next month against Herschel Walker, the Republican former football star.

The final results show that voters failed to deliver the type of unalloyed repudiation of Mr. Biden

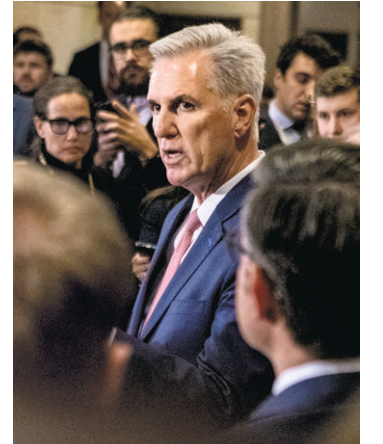
and his management of the economy that many Republicans had predicted in the face of the hottest inflation in 40 years. Democrats instead enjoyed the strongest showing in a presidential midterm in the last two decades, after Mr. Biden repeatedly cast the 2022 campaign not as a referendum on Democratic rule but as a choice between his party and Republican extremism.

"I congratulate Leader McCarthy on Republicans winning the House majority, and am ready to work with House Republicans to deliver results for working families," Mr. Biden said in a statement on Wednesday, adding that "the future is too promising to be trapped in political warfare."

But the president also recognized the surprising strength of the Democratic showing, and the defeat of a series of far-right Republicans who had refused to recognize the legitimacy of the last

Continued on Page A19

'PEOPLE'S HOUSE' The G.O.P. took control, but now it has to try to govern. News Analysis. PAGE A19



ANNA ROSE LAYDEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES Kevin McCarthy, the Republican leader of the House.

Labeled a Gangster, Based on 6 Text Messages

By SELAM GEBREKIDAN

MANCHESTER, England — Ademola Adedeji tried to picture what the jury saw when they looked at him.

Could they tell that he was the school president? The captain of the rugby team? The older brother who made dinners for his siblings and read them bedtime stories?

Or did they see only Defendant No. 7 in a trial of 10 Black teenagers charged with conspiracy to murder? A gangster, the prosecutors claimed, who waged war on his rivals?

Mr. Adedeji, a very dark, very tall 18-year-old, had a lot riding on

Britain's Crackdown on Gangs Is Profiling Young Black Men

his testimony that morning in April this year. It was the sixth week of his trial, and this was his only chance to tell his side of the story.

If the jury believed him, he could graduate from high school and attend one of the universities that had offered him admission. If they didn't, he could spend the next two decades in prison.

For weeks, Mr. Adedeji tried to

follow the prosecutors' arguments. They accused him of conspiring with the nine other defendants to murder and maim others.

But here is what baffled Mr. Adedeji: The prosecutors knew that he had not attacked anyone. He had never owned a gun, a knife or any other weapon. He had never thrown gang signs or dealt drugs. He had helped with the investigation, told detectives what he knew and volunteered his phone. He certainly had not killed anyone.

In fact, there was no murder victim.

What connected him to the case, and a major reason he was Continued on Page A8



Ademola Adedeji, of Bolton, England, in April. He was on trial this spring for conspiracy to murder.

Poland Views Missile Deaths As an Accident

By STEVEN ERLANGER and MARC SANTORA

BRUSSELS — A top NATO official and Poland's president said on Wednesday that a Ukrainian air-defense missile, not a Russian weapon, had most likely caused a deadly explosion on Polish territory, easing fears that the military alliance would become more deeply embroiled in the war.

Both men took pains to say that Ukraine was not to blame, noting that it had been fending off a major Russian aerial assault when the missile struck a Polish grain plant just over the border on Tuesday, killing two people.

"Let me be clear: This is not Ukraine's fault," said Jens Stoltenberg, the NATO secretary general. "Russia bears ultimate responsibility as it continues its illegal war against Ukraine."

Officials said that what had struck the grain-processing plant was an S-300 missile, a munition that was built for air defenses but that had also been used by Russia to attack Ukraine; Poland's justice minister said remnants of an S-300 had been found at the site of the explosion. Both Russia and Ukraine possess the systems — the earliest versions were developed in the Soviet Union — and that may have contributed to early confusion over who was responsible for the blast. Continued on Page A6

Former Allies Holding Back On Trump '24

This article is by Reid J. Epstein, Lisa Lerer and Jonathan Weisman.

ORLANDO, Fla. — Three billionaire donors have moved on and others are actively weighing their options. A number of former allies are staying on the sidelines. A long list of potential rivals — from popular governors to members of Congress — are seriously assessing their chances for 2024. Even his own daughter has declined to get involved.

Within hours of Donald J. Trump announcing his third presidential bid on Tuesday, some of his former aides, donors and staunchest allies are shunning his attempt to recapture the White House, an early sign that he may face difficulty winning the support of a Republican Party still reeling from unexpected midterm losses.

While Mr. Trump has long faced opposition from the establishment and elite quarters of his party, this round of criticism was new in its raw bluntness, plainly out in the open by Wednesday and focused on reminding voters that the Trump era in Republican politics has led to the opposite of the endless winning Mr. Trump once promised.

"The message he delivered last night — which was self-serving, which was chaotic — was the same one that lost the last election cycle and would lose the next," Continued on Page A20

NATIONAL A16-25

Madam Mayor

Karen Bass, a longtime congresswoman and California lawmaker, will be the first woman to lead Los Angeles. PAGE A25

Prison Abuse Victims to Sue

New legislation in New York will allow legal action over cases long past the criminal statute of limitations. PAGE A16



INTERNATIONAL A4-15

A Show of Diplomacy

President Biden put his coalition-building approach on display on visits in the Middle East and Asia. PAGE A15

The Great Woods Up North

Canada looks to its Indigenous people to protect its boreal forests, one of the world's biggest carbon sinks. PAGE A14

SPORTS B8-10

Mets Get a Neighbor in Queens

New York City F.C. will pay roughly \$780 million to build a soccer stadium near Citi Field in a project that will include housing and a hotel. PAGE B9

BUSINESS B1-5

Preparing for Life After Twitter

Elon Musk's takeover offers valuable lessons about our relationship with social networks. Tech Fix. PAGE B1

Shoppers Seek Out Bargains

Retail sales in the U.S. rose last month, but discounts seemed to drive a significant portion of purchases. PAGE B1

ARTS C1-8

He's Flexing His Superpowers

Embodying a Mesoamerican godlike character in a Marvel movie is especially gratifying for the "Wakanda Forever" star Tenoch Huerta Mejía. PAGE C1

INSIDE THE TIMES A2-3

Turning the Page

Since 2017, Pages A2 and A3 have taken readers behind the scenes. Today we're excited to present these pages as Inside The Times, a reimaged section that will give you even more insight into our reporting and access to our journalists. Pick up Sunday's paper, when we will share more about our new content.



THURSDAY STYLES D1-8

How to Dress a Rock Star

The Yeah Yeah Yeahs frontwoman Karen O has trusted a self-taught designer to define her look. PAGE D7

Drone Racers Are in Demand

Young pilots gain celebrity status as the sport draws fans with an appeal similar to that of Formula 1. PAGE D8

OPINION A26-27

Lydia Polgreen

PAGE A27

