



Kevin McCarthy, Republican of California, wielding the gavel early Saturday after he was elected as House speaker in the 15th vote.

McCarthy's Deal for Gavel Raises Fears on Debt Limit

Private Negotiations Play Out in Public

By CATIE EDMONDSON

WASHINGTON — Confident that he was about to win the speaker's gavel after a torturous four-day stretch of defeats, Representative Kevin McCarthy of California sat grinning late Friday night in his chair on the House floor. Then his face dropped.

As the voting dragged on in his 14th attempt to become speaker, it had become clear that winning would require the support of Representative Matt Gaetz of Florida, the Republican leader's chief antagonist — and Mr. Gaetz had just voted "present."

For days as the historic floor fight played out, Mr. McCarthy remained in his seat and dispatched allies to buttonhole the remaining holdouts privately. Now, his sunny smile replaced with a clenched jaw, Mr. McCarthy strode across the floor to confront Mr. Gaetz, who leaned back in his seat, exuding defiance.

Mr. McCarthy spoke sternly to Mr. Gaetz, appealing to him to finally relent and allow the speaker-ship crisis to end; the Florida Republican jabbed his finger as he refused. After two minutes, Mr. McCarthy, seething and head down — the first flash of frustration he had shown all week — returned to his seat. He didn't have the votes.

The astonishing spectacle that played out into the early hours of Saturday morning was a fitting coda to a week that spotlighted the deep divisions in the Republican Party, the power of an unyielding hard-right flank that revels in upending normal operations of government and a leader who has repeatedly capitulated to the right in his quest for power.

The final hours of Mr. McCarthy's ultimately triumphant struggle for the speakership featured back-room dealing with the hard right and arm-twisting out in the open; phone calls from Donald J. Trump, the twice-impeached former president, to try to win over holdouts; haggling over how the House would operate in the coming two years; and even a narrowly avoided physical altercation inside the chamber.

"Preferably, you do this in private," said Representative Patrick T. McHenry of North Carolina, who acted as Mr. McCarthy's chief emissary negotiating with the rebels. "The preference in politics is to always suffer your indignities in private, not in public. That was the goal. And the last weekend, it

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Speaker Could Face Shutdown Fight

By JIM TANKERSLEY

WASHINGTON — Representative Kevin McCarthy of California finally secured the House speakership in a dramatic vote ending around 12:30 a.m. Saturday, but the dysfunction in his party and the deal he struck to win over holdout Republicans also raised the risks of persistent political gridlock that could destabilize the American financial system.

Economists, Wall Street analysts and political observers are warning that the concessions he made to fiscal conservatives could make it very difficult for Mr. McCarthy to muster the votes to raise the debt limit — or even put such a measure to a vote. That could prevent Congress from doing the basic tasks of keeping the government open, paying the country's bills and avoiding default on America's trillions of dollars in debt.

The speakership battle that spanned more than four days and 15 rounds of votes suggested President Biden and Congress could be on track later this year for the most perilous debt-limit debate since 2011, when former President Barack Obama and a new Republican majority in the House nearly defaulted on the nation's debt before cutting an 11th-hour deal.

"If everything we're seeing is a symptom of a totally splintered House Republican conference that is going to be unable to come together with 218 votes on virtually any issue, it tells you that the odds of getting to the 11th hour or the last minute or whatever are very high," Alec Phillips, the chief political economist for Goldman Sachs Research, said in an interview.

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Through Line From Gingrich to Gaetz: Combat, Not Compromise

By ROBERT DRAPER

WASHINGTON — Newt Gingrich was disdainful.

After watching days of House Republicans failing to elect a speaker, Mr. Gingrich, the most famous of all recent G.O.P. House speakers, vented about the hard-right holdouts, among them Representative Matt Gaetz of Florida.

"There's no deal you can make with Gaetz," Mr. Gingrich said in an interview Thursday night. "He's essentially bringing 'Lord of the Flies' to the House of Representatives."

In contrast, Mr. Gingrich said

of his own speakership, which sought a revolt in the Republican Party and the way Washington does business, "We weren't just grandstanders. We were purposeful." He would be glad to show the current rebels how to do it, he said. "But anything that takes longer than waiting for their cappuccino, I doubt they're interested in."

History does not precisely remember it that way. It is true that Mr. Gingrich's tenure from 1995 through 1998 produced several legislative accomplishments, including two balanced budgets signed into law by a Democratic president, Bill Clinton. But to both Democrats and Republicans, the jut-jawed in-

Deep Roots of the Fight to Resist McCarthy's Speakership

transience of House Republicans opposing Representative Kevin McCarthy's ultimately successful bid to be speaker did not materialize out of nowhere.

Instead, Mr. Gingrich's triumph in 1994 in wresting the House from a Democratic majority for the first time since 1952 was the starting point for the zero-sum brand of politics that mutated into the Tea Party movement to the grievance-

based populism of the Trump era to what was garishly displayed on the House floor for a raucous five-day stretch that ended in the small hours of Saturday.

Those mutations have culminated in a tissue-thin Republican majority, auguring legislative episodes likely long on melodrama and short on happy endings, thanks to cameo actors such as Mr. Gaetz who have already demonstrated their zeal to seize the spotlight from the new speaker. Such actors appear to interpret their roles as opposing anything that the Biden administration might support, from military aid to Ukraine to avoiding a default on govern-

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In Grayer Asia, 'Retired' Means Ever More Work

By MOTOKO RICH and HIKARI HIDA

TOKYO — All Yoshihito Oonami wants to do is retire and give his worn body a rest.

Instead, every morning at 1:30, Mr. Oonami, 73, wakes up and drives an hour to a fresh produce market on an islet in Tokyo Bay. While loading mushrooms, ginger root, sweet potatoes, radishes and other vegetables into his car, he frequently lifts boxes that weigh more than 15 pounds, straining his back. He then drives across Japan's capital city, making restaurant deliveries up to 10 times a day.

"As long as my body lets me, I need to keep working," Mr. Oonami said on a recent morning, checking off orders on a clipboard as he walked briskly through the market.

With populations across East Asia declining and fewer young people entering the work force, increasingly workers like Mr. Oonami are toiling well into their 70s and beyond. Companies desperately need them, and the older employees desperately need the work. Early retirement ages have

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Animal Sedative Puts New Peril in Street Drugs

By JAN HOFFMAN

PHILADELPHIA — Over a matter of weeks, Tracey McCann watched in horror as the bruises she was accustomed to getting from injecting fentanyl began hardening into an armor of crusty, blackened tissue. Something must have gotten into the supply.

Switching corner dealers didn't help. People were saying that everyone's dope was being cut with something that was causing gruesome, painful wounds.

"I'd wake up in the morning crying because my arms were dying," Ms. McCann, 39, said.

In her shattered Philadelphia neighborhood, and increasingly in drug hot zones around the country, an animal tranquilizer called xylazine — known by street names like "tranq," "tranq dope" and "zombie drug" — is being used to bulk up illicit fentanyl, making its impact even more devastating.

Xylazine causes wounds that erupt with a scaly dead tissue called eschar; untreated, they can lead to amputation. It induces a blackout stupor for hours, rendering users vulnerable to rape and robbery. When people come to, the high from the fentanyl has long since faded and they immediately crave more. Because xylazine is a sedative and not an opioid, it

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Bandages on Brooke Peder's arm cover the ravages caused by xylazine, an animal tranquilizer being added to fentanyl.

HILARY SWIFT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

She Showed a Prophet's Image, And Divided a College Campus

By VIMAL PATEL

Erika López Prater, an adjunct professor at Hamline University, said she knew many Muslims have deeply held religious beliefs that prohibit depictions of the Prophet Muhammad. So last semester for a global art history class, she took many precautions before showing a 14th-century painting of Islam's founder.

In the syllabus, she warned that images of holy figures, including the Prophet Muhammad and the Buddha, would be shown in the course. She asked students to contact her with any concerns, and she said no one did.

In class, she prepped students, telling them that in a few minutes, the painting would be displayed,

in case anyone wanted to leave.

Then Dr. López Prater showed the image — and lost her teaching gig.

Officials at Hamline, a small, private university in St. Paul, Minn., with about 1,800 undergraduates, had tried to douse what they feared would become a runaway fire. Instead they ended up with what they had tried to avoid: a national controversy, which pitted advocates of academic liberty and free speech against Muslims who believe that showing the image of Prophet Muhammad is always sacrilegious.

After Dr. López Prater showed the image, a senior in the class

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INTERNATIONAL 4-10

Setback for Media in Mexico

The prominent anchor Denise Maerker, one of the country's last dispassionate on-air voices, is exiting at a time when impartiality is under attack. PAGE 4

ARTS & LEISURE

Oscars Preview

Michelle Williams talks about big roles, Diego Calva discusses his breakthrough in "Babylon," our critics offer their nominations, and more. PAGE 9

SUNDAY STYLES

An L.A. Wave Hits Manhattan

Sound baths, mocktails, balmy winter days. If New York seems like a grarlier version of California, it's not your imagination (or the now-legal pot). PAGE 9

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Facebook and the Almost Train

The tech giant had already remade the virtual world. For a brief period, it also tried to make it easier for people in the Bay Area to get to work. PAGE 1

SUNDAY OPINION

Lydia Polgreen

PAGE 6



THE ULTIMATE COMFORT SOLUTION

SKECHERS

ArchFit
PODIATRIST CERTIFIED ARCH SUPPORT

Martha Stewart

FEATURES & BENEFITS

- PODIATRIST DESIGNED SHAPE
- COMFORT ARCH SUPPORT
- SHAPE OF INSOLE WAS DEVELOPED WITH OVER 20 YEARS OF DATA
- MACHINE WASHABLE



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That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

LATE EDITION

Today, times of sun and clouds, not as warm, high 43. Tonight, clear and cool, low 34. Tomorrow, sunshine and some clouds, warmer air, high 48. Weather map is on Page B9.

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BRAD J. VEST FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

District Attorney Steven J. Mulroy, above, said on Thursday that the five police officers, below, were "all responsible" for the death.



Tadarrius Bean



Demetrius Haley



Emmitt Martin III



Desmond Mills Jr.



Justin Smith

OFFICERS CHARGED IN 'HEINOUS' DEATH OF MAN IN MEMPHIS

Police Chief Condemns Beating of Driver as City Braces for Video's Release

By RICK ROJAS and JESSICA JAGLOIS

MEMPHIS — Five Memphis police officers were charged on Thursday with second-degree murder for the death of Tyre Nichols, a 29-year-old Black man, after a traffic stop that escalated into what the authorities have described as a display of staggering brutality.

The city has been bracing for more than a week for the release of video footage that officials say depicts in agonizing detail how a stop this month for suspicion of reckless driving ended with Mr. Nichols being hospitalized in critical condition on Jan. 7 and dying three days later. Civic leaders and others in Memphis have raised concerns about the reaction the footage could provoke among residents who are already anguished and outraged about Mr. Nichols's death.

A grand jury returned indictments on Thursday against the five officers — Tadarrius Bean, Demetrius Haley, Emmitt Martin III, Desmond Mills Jr. and Justin Smith — with charges that include kidnapping, official misconduct and official oppression, in addition to second-degree murder, prosecutors said. The officers, all of whom are Black, were fired last week.

"The actions of all of them resulted in the death of Tyre Nichols, and they are all responsible," Steven J. Mulroy, the district attorney for Memphis, told reporters on Thursday.

Officials have sought to assuage residents, promising an aggressive pursuit of accountability. On Thursday — 16 days after Mr. Nichols died — they offered up the charges as evidence that they were following through. "We did

work quickly to expedite this investigation," Mr. Mulroy said.

The city is expected to release the video on Friday evening. Officials said it would consist of nearly an hour of footage taken from police body cameras and stationary cameras, with limited redactions, such as blurring out city employees. "People will be able to see the entire incident from beginning to end," Mr. Mulroy said in an appearance on CNN.

The charges grew out of an unusually fast-moving state investigation that revealed that the officers — who were part of a specialized unit patrolling high-crime areas of the city — had used a level of force that was beyond excessive, officials said. A separate federal civil rights investigation is also underway.

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FAMILY PHOTO

Tyre Nichols, 29, died Jan. 10.

Trump in '24? G.O.P. Leaders Aren't So Sure.

By REID J. EPSTEIN
and LISA LERER

As Donald J. Trump prepares for his first public events since announcing his presidential campaign, dozens of members of the Republican Party's governing body are expressing doubts about his ability to win back the White House and are calling for a competitive primary to produce a stronger nominee in 2024.

The 168 members of the Republican National Committee are gathering in Southern California to select their own leader on Friday, and interviews this week with 59 of them — more than one-third of the committee's membership — found few eager to crown Mr. Trump their nominee for a third time. While they praised his policies and accomplishments as president, many expressed deep concerns about his age (he's 76), temperament and ability to win a general election, often in unusually blunt terms.

"This isn't 2016," said Mac Brown, the chairman of the Republican Party of Kentucky. "People have moved on."

Jonathan Barnett, an R.N.C. member from Arkansas who claims to have been the first member of the committee to endorse Mr. Trump's 2016 campaign, said the party would benefit from having its nominee forced to navigate a crowded primary field.

"I've been a supporter of Don-
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The Long, Futile Search Into the Russia Inquiry

This article is by *Charlie Savage, Adam Goldman and Katie Benner.*

WASHINGTON — It became a regular litany of grievances from President Donald J. Trump and his supporters: The investigation into his 2016 campaign's ties to Russia was a witch hunt, they maintained, that had been opened without any solid basis, went on too long and found no proof of collusion.

Egged on by Mr. Trump, Attorney General William P. Barr set out in 2019 to dig into their shared theory that the Russia investigation likely stemmed from a con-

A Review by Durham Had Its Own Failings

spiracy by intelligence or law enforcement agencies. To lead the inquiry, Mr. Barr turned to a hard-nosed prosecutor named John H. Durham, and later granted him special counsel status to carry on after Mr. Trump left office.

But after almost four years — far longer than the Russia investigation itself — Mr. Durham's work is coming to an end without uncovering anything like the deep

state plot alleged by Mr. Trump and suspected by Mr. Barr.

Moreover, a monthslong review by The New York Times found that the main thrust of the Durham inquiry was marked by some of the very same flaws — including a strained justification for opening it and its role in fueling partisan conspiracy theories that would never be charged in court — that Trump allies claim characterized the Russia investigation.

Interviews by The Times with more than a dozen current and former officials have revealed an array of previously unreported
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NATALIE KEYSAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Support for Faraway Soldiers

A church community in Scranton, Pa., sells borscht to raise funds for Ukraine's war effort. Page A11.

Magical Thinking on 5th Ave.: Library Acquires Didion Archive

By JENNIFER SCHUESSLER

It was April 1957, and Joan Didion was writing to her family in California about her job as a copywriter at Vogue. "Work is dull and tedious," she wrote, adding, "I can hardly wait to quit."

Ms. Didion, 22 at the time and less than a year out of the University of California, Berkeley, also

added her thoughts on a book she had recently read that lamented the conformism of her peers. "All anyone in this generation wants is security and group belonging," she wrote, "and what will happen to the world if nobody is willing to risk that security to gain the big things?"

Inside the envelope, Ms. Didion tucked a magazine clipping show-

Research Files, Letters, Dinner Party Menus

ing a "little black dress" she had recently bought, which had proved "a smashing success." "It looks slightly different on me, because it is slightly too small

for me," she wrote, "wherein lies the success of it all."

When Ms. Didion died in 2021 at age 87, the news set off an outpouring of tributes to a writer who fused penetrating insight and idiosyncratic personal voice, transcending ordinary literary fame to become a symbol of bicoastal chic and, with her husband, John Gric-
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Deadly Raid in the West Bank

The violence comes as Israel's new government has signaled even tougher actions against Palestinians. PAGE A10

Scotland Gender Bill Is Vetoed

The British government's decision prompted angry claims by Scottish politicians of overreach. PAGE A4

BUSINESS B1-8

Protect Your Email Address

Your contact information has become a digital bread crumb for companies to link your activity across sites and apps, Brian X. Chen writes. PAGE B1

Retailers Brace for a Slump

Companies that ramped up hiring in areas like technology over the last few years are laying off workers as customers cut back on spending. PAGE B1

TikTok Starts to Speak Out

Keeping its head down has not paid off for the Chinese-owned video app, which faces U.S. regulatory pressure over how it protects personal data. PAGE B1



NATIONAL A11-20

Mining Ban in Minnesota

A moratorium at Boundary Waters Canoe Area Wilderness could sink a proposed copper-nickel mine. PAGE A20

Conviction in Bike Path Attack

A man who mowed down people with a truck in Manhattan, killing eight, could face the death penalty. PAGE A18

SPORTS B10-12

Global Politics, Anyone?

A Russian-born player will meet a Belarusian in the Australian Open women's final, rekindling the debate over whether athletes from those countries should be allowed to compete. PAGE B10

Disarray Deepens in U.S. Soccer

Weeks after the World Cup, two top executives left the U.S. men's team and Gregg Berhalter appears to be out as coach, although a full-time coach won't be named until the summer. PAGE B12

OPINION A22-23

Charles M. Blow PAGE A22



WEEKEND ARTS C1-14

A Daredevil Pianist

Yuja Wang is doing the virtually unheard-of by performing a three-and-a-half-hour marathon of Rachmaninoff's works for piano and orchestra. PAGE C1



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“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

LATE EDITION
Today, periodic sunshine and milder, high 47. Tonight, clouds increasing, low 40. Tomorrow, partly sunny skies, breezy and warmer, high 50. Weather map appears on Page 28.

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Memphis Unit Driven by Fists And Violence

Scorpion Team’s Tactics Focused on Black Men

This article is by Steve Eder, Matthew Rosenberg, Joseph Goldstein, Mike Baker, Kassie Bracken and Mark Walker.

For 14 months, officers from the high-profile Scorpion unit of the Memphis Police Department patrolled city streets with an air of menace, zooming up on targets, jumping out of their Dodge Chargers at a dead run, shouting at people to get out of their vehicles, lie down on the ground.

They did it to Damecio Wilbourn, 28, and his brother as they pulled up to an apartment building last February. They surrounded Davitus Collier, 32, as he went to buy beer for his father in May. And last month, they beat Monterrious Harris, 22, outside an apartment complex, where he said he was waiting to spend time with his cousin.

These and other Scorpion encounters typically began over something minor — a tinted window violation, a seatbelt infraction, a broken taillight or cracked windshield — and often resulted in officers finding illegal drugs, unregistered weapons, stolen cars and outstanding warrants. Their tactics could be aggressive, according to interviews and records, with arrestees being subdued by baton, pepper spray, Taser and the brute force of the officers’ fists.

Mr. Wilbourn said that the Scorpion officers threw him against the car. They chased and eventually pepper sprayed a frightened Mr. Collier in the face. And when officers pulled Mr. Harris out of his car, he said, they beat him so severely that he was left with cuts and a black eye.

Three days after Mr. Harris’s arrest, on Jan. 7, several of the same officers involved would go on to swarm Tyre Nichols, pulling him from his car and kicking and beating the 29-year-old amateur photographer with a baton as he begged them to let him go home. He later died at a hospital.

In some quarters of the city, Mr. Nichols’s death was shocking, but

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Far Right’s Rise Kindling Fears In West Bank

By PATRICK KINGSLEY
and RAJA ABDULRAHIM

ALONG ROAD 505, West Bank — The remains of Or Haim, an illegal settlement outpost, lie strewn across a windswept hilltop in the north of the Israeli-occupied West Bank. Two dozen Israeli settlers erected a few flimsy huts there one night last month, and by morning, the Israeli Army had demolished them.

But the settlers plan to try again. The most right-wing government in Israel’s history, which includes settler leaders among its key ministers, entered office late last year, and the settler movement has been emboldened, sensing a window of opportunity to expand its enterprise faster than ever before.

“Now I expect things to go differently,” said Naveh Schindler, 19, a settler activist leading the effort to build the Or Haim outpost. “If I persevere enough,” Mr. Schindler said, “hopefully the government will build it themselves.”

Settlers like Mr. Schindler hope to build more Israeli settlements across the West Bank, which is illegal under international law, on land that Palestinians hoped would be the core of a future Palestinian state. Palestinians, meanwhile, are watching with fear and

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Watching as F-22 jets circled and then shot the balloon Saturday off the coast of Surfside Beach, S.C.

Lobbying Helped Save 5 Flawed Warships

By ERIC LIPTON

JACKSONVILLE, Fla. — The 387-foot-long warships tied up at the Jacksonville Navy base were acclaimed as some of the most modern in the United States fleet: nimble, superfast vessels designed to operate in coastal waters and hunt down enemy submarines, destroy anti-ship mines and repel attacks from small boats, like those often operated by Iran.

But the Pentagon last year made a startling announcement: Eight of the 10 Freedom-class littoral combat ships now based in Jacksonville and another based in San Diego would be retired, even though they averaged only four years old and had been built to last 25 years.

The decision came after the ships, built in Wisconsin by Finccantieri Marinette Marine in partnership with Lockheed Martin, suffered a series of humiliating breakdowns, including repeated engine failures and technical shortcomings in an anti-submarine system intended to counter China’s growing naval capacity.

“We refused to put an additional

Navy Wanted to Retire Failing Vessels

dollar against that system that wouldn’t match the Chinese undersea threat,” Adm. Michael M. Gilday, the chief of naval operations, told Senate lawmakers.

The Navy estimated that the move would save \$4.3 billion over

the next five years, money that Admiral Gilday said he would rather spend on missiles and other firepower needed to prepare for potential wars. Having ships capable of fulfilling the military mission, he argued, was much more important than the Navy’s total ship count.

Then the lobbying started. A consortium of players with economic ties to the ships — led by

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The U.S.S. Detroit, one of the Freedom-class ships slated for decommissioning, at the Mayport base in Jacksonville, Fla.

U.S. SHOOTS DOWN A BALLOON CHINA SENT TO SURVEIL

Pentagon Says Recovery Effort Will Seek Debris From the Atlantic Ocean

By HELENE COOPER and EDWARD WONG

WASHINGTON — The United States shot down a Chinese spy balloon on Saturday that had spent the last week traversing the country, an explosive end to a drama that put a diplomatic crisis between the world’s two great powers onto television screens in real time.

The balloon, which spent five days traveling in a diagonal southeast route from Idaho to the Carolinas, had moved off the coast by midday Saturday and was shot down within moments of its arrival over the Atlantic Ocean.

“I told them to shoot it down,” President Biden told reporters in Hagerstown, Md., on his way to Camp David on Saturday afternoon. “They said to me, let’s wait until the safest place to do it.”

That time and place came at 2:39 p.m., Pentagon officials said, some six miles off the coast of South Carolina. The Federal Aviation Administration had paused departures and arrivals at airports in Wilmington, N.C., and in Myrtle Beach and Charleston in South Carolina. One of two F-22 fighter jets from Langley Air Force Base fired a Sidewinder air-to-air missile, downing the balloon, which was flying at an altitude of 60,000 to 65,000 feet. The F-22s were at 58,000 feet, with other American fighters in support.

The Pentagon said that Navy and Coast Guard personnel would conduct a recovery effort to retrieve the debris of the balloon, which had landed in relatively shallow water. American national security agencies hope the material they collect will add value to their database of Chinese intelligence gathering.

The Chinese foreign ministry declared its “strong discontent and protest” about the United States’ downing of the balloon. In a statement, the ministry said that China had told Washington re-

peatedly that the balloon was a civilian aircraft that had inadvertently flown over the United States and its presence was “totally accidental.”

“In these circumstances, for the United States to insist on using armed force is clearly an excessive reaction that seriously violates international convention,” the statement said. “China will resolutely defend the legitimate rights and interests of the enterprise involved, and retains the right to respond further.”

The president was alerted by the Pentagon on Tuesday that a spy balloon had entered continental American airspace near Idaho, White House officials said, and asked for military options. By Wednesday, the balloon was hovering over Montana and a full-blown diplomatic crisis was underway, puncturing recent efforts in Washington and Beijing to lower U.S.-China tensions.

Pentagon officials advised then against shooting down the balloon, whose belly structure was roughly the size of three buses, because of the possibility of harm to civilians and infrastructure while it was over land. Pentagon officials also said they did not view the intelligence threat from the balloon as any more extensive than what China could glean from a satellite.

But the arrival — and extended stay — of the balloon over American territory prompted furious calls from senior U.S. officials to their Chinese counterparts, criticism from Republican lawmakers of the White House response, and on Friday, the cancellation of a visit to China by Secretary of State

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SKYWATCHING How the balloon went from a local sky oddity to a diplomatic disrupter. PAGE 20

Democrats Vote To Reset Order Of Primaries

By KATIE GLUECK

PHILADELPHIA — Upending decades of political tradition, the Democratic National Committee on Saturday approved a sweeping overhaul of the Democratic primary process, a critical step in President Biden’s effort to transform the way the party picks its presidential nominees.

For years, presidential nominating contests have begun with the Iowa caucuses and the New Hampshire primary, a matter of immense pride in those states, and a source of political identity for many highly engaged residents.

But amid forceful calls for a calendar that better reflects the racial diversity of the Democratic Party and the country — and after Iowa’s 2020 meltdown led to a major delay in results — Democrats voted to endorse a proposal that starts the 2024 Democratic presidential primary circuit on Feb. 3 in South Carolina, the state that resuscitated Mr. Biden’s once-flailing candidacy. New Hampshire and Nevada are scheduled to follow on Feb. 6, Georgia on Feb. 13 and then Michigan on Feb. 27.

“This is a significant effort to make the presidential primary nominating process more reflective of the diversity of this country,

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James Masters Art of Celebrity, On or Off Court

By TANIA GANGULI

LeBron James sat in the visitors’ locker room at Madison Square Garden with ice on his 38-year-old knees and 28 more points to his name after his Los

Anges Lakers beat the Knicks in overtime.

James’s teammate Anthony Davis teased him about how close he was to breaking Kareem Abdul-Jabbar’s N.B.A. career scoring record, then about 90 points away.

Suddenly, James remembered something. His mother, Gloria James, was set to go on vacation soon. She might miss his record-breaking game.

He called her on speakerphone, with a dozen attentive reporters close by. He asked when she was leaving, reminding her every once in a while, lest she disclose too much, that reporters could hear the conversation. Eventually, he looked around, sheepishly, and said he would call her later.

“I love you,” he said. Then, just before he ended the call, he added: “I love you more.”

It was typical James: He brings you along for the ride, but on his terms, revealing what he wants to reveal and no more. It is

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INTERNATIONAL 4-11

Bee Debate Evokes Nazi Past

In an Austrian state that has favored light-colored bees since at least the time of the Third Reich, honey producers judged too dark risk eradication. PAGE 9

Youth Crime in Britain

Areas hit hardest by austerity have seen youth violence surge. Residents say that’s no coincidence. PAGE 4

NATIONAL 12-21

Big Sur’s Beauty and Fury

California’s recent wave of storms was another reminder of the perils and adventure of Central Coast life. PAGE 12



SPORTS 25-27

Pro Pickleball’s Challenge

Whether or not a sport that has attracted millions of amateur players can attract spectators is unclear. PAGE 25

Bully of European Soccer

Teams must either accept that they can’t compete with the Premier League’s spending, or risk ruin. PAGE 27

SUNDAY BUSINESS

The Scope of Homelessness

Trying to count the people in America with nowhere to live takes sheriffs, social workers, volunteers, flashlights and 10 days in January. PAGE 4

SUNDAY STYLES

When the Model Isn’t Size 0

TikTok shows a trend toward more average-size women, but the runway and ads rarely reflect that. PAGE 12

These Daddies Have Issues

Male lawmakers with kids join forces to push policies like paid family leave and an expanded child tax credit. PAGE 3

METROPOLITAN

A Family Home Slips Away

For years, Eve Morawski waged a battle against real estate investors who bought her tax debt and ultimately seized her Maplewood, N.J., house. Then it erupted in flames. PAGE 1

In Brooklyn, a Slice of Japan

Sake, dashi, soba and tea shops and other businesses are cropping up and reinvigorating and changing the culture in Greenpoint, making it a contender for Little Tokyo status. PAGE 1

SUNDAY OPINION

Jake Bittle

PAGE 6



ARTS & LEISURE

A Farewell, and a New Path

Wynonna Judd lost her mother, Naomi Judd, to suicide last spring. Now, at 58, Wynonna finally hopes to become the musician she’s wanted to be. PAGE 12



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Xi's Judgment Is Questioned After Balloon

Mistake or Bold Stunt Raises Eyebrows

By DAVID PIERSON

The Chinese balloon that bumbled its way across the United States has launched a thousand questions about its real intent.

But it is also focusing the world's attention on the prospect that the communications and control within Chinese leader Xi Jinping's government and his vaunted security apparatus may be less coherent — or even less functional — than the image he so confidently projects.

The stakes today are high. Relations between Washington and Beijing have frayed, and competition between the two sides has intensified, fueling fears that the wrong move could cause an accidental confrontation between the powerful rivals.

The United States says the vessel was a "high-altitude surveillance balloon." China maintains it was a civilian airship that had flown off course while gathering meteorological data. Whether the inflatable craft was there by mistake or a brazen military stunt, its emergence raises questions about how China is navigating its growing position as a global power.

"What has been particularly damaging for China, both internationally and domestically, are the questions this raises about competence and how they're reinforcing doubts about Xi Jinping's leadership," said Susan Shirk, a former deputy assistant secretary of state during the Clinton administration and author of a recent book, "Overreach: How China Derailed Its Peaceful Rise."

It's unclear to what degree the incident was avoidable, but it comes at a time when Mr. Xi is thought to be at the peak of his powers after having shattered norms last year by securing a third term and making national security a cornerstone of his rule.

With Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken canceling his trip to Beijing, Mr. Xi missed an opportunity to push back against the mounting pressure Washington is applying on China through security ties with partners across Asia and restrictions on semiconductor technology. That would have allowed Mr. Xi to devote more attention to pressing domestic matters such as reviving China's weakened economy.

The balloon incident follows other apparent miscalculations, including the haphazard unwinding of his, at times, suffocating "zero Covid" measures following widespread protests, and his agreeing to a "no limits" partnership with Russia only weeks before the invasion of Ukraine.

"It's really quite a paradox if you think about it, because it's the beginning of his third term," Ms. Shirk added. "He should be at the high point. And yet we see all of this negative feedback."

Questions about Mr. Xi's judgment. Continued on Page A12

RECLASSIFIED During the Trump years, spy balloons were not detected in real time. PAGE A12

A SCARRED REGION DIGS FOR SURVIVORS



OMAR HAJ KADOUR/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES



SERTAC KAYAR/REUTERS



SERGEY PONOMAREV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A 7.8 magnitude earthquake struck before dawn on Monday, displacing thousands. Top, rescue efforts in Besnia, Syria; middle, a child rescued from a building in Diyarbakir, Turkey; above, a collapsed building in Adana, Turkey. Tremors were also felt in Cyprus, Egypt, Israel and Lebanon.

A 7.8 Earthquake Batters Turkey and Syria, Leaving Thousands Dead

By BEN HUBBARD and NIMET KIRAC

ISTANBUL — A powerful earthquake struck Turkey and Syria before dawn on Monday, killing more than 4,300 people, destroying thousands of buildings and shattering lives in a region already rocked by war, a refugee crisis and economic distress.

The toll of the dead and injured appeared certain to rise as rescue crews battled rain and snow to find survivors and dig bodies out of the ruins, while families fearing aftershocks desperately tried to find shelter in cars, tents, factories and schools.

The quake, the strongest recorded in Turkey since 1939, reached a magnitude of 7.8, according to the United States Geological Survey, and was also felt in Cyprus, Egypt, Israel and Lebanon. An aftershock measuring 7.5 shook the area again Monday afternoon, complicating rescue efforts and terrifying millions of people living in the quake zone.

In the city of Adana, Turkey, Fatih Kaya stood across the street from what had been the 16-story tower where his brother's family lived. Now the building had collapsed into a giant mound of rubble that rescue workers were digging through in search of survivors.

"I am waiting to see if my brother and his wife will be taken out," said Mr. Kaya, 31. The bodies of his brother's two children had already been found.

"I don't know what else to do in this moment," he said.

President Recep Tayyip Erdogan said Monday in the capital, Ankara, "We do not know where the number of dead and injured can go." He declared seven days of national mourning.

The epicenter of both the quake and the major aftershock was near the city of Gaziantep in south central Turkey. Early on Tuesday, Anadolu Agency, the state media

outlet, reported that the death toll in Turkey had risen to 2,921, with 15,834 injuries. The government also said that deaths had been recorded in an area that stretched for more than 250 miles, from the city of Adana in the west to Diyarbakir in the east.

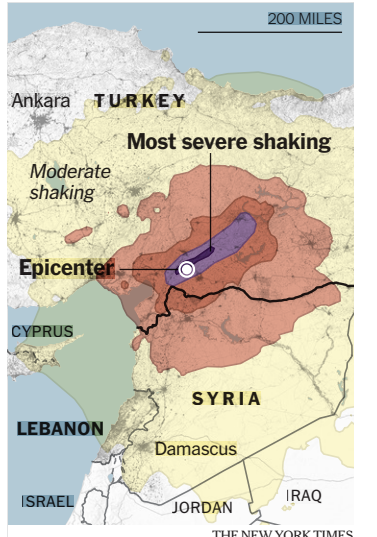
In Syria, the death toll exceeded 1,450, according to reports from the health ministry and from rescuers in rebel-held areas. Hospitals filled up with the injured in the cities of Idlib, Latakia and Aleppo.

Desperate family members dug for survivors with shovels and their bare hands, while rescue crews used headlamps and floodlights in some places to dig through the night, in the cold.

"This is a race against time and hypothermia," said Mikdat Kadioglu, a professor of meteorology and disaster management at Istanbul Technical University. "People got caught in sleepwear and have been under the rubble for 17 hours," he said.

The United Nations, the European Union, the United States, India, Britain, Israel, Russia and

Continued on Page A10



Syrians, Living in War's Ruins, Are Devastated by Fresh Crisis

This article is by Vivian Yee, Raja Abdulrahim and Hwaida Saad.

CAIRO — Once again, Syrians heard the roar and thud of buildings coming down, once again saw dust rising from the mounds of gray, jagged concrete and twisted metal where houses and offices had stood. Once again, people dug in the ruins with their hands, hoping, often in vain, to save the people they loved.

Across northwestern Syria on Monday, apartment blocks, shops, even entire neighborhoods were wiped out in seconds by a powerful earthquake, in scenes that were all too familiar to a region devastated by more than a decade of civil war.

Millions of people displaced by the years of fighting have fled to the north, the only place that remains outside government control. They sheltered in tents, ancient ruins and any other place they could find after their former

homes were destroyed.

The economic collapse the war brought on had made it impossible for many of them to get a decent meal. This winter's fuel crisis had them shivering in their beds, without heat. Syria's wrecked infrastructure had caused thousands to fall sick with cholera in recent months; the ruin of its hospitals meant many could get no health care.

Then came Monday's earthquake.

"How can we tolerate all this?" said Ibrahim al-Khatib, a resident of Taftanaz in northwestern Syria who was startled from his sleep early in the morning and rushed into the street along with his neighbors. "With the Russian airstrikes, and then Bashar al-Assad's attacks, and today the earthquake?"

Southern Turkey and a large area of northwestern Syria were

Continued on Page A11

Outnumbered and Bracing for a Russian Assault

By MICHAEL SCHWIRTZ

NEVSKE, Ukraine — In a tiny village in eastern Ukraine at the epicenter of the next phase of the war, Lyudmila Degtyaryova measures the Russian advance by listening to the boom of incoming artillery shells.

There are more and more of them now. And they are coming more frequently, as Russian troops grind their way forward. "You should see the fireworks

Bone Weary, Troops in East Ukraine Toil On

here," said Ms. Degtyaryova, 61, as the sounds of artillery howled all around. "It is like New Year's."

Russia's military is preparing to launch a new offensive that could soon swallow Ms. Degtyaryova's village of Nevske, and perhaps much more in the eastern Ukrain-

ian region known as the Donbas. But already the impact of Russia's stepped-up assault is being felt in the towns and villages along the hundreds of miles of undulating eastern front.

Exhausted Ukrainian troops complain they are already outnumbered and outgunned, even before Russia has committed the bulk of its roughly 200,000 newly mobilized soldiers. And doctors at hospitals speak of mounting

Continued on Page A8

Crafting Biden's Words, With Helpful Shorthand

By KATIE ROGERS

WASHINGTON — As President Biden prepared to deliver one of the biggest speeches of his presidency, he met with a close group of aides at the White House and read drafts aloud from top to bottom. He practiced in front of teleprompters at Camp David, making sure the language was relatable and clear.

And, in quiet moments ahead of the State of the Union address on

Conquering His Stutter in State of the Union

Tuesday evening, he marked up his speech with subtle lines and dashes that he has long used as a signal to take a breath, pause between his words or steer through a tricky transition.

Mr. Biden is the first modern president to have a stutter, which

he has navigated since childhood and still speaks of in emotional terms. According to seven current and former aides who have helped Mr. Biden prepare for high-profile speeches throughout his career, the president's shorthand will help him as he delivers an hour-long speech in which he will have to make an emphatic case for his legislative achievements and urge Republicans and Democrats to work together.

Continued on Page A14



BUSINESS B1-6

Spending Again, Cautiously China's economy, the world's second largest, is looking brighter. But scars remain from Covid lockdowns. PAGE B1

Child Abuse Content on Twitter Elon Musk pledged to cleanse the platform of child sexual abuse imagery, but it has continued to spread. PAGE B1

INTERNATIONAL A4-12

Weighing Musharraf's Legacy

The former Pakistani leader, a central player in post-9/11 tensions, ultimately lost his hold on the Pakistani public and his own military establishment. PAGE A4

Hong Kong Activists on Trial

A look at the 47 democracy advocates charged with subversion under China's national security law. PAGE A6

SPORTS B7-9

Charges Against Man City

The Premier League accused Manchester City of breaking financial rules. Expulsion could be a penalty. PAGE B7

NATIONAL A13-17

Return of Elite Crime Teams

The Scorpion police unit has been disbanded. But Memphis wasn't the only city to resort to specialized teams to fight surging crime. PAGE A17

Santos's Pet Rescue Doubted

Several people questioned the way George Santos's charity, Friends of Pets United, handled funds that were raised to benefit animals. PAGE A15

Arrests in Power Grid Plot

Two people were accused of conspiring to "completely destroy Baltimore" in what federal law enforcement officers described as a racist plot. PAGE A16



ARTS C1-8

A Grammys Tribute to Rap

The spotlight on the genre was fitting, our writer says. Above, Busta Rhymes, Flavor Flav and LL Cool J. PAGE C1

Back to an Earlier Beat

Jason Moran's new album channels the energy of the bandleader and jazz pioneer James Reese Europe. PAGE C1

SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

Costly Drugs, Dashed Hopes

New treatments are providing miraculous cures, but patients are struggling to find ways to pay for them. PAGE D1

Peak Performance in Hawaii

A Big Island eruption halted a climate project, but scientists are carrying on atop a neighboring volcano. PAGE D1

OPINION A18-19

Michelle Goldberg

PAGE A19




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TRUMP INDICTED

THE FIRST EX-PRESIDENT TO FACE CRIMINAL CHARGES


Key Moments In the Investigation

May 2018



Sept. **Aug. 21** Michael D. Cohen, Donald J. Trump's former personal lawyer and fixer, says he arranged hush-money payments for the president, and the investigation begins.

May



Sept. **August** The office of the Manhattan district attorney, Cyrus R. Vance Jr., subpoenas the Trump Organization.

Sept. **Sept. 19** Mr. Trump's lawyers sue to protect his tax returns, arguing that a sitting president cannot be criminally investigated.

May

Sept. **July 9** Mr. Vance wins his first key victory at the U.S. Supreme Court.

May

Sept. **Feb. 22** The Supreme Court denies Mr. Trump's final bid to block the release of his returns.


March **March 1** The investigation's focus turns to Allen H. Weisselberg, the Trump Organization's long-serving C.F.O.

Sept. **July 1** The Trump Organization is charged with running a 15-year tax scheme.

Jan. **Jan. 1** A new Manhattan district attorney, Alvin L. Bragg, takes office, expressing reservations about the case.

Feb. **Feb. 23** Two of the investigation's leaders, Mark F. Pomerantz and Carey Dunne, resign, leaving the investigation's future in doubt.

May



Sept. **Aug. 18** Mr. Weisselberg pleads guilty and agrees to testify against the Trump Organization.

Dec. **Dec. 6** The Trump Organization is convicted.

January **January** Mr. Bragg impanels a new grand jury.

Midwinter **Midwinter** Prosecutors signal that an indictment is likely, offering Mr. Trump a chance to testify.

March **March 30** Grand jury votes to indict Mr. Trump.

BY JONAH E. BROMWICH AND ANDREW SONDERN/THE NEW YORK TIMES



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

In a statement, former President Donald J. Trump said he was "a completely innocent person."

Top Republicans Rush to Defend the Defendant

By MICHAEL C. BENDER and MAGGIE HABERMAN

Republican leaders in the House lamented the moment as a sad day in the annals of United States history. Conservative news outlets issued a call to action for the party's base. One prominent supporter of Donald J. Trump suggested that the former president's mug shot should double as a 2024 campaign poster.

Even Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida, widely viewed as Mr. Trump's leading potential presidential primary rival, rushed to condemn the prosecutor who brought the Manhattan case that led to his

Calling the Prosecution Political, and Helpful to His Candidacy

toric indictment of the former president on Thursday. While not naming Mr. Trump, Mr. DeSantis said Florida would not play a role in extraditing him.

"The weaponization of the legal system to advance a political agenda turns the rule of law on its head," Mr. DeSantis said on Twitter.

Up and down the Republican Party, anger and accusations of in-

justice flowed from both backers and critics of the former president, even before the charges had been revealed. Many said Mr. Trump could benefit from a wave of sympathy from across the party, with a base of supporters likely to be energized by a belief that the justice system has been weaponized against him.

"The unprecedented indictment of a former president of the United States on a campaign finance issue is an outrage," former Vice President Mike Pence told CNN.

In some quarters, there was a darker reaction. On Fox News, the host Tucker Carlson said the rul-

Continued on Page A18

Focus on Porn Star Payment — Surrender May Come in Days

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

A Manhattan grand jury indicted Donald J. Trump on Thursday for his role in paying hush money to a porn star, according to people with knowledge of the matter, a historic development that will shake up the 2024 presidential race and forever mark him as the nation's first former president to face criminal charges.

On Thursday evening, after news of the charges had been widely reported, the district attorney's office confirmed that Mr. Trump had been indicted and that prosecutors had contacted Mr. Trump's attorney to coordinate his surrender to authorities in Manhattan.

Mr. Trump is expected to turn himself in on Tuesday, at which point the former president will be photographed and fingerprinted in the bowels of a New York State courthouse, with Secret Service agents in tow. He will then be arraigned, at which point the specific charges will be unsealed. Mr. Trump faces more than two dozen counts, according to two people familiar with the matter.

Mr. Trump has for decades avoided criminal charges despite persistent scrutiny and repeated investigations, creating an aura of legal invincibility that the indict-

ment now threatens to puncture. But unlike the investigations that arose from his time in the White House — which examined his strong-arm tactics on the international stage, his attempts to overturn the election and his summoning of a mob to the steps of the U.S. Capitol — this case is built around a tawdry episode that predates Mr. Trump's presidency. The reality star turned presidential candidate who shocked the political establishment by winning the White House now faces a reckoning for a hush-money payment that buried a sex scandal in the final days of the 2016 campaign.

In a statement, Mr. Trump lashed out at the district attorney, *Continued on Page A16*



JASMINE CLARKE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Alvin L. Bragg, the district attorney for Manhattan.

Usual Booking Likely to Look Anything But

By WILLIAM K. RASHBAUM

He will be fingerprinted. He will be photographed. He may even be handcuffed.

In the days ahead, Donald J. Trump is expected to walk through the routine steps of felony arrest processing in New York, now that a grand jury has voted to indict him in connection with his role in a hush-money payment to a porn star. But the unprecedented arrest of a former commander in chief will be anything but routine.

Accommodations may be made for Mr. Trump. While it is standard for defendants arrested on felony charges to be handcuffed, it is unclear whether an exception will be made for the former president because of his status. Most defendants have their hands cuffed behind their backs, but some white-collar defendants who are deemed to pose less of a danger have their hands secured in front of them.

Mr. Trump will almost certainly be accompanied at every step of the process — from the moment he is taken into custody until his appearance before a judge in Lower Manhattan's imposing Criminal Courts Building — by armed agents of the United States Secret Service, who are required by law to protect him at all times.

Security in the courthouse is provided by state court officers, with whom the Secret Service has worked in the past. But the chief

Continued on Page A18

A Nation Finds Itself on a Path Never Traveled

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — For the first time in American history, a former president of the United States has been indicted on criminal charges. It is worth pausing to repeat that: An American president has been indicted for a crime for the first time in history.

So many unthinkable firsts have occurred since Donald J. Trump was elected to the White House in 2016, so many inviolable lines have been crossed, so many unimaginable events have shocked the world that it is easy to lose sight of just how astonishing this particular moment really is.

For all of the focus on the tawdry details of the case or its novel legal theory or its political impact, the larger story is of a country heading down a road it has never traveled before, one fraught with profound consequences for the health of the world's oldest democracy. For more than two centuries, presidents have been held on a pedestal, even the ones swathed in scandal, declared immune from prosecution while in office and, effectively, even afterward.

No longer. That taboo has been broken. A new precedent has been set. Will it tear the country apart, as some feared about

Continued on Page A17

With an Arrest, the Kremlin Seals Its Isolation

By ANTON TROIANOVSKI

With the arrest of a Wall Street Journal correspondent on Thursday, President Vladimir V. Putin signaled to the world that he was doubling down on Russia's wartime isolation.

Russia has expelled foreign journalists in recent years, but in jailing an American reporter, Evan Gershkovich, and formally accusing him of being a spy, the Kremlin

U.S. Reporter Held on Espionage Charges

took a step with no precedent since the collapse of the Soviet Union. It was a stunningly provocative move, aimed at one of the best-known Western journalists still working inside Russia and his employer, a pillar of the American news media.

Even after Russia invaded

Ukraine, Mr. Putin sought to get his message out to Western audiences, apparently betting that he could win some sympathy amid his conflict with their governments. But a long-held assumption that he is keen on trying to keep some lines of communication open with the West is now firmly obsolete.

Instead, Mr. Putin seems to have embraced a state of political, economic and cultural estrangement from the West more

Continued on Page A9



ALEXANDER ZEMLJANICHENKO/ASSOCIATED PRESS
The reporter Evan Gershkovich left a Moscow court Thursday.



TRUMP CHARGED WITH 34 FELONIES



Former President Donald J. Trump said little during his arraignment on Tuesday in Manhattan. He pleaded not guilty to all counts.

D.A. Cites Payoffs to a Porn Star, A Playboy Model and a Doorman

This article is by **Jonah E. Bromwich, William K. Rashbaum, Ben Protess and Maggie Haberman.**

Donald J. Trump, who has weathered two impeachment trials, a special counsel inquiry and decades of investigations, was accused by Manhattan prosecutors on Tuesday of orchestrating a hush-money scheme to pave his path to the presidency and then covering it up from the White House.

Mr. Trump pleaded not guilty in the case, which has far-reaching political consequences and opens a perilous chapter in the long public life of the real estate mogul and former president, who now faces the embarrassing prospect of a criminal trial.

Mr. Trump, who was indicted on 34 felony counts and stands accused of covering up a potential sex scandal involving a porn star, made an extraordinary appearance at the Criminal Courts Building in Lower Manhattan to face the charges. Even as Mr. Trump's supporters rallied outside, the former president sat, almost docile, at the defense table, listening as prosecutors described the case against him.

Overall he said fewer than a dozen words, but at one point he leaned forward and entered his



Andrew Seng for the New York Times
"Everyone stands equal under the law," said Alvin L. Bragg, Manhattan's district attorney.

plea of not guilty in the packed but pin-drop-quiet courtroom, a surreal scene for a man who months ago mounted a third run for the White House.

The hearing was also momentous for the prosecutor who brought the case, the Manhattan district attorney, Alvin L. Bragg. Afterward, he made his first remarks since the indictment, punctuating a proceeding that gave his liberal Manhattan base a long-awaited moment of catharsis: Mr. Trump's first day in court as a criminal defendant.

"Everyone stands equal under the law," Mr. Bragg, a Democrat, said at a news conference after the
Continued on Page A12

In a Case of Falsified Records, Exploring the Paths to a Felony

By **CHARLIE SAVAGE**

WASHINGTON — The unsealed indictment against former President Donald J. Trump on Tuesday laid out an unexpected accusation that bolstered what many legal experts have described as an otherwise risky and novel case: Prosecutors claim he falsified business records in part for a plan to deceive state tax authorities.

For weeks, observers have wondered about the exact charges the Manhattan district attorney, Alvin L. Bragg, would bring. Accusing Mr. Trump of bookkeeping fraud to conceal campaign finance violations, many believed, could raise significant legal challenges. That accusation turned out to be a major part of Mr. Bragg's theory — but not all of it.

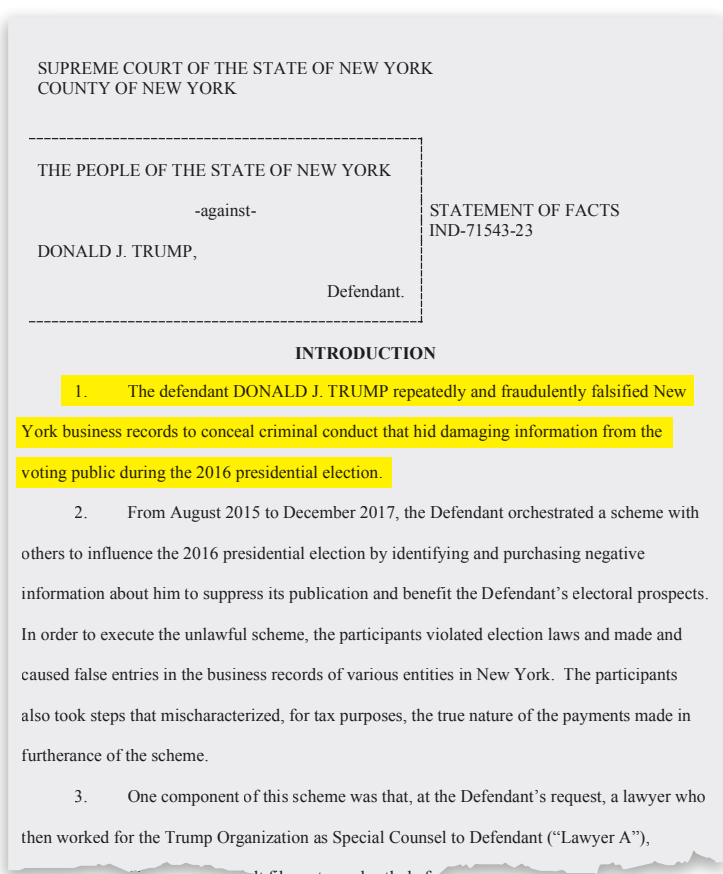
"Pundits have been speculating that Trump would be charged with lying about the hush money payments to illegally affect an

State Taxes Scheme Is Among Prosecutors' Potential Avenues

election, and that theory rests on controversial legal issues and could be hard to prove," said Rebecca Roiphe, a New York Law School professor and former state prosecutor.

"It turns out the indictment also includes a claim that Trump falsified records to commit a state tax crime," she continued. "That's a much simpler charge that avoids the potential pitfalls." The indictment listed 34 counts of bookkeeping fraud related to Mr. Trump's reimbursement in 2017 to Michael D. Cohen, his former lawyer and fixer. Just before the 2016 election, Mr. Cohen had made a \$130,000 hush money payment to the pornographic film actress Stormy Daniels, who has said

Continued on Page A14



BREAKING IT DOWN The statement of facts, above, and annotated highlights of the indictment against Donald J. Trump. Page A14.

Even as Biden Has Oval Office, Predecessor Has the Spotlight

By **PETER BAKER and MICHAEL D. SHEAR**

WASHINGTON — The president of the United States spent four minutes on Tuesday talking to the American public about the possibilities and dangers of artificial intelligence. No, not that president. The one who actually occupies the Oval Office.

Americans could be forgiven if they momentarily forgot the most powerful person in the country. As helicopters and cameras followed every step of Donald J. Trump's legal drama in New York more than 200 miles to the north with white Ford Bronco-level intensity, President Biden faded into the background, ceding the stage to his defendant-predecessor.

He seemed content to do so, at least for now. The White House made no effort to compete for attention with the arrest of a former president. Mr. Biden's only appearance came during a

Team in White House Hopes for Benefits in Being Upstaged

meeting with his science advisers. Reporters were escorted in at 2:59 p.m., a hoarse Mr. Biden, fighting a cold, said a few words, and the reporters were ushered out at 3:03 p.m. Ten minutes later, the White House announced Mr. Biden was finished with public events for the day.

The tale of two presidents on this spring afternoon, one quietly focused on technology policy, the other having his fingerprints taken, underscored the unique challenge that has confronted Mr. Biden since taking office more than two years ago. No commander in chief in more than a century has been eclipsed in the public eye by the leader he succeeded the way Mr. Biden has at times. Now with the first crim-

Continued on Page A16

Next Big Leap for A.I. Tech? Instant Videos on Command.

By **CADE METZ**

Ian Sansavera, a software architect at a New York start-up called Runway AI, typed a short description of what he wanted to see in a video. "A tranquil river in the forest," he wrote.

Less than two minutes later, an experimental internet service generated a short video of a tranquil river in a forest. The river's running water glistened in the sun as it cut between trees and ferns, turned a corner and splashed gently over rocks.

Runway, which plans to open its



Runway AI's software created a video prompted by the words "a cow at a birthday party."

service to a small group of testers this week, is one of several companies building artificial intelligence technology that will soon let people generate videos simply by typing several words into a box on a computer screen.

They represent the next stage in an industry race — one that includes giants like Microsoft and Google as well as much smaller start-ups — to create new kinds of artificial intelligence systems that some believe could be the next big thing in technology, as important as web browsers or the iPhone.

The new video-generation systems could speed the work of moviemakers and other digital artists, while becoming a new and quick way to create hard-to-detect online misinformation, making it even harder to tell what's real on the internet.

The systems are examples of what is known as generative A.I., which can instantly create text, images and sounds. Another example is ChatGPT, the online chatbot made by the start-up OpenAI that stunned the tech industry with its abilities late last year.

Google and Meta, Facebook's
Continued on Page A11

NATO Formally Adds Finland, Delivering a Poke in Putin's Eye

By **STEVEN ERLANGER**

BRUSSELS — With a simple exchange of documents, Finland on Tuesday became NATO's 31st member state, a strategic defeat for President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia, who was determined to block the alliance's expansion but instead galvanized Finland to join amid Moscow's devastating war in Ukraine.

Later in the day, Finland's national flag was raised at NATO headquarters, a deeply symbolic moment and a stark display of the shifting global dynamics, as the West shores up its allegiances in response to Russia's aggression toward its neighbor. With Finland's membership assured, NATO doubled its borders with Russia and gained access to a strong military with a deep history of countering Russia.

NATO's commitment to collective defense will now extend to a country that shares an 830-mile border with Russia and was twice invaded by its neighbor in the 20th century. If Finland is attacked, it can call on all members of the alliance for aid, a psychological and practical boost to Finns' sense of security.

Now that Finland is a full-fledged member, said NATO's secretary general, Jens Stoltenberg,

"we are removing the room for miscalculation in Moscow about NATO's readiness to protect Finland, and that makes Finland safer and stronger, and all of us safer."

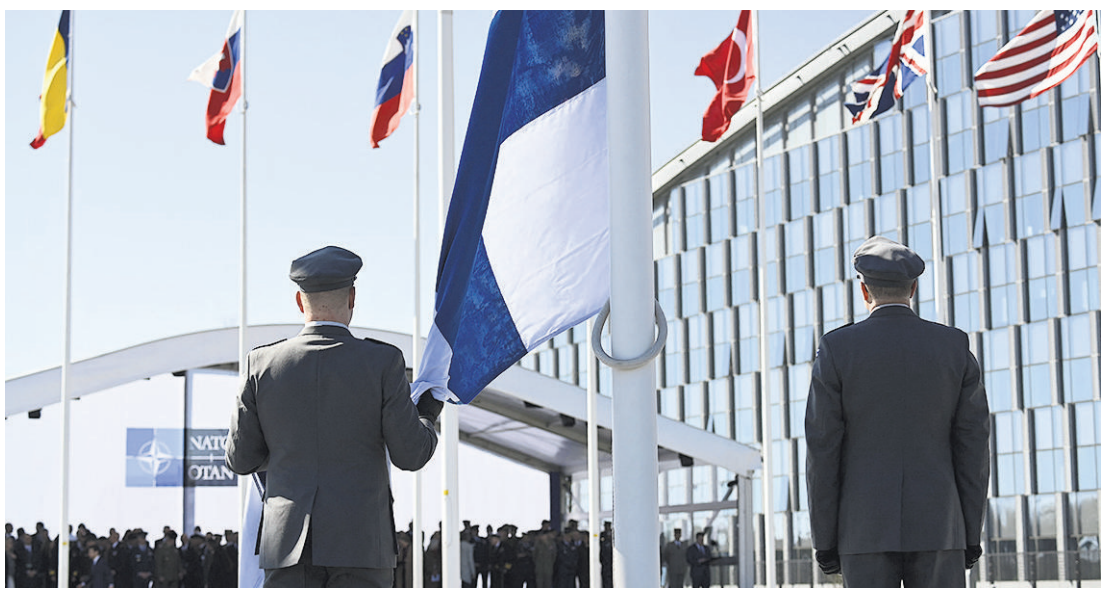
President Sauli Niinisto of Finland, who attended the ceremony on the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's 74th anniversary, declared, "It is a great day for Finland."

Russia tried to restrict Finns' freedom of choice and "tried to create a sphere around them," he added. "We are not a sphere."

Many details about how Finland will integrate into the alliance are still to be worked out. Among the pressing issues, a new Finnish government, still to be negotiated after an election on Sunday, must decide whether the country will accept foreign troops on its soil, or even nuclear weapons belonging to its allies.

But Finland's membership adds one of Western Europe's most potent militaries to the alliance, as well as intelligence and border-surveillance abilities, U.S. officials say.

Finland's artillery forces are the largest and best equipped among European NATO members, with 1,500 artillery, including 700 howitzers, 700 heavy mortars and 100 rocket launcher systems,
Continued on Page A7



NATO headquarters in Brussels on Tuesday. Finland shares an 830-mile border with Russia.



TRUMP IS INDICTED OVER CLASSIFIED FILES

A Potent Issue In 2016 Turns Into a Problem

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — There was a time, not that long ago really, when Donald J. Trump said he cared about the sanctity of classified information. That, of course, was when his opponent was accused of jeopardizing it and it was a useful political weapon for Mr. Trump. Throughout 2016, he castigated Hillary Clinton for using a private email server instead of a secure government one. "I'm going to enforce all laws concerning the protection of classified information," he declared. "No one will be above the law." Mrs. Clinton's cavalier handling of the sensitive information, he said, "disqualifies her from the presidency."

Seven years later, Mr. Trump faces criminal charges for endangering national security by taking classified documents when he left the White House and refusing to return them even after being subpoenaed. Even in the what-goes-around-comes-around department of American politics, it is rather remarkable that the issue that helped propel Mr. Trump to the White House in the first place now threatens to ruin his chances of getting back there.

The indictment handed down by a federal grand jury on Thursday at the request of the special counsel Jack Smith effectively brings the Trump story full circle. "Lock her up," the crowds at his campaign rallies chanted with his encouragement. Now he may be the one locked up if convicted on any of the seven re-

Continued on Page A13



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Donald J. Trump, the first ex-president to face federal charges, is expected to surrender next week.

U.S. Charges Include Mishandling Records and Obstructing Justice

This article is by Alan Feuer, Maggie Haberman, William K. Rashbaum and Ben Protess.

The Justice Department on Thursday took the legally and politically momentous step of lodging federal criminal charges against former President Donald J. Trump, accusing him of mishandling classified documents he kept upon leaving office and then obstructing the government's efforts to reclaim them.

Mr. Trump confirmed on his social media platform that he had been indicted. The charges against him include willfully retaining national defense secrets in violation of the Espionage Act, making false statements and a conspiracy to obstruct justice, according to two people familiar with the matter.

The Justice Department made no comment and did not immediately make the indictment public.

The indictment, handed up by a grand jury in Federal District Court in Miami, is the first time a former president has faced federal charges. It puts the nation in an extraordinary position, given Mr. Trump's status not only as a one-time commander in chief but also as the current front-runner for the 2024 Republican presidential nomination to face President Biden, whose administration will now be seeking to convict his potential rival of multiple felonies.

Mr. Trump is expected to surrender to the authorities on Tuesday, according to a person close to him and his own post on his social media platform, Truth Social.

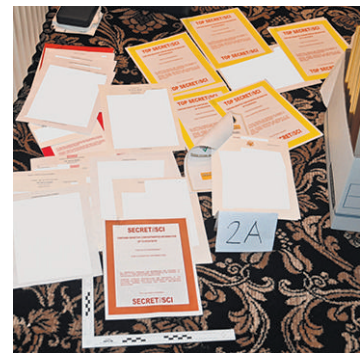
"The corrupt Biden Administration has informed my attorneys that I have been indicted," Mr. Trump wrote, in one of several posts around 7 p.m. after he was notified of the charges.

The former president added that he was scheduled to be ar-

raigned in federal court in Miami at 3 p.m. on Tuesday.

In a video he released later on Truth Social, Mr. Trump declared: "I'm an innocent man. I'm an innocent person."

The indictment, filed by the office of the special counsel, Jack Smith, came about two months after local prosecutors in New York filed more than 30 felony charges against Mr. Trump in a case connected to a hush money payment made to a porn star in advance of the 2016 election.



DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Documents seized in an F.B.I. search of Mar-a-Lago last year.

Mr. Trump remains under investigation by Mr. Smith's office for his wide-ranging efforts to retain power after his election loss in 2020, and how those efforts led to the Jan. 6, 2021, assault on the Capitol by a pro-Trump mob. He is also being scrutinized for potential election interference by the district attorney's office in Fulton County, Ga.

A senior Biden administration official said the White House learned of the indictment from news reports.

Public filings in the documents case have painted a picture of Mr. Trump as spending more than a

Continued on Page A13

PAT ROBERTSON, 1930-2023

He Reshaped American Politics From the Pulpit

By DOUGLAS MARTIN

Pat Robertson, a Baptist minister with a passion for politics who marshaled Christian conservatives into a powerful constituency that helped Republicans capture both houses of Congress in 1994, died on Thursday at his home in Virginia Beach. He was 93.

His death was announced by the Christian Broadcasting Network, which Mr. Robertson founded in 1960.

Mr. Robertson built an entrepreneurial empire based on his Christian faith, encompassing a university, a law school, a cable channel with broad reach, and more. A product of a family with politics in its veins, he also waged a serious though unsuccessful campaign for the 1988 Republican presidential nomination, resigning as a Baptist minister as he began the run in the face of criticism about mixing church and state.

The loss did not dampen his political fervor; he went on to found the Christian Coalition, which stoked the conservative faith-based political resurgence of the 1990s and beyond.

Whether in the pulpit, on the stump or in front of a television camera, Mr. Robertson could ex-

hibit the mild manner of a friendly local minister, chuckling softly and displaying an almost perpetual twinkle in his eye. But he was also given to statements that his detractors saw as outlandishly wrongheaded and dangerously incendiary.

He suggested, for example, that Americans' sinfulness had brought on the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks against the United States, and that the earthquake that devastated Haiti in 2010 was divine retribution for a promise that Haitians had made to serve

the Devil in return for his help in securing the country's independence from France in 1804.

He said that liberal Protestants embodied "the spirit of the Antichrist" and that feminism drove women to witchcraft. He called for the assassination of President Hugo Chávez of Venezuela. He maintained that his prayers had averted hurricanes. And he condemned homosexuality as "an abomination," linking it at one point to the rise of Hitler and declaring that it provokes God's

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AMY TOENING FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Pat Robertson in 1996. With an empire based on his Christian faith, he helped Republicans gain control of Congress in 1994.

Ukraine Starts Drive to Regain Occupied Area

By ERIC SCHMITT and ANDREW E. KRAMER

Ukrainian forces mounted a major attack in the southern region of Zaporizhzhia on Thursday, taking the offensive against the invading Russians in multiple places in the east and south, but there was no indication of a breakthrough in an operation that carries high stakes for Kyiv and its Western allies.

Three senior U.S. officials, as well as military analysts, said a long-awaited major Ukrainian counteroffensive appeared to be underway, after months spent mobilizing and training new units, and arming them with advanced Western weapons. A strong indication, they said, was the Ukrainians' use in combat on Thursday of German Leopard tanks and American Bradley fighting vehicles.

"It appears some of the new brigades Ukraine stood up for this counteroffensive have been committed, which indicates the counteroffensive is underway," said Rob Lee, a senior fellow with the Foreign Policy Research Institute.

Continued on Page A8

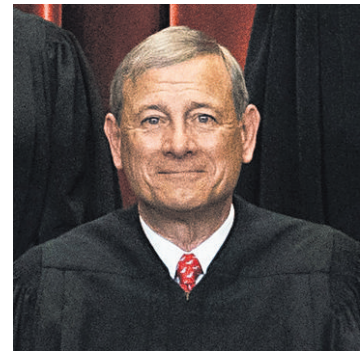
Justices, in Unexpected Move, Rule Map Denied Black Voters

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court, in a surprise decision, ruled on Thursday that Alabama had diluted the power of Black voters in drawing a congressional voting map, reaffirming a landmark civil rights law that had been thought to be in peril.

Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr., who has often voted to restrict voting rights and is generally skeptical of race-conscious decision making by the government, wrote the majority opinion in the 5-to-4 ruling, stunning election-law experts. In agreeing that race may play a role in redistricting, the chief justice was joined by Justice Brett M. Kavanaugh and the court's three liberal members, Justices Sonia Sotomayor, Elena Kagan and Ketanji Brown Jackson.

Voting rights advocates had feared that the decision would further undermine the Voting Rights Act of 1965, a central legislative achievement of the civil rights movement whose reach the court's conservative majority has eroded in recent years. Instead, the law appeared to emerge unscathed from its latest encounter



ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. wrote the majority opinion.

with the court.

The case concerned a voting map redrawn by Republican lawmakers after the 2020 census, leaving only one majority Black congressional district in a state with seven districts and a Black voting-age population that had grown to 26 percent.

The impact of the decision, which required the Legislature to draw a second district in which Black voters have the opportunity to elect representatives of their choice, will not be limited to Alabama. Other states in the South, notably Louisiana and Georgia,

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NATIONAL A12-20

A New Front in Reparations

Black families lost millions in wealth when their lands were seized through eminent domain. Now some are trying to prove past ownership of properties, in an effort to get them back. PAGE A14

Rikers Report Aims at Chief

New York City's jails commissioner has failed to stop rampant violence, and officials are hiding information about the situation, a monitor said in report filed in federal court. PAGE A20



Only 'Unicorns' Need Apply

Congress is looking for a new architect of the Capitol, the official who maintains the complex. But the job won't be easy to fill. The last leader was fired after staying home on Jan. 6, 2021. PAGE A12

INTERNATIONAL A4-11

A Fight Over Faith in China

China is destroying Arab-style architectural features of mosques in Yunnan Province. The government move has been met with rare resistance. PAGE A4

Firmly in Ukraine's Corner

President Biden and Prime Minister Rishi Sunak of Britain, meeting in Washington, vowed to help Kyiv "for as long as it takes." PAGE A6

SPORTS B7-10, 12

A Seismic Semifinal

Tennis fans have been waiting for a second matchup between Carlos Alcaraz and Novak Djokovic. Now they have it at the French Open. PAGE B8

WEEKEND ARTS C1-16

A More Global Outlook

The Museum of Modern Art's celebrated series of emerging talents in photography turns to the first group show focusing on West Africa, with 151 works by seven Nigerian artists. PAGE C1

BUSINESS B1-6

Looking for a Reboot at Meta

In a meeting with employees, the embattled chief executive Mark Zuckerberg described plans to meld artificial intelligence and virtual reality. PAGE B1

Is That Energy Drink Healthy?

More companies are offering low-calorie, sugar-free beverages, but some servings have nearly as much caffeine as a six-pack of Coca-Cola. PAGE B1



OPINION A22-23

Paul Krugman

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TRUMP PUT U.S. AT RISK, INDICTMENT SAYS



JUSTICE DEPARTMENT, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

A picture with the indictment of former President Donald J. Trump showed boxes in a bathroom at his Mar-a-Lago estate in Florida.

Mishandling of Nuclear and Military Secrets Alleged in the 38 Counts

This article is by Glenn Thrush, Maggie Haberman and Alan Feuer.

WASHINGTON — Federal prosecutors laid out an evidence-packed case in an indictment unsealed on Friday that former President Donald J. Trump had put national security secrets at risk by mishandling classified documents he took from the White House and then schemed to block the government from reclaiming the material.

The 49-page, 38-count indictment said the documents held onto by Mr. Trump included some involving sensitive nuclear programs and others that detailed the country's potential vulnerabilities to military attack.

In some cases, prosecutors said, he displayed them to people without security clearances and stored them in a haphazard manner at Mar-a-Lago, even stacking a pile of boxes in a bathroom at his private club and residence in Florida.

The indictment included evidence vividly illustrating what prosecutors said was Mr. Trump's willingness to hide the material from investigators.

In one of the most problematic pieces of evidence for the former president, the indictment recounted how at one point during the effort by the government to retrieve the documents, Mr. Trump, according to an account by one of his lawyers, made a "plucking motion" that implied, "Why don't you take them with you to your hotel room, and if there's anything really bad in there, like, you know, pluck it out."

Jack Smith, the special counsel who is bringing the case for the Justice Department, cast the investigation during a brief statement in Washington as a defense of national security. He urged Americans read the indictment to understand the "scope and gravity" of the charges, which he said were necessary to preserve "bedrock" democratic principles.

"We have one set of laws in this country, and they apply to everyone," he said. The investigation had been conducted with utmost integrity, he added, and, in an implicit nod to the election calendar — Mr. Trump remains the front-runner for the 2024 Republican presidential nomination — promised to seek a speedy trial.

Mr. Trump and his allies contin-

ued their effort to portray the prosecution as politically motivated and unjustified, with House Republicans rallying behind him and arguing that President Biden had weaponized the Justice Department against his potential rival in 2024.

Mr. Biden stuck to his calculated silence about the prosecution, judging it best not to provide ammunition to Republicans who are trying to convince voters that he was behind the decision to charge Mr. Trump.

Both the legal and political ramifications of the first-ever prosecution of a former president could be profound, and he could face many years in federal prison if convicted.

Mr. Trump was charged with 37 criminal counts covering seven different violations of federal law, alone or in conjunction with one his personal aides, Walt Nauta, who was also named in the indictment.

The former president was charged with 31 counts of willfully retaining national defense information under the Espionage Act and one count of making false statements stemming from his interactions with federal investigators and one of his own attorneys.

Mr. Trump and Mr. Nauta were jointly charged with single counts of conspiracy to obstruct justice, withholding government documents, corruptly concealing records, concealing a document in a federal investigation and scheming to conceal their efforts. Mr. Nauta was charged with a separate count of making false statements to investigators.

According to a court filing connected to the indictment, prosecu-

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Evidence a President's Actions Were More Overt Than Known

By ALAN FEUER and MAGGIE HABERMAN

The indictment of former President Donald J. Trump that was unsealed on Friday provided compelling evidence that Mr. Trump's handling of classified documents was more cavalier, and his efforts to obstruct the government's attempts to retrieve them more blatant, than previously known.

On nearly every one of its 49 pages, the indictment revealed yet another example of Mr. Trump's indifference toward the country's most sensitive secrets and of his persistent willfulness in having his aides and lawyers stymie government attempts to get the records back.

Mr. Trump will have an opportunity in court to rebut the account presented by the special counsel Jack Smith. But the evidence cited refers to records casually kept in a bathroom and on a ballroom stage at Mar-a-Lago, his private club and residence in Florida. There was also a description of a knocked-over stack of boxes lying in a basement storage room, their contents, including a secret intelligence document, spilled on the



TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Former President Donald J. Trump at Mar-a-Lago in April.

floor.

At one point, the indictment included an almost cartoonish image. Quoting notes from one of Mr. Trump's own lawyers, it relates how the former president made a "plucking motion" as if to suggest that the lawyer should go through a folder full of classified materials and "if there's anything really bad in there, like, you know, pluck it out."

A classic example of what is known as a "speaking indictment," the charging document, which was filed on Thursday in Federal District Court in Miami, did far more than merely lay out seven crimes, among them ob-

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Case Lands in Hands of Judge Who Earlier Ruled for Trump

By CHARLIE SAVAGE

Even as prosecutors publicly unveiled a deep and detailed array of evidence against former President Donald J. Trump in the documents investigation on Friday, they suffered a potential setback with the surprise assignment of the case to Judge Aileen M. Cannon.

Judge Cannon, 42, a Trump appointee in Florida, shocked legal experts across ideological lines last year by intervening in the investigation and issuing rulings favorable to Mr. Trump, only to be rebuked by a conservative appeals court.

The chief clerk of court for the Southern District of Florida has said that new cases there are randomly delegated to its judges even if they are related to previous ones. It was not immediately clear whether Mr. Trump lucked out, or if an exception was made. Either way, legal specialists said Judge Cannon's return was significant.

The unsealed indictment offered "a strong factual presentation," said Paul Rosenzweig, a former Bush administration official and federal prosecutor who worked on the independent



SHUTTERSTOCK

Judge Aileen M. Cannon was assigned to the Trump case.

counsel investigation into President Bill Clinton. "If this were a normal person and a normal case, you'd be talking to your client about pleading guilty. So I think the Cannon draw is actually a serious blow to the prosecution."

Now that Mr. Trump has been charged — with 37 criminal counts, including 31 violations of the Espionage Act, various charges of obstruction and making a false statement — Judge Cannon may have ample opportunity to issue rulings affecting the tempo and outcome of the case.

For one, substantial evidence

Continued on Page A12

That Orange Sky? You Might See It More Often.

By SOMINI SENGUPTA

With so much toxic wildfire smoke moving across the Canadian border and impending life across the Eastern United States, it raises a troubling question: Will there be more of this in the years ahead, and if so, what can be done about it?

First, let's take a step back. Global average temperatures have increased because of the unchecked burning of coal, oil and gas for 150 years. That has created the conditions for more frequent and intense heat waves.

That extra heat in the atmosphere has created a greater likelihood of extreme, sometimes catastrophic, weather all over the world. While that doesn't mean the same extremes in the same places all the time, certain places are more susceptible to certain disasters, by virtue of geography. Australia could see more intense drought. Low-lying islands are projected to experience higher



GREGG VIGLIOTTI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Bronx's Orchard Beach this week as Canada's wildfires raged.

storm surges as sea levels rise. In places that become hot and dry, wildfires can become more prevalent or intense.

The unifying fact is that more heat is the new normal.

The best way to reduce the risk of higher temperatures in the future, scientists say, is to reduce

the burning of fossil fuels. There are also many ways to adapt to hotter weather and its hazards.

Eastern Canada, which erupted in extraordinary blazes, is projected to be wetter, on average, especially in winter. The projections are less clear for summers, when

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In a Counteroffensive, Defining Success Varies

By JULIAN E. BARNES and STEVEN ERLANGER

WASHINGTON — After months of anticipation, Ukraine's forces — newly trained on complex warfare tactics and armed with billions of dollars in sophisticated Western weaponry — launched operations on multiple fronts in the past week in an effort to dislodge entrenched Russian military units, a counteroffensive that many officials in the United States and Europe say could be a turning point in the 15-month war.

Much rides on the outcome. There is little doubt the new military drive will influence discussions of future support for Ukraine as well as debates about how to guarantee its future. What remains unclear, though, is exactly what the United States, Europe and Ukraine view as a "successful" counteroffensive.

Publicly, American and European officials are leaving any definition of success to President



TYLER HICKS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The 3rd Separate Assault Brigade of Ukraine, south of Bakhmut.

Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine. For now, Mr. Zelensky has not laid out any public goals, beyond his oft-stated demand that Russian troops must leave the whole of Ukraine. He is known as a master communicator; any perception that he is backing off that broad ambition would risk undermining

his support at a critical moment.

Privately, U.S. and European officials concede that pushing all of Russia's forces out of occupied Ukrainian land is highly unlikely. Still, two themes emerge as clear ideas of "success": that the Ukrainian army retake and hold

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Donald J. Trump returning to Newark on Tuesday after his federal arraignment on criminal charges in the classified documents case.

MOMENTOUS SCENE IN MIAMI AS TRUMP PLEADS NOT GUILTY

Booked on Charges He Put Secrets at Risk

This article is by Glenn Thrush, Nicholas Nehamas and Eileen Sullivan.

MIAMI — Donald J. Trump, twice impeached as president and now twice indicted since leaving the White House, surrendered to federal authorities in Miami on Tuesday and was arraigned on charges that he had put national security secrets at risk and obstructed investigators.

Mr. Trump was booked, fingerprinted and led to a courtroom on the 13th floor of the Federal District Court, where his lawyer entered a plea of not guilty on his behalf.

Sitting among the spectators about 20 feet away was Jack Smith, the special counsel overseeing the investigation that led to the 38-count indictment of Mr. Trump and his personal aide, Walt Nauta, who was also present for the proceedings but did not enter a plea.

Mr. Trump, who spent much of the arraignment with his arms folded and a grim expression, and Mr. Smith, a flinty former war crimes prosecutor rarely seen in public since taking charge of the case, did not talk to each other at the hearing, or even exchange glances.

The 50-minute hearing, both mundane and momentous, marked the start of what is sure to be at least a monthslong process of bringing Mr. Trump to trial against the backdrop of a presidential race in which he is the front-runner for the Republican nomination.

Mr. Trump has also been indicted in an unrelated case by the Manhattan district attorney, who has charged him in connection with hush money payments to a porn star ahead of the 2016 election. He faces a separate inquiry by a prosecutor in Fulton County, Ga., who is scrutinizing his efforts to reverse his election loss in

Georgia in 2020, and Mr. Smith is pressing ahead with a federal investigation into Mr. Trump's efforts to retain power and the ensuing Jan. 6, 2021, assault on the Capitol by a pro-Trump mob.

Outside the courthouse, amid a heavy police presence, small groups of pro-Trump demonstrators voiced their support for the former president, who has denounced the indictment as the latest installment in a long-running and politically inspired witch hunt against him.

Inside, Mr. Trump was moved



LYNNE SLADKY/ASSOCIATED PRESS

A crowd in Miami greeted the former president's motorcade.

briskly through the process of becoming a defendant in a federal criminal case, with the authorities seeking to minimize anything that could be interpreted as an attempt to further embarrass the former president.

He was not required to have his mug shot taken, the government did not ask for travel restrictions often imposed on those accused of serious crimes, and prosecutors seemed willing to grant him generous bond terms, without demanding cash bail.

Mr. Trump did not speak in the courtroom except for whispered chatter with his two new lawyers before the arraignment, and asides to them once it began.

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Baptists Push To Bar Women From Ministry

By ELIZABETH DIAS and RUTH GRAHAM

NEW ORLEANS — The letter in October came as a shock to Linda Barnes Popham, who had been the pastor of Fern Creek Baptist Church in Louisville, Ky., for 30 years, the first woman to lead her congregation. She had served in ministry even longer, since she started as a pianist at age 16.

But now, she read in the letter, officials of the Southern Baptist Convention had received a complaint about her church's being led by a woman. The denomination was investigating, it said.

She replied at length, listing her qualifications and her church's interpretation of the Bible that affirmed her eligibility to lead. Church deacons, including men, rallied to her defense.

Convention officials decided to expel her church anyway, along with four other congregations that have female pastors, including one of the most prominent in the country, Saddleback Church, based in Southern California.

"I never believed this would happen," Ms. Barnes Popham said of the move to expel her church, as she prepared to appeal the expulsion on Tuesday afternoon before thousands of delegates at the annual meeting of the Southern Baptist Convention in New Orleans. "Why would you want to silence the voices of the faithful churches? Why?"

However the delegates vote on her appeal, the larger message is clear: There is a movement in the Southern Baptist Convention, a denomination that is often a bellwether for evangelical America, to purge women from its leadership.

The right wing of the Southern Baptists, the largest Protestant denomination in America, is now — like conservatives more broadly — cracking down on what it sees as dangerous liberal drift. Most people in the denomination have long believed that the office of head pastor should be reserved for men. But an ultraconservative faction with a loud online presence is going further, pressing for ideological purity and arguing

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The Mayor's Rapidly Dwindling Administration

This article is by Dana Rubinstein, Jeffery C. Mays and Emma G. Fitzsimmons.

After not even 18 months in office, Mayor Eric Adams of New York City has lost one top official after another from his administration, a troubling and unusual exodus as the city is confronted by multiple major challenges.

Last month, the mayor's chief housing officer, Jessica Katz, announced her resignation, leaving the city without the architect of its most pressing agenda. In February, the city's social services commis-

An Exodus From Top New York City Posts at a Crucial Time

sioner, Gary Jenkins, resigned. And on Monday, the city's police commissioner, Keechant Sewell, blindsided Mr. Adams with her resignation.

Their departures have hit the Adams administration in areas where the city faces its most pressing concerns: crime, housing and homelessness.

They are hardly alone. Mr. Adams has already lost his first deputy mayor, his chief of staff and his buildings commissioner. And by the end of the summer, Mr. Adams's chief counsel, communications director and chief efficiency officer also plan to step down.

While their reasons for leaving vary, police and City Hall officials close to Ms. Sewell said she was undermined by Philip Banks, the deputy mayor for public safety, who some felt was acting as a shadow police commissioner.

"It's been clear for a while that Commissioner Sewell was being

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ADRIANA ZEBBRAUSKAS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Shrimp fishermen waiting for their boats to be towed out of the water in Puerto Peñasco, Mexico.

An Ambitious Plan to Quench Arizona's Thirst

By CHRISTOPHER FLAVELLE

PUERTO PEÑASCO, Mexico — Fifty miles south of the U.S. border, at the edge of a city on the Gulf of California, a few acres of dusty shrubs could determine the future of Arizona.

As the state's two major sources of water, groundwater and the Colorado River, dwindle from drought, climate change and overuse, officials are considering a hydrological Hail Mary: the con-

Seawater From Mexico, Minus the Salt

struction of a plant in Mexico to suck salt out of seawater, then pipe that water hundreds of miles, much of it uphill, to Phoenix.

The idea of building a desalination plant in Mexico has been discussed in Arizona for years. But now, a \$5 billion project proposed

by an Israeli company is under serious consideration, an indication of how worries about water shortages are rattling policymakers in Arizona and across the American West.

On June 1, the state announced that the Phoenix area, the fastest-growing region in the country, doesn't have enough groundwater to support all the future housing that has already been approved. Cities and developers that want to

Continued on Page A16

Lacking Heads, Sculptures Keep Experts on Toes

By GRAHAM BOWLEY

For many years, a Danish museum argued that its ancient head of the Roman emperor Septimius Severus belonged to a bronze torso at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

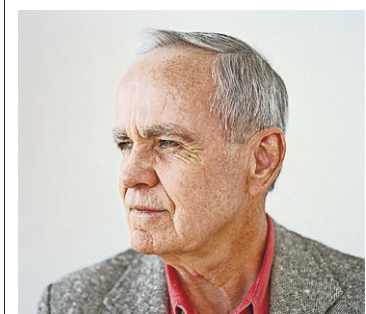
This sort of discovery is rare in the world of Greco-Roman statuary, where headless torsos and torso-less heads are, though ubiquitous, seldom reconnected. But the museum, the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, went so far as to arrange a loan so it could exhibit the head and body together in 1979 and even tried to buy the torso, without success.

Matters grew more complicated in February, though, when the Met was forced to return the headless statue to Turkey after investigators determined it had been looted. Turkish officials said they planned to claim the head in Copenhagen as well.

But a Danish museum official said in an interview that, contrary to its earlier belief, its 2,000-year-old head may not have been part of the statue just taken from the Met.

Rune Frederiksen, the Glyptotek's head of collections, said the museum had begun doubting the connection in recent years, based on a "reassessment of what is widely known so far already." He said numerous experts, internal

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DEREK SHAPTON

CORMAC MCCARTHY, 1933-2023

Literary Loner Who Explored A Dark World

By DWIGHT GARNER

Cormac McCarthy, the formidable and reclusive writer of Appalachia and the American Southwest, whose raggedly ornate early novels about misfits and grotesques gave way to the lush taciturnity of "All the Pretty Horses" and the apocalyptic minimalism of "The Road," died on Tuesday at his home in Santa Fe, N.M. He was 89.

Knopf, his publisher, said in a statement that his son John had confirmed the death.

Mr. McCarthy's fiction took a dark view of the human condition and was often macabre. He decorated his novels with scalplings, beheadings, arson, rape, incest, necrophilia and cannibalism. "There's no such thing as life without bloodshed," he told The New

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INTERNATIONAL A4-10

India's Dowry Scam

Many women have been abandoned by husbands living overseas, leaving them trapped in in-laws' homes. PAGE A4

NATO Allies Pressure Biden

Members of the alliance want a timetable for Ukraine to join, though only after war is no longer raging. PAGE A5

NATIONAL A11-19

Unabomber's Victims Reflect

Years after a deadly bombing campaign said to be a warning about technology, survivors say they still think about Ted Kaczynski's motivations. PAGE A15

G.O.P. Revolt in the House

Rebellious Republicans are leveraging their votes to break longstanding norms of party discipline. PAGE A15

SPORTS B7-10

The Golfer Who Isn't There

Tiger Woods grew up near the site of this year's U.S. Open in Los Angeles, and his absence is keenly felt. PAGE B7

BUSINESS B1-6

Is the 'Singularity' Here?

The frenzy over A.I. may be ushering in the long-awaited moment when technology goes wild. Or maybe it's the hype that is out of control. PAGE B1

Rationale for a Rate Pause

Consumer prices rose at the slowest pace in over two years, an encouraging sign for policymakers as they plot their next interest rate move. PAGE B1

Saving on Home Insurance

Weather-driven disasters are causing rates to skyrocket in high-risk regions. But there are things owners can do to save on costs. PAGE B1



FOOD D1-16

Summer Eating Guide

Our writers have lots of suggestions on where New Yorkers can satisfy their appetites in the months ahead. PAGE D5

Not Your Dad's Dad Food

The weekend warrior who mans the backyard grill is evolving. So what's the state of fatherly cooking now? PAGE D1

ARTS C1-6

A Long-Delayed Memoir

The poet and activist Rose Styron, 95, had to be talked into finally writing about her very eventful life. PAGE C1

Gliding Among the Artifacts

In Madeline Hollander's "Hydro Parade," 15 dancers stream through the Metropolitan Museum of Art. PAGE C1

OPINION A22-23

Thomas L. Friedman

PAGE A22



JUSTICES SAY NO TO STUDENT LOAN RELIEF

Web Designer Wins Right To Turn Away Gay People

By **ABBIE VANSICKLE** and **ADAM LIPTAK**

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court sided on Friday with a web designer in Colorado who said she had a First Amendment right to refuse to design wedding websites for same-sex couples despite a state law that forbids discrimination against gay people. Justice Neil M. Gorsuch, writing for the majority in a 6-to-3 vote, said that the First Amendment protected the designer, Lorrie Smith, from being compelled to express views she opposed. "A hundred years ago, Ms. Smith might have furnished her services using pen and paper," he wrote. "Those services are no less protected speech today because they are conveyed with a 'voice that resonates farther than it could from any soapbox.'" The case, though framed as a clash between free speech and gay rights, was the latest in a series of decisions in favor of religious people and groups, notably conservative Christians. The decision also appeared to suggest that the rights of L.G.B.T.Q. people, including to same-sex marriage, are on more vulnerable legal footing, particularly when they are at odds with

claims of religious freedom. At the same time, the ruling limited the ability of governments to enforce anti-discrimination laws. The justices split along ideological lines, and the two sides appeared to talk past each other. The majority saw the decision as a victory that safeguarded the First Amendment right of artists to express themselves. The liberal justices viewed it as something else entirely — a dispute that threatened societal protections for gay rights and rolled back some recent progress. In an impassioned dissent, Justice Sonia Sotomayor warned that the outcome signaled a return to a time when people of color and other minority groups faced open discrimination. It was the second time this week that the justice summarized her dissent from the bench, a rare move that signals deep disagreement. Appearing dismayed, Justice Sotomayor spoke for more than 20 minutes. "This case cannot be understood outside of the context in which it arises. In that context, the outcome is even more distressing," she wrote in her dissent. *Continued on Page A13*



Near the Supreme Court on Friday. Nearly 26 million borrowers had applied for debt forgiveness. KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Political Setback Isn't the End, Biden Vows

By **ADAM LIPTAK**

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court ruled on Friday that the Biden administration had overstepped its authority with its plan to wipe out more than \$400 billion in student debt, dashing the hopes of tens of millions of borrowers and imposing new restrictions on presidential power. It was a resounding setback for President Biden, who had vowed to help borrowers "crawl out from under that mountain of debt." More than 45 million people across the country owe \$1.6 trillion in federal loans for college, according to government data, and the proposed debt cancellation, announced by Mr. Biden last summer, would have been one of the most expensive executive actions in U.S. history. The decision, the last of a tumultuous term, was part of a trio of muscular rulings on Thursday and Friday in which the court divided 6 to 3 along partisan lines. In addition to rejecting the loan forgiveness program, the court's conservative majority also sharply limited affirmative action in higher education and dealt a blow to gay rights. The dismissal of the plan intensified pressure on Mr. Biden to try to fulfill a promise to a key constituency as his bid for re-election gets underway, and he made clear in remarks on Friday that he would seize on the ruling as a campaign issue. "Today's decision has closed one path," Mr. Biden said, adding that he had directed his education secretary to examine a different law by which his administration could forgive debt. "Now we're going to pursue another." But the Supreme Court's decision, the latest in a series of rulings curbing presidential power in the absence of clear congressional authorization, limited Mr. Biden's alternatives and suggested that other attempts to address student debt would be met with skepticism at the court. Chief Justice John G. Roberts *Continued on Page A12*

BORROWERS A ruling will leave many parents and students facing financial challenges. **PAGE B1**

Many Yeshivas Breaking Law, City Concludes

By **ELIZA SHAPIRO** and **BRIAN M. ROSENTHAL**

Eighteen private schools run by the Hasidic Jewish community have been breaking the law by not providing their students with an adequate secular education, New York City officials said on Friday. The findings were an extraordinary rebuke of the schools, known as yeshivas, which receive hundreds of millions of dollars in public money annually but have long resisted outside oversight. The determinations about the schools, which offer intensive religious lessons in Yiddish but little instruction in English, math or other secular subjects, marked the first instance of the city concluding that private schools had failed to provide a sufficient education. The move was all the more remarkable because it was made by a city government that has shied away from criticizing the politically influential Hasidic community. And it stemmed from a long-stalled investigation that spanned eight years and two mayoral administrations and was often hobbled by political interference and bureaucratic inertia. If the state Education Department upholds the findings, as is expected, the schools could be required to submit detailed improvement plans and undergo government monitoring. The law, however, does not make clear what consequences the schools might face if they do not commit to improving. A spokesman for the city's Department of Education said in a statement that the agency had performed a "thorough, fair review" of the Hasidic schools. "As always, our goal is to build trust, work with the community, and ensure schools are in compliance with state education law and regulations," the spokesman, Nathaniel Styer, said, adding, "Our goal is to educate children, not to punish the adults." A spokesman for some of the yeshivas, Richard Bamberger, said in a statement that the Hasidic community "rejects the attempt to *Continued on Page A17*

Diversity in Workplace Could Next Face Limits

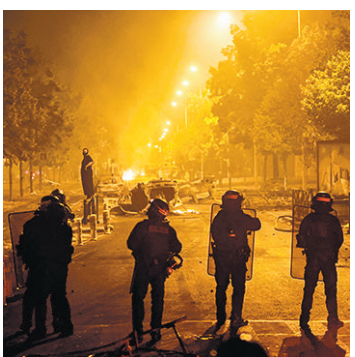
By **NOAM SCHEIBER**

As a legal matter, the Supreme Court's rejection of race-conscious admissions in higher education does not in itself impede employers from pursuing diversity in the workplace. That, at least, is the conclusion of lawyers, diversity experts and political activists across the spectrum — from conservatives who say robust affirmative action programs are already illegal to liberals who argue that they are on firm legal ground. But many experts argue that as a practical matter, the ruling will discourage corporations from putting in place ambitious diversity policies in hiring and promotion — or prompt them to rein in existing policies — by encouraging lawsuits under the existing legal standard.

Companies Might Alter Recruitment Policies to Avoid Lawsuits

After the decision on Thursday affecting college admissions, law firms encouraged companies to review their diversity policies. "I do worry about corporate counsels who see their main job as keeping organizations from getting sued — I do worry about hyper-compliance," said Alvin B. Tillery Jr., director of the Center for the Study of Diversity and Democracy at Northwestern University, who advises employers on diversity policies. Programs to foster the hiring and promotion of African Americans and other minority workers

have been prominent in corporate America in recent years, especially in the reckoning over race after the 2020 murder of George Floyd by a Minneapolis police officer. Even before the ruling in the college cases, corporations were feeling legal pressure over their diversity efforts. Over the past two years, a lawyer representing a free-market group has sent letters to American Airlines, McDonald's and many other corporations demanding that they undo hiring policies that the group says are illegal. The free-market group, the National Center for Public Policy Research, acknowledged that the outcome on Thursday did not bear directly on its fight against affirmative action in corporate America. "Today's decision is not relevant; *Continued on Page A14*



An officer killed a teenager this week, igniting large protests. GONZALO FUENTES/REUTERS

French Police Lack Training On Gun Rules

By **CONSTANT MÉHEUT**

PARIS — For years, French police unions argued that officers should get broader discretion over when to shoot at fleeing motorists. Time and again, lawmakers refused. Finally in 2017, after a string of terrorist attacks, the government relented. Eager to be tough on crime and terrorism, lawmakers passed a bill allowing officers to fire on motorists who flee traffic stops, even when the officers are not in immediate danger. "For politicians, because this was real politics, it was hard to say no," recalled Frédéric Lagache, a leader of the police union Alliance Police who pushed forcefully for the law. Since that law passed, the number of fatal police shootings of motorists has increased sixfold, according to data compiled recently by a team of French researchers and shared with The New York Times. Last year, 13 people were shot dead in their vehicles, a record in a country where police killings are rare. The law has come under fresh scrutiny after a police officer killed a teenage driver during a traffic stop this week, shocking the country and igniting street protests and riots. Several lawmakers have called for a repeal or revision of the law. Union leaders, including those who supported the law, say training on what it permitted was woeful. *Continued on Page A8*

This Broadcast TV Genre Continues to Thrive: GAME SHOWS

By **JOHN KOBLIN**

One by one, as streaming services grow in popularity, old standbys of the TV landscape are falling by the wayside. The number of soap operas, a decades-old linchpin of daytime television, has fallen to a small handful. Hit daytime talk shows — once hosted by the likes of Phil Donahue, Oprah Winfrey and Ellen DeGeneres — are becoming rarer by the year. Late-night shows are dwindling. But one golden oldie is still standing strong: game shows. ABC's lineup this fall is populated by many of them. On CBS, one of the longest-running shows, "The Price Is Right," is getting a new studio. And ratings for "Jeopardy!" and "Wheel of Fortune," tops in the category, are among the most-watched programs in television — at least outside of live sports. Both attract around nine million viewers on a typical night, and generate tens of millions of dollars in profit each year. This week, Sony, the studio behind both "Jeopardy!" and "Wheel of Fortune," gave the genre an emphatic vote of confidence. The company signed Ryan Seacrest, one of television's most recognizable personalities, to a long-term



"Wheel of Fortune" named Ryan Seacrest its host starting next year, when he'll replace Pat Sajak. ERIC MCCANDLESS/ABC, VIA GETTY IMAGES

deal to replace Pat Sajak as the next host of "Wheel of Fortune." The audience for Sony's two shows is, in the words of one executive at a rival studio, "shockingly big." Adam Nedeff, a researcher at the National Archives of Game Show History at the Strong National Museum of Play, said "Wheel of Fortune" "has survived even beyond the wildest expecta-

tions of success." "Wheel of Fortune" remains this giant," said Mr. Nedeff, who is the author of "Game Shows FAQ," a history of the format. "As the TV business changes, and streaming takes over the world, 'Wheel' is one of the things that endures on the old traditional model of TV." Game shows offer two big benefits for executives: They are one

of the least expensive programs to create, in part because many episodes can be filmed in a short period. And they are attractive to the largest demographic group that still consumes traditional television — people 60 and older. The median "Wheel of Fortune" viewer is in the oldest age bracket that Nielsen tracks: "65+." (The *Continued on Page A16*



INTERNATIONAL A4-9
Staying in a Destroyed Town
Avdiivka, Ukraine, had a prewar population of about 30,000. By March, only around 1,700 people remained. **PAGE A6**

Penalty for Election-Fraud Lies
Former President Jair Bolsonaro of Brazil was barred from seeking public office again until 2030. **PAGE A9**

BUSINESS B1-5
Optimism on Wall Street
As companies begin to report earnings and make forecasts, investors are looking for signs of resilience, while executives are playing cautious. **PAGE B1**

Ex-Producer Settles With Fox
Abby Grossman, who was head of booking on "Tucker Carlson Tonight," agreed to a \$12 million payout. **PAGE B5**

ARTS C1-6
'The Tragedy of Cindy'
Decades after Cindy Birdsong was in the Supremes, her family seeks to place her in a conservatorship. **PAGE C1**



NATIONAL A10-17, 20
Interim N.Y.P.D. Leader
Edward Caban, tapped to take over from Keechant L. Sewell, above, is an ally of Mayor Eric Adams. **PAGE A17**

Inmates Face Sweltering Heat
The June heat wave in Texas has been dangerous for those inside prisons, which lack air-conditioning. **PAGE A11**

SPORTS B6-8
Tournament and Jewelry Show
The Boodles, which draws elite players tuning up for Wimbledon, is unlike anything else on the tennis calendar — a Gatsby-like few days on a 300-acre estate outside London. **PAGE B6**

LIV Resists Senate Invitation
Within two weeks of a planned hearing about a deal that could reshape golf, lawmakers are struggling to assemble a witness list, particularly one that includes Greg Norman. **PAGE B7**

OPINION A18-19
David French **PAGE A18**



OBITUARIES B9-10
Comic Actor With Serious Side
A four-time Academy Award nominee, Alan Arkin got laughs on Broadway and in movies, but he also had a flair for drama. He was 89. **PAGE B10**



TRUMP CHARGED WITH 'DESTABILIZING LIES' IN 3 CONSPIRACIES TO OVERTURN HIS DEFEAT



PETE MAROVICH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

In the final days of his presidency, Donald J. Trump spoke to a rally on Jan. 6, 2021, shortly before his followers stormed the Capitol.

Filing Cites 6 Co-Conspirators — Ex-President Now Faces 2 Federal Indictments

By ALAN FEUER and MAGGIE HABERMAN

Former President Donald J. Trump was indicted on Tuesday in connection with his widespread efforts to overturn the 2020 election, following a sprawling federal investigation into his attempts to cling to power after losing the presidency.

The indictment, filed by the special counsel Jack Smith in Federal District Court in Washington, accuses Mr. Trump of three conspiracies: one to defraud the United States; a second to obstruct an official government proceeding, the certification of the Electoral College vote; and a third to deprive people of a civil right, the right to have their votes counted. Mr. Trump was also charged with a fourth count of obstructing or attempting to obstruct an official proceeding.

"Each of these conspiracies — which built on the widespread mistrust the defendant was creating through pervasive and destabilizing lies about election fraud — targeted a bedrock function of the United States federal government: the nation's process of collecting, counting and certifying the results of the presidential election," the indictment said.

The charges signify an extraordinary moment in United States history: a former president, in the midst of a campaign to return to the White House, being charged over attempts to use the levers of government power to subvert democracy and remain in office against the will of voters.

In sweeping terms, the indictment described how Mr. Trump and six co-conspirators employed a variety of means to reverse his defeat in the election almost from the moment that voting ended.

It depicted how Mr. Trump promoted false claims of fraud, sought to bend the Justice Department toward supporting those claims and oversaw a scheme to create false slates of electors pledged to him in states that were actually won by Joseph R. Biden Jr.

And it described how he ultimately pressured his vice president, Mike Pence, to use the fake electors to subvert the certification of the election at a joint session of Congress on Jan. 6, 2021, that was cut short by the violence at the Capitol.

The indictment did not name the alleged co-conspirators, but the descriptions of their behavior match publicly known episodes involving prominent people around Mr. Trump.

The behavior of "Co-conspirator 1" appears to align with that of Rudolph W. Giuliani, Mr. Trump's



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The special counsel Jack Smith filed the indictment Tuesday.

personal lawyer whom he put in charge of efforts to deny the transfer of power after his main campaign lawyers made clear it was over.

Mr. Giuliani's lawyer, Robert J. Costello, acknowledged in a statement that it "appears that Mayor Giuliani is alleged to be co-conspirator No. 1."

The description of "Co-conspirator 2" tracks closely with that of John Eastman, a California law professor who served as the architect of the plan to pressure Mr. Pence.

The co-conspirators could be charged at any point, and their in-

Continued on Page A14

What's at Stake? Essence of American Democracy.

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — In the long annals of the republic, the White House has seen its share of perfidy and scandal, presidents who cheated on their wives and cheated the taxpayers, who abused their power and abused the public trust.

But not since the framers emerged from Independence Hall on that clear, cool day in Philadelphia 236 years ago has any president who was voted out of office been accused of plotting

to hold on to power in an elaborate scheme of deception and intimidation that would lead to violence in the halls of Congress.

What makes the indictment against Donald J. Trump on Tuesday so breathtaking is not that it is the first time a president has been charged with a crime or even the second. Mr. Trump already holds those records.

But as serious as hush money and classified documents may be, this third indictment in four months gets to the heart of the matter, the issue that will define

NEWS ANALYSIS

the future of American democracy.

At the core of the United States of America v. Donald J. Trump is no less than the viability of the system constructed during that summer in Philadelphia. Can a sitting president spread lies about an election and try to employ the authority of the government to overturn the will of the voters without consequence? The question would have been unimaginable just a

few years ago, but the Trump case raises the kind of specter more familiar in countries with histories of coups and juntas and dictators.

In effect, Jack Smith, the special counsel who brought the case, charged Mr. Trump with one of the most sensational frauds in the history of the United States, one "fueled by lies" and animated by the basest of motives, the thirst for power. In a 45-page, four-count indictment, Mr. Smith dispensed with the notion that Mr. Trump be-

Continued on Page A15

COUNT ONE: Conspiracy to Defraud the United States

The Defendant, DONALD J. TRUMP, did knowingly combine, conspire, confederate, and agree with co-conspirators, known and unknown to the Grand Jury, to defraud the United States by using dishonesty, fraud, and deceit to impair, obstruct, and defeat the lawful federal government function by which the results of the presidential election are collected, counted, and certified by the federal government.

COUNT TWO: Conspiracy to Obstruct an Official Proceeding

The Defendant, DONALD J. TRUMP, did knowingly combine, conspire, confederate, and agree with co-conspirators, known and unknown to the Grand Jury, to corruptly obstruct and impede an official proceeding, that is, the certification of the electoral vote.

COUNT THREE: Obstruction of, and Attempt to Obstruct, an Official Proceeding

The Defendant, DONALD J. TRUMP, attempted to, and did, corruptly obstruct and impede an official proceeding, that is, the certification of the electoral vote.

COUNT FOUR: Conspiracy Against Rights

The Defendant, DONALD J. TRUMP, did knowingly combine, conspire, confederate, and agree with co-conspirators, known and unknown to the Grand Jury, to injure, oppress, threaten, and intimidate one or more persons in the free exercise and enjoyment of a right and privilege secured to them by the Constitution and laws of the United States — that is, the right to vote, and to have one's vote counted.

Fear Grips Transgender Russians As War Intensifies a Crackdown

By NEIL MacFARQUHAR and GEORGY BIRGER

Jan Dvorkin had raised and nurtured his adopted son in Moscow for seven years until, one day in May, the Russian authorities notified him they were revoking custody. A woman Mr. Dvorkin knew had filed an official complaint, saying that because he was transgender and gay, he was an unfit parent.

When Mr. Dvorkin asked the woman why she had reported him, she told him he had brought it on himself, and "that I could have easily avoided it by staying in the closet."

He managed to find another family to take the boy, who is deaf, so that the child would not be sent to an orphanage.

Mr. Dvorkin's experience underscores the increasingly repressive treatment gay and transgender people are subjected to across Russia — a hardship that seems certain to grow as the government leverages the war in Ukraine as justification for greater restrictions on L.G.B.T.Q. life.

The latest crackdown came last week when President Vladimir V.



VIA JAN DVORKIN

Jan Dvorkin said that Vladimir Putin "found an easy enemy."

Putin signed a law that criminalized all surgery and hormone treatments used for gender transitions.

That law comes on top of a measure enacted last December prohibiting the representation of L.G.B.T.Q. relationships in any media — streaming services, social platforms, books, music, posters, billboards and film.

Critics, including legal and medical professionals and gay rights activists, view the campaign as an effort to distract from Russia's military failings in Ukraine — by creating a boogeyman it can portray as a threat from a deviant and corrupt West.

Continued on Page A8

Migrants Desperate for Shelter Swamp a City Obligated to Give It

By ANDY NEWMAN

They came from Colombia and Chad, from Burundi, Peru, Venezuela, Madagascar. In New York they had heard there was a haven for immigrants, a place to live and get back on their feet.

When they arrived, they found out that they had heard wrong.

Two, three, four days later, they were still lined up outside the city's migrant intake center at the Roosevelt Hotel, around the corner from Grand Central Terminal — close to 200 people, nearly all men. Sleeping on the sidewalk. Heads resting on book bags, trash bags of belongings by their sides: the visible faces of a system that has officially broken down.

For over a year, record numbers of asylum seekers have arrived in New York from across the globe, nearly doubling the city's homeless population in one huge spasm: More than 100,000 people now live in shelters in the city.

Unlike other American cities, especially in the West, where thousands live in the streets for lack of other options, New York City is legally required to give anyone shelter who asks for it.



DAVID DEE DELGADO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Migrants in line at New York's intake center on Monday.

But now the shelters are full. As the migrants have continued to arrive, the city has built tents, cobble together a vast portfolio of hotels and office buildings turned into housing and given migrants tickets to go elsewhere. It has not been enough. The mayor has called for state and federal help, saying the city is overwhelmed. And officials have also, increasingly, pushed back against the city's legal obligations to shelter homeless people.

Mohammadou Sidiya, 20, from Mauritania in West Africa, stood beside a friend on Tuesday morning. They had traveled for more than a month to get here.

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U.S. to Bring a New Law to Bear On Unchecked Private Gun Sales

By SERGE F. KOVALESKI and GLENN THRUSH

Another school week had just begun at Central Visual and Performing Arts High School in St. Louis when Orlando Harris, armed with a recently purchased AR-15-style rifle and 600 rounds of ammunition, burst into the building with a declaration: "You are all going to die!"

Mr. Harris, a 19-year-old graduate of the school, opened fire that morning in October, killing Alexandria Bell, 15, and Jean Kuczka, a 61-year-old physical education teacher. More than half a dozen others were injured before the police fatally shot the gunman in a third-floor room where he had barricaded himself.

Mr. Harris had struggled with mental health issues so severe that his family had him committed more than once, triggering an automatic rejection on the federal background check system when he tried to purchase a gun at a licensed dealer 16 days before the shooting. But Missouri is one of 29 states that have no background check requirement for private sales. So, Mr. Harris found a weap-



LAURIE SKRIVAN/ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

The mothers of victims in a school shooting in St. Louis.

on by browsing the online site Armslist.

Federal law requires background checks only for purchases made through the approximately 80,000 businesses that sell, ship, import or manufacture weapons licensed through the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives. Unlicensed private sellers, by contrast, can legally sell their wares at gun shows, out of their homes and, increasingly, through online platforms such as Armslist that match buyers with sellers.

The growing digital loophole is causing alarm among gun-control advocates, and some of those

Continued on Page A11



PALESTINIAN MILITANTS STAGE ATTACK ON ISRAEL



SAMAR ABU ELOUF FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

MORNING BARRAGE A group of rockets fired from Gaza City sailed toward Israel.



TSAFIR ABAYOV/ASSOCIATED PRESS

EARLY CASUALTIES Bodies of Israelis killed by militants in the city of Sderot.

Assault Met With Big Strikes on Gaza Cities

By PATRICK KINGSLEY
and ISABEL KERSHNER

JERUSALEM — Israel battled on Saturday to repel one of the broadest invasions of its territory in 50 years after Palestinian militants from Gaza launched an early-morning assault on southern Israel, infiltrating 22 Israeli towns and army bases, kidnapping Israeli civilians and soldiers and firing thousands of rockets toward cities as far away as Jerusalem.

By early evening, the Israeli military said fighting continued in at least five places in southern Israel; multiple Israelis had been abducted and taken to Gaza, including an elderly grandmother; and at least 250 Israelis had been reported dead by officials and more than 1,400 wounded. Israel retaliated with huge strikes on Gazan cities, and the Gaza Health Ministry said at least 234 Palestinians had been killed in either gun battles or airstrikes.

In an assault without recent precedent in its complexity and scale, the militants crossed into Israel by land, sea and air, according to the Israeli military, leading to some of the first pitched battles between Israeli and Arab forces on Israeli soil in decades.

Unverified video footage, circulated by Hamas, the Iran-backed militant group that controls the Gaza Strip, appeared to show some Palestinian gunmen arriving in Israel in a sort of makeshift hang glider.

Residents of Israeli border towns told broadcasters that gunmen were moving door to door, looking for civilians. Unverified footage appeared to show Palestinian fighters transporting captured Israeli civilians and bodies through the strip — to be bargained, analysts said, for Palestinian prisoners.

In Sderot, a southern city, photographs showed dead bodies strewn on the streets. The militants also targeted an all-night dance festival in the desert, prompting hundreds of young Israelis to sprint for safety.

"We are at war and we will win it," Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel said in a televised statement, announcing a call-up of hundreds of thousands of Israeli military reservists.

Continued on Page 12

BLOW TO BIDEN The attacks are likely to slow progress toward an Israel-Saudi deal. PAGE 24



SAMAR ABU ELOUF FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

CARRYING THE DEAD Mourners in Gaza City lifted the body of a slain militant.



MOHAMMED FAYQ ABU MOSTAFA/REUTERS

BREAKING THROUGH Palestinians breaching the border fence with southern Israel.

Migrant Influx Strains Support Of New Yorkers

By JOHN LELAND

Carin Bail said she was walking with a friend in Queens this spring when they stopped to talk with a woman who was holding a baby and crying. The woman had just arrived at a nearby migrant shelter, she explained in Spanish, and her baby would not eat the food there.

Ms. Bail bought the woman baby food and diapers. "What tugged at my heartstrings," she said, "was she had a kid with her." Yet Ms. Bail, who teaches special education and yoga in public school, opposes the migrant shelters, and has spoken at rallies against them. She complained of overcrowding at her school, in Jamaica, Queens, which recently took in 132 students, many of whom do not speak English.

When asked to describe her feelings toward the migrants, she paused. Her own parents immigrated to the United States after the Holocaust, seeking a better life.

"These are human beings who deserve a chance at life and opportunities," she said. "My heart goes out to some of these folks. But then on the flip side, I feel that our government and our leadership have been failing us. There's not one positive outcome that has come from this yet. And it seems like it's just heading toward a downward spiral."

New York has long proclaimed its openness to new arrivals, enshrined in the welcoming words on the Statue of Liberty. But the influx of more than 110,000 migrants in a little more than a year, and the strain on the city's already stretched resources, has called

Continued on Page 18

'The Children Were Terrified': Blasts and Gunmen at the Door

By ISABEL KERSHNER and RAJA ABDULRAHIM

JERUSALEM — Israeli citizens, barricaded in their homes in towns near the Gaza Strip, called into television stations as Palestinian gunmen crossed the border into Israel and invaded their communities on Saturday morning. The Israelis spoke in whispers as they pleaded desperately for help.

One woman named Doreen told Israel's Channel 12 that militants were in her house in Nahal Oz, a small rural community, and that she was hiding in a safe room. "My husband is holding the door of the bomb shelter," she said. "Now they're shooting sprays of bullets at the bomb shelter's window. Sprays. And my three children are here with me."

On the other side of the border in Gaza, Jamila Al-Zanin, 39, tried to distract her own three children as they fled their home and drove south.

"The children were terrified. As we drove down they were looking left and right, everywhere there were explosions and booms," she said. "They were hysterical."

"This is the first time in our history something like this has happened," she added, referring to the Palestinian attack.

Panic, disbelief and fear rippled throughout Israel and Gaza, as Palestinian militants on Saturday morning caught Israel off guard with a broad and coordinated

Continued on Page 13

As Netanyahu Speaks of War, The Question Is, 'What Then?'

By STEVEN ERLANGER

BERLIN — Nearly 50 years to the day after the Yom Kippur war of 1973, Israel has again been taken by surprise by a sudden attack, a startling reminder that stability in the Middle East remains a bloody mirage.

Unlike the series of clashes with Palestinian forces in Gaza over the last three years, this appears to be a full-scale conflict mounted by Hamas and its allies, with rocket barrages and incursions into Israel proper, and with Israelis killed and captured.

The psychological impact on Israelis has been compared to the shock of Sept. 11 in America.

So after the Israeli military repels the initial Palestinian attack, the question of what to do next will loom large. There are few good options for Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who has declared war and is being pressured into a major military response.

Given that 250 Israelis have died so far and an unknown number been taken hostage by Hamas, an Israeli invasion of Gaza — and even a temporary reoccupation of the territory, something that successive Israeli governments have tried hard to avoid — cannot be ruled out.

As Mr. Netanyahu told Israelis
Continued on Page 13



KHASAR SANDAG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Buddhist monks, including the Dalai Lama, believe this boy is the 10th reincarnation of the Bogd.

An 8-Year-Old Boy Gets Thrust Into a Buddhist Power Struggle

By DAVID PIERSON

ULAANBAATAR, Mongolia — The boy had seemed destined for a life of affluence and earthly pursuits. Born into the family behind a major mining conglomerate in Mongolia, he might have been picked to someday lead the company from its steel-and-glass headquarters in the country's capital.

Instead, the 8-year-old is now at the heart of a struggle between the Dalai Lama and the Chinese Communist Party.

He was just a toddler when everything changed. On a visit to a vast monastery in the capital city of Ulaanbaatar, known for a towering Buddha statue gilded in

gold, his father brought him and his twin brother into a room where they and seven other boys were given a secret test.

The children were shown a table strewn with religious objects. Some of them refused to leave their parents' sides. Others were drawn to the colorful candy that had been placed as distractions. This boy, A. Altannar, was different. He picked out a set of prayer beads and put it around his neck. He rang a bell used for meditation. He walked over to a monk in the room and playfully climbed on his legs.

"These were very special
Continued on Page 10

INTERNATIONAL 4-13

A Firearms Debate in London

Officers in London have put their guns down in protest over a murder charge and public criticism of the power wielded by armed police. PAGE 8

SUNDAY STYLES

Human Resources, for Plants

People who have eschewed careers in fields like fashion and design are caring for thousands of corporate plants in New York, one leaf at a time. PAGE 10

SUNDAY BUSINESS

When the Narrative Falters

With his new book about the crypto mogul Sam Bankman-Fried, the writer Michael Lewis is finding himself under a microscope. PAGE 4

ARTS & LEISURE

A New Stage of Adolescence

"Hell's Kitchen," a musical inspired by the singer-songwriter Alicia Keys's teenage years in New York, is set to open Off Broadway. PAGE 6

SUNDAY OPINION

Pamela Paul

PAGE 6



EFFORTLESS COMFORT

Introducing new Skechers Hands Free Slip-ins. Putting on your shoes has never been easier. No bending over. No pulling them on. No hassles.

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JENN ACKERMAN AND TIM GRUBER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Corn harvest near Cairo, Neb. Corn is a water-intensive crop and it can take hundreds of gallons to produce a single gallon of ethanol.

ISRAELIS SAW PLAN FOR HAMAS ATTACK OVER A YEAR AGO

Officials Brushed Off Detailed Blueprint, Concluding It Couldn't Be Done

By RONEN BERGMAN and ADAM GOLDMAN

TEL AVIV — Israeli officials obtained Hamas's battle plan for the Oct. 7 terrorist attack more than a year before it happened, documents, emails and interviews show. But Israeli military and intelligence officials dismissed the plan as aspirational, considering it too difficult for Hamas to carry out.

leaks inside the Israeli security establishment.

The approximately 40-page document, which the Israeli authorities code-named "Jericho Wall," outlined, point by point, exactly the kind of devastating invasion that led to the deaths of about 1,200 people.

The document circulated widely among Israeli military and intelligence leaders, but experts determined that an attack of that scale and ambition was beyond Hamas's capabilities, according to documents and officials. It is unclear whether Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu or other top political leaders saw the document, as well.

The translated document, which was reviewed by The New York Times, did not set a date for the attack, but described a methodical assault designed to overwhelm the fortifications around the Gaza Strip, take over Israeli cities and storm key military bases, including a division headquarters.

Last year, shortly after the document was obtained, officials in the Israeli military's Gaza division, which is responsible for defending the border with Gaza, said that Hamas's intentions were unclear.

Hamas followed the blueprint with shocking precision. The document called for a barrage of rockets at the outset of the attack, drones to knock out the security cameras and automated machine guns along the border, and gunmen to pour into Israel en masse in paragliders, on motorcycles and on foot — all of which happened on Oct. 7.

"It is not yet possible to determine whether the plan has been fully accepted and how it will be manifested," read a military assessment reviewed by The Times.

Then, in July, just three months Continued on Page A9



SERGEY PONOMAREV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES Smoke rising in Gaza City, seen from Kfar Azza, Israel.

Water Supply Perils Undercut Promise of Corn-Powered Aircraft

This article is by Max Bearak, Dionne Searcey and Mira Rovanasakul.

Vast stretches of America are dominated by corn, nearly 100 million acres of it, stretching from Ohio to the Dakotas. What once was forest or open prairie today produces the corn that feeds people, cattle and, when made into ethanol, cars.

Their ambitious goals would likely require nearly doubling ethanol production, which airlines say would slash their greenhouse gas emissions. If they succeed it could transform America's Corn Belt yet again, boosting farmers and ethanol producers alike, but also potentially further damaging one of the nation's most important resources: groundwater.

UNCHARTED WATERS

Hidden Risks of a Renewable Fuel

the idea of ethanol, prompting lobbyists for ethanol makers and corn growers alike to push for clean-energy tax credits in Washington, vital aquifers face serious risks.

Broberg, who is concerned about groundwater in Minnesota, a major corn state, where he is a water-use consultant and founder of the Minnesota Well Owners Organization.

United Airlines this year signed a deal with a Nebraska ethanol company to buy enough sustainable aviation fuel, as the biofuel is known, to power 50,000 flights a year. In August, Delta announced a plan to create a sustainable fuel hub in Minnesota, a major corn

"We're on track to massively increase water usage without any real sense of how sensitive our aquifers are," said Jeffrey

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Biden Proposal Would Rid U.S. Of Lead Pipes

By CORAL DAVENPORT

The Biden administration is proposing new restrictions that would require the removal of virtually all lead water pipes across the country in an effort to prevent another public health catastrophe like the one that came to define Flint, Mich.

The proposal on Thursday from the Environmental Protection Agency would impose the strictest limits on lead in drinking water since federal standards were first set 30 years ago. It would affect about nine million pipes that snake throughout communities across the country.

"This is the strongest lead rule that the nation has ever seen," Radhika Fox, the E.P.A.'s assistant administrator for water, said in an interview. "This is historic progress."

Digging up and replacing lead pipes from coast to coast is no small undertaking. The E.P.A. estimates the price at \$20 billion to \$30 billion over the course of a decade. The rule would require the nation's utilities — and most likely their ratepayers — to absorb most of that cost, but \$15 billion is available from the 2021 infrastructure law to help them pay for it.

Tom Dobbins, the chief executive of the Association of Metropolitan Water Agencies, said his members would need both technical help and more financial assistance from the federal government to comply with the proposed regulations. He urged the E.P.A. to "focus on providing drinking water systems with the resources and Continued on Page A13

HENRY A. KISSINGER, 1923-2023

Refugee From Nazis, He Shaped World History

By DAVID E. SANGER

Henry A. Kissinger, the scholar-turned-diplomat who engineered the United States' opening to China, negotiated its exit from Vietnam, and used cunning, ambition and intellect to remake American power relationships with the Soviet Union at the height of the Cold War, sometimes trampling on democratic values to do so, died on Wednesday at his home in Kent, Conn. He was 100.

His death was announced in a statement by his consulting firm.

Few diplomats have been both celebrated and reviled with such passion as Mr. Kissinger. Considered the most powerful secretary of state in the post-World War II era, he was by turns hailed as an ultrarealist who reshaped diplomacy to reflect American interests and denounced as having abandoned American values, particularly in the arena of human rights, if he thought it served the nation's purposes.

He advised 12 presidents — more than a quarter of those who have held the office — from John F. Kennedy to Joseph R. Biden Jr. With a scholar's understanding of diplomatic history, a German-Jewish refugee's drive to succeed in his adopted land, a deep well of insecurity and a lifelong Bavarian accent that sometimes added an indecipherable element to his pronouncements, he transformed almost every global relationship he touched.

At a critical moment in American history and diplomacy, he was second in power only to President Richard M. Nixon. He joined the

This is the full version of the abridged obituary that ran in some Thursday editions.



SAUL LOEB/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Henry A. Kissinger, the most powerful secretary of state of the postwar era, sought to strike and maintain balances of power.

Nixon White House in January 1969 as national security adviser and, after his appointment as secretary of state in 1973, kept both titles, a rarity. When Nixon resigned, he stayed on under President Gerald R. Ford.

Mr. Kissinger's secret negotiations with what was then still called Red China led to Nixon's

most famous foreign policy accomplishment. Intended as a decisive Cold War move to isolate the Soviet Union, it carved a pathway for the most complex relationship on the globe, between countries that at Mr. Kissinger's death were the world's largest (the United States) and second-largest economic

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Wounded in Bodies and Minds, Freed Hostages Recount Ordeals

This article is by Katherine Rosman, Emma Bubola, Rachel Abrams and Russell Goldman.

Some of the hostages were held in sweltering tunnels deep beneath Gaza, while others were squeezed into tight quarters with strangers or confined in isolation. There were children forced to appear in hostage videos, and others forced to watch gruesome footage of Hamas's Oct. 7 terrorist attack. They bore physical and psychological wounds.

features that corroborate one another and suggest that Hamas and its allies planned to take hostages.

As some hostages captured that day in the Hamas-led assault on southern Israel have been released, they have relayed these and other stories of their captivity to family members. While their individual experiences differ in some details, their accounts share

The New York Times interviewed the family members of 10 freed hostages, who spoke on behalf of their relatives to relay sensitive information.

The relatives who spoke to The Times described how the freed hostages, many of them children, were deprived of adequate food while in Gaza. Many said they had received just a single piece of bread per day for weeks. Others were fed small portions of rice, or pieces of cheese. The Red Cross said it was denied access to the hostages.

Many of the hostages who have returned to Israel in the past week — part of a cease-fire deal Continued on Page A8

'Mistake' in Tell-All Reignites Royal Racism Furor in Britain

By MARK LANDLER

LONDON — As book rollouts go, the one for Omid Scobie's latest offering about the British royal family, "Endgame," has been a hot mess — splashy, gaudy, tantalizing but ultimately a bit withholding — which is to say, par for the course for a putative tell-all account of the world's most covered, least decoded family.

expressed concerns about the skin color of the unborn child of Prince Harry and his wife, Meghan.

The withholding part involves an unconfirmed, thoroughly radioactive nugget that turned up in the Dutch edition of Mr. Scobie's book, published on Tuesday: the identity of two members of the royal family who once reportedly

Mr. Scobie's Dutch publisher, Xander, quickly withdrew the book from shelves and online sites in the Netherlands at the behest of the author and his agent, citing an unspecified "mistake" that it said would be corrected in time for the book to go back on sale on Dec. 8. The family members are not identified in either the British or American editions, which were published by imprints of Harper- Continued on Page A11

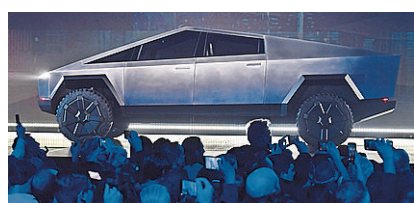
BUSINESS B1-6

State Returns to Mining Roots

North Carolina, after decades of stagnation, is riding a lithium rush fostered by demand for car batteries. PAGE B1

Cybertruck Debut Arrives

Tesla began delivering its highly anticipated electric pickup on Thursday, two years behind schedule. PAGE B1



INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Climate Summit in Petrostate

Activists have balked at the fact that a leading oil producer, the U.A.E., is hosting the U.N. climate talks. PAGE A4

Russia's Gay Rights Crackdown

A declaration by the Supreme Court that the movement is "extremist" could threaten L.G.B.T.Q. people. PAGE A10

SPORTS B7-11

A Very Early Mock Draft

Who goes first in the April N.F.L. draft, Drake Maye or Caleb Williams? Who gets Marvin Harrison Jr.? Any defensive players in the Top 10? PAGE B9

NATIONAL A12-25

Biden's Ties to India Tested

An alleged assassination plot illustrates how complicated it can be for U.S. presidents to balance their relationships with deeply imperfect allies. PAGE A19

G.O.P. Battles Civics Education

Virginia, Florida and South Dakota's new standards focus on patriotism, Christianity and anti-communism. But current events? Not allowed. PAGE A12

Pope's Patience Is Running Out

Vatican observers see a leader more willing to crack down on critics seeking to derail his agenda for the Roman Catholic Church. PAGE A13

WEEKEND ARTS C1-16

A Procrastinator? Big Time.

After 21 years, Peter Gabriel has a new album. "I kept making music, but I didn't get to finishing stuff," he said. PAGE C1

Making Their Moves

A stage version of a J.M. Coetzee novel set amid a South African war includes both actors and puppets. PAGE C1



OBITUARIES B12-13

Frontman for the Pogues

Shane MacGowan, who romanticized whiskey-soaked rambles and hard-luck stories of emigration, was 65. PAGE B13

An On-the-Fly Photographer

Larry Fink captured society figures, boxers, musicians and his neighbors in rural America. He was 82. PAGE B12

OPINION A26-27

Ben Rhodes

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