

ICE Raid Sends Mixed Message To South Korea

U.S. Seeks Investment but Arrests Workers

This article is by Jim Lynn, Lydia DePillis, Rick Rojas, Farah Stockman and Sean Keenan.

ELLABELL, Ga. — A stretch of rural southeast Georgia, just outside Savannah, has been transforming rapidly in recent years, as a plan to create a massive manufacturing hub capable of producing nearly half a million vehicles per year has come to fruition.

The complex has embodied the ambitions of South Korean automakers wanting to compete in the U.S. market. It has also been a crowning achievement in a long campaign by Georgia officials to draw Korean investment. Until recently, crews had been busy building the latest piece of that effort, a plant making batteries for electric vehicles.

But that vision has become clouded by uncertainty after federal immigration authorities raided the plant on Thursday, halting construction. Nearly 500 workers — many of them South Korean citizens — were arrested.

The raids, described by government officials as the largest Homeland Security enforcement operation at a single site, have exposed growing strain that reaches from Seoul to Washington and even a small, unincorporated community like Ellabell, Ga., where the plant is being built.

South Korea, an enthusiastic trading partner, expressed frustration with the United States. Within the Trump administration, the arrests have revealed competing interests, as a push by the president to expand U.S. manufacturing has collided with his aggressive crackdown on immigration. And in Ellabell and the surrounding area, the raids have revealed conflicting emotions about

Continued on Page A16



KARAN DEEP SINGH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Planting 15 Million Trees in India

To fight deforestation and extreme heat in Vijayapura, a major government project distributed and sustained millions of saplings over the past decade, turning the once arid region green. Page A6.

U.S. Volunteers See 2nd Chance In Ukraine War

By ANDREW E. KRAMER

KHARKIV REGION, Ukraine — In the open bed of a pickup truck, half a dozen soldiers were bouncing along a country road in eastern Ukraine when one of them yelled, "Drone!" They all opened fire with their rifles, yet hitting the tiny, swerving speck carrying death was all but impossible.

Buzzing in fast, within seconds it was only about a yard away. In that moment, captured on a helmet camera on a crystalline spring day, the soldiers seemed doomed. In a desperate act of self-defense, one of them, an American, Pvt. Zachary Miller, hurled his empty rifle at the drone — and missed, he said in an interview.

They may never know why, but at the last moment, it veered away, sparing them. "Yes! Yes! Yes!" the soldiers shouted, in English, in the video, which was later posted online by the Ukrainian military.

The flow of American volunteers like Private Miller serving in the Ukrainian military dwindled but never stopped after the initial wave that followed the Russian invasion in 2022. Independent estimates of the number of Americans volunteering since 2022 have varied widely, from more than 1,000 to several thousand. The Ukrainian military does not release figures.

But over time, the makeup of American volunteers has shifted, with higher proportions of people who have no military background, are older or are U.S. veterans seeking to restart military careers closed off to them at home be-

Continued on Page A8



BEN SOLOMON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Roaring Back to No. 1

Carlos Alcaraz won the U.S. Open on Sunday, using a superior serve to overcome Jannik Sinner. Alcaraz's second Open crown put him atop the world rankings. Coverage at nytimes.com/athletic.

By Age 25, Fighting Cancer Instead of Wildfires

By HANNAH DREIER

Joel Eisiminger was racing to save homes in Northern California from a fast-spreading wildfire when a crewmate noticed that one side of his face was suddenly drooping so much that his mouth hung open.

In his six years fighting fires, Joel had tumbled down burning hills, endured full-body rashes from poison oak and inhaled plumes of smoke that left him

Left Without Insurance or Illness Benefits

gasping for weeks. But he had never felt as bad as he did on this morning in July 2024. He didn't want to let down his crew, so he kept working deep in the forest until a medic told him to get to a hospital. He might have had a stroke.

As the doctors ran tests, Joel grew sicker. Within days, he was too exhausted to walk. On the eve of his 25th birthday, he received a diagnosis: acute myeloid leukemia, an aggressive, often fatal blood cancer that usually strikes people more than twice his age. Joel told the doctors he was not a regular smoker and had no family history of blood cancers. But he did have one risk factor: his job.

Continued on Page A18

Trump's Name Is on Projects He Opposed

By RICHARD FAUSSET

In southern Connecticut, the federal government is replacing a 118-year-old bridge along America's busiest rail corridor. The \$1.3 billion project was largely funded by the 2021 infrastructure law that was championed by then-President Joseph R. Biden Jr. — and strenuously opposed by Donald J. Trump.

These days, however, motorists cruising by the construction site might be forgiven for thinking that a certain famous New York developer was responsible for it all.

"PRESIDENT DONALD J. TRUMP" a sign by the road declares. "REBUILDING AMERICA'S INFRASTRUCTURE."

In recent months, a number of similar signs have popped up in front of major infrastructure projects financed by the bipartisan 2021 legislation, a \$1.2 trillion package that Mr. Trump, who left office in January of that year, had passionately railed against. He called the bill "a loser for the U.S.A.," and warned that Republican lawmakers who signed on could be thrown out of office by angry primary voters. "Patriots will never forget!" he wrote.

The signs bearing Mr. Trump's name now adorn bridge projects in Connecticut and Maryland; rail-yard improvement projects in Seattle, Boston and Philadelphia; and the replacement of a tunnel on Amtrak's route between Baltimore and Washington, according to W. Kyle Anderson, a spokesman

Continued on Page A13



LEAH MILLIS/REUTERS

A Banksy-like banner showing a sandwich-wielding protester.

The New Front Of Resistance: Grand Juries

By ALAN FEUER

In the three weeks since President Trump flooded the streets of Washington with hundreds of troops and federal agents, there have been only a few scattered protests and scarcely a word from Congress, which has quietly gone along with the deployment.

But one show of resistance has come from an extraordinary source: federal grand jurors.

In what could be read as a citizens' revolt, ordinary people serving on grand juries have repeatedly refused in recent days to indict their fellow residents who became entangled in either the president's immigration crackdown or his more recent show of force. It has happened in at least seven cases — including three times for the same defendant.

Given the secretive nature of grand juries, it is all but impossible to know exactly how many

Continued on Page A14



INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Saint for the Modern Age

Nicknamed God's influencer, Carlo Acutis, who died at age 15, used technology to express his faith. PAGE A11

Signs of Tyranny Linger

In Syria, those now in control say they are ending rule by fear. But concerns over sectarianism remain. PAGE A4

NATIONAL A12-19

A Police Officer's Descent

The cause of troubling behavioral changes became clear only after his brain was examined by a C.T.E. research center after death. PAGE A12

Central Park's Eek Factor

Rat sightings are declining citywide, but such statistics belie reports of invasions in several playgrounds. PAGE A17

OBITUARIES A20-21

Managed Mets to Title in 1986

Davey Johnson had a long playing career and was seen as one of baseball's brainier characters. He was 82. PAGE A20



SPORTS D1-7

Bears Quarterback's New Start

Caleb Williams can't forget his heart-breaking last season, but he can learn from it under a new coach. PAGE D1

Stepping Up Under Pressure

Aryna Sabalenka won her second straight U.S. Open singles title after a season filled with near misses. PAGE D6

BUSINESS B1-5

Less Yearning Until Earning

Money can't buy love, but it can help. A pair of linked studies found that, at higher incomes, people were more prepared, and more likely, to end up in a relationship. PAGE B1

Betting on Big-Box Stores

Executives at Krispy Kreme, the struggling doughnut maker, are racing to boost revenues, and to stay true to its brand of serving fresh products, as sales slump and shares tumble. PAGE B1

OPINION A22-23

David French

PAGE A23



ARTS C1-6

Dancing's What She Loves

Tate McRae won fame as a dancer before she began her music career, and the Miss Possessive tour shows that she has certainly not lost a step. PAGE C1



0 354613 9

Inside The Times

The New York Times

A.G. SULZBERGER
Publisher

Founded in 1851

ADOLPH S. OCHS
Publisher 1896-1935

ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER
Publisher 1935-1961

ORVIL E. DRYFOOS
Publisher 1961-1963

NEWS

JOSEPH KAHN
Executive Editor

MARC LACEY
Managing Editor

CAROLYN RYAN
Managing Editor

SAM DOLNICK
Deputy Managing Editor

MONICA DRAKE
Deputy Managing Editor

STEVE DUENES
Deputy Managing Editor

MATTHEW ERICSON
Assistant Managing Editor

JONATHAN GALINSKY
Assistant Managing Editor

PATRICK HEALY
Assistant Managing Editor

HANNAH POFERL
Assistant Managing Editor
and Chief Data Officer

SAM SIFTON
Assistant Managing Editor

KARRON SKOG
Assistant Managing Editor

MICHAEL SLACKMAN
Assistant Managing Editor

JIM YARDLEY
Assistant Managing Editor

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER
Publisher 1963-1992

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER JR.
Publisher 1992-2017

OPINION

KATHLEEN KINGSBURY
Opinion Editor

BUSINESS

MEREDITH KOPIT LEVINE
Chief Executive Officer

WILLIAM T. BARDEEN
Chief Financial Officer

DIANE BRAYTON
Chief Legal Officer

JACQUELINE M. WELCH
Chief Human Resources Officer

R. ANTHONY BENTEN
Chief Accounting Officer, Treasurer

ALEXANDRA HARDIMAN
Chief Product Officer

DAVID S. PERPICH
Publisher, The Athletic

JOY ROBINS
Global Chief Advertising Officer

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

JASON SOBEL
Chief Technology Officer

HANNAH YANG
Chief Growth and Customer Officer

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

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

Submit a Letter to the Editor
letters@nytimes.com

Manage Your Subscription
nytimes.com/account

Contact Customer Care
nytimes.com/contactus
or call 1-800-698-4637

The Newspaper and Beyond

TODAY'S PAPER

Crossword C3

Obituaries A20-21

Opinion A22-23

Weather B6

Classified Ads D7



TRAVEL

Tour the former residence of Salvador Dalí, go hiking on a seaside trail and dine on traditional Catalan cuisine in Costa Brava, the “wild coast” region along Spain’s northeastern corner. Get a 36-hour itinerary at nytimes.com/travel.

LIST

Critics and editors at The Times shared six new books they recommend, including the historical fiction “Buckeye” by Patrick Ryan and the dazzlingly weird “Trip” by Amie Barrodale. nytimes.com/books

COOKING

Shrimp is a hero in the kitchen, with the range to make fast and fancy dishes perfect for both busy nights and special events. Check out an updated list of The New York Times Cooking’s best shrimp recipes. nytimes.com/food

Quote of the Day

“We confirm these people, we go through a lot of work to get them confirmed, and they’re in office a month?”

SENATOR JOHN THUNE, Republican of South Dakota and the majority leader, expressing unhappiness after President Trump fired a litany of agency leaders. Page A1.

The Story Behind the Story



MARÍA JESÚS CONTRERAS

It’s Not an Obligation. It’s ‘On Offer.’

We spend a lot of time thinking of why we shouldn’t do things. What if we decided to default to yes?

By MELISSA KIRSCH

Last week, true to my vow to continue engaging in summer activities until the equinox, I picked raspberries and flowers at a farm under the impossibly clear September sky. I was joined by my friend Aliza. I knew Aliza would be up for the outing because she operates on a certain policy: If something is “on offer,” you should avail yourself of it.

Of course, berry picking is not a hard sell. But I’ve been observing the way decision-making becomes simpler if you default to accepting what’s on offer: taking the slice of pie, staying out just a bit later, stopping at the strange little fair you happened to drive past. All tiny things one could easily decline, and all things with the potential for pleasure.

We spend a lot of time hemming and

hawing, coming up with reasons we shouldn’t do things, even things that fall under the rubric of “Things We’d Probably Enjoy.” We decide not to try the dance class, afraid of looking foolish. We skip the picnic because we don’t know any of the people going. We consider the downsides and decide to stick with what’s familiar.

As much as I try to be a “yes person,” I have an unfortunate talent for turning opportunities into obligations. “It’s on offer” is such a gentle (and British) way of considering what’s available. I might decide I am, in fact, too tired or not interested in whatever’s on offer, but I’m examining the opportunity as an option, a gift, an offering — not viewing it as a problem.

“I think it’s a protection against regret, or too much judgment — often my go-to feelings,” Aliza said when I asked her about her position. She reminded me of a day this summer when we were wandering around a town we’d never been to and came upon a run-down winery. A guy with a guitar was belting some off-key Jimmy Buffett covers on the patio. Should we stop and try some

suspiciously inexpensive rosé? It was on offer! The wine was not great, but that wasn’t the point. By taking what was on offer, we took a departure. What could have been an otherwise unmemorable day was made indelible.

One should not, it’s worth noting, be doctrinaire about taking every single thing that’s on offer. Breadth of experience can come at the expense of depth, and what’s on offer could end up being expensive, or dangerous. I’m thinking of “take what’s on offer” as a default that can be overridden. It feels of a piece with a question I’ve taken to asking myself when I’m worried about something: “What if it all works out?” This is my attempt to shift my thinking from worst-case scenarios to best- or better-case ones. Being open to what’s on offer is similarly optimistic. This stand-up comedian could be terrible, this party could be boring, this offering could be one I will wish I’d refused. But it could also be great.

This essay was published in the Morning newsletter. [Subscribe at nytimes.com/themorning](https://nytimes.com/themorning).

Today’s Top Trending Headlines

▶ **South Korea Negotiates Release of Korean Workers Detained in Georgia Raid** The South Korean government said it would send a charter plane to retrieve hundreds of workers arrested by U.S. immigration authorities in Georgia. The raid unsettled South Korea and had stoked days of tensions between the nations. “We will not let our guard down until we have our people safely back home,” said Kang Hoon-sik, a South Korean official. Choe Sang-Hun reported from Seoul.

▶ **Why Are More Older People Dying After Falls?** Fall-related mortality among Americans over 65 has more than tripled over the last 30 years. The culprit, according to Dr. Thomas Farley, an epidemiologist, is Americans’ reliance on prescription drugs; geriatricians and others who research falls and prescribing practices say there are alternative explanations. Paula Span wrote about the trend in The New Old Age, a column on the challenges posed by a rapidly aging population.

▶ **Man Is Identified 52 Years After He Vanished, Bringing ‘Rest’ to His Sisters** In 1973, at the age of 22, Eric Singer left his home in Ohio on a bicycle, never to be seen again. More than 50 years after last seeing him, his older sister, Ruth Singer, got a phone call: Advances in DNA investigations had made it possible to link partial remains, found years earlier, to her brother. “We were able to put him to rest and put ourselves to rest,” his sister Merry Singer Lugas said.

▶ **Opinion | Help! I’ve Become a Helicopter Parent to My Dog.** Rachel Feintzeig recently signed her youngest up for swim lessons, and she’s been carpooling to the good day care two towns over — not for her human children, but for her Australian labradoodle puppy, Sally. She initially scoffed at her friends’ advice about canine boarding school and human-grade, shipped-to-your-door dog food. But now? “Parent-hood makes hypocrites of us all,” she wrote.

A Headline From History

OVERNIGHT IDOL, INSTANT DIVA

September 8, 2002. Days after winning the first season of “American Idol,” a 20-year-old Kelly Clarkson was adjusting to a busy schedule of press and promotion. The Times wrote in a profile of the “Texas waitress turned singer.” Ms. Clarkson’s inaugural victory on the summer-long show had been viewed by 23 million people, and she would soon release a single and CD. “You know, I’m not searching for fame. I never was,” she said, adding, “I am just really excited to get into the music.” Ms. Clarkson’s debut single “A Moment Like This” topped the charts, and in 2003, her first studio album, “Thankful,” debuted at No. 1 on the Billboard 200. Today, Ms. Clarkson is a Grammy-winning singer-songwriter and the host of “The Kelly Clarkson Show,” an Emmy-winning daytime talk series. She also appears as a coach on the music competition show “The Voice.” This summer, “Songs & Stories with Kelly Clarkson,” a four-part interview and music special hosted by Ms. Clarkson, premiered on NBC and Peacock. The final episode of “Songs & Stories” will air tomorrow, Sept. 9, on NBC.

Facts of Interest

At a factory in the Bronx, making a Krispy Kreme doughnut involves precision timing: Flour, yeast, water and other ingredients are mixed for 14 minutes. Doughnut rings rise for 35 minutes, then spend 110 seconds in an oil fryer.

Krispy Kreme Is Betting on Big-Box Stores to Stay Fresh B1

Each rendition of Carrie Underwood's "Sunday Night Football" anthem includes a customized lyric to highlight the upcoming matchup. This season, she recorded at least 80 permutations of the four-second line for NBC's 18 Sunday night games.

Customizing Song Lyrics for the N.F.L. C1

Vijayapura, a historic district in India's southern state of Karnataka, has planted and sustained more than 15 million trees over the last decade.

How a Deforested District in India Came Together to Plant 15 Million Trees A6

By trade group estimates, there are over 270,000 tennis courts and 68,000 pickleball courts in the United States. Thousands of tennis courts have given way to, or now share space with, pickleball courts.

It's the Sport That Ate Tennis Courts D4

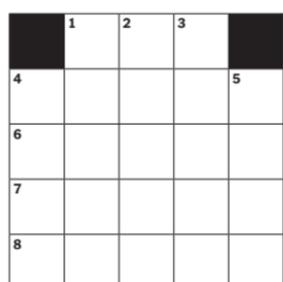
As a young dancer, Tate McRae's signature move was the contemporary "tilt," an extension of the leg so high her torso had to lean to the side to make room for it.

A Singer Puts Dance Front and Center C1

In New York, rat complaints to 311 were down 17 percent in the first eight months of 2025 compared with the same period last year.

Rats Hiding in Strollers! Rats Under The Benches! Rats Running Over Feet! A17

The Mini Crossword



9/8/2025 BY TRACY BENNETT
EDITED BY JOEL FAGLIANO

ACROSS

- Music purchases of the '90s and early 2000s
- Eco-conscious diaper option
- Styles of singing?
- Invite to one's loft, say
- What "yellow" and "mellow" do

DOWN

- What yellow and purple do, some say
- Like many an endearing goofball
- Play, as a guitar
- Burn slightly
- Overblown promotion

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

R	O	C	K
J	O	L	I
A	L	I	V
D	E	V	I
E	X	E	C



ANASTASIA MELIKHOVA

Reader Corner

Tiny Love Stories

Tiny Love Stories, a Modern Love project, asks contributors to share their epic love stories in 100 words or fewer. Read one edited Tiny Love Story below.



At 4, my nephew, Jahan, already a seasoned foodie, smiled after eating a beautiful jerk-chicken meal prepared by his grandmother (my mother) and said, "Grandma, you are the best cooker." Thirty years later, my mother, Hazeline, age 94 and living with Alzheimer's disease, leaned against the kitchen counter while eating a slice of my freshly baked pound cake. With a glint in her eyes and in a soft, sweet voice, she said to me, her primary caregiver, "You are the best cooker." Perhaps she remembered her grandson's words, or perhaps it was coincidence. Regardless, the torch has been proudly passed.

— JENNIFER H. MONAGHAN

On the Scene

Sharing Key Insights Into a Reporting Project



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

North Korea's leader, Kim Jong-un, meeting with President Trump in Vietnam in 2019.

In 2019, a top secret Navy SEAL mission into North Korea, greenlit by President Trump, went haywire, leaving unarmed North Koreans dead. An article by Dave Philipps and Matthew Cole, published in yesterday's pages, revealed how the operation fell apart. Patrick Healy, an assistant managing editor, explains why The Times covered the story.

This story, about a classified Navy SEAL mission in North Korea in 2019 intended to help Americans in high-level nuclear talks, has never been told. National security reporting like this is in the public interest.

These missions often remain shielded by secrecy laws, leaving most Americans with no way to know about major actions that influence national security and may have an impact on their lives.

The Times proceeds cautiously when reporting on classified military operations. We withheld some sensitive information that could affect future Special Operations and intelligence missions.

The reporters interviewed two dozen current and former U.S. officials familiar with the mission. Officials said they were discussing classified details because the mission highlights a problem that plagues Special Operations.

That problem is that these missions require extreme care and precision but are exceptionally vulnerable to failure. Some are big successes; others go wrong. There is often little public accountability.

Read the article "How a Top Secret SEAL Team 6 Mission Into North Korea Fell Apart" at nytimes.com/us.

Here to Help

Vanessa Friedman Answers Your Style Questions



The U.S. flag code sets guidelines for proper and respectful display of the flag. Among the guidelines is that it should not be used as an article of clothing. So is it not wrong for Secretary of Defense Pete Hegseth to wear flag-themed accessories? LEE, ATTLEBORO, MA.

There is no question that the flag is the fashion muse of the current administration. Its color scheme has become the de facto everyday uniform of the president (blue suit, white shirt, red tie), along with many members of the cabinet as well as Republicans in Congress. But, as you point out, no one has taken it to Mr. Hegseth's extreme, with flag-print pocket squares, socks and ties.

In an interview with the conservative political commentator Benny Johnson, Mr. Hegseth said that he abided by the "three-flag rule," a self-created edict to wear at least three flag items a day.

This makes a certain amount of sense in the context of the Trump administration, where performance and costume are crucial parts of the package. However, you are correct in noting that the U.S. flag code theoretically prohibits the wearing of the flag, with the exception of a flag pin over the heart.

According to Section 8(d) of the code, "The flag should never be used as wearing apparel, bedding or drapery." Subsection (i) is even more specific: "It should not be embroidered on such articles as cushions or handkerchiefs." And (j) states, "No part of the flag should ever be used as a costume or athletic uniform."

That might suggest that the newly-christened Secretary of War should at the very least eschew his pocket hankies. The idea of blowing one's nose in the flag is not a great look and probably not the image he intends.

When asked, Kingsley Wilson, the Pentagon press secretary, dismissed the question and emailed, in part: "If loving one's country enough to represent it head to toe is a crime, then consider Secretary Hegseth guilty. He is a patriot who reveres this country and our flag."

More pertinently, said Susan Scafidi, the founder of the Fashion Law Institute at Fordham University, "a series of Supreme Court cases have established that First Amendment free-speech protections outweigh laws that attempt to prohibit desecration of the flag, including by wearing it."

This is also true, she said in an email, for the use of the flag in retail fashion, "whether Ralph Lauren's classic sweaters — the ones worn by the U.S. Olympic team — or Willy Chavarria's critical 'Falling Stars' version: upside down, a recognized distress symbol, with the stars falling out."

In other words, it may seem flippant and frivolous to wear the flag as a souvenir tee, but the issue is one of morality and semiology, not legality.

And whether the look is meant, or received, as a gesture of substantive patriotism or a way of reducing the country to the superficial, and easily abandoned, level of decoration, the fact that the confusion exists at all is a freedom worth celebrating.

Every week in the Open Thread newsletter, The Times's chief fashion critic, Vanessa Friedman, answers a reader's fashion-related question. Sign up for Open Thread at nytimes.com/newsletters.



All we need is *love*.

The Gemstone Hearts Collection
In 18K Gold or Sterling Silver

MONICA RICH KOSANN

Please call 866.598.2784 or Visit Us at
MONICARICHKOSANN.COM

Fact-checking and editing every story.

We prioritize accuracy, fairness and quality for our readers. When we fall short, we publicly acknowledge and correct our mistakes.

The New York Times

International

The New York Times

As Syria Tries to Move Away From a Dictator, Signs of Tyranny Linger

Concerns Remain Over Inclusivity And Sectarianism

By RAJA ABDULRAHIM

Syria's new leaders have taken steps to steer the country away from dictatorship, with plans to overhaul the prison and security systems that were central to the rule by fear under the old Assad regime.

But their handling of waves of sectarian violence, their lack of inclusivity and the concentration of power in the hands of a few have raised concerns that their evolving style of governance remains rooted in authoritarianism.

For more than five decades under the Assad family, Syria was a security state ruled by terror, where the prison system stood as a grim instrument and symbol of intimidation. Torture and executions were rife in prisons that were used to detain and disappear tens of thousands of people, and keep the population under oppressive control.

In May, the Interior Ministry announced that it would overhaul the security and prison systems, with the goal of upholding human rights and preserving the dignity of inmates. This could entail building entirely new prisons or renovating existing ones to meet humane standards, the ministry said.

The "tyranny of security forces" is over, Nour al-Din al-Baba, an Interior Ministry spokesman, told The New York Times.

Still, there are a number of signs that those who ousted President Bashar al-Assad last December have not com-



DAVID GUTTENFELDER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

A portrait of the country's exiled leader, Bashar al-Assad, in Sweida, Syria. It appears those who ousted Mr. Assad have not totally left behind the old ways.



DANIEL BEREHLAK/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Thousands of Syrians visited the Sednaya Prison in Damascus to assess the Assad regime's most perilous prison.



KHALIL ASHAWI/REUTERS

The new president, Ahmed al-Shara, has governed by keeping power concentrated in his hands and those of a group of loyalists, including his brothers.



DAVID GUTTENFELDER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

In Damascus, a ransacked Syrian military intelligence site in 2024. Human rights groups welcomed efforts to overhaul a police-state style of governance.

pletely abandoned the old ways.

The new president, Ahmed al-Shara, an Islamist former rebel leader, has governed by keeping power concentrated in his hands and those of a small group of loyalists, including his brothers.

"Structurally it's still very much a strong presidential system similar to Assad," said Mona Yacoubian, the director of the Middle East Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. "There is resistance to decentralizing power" and allowing various communities to have a say in governance, she added, even though that is essential for Syria given the country's diverse array of religious and ethnic minorities.

Lara Nelson, the policy director at ETANA Syria, a research organization, said there are "worrying signs of continuity."

That said, the differences between the past and current governments are substantial, experts said. Human rights groups have welcomed efforts to overhaul Syria's police state style of governance, though they say it is too early to fully assess the success.

When the Interior Ministry announced changes to the security branches in May, it said it would create government offices to receive complaints and maintain accountability. That idea is a far cry from the Assad days, when Syrians feared even going near security buildings.

"These are important moves," Ms. Yacoubian which suggest Syria's leaders are determined not to go back down the same path as the previous government. "And that is encouraging."

The choosing of a new parliament, planned for later this month, was initially welcomed as a step toward a more democratic system. It has instead become a point of contention.

Of the 210 seats, a third will be directly appointed by the president. The remaining parliamentarians will be selected through local electoral bodies formed by the government, with a fifth of all seats

Ben Hubbard and Reham Mourshed contributed reporting.



NICOLE TUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Bedouin civilians receiving bread in Umm Walad, Syria. A lack of inclusivity in decision-making has led minority communities to distrust the government.

are reserved for women.

And last week, the elections commission indefinitely postponed voting in three provinces where the government does not have control, instead appointing candidates to represent the areas, according to state media. It was a stark reminder of the challenges that Mr. al-Shara faces in uniting a country fractured by nearly 14 years of civil war.

A Kurdish-led autonomous government that still controls much of northeast Syria had been in negotiations with the central government in Damascus to unify and integrate into the national political and military structures. Those negotiations have now stalled.

The Kurdish leadership criticized the elections as "an attempt to reproduce the exclusionary policies that have governed Syria for decades," and said they do not reflect the will of the people.

The lack of inclusivity in decision-making has led to a distrust of the government among minority communities such as Christians, Alawites, Druse and Kurds, posing what is perhaps the biggest challenge to unifying the country.

Members of minority groups appointed to government positions have been dismissed by some experts as tokens.

"The most concerning for me is not being inclusive or open to those with different political affiliations," said Dima Moussa, a lawyer and opposition activist during the Assad regime.

The chasm has been underscored by three waves of bloody sectarian violence in the past six months involving government forces or their supporters. In the latest outburst, hundreds of people were killed in July in the southern province of Sweida after clashes erupted between armed Bedouin tribes and the Druse religious minority.

Human rights groups said that in all three outbreaks, forces affiliated with the government were implicated in extrajudicial killings and other violence, motivated by revenge or sectarianism.

The government condemned the killings by its forces, which it said were acting outside the law, and launched investigations.

"The country remains deeply fragile and the transition remains on a knife-

edge," the U.N. special envoy for Syria, Geir Pedersen, told the U.N. Security Council recently.

"Syrians need to feel that this transition is not a series of ad hoc arrangements and isolated institutions, but a clear and comprehensive path, based on inclusion and transparency," he said. Without credible reforms and stronger government institutions, Syria risked squandering critical international support, he added.

Revenge-fueled and sectarian violence has undermined what government officials have said are their priorities: establishing security and stability, promoting domestic peace and uniting a the country.

The true test will be in the implementation of the planned overhauls and discipline of security forces, Ms. Yacoubian said.

"There is still a lot of room for improvement," said Ms. Moussa, now a women's rights activist. "And we think at this point, it should be further along than where it is in terms of achievements, particularly on issues like the economy and security, as well as restructuring of the armed forces."

Mr. al-Shara's government does include some ministers with professional experience from the Syrian diaspora, as well as members of minority groups and one woman. That went some way toward his stated commitment to an inclusive administration.

But he appointed close allies to the

most powerful ministries such as defense, foreign affairs and interior, relying on a small circle of loyalists who were with him during the years when he led the Islamist rebel group Hayat Tahrir al-Sham.

The interior minister, Anas Khattab, oversaw internal security for the rebel group, which was once affiliated with Al Qaeda. He now oversees the rebuilding and organization of security and police forces.

After the rebels swept into power, they dismissed all police and security officers, who were seen as tools of Mr. al-Assad's oppressive regime. Some of the police have since been allowed to return to their jobs, while thousands of new officers have been recruited over the past nine months, going through a fast-track training regimen with the aim of getting them on the streets quickly.

The foreign minister, Asaad al-Shaibani, has also been with Mr. al-Shara for years and previously handled external relations for Hayat Tahrir al-Sham, or H.T.S. His role now extends far beyond Syria's foreign relations and is akin to that of prime minister, with many other ministers reporting to him, according to foreign officials who interact with the government.

"What we have seen is only the symbolic inclusion of some token ministers and they haven't been given any power," said Ms. Nelson, the ETANA policy director. "H.T.S. still holds the main levers of power across government."


**NewYork-
Presbyterian**

Leaders in treating cancer and everything it affects.

Cancer impacts your body in unexpected ways. Our oncologists work with specialists from cardiology to fertility to design your treatment plan.

[NYP.ORG/CANCER](https://nyp.org/cancer)



WITH WORLD-CLASS DOCTORS FROM


COLUMBIA



**Weill Cornell
Medicine**

HOW A DEFORESTED
DISTRICT IN
India
CAME TOGETHER
TO PLANT
**15 Million
TREES**

By KARAN DEEP SINGH



PHOTOGRAPHS BY KARAN DEEP SINGH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Vijayapura's administration credits tree cover with cooling the area by at least 0.6 degrees Celsius from 2017 to 2023.

This story is from the Headway team at The New York Times. Edited and produced by Marcelle Hopkins, Eve Lyons and Matt Thompson.

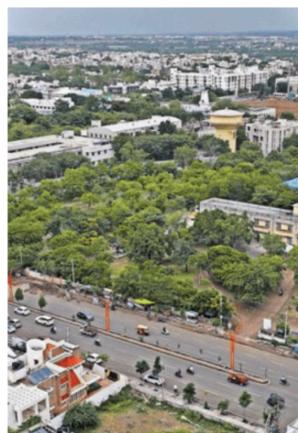
The Headway initiative is funded through grants from the Ford Foundation, the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation and the Stavros Niarchos Foundation (SNF), with Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors serving as a fiscal sponsor. The Woodcock Foundation is a funder of Headway's public square. Funders have no control over the selection, focus of stories or the editing process and do not review stories before publication. The Times retains full editorial control of the Headway initiative.

Vijayapura

is easy to miss in the vastness of the Indian subcontinent.

But this historic district in India's southern state of Karnataka is a proof of concept for the state government's multimillion-dollar effort to address severe droughts and extreme heat.

Over the last decade, Vijayapura has planted and sustained more than 15 million trees, transforming the region from arid to green.



Forests now extend from Vijayapura's northern tip to its rural outskirts in the south.

Vijayapura's district administration credits the tree cover with cooling temperatures in the area by at least 0.6 degrees Celsius (about 1 degree Fahrenheit) from 2017 to 2023, according to state government data.

Endangered black bucks, leopards, snakes and several species of birds have become a common sight.

The project began in the summer of 2016, when Karnataka's overall forest cover was about 20 percent. M.B. Patil, the Karnataka state water resources minister at the time, learned from a forest official that Vijayapura had a forest cover of only 0.17 percent.

"I thought he made a mistake," Mr. Patil said in an interview. "That day, I thought we should do something about it."

'Suddenly, we had people queuing up for hours to get the saplings they wanted.'

SANTOSH AJUR, a local forest officer, on the result of offering farmers their desired tree varieties.



The planting of these forests coincided with the replenishment of centuries-old water tanks and lakes. Canals and elevated ducts were constructed to divert river water, which improved groundwater levels and the availability of a fundamental resource: drinking water.



Mr. Patil worked with forest officials and other nature lovers to concoct a plan: A public-private partnership invested nearly two billion rupees (about \$22 million) in building forests. A nonprofit was set up to circumvent lengthy government processes. Forest officers identified land for planting hundreds of thousands of trees over the next 10 to 15 years. And 14 new government nurseries provided saplings.



The nurseries grew more than 200 tree species native to the region, from banyan to tamarind. But some farmers were reluctant to plant tree varieties that did not generate immediate returns.

"So, we asked them: What saplings do you want?" Santosh Ajur, a local forest officer, said. Their responses led the government to begin raising java plum, mango, neem and other tree varieties with fruit that could go right to market.

"Suddenly," Mr. Ajur said, "we had people queuing up for hours to get the saplings they wanted."



Farmers were given incentives to plant trees on thousands of acres of private land. The forest department gave out free saplings or sold them at a subsidized rate of less than 10 rupees (about 11 cents).

To maximize the rate of survival, saplings were grown in 25 to 80 kilogram bags that retain soil and moisture.



The government oversaw planting of trees in roughly 17,000 acres of land. Villages created new forest blocks where additional trees were planted by the community.

Doctor Berated for Claim Tying Vaccines to Cancer

By STEPHEN CASTLE

BIRMINGHAM, England — A British cardiologist suggested without evidence on Saturday that Covid-19 vaccines might have been a factor in the cancer suffered by members of the British royal family, drawing swift condemnation from the government, health experts and cancer support groups.

The cardiologist, Dr. Aseem Malhotra, made the claim during a 20-minute speech at the annual conference of Reform U.K., the anti-immigration party led by Nigel Farage — which distanced itself from his remarks after they provoked an outcry.

Speaking from the main stage at the party's two-day event, Dr. Malhotra said on Saturday that he had been told by a professor of oncology that "he thinks it's highly likely that the Covid vaccines have been a factor, a significant factor, in the cancer of members of the royal family."

The British government quickly denounced the claim as dangerous to public health.

"When we are seeing falling numbers of parents getting their children vaccinated, and a resurgence of disease we had previously eradicated, it is shockingly irresponsible for Nigel Farage to give a platform to these poisonous lies," the health secretary, Wes Streeting, said. "Farage should apologize and sever all ties with this dangerous extremism."

Health charities also attacked the comments. "There is no good evidence of a link between the Covid-19 vaccine and cancer risk," the group Cancer Research said. "The vaccine is a safe and effective way to protect against the infection and prevent serious symptoms."

Later on Saturday, Mr. Farage's party distanced itself from Dr. Malhotra's comments, without criticizing him directly.

"Dr. Aseem Malhotra is a guest speaker with his own opinions who has an advisory role in the United States government," the party said in a statement. "Reform U.K. does not endorse what he said but does believe in free speech."

King Charles III announced in February 2024 that he had received a diagnosis for an undisclosed form of cancer. But he resumed royal duties in May that year and has attended many high-profile events since then.

And in March 2024, Catherine, Princess of Wales, announced a cancer diagnosis in a prerecorded video broadcast. She, too, has since resumed public duties.

Buckingham Palace declined to comment on the doctor's remarks.

During his speech, Dr. Malhotra said that he was advising Robert F. Kennedy Jr., the U.S. health secretary, adding that they were in frequent contact.

Dr. Malhotra is the chief medical adviser at the Make America Healthy Again Action advocacy group, but he is not listed among U.S. administration officials.

The oncologist Dr. Malhotra said he had spoken to, Angus Dalgleish, is a professor of oncology at St. George's, University of London, who has also spoken skeptically about Covid-19 vaccines.

Neither Professor Dalgleish nor the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services immediately responded to requests for comment.

Although it is generally recognized that, in a small percentage of people, vaccines have produced some side effects, the idea that they can promote or accelerate cancer is not supported by mainstream medical experts.

Skepticism toward vaccines has increased in many countries in recent years, despite decades of research supporting their overall safety. In the United States, Mr. Kennedy has long expressed doubts about vaccines, including those against polio and measles, the mainstay of childhood immunizations for decades.

He has also described a plan to "Make America Healthy Again," a phrase that Mr. Malhotra adapted during his presentation — "Making Britain Healthy Again" — on the final day of the conference of Reform U.K. in Birmingham.

The party, led by Mr. Farage, who made his name by campaigning successfully for Brexit, has only four lawmakers in the British Parliament. But it leads comfortably in opinion polls after a series of missteps by the government of Prime Minister Keir Starmer.

During his speech, Mr. Malhotra called for a moratorium on mRNA vaccines to review their safety, which were developed and rapidly deployed during the pandemic. He argued that most drugs were developed in order to generate money for pharmaceutical companies and also criticized the World Health Organization.

Last month, the U.S. health secretary canceled nearly \$500 million of grants and contracts for developing mRNA vaccines, which were rapidly created during the Covid-19 pandemic by Pfizer-BioNTech and Moderna. The mRNA shots instruct the body to produce a fragment of a virus, which then sets off the body's immune response.

Air Canada Flight Attendants Turn Down Proposed Deal

By IAN AUSTEN

OTTAWA — About 10,000 flight attendants at Air Canada resoundingly rejected a proposed contract that was negotiated last month after they defied federal back-to-work orders.

The union and airline said, however, that there would not be a resumption of the walkout that shut down Canada's main air carrier for five days last month.

Air Canada said in a statement that it and the union had anticipated that the contract might be rejected and had reached an agreement not to restart the strike and lockout if that happened. Instead, both sides said that talks on the wage portion of the contract would reopen with a mediator's help. If those talks failed, the issue would go to arbitration.

The shutdown affected about 500,000 passengers and paralyzed travel in a sparsely populated country that spans six time zones, leaving few practical alternatives to flying for many trips.

The Air Canada unit of the Canadian Union of Public Employees said in a statement on Saturday afternoon that the contract was rejected by 99.1 percent of the attendants. It added that 94.6 percent of them voted.

"Air Canada never bargained in good faith on wages," Wesley Lesosky, the president of the Air Canada unit of the union, said on Saturday.

Air Canada reopened talks with the union after its workers defied a labor board decision declaring the strike illegal. The resulting agreement included, for the first time at the airline, pay for work that flight attendants perform before and after flights, such as boarding passengers and conducting safety checks.

The union's initial refusal to end the strike last month followed an effort by the federal government to circumvent a decision by the Supreme Court of Canada affirming the right of workers to strike even when the action could lead to substantial disruption and inconvenience.

Rather than order the workers directly back to work, the government ordered the dispute to be settled with a contract imposed by an arbitrator. The union had objected to that step because arbitrators in Canada rarely introduce

new measures, such as payment for work before and after flights, in the contracts they impose.

Air Canada, however, returned to talks with the assistance of a mediator after Patty Hajdu, the federal labor minister, ordered a review of the airline industry's practice of paying attendants only for the time they spend in the air. The attendants' union and most of the opposition parties in Parliament have long called on the government to change this policy, either through legislation or enforcement of the federal labor code.

While the now-rejected agreement establishes the principle of payment for what the union calls ground work, it would not be at full pay. Air Canada had agreed to pay 70 percent of the regular wage rate for 45 minutes of ground work on smaller aircraft and for 60 minutes on larger planes.

Stephanie Ross, an associate professor of labor studies at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario, said that the vote against the contract would not jeopardize that gain.

"The employer agreed to that," she said. "That is something they won."

By rejecting the contract, however, the flight attendants, the majority of whom are women, may hope to use arbitration to win on other issues like wages that were not fully resolved in the earlier talks, Professor Ross said. In any case, no imposed settlement can contain less than what is found in the now-rejected agreement.

"The flight attendants are still quite angry," she said. "So you know they might be thinking, 'Hey what do we have to lose? We're going to get ground pay locked in no matter what.'"

According to the union, Air Canada offered a first-year wage increase of 12 percent to flight attendants who have been at the company for five years or less. More experienced attendants would have received an 8 percent raise. The rejected contract also contained annual increases of 3 percent, 2.5 percent and 2.75 percent for the balance of its four-year term.

By comparison, last October Air Canada avoided a strike by pilots that offered a cumulative 42 percent wage raise over four years.



Because Vijayapura is prone to drought, the forests run on a modern drip irrigation system using water harvested from recharged tanks hooked to solar panels for round-the-clock supply.

The program has attracted millions of dollars of private investment, as well as interest from other Indian states.



"We want to learn from this and expand planting in our state," said Sanjay Gherde, a forest official from the western state of Maharashtra, who traveled to Vijayapura for training.

Schools, colleges and offices have joined the mission to plant and conserve more trees.

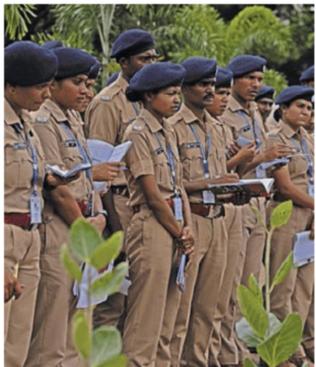
People now give one another trees at weddings, birthdays and cultural events.

A marathon organized to encourage planting of trees has become a hit with younger residents, who routinely use the forests for cycling.

Some locals have taken it upon themselves to create their own mini-forests using saplings given out by the government.

Nanasaheb Patil, 71, a retired government official who planted thousands of trees on a hill, recalled towering date palm trees in the area 60 years ago. The trees were lost to years of subsequent droughts and a famine that struck the region in 1972.

"I am trying to give back what I can," he said.



War in Ukraine



Left, an American who goes by the call sign Alabama, center, in the Kharkiv region in July. Right, a U.S. volunteer in Kharkiv. Estimates of American volunteers vary from over 1,000 to several thousand.

American Volunteer Soldiers See a Second Chance in the Ukraine War

From Page A1

cause of age or injuries.

Interviews with American enlistees, aid workers who help them and their Ukrainian commanders reveal an array of motivations. Some come looking for purpose and possibilities they found lacking in dead-end jobs back home. Outrage at Russian aggression remains high on the list of reasons, while some soldiers are looking for a way to leave behind troubled lives. Still others want second chances at military careers and to test themselves in combat.

Several said they intended to remain in Ukraine after having helped defend the country, expecting to find opportunities unavailable in the United States.

Whatever their reasons, enlistment in Ukraine has transformed this from a far-off conflict to a searing, defining experience for American volunteers. Many have experienced close calls as Private Miller did, grievous wounds, the deaths of comrades and drawn-out deployments in trenches and the ruins of cities.

For Private Miller, 38, Ukraine offered an opportunity to resume a military career that he said was cut short more than a decade ago by injuries from a roadside explosion in Iraq and a motorcycle accident that led to his discharge from the U.S. Army. "I never wanted to get out," he said. "It's the only thing I ever wanted to do."

He arrived in February, leaving a job as a concrete contractor just as the Trump administration pivoted U.S. policy away from aiding Ukraine.

Another American soldier, still moving stiffly from wounds, settled his lanky frame into a booth at a coffee shop in eastern Ukraine. His disheveled, strawberry blond hair and scruffy beard partly covered scars and a jaw that seemed slightly off center, mementos of Russian shrapnel.

Yurii Shyvala and Oleksandr Chubko contributed reporting from Kharkiv, Ukraine.



Zachary Miller, second from left, a volunteer American soldier, with fellow foreign soldiers after a live-fire exercise in July in Kharkiv.

Weeks of lonely recovery in a Ukrainian hospital followed his injury, being cared for by doctors and nurses who spoke little English.

The injured soldier asked that his name not be published to comply with security rules of the unit he is serving with. He uses the call sign Alabama, for his home state, where he worked as a welder before enlisting in late 2023. He has fought in urban and trench combat, and said he had served alongside American men and women who were mostly from small towns and saw little opportunity there, and with U.S. military veterans who regretted missing a chance to see combat in Iraq or Af-

ghanistan.

He was motivated, he said, by a chance to fight for a just cause, and also by the Ukrainian government's promise of four acres of free land to anyone, Ukrainian or foreign, who serves in the military and survives the war.

Ukraine does not have as many potential soldiers as Russia and has struggled with recruitment, so it welcomes foreign volunteers. They serve in regular army units or one of two international legions. The pay is the same as for Ukrainian soldiers, about \$1,000 per month in base salary and combat bonuses that can add about \$3,000 per month.

"Some people come to Ukraine

with a motive to fight for freedom, for what is right," said Senior Lt. Mykola Lavrenyuk, the Ukrainian commander of a platoon of international soldiers that includes Americans. "Others want to make money or are running from the law."

He has seen some U.S. citizens turn up with poor dental care, including missing teeth, and with drug and legal problems. One American soldier, he said, was wanted at home for smuggling drugs over the Mexican border. Before this background was discovered and he was arrested, though, "he fought well," Senior Lieutenant Lavrenyuk said.

U.S. veterans, he said, are

prized because they are generally better trained than veterans of other countries' militaries. "It's awesome" to have them in the ranks, he said.

The Museum of the History of Ukraine in the Second World War is displaying an exhibit on foreign combatants in the current war. A curator, Yurii Horpnych, said "several thousand" Americans were serving in the Ukrainian military. At least 92 Americans have been killed in combat in Ukraine, by the museum's count.

The U.S. government, determined to avoid any suggestion of a direct clash of the nuclear-armed Russian and American militaries, provides almost no assistance to

volunteer combatants. A U.S. non-profit group, the R.T. Weatherman Foundation, helps Americans wounded while fighting in the Ukrainian army, returns remains of deceased soldiers to the United States and tracks cases of those missing in action.

Some American volunteers in Ukraine back out quickly after experiencing the front. "We have guys saying they really want combat," Senior Lieutenant Lavrenyuk said. "They go to the combat zone and they say, 'Sir, I want to go into logistics.'"

Others find an opportunity to gain experience in modern drone warfare.

A 27-year-old veteran of the U.S. Marines who had been working as a mail carrier turned up in Ukraine in March, and by July was arming, launching and piloting exploding drones from a hideout near the front. Going by the call sign Mando, he was working in mottled light filtered through a camouflage net, attaching batteries and explosives to drones to blow up Russian soldiers, bunkers or vehicles. He asked that his real name not be published because many people in his hometown oppose aiding Ukraine.

On a recent night, Junior Sgt. Glenna Manchego, 24, a paramedic from Tooele, Utah, and a U.S. Navy veteran, stood over a gurney in a field hospital, assisting with the amputation of a Ukrainian soldier's foot. Back in United States, she said, "people forgot we are here."

She volunteered in March 2022, motivated, she said, by news of Ukrainian cities being bombed and a knowledge that her medical skills could help, and has served ever since. She was wounded in combat. She intends to remain in Ukraine after the war. Back home, she said, "if they think of Ukraine, it is only 'When will it end?' or 'Have they given up yet?'"

She wears a patch with the words "Lost Generation" written in Ukrainian, a nod to the U.S. soldiers who remained in Europe after World War I. In Ukraine, she said, "I've sweated my sweat and shed my blood."

Russian Drone Assault Hits Key Kyiv Building

By ANDREW E. KRAMER

KYIV, Ukraine — Russia attacked Ukraine on Sunday with the largest drone assault so far in the war, Ukrainian authorities said, damaging a key building in the heavily guarded government district of the capital for the first time since the start of the full-scale invasion in 2022.

Ukraine's Air Force said Russia had launched 805 Iranian-designed Shahed exploding drones and decoys, the latest in an offensive that has continued unabated despite the Trump administration's efforts to mediate peace talks. Before Sunday's assault, the largest attack was on July 9, when Russia launched 728 drones.

Russia also fired 13 cruise and ballistic missiles in the latest volley, according to the Ukrainian Air Force, which said nine missiles and nearly 60 drones had evaded air defenses and made impact.

President Trump has grown increasingly frustrated with President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia, who has given little indication that he has softened any of his maximalist demands for a settlement. In the meantime, Russian forces have continued to bombard Ukraine, including targeting European and American assets in the capital, Kyiv, and killing civilians.

Speaking to reporters on Sunday in Washington, Mr. Trump said that he was prepared to move to a second phase of sanctions on Russia for failing to reach a cease-fire deal. Mr. Trump has repeatedly lashed out at Mr. Putin, including a few days ago when he

appeared with other authoritarian leaders in China, but has not taken action even as Russia has escalated its bombardment of Ukraine.

Despite imposing "secondary sanctions" on India and other countries that do business with Russia, Mr. Trump's threats to punish Russia itself have been so far empty, with deadlines he's set for action coming and going without consequence.

At least five people were killed on Sunday, according to the Ukrainian authorities, including a woman and child in Kyiv.

"Once again, the Kremlin is mocking diplomacy, trampling international law and killing indiscriminately," Ursula von der Leyen, the president of the European Commission, wrote on social media as E.U. officials issued seemingly coordinated statements condemning the assault.

Rising on a hill and crisscrossed by leafy, cobblestone streets, the government district in Kyiv lies at the center of rings of air defenses. But early Sunday, flames leaped from the windows of the building where the Cabinet of Ministers convenes, and firefighters flew in a helicopter to douse the blaze.

Smoke billowed from the large, colonnaded building, a landmark in the city, near Parliament and the office of President Volodymyr Zelensky.

"Such killings now, when real diplomacy could have already begun long ago, are a deliberate crime and a prolongation of the war," Mr. Zelensky said on social media. "It has been repeatedly said in Washington that sanctions



FINBARR O'REILLY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

will follow a refusal to talk."

Prime Minister Yulia Svyrydenko, whose offices are in the cabinet building, later posted pictures of the aftermath, showing a charred corridor, broken doors and dangling electrical wires.

The mayor of Kyiv, Vitali Klitschko, said that debris from a drone shot down by air-defense systems appeared to have started the fire.

Other cities around the country — including Kryvyi Rih, Dnipro, Kremenchuk and Odesa — also came under attack. One person was killed and 17 others were injured in Zaporizhzhia, while deaths were also reported in Sumy and Chernihiv, according to the local authorities. Kryvyi Rih, an industrial city in south-central Ukraine, and Odesa, a port city on

the Black Sea, both sustained damage. In Kremenchuk, a drone hit a bridge over the Dnipro River, halting traffic.

Sunday's assault came three days after European leaders — including Prime Minister Keir Starmer of Britain, Chancellor Friedrich Merz of Germany and President Emmanuel Macron of France — met to propose a framework for security guarantees, assuming a cease-fire or peace settlement is reached.

Kaja Kallas, the European Union's foreign policy chief, said the strikes were "part of a clear pattern of escalation."

"Every Russian attack is a deliberate choice and a message: Russia does not want peace," she wrote on social media, adding that Kyiv's allies would continue to

support Ukraine's defense industry and tighten sanctions on Moscow.

Russia has been ramping up its drone attacks since last fall, setting new records nearly every month for the number of weapons launched.

While Ukraine has been able to shoot down about 80 percent of the drones launched by Russia, the weapons are cheap to manufacture and Moscow has relied on large volleys that can still kill people and damage infrastructure.

The recent ramp-up in the scale of drone attacks has coincided with Mr. Trump's efforts to broker a peace deal, which began in February with phone calls to Mr. Zelensky and Mr. Putin. Through last fall and into this year, new Russian drone factories in the cit-

Smoke rising on Sunday from the building where the Cabinet of Ministers convenes in Kyiv.

ies of Izhevsk and Yelabuga came online, according to military analysts, increasing Moscow's capacity to build drones. Ukraine's military intelligence agency, HUR, said on Friday that Russia now produces about 2,700 Shahed-type drones per month. Those details could not be independently confirmed.

Ukrainian Air Force statistics illustrate the significant increase. In the second half of 2024, Russia launched 8,740 drones — but in the first half of this year, Russia launched 21,317 drones, according to the air force.

In the latest flurry of diplomacy aimed at stopping the war, Mr. Trump met with Mr. Putin at a summit in Alaska last month and with Mr. Zelensky and European leaders at the White House soon after. Russia said it would halt its invasion if Ukraine retreated from territory in the country's Donetsk region, which Russia has tried and failed to fully seize since it started the war in 2022.

Ukraine proposed an unconditional cease-fire in March, but Russia has demanded concessions on territory, a cap on the size of Ukraine's postwar army and a ban on treaties with allies to safeguard against a future invasion. It has continued a campaign of exploding drone attacks on Ukrainian cities, civilian infrastructure, military sites and other targets, despite the international calls for a pause.

With peace efforts foundering, Mr. Trump has repeatedly threatened to impose sanctions on Russia and issued deadlines — the latest of which passed last week — but not yet followed through.

Japan's Prime Minister Says He'll Step Down After Less Than a Year

By RIVER AKIRA DAVIS
and KIUKO NOTOYA

TOKYO — Prime Minister Shigeru Ishiba of Japan said on Sunday that he planned to resign, plunging the country into deep political uncertainty in a turbulent time.

Japan is grappling with rising right-wing populism at home and heightened unpredictability from its key ally, the United States. Mr. Ishiba, who was elected to lead the governing Liberal Democratic Party just last September, is choosing to step down to prevent a split within the party, he said at a news conference in Tokyo.

Several prominent members of the Liberal Democrats have called for a vote to be held on Monday on whether to hold an extraordinary leadership election, nearly two months after suffering a huge setback in parliamentary elections in which new right-wing populist groups gained support. The blow left the Liberal Democrats, who have led Japan for all but five of the last 70 years, a minority party in both chambers of the Diet, the country's Parliament.

Throughout his tenure, Mr. Ishiba has struggled to win voter support amid persistent inflation, which has remained above 2 percent for the past three years. His government has also been dogged by lingering reputational damage from a political finance scandal and an ongoing rice shortage that many believe has been caused by longstanding government policies that curb production.

The July election results exposed a deepening generational fissure altering the nation's politics. While traditional liberal opposition parties campaigned on platforms of tax cuts for households, the biggest gains were made not by them but by a new group of parties that drew younger voters with stridently nationalist messages.

Mr. Ishiba's resignation "reflects what seems to be the death throes of Japan's old politics and the old Liberal Democratic Party," said Masato Kamikubo, a professor of political science at Ritsumeikan University in Kyoto.

Mr. Ishiba's relatively centrist stance alienated the Liberal Dem-

ocrats' conservative supporters, causing them to defect to right-wing populist parties like the Sanseito Party, Mr. Kamikubo said. The Liberal Democrats also have an aging supporter base and have become "detached from the views of younger, urban voters," he said. "Ishiba served as a bridge between the old politics and the new politics, and that may be his ultimate legacy."

Mr. Ishiba's government has also had to manage increasingly tense relations with the United States since President Trump's reelection last November. Japan and the United States took months to negotiate a trade deal that left Japanese exports with a 15 percent across-the-board tariff. Even after the agreement was reached, central details remain unresolved, including a Japanese pledge to invest \$550 billion in the U.S. economy.

Speaking on Sunday, Mr. Ishiba said that he had ultimately decided that he should take responsibility for the past year's election results and that "I feel a great sense of regret."

Mr. Ishiba said that he had been thinking of resigning since the July election, but that he was waiting for the right timing given the ongoing trade negotiations. After Mr. Trump signed an executive order last week that lowered tariffs on Japanese exports, "we saw some results," Mr. Ishiba said. But during negotiations, "resigning would have been absolutely unacceptable."

The central question now facing the Liberal Democrats is who will succeed Mr. Ishiba, who said he would continue in his current position until a new leader was selected. Likely contenders include several politicians he narrowly defeated in last year's leadership election.

One is Shinjiro Koizumi, the agriculture minister and son of former Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi. Mr. Koizumi, 44, who has been charged with lowering rice prices, is seen by many as a candidate willing to shake up a party widely viewed as out of touch with much of the electorate.

The other is Sanae Takaichi, a hard-line conservative who was



YUICHI YAMAZAKI/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES



KO SASAKI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Prime Minister Shigeru Ishiba has been under intense pressure from his own party to step down. Sohei Kamiya, left, leads the Sanseito Party, which has attracted defectors from Mr. Ishiba's Liberal Democrats.

Hayashi is closely aligned with Mr. Ishiba "and will probably work to ensure the continuation of his domestic and foreign policies," Mr. Kamikubo said.

Speaking on Sunday, Mr. Ishiba said that he hoped the next leader of the Liberal Democratic Party would make further progress on issues including increasing domestic rice production, solidifying relations with the United States, and encouraging firms to increase wages to help families cope with rising prices.

The Liberal Democrats "must be a truly national party, a conservative party that embraces tolerance and inclusivity," Mr. Ishiba said.

"We have not yet been able to dispel the public's distrust of politics," he said. "I am increasingly concerned that if the Liberal Democratic Party loses public trust, Japanese politics will descend into easy populism."

endorsed by Shinzo Abe, Japan's longest-serving prime minister, who was assassinated in 2022. Ms. Takaichi has called for amending Japan's postwar Constitution to officially allow the country to pos-

sess a "national defense force." She holds socially conservative views on issues like same-sex marriage and requiring married couples to share the same surname.

Another option, who is less likely to veer from the status quo, is the chief cabinet secretary, Yoshimasa Hayashi, according to Mr. Kamikubo, the professor at Ritsumeikan University. Mr.

Leaders of African Separatist Movement In Cameroon Are Indicted in Minnesota

By ERNESTO LONDOÑO

MINNEAPOLIS — In the central African nation of Cameroon, rebels seeking to create a new country for English speakers have a resolute anthem that envisions a bloody struggle birthing a "nation flowing with milk and honey." Their striped sky-blue flag features a white dove.

For years, separatist leaders have exhorted compatriots abroad to bankroll the insurgency, striving to form a country called Ambazonia. On Friday, they suffered a setback some 6,500 miles from the front lines of a conflict that has killed thousands when federal law enforcement officials in Minnesota indicted two leaders of the movement, both naturalized U.S. citizens.

According to the indictment, commanders of the so-called Ambazonia Defense Forces living abroad have overseen a yearslong violent campaign in Cameroon that included bombings, executions and kidnappings. While leading seemingly ordinary middle-class lives in the United States, the leaders wired tens of thousands of dollars and handed down orders to fighters on the ground over WhatsApp group chats, prosecutors said.

Two of the men calling the shots, according to prosecutors, were Benedict Nwana Kuah, 51, of Woodbury, Minn., and Pascale Pascal Kikishy Wongbi, 52, of Ramsey City, Minn. Both were taken into custody on Friday.

Mr. Kuah and Mr. Wongbi were charged with conspiracy to kill, kidnap, maim and injure persons abroad; and conspiracy to launder money. Mr. Kuah faces charges of conspiring to take someone hostage and conspiring to use weapons of mass destruction overseas. If convicted, they could face up to life in prison.

It was not immediately clear on Friday whether the men had retained lawyers. They will most likely have a hearing next week to determine whether they should remain in custody pending trial. Efforts to reach leaders of the group for comment by phone, email and social media did not lead to a response.

Mr. Kuah, who uses the title chairman of the war council of the Ambazonia Defense Forces, is the

movement's top military leader. Mr. Wongbi, a member of the war council, uses the title head of defense, logistics and human resources, according to prosecutors.

"Minnesota is not a launchpad for overseas violence," Joseph H. Thompson, the acting U.S. attorney for Minnesota, said. "Operating from the comfort of their living rooms in Minnesota, these defendants caused violence and suffering half a world away."

More than 89,000 Cameroonians lived in the United States in 2022, according to U.S. census data. Their community in Minnesota, while small, has grown rapidly in recent years.

The origins of the conflict that sparked the armed separatist movement date back to Cameroon's turbulent decolonization period in the 1960s. After gaining independence, regions that had been French and British colonies coexisted uneasily for decades in a new nation.

Anglophones in western Cam-

Charges for two men living seemingly ordinary lives.

eroon, a nation home to more than 30 million people, have long felt marginalized by the French-speaking majority. Their grievances came to a boil during protests in 2016, led by teachers and lawyers complaining that the government appointed non-English speakers to run their schools and courts. The government used violence to quiet the resistance, according to human rights groups.

In 2017, separatist rebels began attacking military installations and exerting control over English-speaking regions, often blocking roads and imposing draconian lockdowns. The conflict escalated over the years as the country's military, which has received training from the United States and France, sought to quash the separatist movement.

A Human Rights Watch report last year said an estimated 6,000 people had died in clashes between separatists and government forces. Hundreds of thousands have been displaced.

As the violence escalated, the

separatists began acting as a de facto government in the western edge of the country, led by the so-called Ambazonia Governing Council, which was largely led by members of the country's diaspora.

Key among them were Mr. Kuah and Mr. Wongbi, according to the indictment. Since 2017, the men have acted as commanders in exile, fund-raisers and spokesmen for the separatist movement, the indictment says.

In videos posted online, both men called for the killing of civilians believed to be government loyalists, whom they referred to as "blacklegs" and "enablers," according to prosecutors.

They said that in 2021, using the group's social media accounts, both men called on fellow Cameroonians abroad to donate money for a "takeover fund," used to make rudimentary roadside bombs, which the separatists referred to as "pops" and "popcorn." In online appeals, separatist leaders called donations for the fighters a "liberation tax."

Among the group's highest-profile crimes was the April 2022 kidnapping of Senator Elizabeth Regina Mundi, who was then 79 years old and part of the country's ruling party. Ms. Mundi was forced to record a statement in captivity in which she pledged allegiance to the separatist movement and said: "Long live the Republic of Ambazonia."

Debating her fate in the commanders' WhatsApp group, according to prosecutors, Mr. Kuah wrote: "THIS WOMAN WILL NOT GO FREE." Mr. Wongbi suggested she be executed, writing: "take her out ASAP!"

The Cameroonian military rescued Ms. Mundi a month after her abduction, prosecutors said, an outcome Mr. Kuah lamented in a video posted online, calling it a "heartbreaking situation."

Later that month, prosecutors added, Mr. Kuah launched a new fund-raising campaign online called "Operation 200 AKs," seeking money for new rifles. It urged Cameroonians abroad to "turn your anger into guns, your frustration into guns and your hope into even more guns."

Over the next year, scores of donations poured in, netting more than \$31,000, which was wired to fighters on the ground, according to the indictment.

ROSS SIMONS

Fine Jewelry | Fabulous Prices



Exceptional All Around

\$399

1.00 ct. t.w. Lab-Grown Diamond Inside-Outside Hoops
G-H Color, SI1-SI2 Clarity
Sterling Silver or 18kt Gold Over Sterling Silver



Item 992140 or 993951 | Use Offer Code: LAB84
1.800.556.7376 or visit ross-simons.com

NEWS ANALYSIS

In Rebound From Trump Blows, Modi Has No Easy Choices

By MUJIB MASHAL

When Prime Minister Narendra Modi, let down by his once “true friend” President Trump over choking tariffs on India, clasped hands last week with the leaders of Russia and China, he was clearly trying to send a message.

Leaving no chance to the official photographers, Mr. Modi’s interpreter pulled out his phone and circled the three leaders for close-ups.

“They were hoping I was watching,” remarked Mr. Trump, whose administration has been unraveling two decades of American courtship of India. “And I was watching.”

But if Mr. Modi’s moment of unity with the United States’ rivals sent one message, his absence from photographs the next day, when dozens of leaders attended a huge Chinese military parade, sent another.

Mr. Modi had quickly jetted back to New Delhi, skipping a spectacle that would remind voters back home that some of China’s military hardware is pointed at India.

India’s foreign policy has long been a difficult balancing act of nonalignment — relations and deals in all directions, without getting too close to any one country at the cost of the other.

Mr. Modi has taken more risks in recent years, subtly shifting closer to the United States in a bet that it would benefit his country’s economic and diplomatic prospects. But that has backfired so publicly in Mr. Trump’s second term that it has reinforced many officials’ belief in the long-tested policy of not taking any sides.

As he seeks to stop the rapid erosion of ties with Washington, officials and analysts say, Mr. Modi has now adopted a strategy of avoiding public confrontation with U.S. officials as much possible, while also jumping at any opportunity to improve relations with Mr. Trump to help weather the storm.

It is a difficult task, as Mr. Modi has appeared friendless in Washington in recent months. But it is a strategy not very different from the way Mr. Modi responded to aggression from China’s president, Xi Jinping, a few years ago when Beijing, to the embarrassment of Mr. Modi, piled troops on the Indian border. And although the downturn in U.S. relations has accelerated India’s rapprochement with China, Indian officials remain fundamentally wary of Beijing’s intentions.

India and China share a border that stretches 2,100 miles (3,380 kilometers), and their troops have clashed over part of it. They are rivals in attracting major manufacturers, and India wants to reduce its dependence on China. Beijing has also cultivated ties with India’s old adversary Pakistan, providing assistance during Pakistan’s recent military escalation with India.

But Mr. Modi has been careful in recent years not to aggravate relations with China and has made sure that visiting American officials have not used New Delhi as a stage to criticize Beijing.

Still, as Mr. Trump has fluctuated between expressing his affection for Mr. Modi and railing against India’s high tariffs and purchases of Russian oil, Indian officials have tried to focus on the positives.

Early on Friday, Mr. Trump posted on Truth Social that “we’ve lost India and Russia to deepest, darkest, China.”

He ended the day by backtracking. When a reporter asked about his post about having “lost India,” he replied, “I don’t think we have.”

Nevertheless, he expressed his disappointment in India’s purchases of Russian oil, which his officials have given as the reason for imposing a 50 percent tariff on New Delhi.

The next morning in India, a

Anupreeta Das contributed reporting.



ERIC LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES



ABHISHEK CHINNA/GETTY IMAGES



PUNIT PARANJPE/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

From top, Prime Minister Narendra Modi of India and President Trump in February; the Mangalore Refinery and Petrochemicals Limited refinery; and the port in Mundra, India. Almost 20 percent of India’s exports are bound for the United States.

despite his aggressive rhetoric toward Beijing.

“We need to become more self-reliant in certain areas — take arms production,” Mr. Baru said. “You cannot be a major player in the world today dependent on buying arms from Russia, Israel or the United States or France, which is what we do now.”

What has particularly rattled many Indians in recent months, though, is that Mr. Modi’s administration is struggling to find ways to communicate with powerful players in the White House. That cuts against the way Mr. Modi has touted the power of the rich and influential Indian diaspora in the United States as a bridge between the two countries.

Indian officials and analysts said that is in large part because of how much power has been centralized by MAGA Republicans in Mr. Trump’s second term.

India had worked to expand its influence in Washington through largely traditional channels. It had leaned into the influence of Indian Americans in the tech industry, and had built ties with American lawmakers — particularly those with large numbers of Indian American constituents. Even during the first Trump administration, the Indian government could ask Republican lawmakers to make calls to the White House on issues such as student visas.

This time, there is little of that. “The short answer is MAGA,” said Seema Sirohi, a Washington-based columnist and the author of a book on U.S.-Indian relations.

Ms. Sirohi said the backlash among Mr. Trump’s most fervent supporters against India had been so strong that for many Indians and Indian Americans it felt almost like “the dominant cultural event that’s taking place right now.”

Powerful Indian American tech executives or even Indian American members of Congress would be unlikely to address that, she said, and more traditional Republican lawmakers supportive of Indian positions have largely remained silent for fear of being challenged on the right.

“Those senators and congressmen are not willing to take on Trump over India,” she said. “They will get primaried out of existence.”

semiofficial news agency picked up on Mr. Trump’s comments about how he will “always be friends with Modi, he is a great prime minister.” Mr. Modi reposted the statement on social media, saying he deeply appreciates and reciprocates Mr. Trump’s “sentiments and positive assessment of our ties.”

S. Jaishankar, India’s foreign minister, chimed in hours later: “We remain engaged with the United States, and at this time I can’t say more than that.”

In private, Indian officials are vocal about the likely long-term damage.

One senior official, speaking on the condition of anonymity to discuss internal conversations, said that even if the differences over Russian oil and tariffs were

to be settled, the past few months would serve as a reminder to Indian leaders of the unreliability of the Americans for years to come. The official described the dynamics with a rhetorical question: If you slap me four times and then give me an ice cream, does that mean everything is OK now?

“I don’t see any government in India buckling under pressure,” said Sanjaya Baru, an Indian author and a former government adviser.

“Maybe we’ll go through a bad patch — we’ve gone through a bad patch with the U.S. in the past — it’s not going to be easy, but that’s the price for being an independent nation.”

The U.S. market and its technology are difficult for India to

replace. Nearly 20 percent of Indian exports go to the United States, according to the World Bank.

But what gives Mr. Modi’s government some confidence in standing its ground is the fact that India has a diverse and expanding set of trade and economic relations — throughout Southeast Asia, the Middle East and Europe.

Mr. Baru emphasized that the overwhelming sentiment among Indians is a reminder that India will be treated as a major power only if its economy grows and it becomes more self-sufficient in areas of strategic importance. Many Indians have noted, he said, that Mr. Trump has extended trade talks with China — in contrast to talks with India —

Nepal Forbids Social Apps, Raising Fears About Speech

By BHADRA SHARMA

KATHMANDU, Nepal — Nepal’s government has banned dozens of social media platforms after they failed to comply with new registration requirements, disrupting essential communication and raising concerns over free speech.

The 26 blocked platforms include messaging apps like WhatsApp, Facebook, Instagram and WeChat, as well as websites like YouTube and LinkedIn.

The ban, which went into effect on Thursday after a one-week ultimatum to the social media companies expired, has caused confusion across the country. It has ignited fears about how it could affect press freedom and the tourism industry, and particularly about how families can continue to communicate with relatives working abroad as migrant laborers. About 7.5 percent of Nepal’s 29 million population was living abroad in 2021, according to census figures cited by the Nepal Economic Forum, a research institute.

Officials at Nepal’s ministry of communication and information technology said the ban was enforced after the platforms refused to comply with a new law regulating social media, despite several formal requests.

The government now requires platforms to register for a license and to appoint a representative who can address grievances.

“We requested them to enlist with us five times. What to do when they don’t listen to us?” said Gajendra Kumar Thakur, a spokesman for the ministry.

People vented their ire on social media in the hours before the ban went into effect. Some cracked jokes by posting their postal addresses on social media, hinting that they were heading to “the age of letter exchange.”

Many users are switching to Viber and TikTok, the only major social media platforms that have complied with the registration. Two lesser known platforms — Hamro Patro and Global Diary — have also applied for the registration.

The move has raised fears that free speech could be restricted in Nepal, which has continued to enjoy a robust space for debate even as democratic freedoms have shrunk in many nearby countries.

Critics say that Prime Minister K.P. Sharma Oli had been trying to exert government control on speech for many years, but had been stopped by protests in recent years — including from within his own party. In November 2023, Nepal banned TikTok, saying the app affected “social harmony.” TikTok agreed to register with the government, and nine months later the ban was lifted.

Mr. Oli found help in a recent Supreme Court directive on registering media platforms to make them responsible and accountable if they were used to spread falsified content.

“Nepal’s sweeping ban on social media sets a dangerous precedent for press freedom,” Beh Lih Yi, the regional director for the Committee to Protect Journalists, said in a statement. “The government must immediately rescind this order and restore access to social media platforms, which are essential tools for exercising press freedom.”

Beyond the disruption in communication, the ban was also affecting the country’s important tourism industry, tour operators said.

“For us, social media used to be a very popular tool for communication. That’s now gone, and it’s a nightmare-like situation,” said Jiban Ghimire, managing director of Shangri-La Nepal Trek. “No communication, no business.”

Mujib Mashal contributed reporting from New Delhi.

The New York Times

Any occasion. Every interest.
Give the gift of The Times.

Choose from a variety of gift subscriptions — there’s one to suit nearly everyone.

Visit nytimes.com/gift or call 855-698-5273.



Tensions Between Egypt and Israel Escalate Over Attack on Gaza City

By AARON BOXERMAN

JERUSALEM — Israel's plan to force Palestinians to flee to southern Gaza ahead of a full-scale offensive in the northern part of the enclave has raised tensions with neighboring Egypt, which is concerned that Israel will try to push Gazans into its territory.

Egyptian and Israeli officials have traded criticisms over the past few days about Israel's preparations for a major attack on Gaza City, where hundreds of thousands of Palestinians are living.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel says the city, in northern Gaza, is one of the last strongholds of Hamas, which led the 2023 attack on Israel that set off the war.

On Sunday, Mr. Netanyahu said that 100,000 Palestinians had already fled the city after Israeli orders to leave. Hundreds of thousands more remain.

Ahead of a large-scale assault, Israel has also been bombing high-rise buildings in Gaza City that it says were used by Hamas, accusations which the group denies. The Israeli military said it had attacked another high-rise building in the city on Sunday evening after ordering people to flee. It was not immediately clear



SAHER ALGHORRA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

whether there were any casualties.

Mr. Netanyahu has called on Egypt to accept more Palestinian refugees from Gaza, without saying whether Israel would allow them to return after the war. He

argued that Israel would not forcibly expel them, but rather wanted to allow whoever wanted to leave Gaza to do so.

"The Egyptian foreign ministry prefers to imprison residents in Gaza who would prefer to leave

the war zone," Mr. Netanyahu said on Friday.

Egyptian officials reject that argument, saying it is Israel that needs to end the war in Gaza. The Israeli government says it is willing to end the assault, but only if

Israel is preparing for a major attack on Gaza City, where hundreds of thousands of Palestinians are living.

Hamas meets its conditions for doing so, which include disarming.

Egypt also fears that a large influx of Palestinians could threaten its domestic security. Cairo has long worried that, if allowed into Egypt, Palestinians could launch attacks on Israel from Egyptian soil, drawing Israeli retaliation.

Israeli officials have said in the past that Gazans should be permitted to "voluntarily migrate" from the enclave after nearly two years of war, hunger and fear. But leaving is not an option for many at this point, and many Gazans fear that Israel would never allow them to come back if they do find a way to depart.

The Israeli military has ordered Palestinians remaining in Gaza City, many of whom have already been displaced multiple times during the war, to flee to a designated "humanitarian area" of southern Gaza closer to the enclave's border with Egypt.

On Saturday, Foreign Minister Badr Abdelatty of Egypt criticized Israel, saying it aimed "to push

the residents out of their land."

"It is absurd to call this voluntary migration," he said at a news conference in Cyprus.

Aid groups say Gaza has been so battered by the war that there is nowhere safe for residents to shelter. And some Palestinians fear that Israel is seeking to make life in Gaza so miserable that people agree to leave in any possible way.

At peace for decades, Israel and Egypt are strategic allies who coordinate closely on security. But they have sparred diplomatically over the Gaza war and particularly over any suggestion that Gazans should be displaced to Egyptian territory.

In the early weeks of the war, Israel quietly urged its allies to pressure Egypt to take in Gazans en masse — raising fears that their expulsion would quickly become permanent. Egypt protested and the Biden administration ultimately quashed the proposal.

For the first several months of the war, Egypt allowed tens of thousands of Palestinians to leave for Egyptian territory through a southern border crossing. But that ended after Israel invaded the southern Gaza city of Rafah, leading Egypt to shut down its side of the border in protest.

'God's Influencer' Becomes The First Millennial Saint

By ELISABETTA POVOLEDO

VATICAN CITY — Tens of thousands of people packed into St. Peter's Square on Sunday for the canonization ceremony of Carlo Acutis and Pier Giorgio Frassati, two Italians who died young but whose deep faith has inspired millions worldwide.

Lengthy applause filled the square when Pope Leo XIV pronounced them saints during a Mass. These were the first saints declared by the new pope.

Carlo, the first millennial saint, has become especially well known, and the Catholic Church is hoping his fame will encourage more young people to be active in the church. Because of his use of digital technology to spread the faith — including developing a website in which he listed miracles — he has been nicknamed "God's influencer."

In his homily, Leo praised the two young men who "cultivated their love for God and for their brothers and sisters through simple acts, available to everyone," like prayer and going to Mass. He added that the two were "an invitation to all of us, especially young people, not to squander our lives, but to direct them upward and make them masterpieces."

Some 60,000 people were present at the beginning of the celebration, but the number swelled by a further 20,000 during the ceremony, according to the Vatican. Many were young and came with scout or parish youth groups. Throughout the square, people raised banners with the faces of the two saints or wore T-shirts with their images.

Carlo is buried in Assisi, and pilgrims from around the world have flocked there in recent years, according to the Rev. Domenico Sorrentino, Assisi's bishop. He was present at the ceremony Sunday along with many other Catholics from the town.

Antonia Salzano, Carlo's mother, has described her son as a something of an antidote to "the dark side" of technology — threats posed by online pornography or by addiction to cellphones.

"It's really difficult, but there are seeds of hope," she said, that "Jesus always, each time, will give us the right saint for each time." Speaking a few days ago at the screening of a film about her son, she added, "Carlo is for this time."

Ms. Salzano attended Sunday's canonization, along with her husband, Andrea Acutis, and their teenage children, Francesca and Michele.

Both Carlo and Frassati had been set to be canonized at separate ceremonies earlier this year, which were postponed after Pope Francis' death in April.

Catherine Kluempers, 31, the director of student activities at Benedictine College in Atchison, Kan.,

came to the canonization to honor Frassati, who is the patron saint of a student organization at the college. He'd been "full of life, a joker, adventurous and yet he shared his faith doing the things he loved," she said. The organization has adopted his motto, "to the heights," to apply to their activities, which "should be fun and engaging, but with a higher goal, to strive to sainthood," she said.

Pope John Paul II beatified Frassati, the penultimate step to sainthood, in 1990 after the Vatican deemed the healing of a person in the United States to be a miracle attributed to his intercession. Pope Francis recognized a second miracle in 2024, opening the way to Frassati's canonization.

Carlo was beatified in 2020. The Vatican has declared two healings to be miracles and attributed them to Carlo's intercession. One involved an ill child in Brazil who was said to become well after he kissed a relic of Carlo and prayed for healing. The second involved a young Costa Rican woman seriously injured in a bicycle accident in Florence, who recovered after her mother prayed at Carlo's tomb in Assisi.

Many people in the crowd Sunday held flags from Brazil and Costa Rica.

Frassati and Carlo lived a century apart. Frassati was an enthusiastic member of Italian Catholic youth movements and an avid mountain climber. Carlo, born in London and raised in Italy, was a computer whiz who taught himself coding. Both volunteered and assisted the poor, and both died within days of being diagnosed with a fatal illness. Frassati died of polio in 1925, when he was 24. Carlo died of leukemia in 2006, when he was 15.

In both cases, word of their goodness and faith spread quickly and grew globally. There are churches and schools dedicated to both in countries around the world.

Rachel McCleary, an economics lecturer at Harvard University who studies sainthood, calculated that from 1588 to 1978, the year John Paul II became pope, an average of 262 years passed between death and canonization. Under the past three popes, however, that period has been more than halved. In the case of Frassati, a century passed; with Carlo, a mere 19 years went by, a meteoric rise helped in part by the spread of his popularity on the internet.

Wearing a scarf with a likeness of Carlo, Chiara Bolzani, a 28-year-old elementary school teacher, said she had prayed to the teen saint since she was young. "The fact that as a boy he was already devout is certainly a strong testimony of his deep faith," and a model to be followed, she said.



MATTEO MINNELLA/REUTERS

A crowd in St. Peter's Square on Sunday celebrated the naming of two new saints. A likeness of one, Carlo Acutis, is shown.



VICTOR MORIYAMA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



DADO GALDIERI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



VICTOR MORIYAMA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The streets of São Paulo, Brazil, (top) and other cities were filled with protesters on Sunday for (left) and against (right) Jair Bolsonaro, just days before Brazil's Supreme Court is expected to convict him for an attempted coup. He faces up to 40 years in prison.

Bolsonaro Backers Turn Out as His Conviction Looms

By JACK NICAS and ANA IONOVA

RIO DE JANEIRO — Thousands of Brazilians took to the streets on the nation's Independence Day on Sunday in dueling political protests, opening a tense week that is expected to conclude with the conviction of former President Jair Bolsonaro.

The largely peaceful demonstrations played out in cities across the nation.

On the right, Brazilians draped in Brazilian and American flags protested the criminal prosecution of Mr. Bolsonaro on charges that he attempted to hold on to power after losing the 2022 election. On the left, people called for Mr. Bolsonaro's imprisonment and denounced efforts by President Trump to protect the former leader.

By Sunday afternoon, aerial images from multiple protests left little question that Mr. Bolsonaro's supporters significantly outnumbered protesters on the left, showing that — even amid his legal troubles — he remains a significant political force in Brazil.

But will it matter? On Friday, Brazil's Supreme Court is widely expected to convict Mr. Bolsonaro on charges that he attempted a coup. He could face more than 40 years in prison.

Mr. Trump has been trying to pressure the Brazilian authorities to drop the charges, imposing 50 percent tariffs and sanctions against the

Brazilian Supreme Court justice leading the case, but to little avail. His efforts have so far only strengthened support for President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, Mr. Bolsonaro's leftist rival, while the court has pushed ahead with the trial.

A day before presiding over the annual Independence Day military parade, Mr. Lula delivered a message aimed at Mr. Trump. "We are not, and will never again be, anyone's colony," he said in a televised address on Saturday evening. "We do not accept orders from anyone."

Brazil's attention has now turned to a debate in the nation's Congress over whether to grant amnesty to Mr. Bolsonaro and other members of his right-wing movement for their actions following the 2022 election. Hundreds of people who stormed Brazil's halls of power in a failed bid to spur a military takeover are serving prison sentences.

Party leaders and members of Congress have been trying to broker deals on amnesty legislation that could keep Mr. Bolsonaro out of prison — while also blocking him from running for office again.

With Mr. Bolsonaro's conviction seen as a foregone conclusion by both the right and left, the protests on Sunday focused in large part on the question of amnesty.

"Unfortunately, we know he will be unfairly convicted," said Sheila Santos, 56, a retired police officer at a protest in Brasília, the capital.

She wore a shirt demanding amnesty for Mr. Bolsonaro. "This is our hope now," she said.

The mood was both festive and angry at the pro-Bolsonaro protests. Vendors sold skewered meat, popcorn and beer, while political leaders on the right — including the former president's sons — delivered harsh speeches against the Supreme Court and what they view as the political persecution of Mr. Bolsonaro.

Mr. Bolsonaro's movement has long been able to bring enormous crowds to the street, and Sunday was no different. A sea of people in the yellow and green of the Brazilian flag filled a long stretch of São Paulo's main avenue, as well as along Copacabana Beach in Rio de Janeiro.

What was different this year was the abundance of praise for the United States. In Brasília, one man posed for photos in a Trump mask. In Rio de Janeiro, vendors sold shirts with photos of Mr. Trump and the word "Magnitsky," a reference to the law the U.S. government used to place sanctions on the Brazilian Supreme Court justice. In São Paulo, protesters passed an enormous American flag over their heads.

Even though Mr. Bolsonaro has been barred from holding office until 2030, right-wing protesters held out hope that his political rights would somehow be restored. Many placed their faith in the White House.

"It's political persecution," said Davidson Roque, 36, a food vendor draped in the American flag. "And Trump is helping us, he sees what's happening here."

On the other side of most of Brazil's major cities, the message was exactly the opposite. Demonstrators held aloft illustrations of Mr. Bolsonaro behind bars and signs calling to "defeat Trump."

"It's absurd," Ana Baldas, 76, a retired psychoanalyst, said of Mr. Trump's efforts to intervene. "He can't dictate what we do in our country."

Ms. Baldas was at a protest in downtown Rio de Janeiro, where wealthy intellectuals who wanted to defend democracy mixed with activists farther on the left waving communist flags. Everyone chanted against the idea of amnesty for Mr. Bolsonaro.

The amnesty issue is particularly sensitive in Brazil, where military officials were once granted that protection for crimes committed during the nation's dictatorship from 1964 to 1985, when Brazilians were imprisoned, tortured and disappeared.

Ms. Baldas conceded that Brazil's Congress may pass an amnesty law, but she said she hoped it would ultimately be undone by a presidential veto or court challenge.

"We'll end up with Bolsonaro being in prison anyway, and things will calm down," she said. "At least that's my most optimistic hope."

National

The New York Times

‘Something Is Wrong With My Brain’

The Cause of a Police Officer’s Descent Became Clear Only After His Death

By SONIA A. RAO

Gina Elliott’s phone buzzed with a text message from a friend. It was a link to a news article about the gunman who opened fire in a Midtown Manhattan office building in late July, killing four people and then himself.

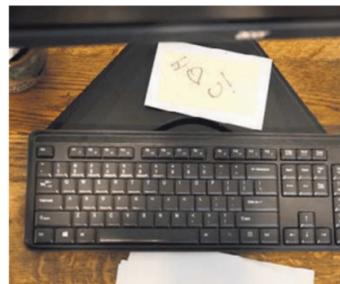
He had left a note in his wallet that said he believed he had chronic traumatic encephalopathy, or C.T.E., the degenerative brain disease linked to repeated hits to the head that has been found in hundreds of deceased football players and can be diagnosed only after death.

“Study my brain please,” the note said. It was an unsettling echo for Ms. Elliott, whose husband, Brent Simpson, a police officer in Charlotte, N.C., died by suicide last year. In the months before his death, he repeated to her daily: “Something is wrong with my brain.”

Ms. Elliott and Mr. Simpson had been together almost 20 years and had known each other even longer. But the man she lived with in the last few years of his life was not the same man she met in 2001.

“It’s like he became a different person,” she said. “Like somebody I didn’t know.”

Mr. Simpson started as a patrol officer at the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department in 2006, working the night



A love note that Mr. Simpson left for Ms. Elliott. She started seeing changes in his behavior in 2020.

shift. In 2011, he moved to the police academy as an instructor, teaching defensive tactics, and helped train multiple classes of 40 to 60 recruits each year.

The most intense part was called RedMan training, named after the brand of gear that instructors or volunteer officers wear in fights with recruits. Mr. Simpson wore headgear and padding, but would nonetheless return home looking tired and beat up, Ms. Elliott said. Often, there were not enough volunteers, so Mr. Simpson would have to spar with many recruits.

RedMan training happened four to six times a year, but there were other drills that involved physical contact.

“I was very concerned about getting a concussion or getting injured because of the amount of shaking or hitting,” Shannon Finis, a former officer with the department, said of her academy training. “I can only imagine what kind of toll that would take on somebody over time.”

A spokesperson for the department declined to comment on Mr. Simpson’s career or whether any blows sustained as a defensive tactics instructor might have contributed to his cognitive decline.

Ms. Elliott started to notice small changes in Mr. Simpson in 2020, when he was 43. He lost interest in his hobbies and described having “foggy memories.” By then, he had moved on from his role at the police academy and was a K-9 officer.

His woodworking tools gathered dust in the garage; he wanted to stop training for his black belt in jujitsu. He told Ms. Elliott he would retire early even though it had been his longtime dream to work in a K-9 unit.

“You finally got the job that you love, but you want to leave. Why?” Ms. Elliott remembers asking.

He did not have an answer. When a friend died and Mr. Simpson was asked to speak at the funeral, he paused.

“I’m having trouble remembering things from my childhood,” he told Ms. Elliott. “I don’t know whether what I’m remembering is real or imagined.”

She began to keep a journal, diligently noting when he uncharacteristically broke into tears, told her he could not feel joy or complained of an intense pressure in the right side of his head.

In January 2023, Mr. Simpson saw a psychologist who persuaded him to attend a monthlong inpatient rehab focused on mental health treatment for law enforcement and first responders. He was diagnosed with post-traumatic stress disorder, and therapy was recommended.

His problems worsened. For the last 18 months of his life, Mr. Simpson could not sleep more than three hours a night, Ms. Elliott said. Nothing helped, not the over-the-counter medications he took at first, or the Ambien he was prescribed later.

He became suspicious of neighbors he did not recognize. He stockpiled water and food for a coming doomsday. After work he would sit on the couch for hours, staring at the wall.

“It was like Brent was being tortured,” Ms. Elliott said. “It was like something was torturing him daily.”

The couple had long been nontraditional; neither believed that marriage was more than a piece of paper. But in May 2023, they traveled to a neighboring county to obtain a same-day marriage certificate, largely spurred by concerns over his illness.

“I wanted to make sure that I could always take care of him,” Ms. Elliott said.

Mr. Simpson went to another inpatient program for law enforcement officers in March 2024, where he was told he had a mood disorder. There, he tried ketamine therapy and was put on antidepressants.

Mr. Simpson saw dentists, eye doctors, cardiologists. He did blood tests, underwent four M.R.I.s. An explanation for his cognitive decline remained elusive. Ms. Elliott could feel him slipping away from her.

One July morning before he went to work, he kissed her goodbye and told her he loved her. Two hours later, his boss knocked on her door, accompanied by a few officers. They told her Mr. Simpson had died by suicide, at a nearby cemetery, while on a shift.

“I lost him twice,” Ms. Elliott said. “He was gone years before he was physically gone.”

One researcher who has studied police suicides has concluded that law enforcement officers are 54 percent more likely to die by suicide than the average American worker.

Stephanie Samuels, a psychotherapist who works with police officers and developed a hotline for them, has believed for years that the conversation around high suicide rates among officers has been missing something: an awareness of the possibility that traumatic brain injuries might be a factor.

Ms. Samuels has seen hundreds of patients, many who have dealt with impulsivity and rage, which can be signs of C.T.E. And she knew that many law enforcement officers deal with head impacts on a daily basis through training, blast injuries, vehicle accidents or other incidents while on duty.

After seeing news of Mr. Simpson’s death, Ms. Samuels reached out to one of his co-workers to facilitate the donation of his brain for research. Ms. Elliott agreed to donate his brain to Boston University’s C.T.E. center, the lab that has examined hundreds of brains of former athletes and members of the military.

A few weeks before the Midtown Manhattan shooting, Ms. Elliott learned that Mr. Simpson, 47, had C.T.E. He is the first publicly known law enforcement officer to be diagnosed with the disease.

“I knew that there was something not right,” she said. “Brent did too. We just couldn’t find an answer in time.”

When she learned of his diagnosis, she felt many things, she said. Shock, that her husband had a disease she had heard of afflicting only N.F.L. players. Relief, that she might finally have an answer to why her kind, quiet partner of almost two decades experienced a downward spiral that involved memory problems, sleepless nights and dramatic personality changes. And she felt a desire to make sure people understood.

Dr. Ann McKee, the neuropathologist who studied Mr. Simpson’s brain, said she found lesions on his frontal and temporal lobes, indicating a mild stage of C.T.E. that could explain many of his symptoms.

“People in these early stages of C.T.E. can have fairly profound behavioral changes and sometimes personality changes,” Dr. McKee said.

She pointed to his law enforcement experience, training in jujitsu, a few years serving in the Navy and playing high school football — a combination of high-impact activities that made it likely he had “significant exposure” to be at risk for C.T.E., she said.

Dr. McKee added that often, people with early forms of the disease complain that there is something wrong with their brain, like Mr. Simpson did.

It has been more than a year since Mr. Simpson’s death, but his dirty clothes still sit in his hamper in their closet. Ms. Elliott hasn’t been able to bring herself to wash them. When she drives his truck, sometimes she reaches across the console, for a moment, pretending he’s there to hold her hand.

Mr. Simpson’s diagnosis haunts her. She pores over her notes documenting his decline, looking at them through this new lens. She spends hours every day wondering what they could have done differently, had a doctor looked at the signs and his history and connected the dots.

“My sweet baby had to die thinking he was going insane,” she said. “And he wasn’t. He had a brain injury.”

If you are having thoughts of suicide, call or text 988 to reach the 988 Suicide and Crisis Lifeline or go to SpeakingOfSuicide.com/resources for a list of additional resources.



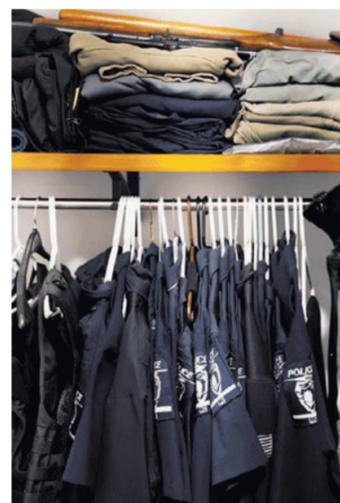
Brent Simpson and Gina Elliott had been together almost 20 years, and they shared a nontraditional view of relationships. But concerns about Mr. Simpson’s worsening illness prompted them to get married in 2023.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY TRAVIS DOVE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



‘It was like Brent was being tortured. It was like something was torturing him daily.’

GINA ELLIOTT, on the illness afflicting her husband, Brent Simpson. She is pictured with his woodworking bench and tools.



Ms. Elliott’s book of Mr. Simpson’s favorite meals includes a photo of a K-9 partner. He loved working in the unit, but said he wanted to retire without knowing why. His office closet has been untouched since his death in 2024.

The 47th President

NEWS ANALYSIS

Congress Lies Down, Allowing the President To Walk All Over It

From Page A1

Services and Intelligence Committees, said in an interview. “The true story is that Republicans in Congress have capitulated and are not pushing back to assert authority.”

Republicans largely reject the idea that they have ceded congressional powers of oversight and spending to the White House. They argue that Mr. Trump is wielding his executive authority appropriately to bring a vast federal bureaucracy to heel, and pointed to the testy hearing featuring Mr. Kennedy as proof that they are willing to scrutinize the administration's actions.

But so far, their most tangible response has come in the form of mild protests from a few Republicans.

When Senator John Thune of South Dakota, the majority leader, expressed unhappiness after the spate of agency firings, he cited procedural objections: “We confirm these people, we go through a lot of work to get them confirmed, and they're in office a month?” he asked.

Senator John Barrasso of Wyoming, the No. 2 Republican and an orthopedic surgeon, raised eyebrows when he told Mr. Kennedy at last week's hearing that he had “grown deeply concerned” about his handling of vaccines, after reminding the secretary that he had “promised to uphold the highest standards for vaccines” during his confirmation hearings.

But Republicans have yet to announce any oversight hearings on the matter.

They also have not scheduled any action to block the Trump administration from its latest move to unilaterally claw back money that has already been appropriated just weeks before the end of the fiscal year.

Senator Susan Collins of Maine, the chairwoman of the Appropriations Committee, called the proposal a “clear violation of the law,” and has been working with top Senate Democrats to add new safeguards to next year's spending bills that would ensure the Trump administration allocates federal dollars as lawmakers intend.

“Congress alone bears the constitutional responsibility for funding our government,” Senator Lisa Murkowski, Republican of Alaska, said last week. “And any effort to claw back resources outside of the appropriations process undermines that responsibility.”

But party leaders appear unlikely to intercede to reject the effort.

Republicans also have been remarkably quiet as the Trump administration seeks to circumvent oversight on issues of na-

tional security and intelligence, traditionally an area where Congress's role has been seen as sacrosanct.

While it has been generations since Congress used its formal power to declare war, it did authorize both the war in Iraq and the war in Afghanistan, albeit with broad laws that would end up allowing presidents of both parties to exercise military might in ways lawmakers might not have anticipated.

The campaign against Venezuelan drug cartels announced last week by Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth and Marco Rubio, the secretary of state and national security adviser, is not covered by any congressional authorization. While the Trump administration did not offer any legal justification, experts said that in the absence of any act of Congress, the military action could only be justified under a legal theory that the president has broad authority to use the military as he sees fit.

“There's absolutely no question the president doesn't have the power to take airstrikes on boats outside U.S. waters with no authorization of war,” Senator Chris Murphy, Democrat of Connecticut, said. “This president believes he's above the law. He doesn't believe the law applies to him. He doesn't believe the Constitution applies to him, and if we act like that's normal, then we just encourage the continued illegal constitutional behavior.”

The failure to inform Congress about its attack on a Venezuelan boat last week, lawmakers said, was part of a pattern by the Trump administration of ignoring requirements to inform lawmakers and withholding information about national security matters that other presidents would have shared.

The New York Times reported on Friday that the first Trump administration had failed to notify Congress of a risky military incursion into North Korea to plant a listening device in 2019. Only under the Biden administration were key members of Congress told of the secret mission that led to the death of several North Koreans but did not achieve its goal.

“There is just no situation in which an intelligence operation, a special operation, of this magnitude, whether it is successful or not successful, should be conducted without Congress knowing about it,” said Mr. Crow, who requested a briefing on the operation after the Times story was published. “North Korea is a dangerous and volatile regime. The idea that you are going to just send in a military operation to a country like that without involving the United States Congress is beyond absurd.”

Members of Congress have



TIERNEY L. CROSS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Trump administration has dismantled government agencies and offices created by Congress.



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

When Senator John Thune, the majority leader, expressed unhappiness after firings, he cited procedural objections.

complained the withholding of information has continued, and grown worse, during Mr. Trump's second term. Lawmakers who sit on the congressional intelligence committees have been alarmed that the Trump administration is



TIERNEY L. CROSS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Robert F. Kennedy Jr., the health secretary, was questioned over his vaccine policy during a hearing last week.

withholding classified assessments of the state of Iran's nuclear program that would have been shared with them in the past.

Given that American spy agencies operate in secret, denying the public knowledge of either



ERIC LEE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Representative Jason Crow, a Democrat, said, “The true story is that Republicans in Congress have capitulated.”

their covert operations or their analytic assessments of U.S. adversaries, congressional oversight is effectively the only way to hold intelligence agencies accountable.

But last week, the Pentagon

Republicans' most tangible response has been mild protests by a few lawmakers.

announced it would block a visit by Senator Mark Warner, Democrat of Virginia and the vice chairman of the Intelligence Committee, to the National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency after Laura Loomer, a right-wing influencer who holds no official role in the Trump administration, criticized the planned visit.

Defense officials said they would only allow bipartisan visits to military intelligence facilities, a requirement members of Congress said had never been in place before. Senator Tom Cotton of Arkansas, the Republican chairman of the intelligence panel, lodged no public protest.

The curbs on congressional oversight come during an unusual purge of seasoned intelligence officers, from the Central Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency and the top analyst at the N.G.A., which Mr. Warner was blocked from visiting.

“Is congressional oversight dead?” Mr. Warner asked afterward, wondering aloud how independent intelligence assessments would be made if lawmakers could not have access to the agencies.

“Where does this end?” Mr. Warner went on. “If none of my Republican colleagues raises an issue, does this mean we are ceding all oversight?”

The Trump administration also has dismantled government agencies and offices created by Congress. The elimination of the U.S. Agency for International Development, which oversaw huge amounts of foreign aid, received a huge amount of attention, damaging U.S. influence around the world and gutting aid programs worldwide. But it has also taken out smaller operations.

Tulsi Gabbard, the director of national intelligence, announced that the Foreign Malign Influence Center would be shrunk and folded into another office. The move all but eliminated a center created by Congress to counter election interference efforts, and an office that took a big role during the 2020 presidential campaign, warning about Russian propaganda.

The cuts prompted an angry letter last week from Representative Raja Krishnamoorthi of Illinois, the ranking Democrat on the House's China committee, who argued that the Trump administration was stripping away “the constitutional guardrails” that America has relied on for 250 years.

“The founders created a system grounded in checks and balances to ensure that no one branch of government becomes too powerful,” he said. “That premise is being turned on its head by the Trump administration, which seems determined to create an all-powerful executive branch, unchecked by Congress or even the courts.”

On Projects He Spurned, Trump Signs Now Aboard

From Page A1

for the company.

In an email, Mr. Anderson said the new signs “are a voluntary Amtrak initiative, updating outdated signage posted at the project locations listed previously, following the change in presidential administrations earlier this year.”

The signs note, in a smaller font, that the projects in question are “funded by the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act,” the official name of the legislation that Mr. Trump tried to derail.

Still, the signs, in bold MAGA red, strike some as misleading.

Representative Joe Courtney, a Connecticut Democrat who represents the area where the Connecticut River Bridge is being replaced, said seeing the sign with Mr. Trump's name there “is just, you know, very odd to me.”

He added: “That bridge would never have gotten where it is today without that bill, which he opposed.”

It is hardly unheard of for a new administration to replace signage featuring the name of the previous president. But the 2021 infrastructure law has uncorked particularly intense debates over the granting of credit, perhaps inevitable given the size of a spending package that was roughly the size of the gross domestic product of the Netherlands.

Last year, in the midst of election season, Politico compiled a list of a number of House Republicans who voted against the bill but went on to take credit for bringing projects funded by the legislation

to their districts. Representative Nancy Mace, who is currently running for governor in her home state of South Carolina, called the bill a “socialist wish list,” but did not protest the millions of dollars it allocated to public transit upgrades in the Charleston area.

“What do you want me to do, turn my back on the Lowcountry when we get funding for public transit?” she said, when asked about the apparent contradiction, according to a local newspaper.

A number of infrastructure projects formerly featured signs name-checking Mr. Biden, said Mr. Anderson, the Amtrak spokesman. (“Project funded by President Joe Biden's Infrastructure law,” some of them stated.) Those, too, drew backlash.

In June 2024, Senator Ted Cruz complained about them to the Office of Special Counsel, arguing that they amounted to campaign signs for Mr. Biden, and thus violated the Hatch Act, which limits federal employees' political activities.

“These displays are nothing more than campaign yard signs courtesy of the American taxpayer,” the Texas Republican wrote at the time.

The special counsel's office investigated the matter, disagreed with Mr. Cruz and closed the case. This week, Mr. Cruz's office did not respond to an email asking whether the Trump signs might also violate the Hatch Act.

Infrastructure questions are sensitive for Mr. Trump, who ran for president in 2016 asserting to voters that he was one of the nation's great master builders,



DANNY WESTNEAT/THE SEATTLE TIMES

promising an infrastructure rebuilding program to rival the New Deal era. But he never quite pulled it off. In fact, his administration's repeated efforts to hold an “Infrastructure Week” became a running joke during his tumultuous first term.

In April, three months after Mr. Trump began his second term, the Federal Railroad Administration stripped language from its grant agreements that had required signs about projects made possible by the 2021 legislation to say they were “funded by President Biden's Bipartisan Infrastructure Law.”

The Connecticut Department of

Transportation took this as a signal to remove signs with Mr. Biden's name, said Josh Morgan, a department spokesman.

The replacement of the Connecticut River Bridge, which connects the towns of Old Lyme and Old Saybrook, is expected to generate up to 300 jobs. According to Mr. Courtney, the existing bridge was found to be structurally deficient in 2006. Trains must now slow down to 45 miles per hour to cross, he said. They will be able to cross the new bridge, he said, at 70 miles per hour.

At the dawn of the second Trump administration, Amtrak had good reason to worry about

its future. In March, when Elon Musk was deeply involved in slashing federal government programs, the billionaire said that the company was “embarrassing” and should be privatized.

Representative Pramila Jayapal is a Democrat whose Seattle district includes a rail-yard project where some of the signs were put up. She speculated that Amtrak may have posted them to remain in Mr. Trump's good graces. “Look, I think that what we're seeing is Trump is demanding loyalty from every single government agency,” she said.

Whether or not that is the case, Amtrak appears to be on a more

This rail project in Seattle was financed by the Biden administration's 2021 infrastructure bill that President Trump vehemently opposed. A sign at the site now bears his name.

secure footing in the early months of the Trump administration.

Sean Jeans-Gail, vice president of policy for the Rail Passengers Association, an advocacy group that seeks to improve passenger rail service, said that after the scare of Mr. Musk's call for privatization, the administration ended up releasing a presidential budget for passenger rail that is “very measured” and “allows Amtrak to keep running the trains and make some key investments.”

Asked about the signs, a spokesperson for the U.S. Department of Transportation said in a statement that Amtrak was recognizing the Trump administration's “swift action” in clearing a backlog of roughly 3,200 grants that the Biden administration had allocated but not awarded. The process had been sped along, the statement said, by “cutting unnecessary DEI and climate mandates from the grant process.”

Amtrak news releases show that construction on some projects featuring the Trump signs began in the Biden era, including the Connecticut bridge project and the \$2.7 billion replacement of the Susquehanna River Bridge in Havre de Grace, Md.

Mr. Anderson, the Amtrak spokesman, praised the Transportation Department's “hard work,” which he said had helped address the backlog.

He added: “We appreciate the Trump administration's strong support for Amtrak's historic infrastructure investments.”

The 47th President

After Outcry, L.A. Police End Security For Harris

By ORLANDO MAYORQUÍN and MATT STEVENS

LOS ANGELES — The Los Angeles Police Department ended its protection services for former Vice President Kamala Harris on Saturday after facing criticism from an elite unit of its officers and the police union, according to two people familiar with the matter.

The police force stopped providing the services for Ms. Harris on Saturday morning, according to a law enforcement official and a person with close ties to the department. They spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss closely held security details.

The department said last week that it had assigned officers to assist the California Highway Patrol in providing security for Ms. Harris. The agencies stepped in to fill the security gap that was left after President Trump terminated Ms. Harris's Secret Service security detail beginning Sept. 1.

The U.S. Secret Service usually protects vice presidents for six months after they leave office, but President Joseph R. Biden Jr. had signed an executive order to extend that protection for an additional year for Ms. Harris.

The decision to dispatch the Los Angeles police to guard the former vice president was met with swift criticism from officers within one of the department's specialized units, known as the Metropolitan Division, the people familiar with the matter said. Off-



Former Vice President Kamala Harris faced threats in office.

Former officials have had their protection cut short by Trump.

cers had been reassigned from crime suppression work in the San Fernando Valley, one of those people said. The request for the protection service came as the department was already trying to manage with reduced resources, the law enforcement official said.

The Los Angeles Police Protective League, the union that represents L.A.P.D. officers, had criticized the use of police officers to protect Ms. Harris, calling the operation "nuts" and a misuse of taxpayer money.

On Saturday, it praised the decision to pull the detail.

"We are happy to report that the Metro officers assigned to protect the multimillionaire failed presidential candidate are back on the street fighting crime," the union's board of directors said in a statement.

On Thursday, local news cameras had captured plainclothes police officers parked outside Ms. Harris's home in west Los Angeles.

"The plan was always to provide temporary support, and I thank L.A.P.D. for protecting former V.P. Harris and always prioritizing the safety of all Angelenos," Mayor Karen Bass of Los Angeles said in a statement on Saturday.

Ms. Bass had criticized Mr. Trump's move to end Secret Service protection for Ms. Harris, calling it "another act of revenge following a long list of political retaliation in the form of firings, the revoking of security clearances and more."

The president has canceled such services for several people. In March, he abruptly ended protection for Hunter and Ashley Biden, the former president's children, whose Secret Service detail had similarly been extended.

Mr. Trump also removed protection from John R. Bolton, who served as a national security adviser in his first term, as well as Mike Pompeo, one of his former secretaries of state.

Ms. Harris had faced elevated threats while in office and in the 2024 presidential campaign, according to the people familiar with her security arrangement.

Shawn Hubler contributed reporting.

Grand Juries Reject a Wave of Charges in Trump's D.C.

From Page A1

ble to know precisely why this has been happening, but the persistent rejections suggest that grand jurors may have had enough of prosecutors seeking harsh charges in a highly politicized environment.

Courthouse wits have long quoted Judge Sol Wachtler, the former New York jurist who said that prosecutors are in such complete control of grand juries that they could get them to indict a ham sandwich. But that old saw did not hold true in the rebellion in Federal District Court in Washington, where grand jurors seem to have taken a stand in defense of their community.

"First of all, it is exceedingly rare for any grand jury to reject a proposed indictment because ordinarily prosecutors use discretion in only bringing cases that are strong and advance the interests of justice," said Barbara L. McQuade, a former U.S. attorney in Detroit who teaches at the University of Michigan Law School. "I have seen this maybe once or twice in my career of 20 years, but this is something different."

"My guess," Ms. McQuade went on, "is that these grand jurors are seeing prosecutorial overreach and they don't want to be part of it."

While crime has fallen in Washington since National Guard troops and federal agents started to police the streets in large numbers in mid-August, the deployment has chafed many local residents, who have found their presence to be a source of anxiety, not security. And because of the deployment, a flurry of defendants have been charged with federal felonies in cases that would typically have been handled at the local court level, if they were brought at all.

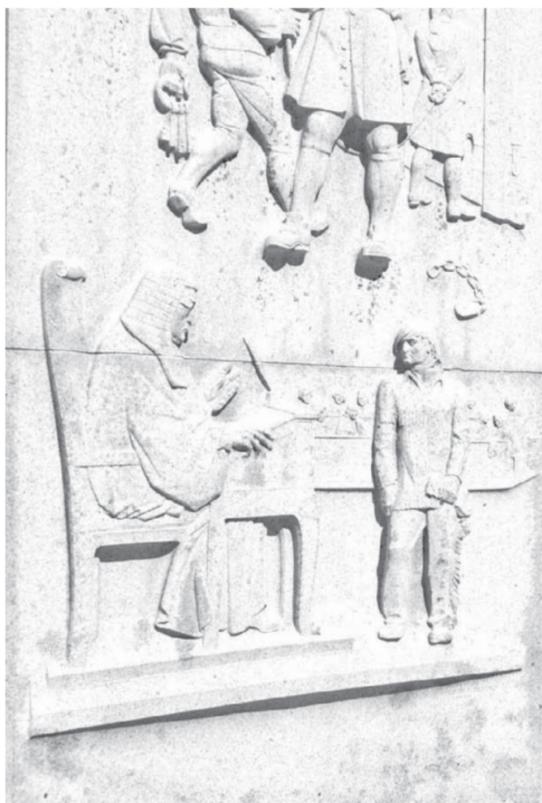
Many of these cases have recently been downgraded or dismissed altogether after failing in grand juries, a tacit acknowledgment by the U.S. attorney's office in Washington that they were overcharged to begin with. The most prominent example is the case of Sean C. Dunn, a former Justice Department paralegal who was charged with felony assault after he threw a sub-style salami sandwich at a federal agent on patrol near the corner of 14th and U Streets. His charges were knocked down to a misdemeanor last week after prosecutors were unable to indict him.

While Mr. Dunn's case has become a cause célèbre, inspiring Banksy-style images of figures hurling hoagies on walls across the city, other cases have also crashed and burned, without as much publicity.

On Friday, for example, about a week after failing to obtain an indictment, prosecutors dismissed a case against Nathalie Rose Jones, an Indiana woman who had been arrested on felony charges of threatening to kill Mr. Trump on social media.

Ms. Jones, who has been described by friends as being mentally ill, was taken into custody on Aug. 16 after she attended a march outside the White House. Secret Service agents, who had seen her posts calling Mr. Trump a Nazi and saying that she wanted to disembowel him, had interviewed her twice before the protest but did not initially seek to detain her.

On Thursday, prosecutors had moved to dismiss another threat case after it, too, failed in the grand jury. This one had been brought against Edward Alexan-



Grand jurors have refused in at least seven recent cases to indict fellow citizens who were ensnared in the president's show of force.



Jeanine Pirro, the U.S. attorney in Washington, recently took to television to complain about the city's grand jurors.

der Dana, a self-described "person with intellectual disabilities" who was arrested on Aug. 21 also on charges of having threatened to kill Mr. Trump.

The decision to dismiss the case in federal court and refile it as a misdemeanor in the lower Superior Court came after videos emerged of Mr. Dana telling a police officer in a slurring voice that he had drunk "seven alcoholic beverages" that night, court papers say. Another video, the papers assert, showed Mr. Dana at the police station "cordially thanking the officers and lying on the floor, singing and yelling non sequitur, incomprehensible statements."

These grand jury refusals to indict, while remarkable on their own, point to a broader breakdown in the bonds of trust that judges have traditionally afforded to government lawyers when they show up in court.

The erosion of this trust — known in legal parlance as the presumption of regularity — has been widespread in the many civil cases challenging Mr. Trump's political agenda, where judges have repeatedly accused Justice Department lawyers of misleading them or violating their orders.

But now the phenomenon has started to crop up in criminal cases, too. It first occurred in July in Los Angeles, where prosecutors struggled to obtain indictments against several protesters arrested at demonstrations against federal immigration actions.

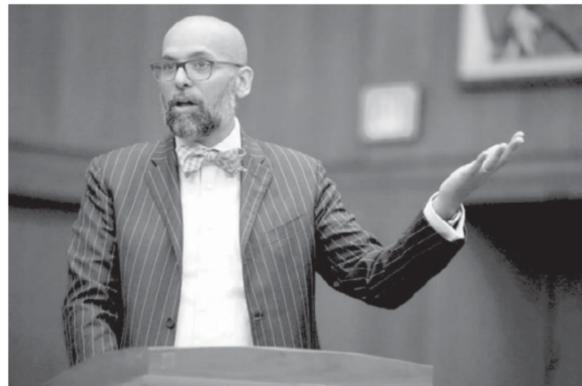
In Washington, the grand jury failures have led to tensions between some federal judges and Jeanine Pirro, the tough-talking, gravel-voiced former Fox News co-host who took over the U.S. attorney's office in May.

Ms. Pirro has not taken kindly to news reports about her office's challenges with grand juries. Appearing on "Fox News Sunday" last weekend after prosecutors failed to indict Mr. Dunn, she went on to complain about the city's grand jurors. Many of them, she surmised, "live in Georgetown or in Northwest or in some of these better areas" where, as she put it, "they don't see the reality of crime."

"The fact that they're so used to crime," Ms. Pirro went on, "that crime is so normalized in D.C., that they don't even care about whether or not the law is violated is the very essence of what my problem is in D.C."



ERIC LEE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



Magistrate Judge Zia M. Faruqui, who formerly worked in the U.S. attorney's office, has been critical of Ms. Pirro's tenure.

Such remarks, while clearly self-serving, were hardly the first time that a supporter of the president had complained about the supposedly liberal bias of the jury pool in Washington. Scores of rioters who took part in the storming of the Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021, sought to have their trials moved out of the city, arguing — without success — that local jurors would never treat them fairly.

Still, Ms. Pirro's anger did not end with Mr. Dunn's case. After prosecutors failed to indict Mr. Dana, she took aim at Magistrate Judge Zia M. Faruqui, who oversaw the case.

Judge Faruqui, who worked as a prosecutor in Ms. Pirro's office before she took control of it, has been very outspoken about what he sees as his former colleagues' failures. In June, before the federal troops and agents arrived, he excoriated prosecutors for trying to persuade him that he needed to be "highly deferential" to their request to keep a search warrant secret.

"Blind deference to the government?" he wrote. "That is no longer a thing. Trust that has been earned over generations has been lost in weeks."

Judge Faruqui again erupted at

the government in federal court on Thursday after prosecutors asked him to drop the Dana case, saying they were past the point of "losing credibility." He lambasted his former office for having carelessly filed charges against people during Mr. Trump's deployment in what he said appeared to be an effort to get attention on "Twitter or Truth Social."

He also criticized Ms. Pirro for having one of her underlings, an assistant U.S. attorney, handle the dismissal of the case instead of doing it herself.

"When I was an A.U.S.A. and something had to be dismissed or a difficult decision had to be made, the criminal chief appeared, the U.S. attorney appeared," he said. "Because that's what leaders do. That's leading from the front."

Hours later, Ms. Pirro fired back, assailing Judge Faruqui on social media in a way that all but ensured the tension would continue.

"This judge took an oath to follow the law, yet he has allowed his politics to consistently cloud his judgment and his requirement to follow the law," she wrote. "America voted for safe communities, law and order, and this judge is the antithesis of that."

Breyer Defends Judge Accused of Defying a Supreme Court Ruling

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — Justice Stephen G. Breyer on Saturday defended a judge accused of defying a Supreme Court ruling, saying in an interview that he knew the judge to be scrupulously honest and respectful of higher courts.

Justice Breyer, who retired from the court in 2022, has avoided criticism of his former colleagues.

He declined on Saturday to directly address Justice Neil M. Gorsuch's concurring opinion last month accusing Judge William G. Young, of the Federal District Court in Boston, of ignoring a binding precedent.

But that opinion plainly prompted Justice Breyer's decision to step forward with rare public comments in praise of Judge Young as model jurist whose rulings he had often reviewed during his 14 years as an appeals court judge in Boston.

"I never saw an instance where he would deliberately defy a controlling opinion or legal statement from our court or from the Supreme Court," Justice Breyer said. "I never even had an instinct or a guess or a hunch or anything that he was doing anything like that deliberately."

Justice Breyer's comments

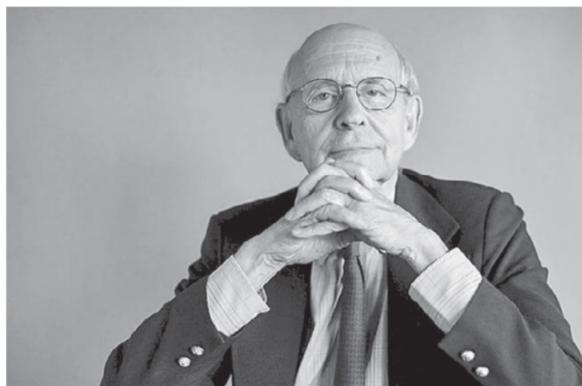
were the latest indication of growing tensions within the judiciary, as courts grapple with the flood of lawsuits prompted by the Trump administration's sweeping efforts to remake the government, and as trial judges struggle to interpret the Supreme Court's emergency orders.

Justice Gorsuch had harsh words for Judge Young, accusing him of serious misconduct in a ruling restoring grants from the National Institutes of Health that the Trump administration had sought to cancel.

"Lower court judges may sometimes disagree with this court's decisions, but they are never free to defy them," Justice Gorsuch wrote, adding that Judge Young had ignored the reasoning in an unsigned four-paragraph interim order in a different case in April.

Justice Gorsuch acknowledged that such orders are not final determinations, but said that "even probabilistic holdings" like the one in April must command respect. "Whatever their own views, judges are duty bound to respect 'the hierarchy of the federal court system created by the Constitution and Congress,'" he added, citing an earlier opinion.

Justice Brett M. Kavanaugh joined the concurring opinion. The criticism prompted an un-



ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Justice Stephen G. Breyer, who retired from the court in 2022, praised a former colleague from his years as a judge in Boston.

usual apology from Judge Young at a hearing last week.

"Before we do anything, I really feel it's incumbent upon me to — on the record here — to apologize to Justices Gorsuch and Kavanaugh if they think that anything this court has done has been done in defiance of a precedential action of the Supreme Court of the United States," said Judge Young, who was appointed by President Ronald Reagan in 1985.

He added that "I can do nothing more than to say as honestly as I

can: I certainly did not so intend, and that is foreign in every respect to the nature of how I have conducted myself as a judicial officer."

Judge Young was not alone in trying to make sense of the Supreme Court's cryptic orders on what critics call its shadow docket. Ruling for Harvard last week in its suit against the Trump administration, Judge Allison D. Burroughs, another federal judge in Boston, wrote that "the Supreme Court's recent emergency

docket rulings regarding grant terminations have not been models of clarity, and have left many issues unresolved."

Responding to Justice Gorsuch's concurrence, she wrote that "it is unhelpful and unnecessary to criticize district courts for 'defying' the Supreme Court when they are working to find the right answer in a rapidly evolving doctrinal landscape, where they must grapple with both existing precedent and interim guidance from the Supreme Court that appears to set that precedent aside without much explanation or consensus."

At last week's hearing, Judge Young, 84, seemed to be reeling from a blow to his reputation administered by a Supreme Court justice.

"I have served in judicial office now for over 47 years," he said. "Never before this admonition has any judge in any higher court ever thought to suggest that this court had defied the precedent of a higher court."

Justice Breyer said the judge he knew would never have done such a thing. "He was honest," the justice said of his former colleague. "He was a straightforward judge, a very decent person and a good judge."

The 47th President

WHITE HOUSE MEMO

'President of Peace' Sends Mixed Signals With Department of War

By ERICA L. GREEN

WASHINGTON — In his campaign for a second term, President Trump promised that he would get and keep the United States out of wars. In his inaugural address, he said he wanted to leave a legacy of "unification." And after just under eight months in office, he is openly campaigning for a Nobel Peace Prize.

But this week, Mr. Trump sent a conflicting message. The "President of Peace," as the White House has branded him, signed an executive order to establish a "Department of War."

The change speaks to the contradictions in Mr. Trump's presidency and the image he projects to the world, on the one hand seeking the ultimate prize for peace while at the same time promoting a far more aggressive use of U.S. military might.

He even suggested in a social

A rebranding reflects aggressive actions at home and abroad.

media post on Saturday morning that he would go to "war" with a city in his own country where he has threatened an immigration crackdown. He said Chicago was "about to find out why it's called the Department of WAR," along with three helicopter emojis.

Asked on Friday about how he squared his Department of War with his push for peace, Mr. Trump did not see a contradiction.

"I think I've gotten peace because of the fact that we're strong," he said. (Mr. Trump claims to have solved at least seven wars, a statement that requires context.)

Mr. Trump said he had revived a name used for the nation's original defense agency until just after World War II because it better reflected the country's fighting capabilities and sent a message of "victory" to both allies and enemies.

Mr. Trump, who was granted five deferments from being drafted to fight in Vietnam, including for a diagnosis of bone spurs, said that the country had "never fought to win" a war after World War II, when Congress renamed the Department of War the Department of Defense.

Critics say the rebranding exposed the hypocrisy behind Mr. Trump's promises to bring peace.

"He ran as the supposed anti-war candidate, but has proved to be just the opposite," said Matt Duss, executive vice president at the liberal Center for International Policy. "This stunt underscores that Trump is more interested in belligerent chest-thumping than genuine peacemaking — with dangerous consequences for American security, global standing and the safety of our armed services."

Only Congress can change

Eric Schmitt contributed reporting.



HAIYUN JIANG/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Critics of President Trump say his promises of bringing peace are hollow. One said he "is more interested in belligerent chest-thumping than genuine peacemaking."

department names, so the title is ceremonial until it is codified into law. Mr. Trump had ordered the federal government to recognize it as a "secondary" name, in addition to having "secretary of war" serve as a "secondary title" to secretary of defense.

The measure has drawn the support of some Republicans in Congress. Senator Markwayne Mullin, Republican of Oklahoma and member of the Armed Services Committee, praised Mr.

Trump in a social media post for "ENDING wars, not starting them," and said that the renaming "reflects the seriousness of this national security mission, and a return to our military history."

Col. Larry Wilkerson, who served as chief of staff to former Secretary of State Colin L. Powell, said that the name change underscored the shift in the military's approach from defensive to offensive. The new pos-

ture could be seen in the deadly strike on a boat that U.S. officials said was carrying Venezuelan drug smugglers. In that operation, Mr. Trump used the military in a way that had no clear legal precedent or basis, according to experts in the laws of war and executive power.

Colonel Wilkerson said the timing of the name change was especially conspicuous after the leaders of China, Russia, India and North Korea met at a sum-

mit in China without the United States.

The United States, he said, was "pontificating about its power at a time when its power is visibly ebbing in front of everyone's faces."

The rebranding also comes at a moment when Mr. Trump has said he wants to eliminate wasteful spending in the government, which has already resulted in deep cuts, including at the Pentagon.

William D. Hartung, a senior research fellow at the Quincy Institute for Responsible Statecraft, where he focuses on the arms industry and U.S. military budget, said that the rebranding would cost at least millions of dollars.

"It runs counter to this notion that they're efficient, they're focused on the warfighting, because this is largely a P.R. operation," Mr. Hartung said.

"It's chump change for the Pentagon budget," he added, "but it's chump change that could do something real somewhere else."

Asked on Friday whether he had any concerns about how much the rebranding would cost, given that the Pentagon was cutting back costs, Mr. Trump said it wouldn't be "the most expensive."

"We know how to rebrand without having to go crazy," he said, adding that it would mostly involve changing things like stationery. "We don't have to re-carve a mountain or anything."

Mr. Trump's order directs the federal government to recognize the new name and title in "official correspondence, public communications, ceremonial contexts and nonstatutory documents within the executive branch."

Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth has already begun transitioning his office and department with new signs.

Trump Downplays Post Threatening Chicago Crackdown

By ERICA L. GREEN

President Trump on Sunday attempted to downplay his social media post that appeared to threaten to declare war on Chicago, saying that he merely wanted to "clean up" the city.

Speaking to reporters before he departed the White House for the U.S. Open, Mr. Trump addressed his post from Saturday in which he invoked his newly rebranded name for the Pentagon with an image that included helicopters, billowing flames and the Chicago skyline. "Chicago about to find out why it's called the Department of WAR," read the post, titled "Chipocalypse Now," a reference to the 1979 film "Apocalypse Now."

On Sunday, when asked whether he was "threatening to go to war with Chicago," Mr. Trump called it "fake news," and chastised the reporter when she asked why he would use the Department of Defense.

"We're not going to war, we're going to clean up our cities," Mr. Trump said. "We're going to clean them up so they don't kill five people every weekend. That's not war. That's common sense."

The post was an escalation in Mr. Trump's quest to continue deploying the military on U.S. soil in the name of cracking down on crime and illegal immigration. For weeks, Mr. Trump has attacked Chicago and other cities led by Democrats that he

has assailed as "hellholes" because of crime, and floated sending federal agents and National Guard troops to cities throughout the country. Mr. Trump deployed the military to Washington, D.C., in August and Los Angeles in June.

His post on Saturday drew a fierce rebuke from Democrats, including Gov. JB Pritzker of Illinois, who in his own social media post blasted Mr. Trump as a "wannabe dictator."

"The President of the United States is threatening to go to war with an American city," Mr. Pritzker wrote. "This is not a joke. This is not normal."

In an interview on CNN's "State of the Union," Tom

Homan, the White House border czar, said that the words in the post were "taken out of context," when asked whether the president planned to go to war in Chicago.

The post, he said, was intended to convey that the administration is "going to war with the criminal cartels; we're going to war with illegal aliens, public safety threats," and cited previous operations in the city that nabbed violent criminals in the country illegally.

Mr. Homan said federal action in Chicago, including the deployment of the National Guard, could come as soon as this week, but he declined to say how many National Guard troops would be sent.

Health Agency Withdraws a Report That Linked Moderate Drinking to Cancer

By RONI CARYN RABIN

The Department of Health and Human Services has pulled back a government report warning of a link between cancer and drinking even small amounts of alcohol, according to the authors of the research.

Their report, the Alcohol Intake and Health Study, warned that even one drink a day raises the risk of liver cirrhosis, oral and esophageal cancer, and injuries. The scientists who wrote it were told that the final version would not be submitted to Congress, as had been planned.

The report is one of two assessments that were to be used to shape the new U.S. Dietary Guidelines' recommendations on alcohol consumption. Its early findings were reported by The New York Times in January; a full draft remained on the H.H.S. website as of Friday afternoon.

A competing report, written by a National Academies of Sciences, Engineering and Medicine panel, came to a conclusion long supported by the industry: that moderate drinking is healthier than not drinking. Some panelists came under criticism for financial ties to alcohol makers.

The academies report was requested by Congress in 2022, after the scientific review for the last version of the dietary guidelines in 2020 stated that health risks associated with low consumption might have been underestimated.

The alcohol industry has strongly criticized such findings and opposed efforts to tighten drinking recommendations.

In a statement, Science Over Bias, an industry-supported advocacy group, faulted the alcohol intake study for bias: "The Dietary Guidelines should be guided by a preponderance of sound science, not the personal ideologies of a handful of researchers."

The academies report was not influenced by the makers of alcoholic beverages, the statement continued. H.H.S. did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

Mike Marshall, chief executive of the U.S. Alcohol Policy Alliance, a nonprofit that aims to reduce the harms of alcohol, said H.H.S. was "doing the work of the alcohol industry."

"They're burying the report so the information about the health consequences is not widely known," Mr. Marshall said.

Health Secretary Robert F. Kennedy Jr. has decried a "chronic disease epidemic" sweeping the country. But he has said little about alcohol's impact on American health since taking office.

Consumption of both alcohol and tobacco was absent from the first Make America Healthy Again report released in May. Mr. Kennedy (like his boss, President Trump) has said he does not drink.

In public comments on the Alco-



COLIN CLARK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A report that contradicted the notion that moderate drinking was not harmful and might even have health benefits was sidelined.

hol Intake and Health Study, wine and beer vendors and representatives of the alcohol industry urged federal officials to rely only on the competing academies report supporting moderate drinking. They called the alcohol intake study "alarming and misguided."

The decision not to publish that study was first reported by Vox. In June, Reuters reported that the upcoming Dietary Guidelines would scrap the longstanding recommendation: that women have no more than one drink a day, and men no more than two.

Instead, the guidelines would include a brief statement that people should drink in moderation,

Reuters said.

"What people need to know is that the risk of serious morbidities and mortality, and chronic disease, increases as alcohol consumption increases, and it even increases at low levels of consumption," said Katherine M. Keyes, a professor of epidemiology at Columbia University who was one of the report's authors.

Dr. Keyes said the alcohol intake study did not make recommendations and noted that people do many things that carry risks, like driving cars.

But, she added, "The American public deserves to know what they're putting in their body and

what kind of health outcomes they can cause."

The authors now plan to submit their analysis for publication in a peer-reviewed medical journal, she said.

The Alcohol Intake and Health Study was one of several to have upended the long-dominant narrative that moderate drinking was not harmful and might have health benefits, particularly for the heart.

Newer studies have questioned the methodology used in older studies, and researchers have increasingly focused on alcohol's contribution to cancer.

In January, Dr. Vivek Murthy, then the surgeon general, called for putting labels on alcoholic beverages to warn consumers that drinking increases the risk of breast cancer, colon cancer and at least five other malignancies.

He said that drinking directly contributed to 100,000 cancer cases and 20,000 related deaths each year.

Americans are getting the message. A Gallup poll in August found drinking at an all-time low in the United States, with only 54 percent of adults saying they consumed alcohol. A majority said they believed that even one to two drinks a day was harmful to health. Sales of wine and spirits have dipped.

The academies report concluded that moderate drinking was linked to fewer heart attack

and stroke deaths and fewer deaths overall, compared to not drinking. It acknowledged that moderate drinking was linked to a small but significant increase in breast cancer in women, but said that there wasn't enough evidence to link moderate consumption to other cancers.

The National Cancer Institute, among other medical organizations, disagreed.

The alcohol intake study assessed relationships between different levels of average alcohol consumption and the risk of dying from health conditions that can be caused by drinking.

The research found some benefits for those having one drink a day: a lower risk of diabetes for women, and a lowered risk of ischemic stroke among both men and women.

But even at that modest level, women were more likely to develop liver cancer. And just occasional heavy drinking nullified the protection against stroke.

"The key message is that drinking two drinks a day may be moderate from a social perspective, but when it comes to health, it's a pretty risky amount," said Dr. Timothy Naimi, director of the Canadian Institute for Substance Use Research and one of the authors.

"A man who drinks two drinks every day on average has a one in 25 chance of dying prematurely from alcohol."

Sanders Assails Democratic Leaders for Failing to Endorse Mamdani

Accusing Party of Being 'Out of Touch' And Saying a Platform Is 'Not Radical'

This article is by Emma G. Fitzsimmons, Benjamin Oreskes and Lisa Lerer.

Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont on Saturday assailed Democratic leaders for their refusal to support Zohran Mamdani in the New York City mayor's race and called him the "future of the Democratic Party."

Speaking at an evening town hall in Brooklyn, Mr. Sanders said the party leaders' reluctance to back Mr. Mamdani after his decisive win in the Democratic primary showed how deeply disconnected they had become from voters. He said that Democrats in New York should be "jumping up and down" to support Mr. Mamdani after the excitement over his underdog campaign.

"So we've got another fight on our hands," Mr. Sanders said. "And that is the future of the Democratic Party."

Mr. Mamdani joined Mr. Sanders on the latest stop on his national Fighting Oligarchy tour, the town hall feeling like a passing of the torch from Mr. Sanders, who turns 84 on Monday, to a new generation of leaders like Mr. Mamdani, 33, and Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, 35. Ms. Ocasio-Cortez met with Mr. Sanders and Mr. Mamdani earlier in the day and endorsed Mr. Mamdani, a state assemblyman, during the primary.

The trio are democratic socialists and have tried to push the Democratic Party to the left. But Mr. Mamdani has also faced pressure to distance himself from the Democratic Socialists of America to appeal to a broader audience.

Many Democrats in New York have not yet endorsed him, among them Gov. Kathy Hochul, as well as Hakeem Jeffries and Chuck Schumer, the minority leaders in the House and Senate.

Mr. Sanders said in an interview before the town hall that Democratic leaders were missing an opportunity by failing to embrace Mr. Mamdani.

"It's no great secret that they're way out of touch with grass-roots America, with the working families of this country, not only in New York City, but all over this country," he said.

Mr. Mamdani's populist proposals, Mr. Sanders said, were "not radical ideas."

"We're the richest country in the history of the world," he said. "There's no excuse for people not

having affordable housing, good quality, affordable, decent transportation, free transportation."

Mr. Mamdani praised the D.S.A. at the town hall, urging a mother who supported his universal child care plan to join the group when she asked how she could help.

He also weighed in on a host of local issues, including expressing support for faculty members and protesters on college campuses who support Palestinians. Elected officials have protested how four faculty members at Brooklyn College lost their jobs.

"No faculty member should be disciplined for supporting Palestinian human rights," Mr. Mamdani said.

When Mr. Mamdani was asked about Mr. Trump's threats to send the National Guard to the city, he said: "We have to prepare for the inevitability of that deployment."

Mr. Mamdani said that elected officials in California had worked together to oppose Mr. Trump's incursion and cast doubt on whether his closest mayoral rival, former Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo, could work with Ms. Hochul and others to stop him.

"Why would he fight back when it's Donald Trump that is trying to get him elected right now?" he said.

Mr. Sanders and Mr. Mamdani also took aim at Mr. Trump's agenda and the wealthy donors who are trying to defeat Mr. Mamdani. Mr. Sanders said that wealthy Americans had too much power and that the mayor's race was a "test case of whether or not democracy can prevail."

"They're afraid of Mr. Mamdani becoming an example of what can happen all over this country," Mr. Sanders said.

Mr. Trump has said that he wants two of the mayoral candidates to drop out so that one of them can beat Mr. Mamdani in a head-to-head competition. The New York Times reported on Friday that Trump advisers had been putting together a plan for Mayor Eric Adams to be nominated as ambassador to Saudi Arabia as a way of removing him from the race and consolidating the field to help Mr. Cuomo's chances.

On Saturday morning, Mr. Mamdani and Mr. Sanders marched in a Labor Day parade in Manhattan with elected officials, including Ms. Hochul.

Mr. Mamdani told reporters that watching Mr. Sanders' insurgent 2016 presidential campaign



Assemblyman Zohran Mamdani, the front-runner in the New York City mayor's race, was joined by Senator Bernie Sanders at a Fighting Oligarchy rally that was held in Brooklyn on Saturday.

had inspired him to become a democratic socialist.

Mr. Mamdani added that the initial canvassing effort for his first State Assembly run in 2019 had taken place outside a Sanders rally.

"He was a mayor who ran with a

message that Burlington is not for sale," Mr. Mamdani said of Mr. Sanders, who served four terms as the mayor of the Vermont city early in his career.

"We are running with a message that New York City is not for sale," Mr. Mamdani added. "There

are echoes and parallels, and an inspiration in the work that he has done."

The appearances on Saturday were a homecoming for Mr. Sanders, who grew up in the Midwood neighborhood of Brooklyn and still holds a grudge against Walter

O'Malley for moving the Dodgers to Los Angeles. Despite representing Vermont in Congress for decades, his local accent has never faded and his forceful denunciations of economic disparity have made him a popular figure in New York City.

A recent poll by a progressive think tank of Democratic primary voters in the city found that Mr. Sanders was the most popular elected official among those listed on the survey, with 79 percent having a favorable view of him.

Mr. Mamdani has embraced Mr. Sanders's message, criticizing his mayoral opponents' reliance on large campaign donations from billionaires and political groups backed by corporations. In contrast, Mr. Mamdani has relied on smaller donors and announced on Friday that he had hit the \$8 million fund-raising cap in the race.

Mr. Cuomo, who is running for mayor as an independent, was endorsed on Saturday by the Local Union No. 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and was greeted warmly by some New Yorkers on the labor parade route.

"Andrew Cuomo has stood hand in hand with unions for decades," said Christopher Erikson, the union's business manager.

Mr. Adams, who is fourth in the polls, said Friday that he would not leave the race and called Mr. Cuomo "a snake and a liar."

On Saturday, Mr. Cuomo dismissed Mr. Adams and said he had long ago stopped listening to him.

"I believe the Republicans want Mamdani to win the election," Mr. Cuomo said.

Mr. Sanders's Fighting Oligarchy tour has drawn huge crowds across the country, channeling fury on the left over Mr. Trump's first months back in office.

But Mr. Mamdani's opponents have argued that the progressive wing of the party has hurt Democrats and is out of step with most Americans. Mr. Trump won more votes in New York City in 2024 than in 2020, in part over concerns about immigration and crime.

While Mr. Cuomo and Mr. Adams have concentrated their message on public safety, Mr. Mamdani has sought to keep his focus on another issue — affordability — and his plans to tax the wealthy to provide free buses and child care.

Mr. Mamdani, who has a healthy lead in the polls, said the race was not over and urged his supporters to canvas for his campaign.

"We have to beat Andrew Cuomo one more time, he said, adding: "The job is not done."

Immigration Raid Exposes Seoul and Rural Georgia To Trump's Mixed Signals

From Page A1

how quickly the region is changing, and over who is filling the jobs that are being created.

Law enforcement officials said the raid on Thursday followed a monthslong investigation into suspicions of unlawful employment practices at the HL-GA Battery Company plant, a joint venture of LG Energy Solution and Hyundai Motor Group. Margaret E. Heap, the U.S. attorney for southern Georgia, said in a statement that the operation had been intended to "prevent employers from gaining an unfair advantage by hiring unauthorized workers."

On Sunday, government officials with South Korea said they had reached an agreement with the United States to free the Korean workers and fly them back to that country. But beyond that, many details of the raid and what the investigation found remained unclear, including which individuals were arrested and their immigration statuses, what roles they had been hired to fill and the conditions at the work site. The investigation has not yet yielded criminal charges.

What is clear, though, is that the raid has sent shock waves across the Pacific, said Tami Overby, an international business consultant who formerly led the U.S.-Korea Business Council at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

"Talking to my friends last night, I had one guy say, 'We're getting mixed messages from the administration: You want our money, but you don't want us,'" Ms. Overby said. "It had a chilling impact all across board rooms in Asia."

In Georgia, local politicians and labor organizers have raised concerns about the possibility that undocumented people were being hired to work at the site, where construction began in 2023, and whether labor conditions met le-

gal standards. Three workers have died at the complex over the past three years.

Barry Zeigler, the business manager of UA Local Union 188, which represents plumbers, pipefitters, welders and air-conditioning technicians, expressed outrage over his members not being given more work at the site. He said that 65 of them had been let go from the battery plant several months ago after being hired to install steel piping.

"Georgians were promised those jobs," Mr. Zeigler said.

"I don't have a problem with the Koreans being here and trying to make a living over here," he added. But he said he had a problem with people who were not authorized to work "stealing our jobs."

Neither Hyundai Motor Company nor LG Energy Solution have commented on employment practices at the site. LG Energy Solution acknowledged that its employees and those from partnering companies had been detained. Hyundai said that none of its employees were being held, but that a review had been initiated to ensure that outside contractors and partnering companies "maintain the same high standards of legal compliance that we demand of ourselves."

South Korean companies have poured billions of dollars into U.S. factories in recent years, becoming the top foreign investor in new projects in the United States in 2023.

Much of that investment has been supported by federal subsidies passed during the Biden administration for electric vehicles and semiconductors — and aggressively pursued by state governments, which have added sweeteners.

Hyundai alone has said it plans to invest \$21 billion between 2025 and 2028, on top of the \$20.5 billion it has already invested. The Hyundai-LG electric vehicle complex is slated to receive up to \$2.1 billion in tax breaks, in exchange for investing \$7.6 billion and employing 8,500 workers by 2031.

The push has intensified this year, as President Trump has imposed 25 percent tariffs on auto-



USA TODAY NETWORK, VIA REUTERS

mobiles. Those levies cost Hyundai more than \$600 million in the second quarter of this year, the company reported.

In July, with support from chief executives of the largest industrial conglomerates in South Korea, the country struck a deal with the White House that set 15 percent tariffs on all other imports from South Korea. In addition, South Korea pledged to invest another \$350 billion into the United States.

But building that much in America all at once requires many thousands of construction work-

A U.S. campaign to get investment from South Korea meets a mandate to deport.

ers. Factory construction has boomed in the United States in recent years as a result of laws subsidizing semiconductor and clean energy equipment manufacturing, mostly in Republican districts in the industrial Midwest and Southeast. Data centers to feed artificial intelligence models have kept many contractors occupied as well.

But amid that demand for workers, the Trump administration essentially cut off the flow of immi-

grants who had been arriving at the southern border. In recent months, the Department of Homeland Security has begun increasing work site enforcement operations, which are seen as a more efficient way to get undocumented immigrants to leave the country in large numbers.

"The reality is right now that there's a work force shortage for construction labor pretty much nationally," said Didi Caldwell, the chief executive of Global Location Strategies, which helps companies find development sites.

On top of that, she said that hefty tariffs on parts and materials, as well as threats to the independence of the Federal Reserve, were spooking international investors — despite Mr. Trump's promises to make it easy to build in the United States.

"It's like we're running with a weighted vest on, and something like this just puts another few pounds in the vest," she said.

Experts on the relationship between South Korea and the United States said they were worried that the raid could have damaging consequences, undermining trust and fueling resentments.

"Raiding a factory that has invested record amounts — that's no way to treat a foreign investment," said Mark Keam, the president of the Korean American Institute, a policy research organization.

Abraham Kim, the president of the Council of Korean Americans,

a nonprofit in Washington, said the arrests struck him as counterproductive, especially as Korean Americans have made strides in pushing back against stereotypes of Asians being unwelcome in America.

"There has been a history of our community feeling like we're outsiders," he said. "These are not healthy stereotypes."

Georgia has eagerly sought investment by South Korean businesses, with Gov. Brian Kemp visiting the country twice since taking office. Korean companies have invested in plants making batteries, semiconductor materials and solar panels, as well as a large-scale bakery and food distribution center. On Wednesday, Gov. Kemp announced that JS Link, a Korean biotechnology company, planned to build a magnet manufacturing facility in Columbus that would create more than 500 jobs.

But the state has also enthusiastically embraced the Trump administration's immigration crackdown. The Georgia State Patrol and the Georgia National Guard have both worked closely with federal immigration enforcement agents, and the State Patrol was involved in Thursday's raid.

"In Georgia, we will always enforce the law, including all state and federal immigration laws," the governor's office said in a statement. "All companies operating within the state must follow the laws of Georgia and our nation."

The battery plant is part of the

sprawling complex that represented a \$12.6 billion investment. Company officials projected that the infusion would have benefits across the state, including creating nearly 40,000 jobs.

In Ellabell, roughly 25 miles from Savannah, the complex covers more than 2,900 acres. Company officials boasted of a parking lot with a canopy of solar panels and a 41-acre park with trails, running tracks, sports fields and picnic areas for employees.

But outside the complex, two-lane country roads now have five lanes jammed with traffic. Twenty-minute commutes now sometimes approach an hour, some residents said.

"It's definitely not the same around here," said Derriell Walker, a general foreman with an electric transmission line company.

Jennifer Mutcherson, who has lived in Ellabell for more than four decades, said she wished the complex had not come.

"This is a small community," she said, adding that she believed officials and business leaders had moved ahead without enough local input. "They didn't ask us if they should bring it in."

Sammie Rentz took over an old Piggly Wiggly location and invested \$400,000 to create Viet Huong grocery — an investment that had paid off because of the arrival of the complex, he said. The store offers items that include Korean red bean paste and beef bone soup. The packaging on most items is in Korean, with English translations in small type.

Mr. Rentz said he wanted to cater to the newcomers.

"It's their store," he said.

On Friday, two men who said they were visiting from Korea came into the store. One was wearing a bright yellow vest with "HL-GA BATTERY" printed on the back. The two men, who declined to give their names, described the situation as "very sad."

"We're trying to find our friends," one of them said.

Mr. Rentz fears the raid will be bad for business — specifically, his.

"Korean workers keep this store going," he said. "And now, that's all messed up."

Jim Lynn and Sean Keenan reported from Ellabell, Ga.; Lydia DePillis from New York; Rick Rojas from Atlanta; and Farah Stockman from Boston. John Yoon contributed reporting from Seoul.

Rats Hiding in Strollers! Rats Under the Benches! Rats Running Over Feet!

In Central Park, Tales of Horror Abound

By CHRISTOPHER MAAG

Rachel Chase, a longtime New Yorker, is used to seeing rats in Central Park. Rats rattling the bushes. Rats scurrying across sidewalks. Rats lurking just behind fences, their little black eyes alert.

But on a recent Saturday, the rats of Central Park were like nothing she'd ever seen.

At midmorning she took her children, ages 2 and 4, to the Wild West Playground, near the park's entrance at West 93rd Street. It's an awesome spot, with forts, sandboxes and slides.

At around 11:30, Ms. Chase started readying to leave. She needed to be at the Ambassador Theater an hour before curtain for the 2:30 matinee of "Chicago." (She stars in the show, playing Roxie Hart.)

Then, as she was about to grab her stroller, she saw movement. It was in the undercarriage, down

'They're bold. You can stomp your foot all you want, but they're New York City rats. They are not afraid.'

JASON TORRES, whose weekday ritual of relaxation in the median on Broadway near 96th Street has been disrupted by a rat invasion.

where Ms. Chase keeps toys, baby wipes and sippy cups. She yelled, "Hey!"

Two rats — possibly three? — climbed out of the stroller and bolted away.

Aware that her children were watching, Ms. Chase did not freak out. Instead she calmly cleaned the stroller seat with antibacterial wipes, helped her children inside and then walked home, where she attacked the stroller with different combinations of dish soap and bleach.

"I wanted to set it on fire," she said of the rat-defiled stroller. "It's just gross. It's so gross!"

She posted a description of her horror in UWS Mommas, a private Facebook group for mothers on the Upper West Side. Her post attracted a deluge of responses, many of which confirmed what seemed to be an invasion of rats.

Rather than running rampant across the entire neighborhood, however, the rats seemed to stick to a few specific locations, including three playgrounds on the western edge of Central Park and the median on Broadway near 96th Street.

Luke Caramanico and Camille Baker contributed reporting.

Late last month, The West Side Rag, a local newspaper, ran a photo of two dozen rats swarming in the median. The New York Post followed, publishing photos and a video of rats in the Tots Playground at West 68th Street, including a shot of a rat perched on the wheel of a baby stroller.

The rat panic of the Upper West Side comes as sightings citywide have declined. Rat complaints to 311 are down 17 percent in the first eight months of 2025 compared with the same period last year, according to data from the city. Across the city, 311 calls about rats started to spike in 2021, during the Covid pandemic, and have declined slightly in the years since.

But in the playgrounds of Central Park, parents and nannies see no evidence of rat populations declining. The causes of the apparent infestations are no mystery, said Jason Munshi-South, a biologist who spent years studying rats in New York City. The playgrounds offer three things that rats love: food scraps, dirt for digging burrows and low shrubs perfect for hiding.

"Rats in these locations surprise me not at all," said Mr. Munshi-South, now a professor at Drexel University in Philadelphia.

Shaun Abreu, the city councilman whose district includes West Harlem and parts of the Upper West Side, said he believes the infestation at 96th and Broadway is exacerbated by people who distribute food to the pigeons that congregate there.

"It's insane," Mr. Abreu said, "to think that a few individuals are feeding this explosive rat infestation."

No pigeon feeders were present during a visit to the intersection on Wednesday morning. But somebody had dumped a mound of hard pretzels on the sidewalk near the entrance to the subway station, and dozens of pigeons took turns lunging at them. They gobbled for a few minutes, then sauntered off, apparently satiated, leaving a still substantial pile of pretzels.

When the pigeons leave, the rats descend, Jason Torres, who lives nearby, said. Every weekday morning he sits on a bench in the median to drink a small coffee and smoke a Marlboro Light before taking the subway to his job as a home health aide. On Wednesday, his bench was surrounded by garbage. Beneath him lay an open and mostly empty bottle of Orange Crush and a greasy box from Arturo's Coal Oven Pizza. Beside him was a box from Magnolia Bakery.

"A rat walked across my foot the other day," said Mr. Torres, 47. "They're bold. You can stomp your foot all you want, but they're New York City rats. They are not afraid."



PHOTOGRAPHS BY BRITAINY NEWMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A rat at the Diana Ross Playground in Central Park last week. Rat sightings have declined across the city, but such statistics belie reports of rat invasions in several Upper West Side playgrounds.



The Wild West Playground has features that rats like: food scraps, dirt and shrubs. A city councilman suggests that the infestation has been worsened by people who distribute food to pigeons.

The children and their grown-ups visiting the playgrounds along Central Park West can confirm the audacity of the Manhattan rat. Jane Pickett, 8, was happily running laps in Adventure Playground near West 67th Street on Tuesday when she spotted a rat near her foot. She screamed and darted away.

"There are so many rats!" she said. "I don't like it."

Her mother, Kate Pickett, maintained that the rat problem that afternoon was actually mild. Try returning to the park around sunset, she said.

"We had family visiting this week, and it's embarrassing," said Ms. Pickett, 40, who hosted relatives from Arizona in the family's apartment, half a block from the park. "It's like, 'Yay! Welcome to Central Park!' And now we have all these rats popping out."

Marlene Charlemagne, a nanny

who often brings two children to Adventure Playground, screams at the rats. She stomps her feet. She chases them with sticks. The rats do not care. They scatter, only to return immediately, sneaking under benches to reach stray scraps of food.

So Ms. Charlemagne started bringing her own pink Ziploc bags, which she uses to seal up the snack garbage of her children: discarded muffin wrappers, orange peels and the like.

Not that it makes much difference, she said. In the scrubby area beyond the playground fence, rats could be seen racing among sandwich wrappers and discarded plastic straws.

"It's like they have their own playground," Ms. Charlemagne said. "They run right under the bench as I'm sitting here. They have no fear."

Curtis Sliwa, the Republican

candidate for mayor, lives with his wife and six elderly cats in a one-bedroom apartment on West 73rd Street between West End Avenue and Broadway. His proximity to several of the reported rat hubs, and his well-documented love for cats, informs his solution to the rat problem should he win the November election: more cats.

Specifically, Mr. Sliwa hopes the city will partner with volunteers who maintain colonies of feral cats, whose population swelled during the pandemic to as many as half a million. When a rat problem is reported anywhere in the city, he said, the keepers could move their cats in.

"I'm an expert in this area because I stay up at night," when more rats come out of their holes, Mr. Sliwa said in a phone interview on Tuesday. "You're never going to win a war against rats. You only can have détente."

When a President Rescued A Mayor Tied to a Scandal

By SAM ROBERTS

It was late summer when New York City's mayor, floundering under the cloud of scandal and ties to disreputable figures, was in need of a presidential rescue.

The year was 1950. The mayor was William O'Dwyer, the president was Harry S. Truman, and the form of rescue was a cushy ambassadorship to Mexico.

Seventy-five years later, history may be repeating itself.

Close advisers to President Trump have crafted a plan for him to nominate Mayor Eric Adams to be ambassador to Saudi Arabia, in an effort to end the mayor's long-shot campaign for re-election in New York City, according to four people familiar with the discussions.

Steve Witkoff, a billionaire real estate investor and adviser to Mr. Trump, had actively pursued the matter, meeting personally with Mr. Adams last week in Florida and speaking with other people close to him.

Mr. Adams, a Democrat who is running a third-party candidacy, said late on Friday that he intended to stay in the race. He did not directly address the possibility of taking an ambassadorship, and took no questions.

Mr. Adams may be in need of a face-saving escape: He is running fourth in the polls.

Like Mr. Adams, William O'Dwyer was a former police officer who was elected mayor. Unlike Mr. Adams, he was never accused of a crime. O'Dwyer was first elected in 1945.

"His landslide re-election in 1949 seemed to complete the story

of the poetry-loving immigrant who arrived from Ireland with \$25.35 in his pocket and became the mayor of America's biggest and richest city," David Samuels wrote in Smithsonian magazine in 2019.

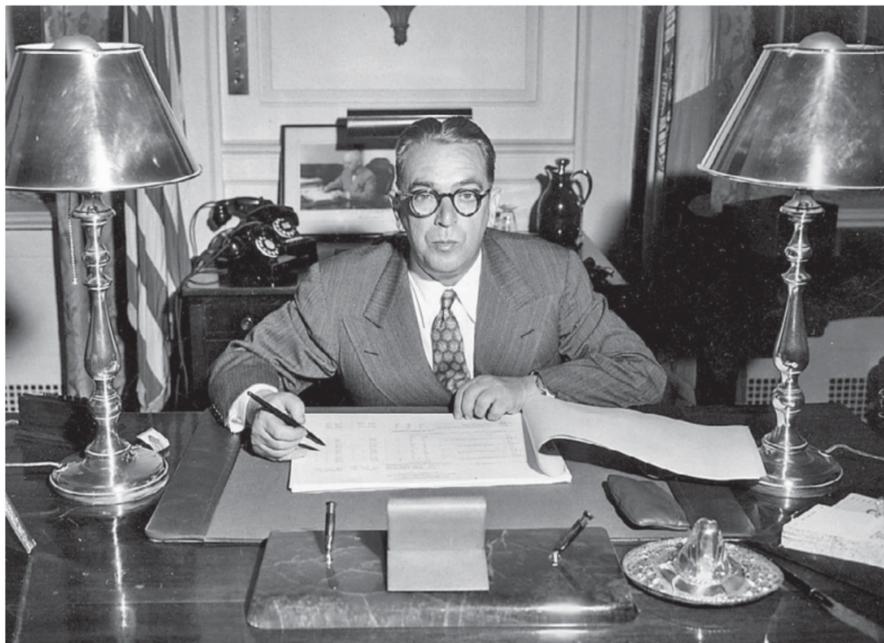
But within months, Miles McDonald, the Brooklyn district attorney, uncovered evidence that Harry Gross, a bookmaker, had managed to run a \$20 million-a-year betting operation free from interference by the authorities in an era when organized crime enjoyed a symbiotic relationship with the Democratic machine headquartered at Tammany Hall.

O'Dwyer was never directly implicated (although there was testimony that he met with the mob boss Frank Costello for years), but some of his cronies were. The mayor himself, Mr. Samuels wrote, "proved to be quite comfortable in the role of glad-handing frontman for a network of corruption that gave the crime bosses and their political partners a stranglehold over the city's economic life."

By the summer of 1950, intermediaries representing City Hall and the White House were mulling a solution to spare not only the mayor, but also his party nationally from a corruption scandal in another Democratic stronghold.

Truman and O'Dwyer were never close (O'Dwyer had urged Truman not to run in 1948), but on Aug. 16, 1950, Truman revealed O'Dwyer's escape route.

"For several months Mayor O'Dwyer has been considering the ambassadorship to Mexico," was all Truman would say at the



FPG/ARCHIVE PHOTOS, VIA GETTY IMAGES

William O'Dwyer was never directly implicated in a corruption scandal, but some of his cronies were. He resigned as mayor of New York in 1950 to take an appointment as ambassador to Mexico.

Truman's timely offer of an ambassadorship aided O'Dwyer amid an investigation.

time. "When I found out that he was in a favorable frame of mind, I sent for him and offered it to him."

What made the offer even more appealing was that Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York had just signed legislation sought by the mayor that would allow him to double dip — to retain his city pension while working as a federal

employee.

O'Dwyer resigned as mayor and was honored with a ticker-tape parade. He survived Republican efforts to block his confirmation. He returned to New York the following year to testify in the ongoing investigations.

"Your recent announcement of the pending appointment of the ambassador to Mexico," Paul Fitzpatrick, the New York Democratic state chairman, wrote the president, "again proves to me your deep understanding of many problems and your kindness in rendering assistance."

Which problems were never specified.

"The O'Dwyer story is one of New York City's more intriguing political mysteries," Mike Wallace, the Pulitzer Prize-winning author, most recently of "Gotham at War," told Mr. Samuels.

O'Dwyer resigned as ambassador in 1952 when the Democrats lost the White House. He remained in Mexico until 1960.

He was succeeded as mayor by his handpicked running mate for City Council president, Vincent R. Impellitteri. In an era of ethnically balanced tickets, legend has it that Democratic bosses searched the index of the Green Book, the official city directory, for the longest Italian name they could find.

Ballot Measures On City Housing Receive Backing From New PAC

By MIHIR ZAVERI

A new political action committee in New York City aims to spend \$3 million in support of ballot measures that could make it easier to build housing as the city faces its worst shortage in decades.

The committee, led by Amit Singh Bagga, a Democratic strategist and former city and state official, has filed paperwork with the Campaign Finance Board under the name Yes on Affordable Housing. The committee has secured \$1 million of the \$3 million in commitments from donors, he said, and plans to spend the money on a handful of campaign staff members, mailers and advertisements on television, radio and streaming services.

It is the latest example of how the fight over the measures is intensifying, alongside a mayoral race also largely dominated by issues of affordability.

The measures, written by a special panel created by Mayor Eric Adams, aim to diminish the power that individual members of City Council have to reject housing in their districts.

The City Council, which opposes the measures, recently asked the Board of Elections to take the extraordinary step of keeping the measures off the November ballot, arguing that the wording was not clear enough. The board is expected to vote on Tuesday.

Mr. Bagga, the campaign manager, said he was confident that the measures would stay on the ballot, even if supporters had to file a lawsuit to challenge the elections board.

"Our current system has turbocharged a small-minded, 'all for me and none for thee' approach that I think has asphyxiated New York's ability to do big things," he said. "From my perspective, these ballot measures would equip us with some of the most basic tools we need to fix this broken housing system."

The panel that wrote the measures, known as a Charter Revision Commission, is supposed to be independent. Mr. Adams had asked its 13 members to tackle the city's housing shortage, one of the main drivers of the rising cost of living. The rental vacancy rate, according to the most recent city measure, is just 1.4 percent.

After months of public hearings and deliberation, the panel proposed four measures related to housing. Three would significantly rewrite the rules of development and are the most contentious.

One measure would create a "fast track" by giving the City Planning Commission, instead of the City Council, the authority to approve or reject affordable housing projects in the 12 community districts that have allowed the least housing to be built. A majority of the planning commission's members are appointed by the mayor.

Another measure would make it easier to build "modest" developments, such as those that would be up to 30 percent bigger than the current rules allow. These changes would also need approval from the planning commission, and not the Council.

A third would create an appeals board that could overrule a decision by the Council to reject or modify an affordable housing development. The board would need agreement between two of its three members: the mayor, the Council speaker and the president of the borough where the development was proposed.

The City Council has said the measures amount to a power grab by Mr. Adams, who is running for re-election as an independent. Adrienne Adams, the Council speaker, said the measures "attempt to mislead voters by hiding their real impact of eliminating the public's power over land-use decisions that allow new development."

The measures have also been endorsed by some of the mayor's opponents. A spokesman for former Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo, who is running for mayor as an independent, has called them "no-brainers." Brad Lander, the city comptroller and an ally of Assemblyman Zohran Mamdani, the Democratic nominee, has testified in support of the measures.

Annemarie Gray, the executive director of Open New York, a nonprofit that supports more housing development, said that if voters passed the measures, there could be ramifications in other cities across the country that are dealing with similar affordability problems.

"This is the first time a major American city is going to put meaningful systemic changes to the politics of housing growth on the ballot," she said.

By Age 25, He Was Fighting Cancer Instead of Wildfires

From Page 1

For decades, wildfire fighters have been sent to work in toxic smoke without masks or warnings about long-term health risks, The New York Times has reported. They inhale poisons that are linked to more than a dozen kinds of cancer, including leukemia. Many are falling gravely ill, and some are dying at young ages.

But when these firefighters get sick, they don't all receive the same help.

About two-thirds of the country's 40,000 wildland firefighters work for state and federal agencies. By law, many of their cancers are assumed to be job-related, and their workers' compensation benefits are automatically approved.

The other firefighters — about 14,000 — are like Joel. They work for private companies that the government hires to shore up its ranks against a growing wildfire threat. Reliance on these contract crews has more than doubled since 2019, as climate change drives more extreme fire seasons. They have fought alongside federal workers in every major fire of the last decade.

On the front line, all crews take orders from the same command structure and breathe the same smoke. But the laws that cover government workers do not extend to contractors. To get benefits when they fall ill, contract firefighters must prove that smoke exposure caused their cancer — an all but impossible task.

Some go without needed chemotherapy and radiation. Others take on so much debt their families become homeless. Some return to fighting wildfires even while sick.

At the hospital, Joel asked if he would be able to go back to work. The doctors tried to help him understand how urgent his situation was. Just in the days since he had arrived, the malignant cells had gone from undetectable levels to overwhelming. Without treatment, he would soon die. Even with medical interventions, only about half of patients survive a year.

Joel needed immediate chemotherapy and blood transfusions. He would have to commute to a specialized hospital five hours away. He would get much sicker before he had a chance of getting better. Because the fire season had just started, the only money he had to fund any of it was from the paycheck he had just earned.

During his first night on the cancer ward, he opened an online message board popular with contract firefighters and posted a photograph of himself at the hospital, his boyish face partly hidden by the beard he had been growing out. "This is my 6th season fighting wildfires," he wrote. "I start chemotherapy tonight at 9 p.m." He asked for positive thoughts and urged others to stay vigilant about their health.

Responses came in from strangers around the country: "Your army is behind you!" "We are all standing with you!" "Get back to the line quickly, my man."

But when the screen went dark, he was by himself again. This first round of treatment alone would cost tens of thousands of dollars, and like most contract firefighters, he had no health insurance. There would be no guarantee of help from his company or the government that had sent him into smoke each year since he was a teenager. He watched his IV drip in the dim room, bracing for what came next.

JOEL FELL IN LOVE with firefighting after just managing to graduate from high school, where he had often struggled to concentrate. He was working at Taco Bell. One night, his father turned on a movie called "Only the Brave." It dramatized a real-life disaster that had killed 19 members of an elite wildfire crew in Arizona. Joel was struck by the bonds between the men as they faced death together.

A shy teenager whose family had moved around a lot, Joel loved the idea of an instant band of brothers. The next morning, he went to Pacific Oasis, one of the country's largest private firefighting companies. Its president, Steve Dodds, took one look at the excited, solidly built 18-year-old and sent him straight to training.

Joel was signing up for grueling work. Wildland firefighters hike into the backcountry in 20-person crews, cut down flaming trees and shrubs, then dig an unburnable moat of bare earth around the fire. Afterward, they wade through fine ash they call moon dust, extinguishing embers to stop new flare-ups.

This work was once done almost exclusively by government crews, but in the 1990s, after a series of staffing cutbacks, the U.S. Forest Service turned to logging and forestry companies for help. The contracts were so lucrative they launched a new industry. Hundreds of companies — including Pacific Oasis — refashioned themselves into wildfire operations. A political backlash against the practice of sending inmates to fight wildfires for dollars a day has further accelerated this trend in places like California, where the use of contract crews has tripled in recent years.

In the heavily forested strip of southern Oregon where Joel lived, fighting wildfires had become some of the best-paying work available to a person without a college degree.

After a week of training, Joel began going out as a member of the crew. He was making a base rate of about \$12 an hour, but the real money came from overtime during deployments that could last for weeks. A busy fire season could bring in \$30,000 for five months of work.

First-time firefighters generally either drop out quickly or become hooked. Joel was hooked. He had grown up pushing his limits hiking and mountain-biking with his father. In high school, he had



LOREN ELLIOTT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Joel Eisiminger, a contract firefighter diagnosed with acute myeloid leukemia, having blood drawn for testing at a cancer center in Medford, Ore., last summer.



LOREN ELLIOTT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Before he was stricken, Mr. Eisiminger often spent time in downtown Medford, above, to unwind between firefighting deployments around the country.



LOREN ELLIOTT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Steve Dodds, president of Pacific Oasis Wildland Firefighting, at company headquarters in Ashland, Ore. Mr. Eisiminger began working for him at 18.

'This is my 6th season fighting wildfires. I start chemotherapy tonight at 9 p.m.'

JOEL EISIMINGER, writing on an online message board popular with contract firefighters.

played lacrosse and earned the nickname Battering Ram. Now he drew on that well of endurance to support his crewmates, many of whom soon became his best friends.

Joel began keeping his fire bag packed and ready by the door. Before firefighting, he had often felt anxious and adrift. When he was deployed, he felt exhilarated, marching deep into the woods with 50 pounds on his back and a chain saw on his shoulder. Sometimes, he worked 24-hour shifts amid flames as high as his head. "It didn't feel like a job," he said. "It's like being in fairyland."

Back home, he would meet up with

other firefighters to play pool at the Wild Goose Cafe and Bar. Locals would thank them and buy them beers. Joel used some of his earnings to help his parents put a down payment on a house. Then he bought a motorcycle and spent the winter months between fire seasons souping it up.

His employee file at Pacific Oasis was stacked with praise from the Forest Service for his crew's "great attitude," their "exceptional" work in 108-degree heat, their "huge role in catching this fire."

After sending Joel across five states, Pacific Oasis tapped him in 2019 to lead a

small squad. He took care to teach new recruits about wearing hard hats and goggles. He didn't give much guidance about respiratory protection, though, because there was little protocol for that. There had been nothing in his training about the long-term health risks of smoke inhalation.

Like most wildland firefighters, Joel had been taught to wear a bandanna in bad air. This has been standard practice for years, even though bandannas offer no barrier against carcinogens.

He bought one decorated with an American flag, and it appeared in all the photos he sent back to his parents, its white stripes turning gray with ash. He told his squad to get their own. He never saw anyone wear a mask.

JOEL NOTICED RIGHT AWAY that inhaling so much smoke came with consequences.

Firefighters talk about "camp crud," an amalgam of respiratory ailments that set in early during fire season. Pacific Oasis workers said that morning meetings sounded like an emphysema clinic. Joel began to cough, and his mucus turned black. Sometimes the smoke made him so dizzy he could barely stand.

Many countries now routinely offer wildfire crews half-face respirator masks. But in the United States, the Forest Service tells its workers not to wear masks on the fire line. The agency says firefighters could overheat. Current and former officials have told The Times that the agency doesn't want to risk admitting how dangerous smoke really is.

Firefighters themselves often see masks as a sign of weakness. "I would have gotten laughed at," Joel said. Instead, crewmates traded recommendations for pills and teas that might help their lung issues.

Joel often worked alongside unionized government employees who had better protection against smoke exposure. California's wildfire agency provides clean-air rest in hotels or trailers and 24 hours off between shifts. Unlike contract crews, Forest Service workers sometimes let ashes smolder instead of "mopping up" every ember.

At Pacific Oasis, bosses talked about the inevitability of "eating smoke" and the need to "suffer and execute."

Joel occasionally thought about trying to work directly for the government, but his career as a contractor seemed to be taking off. Early last year, his boss, Steve, invited him to train as a crew leader who would oversee an entire 20-person team. It was one of the proudest moments Joel could remember, and he began to imagine spending his life working for the company.

His mother, a care coordinator for veterans with cancer, struggled to understand how he could be out in all that smoke without a mask. Joel told her not to worry. "I guess I thought I was invincible," he said.

The World Health Organization now



LOREN ELLIOTT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

In the foothills outside Medford. Living in that city, Mr. Eisiminger kept his fire bag packed and ready by the door.

Steven Rich contributed reporting. Kitty Bennett contributed research.

says that firefighting can cause cancer. But many company owners remain dismissive about the long-term dangers of wildfire smoke. "I'm very skeptical," said Lee Miller, whose Miller Timber Services is among the largest U.S. firefighting companies.

Meranda Warren, vice president of the Northern Rockies Wildfire Contractors Association, said some in the industry were aware that smoke exposure can lead to illness. But, she said, "people are afraid to speak up because of fear of losing our contracts."

For Joel, the risks started becoming clear in the days after his first chemotherapy session last summer. He kept checking the replies to his post on the message board and was surprised to see that in addition to the notes of support, dozens of firefighters were sharing their own stories.

"I got diagnosed with cancer last October. Take care of yourself first, the fires will always be there," wrote a 36-year-old in Nevada.

"I'm almost at my four-year Canceriversary," wrote a firefighter in New York. "You've got this!"

Another, in California, shared his diagnosis and wrote: "After you are in remission please consider positions where you won't be on the line. It will be better for your health."

Joel had known he was taking some chances by becoming a firefighter, but had always felt like he was safe once he made it back to the Wild Goose with no injuries. Now he wondered if his illness was not random bad luck but an almost inevitable consequence of decisions he had made when he was 18 years old.

AS JOEL GREW SICKER, the bills started arriving: \$880 for a blood test, \$15,030 for an overnight stay. He hoped workers' compensation might cover some expenses.

The government paid Pacific Oasis about \$60 an hour for each firefighter. Some of that funded workers' compensation insurance, which covers medical bills and lost wages when workers are injured or fall ill because of their jobs.

He went to Pacific Oasis headquarters to ask about filing a claim. He was too weak to drive, so his father, Matt, took him. They both remember Steve's response the same way: "There's no way that you can prove this is work-related."

On the car ride home, Joel broke down. His father struggled to contain his outrage at Steve. "I couldn't believe he'd spent thousands of hours working with Joel, but at the first sign of trouble, he changed completely," Matt remembered.

Steve, 67, had his own frustrations. He sympathized with Joel's plight and later said he was just trying to warn him that his claim was unlikely to succeed. A self-described hippie when he founded Pacific Oasis as a forestry company, he had only recently stopped leading fire crews himself and still believed strongly in universal health care.

But he felt no responsibility for Joel's illness. He doubted that wildfire smoke exposure caused cancer, especially in someone who had spent so few years in the job. Steve was focused more on immediate dangers, like falling trees or chain saw injuries. "Cancer doesn't even make my top-10 list of worries," he said.

He also had the concerns of a business owner. Joel's case might raise his insurance rates, already his largest expense behind payroll. Those who worked with him knew to expect both sides of his personality: He could be a paternal mentor who trained them and gave them second chances, but also a demanding boss who watched out for the bottom line.

Still, Joel decided to pursue the benefits and, as required by law, began getting a portion of his lost wages while the insurer considered his case. It was enough to pay for his parents to stay at a nearby motel during his weeklong treatments.

Joel was one of the youngest patients on the cancer ward and was determined to stay strong. He walked laps with his IV pole, logging miles each day. The nurses cheered him on, but they knew what was coming. By his second stay, in late August 2024, he could barely leave his bed.

One night he looked up the survival rate for acute myeloid leukemia: 70 percent of patients died within five years of diagnosis. For him, that would mean dying before he was 30.

Wildfire smoke contains benzene, a known cause of acute myeloid leukemia, and studies have shown that firefighters die of blood cancers at higher rates. Joel's oncologist, Dr. Curtis Lachowicz, said he tried to discourage firefighters in remission from going back to that work. "Inhaling all those chemicals is not good for them," he said.

Joel reluctantly decided to follow his doctor's advice. He applied for a scholarship through a leukemia foundation to become an arborist. "Having cancer has quickly taught me how precious life is, and reminded me that every living thing can be lost if not cared for," he wrote.

He spent September in and out of the emergency room with infections. His bones ached, and he was taking 15 pills a day to manage side effects from chemotherapy. One day, a letter came from the insurer. "Your work is not the major contributing cause of your claimed disease," it read.

Joel was stunned. No more payments were coming. He had no savings left, and months of treatment ahead.

His family cut back on groceries and maxed out their credit cards. His mother started picking up overtime shifts.

With no money for his parents to stay nearby, Joel passed the time in the hospital playing online video games with friends from his crew. They teased him about losing his mountain-man beard and called him their little bald baby.

The treatment was working, but it left him depleted. At home, he crawled the steps to his attic bedroom on his hands and knees.

As the fall passed, he sometimes



LOREN ELLIOTT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mr. Eisiminger fishing with his father, Matt Eisiminger, on the Rogue River in Gold Hill, Ore., on July 12. The next day, he left Oregon to move to Alaska.



LOREN ELLIOTT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mr. Eisiminger in a waiting room with his father on July 11 before an appointment at the cancer center in Medford. He faced crushing medical bills.



LOREN ELLIOTT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mr. Eisiminger saying goodbye to his father at the airport in Portland, Ore., before his flight to Anchorage. He hoped to resume his career in Alaska.

'It didn't feel like a job. It like being in fairyland.'

JOEL EISIMINGER, on his passion for firefighting.

thought about how different it could have been if he had worked directly for the Forest Service. A 2022 federal law had given those firefighters automatic workers' comp benefits for many illnesses, including 14 cancers, that Congress determined were linked to their smoke exposure.

Joel could have appealed his insurance denial. But it is rarely possible to prove the cause of cancer. Other contractors and their families have tried. After two years in court, a firefighter in Ohio with testicular cancer is still appealing. The widow and children of a crew member in California who died of esophageal

cancer lost their home while fighting for coverage.

In December, after Joel's final round of chemotherapy, an envelope arrived from Pacific Oasis. Inside was a year-end bonus check for a few hundred dollars and a note: "I hope this reaches you in good health."

Joel was relieved to be able to cover a bill or two. As the family sank into debt, he had begun to imagine earning overtime again on the fire line. Hiring for the year usually began when the snow melted, and involved a 45-minute hiking endurance test. He wondered if he could get strong enough to pass.

JOEL TRIED TO HIKE AGAIN soon after the new year. At first, he took faltering steps and struggled to walk more than a few yards. But by the spring, he could make it to the ridge above town.

His oncologist had told him he was in remission. But if the cancer came back, he would need a bone-marrow transplant. He felt like he had only a brief window. "I'm dying anyway, so I might as well live," he told a contract firefighter friend who had just returned from the Los Angeles fires.

In March, his scholarship application to study to become an arborist was rejected. There were too many other qualified candidates, the letter said.

A few weeks later, Joel and Matt went on a long uphill hike. Joel told his father what he now felt he had known all along: He was going back to firefighting. His father hesitated, but finally said, "I know you love it."

"I guess I never realized how much I did," Joel said. "At the end of the day, if I live to 25, I've lived a good life."

He thought someone from Pacific Oasis might reach out about coming back, but no one did. He couldn't bring himself to get in touch.

By July, a year after his diagnosis, he was looking farther afield. There were Forest Service jobs in Alaska, where more wildfires were burning than in the rest of the country combined. Soon, that became the plan. His parents bought a \$600 plane ticket, paying \$50 extra to make it refundable, just in case.

Four days before the flight, Joel drove to Pacific Oasis one last time. He needed his employment records to take to Alaska. But he also hoped that Steve might see him and decide to take him back.

In the office, Joel breathed in the familiar smell of wood chips and made a final appeal. "I've been broke from the cancer," he said. "I don't have five dollars."

Steve said he was sorry but Joel's health problems meant the job wasn't a good fit anymore. "It's just life," he said.

Joel put his motorcycle in storage, packed his fire bag just as he always had, and spent his last day in Oregon trout fishing with Matt. His fingers were stiff, a lingering effect of his illness, so his father tied the bait.

The next morning, he turned 26. His grandmother called to wish him a happy birthday. She didn't know he was about to catch a flight, and she asked if he had any fun plans.

Joel's voice broke as he started to answer. It felt like everything — his broken body, the debt, the uncertainty ahead — was landing on him at once. He stared for a while at the door, then pulled on his sunglasses and walked out to the truck.

His father followed behind. "Let's go, buddy," he said softly.

Outside, Joel could see smoke rising from the hills behind town. Dozens of large fires were burning across the country.

Soon, he hoped, he would be out on one of them.



JORDAN GALE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



TAILYR IRVINE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



MADELEINE HORDINSKI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



JORDAN GALE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Clockwise from top left: RJ McHatton, whose son Jason, 34, a contract firefighter, died of cancer; Audrey Waller Martin, a contract firefighter who developed breast cancer and had a double mastectomy but had to forgo chemotherapy for financial reasons; Beth Boatman with her daughters, Mallorie, left, and Mariya Menning, at a site they frequented with Ms. Boatman's husband, Rick Menning, a firefighter who died of lung cancer; and Duane Keith Boyd, a firefighter who filed an unsuccessful claim for workers' compensation after his diagnosis of testicular cancer.

Davey Johnson, Manager of Mets in a Wild World Series Ride, Dies at 82

By BRUCE WEBER

Davey Johnson, one of baseball's notable iconoclasts, who played in four World Series in six seasons as a second baseman for the Baltimore Orioles and who later managed the Mets to their remarkable Series victory in 1986, died on Friday in Sarasota, Fla. He was 82.

His death, in a hospital, was confirmed by Jay Horwitz, the vice president of alumni public relations for the Mets. He did not specify a cause.

Known as one of the game's brainier and more self-assured characters, Johnson was an unusual figure in the world of baseball, with a wide range of off-the-field interests and achievements. A scratch golfer, a wealthy real estate investor, a licensed pilot, an accomplished fisherman and a scuba diving instructor, he graduated from Trinity University in Texas with a degree in mathematics, whose precepts he brought to the ballpark. He was among the first — if not *the* first — to recognize that computers could be utilized in marshaling baseball's statistics to have an impact on team building, lineup construction and game strategy.

In an oft-reported story, Johnson took a computer class at Johns Hopkins University between the 1968 and 1969 seasons and, using his teammates' batting statistics as his data, created a program entitled "Optimization of the Orioles Lineup." The result suggested that if specific changes were made in the preferred lineup of the Orioles' decidedly old-school manager, Earl Weaver, the offense would be stronger. This was precisely the kind of analysis that in the intervening years has made sabermetrics, as the study of baseball statistics has come to be known, a crucial element of administering a major league ball club.

"I showed Earl how a guy could have the same type of season two years in a row, the same stats, but we'd score 40 more runs if we spotted him in different situations," Johnson recalled after the Mets hired him for his first managerial job, after the 1983 season. "Earl threw it into the wastebasket."

As a player, Johnson had a creditable career. Long and lean, he was a smooth fielder who won two Gold Gloves as part of an Oriole infield that also included Brooks Robinson at third, Luis Aparicio and then Mark Belanger at shortstop and Boog Powell at first. That infield has often been cited as among the best ever.

At the plate, he was solid if unspectacular, batting .261 in all or part of 13 major league seasons playing for four teams. He was an All-Star three times for the American League as an Oriole and once for the National League, in 1973, after he was traded to the Atlanta Braves. His big-league career was interrupted when the Braves cut him early in 1975, and he played in Japan before returning to the National League for short stints with the Philadelphia Phillies and the Chicago Cubs.

It was a stout résumé, unmemorable perhaps if you weren't aware of the oddities between the lines. Most notably, though never considered a power hitter, Johnson was the author of one of baseball history's more eyebrow-raising statistical anomalies with the Braves in 1973, when he belted a team-leading 43 home runs, more than any second baseman had hit in any previous season, twice as many as he hit in any other season and nearly a third of his career total of 136.

He and two other Braves — Henry Aaron, with 40 home runs, and Darrell Evans, with 41 — made Atlanta the first team with three teammates to hit 40 or more homers in a season. (That feat has since been matched twice, by the 1996 and 1997 Colorado Rockies.)

You Could Look It Up

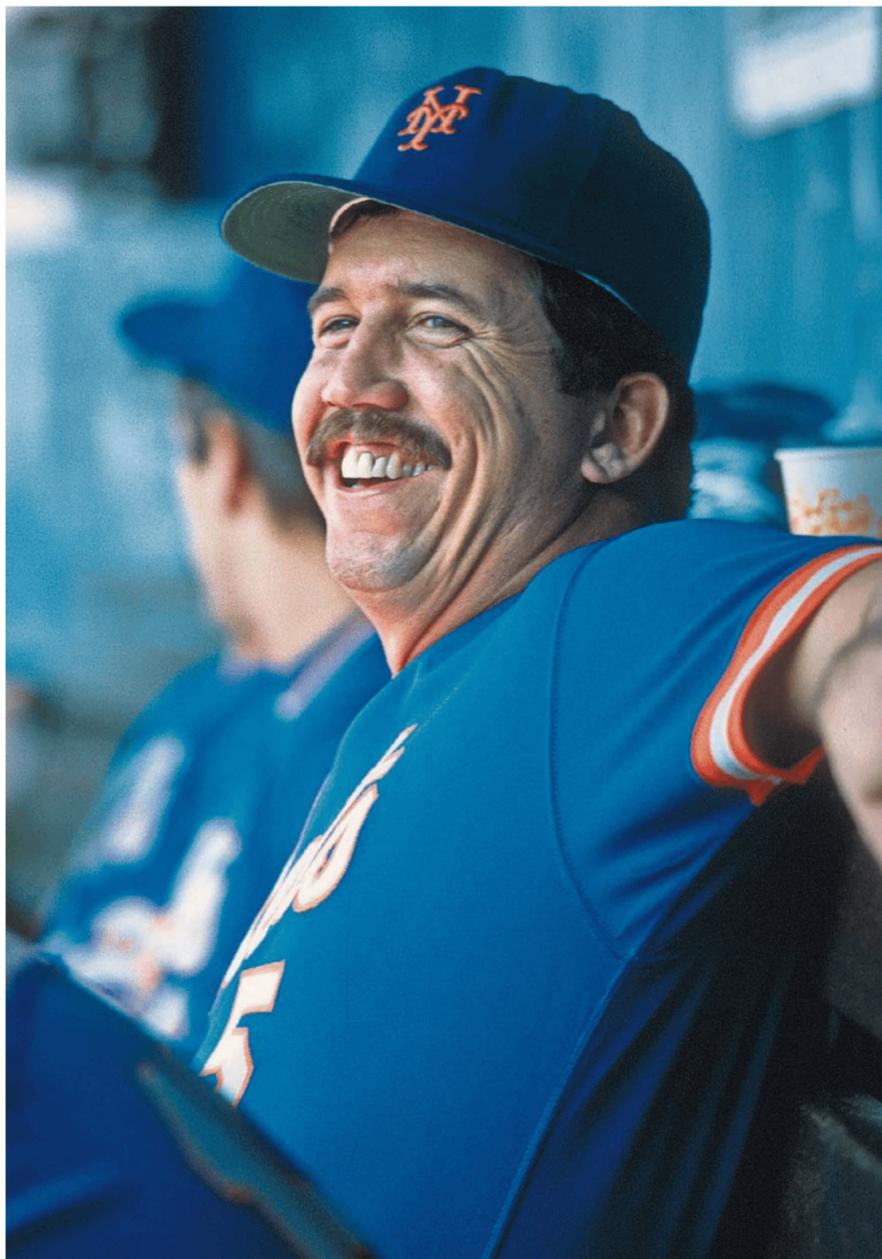
Beyond that, Johnson's career was dotted with the kind of coincidence and unusual occurrence that delights the baseball-obsessed and makes Johnson an answer to some good trivia questions.

Who got the last hit off Sandy Koufax? It was Johnson, a single in the sixth inning of the second game of the 1966 World Series. The Orioles would win in a sweep, and Koufax, who had chronic arthritis in his pitching elbow, would retire the next month.

Who made the last out of the 1969 World Series? Johnson again, a fly ball to left field that was caught by the Mets' Cleon Jones, sealing the Mets' first World Series victory. They wouldn't win another championship until 1986, when their manager was Davey Johnson.

Who is the only player to be on the field the first two times Babe Ruth's home run record was surpassed? Johnson was in the Atlanta lineup on the day in 1974 when Aaron hit his 715th home run; two years later, in Japan, Johnson was in the lineup of the Yomiuri Giants when his teammate, Sadaharu Oh, hit his 715th.

Michael S. Rosenwald contributed reporting.



Davey Johnson early in his tenure with the Mets, which lasted from 1984 to 1990 and included a remarkable rally to a title. He was one of baseball's brainier and more self-assured characters.



Johnson earned Gold Gloves for his smooth fielding as part of an Orioles infield that has been cited as among the best ever. From left: Brooks Robinson, Mark Belanger, Johnson and Boog Powell.



He was doused with champagne after the Mets clinched the National League East crown in 1986. They went on to defeat Houston in the league championship series and Boston in the World Series.

And who was the first player to hit two pinch-hit grand slams in the same season? Johnson? Good guess. He hit just .191 in 102 plate appearances for the Phillies in 1978, but his only two home runs were pinch hits with the bases loaded.

The statistical outline of his career as a manager is strong. With five teams over 17 seasons, his won-lost record was 1,372-1,071, a winning percentage of .562 that ranks him ninth in history among men who have managed at least 2,000 games. Twice, both times with the Mets, he won at least 100 games. His teams qualified for

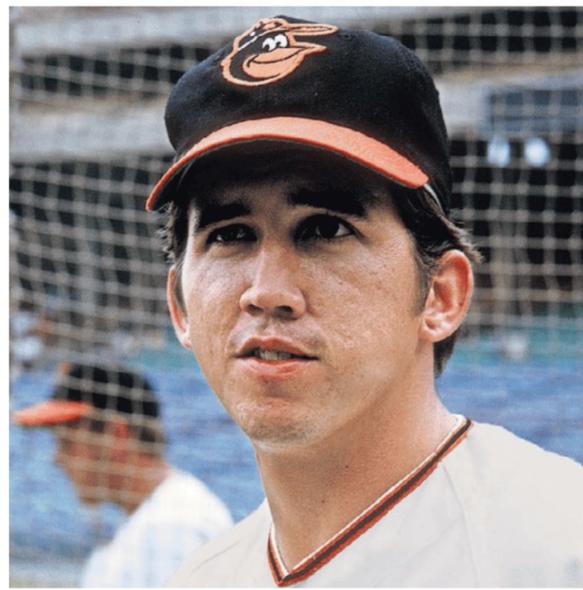
postseason play six times.

What most distinguished his record, however, was that he effected change for the better wherever he went. Before his arrival, the Mets had finished below .500 seven years in a row; in Johnson's first three years at the helm, as he championed young players like Darryl Strawberry and Dwight Gooden and spirited veteran infielders like Wally Backman and Ron Gardenhire, they went 90-72, 98-64 and, in 1986, 108-54.

The 1986 postseason was the high point of Johnson's career. The Mets won the National League Championship Series against the

Houston Astros, clinching the title in a 16-inning thriller: The Mets tied the game with three runs in the ninth; both teams scored a run in the 14th, and it ended after the Mets scored three in the top of the 16th and barely held on as the Astros scored two in their half of the inning. They followed that with a seven-game World Series triumph over the Boston Red Sox, including the astonishing sixth game, one of the most memorable games in baseball history.

Two runs behind at Shea Stadium in New York and facing elimination with two outs in the 10th and nobody on, the Mets rallied to



Johnson as an Orioles second baseman in 1971. With a powerful Baltimore team, he appeared in four World Series and won two.



In 2013 with the Nationals, the last of the five major league clubs he managed. He reached the postseason six times as a manager.

win, the deciding run coming home on a ground ball by Mookie Wilson that found its way between the legs of the Red Sox first baseman Bill Buckner. The Mets clinched the Series with a victory in Game 7.

"In all the baseball October that I either witnessed or was a part of," Johnson wrote in his 2018 memoir, "My Wild Ride in Baseball and Beyond" (written with Erik Sherman), "nothing ever came close to '86."

The Mets were Johnson's biggest managerial success, but every other big league team he managed — the Cincinnati Reds, the Orioles (where he was responsible for moving the local hero, Cal Ripken Jr., from shortstop to third base), the Los Angeles Dodgers and the Washington Nationals — improved its season record by the second year of his stewardship.

In spite of his winning record, Johnson's independent streak and his intellectual swagger — many called it arrogance — tended to irk his bosses. In his memoir, a showcase of self-regard, he portrayed himself perpetually in the light. Of the fly ball he hit for the final out of the 1969 World Series, he wrote that he had been certain he had hit a home run to tie the game. "A big gust of wind must have come along at that very moment and blown the ball back in," he wrote.

A Difficult Man

In any case, Marge Schott, the loose-lipped Reds owner who was prone to racial slurs, fired him after three seasons. And his fraught connection with Peter Angelos, owner of the Orioles, was so discomfiting that Johnson resigned after the team went 186-138 over two seasons, and just as he was named manager of the year in the American League.

His relations with Frank Cashen, the Mets' general manager — who had run the Orioles while Johnson was a player in Baltimore — were always brittle, and they began crumbling when the Mets failed to return to the World Series after 1986. Cashen fired Johnson early in the 1990 season.

"Davey Johnson isn't the easiest guy to get along with," Tony Kornheiser wrote in 1997 in *The Washington Post*. "You wouldn't want him living next door. He is abrasive and confrontational." Johnson, he continued, "tends to manage from the position that he's smarter than you and everybody else in the room."

"His history is that he wears out his welcome rather quickly, and he's gone, and there's a certain relief."

David Allen Johnson was born in Orlando, Fla., on Jan. 30, 1943. His mother, Florence, had been a competitive swimmer. He didn't meet his father, Frederick, an Army tank commander during World War II and for a time a prisoner of war in Poland, until he was 2 years old. As a boy, Johnson followed his parents to military bases in Germany and in Wyoming, Georgia and, finally, San Antonio.

He was an all-around athlete in high school, competing in basketball, football, golf and track in addition to baseball, and he played basketball and baseball at Texas A&M. He left college after his sophomore year to sign with the

Orioles — in his memoir he says he was eager to leave school because his basketball coach and his baseball teammates had failed him — and he spent a little more than three seasons in the team's minor league system, switching from shortstop to second base because the Orioles had a future Hall of Famer, Luis Aparicio, at short and a future multiple Gold Glove winner, Mark Belanger, in the system.

Bouncing Around

Johnson became Baltimore's regular second baseman in 1966, and over the next seven seasons he was an integral cog for a club that won more than 100 games three times and went to four World Series, winning twice.

Johnson's 43-homer season in Atlanta would be his last good one; the next year, his average dipped, his runs batted in dropped to 62 from 99, and he hit just 15 home runs. The Braves, noting that his error total in Atlanta in 1973 had quintupled from his six in Baltimore in 1972 — Johnson blamed the quality of the infield at the Braves' stadium — began playing him at first base. ("I had to learn how to play first base," he wrote. "Nobody helped me.")

By the beginning of 1975, he was on the bench and eager to be traded.

"Sell me, trade me — just get me the hell out of here," he told the general manager, Eddie Robinson, according to his memoir. "You guys are idiots!"

Johnson spent the next two seasons in Japan, where he was paid \$160,000, double his salary in Atlanta. But he was discomfited by the unfamiliar expectations in a culture that was alien to him and chafed under his manager, Shigeo Nagashima, a hero in Japan. He finished his career back in the United States with undistinguished stints with the Phillies and the Cubs, after which he managed three seasons in the minor leagues before the Mets hired him.

"I want to thank Mr. Cashen for being the intelligent man I know he is and hiring me," Johnson said to reporters at the time.

Johnson was married twice. He is survived by his wife, Susan Allen Johnson, whom he married in 1994; two children, David Jr. and Dawn, from his first marriage, to Mary Nan; two stepchildren, Ellie Casebolt and Jeremiah Allen; two grandchildren; and four step-grandchildren. A daughter, Andrea, died in 2005.

In addition to managing big-league teams, Johnson also briefly managed the Netherlands national team in 2003 and was its bench coach in the 2004 Olympics. He managed Team USA in the 2005 and 2009 World Baseball Classic and the 2008 Olympics. He retired from his last managerial job in 2014 after two years with the Washington Nationals, where his rising stars, Bryce Harper and Stephen Strasburg, were reminiscent of the young Darryl Strawberry and Dwight Gooden.

During Johnson's final week on the job, the *Washington Post* columnist Thomas Boswell wrote a farewell to "one of the smartest and most stubborn, loyal and insubordinate, independent and opinionated, honest and funny, patient and multifaceted men that baseball has ever seen."

Ruth Paine, 92, Who Opened Home Near Dallas to the Oswalds, Is Dead

By RICHARD SANDOMIR

Ruth Paine, a woman of deep Quaker faith who in 1963 opened her modest ranch-style house in a Dallas suburb to Marina Oswald and, to a lesser extent, her husband, Lee Harvey Oswald, in the months before he was arrested and charged with killing President John F. Kennedy, died on Aug. 31 in Santa Rosa, Calif. She was 92.

Her death, in a Quaker retirement village, was confirmed by her son, Chris Paine.

Ms. Paine's knowledge of the Oswalds made her a noteworthy witness during the Warren Commission's investigation into the assassination. The panel concluded that Mr. Oswald had acted alone when he fired shots at President Kennedy on Nov. 22, 1963, from an open window on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository in Dallas. Gov. John B. Connally of Texas, who had been in the limousine with President Kennedy and their wives, was wounded in the shooting but recovered.

"She knew more about the Oswalds' movements and moods in the months prior to the assassination than anyone else did," said Thomas Mallon, who wrote about Ms. Paine and the Oswalds for an article in *The New Yorker* in 2001, which he expanded into a book, "Mrs. Paine's Garage: And the Murder of John F. Kennedy" (2002).

Ms. Paine, who was living in Irving, a suburb of Dallas, met the Oswalds at a party in Highland Park, in Dallas County, on Feb. 22, 1963. She had been looking forward to the gathering because she was told that Mr. Oswald, a young American who had spent time in the Soviet Union, would be there with his Soviet-born wife. The party offered Ms. Paine a chance to speak to someone in Russian, which she had been studying through Berlitz and other language courses on and off for several years.

Mr. Oswald talked about his time in the Soviet Union, where he had defected in 1959, and where he had married Marina Nikolayevna Prusakova before returning to the United States in 1962.

"He really enjoyed being the center of attention," Ms. Paine told Mr. Mallon, adding that she was unimpressed and gravitated instead to Mrs. Oswald. "I wanted to see if I could talk with her, if we could communicate."

Ms. Paine, a 30-year-old homemaker raising two children, was about a decade older than Mrs. Oswald, but they developed a warm friendship. Both women were lonely: Ms. Paine was separated from her husband, and Mrs. Oswald — who spoke no English, had one daughter and gave birth to her second in October — had a tempestuous relationship with her husband.



Ms. Paine in 1969. She figured in conspiracy theories, but her son said she ignored them.

'We were so close to discovering what was going on — and didn't,' she later said.

In Mrs. Oswald, Ms. Paine saw a vulnerable young woman who appealed to her religiously inspired impulse to help people. She came to view Mr. Oswald as sullen and unfriendly. He wouldn't let his wife learn English, increasing her isolation. The Oswalds bickered often.

Ms. Paine said she came to feel a familial love for Mrs. Oswald and had an arrangement by which Mrs. Oswald could stay rent free with her, in return for light housework and helping her improve her Russian.

Mrs. Oswald lived with Ms. Paine for two weeks in May before her host drove her to New Orleans, where Mr. Oswald had gone to look for work. In late September, after her own vacation in New Orleans, Ms. Paine brought Mrs. Oswald back to Irving. Mr. Oswald followed two weeks later, jobless, and stayed at a rooming house in the Oak Cliff section of Dallas. On most weekends, he stayed with his wife and daughters at Ms. Paine's home.

On one such visit, Ms. Paine, acting on a tip from a neighbor, encouraged Mr. Oswald to apply for an open position at the book depository. He was hired.

While Mr. Oswald usually showed up for visits at Ms. Paine's house on Fridays, he arrived unexpectedly on Thursday, Nov. 21. While there, he played with Ms. Paine's son, Chris, and retrieved the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle that he had hidden in a rolled-up green and brown blanket in the garage. He left for work the next morning, with the rifle that the Warren Commission said was the murder weapon.

Mr. Oswald had used the same rifle in an unsuccessful attempt in April 1963 to kill Edwin A. Walker, a retired Army major general who held extreme conservative views, according to the Warren Commission report. His wife knew of the attempted shooting, the report said, and that finding was used to show Mr. Oswald's propensity for violence.

When the news bulletin that President Kennedy had been shot flashed on the television in Ms. Paine's house on the afternoon of Nov. 22, she translated the newscaster's words into Russian for Mrs. Oswald. Then, after a report that the shots had been fired from the book depository, Ms. Paine translated once more.

"Marina said nothing but she furtively checked the blanket roll in the garage," the historian William Manchester wrote in "The Death of a President: November 20-November 25, 1963" (1967). "Seeing it there, not knowing it was empty, she whispered to herself, 'Thank God.'"

Following the assassination, local law enforcement officers descended on Ms. Paine's house and examined the garage, where they found the blanket, now without the rifle. They packed up Ms. Paine's and Mrs. Oswald's belongings — although Ms. Paine told Mr. Mallon that they did not have a warrant — and took the women to a Dallas police station. After questioning, they returned that night to the Irving house.

The Warren Commission questioned Ms. Paine about the rolled-up blanket. She testified that she would step around it in the garage, not knowing that it secreted the rifle. Mrs. Oswald said she knew about it (she had actually unrolled the blanket and saw the weapon two weeks before the assassination) but didn't tell Ms. Paine. Ms. Paine's husband also knew about the weapon, most likely from a picture of Mr. Oswald holding it, her son said.

"I think what she regrets," Mr. Paine said, referring to his mother, "is that my father didn't tell her about Lee having a gun. But if she had found it, he probably would have stored it someplace else."

Ruth Avery Hyde was born on Sept. 3, 1932, in Manhattan to William Hyde, who worked at an insurance company, and a distant cousin, Carol Hyde.

After graduating in 1955 from Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio, with a bachelor's degree in elementary and secondary education, Ruth taught physical education at Germantown Friends School in Philadelphia. She met her future husband, Michael Paine, at a folk dance, and they married in 1957. They settled in Irving two years later when he was hired as an engineer by Bell Helicopter.

After the Secret Service took



Ruth Paine in 2013 with newspaper coverage of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.



Ms. Paine and her husband, Michael, arrived to appear before the Warren Commission in 1964. The commission ruled that Lee Harvey Oswald had acted alone. Below, Mr. Oswald and Marina Oswald leaving Minsk, in the Soviet Union, in 1962.



Mrs. Oswald into protective custody, she and Ms. Paine saw each other only once more, in 1964. The next year, Marina Oswald married Kenneth Porter. The couple had a son and lived quietly in a Dallas suburb.

For the next 62 years, Ms. Paine remained well known to people familiar with the assassination story. She became director of a Montessori school in Texas and principal of a Quaker school in Philadelphia; received a master's

degree in school psychology from the University of South Florida in 1980; and worked as a school psychologist in Florida.

She also worked as a clerk and coordinator with ProNica, a grass-roots Quaker group that helps Nicaraguan people, and was one of a group of people who refuse to pay portions of their federal taxes to protest the part of the federal budget that funds war and militarism. As a result of her stance, she was audited.

"She also provided guidance for others in her area interested in war tax resistance," Lincoln Rice, coordinator of the National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee, wrote in an email.

In addition to her son, Ms. Paine is survived by a daughter, Tamarin Laurel-Paine; a brother, Carl Hyde; and two step-grandchildren. Her marriage to Michael Paine ended in divorce in 1970.

Not surprisingly, as someone who knew and provided lodging to the Oswalds, her name has figured in conspiracy theories, including one that portrayed her as a C.I.A. asset who babysat for Mr. Oswald and placed him at the book depository, Mr. Mallon said.

"She ignored the theories," Mr. Paine said in an interview. "She had litmus tests in order to see where someone was coming from and whether she would talk to them or not. If they were conspiracy theorists, she'd bypass you."

Her home, at 2515 West Fifth Street in Irving, was turned into the Ruth Paine House Museum in 2013. The city of Irving restored it to how it looked when the Paines lived there and added videos, projected onto glass panes, on which actors played the Paines and the Oswalds.

When she visited the museum in 2023, an interviewer asked her about the blanket that once concealed the rifle in her garage.

"We were so close to discovering what was going on — and didn't," she said.

The New York Times

On campus.
Out in the world.

Provide faculty and students at your school with digital access to The Times.
Learn more at nytimes.com/oncampus



Deaths

Gross, Steven

GROSS—Steven.

The Department of Pharmacology at Weill Cornell Medicine mourns the death of our beloved colleague, Dr. Steven Gross, Professor of Pharmacology, on September 1, 2025. We appreciate Dr. Gross' long-standing contributions to the research and teaching activities of our department. We all will miss

Steve's kindness, hard work, and the thoughtful advice he gave to his faculty colleagues, and to the Weill Cornell and the Tri-institutional scientific communities. We send our condolences to his family and friends at this difficult and sad time. Dr. Lorraine J. Gudas, Chair, on behalf of all the members of the Pharmacology Department and the Pharmacology Ph.D. Program.

ANNOUNCEMENTS OF DEATHS MAY BE TELEPHONED FROM WITHIN NYC TO 212-556-3900, OR OUTSIDE NYC TOLL FREE 1-800-458-5522; OR SENT BY EMAIL TO NYTIMES@CLASSIFIEDSPUS.COM FOR THE FOLLOWING EDITIONS: Until 2:00 P.M. the day before for Monday through Saturday editions, until 4:00 P.M. on Friday for Sunday's National Edition, until 12:45 P.M. Saturday for Sunday's New York and late National editions. Photos must be submitted by noon the day prior to publication Tuesday through Friday. Photos for Saturday, Sunday and Monday must be submitted by 12 noon on Friday.

Reporting from 50 states and 150 countries.

Our journalists go to the places they cover to provide firsthand accounts of issues across the globe. In a typical year, that includes every U.S. state and about 150 countries.

The New York Times

Opinion

The New York Times

What I Got Wrong About D.E.I.

Eugenia Cheng

A mathematician and the author, most recently, of "Unequal: The Math of When Things Do and Don't Add Up."

AS A woman in the male-dominated field of mathematics, I once opposed targeted efforts to help women succeed — what we now call diversity, equity and inclusion initiatives, which are currently facing fierce backlash. I wanted to be judged on the merit of my mathematics alone.

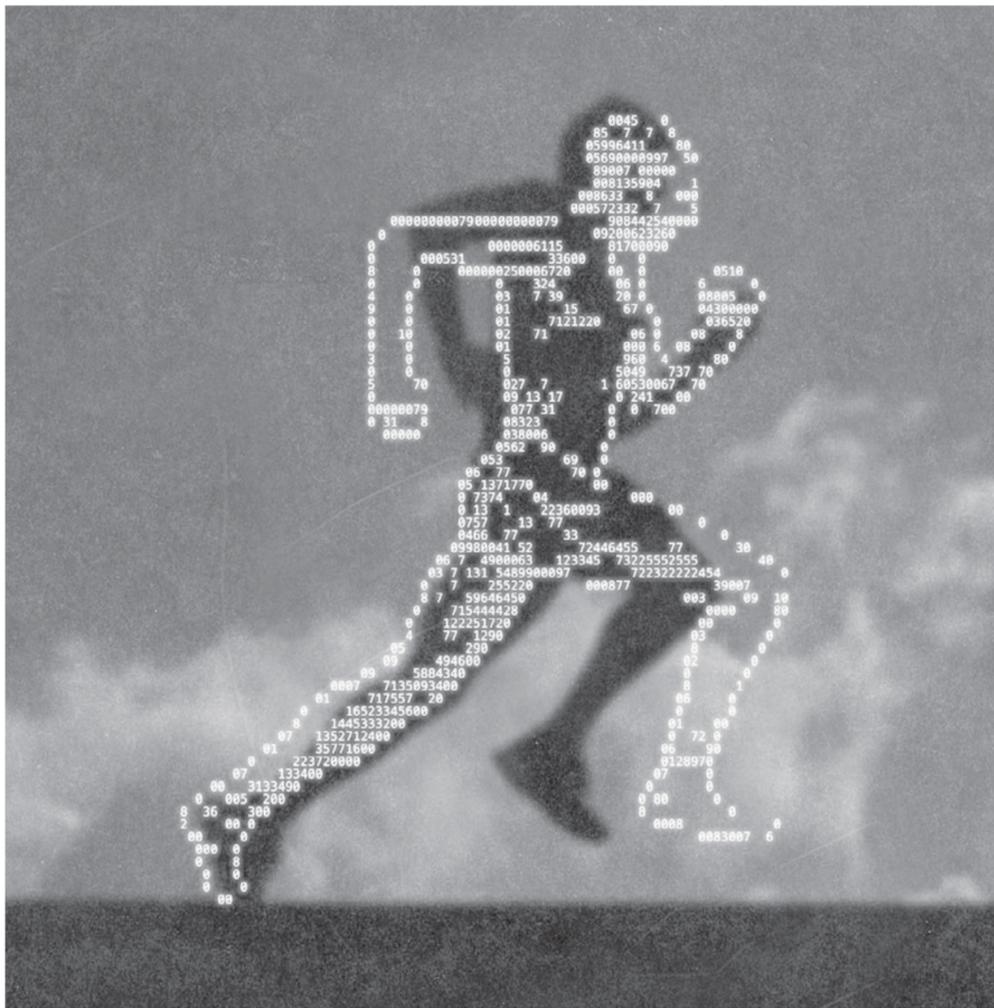
When I was admitted to the University of Cambridge as an undergraduate in math in 1994, I felt that I was a part of a clear minority. I struggled to keep up with some of the men in my class, many of whom had gone to elite boys' schools where they had intense preparation. Yet I would progress to a Ph.D. and a career as a research mathematician.

As my career has advanced, what I've learned is that D.E.I. initiatives helped others see value in my abilities and experience that would have been missed otherwise. And it was through the lens of math that I came to understand this.

Math is not just a way of calculating numerical answers; it is a way of thinking, using clear definitions for concepts and rigorous logic to organize our thoughts and back up our assertions. Numbers can tell us about representation, but they often don't tell the full story. The percentage of female math graduates in the United States has improved to around 42 percent; however, still less than 18 percent of university professors in mathematics are women. A 50-50 gender split might seem like equality, but not if it was achieved by lowering standards to let more women in. We need to be more careful than that. The nuance found in mathematics can show us a clearer understanding of how to think about equality.

Math is famous for its equations, but equations are more subtle than they first appear. A simple equation like $4 + 1 = 1 + 4$ shows not just that two values are equal but also that there are two subtly different ways of adding the same numbers to produce the same result. A similar approach applies to more advanced and complicated forms of math, such as the study of shapes or paths through space. We make choices about how to determine equality.

This is relevant to how we evaluate what people have achieved and make predictions about how well they will do. We can get some insight into how we should make these



ENIGMATRIZ

Math teaches us why diversity matters.

evaluations from a mathematical field called metric spaces.

A metric is a way of measuring the distance between two points but not necessarily physical distance; it could be how much time it takes with traffic as a factor or how much energy will be expended, depending on whether you're going uphill or downhill. A distance cannot be measured on the basis

of the position of a single point. It requires the effort of measuring the distance between two points. This may sound redundant, but it's an important clarification: Metrics can be measured only by taking into account the starting point and ending point, as well as relevant features of the journey — the whole story.

When we evaluate people, we could do the

same. Instead of just looking at what they have achieved, we could also look at where they started and be clearer about how we are measuring the metaphorical distance they have come and whether we are taking into account the support they had or the obstructions they faced.

If we are selecting sprinters for a track team, we might look at their best times for the 100-meter dash. But if someone had, for some reason, only ever run races uphill or against the wind, it would make sense to take that into account and not compare that runner's times to others' directly. We would be treating those people differently but only because their paths were different; really we'd be evaluating their paths fairly relative to their contexts.

Other forms of achievement are not as straightforward to measure, but the idea is analogous. If someone achieved a certain SAT score after months of tutoring and someone else earned the same score having never seen an SAT before, it would be reasonable to be more impressed with the latter result and think that the second test taker has more potential. We should think of D.E.I. efforts as the best versions of this and aim to design systems that can measure the fuller picture of someone's professional journey, not just the current result.

It took me a long time to realize that when I began my career, I had probably worked much harder than I might have if I had had a different identity. I had to work against people telling me I would never be able to succeed. When I attended conferences, I dealt with inappropriate behavior from men senior to me. I had to find my way in my career having no mentors who looked at all like me. I am grateful for the support of some senior mathematicians, and I now realize that it wasn't extra help because I was a woman; it was help in overcoming the extra obstructions I faced as a woman.

It shouldn't be called sexist to help people overcome sexism, and it shouldn't be called racist to help people overcome racism, but if we give this help too crudely, then we leave ourselves open to these criticisms. Math teaches us that D.E.I. initiatives should be about carefully defining the metrics we use to measure how far people have come and thus how far they have the potential to go. They should be about uncovering when some people are constantly running uphill or against the wind, which can inform us how to give everyone an equal tailwind and an equal opportunity to succeed.

The Fever Dream of Imminent Superintelligence Is Finally Breaking

Gary Marcus

A founder of two A.I. companies and the author of six books on natural and artificial intelligence.

GPT-5, OpenAI's latest artificial intelligence system, was supposed to be a game changer, the culmination of billions of dollars of investment and nearly three years of work. Sam Altman, the company's chief executive, implied that GPT-5 could be tantamount to artificial general intelligence, or A.G.I. — A.I. that is as smart and as flexible as any human expert.

Instead, as I have written, the model fell short. Within hours of its release, critics found all kinds of baffling errors: It failed some simple math questions, couldn't count reliably and sometimes provided absurd answers to old riddles. Like its predecessors, the A.I. model still hallucinates (though at a lower rate) and is plagued by questions around its reliability. Although some people have been impressed, few saw it as a quantum leap, and nobody believed it was A.G.I. Many users asked for the old model back.

GPT-5 is a step forward but nowhere near the A.I. revolution many had expected. That is bad news for the companies and investors who placed substantial bets on the technology. And it demands a rethink of government policies and investments that were built on wildly overinflated expectations. The current strategy of merely making A.I. bigger is deeply flawed — scientifically, economically and politically. Many things, from regulation to research strategy, must be rethought. One of the keys to this may be training and developing A.I. in ways inspired by the cognitive sciences.

Fundamentally, people like Mr. Altman, the Anthropic chief executive Dario Amodei

and countless other tech leaders and investors had put far too much faith into a speculative and unproven hypothesis called scaling: the idea that training A.I. models on ever more data and using ever more hardware would eventually lead to A.G.I. or even a superintelligence that surpasses humans.

However, as I warned in a 2022 essay, "Deep Learning Is Hitting a Wall," so-called scaling laws aren't physical laws of the universe like gravity, but rather hypotheses based on historical trends. Large language models, which power systems like GPT-5, are nothing more than souped-up statistical regurgitation machines, so they will continue to stumble into problems around truth, hallucinations and reasoning. Scaling would not bring us to the holy grail of A.G.I.

Many in the tech industry were hostile to my predictions. Mr. Altman ridiculed me as a "mediocre deep learning skeptic" and last year claimed "there is no wall." Elon Musk shared a meme lampooning my essay.

It now seems I was right. Adding more data to large language models, which are trained to produce text by learning from vast databases of human text, helps them improve only to a degree. Even significantly scaled, they still don't fully understand the concepts they are exposed to — which is why they sometimes botch answers or generate ridiculously incorrect drawings.

Scaling worked for a while; previous generations of GPT models made impressive advancements compared with their predecessors. But luck started to run out over the past year. Mr. Musk's A.I. system, Grok 4, released in July, had 100 times as much training as Grok 2 had, but it was only moderately better. Meta's jumbo Llama 4 model, much larger than its predecessor, was mostly also viewed as a failure. As many now see, GPT-5 shows decisively that scaling has lost steam.

The chances of A.G.I.'s arrival by 2027 now seem remote. The government has let A.I. companies lead a charmed life, with almost zero regulation. It now ought to enact legislation that addresses costs and harms unfairly offloaded onto the public — from misinformation to deepfakes, A.I. slop content, cybercrime, copyright infringement, mental health and energy usage.

Moreover, governments and investors should strongly support research investments outside of scaling. The cognitive sciences (including psychology, child development, philosophy of mind and linguistics) teach us that intelligence is about more than mere statistical mimicry and suggest three promising ideas for developing an A.I. that is reliable enough to be trustworthy, with a much richer intelligence.

First, humans are constantly building and maintaining internal models of the world — or world models — of the people and objects around them and how things work. For example, when you read a novel, you develop a kind of mental database for who each character is and what he or she represents. This might include characters' occupations, their relationships to one another, their motivations and goals and so on. In a fantasy or science fiction novel, a world model might even include new physical laws.

Many of generative A.I.'s shortcomings can be traced back to failures to extract proper world models from their training data. This explains why the latest large language models, for example, are unable to fully grasp how chess works. As a result, they have a tendency to make illegal moves, no matter how many games they've been trained on. We need systems that don't just mimic human language; we need systems that understand the world so that they can reason about it in a deeper way. Focusing on

GPT-5 is nowhere near the A.I. revolution many had expected.

how to build a new generation of A.I. systems centered on world models should be a central focus of research. Google DeepMind and Fei-Fei Li's World Labs are taking steps in this direction.

Second, the field of machine learning (which has powered large language models) likes to task A.I. systems to learn absolutely everything from scratch by scraping data from the internet, with nothing built in. But as cognitive scientists like Steven Pinker, Elizabeth Spelke and me have emphasized, the human mind is born with some core knowledge of the world that sets us up to grasp more complex concepts. Building in basic concepts like time, space and causality might allow systems to better organize the data they encounter into richer starting points — potentially leading to richer outcomes. (Verses AI's work on physical and perceptual understanding in video games is one step in this direction.)

Finally, the current paradigm takes a kind of one-size-fits-all approach by relying on a single cognitive mechanism — the large language model — to solve everything. But we know the human mind uses many different tools for many different kinds of problems. For example, the renowned psychologist Daniel Kahneman suggested that humans utilize one system of thought — which is quick, reflexive and automatic and driven largely by the statistics of experience but is superficial and prone to blunders — along with a second system that is driven more by abstract reasoning and deliberative thinking but is slow and laborious. Large language models, which are a bit like the first system, try to do everything with a single statistical approach but wind up unreliable as a result.

We need a new approach, closer to what Mr. Kahneman described. This may come in the form of neurosymbolic A.I., which bridges statistically driven neural networks (from which large language models are drawn) and some older ideas from symbolic A.I. Symbolic A.I. is more abstract and deliberative by nature; it processes information by taking cues from logic, algebra and computer programming. I have long advocated a marriage of these two traditions. Increasingly, we are seeing companies like Amazon and Google DeepMind take such a hybrid approach. (Even OpenAI appears to be doing some of this, quietly.) By the end of the decade, neurosymbolic A.I. may well eclipse pure scaling.

Large language models have had their uses, especially for coding, writing and brainstorming, in which humans are still directly involved. But no matter how large we have made them, they have never been worthy of our trust. To build A.I. that we can genuinely trust and to have a shot at A.G.I., we must move on from the trappings of scaling. We need new ideas. A return to the cognitive sciences might well be the next logical stage in the journey.



Giorgio Armani Is for Everyone

Robin Givhan

A Pulitzer Prize-winning fashion critic and a former senior critic at large for The Washington Post.

OVER the years I've attended dozens of Giorgio Armani's runway shows — first sitting in the modest spaces of his company's Milan headquarters and later in the grander, more austere theater a few miles away that he commissioned from the architect Tadao Ando. But I still recall the first Armani show I ever saw, in 1992 or 1993. I was just learning the players in the Italian fashion industry, but I knew about Mr. Armani because his reach extended deep into popular culture thanks to the scene-stealing presence of his clothes in "American Gigolo" and his brand's dominance on the Oscars red carpet. And so, as I sat along his runway for the first time, I was full of anticipation when the lights dimmed.

I don't know what I expected to see. But I do know how I expected to feel when the show ended: breathless, astounded, desperate to get to my laptop and write, write, write. Instead, I was underwhelmed. Everything on the runway seemed so familiar: loosefitting coats, roomy trousers, simple pullovers. At the time, I worried that my inexperience had caused me to miss something momentous. How could Armani not be enthralling?

I scratched my head and wondered: What was there to say about something that seemed so temperate? I didn't get it. Eventually, I would realize that was because Mr. Armani had already won the revolution. As the culture digested the news of his death on Thursday in Milan at 91, I was reminded of that moment while I considered the nature of change.

When Mr. Armani founded his company in 1975, he began his attack, ultimately transforming the way in which men and women expressed power, glamour and sex appeal. But by the time I entered the fashion fray, the war was over. Mr. Armani had upended everything; he'd nearly obliterated everything that came before. Everyone else was seen as either one of his followers or his antagonists. He was the standard, the base line.

Mr. Armani removed the internal structure from men's suiting and allowed jackets and trousers to relax around the body. The strict formality of a business suit was exchanged for something loose and sensual. It was easy for a man to unleash his swagger in an Armani suit; the brand quickly came to represent a macho self-confidence shored up by ambition and freshly made riches rather than generations of tradition and dusty wealth.

With his women's collections, Mr. Armani offered groundbreakers such as the former House speaker Nancy Pelosi a business uniform in which femininity and authority could seamlessly coexist. His version of evening glamour didn't rely on someone's willingness to reveal her cleavage, her upper thigh or the arc of her derrière. He could coax Hollywood dazzle out of a discreet jewel necklace, long sleeves and a luxuriously draped train.

Once was a journalistic fly on the wall in his Rodeo Drive boutique in the hours before the Academy Awards, watching as a parade of nominees and presenters came to preen and, in some cases, live out their youthful fantasy of what they would wear if they ever had the chance to walk the Oscars red carpet. He made space for good taste in front of all those cameras, not just big entrances.

His best work, for actors such as Jodie Foster and Michelle Pfeiffer, echoed with grace and sensuality. To call his work

"pretty" was to oversimplify the aesthetic and the women who were drawn to it. One didn't wear Armani to cement a reputation as a gamine or a sexpot. One wore Armani to be taken seriously as a star.

Over the years, Mr. Armani begot generations of minimalist high-end designers as well as mass market brands peddling seasonless basics: from The Row to COS, and Jerry Lorenzo's Fear of God to Everlane. His legacy touches the 1 percent as well as the 99 percent. He is a textbook example of

whom the rules were etched in stone. He was a creative force who, long past retirement age, wanted to experiment and surprise himself, wanted to step outside the box into which fashion critics, retailers, historians and educators had placed him.

"I think I give the impression to people that I'm an extremely difficult person and demanding person. But I'm demanding foremost with myself," Mr. Armani told me in an interview when he was 70. "I also do not accept it that these professionals put on



ALEX MAJOLI/MAGNUM PHOTOS

A designer led a fashion revolution, but did so with civility.

fashion trickling down and out. So what if one couldn't afford Armani? It was possible to have a little bit of the designer's refinement, dignity and elegance that didn't reek of some strain of cultural warfare. Mr. Armani's aesthetic was civil. It wasn't out to stir up the emotions or create divides.

Ultimately, Mr. Armani provided the culture with the vocabulary to understand what's become known as quiet luxury, and the difference between fashion and style. Customers loved him for this. They came to him because an investment in one of his suits or overcoats promised solid returns. They could wear it until it wore out. The fashion crowd complained about both the sameness of each season and also the seasonal quirks — the gumball necklaces, the pagoda-like hats — that seemed out of sync with what they'd come to expect or, quite frankly, demand. For a time, they turned their attention from Armani to louder, sexier, streetwise newcomers.

This was the challenge of being Mr. Armani. His place in fashion history had long ago been assured. But he didn't want to be a designer encased in amber, someone for

blinders, that they don't see evolutions. That they don't see that 20 years ago there was one kind of Armani and today there is a different kind of Armani."

In that same interview, he considered the leeway that other designers — both veterans and upstarts — were given to experiment, to make false steps, to change. In his estimation, he wasn't afforded that freedom. He simply had to take hold of it and brace himself for the chiding that almost always came.

Over the years, I offered up no small amount of criticism for collections that I thought had gone awry or seemed to be more of an indulgence for the designer than a service to the customer. In hindsight, I wish I had recognized the particular hurdles inherent in being Armani.

I also now see the momentous thing that I missed at that first Armani show, with all my inexperience.

The designer had showcased a collection that looked virtually inevitable. His sensibility seemed foundational to what a modern wardrobe should be. It was as if all our unspoken notions of good taste, sophistication and ease were paraded down that runway.

And that made his work extraordinary. Mr. Armani not only conjured those clothes from his imagination; he also made them look utterly, astonishingly normal. Even as his civility slipped out of the spotlight, it endured throughout his lifetime. And, I hope, beyond.

LETTERS

Disney World's Window on America

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Disney Used to Be for Everyone. Not Anymore," by Daniel Currell, with photographs by Paola Chapdelaine (Opinion guest essay, Aug. 31):

I am Abigail Disney, and my grandfather Roy Disney and my great-uncle Walt Disney founded the company and its famed theme parks. I read Mr. Currell's essay with a mixture of recognition and sadness.

Back when the parks were created, they were deliberately affordable. Both Roy and Walt believed that magic could and should be accessible — that joy shouldn't come with a luxury price tag.

Mr. Currell outlines the disheartening fact that the ultrawealthy have become the primary customer base for the ultimate Disney experience. But Disney is not the only place that has lost interest in the middle class.

Catering to the wealthy has become a guiding principle for nearly everything. On July 4, President Trump signed into law a spending bill that cuts social services for everyday Americans (roughly \$1 trillion in Medicaid cuts, excluding millions of children from the child tax credit and imposing major reductions for SNAP) while giving even more tax breaks to the wealthy.

As someone with a high net worth, I should pay my fair share of taxes so everyone can have affordable and accessible health care and other services. Without a thriving middle class, neither Disney nor any other corporation can continue to function well for long.

Accessibility and affordability aren't minor concerns; they should be guiding principles in a country that claims to be free and equal.

ABIGAIL DISNEY, NEW YORK

The writer is a member of Voices for Progress, an advocacy group.

TO THE EDITOR:

In 1978, my mother — divorced and working as a teacher at a private school by day (and paid practically nothing) and nights as a hostess in a restaurant — had saved \$1,000 and took my sister and me to Disney World with plans for "blowing through" the money.

We spent four nights at the Polynesian Village Resort, mentioned in the essay, rode every ride (yes, some lines were long, but nobody was jumping ahead) and had a fabulous time.

She told us during the flight home that she had "change" left over from the kitty and took us back-to-school shopping upon our return.

I am glad to have these happy memories, as this is no longer the world we live in.

DINA B. COHEN, NEW YORK

TO THE EDITOR:

In 2007, my husband and I took our three kids — ages 9, 6 and 3 — to Disney World for the first time. I had planned the trip and therefore had a good sense of the admission pricing; I had not shared that information with my husband.

When he reached the ticket booth and asked for five three-day passes, the friendly worker told him that would be \$800. My husband laughed, assuming her response was part of the jovial Disney magic spirit, until she repeated the total and asked for his credit card.

CATHERINE A. SANDERSON
AMHERST, MASS.

TO THE EDITOR:

It would have been considered extremely un-American when Disney World was created to allow people to pay to jump the line. Now it seems like the most American thing someone could do.

BRAD CARTY, WEXFORD, PA.

Democrats Will Try to Save the Safety Net

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Democrats Look to Reel Back Working-Class Voters Set Adrift" (news article, Aug. 13):

Democrats not addressing kitchen table issues? I hope that in elections going forward voters keep in mind that the Republicans have been doing everything in their power — and they currently have a lot of power — to deny health care to millions of people, to do nothing to prevent cuts to Social Security, to make life even more difficult financially with tariffs that raise the price of everything, to cut programs that feed schoolchildren as well as the increasing number of adults who can't afford groceries and to give trillions of dollars in tax cuts to the richest citizens.

Gripe if you want, but

there's a stark difference between the two parties. The social safety net, as imperfect as it is, was something fought for and achieved by Democrats, over many decades.

Some of the Democratic politicians are old, and don't communicate well, but they have worked and are working to help people with their kitchen table issues. Some of the Republican politicians are old, and don't communicate well, and for reasons I don't understand they want to destroy the social safety net so people will be sick, uneducated and living in a state of fear.

Vote for Democrats; they want to help people improve their lot in life. Just as important, they don't want to grind a boot into people's necks.

ARTHUR CHERTOWSKY
BROOKLYN

COLUMNIST | DAVID FRENCH

Don't Let Trump Expand the Definition of War

PRESIDENT TRUMP has done it again.

He is attacking a genuine and serious problem recklessly, heedless of the consequences and, in this case, of human life.

On Tuesday I watched Trump proudly display grainy footage of a military strike on what he said was a boat full of narco-terrorists on their way to the United States with a load of drugs.

Typically, when the Coast Guard or another branch of the military or law enforcement spots a boat suspected of carrying drugs, we seek to stop the boat, search it, seize any drugs and arrest and question the crew. If these drug smuggling suspects open fire, American forces can respond, but they cannot simply execute someone on the mere suspicion of drug trafficking. We do not kill those suspected of being criminals from the air.

In the United States, we have two firewalls against unjust and unlawful wars. First, the Constitution grants Congress the exclusive power to declare war. The president does have authority as commander in chief to respond to immediate military threats, like an armed attack, but he is not supposed to initiate new hostilities in the absence of congressional action.

A crime is not an act of war. It can't be compared to Pearl Harbor, Sept. 11 or any other attack on American citizens or troops, or allied citizens or troops. To even mention Tren de Aragua in the same breath as Al Qaeda, much less Imperial Japan, illustrates the absurdity of the administration's argument.

Second, the international law of armed conflict still applies to United States forces, and that means that presidents don't have the power to order violations of the laws of armed conflict. So where did Trump find the legal authority to initiate deadly force against suspected members of a drug gang?

The closest thing we've heard to an actual legal argument is the assertion that Trump could order a strike on Tren de Aragua be-

cause it's a designated terrorist organization.

Pete Hegseth, the secretary of defense, argued that American forces may strike anyone "trafficking in those waters who we know is a designated narco terrorist."

"We knew exactly who was in that boat," he added, and "we knew exactly what they were doing, and we knew exactly who they represented, and that was Tren de Aragua."

Though I question his certainty (I've had enough experience with airstrikes to know that our intelligence is rarely that precise), even if he's correct, then that knowledge granted American forces probable cause to stop and search the boat for evidence of a crime, not grounds to execute the crew (or any passengers) from above.

For his part, Marco Rubio, the secretary of state, said that the United States will "blow up" members of criminal groups, and on Thursday designated two more groups, the Ecuadorean gangs Los Lobos and Los Choneros, as terror organizations.

It is true that the administration has the authority to designate foreign entities as terrorist organizations. The administration has used its authority to classify a host of drug gangs as terrorist organizations, but the relevant statute that allows the administration to make that designation does not include an authorization for military force.

What we are left with is a military strike conducted against suspects without due process, in the absence of any need for immediate self-defense (the boat was not firing on American forces), without any congressional authorization and without any basis in international law.

The consequences of Trump's action are terrible to contemplate. If you are in a state of war with a terror organization, then military forces have the right to shoot members of that organization wherever they are found. When I served in Iraq, if we had sufficient reason to believe a person or a group of people were ter-

rorists, we didn't have to arrest them. We could kill them.

As an Army lawyer, I helped my commander make life-or-death decisions, including whether to use deadly force on the basis of partial information and drone footage. I know firsthand that the process is imprecise, potentially fraught with mistakes and justifiable only in extreme circumstances.

In Iraq we were engaged in a congressionally authorized counterinsurgency campaign against the deadliest terrorists on earth. Those conditions don't apply to Trump's campaign in the Caribbean.

Under the Trump administration's reasoning, the president's power to use deadly force isn't limited to speedboats in international waters. War, after all, is war, and it can be fought wherever the enemy is present. That means members of the National Guard patrolling American streets could be granted broad authority to use deadly force, circumventing due process through a hail of gunfire.

Trump has long fantasized about the promiscuous use of military force. His former secretary of defense Mark Esper said that Trump asked about using military force against protesters in 2020, during his first term. "Can't you just shoot them, just shoot them in the legs or something?" Trump asked, according to Esper.

Trump also reportedly asked about shooting migrants in the legs, and he deployed thousands of soldiers to the southern border. And it's not just the president. Republican governors have called the flood of migrants across the southern border an "invasion" and sought to unlock their own war powers to respond to illegal immigration.

The laws of war exist because decent societies place a high value on human life and because the world has repeatedly endured the horrendous consequences of total war. Due process exists because millenniums of experience with arbitrary power teach us that

We don't kill those merely suspected of being criminals.

rulers can't be trusted to dispense unilateral justice.

Drug trafficking, like all serious crimes, imposes tremendous costs. Drug overdoses have imposed a staggering toll on American communities and families. But to say that drug trafficking is a serious crime with serious consequences is not the same thing as saying that it's an act of war. Conflating crime with war obviously risks inflicting violence and injustice on the innocent and the guilty alike, but there are other risks as well.

Military strikes raise the possibility of military escalation. Venezuelan fighter jets flew over an American destroyer after the strike on the suspected drug boat, and now the United States is deploying even more military assets to the Caribbean, including F-35 fighters, our most advanced combat aircraft.

Injustice and escalation aren't the only consequences of Trump's foolishness and lawlessness. Perhaps the most dangerous consequence is diversion. Russia and China are moving closer, and China held a military parade last week that showcased an extraordinary range of new, advanced weapons.

Trump is diverting the military from its primary mission: deterring a war with hostile forces that are infinitely more dangerous than any South American drug gang.

No one should have any illusions that either Congress or the Supreme Court will stop the president. The Republican Congress does whatever Trump demands, and the Supreme Court has been reluctant to interfere with the president's authority to use force abroad, especially since the Vietnam War.

It's up to the American people to hold Trump accountable for his lawless acts. Every person who pumped his fist at Trump's news conference should pause and think very hard about letting him — or any president — expand the definition of war until due process dies, blotted out by the flame and smoke of a missile strike.



GUCCI

The Gucci Portrait Series
Fall Winter 2025 by Catherine Opie

U.S. Open singles champions score a seven-figure paycheck. But it's not inside the envelope they receive.



After a few chaotic years, the federal financial aid form known as the FAFSA is expected to arrive on time.



'The Conjuring: Last Rites,' the ninth movie in a horror series, scored a record at the box office for the franchise.

Business

The New York Times

Putting Off Yearning Until They're Earning

Dating is easier, and is more likely to be satisfying, for people who enjoy a measure of financial comfort.



By ALEXANDER NAZARYAN

Allan Robles would like to find a partner. His problem is that he lives in San Francisco, one of the most expensive cities in the United States.

Mr. Robles earns a six-figure salary working in sustainable building design, but he cannot keep up with artificial intelligence engineers who can command million-dollar pay packages.

"People are just flush with money," Mr. Robles, 37, said. Friends in his city's L.G.B.T.Q. community casually discuss taking trips to places like Mykonos, the Greek island. With only \$500 or so left over after expenses each month, Mr. Robles can't afford such luxuries. To conserve money, he has also put his romantic life on hold. Better to wait, he reasons, than to turn every date into a cost-saving exercise, a procession of hikes in parks, free museums and happy

hours.

"It's kind of a nonstarter until I get my house in order," Mr. Robles said.

Mr. Robles is hardly alone in his frustrations. People with higher incomes are more likely to feel ready to date, found a pair of linked studies published in *The Journal of Marriage and Family* in July. One study surveyed several hundred Americans ages 25 to 35 and making, on average, between \$30,000 and \$39,000 per year; they were interviewed about their dating habits twice, six months apart. It found that, at higher incomes, single people were more prepared, and more likely, to end up in a relationship. The second study focused on a large German database, and confirmed the findings of the first.

CONTINUED ON PAGE B2

A.I. Firm Collapses In Middle Of A.I. Boom

Builder.ai was held up as a leading innovator, but was mostly hot air.

By DAVID STREITFELD

SAN FRANCISCO — Builder.ai was a buzzy artificial intelligence company with a media-savvy chief executive, prestigious investors on three continents, a partnership with Microsoft and a supposedly vibrant business making apps for small businesses.

Two years ago, *Fast Company* magazine ranked Builder the third most innovative company in A.I., right behind OpenAI and Google's DeepMind.

Last winter, it all went south. Builder's board discovered that sales had been significantly overstated. The chief executive resigned. Within a few months, Builder, which was based in London and had operations in India and California, went from a \$1.5 billion unicorn to bankruptcy. It is now being liquidated in a Delaware court.

"Builder should be a warning sign for investors, for employees, for executives," said Manpreet Rattia, who was brought in as chief executive in March to try to salvage the company. "Be careful of what you claim you are. At some point, it catches up with you."

Thanks to the dream of artificial intelligence, Silicon Valley is experiencing its biggest boom ever. Companies are pushing the technology as the savior of humanity. It will be your boss, your employee, your teacher, your best friend, your therapist. The tech community is stoked with an urgency bordering on panic. If the world is utterly changing right at this moment, there's not a moment to lose.

Builder's collapse has gone largely unnoticed amid the frenzy. It is the biggest A.I. company to crater, although whether it should

CONTINUED ON PAGE B4

Credit Cards Now Vital To Airlines

By NIRAJ CHOKSHI

Frequent-flier programs are becoming one of the most prized assets in aviation.

Loyalty programs are now indispensable to some airlines, generating healthy profits in good times and blunting losses in downturns. By one estimate, the programs are worth hundreds of billions of dollars globally, accounting at times for a large share of the value of the companies that run them.

The loyalty ecosystem is fueled in large part by credit card spending, particularly in the United States, where it is widespread and most major airlines work with banks to issue cards tied to frequent-flier programs. Three of the biggest U.S. carriers — American Airlines, Delta Air Lines and United Airlines — earn billions of dollars annually from cards and loyalty programs, revenue that has been vital to their success.

"A very large share of the profits are directly attributable to the loyalty program," said Evert de Boer, managing director at On Point Loyalty, a consulting firm. "If you were to take away the loyalty programs, it would have a huge impact on the big U.S. carriers."

The programs have reinforced the hold that the biggest U.S. airlines have on air travel, providing an edge over smaller or low-fare airlines, some of which are losing money. The loyalty programs have helped those large carriers attract and retain customers, who often book with their favored airline because of the perks even if they sometimes pay more.

But the cards that underpin those programs have also attracted critics. Restaurants, retailers and some lawmakers want

CONTINUED ON PAGE B3

Krispy Kreme Is Betting on Big-Box Stores to Stay Fresh

By JULIE CRESWELL

At a factory in the Bronx, making a Krispy Kreme doughnut involves precision timing.

First, flour, yeast, water and other ingredients are mixed for 14 minutes. After the dough is pushed through a machine that forms doughnut rings, the rings rise for 35 minutes. Then it's 110 seconds in an oil fryer and a trip through a 55-degree cooling tunnel.

But because no one wants a

stale doughnut, time is also the enemy. Last week's limited-edition "Harry Potter"-themed sweets, which were decorated by hand as they rolled off the conveyor belt at 2 p.m., were packed in boxes and picked up within 12 hours for early-morning deliveries to retailers like Costco and Walmart. This is the pace the company needs to keep so the doughnuts don't go stale. Everything is a race.

The clock is also ticking for Krispy Kreme executives.

They're under pressure to convince Wall Street analysts and investors that their latest plan will turn the company's fortunes around. It's a tall order.

The company is making a concentrated push to get its doughnuts into even more big-box retailers, as well as convenience and grocery stores, around the country. "In the U.S., just to give an example, we're in less than a third of the footprint of Walmart, and so, you know, there are thousands of

locations for us to go after," said the chief executive of Krispy Kreme, Josh Charlesworth.

The past three decades have been a roller-coaster ride for the Charlotte, N.C., company, aiming to keep investors on a sugar high as it works out how to expand while remaining true to its heritage of serving fresh doughnuts.

Yet its shares have plunged 66 percent in the last year and currently trade around \$3.60, a little more than the cost of a chocolate-

iced, cream-filled doughnut in New York City. The company's stock is one of the largest shorts in the market, meaning many investors are betting it could fall even further.

Revenue for the quarter ending in June slipped 13.4 percent. The company said it had lost \$441 million, compared with a loss of \$5 million in the same quarter last year. The drop was largely because of an accounting charge of

CONTINUED ON PAGE B5

JACKSON GIBBS

PERSONAL FINANCE

This Year's FAFSA Will Be on Time

After years of chaotic releases, the U.S. government says the college aid form will be available on Oct. 1.

Your Money Adviser

By ANN CARRNS

The federal financial aid form known as the FAFSA is expected to be made available to the public on time this year. Normally, that wouldn't be news, but after a couple of chaotic years, it is notable.

The updated online form, covering aid for the 2026-27 school year, will be fully available by the traditional Oct. 1 start date, the federal Education Department said. And students who want to get the chore out of the way sooner can request early access to the form in September.

"I'm hopeful it will be a smooth year," said Karen McCarthy, vice president of public policy and federal relations at the National Association of Student Financial Aid Administrators.

The FAFSA, for Free Application for Federal Student Aid, is the gateway to federal aid for education after high school, including grants, which don't need to be repaid, and low-cost student loans. States and colleges also use the form to distribute their own financial help. Millions of students submit it each year — and if they don't, they aren't eligible for financial help from the federal government.

The form gathers personal and financial information about students and their parents and applies a formula to calculate a "student aid index," which indicates eligibility for aid.

The latest FAFSA arrives as some types of federal aid are becoming harder to get. The PLUS loan program for graduate students will stop accepting new borrowers on July 1, and limits on PLUS loans for parents will be tightened as a result of the Republican policy law that Congress recently passed.

Why was the form late in recent years?

Starting in 2016, an updated FAFSA form was usually made available in October every year. (Before then, it was available in January, but the month was changed to give students more time to complete the form.)

In 2020, Congress mandated a major overhaul of the FAFSA and its underlying formula, aimed at simplifying the form to encourage more students who need aid to complete it. But serious technical issues during the overhaul under the Biden administration in 2023 torpedoed the normal schedule. The FAFSA for the 2024-25 academic year wasn't live until the end of December 2023, and lingering glitches caused confusion and delays for students and college financial aid offices.

After what was widely considered a fiasco, the Education Department moved to fix the form and to conduct early testing before releasing the next update. The FAFSA for the 2025-26 school year was made available in late November — better, but still more than a month late.

The form must now officially be made available each year by Oct. 1, as a result of a law passed last year. Linda McMahon, the secretary of education, certified that would happen in a letter to Congress last month.

Is testing being done again this year?

Yes. "Beta" testing of the online form, a practice common in software development, started in early August and has gone well, according to the Education Department and some test participants. During the initial testing, "no major blockers or critical issues" were identified, according to the Federal Student Aid office's updates on the FAFSA.

While the Trump administration has made extensive staff cuts at the Education Department, which it has vowed to dismantle, there appears to have been

"limited impact" on the team overseeing the FAFSA, said MorraLee Keller, senior consultant at the National College Attainment Network, a nonprofit that works to promote college access.

"We feel very fortunate," she said. "The FAFSA crew got to stay intact."

About a dozen school districts and education groups participated in early testing in Arizona, California, Florida, Mississippi and Washington, D.C. More than 1,000 applications were processed over the initial test period, and that number had risen to about 2,800 as of Wednesday, according to statistics on the Federal Student Aid office's website.

In her letter to Congress, Secretary McMahon said there were plans for "tens of thousands" more students to finish the form before it became available publicly. "Our team is confident that these early testing practices will be successful and meet the secretary's goals," the department's press office said in an email.

Get2College, a foundation-funded program that promotes college access and success in Mississippi, helped about 15 students at its Gulf Coast center complete the form during the initial testing period, said Ana Ochoa, assistant director of outreach at the center. Students were able to get one-on-one help from counselors, and if they needed a Spanish speaker, Ms. Ochoa, who is bilingual, was available.

One of the students completing the form was Ruby Ochoa, who is 17 and Ms. Ochoa's niece. A high school senior, she has the University of Mississippi in her sights.

"I was a little nervous," Ruby said of completing the FAFSA. "I had heard it's a very complicated process." But she didn't encounter serious issues, she said, and is happy to have completed the form. "I can really focus on schools and my scholarship essays," she said.



TILL LAUER

How can I get early access to the FAFSA?

If you want to fill out the form in September, you can request an invitation on the Federal Student Aid website. (You'll need your FSA ID and a username and password combination to log on.)

Volunteering may not mean you will automatically be selected to join the testing. "We'll invite participants as needed until testing ends," the website says. If you are invited, you'll be notified by email.

More than 7,000 students had requested early access as of Aug. 25, according to an update on the website.

Is there a financial advantage to filing before October?

No, Ms. Keller said. But since applying to college involves multiple steps over a period of time, she said, it may be a relief to check one item off the list early.

In general, students are advised to complete the FAFSA as soon as possible once it is available because some states award scholarships on a first-come, first-served basis or may have deadlines early in the new year.

If I file a FAFSA during testing, will I have to refile it after Oct. 1?

No. The forms filed during the testing are real FAFSAs, and you won't need to fill out another one for the 2026-27 school year, according to the department. Once the form is processed, students will be able to make any necessary corrections, the department said, just as they would during the regular application cycle.

What changes were made to make completing the form easier?

Financial aid professionals said the updated form had some helpful modifications. It's now simpler, for instance, for students to "invite" parents or

guardians to complete their portion of the form.

The department also said users who created a StudentAid.gov account with a Social Security number would have their accounts verified immediately instead of having to wait as long as three days.

Why is completing the FAFSA important?

High school seniors who submit the FAFSA are much more likely to attend college right after graduation, according to the National College Attainment Network. After the form's technical meltdown, fewer applications were filed, but that number has rebounded. The network estimates that the completion rate for the class of 2025 was 59 percent as of Aug. 22, compared with about 52 percent for the class of 2024. "After a difficult 2024-25 cycle, the FAFSA process appears back on track," the network said in July.

What's Inside Envelope At U.S. Open? Not a Check.

Ron Lieber

YOUR MONEY

In 2017, Sloane Stephens got wide-eyed as she prepared to receive the winner's ceremonial envelope and got a reminder of the seven-figure prize coming her way.

Iga Swiatek took her envelope at the 2022 on-court trophy presentation and said she was just glad it did not contain cash.

But what was actually in these envelopes that U.S. Open winners received with their trophy?

Could it really be that they contained paper checks in this very modern era? It wasn't impossible. This is America, after all, where we just can't quit the things, including the cheesy oversize ones that were once a feature of Open trophy ceremonies.

And if the checks are real, who handles them for the players, and how do those people deposit them? Could we, like, accompany the check on its journey and have our best portraitist take a series of glamour shots, with bright-white lighting?

Our inquiries during last year's tournament yielded no substantive replies from the United States Tennis Association. This year, we started asking in early June. And finally, late last month, came an answer: The envelope that U.S. Open winners receive contains no check at all.

And really, why would it? It's possible, after all, that Ms. Swiatek has never known such a thing and wouldn't know what to do with it. She hails from Poland, where banking is a bit more 21st century than it is in the United States. In America, checks are



Sloane Stephens received \$3.7 million for winning the U.S. Open women's singles title in 2017. But it was not in the envelope she was presented.

still common and a giant pain for many of the people who must use them and really wish they did not have to.

Ms. Stephens is young enough that she may never have written a check, and good for her. Check fraud is rampant, after all, and no one needs the hassle of figur-

Not a \$5 million prize, but merely a symbolic gesture.

ing out how to deposit big ones without triggering all sorts of security alerts.

Tournament officials — and their sponsors at JPMorgan Chase — persist with the on-court pageantry nevertheless. "The handing of the envelope is a symbolic gesture to the players that helps to celebrate the moment and symbolizes the prize money that these champions are awarded for their incredible play over the course of these events," said Brendan McIntyre, a U.S.T.A. spokesman. "It has become a memorable part of the postmatch celebration."

Players are acutely aware of the paychecks and their size, even as they arrive digitally via

their various representatives.

"I'm the one here sitting in front of you guys, moving on to the next round, getting the next check," Taylor Townsend told reporters after a win during the first week of this year's tournament.

Ms. Stephens (whose representatives, like those of several current and former players, did not respond to requests for comment or could not track down their chaperones to check in on the matter) seemed genuinely blown away during the passing of her envelope in 2017. So did the runner-up, Madison Keys, who jokingly offered to hold it for Ms. Stephens.

If she wins again someday, she won't get an entirely empty envelope. "There is a 'stand-in' piece of paper to help to give it heft," Mr. McIntyre said.

Heft, yes. But also a bit of levity, which may help explain why this game of pretend persists. After her win in 2017, a reporter asked Ms. Stephens about her desire to pursue additional championships.

"Of course, girl, did you see that check that that lady handed me?" Ms. Stephens said. "Like, yes, Man, if that doesn't make you want to play tennis, I don't know what will."

Putting Off Yearning Until They're Earning

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

"People are worried about their economic futures," said Geoff MacDonald, a scholar of singlehood and relationships at the University of Toronto and one of the studies' two authors. And that anxiety, he said, can express itself in a reluctance to start a relationship. "There's so much gig work and temporary work. You might be moving cities every couple of years. No wonder you're hesitant to commit to something."

The studies did not look at the longevity of relationships, and did not follow up with participants to see if their relationships led to marriage. Instead, they focused on what may be the most fundamental unit of romantic partnership: finding someone to go on a date.

"Higher income was correlated with more desire for a relationship, more perceived readiness for a relationship and greater intent to find a partner, and also predicted greater odds of actually partnering within six months," Dr. MacDonald wrote with his co-author, Johanna Peetz, a professor at Carleton University in Ottawa who studies finances in the context of individual relationships.

"Love doesn't have a price tag," said James Michael Sama, 40, an executive coach who lives north of Boston.

At the same time, honesty is priceless. When Mr. Sama met his wife, at the start of the coronavirus pandemic, both were struggling financially. (She ran an indoor playground.) Instead of trying to impress her, as he might have in his younger years, Mr. Sama was honest about his situation. "It would've been immoral or unethical to lead her on with false pretenses," he said.

Today, his business is thriving, and their two children are in private school. "This never would've been possible had I propped myself up with a false image in the beginning," Mr. Sama said.

After she graduated from col-

lege three years ago, Charlotte Maracina, a journalist who lives on Long Island, started dating a physics student from London who had no income of his own. Because she had a full-time job, Ms. Maracina paid for most of their dates, including concerts at Madison Square Garden and Broadway shows.

"He would pay for pizza dates," Ms. Maracina, 23, said. But her partner's resentment at her spending power grew, and the relationship lasted only four months. As for his promises to pay her back for some of their more expensive outings?

"He never did," Ms. Maracina said. None of this is entirely new. In 2016, Sajae Elder published an essay in *Vice* with a bracing headline: "Dating While Being Broke Sucks."

"During my lowest times, I recall going on a slew of first dates but never going much beyond that," Ms. Elder wrote. Her efforts at a sustained relationship were frustrated by "the feeling of not being settled, comfortable or contented with my life as it was. And not making enough money was a huge part of that."

Nine years later, the *cri de coeur* still resonates, though Ms. Elder, now 36, is in a more comfortable financial position. "I feel like it's more relevant now," she said in an interview from Toronto, where the former journalist works as a copywriter. Things were cheaper in 2016. "Even if you were kind of broke, you could still have a fairly good time. Ubers were still \$5."

Ms. Maracina said many of her friends had recently been laid off from media jobs. One had been hoping to move in with her boyfriend, but has been unable to find employment for six months running. That prevented the relationship from evolving, she said.

"Up to a limit, money buys happiness," Dr. MacDonald said. Mr. Sama, the executive coach,

said one of his wealthier New York clients was so determined to find a partner that he went on 28 dates over two months. The expense was enormous, but apparently worth it, as he found a woman he wanted to keep seeing exclusively. "They're still together," Mr. Sama said. "They have a great relationship now."

Dating can be especially difficult for men of lesser means, like Ms. Maracina's erstwhile partner. "Men are still expected to provide financially both in dating and in relationships," said Maya Diamond, a dating and relationship coach in Northern California. A single man with a lower income, she added, "might be concerned that he's not going to be able to have the time or energy to put into a relationship." For all the upending of social norms in recent years, the expectation that men pay for dates has filtered down to younger generations.

With the wage gap narrowing for young people, "men are being asked to bring something to the table other than income," Dr. MacDonald said. "I think with other things, like emotional availability or willingness to contribute to housework, men have the opportunity to up their game."

Some recent surveys have indicated that young women are earning more than young men, at least in some large coastal cities. Social pressure to marry young and have children has largely diminished in recent years.

Hannah Williamson, who studies low-income families at the University of Texas at Austin, said that given the trends in American society, the future of relationships was not auspicious. Policymakers could take steps to lessen pressures on younger people and encourage family formation through European-style social policies, such as extended parental leave, Dr. Williamson suggested. But there is little evidence of such efforts, especially in Washington.

"It's a bit of a depressing area to study," Dr. Williamson said.

AIRLINES

Airlines Find Credit Cards Essential to Their Business

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

to overhaul and effectively lower the fees that make loyalty programs particularly profitable for U.S. banks and airlines. For now, those efforts at change have had limited success in Congress.

American Airlines started the loyalty arms race in 1981 when it created its AAdvantage frequent-flyer program. United announced a similar offering, MileagePlus, within days, and many major competitors soon followed suit. Over time, the rewards began to behave more like currency as airlines issued branded credit cards and sold loyalty points to other businesses.

Starting in the 2010s, the major U.S. airlines made two big changes that analysts said made the programs even more profitable. The airlines now primarily reward customers for how much money they spend rather than how many miles they fly. And the airlines have let prices of tickets booked with points fluctuate more based on supply, demand and other factors.

"These programs are businesses," said Thomas O'Toole, an associate dean for executive programs at the Kellogg School of Management of Northwestern University and a former chief marketing officer at United Airlines. "They are very strategic businesses, and they are very rational businesses."

In a 2023 report, Mr. de Boer and a colleague estimated that Delta's SkyMiles program was the world's most valuable loyalty plan, worth about \$28 billion. Investors value Delta itself at around \$40 billion, based on its stock price.

The loyalty program at American is worth about \$24 billion, while United's is worth \$22 billion, according to the report. At Southwest Airlines, which started as a low-fare airline but has become one of the country's biggest carriers, the loyalty program is worth around \$9 billion.

The airlines share little publicly about their loyalty programs, but American and Delta each received about \$7 billion from frequent-flyer programs last year and United about \$6 billion, according to an analysis of financial filings by Jay Sorensen, who runs IdeaWorksCompany, a consulting firm that works for airlines and other aviation businesses.

Those programs are supported in part by the millions of people who use airline credit cards and then earn airline points for spending. The banks that issue those cards buy those points from the airlines in bulk, typically spending many billions of dollars every year.

"What really changed the dynamics of these programs is the arrival of credit cards," Mr. Sorensen said.

Banks recoup that money by charging interest and fees to card users and from fees paid by retailers, restaurants and other merchants every time customers pay with credit cards. For the banks, airline cards bring in many customers who fly and spend a lot.

Last year, consumers spent about \$186 billion on Delta-branded credit cards, according to an analysis of securities filings of American Express, the airline's credit card partner. That was about 12 percent of global spending on cards issued by the bank.

Delta said in a financial filing that cash sales of loyalty points to American Express were \$7.4 billion in 2024, an 8 percent increase from the year before.

Many travelers love the cards and loyalty programs. By earning status, they can board planes early, enter airport lounges and enjoy other perks. Racking up points for dream vacations or seat upgrades is a powerful motivator, too.

Those benefits create what Dwight James, Delta's senior vice president of loyalty, calls "an emotional bias" toward the airline.

"The ability to earn currency and the utility it brings you becomes something that is really worth attaching to," he said. "We want it to be seamless, we want to take the cognitive stress of travel out of the equation, we want to be

a one-stop shop."

The appeal of status and perks has helped make air travel less of a commodity business for the biggest airlines. A small but sizable share of points also go unused, experts said.

Joe McFarren, who lives in Minneapolis with his wife and daughter, used to be dismissive of loyalty programs, but that changed a few years ago when he started flying regularly for his job at a tech firm. Now, he goes out of his way to fly on Delta, which dominates flights at his local airport. He has attained the airline's highest customer status, which he often uses to upgrade seats for his family on long international trips.

"You land, you're not super groggy, you actually had decent sleep on the plane and you can kind of get right into it," he said. "That's the singular thing that I use to kind of gun for status."

Loyalty programs have become so valuable that during the pandemic, American, United and Delta each used their programs as collateral to borrow billions of dollars. The companies were struggling because they had to ground many planes and others flew largely empty.

In an interview with The New York Times, Luc Bondar, the president and chief operations officer of United's MileagePlus, said, "What that did was open the eyes of the industry, of the executive leadership, to think about the program differently, as a source of stability but also as a platform for different types of value creation and growth."

Even when people aren't flying much, they use airline credit cards and loyalty programs. During the recession in 2008 and 2009, for example, United's overall revenue dropped 19 percent, but its loyalty revenue fell only 2 percent, the airline said in a 2020 presentation to investors.

Of course, consumers' love affair with loyalty programs may not last forever. If airlines make it too hard to redeem rewards or get perks like seat upgrades or access to airport lounges, customers could defect.

Regulation may also threaten the loyalty business. A decade ago, the European Union placed caps on the fees that credit card companies can charge merchants — now set at 0.3 percent of the transaction amount. The United States does not cap those fees, about 1.8 percent of an average purchase, most of which funds the rewards distributed to customers, according to a recent report from the Federal Reserve Bank of New York.

A bipartisan group of senators has called for changes to those so-called swipe fees. Their legislation is backed by restaurants and retailers but opposed by banks and airlines. The odds of its advancing are uncertain with Republicans in control of Congress and President Trump in office, given the antipathy of many conservatives toward regulation.

Many analysts say they expect airline loyalty programs to keep growing and evolving.

Some airlines are already dabbling in things far afield from travel. United, for example, said last year that it would start offering its customers media content, experiences and various products and services from other brands. Delta has established partnerships with Starbucks and Uber that allow its customers to earn points by buying lattes and booking rides.

Loyalty points have become such a valuable currency that many businesses are eager to join programs with many users. IAG, which owns British Airways, Iberia and other European airlines, created a stand-alone business for its loyalty program, Avios. That program has become popular enough that two airlines that IAG does not own, Finnair and Loganair, have signed up to use it.

Mr. Bondar, the United executive, said his airline thought it could still do a lot more with its MileagePlus program. "We're going to continue to build these out in ways that create resilience for the airline and relevance for the customer."

This announcement is neither an offer to purchase nor a solicitation of an offer to sell Company Shares (as defined below). The Offer (as defined below) is made solely by the Offer to Purchase (as defined below) and the related Letter of Transmittal and Notice of Guaranteed Delivery (each as defined below) and any amendments or supplements thereto and is being made to all holders of Company Shares. Purchaser is not aware of any jurisdiction in which the making of the Offer or the acceptance thereof would be prohibited by securities, "blue sky" or other valid laws of such jurisdiction. If Purchaser becomes aware of any U.S. state in which the making of the Offer or the acceptance of Company Shares pursuant thereto would not be in compliance with an administrative or judicial action taken pursuant to a U.S. state statute, Purchaser will make a good faith effort to comply with any such law. If, after such good faith effort, Purchaser cannot comply with any such law, the Offer will not be made to (nor will tenders be accepted from or on behalf of) the holders of Company Shares in such state. In any jurisdictions where the applicable laws require that the Offer be made by a licensed broker or dealer, the Offer will be deemed to be made on behalf of Purchaser by one or more registered brokers or dealers licensed under the laws of such jurisdiction to be designated by Purchaser.

Notice of Offer to Purchase All Outstanding Shares of Common Stock of scPharmaceuticals Inc.

at
\$5.35 per share in cash,
plus one non-tradable contingent value right per share representing
the right to receive certain contingent payments of up to an aggregate amount of \$1.00 per each contingent value right in cash on the achievement of specified milestones on or prior to the applicable milestone outside dates

Pursuant to the Offer to Purchase dated September 8, 2025

by

Seacoast Merger Sub, Inc., a direct wholly owned subsidiary of mannkind MannKind Corporation

Seacoast Merger Sub, Inc., a Delaware corporation ("Purchaser") and a direct wholly owned subsidiary of MannKind Corporation, a Delaware corporation ("Parent"), is offering to purchase all of the outstanding shares of common stock, par value \$0.0001 per share (the "Company Shares"), of scPharmaceuticals Inc., a Delaware corporation (the "Company"), that are issued and outstanding at a price of (i) \$5.35 per Company Share, in cash (the "Cash Amount"), without interest, subject to any applicable withholding taxes, plus (ii) one non-tradable contingent value right (each a "CVR") per Company Share, representing the right to receive certain contingent payments of up to an aggregate amount of \$1.00 per CVR in cash, without interest, subject to any applicable withholding taxes, upon the achievement of certain regulatory and net sales milestones on or prior to the applicable milestone outside dates in accordance with the terms and conditions set forth in the Contingent Value Rights Agreement (the "CVR Agreement"), to be entered into with a rights agent (the "Rights Agent") mutually agreeable to Parent and the Company (the Cash Amount plus the CVR, collectively, the "Offer Price"), upon the terms and subject to the conditions set forth in the offer to purchase, dated September 8, 2025 (as it may be amended or supplemented from time to time, the "Offer to Purchase"), and in the related letter of transmittal (as it may be amended or supplemented from time to time, the "Letter of Transmittal") and the related Notice of Guaranteed Delivery (as it may be amended or supplemented from time to time, the "Notice of Guaranteed Delivery") and which, together with the Offer to Purchase and Letter of Transmittal, constitutes the "Offer"). Tenders of stockholders who have Company Shares registered in their names and who tender directly to Broadridge Corporate Issuer Solutions, LLC (the "Depository") will not be obligated to pay brokerage fees, commissions or, except as set forth in the Letter of Transmittal, stock transfer taxes on the sale of Company Shares to Purchaser pursuant to the Offer. Stockholders with Company Shares held in street name by a broker, dealer, commercial bank, trust company or other nominee should consult with their nominee to determine if they will be charged any service fees or commissions.

THE OFFER AND WITHDRAWAL RIGHTS WILL EXPIRE ONE MINUTE FOLLOWING 11:59 P.M. (EASTERN TIME) ON OCTOBER 6, 2025, UNLESS THE OFFER IS EXTENDED OR EARLIER TERMINATED.

The Offer is being made pursuant to the Agreement and Plan of Merger, dated as of August 24, 2025, by and among Parent, Purchaser, and the Company (as it may be amended or supplemented from time to time in accordance with its terms, the "Merger Agreement"), pursuant to which, as promptly as practicable following the time as of which Purchaser accepts for payment all Company Shares validly tendered and not validly withdrawn pursuant to the Offer (the "Offer Acceptance Time") and subject to the satisfaction or waiver (to the extent permissible) of the remaining conditions set forth in the Merger Agreement, Purchaser will be merged with and into the Company (the "Merger"), with the Company continuing as the surviving corporation in the Merger and as a direct wholly owned subsidiary of Parent. Because the Merger will be governed by, and effected pursuant to, Section 251(h) of the Delaware General Corporation Law ("DGCL"), no stockholder vote will be required to consummate the Merger. At the date and time of the filing of the certificate of merger in respect of the Merger with the Secretary of State of the State of Delaware or at such later date and time as is agreed upon in writing by the parties to the Merger Agreement and specified in the certificate of merger (the "Effective Time"), each Company Share then outstanding (other than any Company Shares owned by Parent, Purchaser or the Company or by any of their respective subsidiaries (or held in the Company's treasury), which will be cancelled and will cease to exist, and no consideration will be delivered in exchange therefor) will be cancelled and (other than any Company Shares held by holders who are entitled to appraisal rights under Section 262 of the DGCL and who have properly exercised and perfected their respective demands for appraisal of such Company Shares in the time and manner provided in Section 262 of the DGCL and, as of the Effective Time, have neither effectively withdrawn nor lost their rights to such appraisal and payment under the DGCL) will be converted into the right to receive the Offer Price, without interest, subject to any applicable withholding taxes. Under no circumstances will interest be paid with respect to the purchase of Company Shares pursuant to the Offer, regardless of any extension of the Offer or any delay in making payment for Company Shares. As a result of the Merger, the Company Shares will cease to be publicly traded and the Company will become a direct wholly owned subsidiary of Parent. The Merger Agreement is more fully described in the Offer to Purchase.

The Offer is conditioned upon the satisfaction or waiver (to the extent permissible) in writing by Parent as of one minute following 11:59 p.m. Eastern time on October 6, 2025 (the "Expiration Date," unless the period during which the Offer is open is extended pursuant to and in accordance with the Merger Agreement, in which event "Expiration Date" will mean the subsequent time and date to which the expiration of the Offer is extended in accordance with the terms of the Merger Agreement) of the following conditions: (i) there having been validly tendered (not including any Company Shares tendered pursuant to guaranteed delivery procedures that have not yet been "received," as such term is defined in Section 251(h) of the DGCL, by the depository for the Offer pursuant to such procedures) and not validly withdrawn Company Shares that, considered together with all other Company Shares (if any) beneficially owned by Parent and its subsidiaries, represent one more Company Share than 50% of the total number of Company Shares outstanding at the time of the expiration of the Offer (the "Minimum Condition"); (ii) subject to certain materiality exceptions, the truth and accuracy of the representations and warranties of the Company contained in the Merger Agreement; (iii) the compliance with, or performance in all material respects of, all of the covenants and agreements that the Company is required to comply with or perform at or prior to the Offer Acceptance Time (without giving effect to any limitation as to "materiality" set forth in any such covenants or agreements); (iv) the absence of a material adverse effect on the Company since the date of the Merger Agreement that is continuing as of the Offer Acceptance Time; (v) the termination or expiration of any applicable waiting period (and any extensions thereof) relating to the Offer under the Hart-Scott-Rodino Antitrust Improvements Act of 1976, as amended (the "HSR Act") and the required antitrust approvals (including any timing agreement entered into with any governmental authority), and any approvals or clearances required thereunder having been obtained; and (vi) certain other customary conditions as described in Section 15 of the Offer to Purchase (the "Offer Conditions").

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE COMPANY HAS UNANIMOUSLY RECOMMENDED THAT THE COMPANY'S STOCKHOLDERS TENDER ALL OF THEIR COMPANY SHARES PURSUANT TO THE OFFER.

After careful consideration, the board of directors of the Company (the "Company Board") has unanimously (i) determined that the Merger Agreement and the transactions contemplated by the Merger Agreement, the CVR Agreement and the tender and support agreements with certain stockholders of the Company, including the Offer and the Merger (collectively, the "Transactions") are advisable and fair to, and in the best interest of, the Company and the stockholders of the Company, (ii) agreed that the Merger will be subject to Section 251(h) of the DGCL, (iii) approved the execution, delivery and performance by the Company of the Merger Agreement and the consummation of the Transactions, and approved the CVR Agreement and the transactions contemplated thereby, and (iv) resolved to recommend that the holders of Company Shares accept the Offer and tender their Company Shares to Purchaser pursuant to the Offer.

The Offer to Purchase, the Letter of Transmittal and Notice of Guaranteed Delivery and the Company's Solicitation/Recommendation Statement on Schedule 14D-9 (the "Schedule 14D-9") (which contains the recommendation of the Company Board and the reasons therefor) contain important information. Stockholders should carefully read these documents in their entirety before making a decision with respect to the Offer.

Purchaser is required to extend the Offer for (i) the minimum period required by any law or any interpretation or position of the U.S. Securities Exchange Commission (the "SEC") or The Nasdaq Global Select Market or their respective staff, in each case, applicable to the Offer, or as may be necessary to resolve any comments of the SEC or Nasdaq or their respective staff, in each case, as applicable to the Offer, the Schedule 14D-9 or the Schedule TO (as defined below) and all amendments, supplements and exhibits thereto; and (ii) periods of up to 10 business days per extension, until any waiting period (and any extension thereof) applicable to the consummation of the Offer under the HSR Act and the Required Antitrust Approvals (including any timing agreement entered into with any Governmental Authority) will have expired or been terminated. Additionally, if, as of the scheduled Expiration Date, (y) any Offer Condition (other than the Minimum Condition or such Offer Conditions that by their nature are to be satisfied or waived as of the Offer Acceptance Time) is not satisfied and has not been waived, at the request of the Company, Purchaser is required to extend the Offer on one or more occasions for additional periods of up to 10 business days per extension, to permit such Offer Condition to be satisfied or (z) the Minimum Condition is the only Offer Condition that is not satisfied and/or waived (other than such Offer Conditions that by their nature are to be satisfied or waived as of the Offer Acceptance Time), at the request of the Company, Purchaser is required to extend the Offer on up to two occasions for additional periods specified by the Company of up to 10 business days per extension, to permit the Minimum Condition to be satisfied; however, in no event will Purchaser be (i) required to extend the Offer beyond the earliest to occur of (A) the valid termination of the Merger Agreement in compliance with its terms and (B) 5:00 p.m. Eastern time on December 23, 2025 (or, if extended pursuant to the Merger Agreement, 5:00 p.m. Eastern time on May 25, 2026) (in either case, the "Extension Deadline") or (ii) permitted to extend the Offer beyond the Extension Deadline without the prior written consent of the Company. Additionally, if, as of the scheduled Expiration Date, any Offer Condition is not satisfied and has not been waived, if permitted under the Merger Agreement and applicable laws, Purchaser may (without the consent of the Company or any other person) extend the Offer on one or more occasions, for additional periods of up to 10 business days per extension, to permit such Offer Condition to be satisfied. If Purchaser extends the Offer, such extension will extend the time that you will have to tender your Company Shares.

Any extension, delay, termination, waiver or amendment of the Offer will be followed as promptly as practicable by a public announcement thereof. Without limiting the manner in which Parent and Purchaser may choose to make any public announcement, Parent and Purchaser will have no obligation (except as otherwise required by applicable law) to publish, advertise or otherwise communicate any such public announcement other than by issuing a press release and making any appropriate filing with the SEC, if applicable. In the case of an extension of the Offer, Parent and Purchaser will make a public announcement of such extension no later than 9:00 a.m., Eastern time, on the next business day after the previously scheduled Expiration Date.

There will not be a subsequent offering period for the Offer. Pursuant to the Merger Agreement, the Merger will be governed by, and effected pursuant to, Section 251(h) of the DGCL, and will, subject to satisfaction or waiver (to the extent permitted) of the conditions set forth in the Merger Agreement, be consummated as promptly as practicable following the Offer Acceptance Time. Because the Merger will be governed by and effected under Section 251(h) of the DGCL, no stockholder vote will be required to consummate the Merger.

Upon the terms and subject to the conditions of the Merger Agreement, including the prior satisfaction of the Minimum Condition and the satisfaction or waiver (to the extent permitted) of each of the other Offer Conditions, (i) as soon as practicable after the Expiration Date, and within one business day, Purchaser will irrevocably accept for payment all Company Shares tendered (and not validly withdrawn) pursuant to the Offer and (ii) promptly thereafter pay for such Company Shares validly tendered and not validly withdrawn pursuant to the Offer.

Purchaser will pay for Company Shares accepted for payment pursuant to the Offer by depositing, substantially concurrent with the Effective Time, cash sufficient to make payment of the aggregate Cash Amount with the Depository, which will act as the Company's stockholders' agent for the purpose of receiving payments from Purchaser and transmitting such payments to the Company's stockholders. Upon the deposit of such funds with the Depository, Purchaser's obligation to make such payment will be satisfied, and tendering stockholders must thereafter look solely to the Depository for payment of amounts owed to them by reason of the acceptance for payment of Company Shares pursuant to the Offer.

In all cases, payment for Company Shares accepted for payment will be made only after timely receipt by the Depository of (i) certificates for such Company Shares (or of a confirmation of a book-entry transfer of such Company Shares into the Depository's account at the Depository Trust Company (the "Book-Entry Transfer Facility")), (ii) a properly completed and duly executed Letter of Transmittal (or a manually signed facsimile thereof), with any required signature guarantees (or in connection with a book-entry transfer, a message transmitted by the Book-Entry Transfer Facility to, and received by, the Depository and forming a part of a book-entry confirmation stating that the Book-Entry Transfer Facility has received an express acknowledgment from the participant in the Book-Entry Transfer Facility tendering the Company Shares that are the subject of such book-entry confirmation that such participant has received and agrees to be bound by the terms of the Letter of Transmittal and that Purchaser may enforce that agreement against the participant) and (iii) any other required documents. If your Company Shares are registered in the name of a broker, dealer, commercial bank, trust company or other nominee, you must contact such broker, dealer, commercial bank, trust company or other nominee to tender your Company Shares. For a description of the procedure for tendering Company Shares, see the Offer to Purchase. If you wish to tender Company Shares pursuant to the Offer and cannot deliver such Company Shares and all other required documents to the Depository or cannot complete the procedure for delivery by book-entry transfer described in the Offer to Purchase, in each case prior to the Expiration Date, you may tender your Company Shares by following the procedures for guaranteed delivery set forth in the Offer to Purchase. Accordingly, payment may be made to tendering stockholders at different times if delivery of the Company Shares and other required documents occurs at different times. Under no circumstances will Purchaser pay interest on the consideration paid for Company Shares pursuant to the Offer, regardless of any extension of the Offer or any delay in making such payment.

All questions as to the validity, form, eligibility (including time of receipt) and acceptance for payment of any tender of Company Shares will be determined by Purchaser in its sole discretion, subject to the tendering party's right to challenge such determination in a court of competent jurisdiction. Purchaser reserves the absolute right to reject any and all tenders determined by Purchaser not to be in proper form or the acceptance for payment of which may, in the opinion of Purchaser's counsel, be unlawful. Company Shares tendered by a notice of guaranteed delivery will not be deemed validly tendered for purposes of satisfying the Minimum Condition unless and until Company Shares underlying such notice of guaranteed delivery are received by the Depository.

Company Shares tendered pursuant to the Offer may be withdrawn at any time prior to the expiration of the Offer. Thereafter, tenders of Company Shares are irrevocable, except that they may also be withdrawn after 60 days from the commencement of the Offer, unless such Company Shares have already been accepted for payment by Purchaser pursuant to the Offer. For a withdrawal to be proper and effective, a written notice of withdrawal must be timely received by the Depository at one of its addresses set forth on the back cover page of the Offer to Purchase. Any such notice of withdrawal must specify the name of the person who tendered the Company Shares to be withdrawn, the number of Company Shares to be withdrawn and the name of the registered holder of such Company Shares, if different from that of the person who tendered such Company Shares. If Company Shares are held as physical certificates and the certificates evidencing such Company Shares ("Share Certificates") to be withdrawn have been delivered or otherwise identified to the Depository, then, prior to the physical release of such Share Certificates, the serial numbers shown on such Share Certificates must be submitted to the Depository and the signature(s) on the notice of withdrawal must be guaranteed by an eligible guarantor institution, unless such Company Shares have been tendered for the account of an eligible guarantor institution. If Company Shares have been tendered pursuant to the procedure for book-entry transfer, any notice of withdrawal must also specify the name and number of the account at the Book-Entry Transfer Facility to be credited with the withdrawn Company Shares.

All questions as to the form and validity (including time of receipt) of any notice of withdrawal will be determined by Purchaser in its sole discretion, subject to the tendering party's right to challenge Purchaser's decision in a court of competent jurisdiction. Purchaser also reserves the absolute right to waive any defect or irregularity in the withdrawal of Company Shares by any stockholder, regardless of whether or not similar defects or irregularities are waived in the case of other stockholders. None of Parent, Purchaser, the Depository, MacKenzie Partners, Inc., the information agent for the Offer (the "Information Agent"), or any other person will be under any duty to give notification of any defects or irregularities in any notice of withdrawal or incur any liability for failure to give any such notification.

The Company has provided Purchaser with its stockholder list and security position listings for the purpose of disseminating the Offer to holders of Company Shares. Purchaser will send the Offer to Purchase, the Letter of Transmittal and Notice of Guaranteed Delivery and other related documents to record holders of Company Shares and to brokers, dealers, banks, trust companies and other nominees whose names appear on the stockholder list or, if applicable, who are listed as participants in a clearing agency's security position listing for subsequent transmittal to beneficial owners of Company Shares.

In general, your exchange of Company Shares for the Cash Amount and the CVRs pursuant to the Offer or the Merger will be a taxable transaction for United States federal income tax purposes. For a summary of the material United States federal income tax consequences of the Offer and the Merger, see the Offer to Purchase. Each holder of Company Shares should consult his, her or its own tax advisor regarding the United States federal income tax consequences of the Offer and the Merger to such holder in light of his, her or its particular circumstances, as well as the income or other tax consequences that may arise under the laws of any United States local, state or federal or non-United States taxing jurisdiction and the possible effects of changes in such tax laws.

The information required to be disclosed by Rule 14d-6(d)(1) under the Securities Exchange Act of 1934, as amended, is contained in the Offer to Purchase and is incorporated herein by reference. Questions and requests for assistance may be directed to the Information Agent, at the address, telephone numbers or email set forth below. In addition, requests for additional copies of the Offer to Purchase, the Letter of Transmittal and Notice of Guaranteed Delivery and other tender offer materials may be directed to the Information Agent. Such copies will be furnished promptly at Purchaser's expense. The Company's stockholders may also contact their broker, dealer, commercial bank, trust company or other nominee for assistance.

Except as set forth in the Offer to Purchase, neither Purchaser nor Parent will pay any fees or commissions to any broker or dealer or any other person for soliciting tenders of Company Shares pursuant to the Offer. Brokers, dealers, commercial banks, trust companies or other nominees will, upon request, be reimbursed by Purchaser for reasonable and necessary mailing and handling expenses incurred by them in forwarding the Offer materials to their customers.

The Information Agent for the Offer is:

**MACKENZIE
PARTNERS, INC.**

7 Penn Plaza
New York, New York 10001
(212) 929-5500

OR

CALL TOLL-FREE 1-800-322-2885

Email: tenderoffer@mackenziepartners.com



The Delta One Lounge at Kennedy Airport. Delta received about \$7 billion from frequent-flyer programs last year, according to a consulting firm.

September 8, 2025

TECHNOLOGY

A.I.-Detection Tools Are on the Lookout For A.I.-Faked Receipts

By SARAH KESSLER

It wasn't long after ChatGPT began generating realistic images that Anant Kale started seeing posts on social media that explained how it could be used to generate a pretty convincing fake receipt.

That was, he recognized, his problem.

As the chief executive of AppZen, a software used by finance teams to manage expenses, he had overseen the creation of fraud-detection tools that flagged A.I.-generated receipts. But this was different.

"We were like, oh, shoot, this is too easy," he told DealBook.

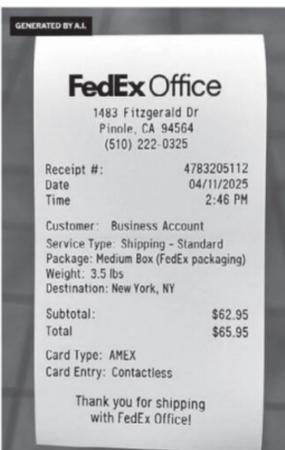
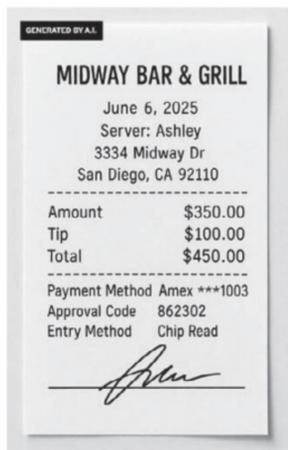
AppZen immediately started developing a tool to detect fake receipts generated by chatbots. It's not the only one: The expense management app Expendify added ways to detect A.I.-generated receipts in April, and SAP Concur's automated expense-auditing tool, Verify, expanded a similar capability to all users this month.

This summer, when announcing new efforts to flag A.I.-generated receipts, Nicolas Ritz, who works on product development at the corporate travel software company Navan, summed up the dilemma:

"A.I.-generated receipts will only get better from here," he wrote. "To combat fraudulent A.I., we need to use A.I."

Expense fraud can be a slippery slope. Kale said it's common for employees to generate their first fake receipt to account for a legitimate expense. Maybe they lost the receipt. But when they don't get caught, they do it again. Occasionally, the fraud is egregious. AppZen once detected a batch of A.I.-generated receipts submitted by a company employee for hotels and airfare in Bangkok — a city that, upon further investigation, the employee had not visited.

The Association of Certified Fraud Examiners, which certifies about 5,000 new examiners each year, regularly asks members to



THE NEW YORK TIMES

These A.I.-generated receipts were submitted to employers and detected as fake by the AppZen software.

submit the largest case of occupational fraud they've investigated in the last 18 months. In the most recent survey, about 13 percent of the cases involved employees who submitted inflated or invented expenses, which can lead to criminal charges. The median loss was \$50,000.

Fake receipts make it easier. About 30 percent of fraudulent receipts that AppZen catches are now generated by A.I. chatbots, rather than through an image editor or a template service, the company said, and the number of

fraudulent receipts it catches overall has increased about 30 percent since May 2024. Expendify said it detects hundreds of A.I.-generated receipts each month, out of the millions of receipts it processes. SAP Concur flagged about 1 percent of receipts audited by Verify as potentially generated by A.I.

"I have definitely heard from members and other anti-fraud experts that A.I. is directly resulting in not only an increase in this type of fraud by volume, but also making this type of fraud

more difficult to detect," Mason Wilder, the research director at the fraud examiners association, told DealBook.

Convincing fakes have sparked a new tech escalation. Not entirely dissimilar from when, say, home printers created a need for new expense-fraud-detection methods, software companies have built an arsenal of methods for catching a new tier of fake receipts generated by A.I.

Chatbots leave a fingerprint in the metadata of the images they generate, but if an employee

Builder.ai's Bust Indicates Hot Air in the A.I. Boom

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

have been called an A.I. company at all is up for debate. Artificial intelligence is an ambiguous term. Attaching the A.I. label to a start-up can involve a considerable degree of hope and presumption, and sometimes outright deception.

Earlier this year, the Securities and Exchange Commission charged a San Francisco couple with fraud, saying they had duped investors in their A.I. chat company. In New York, prosecutors charged an entrepreneur with defrauding investors in his shopping app, whose A.I. turned out to be contractors in the Philippines.

"Fake A.I. has long been pervasive in Silicon Valley, but with the bubble it's really taken off," said David Gerard, who runs the popular debunking site Pivot to A.I. "If you want funding, you just say a bunch of A.I. words — 'machine learning' and 'large language models' and 'This is the future.' You don't have to actually have A.I."

Builder, founded in 2016 as Engineer.ai, provided a platform where businesses could go to get apps and other software tools built for them. For the first few years, it did not do a hard sell on artificial intelligence. Sachin Dev Duggal, the chief executive, used 150 words to promote the company in 2018 when it got its first big venture investment. "A.I." wasn't among them.

That year, there were fewer than 15,000 web addresses ending with ".ai." Originally developed for the Caribbean island of Anguilla, the .ai top-level domain has become popular with start-ups that want to imply they understand artificial intelligence.

About 1,500 .ai addresses were created every day this summer, according to Domain Name Stat.

At the current pace, the total number of .ai addresses will pass one million by Thanksgiving. By rough comparison, the number of online ventures founded in the late 1990s dot-com era is estimated at 10,000.

Builder's fourth — and what turned out to be last — funding round was led by the Qatar Investment Authority, a sovereign wealth fund, in 2023. This time, the third word of the news release, right after the company's name, was A.I.

Investors poured a total of \$450 million into the company. Besides Qatar, they included SoftBank's DeepCore incubator, Microsoft, the Hollywood investor Jeffrey Katzenberg, the Palo Alto Networks chief executive Nikesh Arora and the New York venture firm Insight Partners. None would comment for this article.

'It's Basically Magic'

Builder's strategy was to become so ubiquitous as to seem inevitable.

For all the supposed life-changing nature of A.I., what often drives success is old-fashioned publicity. "In the A.I. chatbot race, consistent media coverage isn't just noise — it's fuel for adoption and growth," One Little Web, a Bangladeshi consultancy, recently said in announcing its latest study.

Builder took the notion to heart. It poured money not into product development, but into promotion. Last fall, the company was at the Web Summit conference in Lisbon. It was a Gold Partner, the second highest level of partnership, at the TechCrunch Disrupt conference in San Francisco. It was at the Gitex Global conference in Dubai.

At these events, the company showcased "Natasha," which it



STEPHEN MCCARTHY/SPORTS ILLUSTRATED

Sachin Dev Duggal, the founder of Builder.ai, at the Web Summit Qatar in 2024. He called himself "chief wizard."

called the first A.I. program manager. The product was designed to make building a website or an app as easy as ordering a pizza. Tell Natasha what you want, and she will create it.

"I know what you're saying: How's all this even possible?" Natasha asked in an ad. Then she whispered: "It's basically magic."

In 2024, as the A.I. frenzy swelled, Builder spent about \$42 million on promoting itself, or 80 percent of its revenue, according to internal documents reviewed by The New York Times. Brand spending quadrupled during the year as the number of employees rose to 1,500.

Mr. Duggal, the chief executive, called himself Builder's "chief wizard." He was a familiar figure at conferences and on television wearing his lucky sweater, a memorable multihued effort that reinforced his personal brand.

He spoke confidently about the global liberation that A.I. would offer. "What you're seeing with A.I. is a shift that is allowing the more creative part of human nature to kick in," he said in a 2023 CNBC interview. He declined to be interviewed for this article and his public relations team did not provide a comment.

Software programming used to be laborious and highly skilled work, something that could be done only by trained coders. The notion that you can create software without programming is called "no code coding" or, in a newly coined term, "vibe coding." You simply trust the A.I.

The magic worked on some media. Fast Company's ranking of Builder as the third most innovative company in A.I. put it six spots ahead of Nvidia, now the most highly valued company in the world. Fast Company said that while there was a small entry fee, the companies were judged on the basis of their applications.

Fast Company commended Builder for cementing "a new partnership with JPMorgan Chase to sell Builder products to the financial services giant's customer bases." A spokeswoman for the bank said Builder was never a vendor. A Fast Company spokeswoman called Builder's selection "unfortunate."

In 2024, Mr. Duggal received the EY Entrepreneur of the Year Award in Britain. The award, the organizers said, was given to those who demonstrate "courage, perseverance and resilience to overcome significant obstacles."

Mr. Duggal then competed in the global competition, which is accompanied by Academy Award-type glitz. He did not win. An EY spokeswoman declined to com-

ment.

'Smoke and Mirrors'

Mr. Duggal, who is British, was a serial entrepreneur who began 20 years ago with desktop visualization software, created a photo-sharing app and then in 2016 founded Engineer.ai. In 2018, he brought in an American executive, Robert Holdheim, to run the business.

Mr. Holdheim lasted only a few months. In February 2019, he filed suit in Los Angeles against Engineer.ai and Mr. Duggal, saying he had been fired for pointing out problems at the start-up.

The lawsuit said the company had two sets of books, one with fake numbers for investors, one with the real numbers. Engineer.ai had only a handful of customers, and most were unhappy with the product, the suit said. Drawing explicit comparisons to Elizabeth Holmes and her medical start-up, Theranos, Mr. Holdheim said in his lawsuit that the start-up was all "smoke and mirrors."

Mr. Holdheim said in his suit that he had confronted Mr. Duggal on this point. The chief executive responded, he said, by saying everyone did it.

"Every tech start-up exaggerates to get financing — it's the money that allows us to develop the technology," Mr. Duggal was quoted as saying.

The lawsuit also claimed that Mr. Duggal had scorned the traditional frugality of start-ups in favor of a lavish lifestyle at company expense, including importing a personal chef from Greece during a visit to Los Angeles.

Engineer.ai denied the accusations. In October 2019, the company rebranded as Builder.ai. Mr. Holdheim said he had received a settlement, the terms of which are not public. Neither the lawsuit nor a 2019 Wall Street Journal article poking holes in Builder's A.I. capabilities dented the company's rise over the next few years. Mr. Holdheim declined to comment.

One factor helping Builder along was the Covid pandemic and its restrictions. "Normally when you invest, you spend time with the business," said Mr. Ratia, the current chief executive. "Covid made that impossible. The Builder.ai story took off during the pandemic."

In 2023, Microsoft invested \$30 million in Builder. Microsoft said the collaboration would bring the "combined power of both companies to businesses around the world." Builder's small business clients would use Microsoft's cloud storage.

A Microsoft spokeswoman said the company "doesn't have any



AMRITA CHANDRADAS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

'Builder should be a warning sign for investors, for employees, for executives.'

Manpreet Ratia, who was brought into Builder.ai as C.E.O. to try to salvage the company.

thing to share at this time."

Last winter, Builder's board, trying to determine why the company had little cash despite supposedly fast growth, found that revenue was drastically overstated, according to internal documents and two people who spoke about the finances on the condition of anonymity because of legal sensitivities.

The company's revenue for the 2023 fiscal year was reported as \$157 million but was actually \$42 million, according to one of the people and the internal documents. In the 2024 fiscal year, the gap widened, with reported revenue of \$217 million against \$51 million in reality. Builder also was not paying its bills. It owed Amazon Web Services \$75 million, the person said.

After the board investigation, Mr. Duggal stepped down. Mr. Ratia, who works for an early Builder investor, Jungle Ventures, had plans to fix the company. But when the creditors lost faith, filing for Chapter 7 bankruptcy was the only option.

"I'm the only one left standing," Mr. Ratia said.

In May, a social media account with no apparent connection to Builder posted that the company's A.I. did not exist: "The Natasha neural network turned out to be 700 Indian programmers." The accusation, which was widely circulated, sparked an instant joke in the tech community: At Builder,

DealBook/

DealBook helps you make sense of the day's most important business and policy headlines. Sign up for the newsletter at nytimes.com/dealbook

takes a photo or screenshot of the image, that signal disappears.

An algorithm can compare A.I.-created receipts with real receipts from the same vendor. It might pick up on slight differences in font or spacing, for example, that a human eye wouldn't.

Like many expense-auditing software tools, AppZen has relied on identifying suspicious patterns — like spending that is unusual for the time of day or employee's role — to flag receipts that warrant a closer look. Those suspicious receipts are submitted to its newer second layer of auditing, which looks for patterns that signal that a chatbot may have produced them. While generating restaurant receipts, for example, did the employee always ask the chatbot to use the same server name, or dish order?

It's not a single technique that can detect such receipts, Kale said: "It has to be layers and layers. It's a cat-and-mouse game."

"A.I." meant "Actually, Indians."

Mr. Ratia, a Builder board member since early 2024, pushed back on the accusation.

"The A.I. was real," he wrote on LinkedIn in June. "It wasn't a gimmick. It wasn't smoke and mirrors. It was a sophisticated, production-grade system." His defense made little headway.

In an interview, Mr. Ratia said the confusion was at least partly Builder's fault.

"Builder didn't do a good job in defining A.I.," he said. "Depending on your audience, you tend to overmarket yourself a bit. Was A.I. being used to assist the work of human beings? Yes. Was A.I. replacing human beings? No."

Since OpenAI introduced ChatGPT in 2022 and created a sensation, the pressure — or perhaps the temptation — for companies to describe something as artificial intelligence is often irresistible.

"A.I. sells, and automation does not," Mr. Ratia said.

More Magic

As Builder was unraveling, the final moments of Nate, a New York A.I. start-up, also played out.

Nate was a shopping app that streamlined purchases by letting users skip the process of checking out on e-commerce sites. Thanks to A.I., shopaholics would save valuable minutes each day. Investors ponied up \$40 million in spring 2020, just as the pandemic was making it seem all shopping would be virtual.

Albert Saniger, Nate's chief executive, told investors that the company's "deep learning models" used a mix of "long short-term memory, natural language processing and reinforcement learning." Nate described itself as "the magic shopping app."

In 2022, the tech news site The Information published an article that said Nate was not using A.I. at all but having contractors in the Philippines manually complete each sale. That attracted the interest of regulators.

In April, the U.S. attorney's office for the Southern District of New York indicted Mr. Saniger on fraud charges, saying he lied to investors about the use of A.I. Court records do not list a plea or a defense lawyer. Mr. Saniger, a partner at the New York venture firm Buttercore, did not respond to a request for comment.

Another A.I. case is slowly moving forward in the U.S. District Court in San Francisco. In January, the Securities and Exchange Commission charged Alexander Beckman, who ran an A.I. sports chat company called GameOn, and his wife, Valerie Lau Beckman, a lawyer who worked for a venture capital firm, with fraud.

Prosecutors described in court filings a "brazen and wide-ranging" scheme that included fabricated audit reports, fake revenue, stolen identities and the diversion of millions of GameOn dollars to pay personal expenses, including the couple's wedding and their house.

Investors lost at least \$60 million, the government said. Mr. Beckman and Ms. Lau Beckman pleaded not guilty. Their lawyers did not respond to requests for comment.

Builder, meanwhile, is being investigated by prosecutors for the Southern District of New York, three people with knowledge of the company said. A spokesman for the prosecutors did not return a call for comment.

Mr. Duggal, Builder's founder, has moved on. In May, he announced on Instagram that he was now a consultant, "opening up 1:1 time" to share what he had learned about A.I. But if you go to his consultant page, there's nothing there.

IN THE UNITED STATES BANKRUPTCY COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF DELAWARE

In re: ZEN JV, LLC, et al. Chapter 11, Case No. 25-11195 (UKS) (Debtors.) (Jointly Administered)

Hearing Date: October 7, 2025 at 1:00 p.m. (ET)
 Objecting Deadline: October 1, 2025 at 12:00 p.m. (ET)

NOTICE OF (I) CONDITIONAL APPROVAL OF THE COMBINED PLAN AND DISCLOSURE STATEMENT FOR SOLICITATION PURPOSES ONLY, (II) DEADLINE FOR CASTING VOTES TO ACCEPT OR REJECT THE COMBINED PLAN AND DISCLOSURE STATEMENT, AND (III) THE HEARING TO CONSIDER (A) FINAL APPROVAL OF THE COMBINED PLAN AND DISCLOSURE STATEMENT AS CONTAINING ADEQUATE INFORMATION AND (B) CONFIRMATION OF THE COMBINED PLAN AND DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

PLEASE TAKE NOTICE OF THE FOLLOWING:

- On August 19, 2025, Zen JV, LLC and its debtor affiliates, as debtors and debtors in possession in the above-captioned Chapter 11 cases (collectively, the "Debtors"), filed the Debtors' Combined Disclosure Statement and Chapter 11 Plan of Liquidation (Docket No. 336) with the United States Bankruptcy Court for the District of Delaware (the "Court").
- On September 4, 2025, Zen JV, LLC and its debtor affiliates, as debtors and debtors in possession in the above-captioned Chapter 11 cases (collectively, the "Debtors"), filed the Debtors' Amended Combined Disclosure Statement and Chapter 11 Plan of Liquidation (Docket No. 336) as may be amended, modified and/or supplemented by the "Court".
- On September 4, 2025, the Court entered an order (Docket No. 335) (the "Conditional Approval and Procedures Order") conditionally approving the Combined Plan and Disclosure Statement for solicitation purposes.
- A hearing (the "Confirmation Hearing") to consider final approval of the Combined Plan and Disclosure Statement as containing adequate information within the meaning of section 1125 of the Bankruptcy Code and confirmation of the Combined Plan and Disclosure Statement will be held before the Honorable U.S. Judge in Charge of the United States Bankruptcy Judge, on the 5th floor of the Court, Courtroom 6, 824 North Market Street, Wilmington, DE 19801, on **October 7, 2025 at 1:00 p.m. (prevaling Eastern Time)**. The Confirmation Hearing may be continued from time to time without further notice other than the announcement by the Debtor in open court or the adjourned date(s) at the Confirmation Hearing or any continued hearing or as indicated in any notice or agenda filed with the Court.
- Objections to confirmation of the Combined Plan and Disclosure Statement, including any objection to the adequacy of the disclosures, if any, must be in writing (to be filed with the Court by no later than **12:00 p.m. (prevaling Eastern Time)** and (c) on or before (i) counsel to the Debtors: (1) Latham & Watkins LLP, 1271 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10020, Attention: Jonathan Gordanoff, jgordanoff@lw.com; and Candace M. Arthur (candace.arthur@lw.com) and (y) 330 North Wabash Avenue, Suite 2800 Chicago, IL 60611, Attn: Jonathan Gordanoff (jonathan.gordanoff@lw.com) and (2) Richards, Layton & Finger, P.A., One Rodney Square, 920 North King Street, Wilmington, DE 19801, Attn: Daniel J. DeFranceschi (ddefranceschi@rlf.com) and Zachary I. Shapiro (zshapiro@rlf.com); (ii) counsel to the Prepetition Term Loan Agent, Seaward & Kissel LLP, One Battery Park Plaza, New York, NY 10004, Attn: Ronald A. Hewitt (rhewitt@sewardkissel.com); (iii) counsel to the Required Prepetition Term Loan Lenders, Schulte Roth & Zabel LLP, 919 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10022, Attn: Candace M. Arthur (candace.arthur@sewardkissel.com) and (iv) counsel to the Prepetition Noteholders, Jones Day, 1221 Peachtree Street, N.E., Suite 4000, Atlanta, Georgia 30361, Attn: Daniel J. Merrett (dmerrett@jonesday.com); and (v) the U.S. Trustee, 844 King Street, Suite 2207, Lockbox 35, Wilmington, DE 19801, Attn: Linda L. Casey (Linda.Casey@usdoj.gov).

Ballot in accordance with the instructions so that it received by 4:00 p.m. (prevaling Eastern Time) on October 1, 2025 (the "Voting Deadline"). Failure to follow the instructions included with the Ballot or to return a properly completed Ballot so that it is actually received by the Voting Deadline may disqualify such Ballot and vote on the Combined Plan and Disclosure Statement. You may also be eligible to submit a Ballot electronically. If you wish to do so, please visit the following web address and follow the instructions on that web address: <https://www.gomsgent.com/Case/Builder/Builder-Monster>. The rules and procedures for the tabulation of the votes are outlined in the Conditional Approval and Procedures Order.

ARTICLE III OF THE COMBINED PLAN AND DISCLOSURE STATEMENT CONTAINS RELEASE, EXCULPATION AND INJUNCTION PROVISIONS. THUS, YOU ARE ADVISED TO REVIEW AND CONSIDER THE COMBINED PLAN AND DISCLOSURE STATEMENT CAREFULLY BECAUSE YOUR RIGHTS MAY BE AFFECTED THEREUNDER. FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE, SUCH PROVISIONS ARE SET FORTH ON EXHIBIT B HERETO. FOR THE AVOIDANCE OF DOUBT, TO THE EXTENT ANY PROVISION OF THIS NOTICE CONFLICTS WITH THE TERMS OF THE COMBINED PLAN AND DISCLOSURE STATEMENT, THEN THE TERMS OF THE COMBINED PLAN AND DISCLOSURE STATEMENT WILL CONTROL.

Pursuant to the Conditional Approval and Procedures Order, you may not have received a copy of the Combined Plan and Disclosure Statement. However, copies of the Combined Plan and Disclosure Statement, the Conditional Approval and Procedures Order, and other materials contained in the Solicitation Packages may be obtained and/or are available for review without charge at the website of Omni Agent Solutions, Inc. (the "Balloting Agent"), <https://www.omniagentsolutions.com/Case/Builder/Builder-Monster-Ballots>, or using the QR Code below; and/or (c) writing to Zen JV, LLC, Ballot Processing c/o Omni Agent Solutions, Inc., 5955 De Soto Ave., Suite 100, Woodland Hills, CA 91367. You may also obtain copies of any pleadings filed in these Chapter 11 cases for a fee via PACER at <https://www.pacer.uscourts.com>. Please be advised that the Balloting Agent is authorized to answer questions about, and provide additional copies of, solicitation materials, but may not advise you as to whether you should vote to accept or reject the Combined Plan and Disclosure Statement.

Dated: September 4, 2025, Wilmington, Delaware. /s/ Zachary I. Shapiro, LATHAM & WATKINS LLP, Ray C. Schrock (admitted pro hoc vice), Candace M. Arthur (admitted pro hoc vice), 1271 Avenue of the Americas, New York, New York 10020, Telephone: (212) 906-1200, Facsimile: (212) 751-4864, Email: ray.schrock@lw.com, candace.arthur@lw.com and- Jonathan C. Gordanoff (admitted pro hoc vice), 330 North Wabash Avenue, Suite 2800, Chicago, Illinois 60611, Telephone: (312) 876-7700, Facsimile: (312) 993-0762, Email: jonathan.gordanoff@lw.com and- RICHARDS, LAYTON & FINGER, P.A., Daniel J. DeFranceschi (No. 2732), Zachary I. Shapiro (No. 5103), Huiqi Liu (No. 6850), Clint M. Carlisle (No. 7313), Colin A. Meehan (No. 7237), One Rodney Square, 920 North King Street, Wilmington, Delaware 19801, Telephone: (302) 651-7700, Facsimile: (302) 651-7701, Email: ddefranceschi@rlf.com, zshapiro@rlf.com, liuhq@rlf.com, meehan@rlf.com, cmeehan@rlf.com, C-Gounsel For Debtors and Debtors in Possession

The Debtors in these cases, along with the last four digits of each debtor's federal tax identification number (to the extent applicable), are: Zen JV, LLC (0225); Monster Worldwide LLC (6555); FastWeb, LLC; Monster Government Solutions, LLC (5762); Camaro Acquisition, LLC (Carter); Luco Solutions, LLC (4426); CareerBuilder France Holding, LLC (9339); and Military Advantage, LLC (9508). The Debtors' address is 200 LaSalle Street #900, Chicago, IL 60601.

Capitalized terms used herein and not otherwise defined shall have the meanings given to them in the Combined Plan and Disclosure Statement.

ENTERTAINMENT | COMPANIES | COURTS



Krispy Kreme's Times Square outpost. Krispy Kreme doughnuts can be a pricey sweet. A dozen mixed-variety doughnuts purchased there were \$27.99.

Krispy Kreme Bets on Big-Box Stores

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE
\$407 million, reflecting the falling value of the chain.

Krispy Kreme's stock has been a "major disappointment" since its initial public offering in 2021, J.P. Morgan analysts said in a note to investors in May. While the analysts said they expected the company to survive, they added that it was "difficult to suggest that investors should buy now."

Krispy Kreme is trying to regain its traction at a tricky time. Competitors are everywhere, from large players like Dunkin' and Canada's Tim Hortons to regional chains with fervent fans like Duck Donuts from North Carolina, Randy's in California and Doughnut Plant in New York. Even Japan's cult favorite I'm Donut? opened its first store in Times Square this year.

But those pastry manufacturers are battling over a shrinking market. After two years of food inflation, consumers are cutting back on purchases. And Krispy Kreme doughnuts can be a pricey sweet. At an Acme Markets in New Jersey, a box of a dozen original glazed Krispy Kreme doughnuts costs \$15.99. A dozen mixed-variety doughnuts purchased at the company's Times Square location were \$27.99.

Consumers are also increasingly embracing wellness trends while others are on GLP-1s or medications that curb their desire to snack on sweet or salty foods. This year, J.M. Smucker has taken \$2 billion in write-downs on its \$5.6 billion acquisition in 2023 of Hostess Brands — which makes baked snacks like Twinkies, Donettes and Ding Dongs — because of falling sales.

Mr. Charlesworth said there had been a drop in consumer spending, but maintained that obesity drugs and wellness trends had not affected the business. "This is still a growth story," he said. "We've faced some challenges and made interventions, but this is a growth story."

Mr. Charlesworth was a long-time Mars executive who joined the company in 2017 and was tapped as chief executive and president in January 2024. The previous chief executive of Krispy



Josh Charlesworth, the company's C.E.O., conceded that consumer spending had dropped, but said wellness trends had not affected the business.

Kreme, Michael Tattersfield, now heads up the salad chain Salad and Go.

From a simple storefront in Winston-Salem, N.C., in 1937, Krispy Kreme became a recognized Southern brand, even before it established a presence in other places. Customers would

Slumping shares, slipping revenue and tumbling sales.

stand in line, sometimes for hours, lured by the 1950s-diner style and signs reading "Hot Donuts Now." Once inside, they could watch the doughnut-making process and, at the end, snag a piping-hot cloud of sugar and yeast that had just rolled off a conveyor belt.

"There was this whole theatrical staging of the doughnut production," said Bonnie Miller, a professor who teaches a food history class at the University of Massachusetts in Boston. "It wasn't just seeing the doughnuts being made, it was smelling them. The sensation that they were fresh, warm off the production line. That was key to Krispy Kreme as a brand."

In the 1990s, the company went on a national expansion plan as its popularity soared, referred to in shows like "Sex and the City." In the midst of the booming tech bubble of 2000, Krispy Kreme was one

of the hottest public offerings of the year, and its stock continued to rise over the next three years. In 2003, a Fortune magazine cover declared Krispy Kreme "The Hottest Brand in America."

Just two years later, however, the brand was ice cold. A sharp decline in sales pushed some franchisees into bankruptcy. A regulatory investigation forced Krispy Kreme to restate 2004 earnings because of accounting irregularities. Top executives were ousted. Amid growing losses and lawsuits, the company's stock plunged from a high of nearly \$50 in 2003 to below \$5 by the fall of 2005.

In 2016, the company was acquired and taken private by JAB Holding, a European investment firm, for \$1.35 billion. After a few years were spent putting the company on firmer footing, Krispy Kreme went public again in 2021.

But the stock's performance has been less than dazzling, losing 81 percent of its value over the last four years. Earlier this year, the company pinned its hopes on a partnership with McDonald's. A program put the doughnuts in 2,400 McDonald's restaurants, and Krispy Kreme's executives told Wall Street analysts and investors in February that its doughnuts would be in 6,000 McDonald's restaurants by the end of this year. Instead, the partnership ended

in June. "For Krispy Kreme, the volumes fell off more quickly or meaningfully than they had expected, and part of the reason was that some of the marketing they had initially, some of the support from McDonald's, seemed to peter out a little bit," said Sara Senatore, an analyst at Bank of America. "They invested heavily ahead of the McDonald's arrangement, and now they have to unwind that."

For Krispy Kreme, the cost of unwinding that relationship was high. In early August, the company took about \$30 million in various impairment and termination costs related to the McDonald's partnership. On top of that, it said after completing an impairment test that the fair value of the chain itself had fallen more than \$356 million.

Once again, Krispy Kreme executives are trying to regain the company's momentum. To reduce expenses and lower debt levels, the company plans to sell its international businesses in Britain, Ireland, Australia and elsewhere to franchisees. The company, which had been managing its own fleet of trucks to deliver its doughnuts, is transitioning to third-party logistics firms to oversee deliveries.

"It's one thing to manage three or four trucks," Mr. Charlesworth said. But as the fleet expanded, it became too complex. After all, "we're the doughnut people," Mr. Charlesworth added.

These days, Krispy Kreme is focusing largely on getting more of its doughnuts on store shelves of retailers like Costco, Kroger and Walmart. While there is concern among some Wall Street analysts that the brand is diluting itself by making its doughnuts too readily available in stores in the U.S. and international markets, Mr. Charlesworth said there were plenty of locations where customers could not obtain a doughnut.

"When we ask consumers who have not purchased a Krispy Kreme, the top response on the list is, 'I can't get them,'" Mr. Charlesworth said. "The availability has long been the No. 1 barrier to purchase."

'The Conjuring: Last Rites' Sets Record at the Box Office

By BROOKS BARNES

LOS ANGELES — Leave it to Ed and Lorraine Warren to scare away whatever has been bedeviling the box office.

"The Conjuring: Last Rites," the ninth chapter in a horror movie series based on the Warrens, real-life paranormal sleuths, sold an estimated \$83 million in tickets in the United States and Canada from Thursday night through Sunday — roughly 65 percent more than analysts had predicted before its release.

Overseas, "Last Rites" arrived to an outstanding \$104 million in ticket sales, for a worldwide opening total of \$187 million, according to Comscore, which compiles box office data. The film cost New Line Cinema, a Warner Bros. division, roughly \$55 million to make, not including marketing.

The stronger-than-expected results highlighted the franchise management expertise of New Line and the "Conjuring" producers, notably Peter Safran and James Wan. Their adroit handling of the series has drawn comparisons to the manner in which Marvel Studios painstakingly built an interconnected "universe" of superhero films over 11 years, culminating in a megawatt finale, "Avengers: Endgame," in 2019.

"Last Rites" was similarly marketed as an ending (although plans to expand the franchise in new ways — without the lead actors, Vera Farmiga and Patrick Wilson — are already well underway behind the scenes).

"We built this story around the Warrens for a dozen years, and it allowed audiences to become truly attached to Ed and Lorraine," Mr. Safran said in a text message. "The 'finale' aspect definitely drew in an even wider swath of the audience than was anticipated."

"Last Rites" unexpectedly jump-started the box office after a slower summer than Hollywood had anticipated. Multiplexes in North America had their worst summer since 1981, after adjusting for inflation and excluding the Covid pandemic years, when many theaters were closed for long periods.



Vera Farmiga stars as Lorraine Warren in "The Conjuring: Last Rites," the ninth chapter in a series based on the real-life paranormal sleuths.

Newsmax's Suit Against Fox Is Dismissed, With Door Open

By KATIE ROBERTSON

A federal judge in Miami on Friday dismissed an antitrust lawsuit that the right-wing cable channel Newsmax filed against Fox News earlier last week. The judge said Newsmax could refile the complaint.

Newsmax's lawsuit was "an impermissible 'shotgun pleading,'" in which four of the five counts incorporated allegations from the preceding counts, wrote the judge, Aileen Cannon of U.S. District Court.

"Each count must identify the particular legal basis for liability and contain specific factual allegations that support each cause of action within each count," Judge Cannon said. She said Newsmax could file an amended complaint by Thursday.

"We understand this is just a technical matter, and our law firm is refile," a Newsmax spokesman said in a statement.



Newsmax accused Fox News of acting as a near-monopoly in conservative cable TV and pressuring distributors not to carry the channel.

OPEC Nations Announce New Increase in Output

By STANLEY REED

A group of eight oil-producing countries, led by Saudi Arabia, said Sunday that they would increase production by 137,000 barrels a day, beginning in October.

Although the new planned increase amounts only to a fraction of a percent of global supply, it sends a strong signal that the producers have shifted to a new approach after cautiously restraining production in recent years.

The group began gradually increasing production in April. Oil prices initially fell on fears of supply outstripping demand, but they have since stabilized even as the producers accelerated their increases.

"The thinking is that actually being bold has been a successful strategy so far this year," said Richard Bronze, head of geopolitics at Energy Aspects, a research firm in London.

The eight countries, all members of the OPEC Plus cartel, have completed unwinding one pack-

age of production trims. Now, they are starting to dismantle another that was agreed to in 2023.

In a news release on Sunday, the countries, including Russia, Iraq, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Kazakhstan, Algeria and Oman, said the oil in the second package of cuts — 1.65 million barrels a day — "may be returned in

A small bump that signals confidence in the market.

part or in full subject to evolving market conditions."

A third, two-million-barrel-a-day set of cuts also remains on the books.

Easing the output reductions has, so far, seemed to raise confidence in the oil market rather than hurt it.

Unwinding the first cuts "was a very bold step to take, but it has revealed a lot of information," Paul

Horsnell, an independent analyst and the chair of the board of governors of the Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, said on a recent podcast.

The multilayered deals between oil countries have become so complex that they may be confusing markets more than bolstering them, some analysts say, convincing the Saudis of the need to simplify their messaging.

In March, the Saudis and their allies decided to move ahead with increases despite the uncertainty about the global economy from President Trump's trade wars.

Staying in the good graces of Mr. Trump, who wants lower gasoline prices for American drivers, probably played a role in their calculations, analysts say.

When the producers first gave a green light to output increases, there were worries that the supply would substantially outstrip demand and that a glut of oil would result.

Although such concerns linger, crude prices have held up rela-

tively well.

Brent crude, the international benchmark, traded at around \$66 a barrel on Friday, only marginally below levels in early March.

One reason that prices have not collapsed is that the actual increases have turned out to be substantially less than the 2.5 million barrels a day announced.

Energy Aspects estimates that, for instance, the Saudi-led group is producing only about 1.7 million barrels a day more in September than it was in March.

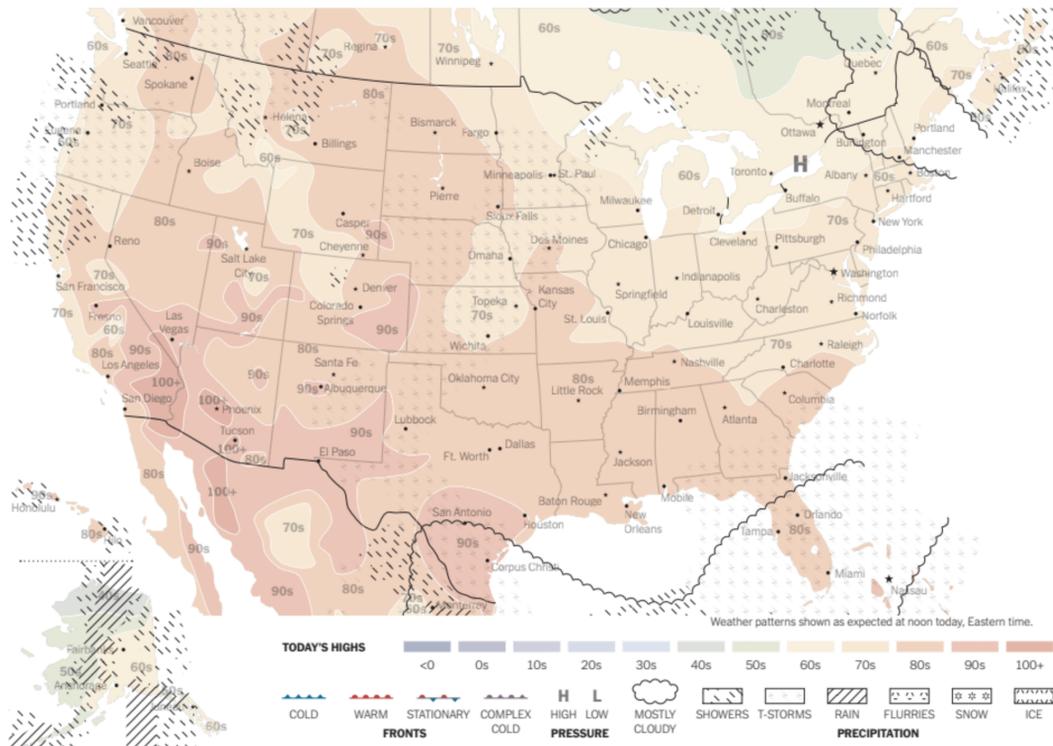
That shortfall in new supply appears to have eased traders' fears that millions of barrels of additional oil might flood the market.

As it turns out, most producers have struggled to increase production, helping the market absorb the increases.

The main beneficiary of the increases has been Saudi Arabia, which accounted for 70 percent of the additional crude production by the group from April to July, according to the International Energy Agency.

Weather Report

Meteorology by **AccuWeather**



Highlight: Wet Weather for Florida This Week

A stalled front draped across Florida this week will bring rounds of showers and thunderstorms to the region. Tropical moisture drawn north from the Caribbean will lead to some heavier downpours, leading to flash flooding in some places. Travel delays will also be possible, especially in the afternoons and evenings. While some flooding is possible, the rain will also bring some drought relief.



National Forecast

An area of thunderstorms will extend from Minnesota to Texas today. In South Texas, some storms could be heavy and lead to flash flooding, especially on roadways and in poor drainage areas. Thunderstorms will also drench Florida with sporadic flooding. Showers from Oregon to part of Northern California will bring thunder, small hail and gusty winds. The rest of the nation will be dry. A cool air mass will remain from Maine to the Carolinas as a result of a large area of high pressure. Temperatures will be 5 to 10 degrees below average. Some clouds are in store near the Great Lakes, but most of the area will be sunny. From Oregon to Colorado, smoke from area wildfires may lead to poor air quality and haze. Temperatures will be near to just above average in the Rockies.

Metropolitan Forecast

TODAYSunny
High 73. Sunshine will return and the humidity will decrease as high pressure takes control. Winds will be from the north at 6 to 12 miles per hour. Temperatures will be below average.

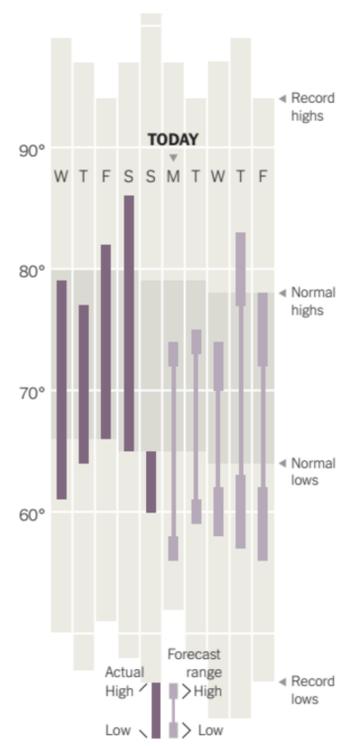
TONIGHTPartly cloudy
Low 57. It will be clear to partly cloudy with high pressure remaining in place. Winds will be from the north-northeast at 6 to 12 m.p.h. Temperatures will be below average for early September.

TOMORROWMostly sunny
High 74. Dry weather will continue with sunshine and some clouds. Winds will be from the east-northeast at 8 to 16 m.p.h. Temperatures will remain below average.

WEDNESDAYPartly sunny
It will again be dry, but there will be more clouds. Winds will be from the northeast at 8 to 16 m.p.h. Temperatures will remain below average. The high will be 72.

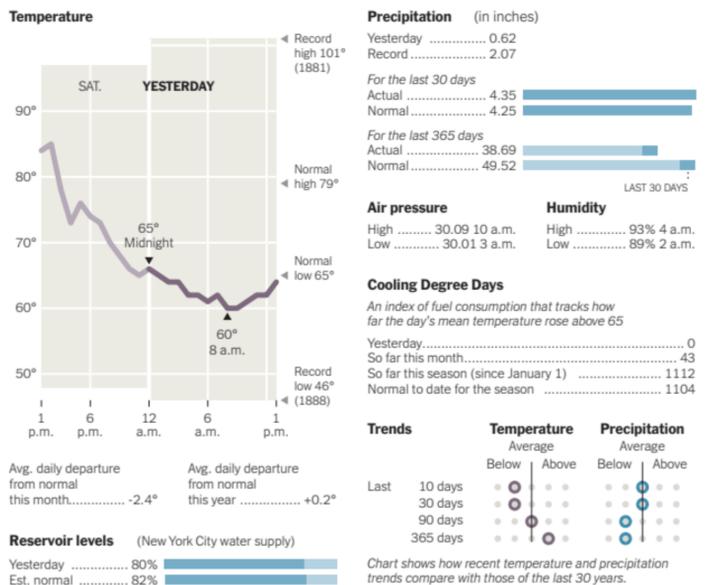
THURSDAYMostly sunny
Plenty of sunshine will return on Thursday, and it will also be warmer. High 80.

FRIDAYMostly sunny
Friday looks cooler again, but it will be mostly sunny. High 75.



Metropolitan Almanac

In Central Park, for the 13 hours ended at 1 p.m. yesterday.



Cities
High/low temperatures for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday, Eastern time, and precipitation (in inches) for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday. Expected conditions for today and tomorrow.

C.....	Clouds	S.....	Snow
F.....	Fog	Sn.....	Snow
H.....	Haze	SS.....	Snow showers
I.....	Ice	T.....	Thunderstorms
PC.....	Partly cloudy	Tr.....	Trace
R.....	Rain	W.....	Windy
Sh.....	Showers		Not available

N.Y.C. region			
	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
New York City	65/ 60 0.62	73/ 57 S	74/ 60 S
Bridgeport	65/ 59 0.07	74/ 56 S	73/ 57 PC
Caldwell	66/ 61 0.33	74/ 53 S	75/ 54 S
Danbury	64/ 61 0.20	72/ 47 S	72/ 51 PC
Islip	67/ 63 0.42	74/ 55 S	74/ 57 PC
Newark	68/ 62 0.62	75/ 58 S	76/ 60 S
Trenton	67/ 60 0.63	73/ 52 S	73/ 55 S
White Plains	64/ 59 0.58	72/ 53 S	72/ 55 S

Little Rock	83/ 56 0	80/ 55 PC	84/ 63 S
Los Angeles	90/ 66 0	88/ 64 S	82/ 67 F
Louisville	75/ 51 0	76/ 55 S	82/ 60 S
Memphis	83/ 57 0	82/ 62 PC	86/ 68 S
Miami	90/ 77 0.39	88/ 77 T	88/ 78 T
Milwaukee	65/ 48 0	72/ 56 S	74/ 61 C
Mpls.-St. Paul	65/ 50 0	76/ 63 T	73/ 61 T
Nashville	73/ 62 0	80/ 57 S	82/ 61 PC
New Orleans	90/ 74 0	89/ 73 S	89/ 75 T
Norfolk	73/ 67 0.09	76/ 66 PC	76/ 69 C
Oklahoma City	80/ 60 0	82/ 60 PC	84/ 62 S
Omaha	76/ 58 0	77/ 64 T	80/ 62 T
Orlando	92/ 74 0.10	86/ 74 T	86/ 73 T
Philadelphia	73/ 58 0.15	77/ 57 S	77/ 60 S
Phoenix	103/ 84 0	105/ 86 S	107/ 84 S
Pittsburgh	68/ 43 0	71/ 48 F	76/ 51 S
Portland, Me.	61/ 50 0.54	70/ 49 PC	67/ 49 PC
Portland, Ore.	76/ 60 0	75/ 63 Sh	72/ 60 Sh
Providence	63/ 53 1.04	73/ 52 PC	72/ 53 PC
Raleigh	73/ 58 0.14	78/ 57 PC	76/ 60 PC
Reno	84/ 51 0	82/ 52 S	75/ 51 PC
Richmond	68/ 54 0.37	76/ 53 S	76/ 59 PC
Rochester	68/ 46 0.04	67/ 46 PC	76/ 53 S
Sacramento	87/ 59 0	83/ 63 S	81/ 60 S
Salt Lake City	89/ 67 Tr	88/ 69 S	89/ 67 PC
San Antonio	87/ 72 0.66	91/ 70 T	93/ 70 T
San Diego	80/ 67 0	80/ 68 PC	74/ 67 F
San Francisco	76/ 62 0	76/ 65 F	75/ 61 Sh
San Jose	80/ 63 0	81/ 67 F	78/ 63 Sh
San Juan	88/ 78 0.09	89/ 78 T	90/ 79 Sh
Seattle	71/ 57 0.05	72/ 59 C	71/ 58 Sh
Sioux Falls	72/ 67 0	80/ 63 T	83/ 58 T
Spokane	84/ 58 0.10	80/ 58 PC	74/ 56 T
St. Louis	74/ 52 0	78/ 55 S	83/ 62 PC
St. Thomas	90/ 81 0.28	90/ 81 PC	90/ 81 T
Syracuse	67/ 49 0.01	68/ 45 PC	77/ 53 S
Tampa	89/ 77 0.14	86/ 75 T	86/ 74 T
Toledo	70/ 42 0	71/ 44 S	78/ 51 S
Tucson	98/ 75 0	100/ 78 S	103/ 77 S
Tulsa	82/ 67 0	82/ 61 PC	82/ 63 PC
Virginia Beach	73/ 67 0.03	75/ 66 W	77/ 69 W
Washington	76/ 57 0.04	76/ 58 T	78/ 61 PC
Wichita	77/ 61 0	75/ 60 T	83/ 61 S
Wilmington, Del.	72/ 53 0.11	76/ 52 S	75/ 57 S

New Delhi	90/ 79 0.16	92/ 79 R	92/ 78 PC
Riyadh	107/ 80 0	108/ 83 S	110/ 83 PC
Seoul	84/ 72 0.02	85/ 70 C	86/ 64 PC
Shanghai	96/ 83 0.04	94/ 82 C	86/ 79 T
Singapore	86/ 78 0.90	86/ 78 T	85/ 78 T
Sydney	80/ 56 0	83/ 63 S	73/ 60 Sh
Taipei City	90/ 77 0.20	96/ 78 T	87/ 78 R
Tehran	87/ 77 0	87/ 75 S	88/ 78 PC
Tokyo	86/ 79 0	92/ 79 S	90/ 79 PC

Recreational Forecast

Sun, Moon and Planets

Last Quarter: Sep. 14
New: Sep. 21 3:53 p.m.
First Quarter: Sep. 29
Full: Oct. 6 11:47 p.m.

Sun	RISE	SET	NEXT R	Jupiter	Saturn	Moon	Mars	Venus
	6:30 a.m.	7:17 p.m.	6:31 a.m.	1:42 a.m.	7:42 a.m.	7:22 a.m.	9:26 a.m.	4:00 a.m.
				4:33 p.m.	7:53 p.m.	8:37 a.m.	8:37 p.m.	6:03 p.m.

Boating
From Montauk Point to Sandy Hook, N.J., out to 20 nautical miles, including Long Island Sound and New York Harbor:
Winds will turn from north to northeast at 5-15 knots. Waves will be 1 foot or less on Long Island Sound and 2-3 feet on the open ocean. Visibility is expected to be unrestricted to the horizon.

High Tides

Atlantic City	8:24 a.m.	8:44 p.m.
Barneget Inlet	8:37 a.m.	8:56 p.m.
The Battery	9:04 a.m.	9:22 p.m.
Beach Haven	10:01 a.m.	10:20 p.m.
Bridgeport	12:14 p.m.	---
City Island	12:09 p.m.	---
Fire Island Lt.	9:29 a.m.	9:48 p.m.
Montauk Point	9:58 a.m.	10:12 p.m.
Northport	12:01 a.m.	12:22 p.m.
Port Washington	12:00 a.m.	12:19 p.m.
Sandy Hook	8:43 a.m.	9:02 p.m.
Shinnecock Inlet	8:32 a.m.	8:52 p.m.
Stamford	12:18 p.m.	---
Tarrytown	10:53 a.m.	11:11 p.m.
Willetts Point	12:11 p.m.	---

Beach and Ocean Temperatures

Today's forecast

Kennebunkport	68/52 Partly sunny
Cape Cod	70/52 Less humid with some sun
L.I. North Shore	74/59 Mostly sunny, less humid
L.I. South Shore	73/62 Mostly sunny
N.J. Shore	72/62 Mostly sunny, less humid
Eastern Shore	75/50 Sunny
Ocean City Md.	74/63 Mostly sunny, breezy
Virginia Beach	75/66 Windy with some sun

The entire region should be dry and partly to mostly sunny. It will be a bit breezy as well, with lower humidity from Cape Cod south to Virginia Beach. The rip current risk will be moderate on the South Shore of Long Island and at the Maryland beaches, and high around Virginia Beach.

A gift for someone who likes things **SWEET** or anyone who aims for **EASY**. A gift for a bestie who went from cooking **FOR ONE** to cooking **FOR TWO**. A gift for a co-worker who considers **PASTA** a food group. A gift for the family who all agree to eat **DESSERT** first. A gift for the loved one who is **VEGAN** curious.

The New York Times **Cooking**

The gift for every taste.



Recipes and inspiration to suit every style. Give a New York Times Cooking gift subscription. nytcoking.com/gift

'The Paper' joins a deep well of journalism entertainment.

Imagining Shakespeare and Marlowe in bawdy rapport.



Photographs from a real estate listing lead to a painting looted by the Nazis.

Arts

The New York Times

MARGARET FUHRER | CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK



THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Singer Puts Dance Front and Center

Choreography is central to Tate McRae's pop persona, as her Miss Possessive tour thrillingly showcases.

WE'RE LIVING IN a golden era of pop divas who can really dance. Beyoncé, Lady Gaga, Doechii, FKA twigs, the members of K-pop girl groups (both real and animated): They all take choreography seriously. In their music videos and concerts, these artists — many of them trained dancers — use movement not just as sparkly embellishment, but as a tool of expression.

Even among these stars, Tate McRae stands apart. A regular on the Top 40 charts, she brought her Miss Possessive tour to Madison Square Garden for two nights, Wednesday and Thursday. (The tour returns to the Garden on Oct. 18.)

But McRae achieved fame as a dancer before she began her music career. By her 14th birthday, she had amassed a large and feverishly devoted social media following;

won titles at elite contemporary dance and ballet competitions; and placed third on the "next generation" season of "So You Think You Can Dance."

As a young dancer, McRae seemed like she could do almost anything. She knew her way around a pointe shoe, but her signature move was the contemporary "tilt," an extension of the leg so high her torso had to lean

Big-screen projections were part of the show during the performance of Tate McRae, second from left, at Madison Square Garden last week.

CONTINUED ON PAGE C5

Down in the Subway, Uplifting Messages

Announcements encourage commuters to be more engaging.

By ARUNA D'SOUZA

Through Oct. 5, commuters making their way through the crowds at 14 subway stations throughout New York may notice a new type of announcement on the public address system. "What we hear changes how we feel. How we feel changes what we do. And what we do changes the world around us, even if just for a moment," one says.

Some sound like snippets of overheard conversations: "Remember when Aretha Franklin died and people were singing her songs together on crowded train cars?"

Each will end with the words "If you hear something, free something," which is also the title of this ambitious public art project by the conceptual artist Chloë Bass.

It's a play on the familiar, post-9/11 messaging, "If you see something, say something." Bass turns around the instruction to be ever-vigilant in the face of threat, coaxing us instead "to return to ourselves in public space, and to experience it as a place where we engage with others instead of only being suspicious of others."

The project is a collaboration among Bass, the public art organization Creative Time and the Metropolitan Transportation Authority's Arts & Design department. The M.T.A. has had a robust public art program



Chloë Bass, right, has created an audio-based public art project in the New York subway, including the Fulton Street station in Lower Manhattan, that tells riders, "If you hear something, free something."



PHOTOGRAPHS BY ELLIOTT JEROME BROWN JR. FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Customizing Song Lyrics For the N.F.L.

How 'Waiting All Day for Sunday Night' is tweaked.

By EMMANUEL MORGAN

NASHVILLE — After winning "American Idol" in 2005, Carrie Underwood rose through the country and pop music hierarchy with hits like "Before He Cheats" and "Jesus Take the Wheel." But despite her eight Grammys, Underwood says she is perhaps most recognized for a song that is not even streamable on Apple Music or Spotify.

For the past 12 seasons, Underwood has provided the musical opener for NBC's "Sunday Night Football," the prime-time N.F.L. game that is the most watched weekly program on television. Last season it averaged 21.6 million viewers, more than the 2025 broadcasts for the Academy Awards and the Grammys.

"Waiting All Day for Sunday Night," the song Underwood has transformed into an unofficial football anthem, is an adaptation of "I Hate Myself for Loving You," the rock song released in 1988 by Joan Jett & the Blackhearts.

And it comes with a four-second twist. Each week's rendition includes one customized lyric that highlights the upcoming

CONTINUED ON PAGE C4

While Print Is Dying, Newsrooms Live On

Hollywood continues to find inspiration in the travails of journalism and journalists.

By SOPAN DEB
and RYLEE KIRK

“Print is permanent. It’s, like, true love,” Ned Sampson, the editor in chief of The Toledo Truth Teller, says in an early episode of “The Paper,” which premiered last week on Peacock.

“The Paper,” a spinoff of the NBC sitcom “The Office,” is Hollywood’s latest attempt to take on journalism through a fictional lens. Ned (Domhnall Gleeson) arrives at the dying paper eager to inform the public. But he is immediately confronted by a host of barriers: Budget cuts. A shrinking subscriber base and shrinking print space. Meddling corporate overlords.

As evidenced by The Atlanta Journal-Constitution’s announcement that it will be ending its print run, the struggles of print journalism continue to mount. In this respect, “The Paper” is one of the rare depictions of journalism that nails the anxieties of the industry.

“Like other institutions of American life, it was in transition,” Ben Silverman, one of the show’s executive producers, said of journalism in an interview. It seemed an opportune moment to portray the industry’s digital transformation “in the way a great Impressionist painter would paint trains entering Paris,” he said.

“The Paper” isn’t even the first onscreen sendup of journalists named “The Paper.” A 1994 comedy film of the same name starred Michael Keaton as the harried metro editor of a fictional New York tabloid.

Here are some other notable journalism portrayals in pop culture.

Journalists Taking On the System

One of the hallmarks of this genre is the 1976 film “All the President’s Men,” which tracked the reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein of The Washington Post as they uncovered the Watergate scandal that led to President Richard M. Nixon’s downfall.

“Spotlight,” directed by Tom McCarthy, from 2015, details The Boston Globe’s reporting around a Roman Catholic Church cover-up of sexual abuse by priests. Perhaps this was atonement for McCarthy, who years earlier had played a whiny journalist exposed as a serial fabulist in HBO’s “The Wire.”

“The Post” (2017), directed by Steven Spielberg, revisited The Washington Post’s decision to publish parts of the Pentagon Papers.

Journalism is a challenging profession to make interesting for the screen. There’s a lot of sitting around and waiting for phone calls — unless you’re Denzel Washington as Gray Grantham in “The Pelican Brief.” This can lead to exaggerated portrayals of reporters onscreen.

“You do take some artistic license,” Rebecca Lenkiewicz recalled of writing the screenplay for “She Said,” a 2022 film chronicling The New York Times’s investigation of sexual assault allegations against Harvey Weinstein.

To be effective, the characters must have a strong presence. Think Al Pacino as the crusading “60 Minutes” producer Lowell Bergman as he takes on the tobacco industry in “The Insider” (1999).



AARON EPSTEIN/PEACOCK

Many shows and films about journalism have revolved around white characters, partly because for decades newsrooms were populated by white men. (A notable exception is the 2007 film “Talk to Me,” starring Don Cheadle, about the pioneering Black radio host Petey Greene.)

Aaron Sorkin has made earnest journalists a centerpiece of two television projects: “The Newsroom” and “Sports Night.” For “The West Wing,” he created the character Danny Concannon, a Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter played by Timothy Busfield.

“I think he was one of the last of the great journalists in a way,” Busfield said in a recent interview, referring to Danny. “He was from an era of breaking stories and just relaying the facts.”

Then There Are the Lampoons

Sometimes the best, and most memorable, journalism portrayals poke fun at the profession. And we don’t just mean Kermit the Frog reporting in “The Great Muppet Caper.” Will Ferrell did so in two “Anchorman” movies. Less famously, Ferrell plays Woodward in the 1999 comedy “Dick,” which reimagines everyone involved in the Watergate story as a bumbling moron. (Nixon is brought down by two teenage girls played by Kirsten Dunst and Michelle Williams.)

In “The Devil Wears Prada” (2006), Andy Sachs (Anne Hathaway) is an aspiring journalist who takes a job working for Miranda Priestly (Meryl Streep), a character said to be based on Anna Wintour, the steely long-time editor of Vogue.

A staple of the journalism-based comedy genre: the 1940 film “His Girl Friday,” starring Cary Grant as a big-time editor and Rosalind Russell as his former star reporter (and ex-wife) who team up once again.

The cynicism that veteran journalists sometimes accrue is embodied by Leon West (Brian Huskey) in the HBO satire “Veep.” A veteran reporter for The Washington Post, he breaks many big stories about Selina Meyer (Julia Louis-Dreyfus), only to eventually join her team as press secretary.

“He was a ‘70s journalism idealist,” Huskey said of the character. “But he’s sour,” he added. “He’s disappointed that he has to deal with these idiots.”

Journalists Who Find Love

“House of Cards.” “Never Been Kissed.” “Iron Man.” “Sharp Objects.” The list goes on.

Often, movies and films portray reporting as an ironclad way of finding love. Many employ the trope of journalists, often women, falling for sources, ethics be damned.

In “How to Lose a Guy in 10 Days,” Kate Hudson plays a magazine columnist who tackles the subject of dating turnoffs head-on by trying to get an unwitting paramour (Matthew McConaughey) to dump her in 10 days.

Rory Gilmore is an aspiring journalist in the millennial classic “Gilmore Girls.” But she’s not always a very good one, as she is seen both falling asleep listening to a source and sleeping with one.

The rom-com legend Nora Ephron, herself a former journalist, had the female protagonists of “When Harry Met Sally” and “Sleepless in Seattle” working in newsrooms, both played by Meg Ryan. In “Sleepless,” she uses her work as a front to get a widower’s personal information. (It’s a young Tom Hanks. We get it.)

This phenomenon is not unique to women. A male journalist writes about a serial bridesmaid without her consent in “27 Dresses” before eventually becoming intimate with her. In “Runaway Bride,” a male columnist writes about a woman who has left several men at the altar without reaching out to her. She threatens to sue, but the two end up married. In “Long Shot,” a male journalist runs into his childhood crush and former babysitter who is running for president. She hires him as a speechwriter and he ends up being her “first mister.”

Female journalists are often painted as not good at their jobs, but there are some recent exceptions. In 2023, the Hulu film “Boston Strangler” followed Loretta McLaughlin (Keira Knightley) and Jean Cole (Carrie Coon) as they track vicious murders in the Boston area that appear to be connected.

And it is Mare Pritti — a reporter played by Chelsea Frei — who provides the moral center for “The Paper.” In the first episode, she sarcastically muses, “A.I. will never replace me,” after selecting a wire story with the headline “Over Half the Content Creators on TikTok Are A.I.”

“The Paper” follows newspaper employees at the fictional Toledo Truth Teller as they deal with budget cuts, a shrinking subscriber base and corporate overlords.

ROBERT DANIELS | STREAMING ACTION

An Unlucky Locksmith, Demonic Kids and More

This month’s picks offer a whole world full of mayhem.

‘Baby Assassins: Nice Days’

Rent or buy it on most major platforms.

In the third installment of the writer-director Yugo Sakamoto’s endearing murder-for-hire series, Mahiro (Saori Izawa) is only turning 20, but she and her partner, Chisato (Akari Takaishi), are becoming burned out. Their malaise is intensified when Fuyumura (Sosuke Ikematsu), an unhinged freelance assassin, attempts to take their target. The pair’s embarrassed bosses dispatch the efficient Iruka (Atsuko Maeda) and the jolly Riku (Mondo Otani) to help Mahiro and Chisato kill Fuyumura.

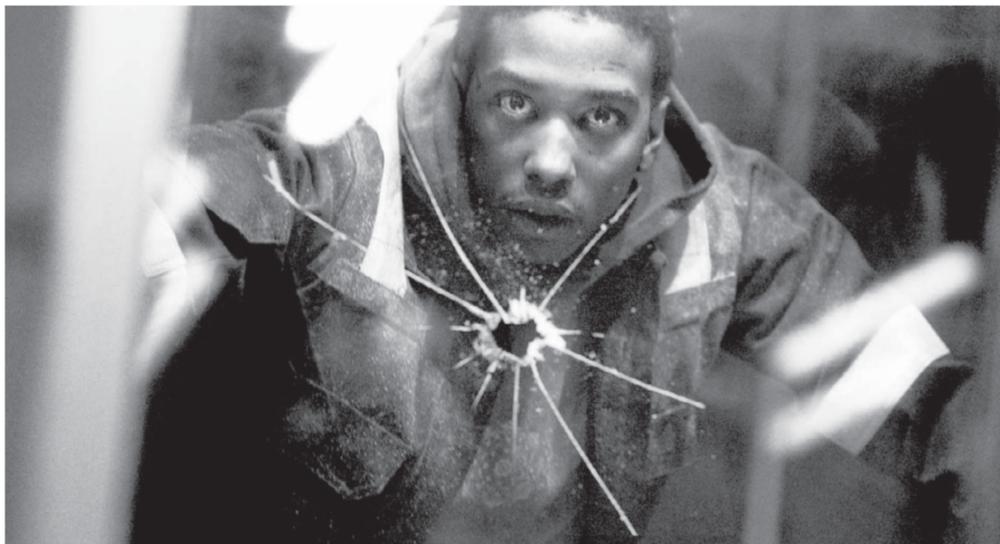
While “Nice Days” delivers on the trilogy’s exceptional choreography and camera work — a hand-to-hand fight between Chisato and Fuyumura is a highlight for its fluid movement in a long take — the series is becoming even more comedic and heartwarming. For instance, rival agricultural co-op assassins (you read that correctly) crash the party, and Chisato and Mahiro act as each other’s therapist. Both Izawa and Takaishi share such a beautiful chemistry, this could easily be a shaggy hangout film, and you wouldn’t be disappointed.

‘Hunting Grounds’

Stream it on Amazon Prime Video.

Chloe (Emily Alatalo) is a mother of two attempting to enter witness protection when goons working for her kingpin husband, Donny (Greg Bryk), kill her F.B.I. contact in a bid to return her and the kids back to Donny. She’s saved by a hunter, Jake (Tim Rozon), whom she later learns is a Marine with serious mental health issues. When Jake begins to turn on her, she finds herself on the run from both her savior and her husband in a perilous journey to keep her children.

Set in the forests of Canada, Derek Barnes’s film is a gory survivalist escapade filled with gnarly kills. For example, Jake bashes one guy’s face in with a tin coffee pot and uses a wood saw to cut another guy’s face in half. Alatalo as Chloe, however, isn’t a wall flower. She claws and kicks her way



MIKA COTTELLON/MAGNET



ERIEKN JURAGAN/AMAZON MGM STUDIOS

Top, Jonathan Feltre plays a locksmith who has a bad day in “Night Call,” directed by Michiel Blanchart. Above, Morgan Oey, right, with Hana Malasan, is cast as a teacher in “The Siege at Thorn High,” directed by Joko Anwar.

supporting a thriller whose best moments happen by stringing together set pieces to create a larger citywide canvas.

‘The Siege at Thorn High’

Stream it on Amazon Prime Video.

Near the beginning of the writer-director Joko Anwar’s startlingly violent film, anti-Chinese riots in Indonesia lead to a young Edwin’s only sister being kidnapped and raped by protesters. Many years later, in 2027 (and after his sister’s death), Edwin (Morgan Oey) works as a substitute teacher, searching schools for the son his sister gave up for adoption. His journey lands him at a juvenile detention center in Jakarta ruled by the sinister teenager Jefri (Omara Esteghlal).

Jefri and his ruthless gang, who maraud the city to dole out anti-Chinese punishment, become so enraged by a defiant Edwin, they use a riot raging outside to hunt him through the hallways of their deserted school. During their pursuit of Edwin, these demonic kids set a man on fire and viciously turn on one another, causing gruesome deaths in a bloody movie that makes “Lord of the Flies” look like a happy commune. The camera doesn’t look away either, immersing you in a hellish location that’s nearly impossible to escape.

‘Weekend in Taipei’

Rent or buy on most major platforms.

George Huang’s movie sees the Drug Enforcement Administration agent John Lawlor (Luke Evans) drawn to Taiwan by the promise of a ledger capable of taking down Kwang (Sung Kang), a drug kingpin. Upon arriving, John learns the informant is Kwang’s teenage stepson, Raymond (Wyatt Yang), whose mother, Joey (Gwei Lunmei), was once John’s lover. Fearing Kwang’s wrath, Joey and Raymond take refuge with John in Joey’s tiny, secluded seaside village.

While the film has plenty of bruising sequences, it is primarily about both Kwang and John fighting to keep their families. Fun flashbacks featuring Evans in bad guys lighten the mood, while an expertly staged final fight in a movie theater playing “House of Flying Daggers” puts a crowd-pleasing cherry atop this charming thriller.

from Jake, physically dominating scenes opposite a tall and sturdy Rozon who looms with a chilling villainous presence.

‘Night Call’

Stream it on Hulu.

A locksmith in Brussels, Mady (Jonathan Feltre) is plunged into trouble when he’s called by Claire (Natacha Krief) to unlock what he thinks is her apartment. Once Mady opens the door, Claire charges inside, steals money from the place and leaves him in the lurch. He is ultimately captured by men working for Yannick (Romain Duris), a mobster who tells Mady that he has the night to find Claire and retrieve the money or he’ll be killed.

Directed by Michiel Blanchart, “Night Call” is a brutal wrong-place-wrong-time tale with a political mind-set. Black Lives Matter protests become a set piece for an elaborate foot chase between Mady and one of Yannick’s henchmen. Another wonderfully composed chase involves Mady biking away from those goons down into the subway. The camerawork is unbelievably

HOUMAN BAREKAT | THEATER REVIEW

Shakespeare and Marlowe, Deeply Entangled

In London, a play imagines the writers' working relationship as heavy on bawdy flirtation.

LONDON — Christopher Marlowe was the pre-eminent playwright of Elizabethan England when he was murdered, possibly by agents of the crown, in 1593 at age 29. Scholars believe he wrote parts of Shakespeare's "Henry VI" plays — he is listed as a co-author in a recent edition of the New Oxford Shakespeare — but little is known about the nature or extent of his acquaintance with the Bard.

In "Born With Teeth," a new production by the Royal Shakespeare Company here, the American playwright Liz Duffy Adams imagines the pair's collaboration as a long-running, sexually charged mentor-mentee relationship. The term "creative license" doesn't quite do it justice.

First performed in the Alley Theater in Houston in 2022, "Born With Teeth" premiered in the West End last week, directed by Daniel Evans and featuring Ncuti Gatwa, of "Doctor Who" fame, as Marlowe, also known as Kit. The play, which runs at Wyndham's Theater through Nov. 1, is not so much a historical drama as a jeu d'esprit in which the imagined flirtation is a springboard for a meditation on art and power.

It's a moderately entertaining but ultimately somewhat sterile affair, let down by a patchy and simplistic script that feels unworthy of its subject matter.

Consistent with historical accounts, Gatwa's Marlowe is an oversexed lech and brawler. His blustering, sexually aggressive repartee provides most of the laughs as he struts about the stage, suggestively brandishing a large, quivering quill. Edward Bluemel's diffident, pragmatic Shakespeare is a rabbit in headlights — "I just want to write!" he pleads — though not entirely unresponsive.

Marlowe calls him "boy" — they're the same age, but "not in stage years" — and spends most of the play trying to get him into bed. While staving off these advances, Shakespeare outlines his literary philosophy: Since life is fundamentally ungraspable, a playwright's opinions should be inscrutable; he quietly blows Marlowe's mind by writing villains sympathetically, in defiance of convention.

There's an undercurrent of menace as Marlowe, who was believed to have worked as a spy for the crown, intermittently turns nasty when rebuffed. This was a time when the Elizabethan authorities were persecuting suspected Catholics and atheists, and even an unfounded denunciation could bring severe consequences. Some of Shakespeare's family members are Catholic, so when Marlowe brags ambiguously about his access to "powerful friends," Shakespeare is initially unsure if Marlowe is protecting or threatening him.

He hangs in there, and Marlowe is eventually murdered offstage in a plot arranged by the queen's courtier, Sir Walter Raleigh. So it's Shakespeare, not Marlowe, whose name is known the world over.

The story plays out against high rows of stud lights; the period costume is on point, and two brief scenes depict imagined interrogations on a giant video screen. (Lighting



is by Neil Austin, costumes by Joanna Scotcher.) It's visually arresting, but a play like this, featuring just two performers and centered almost entirely on dialogue, will stand or fall on the wit of the characters' discourse — and, for the most part, Adams's script isn't up to it.

Almost from the off, the men bicker like some long-in-the-tooth couple in a '70s sitcom, with little variation in tempo or emotional ambience across the 90-minute run time. The register toggles awkwardly between bawdy knockabout and high-minded psychological drama. Gatwa, who recently excelled in the National Theater's uber-campy take on "The Importance of Being Earnest," is strong on the former but less convincing on the latter.

In fairness, Adams gives him most of the iffy lines: A jarringly anachronistic reference to the "state apparatus" sounds particularly ludicrous from the mouth of a man in 16th-century get-up.

There are a few pleasing in-jokes, including a passing reference to "country matters" — the lewd innuendo that will be uttered by the title character in the as-yet-unwritten "Hamlet" but is spoken here, provocatively, by Marlowe instead of Shakespeare. When Shakespeare remarks, "No one is studying me" — he is not yet important enough to be scrutinized by the authorities — the double meaning draws a ripple of knowing laughter from theatergoers.

Above and right: Ncuti Gatwa, left, as Christopher Marlowe and Edward Bluemel as William Shakespeare in "Born With Teeth," written by Liz Duffy Adams.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY JOHAN PERSSON

Born With Teeth
Through Nov. 1 at Wyndham's Theater in London; wyndhamstheatre.co.uk.

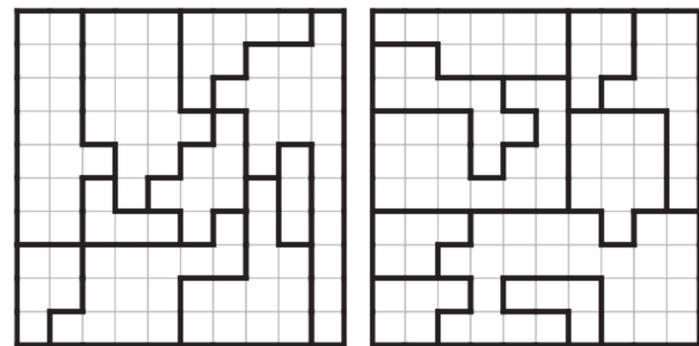
But the returns diminish fast.

If "Born With Teeth" speaks to our current moment — the dangers of making art in politically fraught times — it does so incredibly obliquely. What we have here, rather, is a variation on the fable of the tortoise and the hare, pitting an obnoxious A-type personality against a more quietly determined character. It's a reductive and

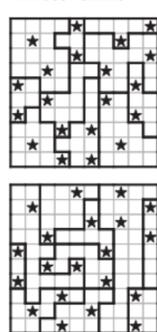
facile conflict, more redolent of fan fiction than of serious drama.

The play's repetitiousness is inadvertently acknowledged by Bluemel's Bard when, after being threatened by Marlowe for the umpteenth time, he retorts that nothing ever comes of his threats — "That's just it. Over and over. And every time, the dagger's more blunted."

Two Not Touch



ANSWERS TO PREVIOUS PUZZLES



Put two stars in each row, column and region of the grid. No two stars may touch, not even diagonally.

Copyright © 2024 www.krazydad.com

Brain Tickler

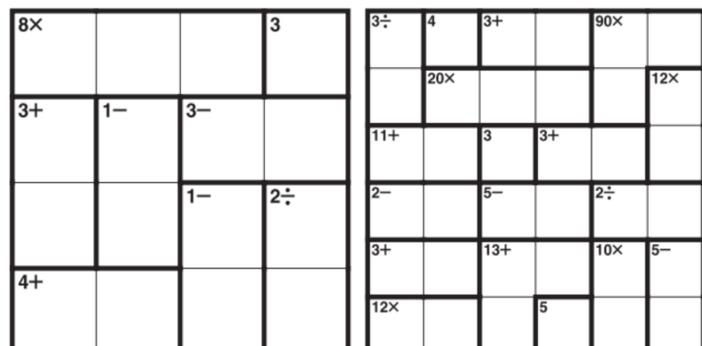
Add two A's to each of the following, without rearranging any letters, to spell a new, common word.

- PINT
- MARCS
- CANST
- VERGE
- STURDY
- HEDGER

PUZZLE BY WILL SHORTZ

SATURDAY'S ANSWER Alter, alert, later

KenKen



ANSWERS TO PREVIOUS PUZZLES



Fill the grid with digits so as not to repeat a digit in any row or column, and so that the digits within each heavily outlined box will produce the target number shown, by using addition, subtraction, multiplication or division, as indicated in the box. A 4x4 grid will use the digits 1-4. A 6x6 grid will use 1-6.

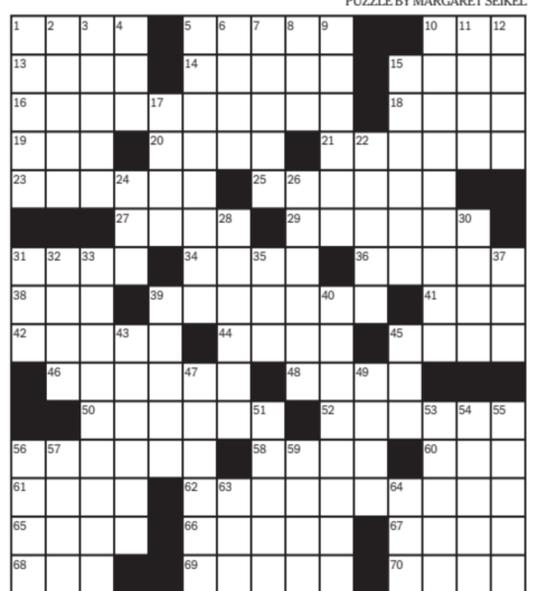
For more games: www.nytimes.com/games

KenKen® is a registered trademark of Nextoy, LLC. Copyright © 2024 www.KENKEN.com. All rights reserved.

Crossword Edited by Will Shortz

PUZZLE BY MARGARET SEIKEL

- ACROSS**
- Like the proverbial period before a storm
 - Cooking device in a fast-food restaurant
 - Animal that moos
 - Thin woodwind
 - Condiment with four vowels in its name
 - Father
 - *Pad in a makeup kit
 - "Fine by me"
 - December 24 is a notable one
 - Prayer's end
 - Places for flag pins or mics
 - Oasis setting
 - Outstanding people
 - No contest, for example
 - \$7 million for 30 seconds during the Super Bowl, say
 - Pound sounds
 - "Highway to Hell" band
 - Winner of 2008 and 2012
 - Mauna ___ Observatory
 - Polite rejection at a dance ... or a hint to each half of the answers to the starred clues
 - Small criticism
 - Flower symbolizing early love
 - Follow commands
 - 4K screen precursor
 - Big clothing retailer headquartered in Freeport, Maine
 - Place for un bérêt
 - Ones wearing white at weddings
 - Show of respect to a queen
 - Dropping off mail at the post office or picking up a prescription
 - Outstanding people
 - Exam on which Elle Woods scored 179 in "Legally Blonde," for short
 - Cry of discovery
 - Swarm (with)
 - *Assignment on a plane
 - Signed vows of secrecy, for short
 - Chose
 - Toboggan, e.g.
 - Pop, as "the question"



9/8/25

- DOWN**
- Managed well enough
 - Higher than on the totem pole
 - Home Depot competitor
 - Size between small and large: Abbr.
 - Minor-league club
 - Ready to be picked
 - The "Y" of Y.A. books
 - Keebler worker
 - Hunted (through)
 - *Bakery display piece
 - Iridescent stone
 - House ___ and Means Committee
 - Can-opening mechanism
 - ___ Grey tea
 - Limited releases on Spotify, informally
 - Article of sports equipment that needs to be strung
 - Part of a play with the opening scene
 - Send off
 - 100%
 - Make annoyed
 - *Days off following October midterms
 - Hit on a vape pen
 - Off-roading transport, in brief
 - Strand during winter, say
 - Superficially attractive sort
 - Georgia politico Stacey ___
 - 2013 movie about an A.I. crush
 - Attaches
 - Ballerina's garb
 - Some bed supports
 - Hold to discuss at a later time
 - Word before metal or music
 - Fabric amounts
 - Italian erupter
 - Cincinnati baseball franchise
 - Editor's mark
 - Pesticide regulator, in brief
 - Food seasoning, for short

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE



Play all of our games plus over 10,000 past puzzles for Wordle, Spelling Bee, The Crossword and more online at <http://nytimes.com/games>. For puzzle talk, visit <http://nytimes.com/wordplay>.

This Week on TV

A SELECTION OF SHOWS, SPECIALS AND MOVIES. BY SHIVANI GONZALEZ

Sinister Motives or True Love?

Tales of social climbers are nothing new. See: “The Talented Mr. Ripley” and “Saltburn,” to name two. But what if you can’t parse whether your son’s new girlfriend is just overly eager or actually up to something sinister? That is the plot of the new series “The Girlfriend,” which stars Olivia Cooke as Cherry, the girlfriend of Daniel (Laurie Davidson), whose suspicious mother, Laura, is played by Robin Wright, who also directed the series. All 10 episodes will be available at once. *Streaming Wednesday on Amazon Prime Video.* Charles (Steve Martin), Mabel (Selena



From left: Selena Gomez, Steve Martin and Martin Short in “Only Murders in the Building.”

Gomez) and Oliver (Martin Short) are on the case once again for the fifth season of “Only Murders in the Building,” the show about three people who live in the same building, solve mysteries and podcast about them. The fourth season ended on a cliffhanger when the doorman of the Arcopia, their apartment building, was found dead. So naturally, there is a new case to be solved. The show has become known for its roster of A-list guest stars, including Meryl Streep and Paul Rudd, and this season includes Christoph Waltz, Renée Zellweger and Logan Lerman, and returning are Richard Kind, Nathan Lane and Da’Vine Joy Randolph. *Streaming Tuesday on Hulu.*

Details and times are subject to change.



Robin Wright, left, as a mother scoping out the intentions of her son’s love interest, played by Olivia Cooke, in “The Girlfriend.”

TV’s Biggest Night

This week brings the 77th annual Emmy Awards (right), and “Severance,” the dystopian drama that stars Adam Scott and has the most nominations, at 27, is a favorite in the best drama race. “The White Lotus,” “The Studio” and “Hacks” are also up for numerous awards. Noah Wyle, first of “ER” fame and now star of the new medical procedural “The Pitt,” is up for his first best actor in a drama series award in 26 years, and Kathy Bates, 77, is the oldest actress to be nominated in the best actress in a drama series category, for her role in “Matlock.” The ceremony will be broadcast live from the Peacock Theater in Los Angeles. *Sunday at 8 p.m. on CBS and streaming on Paramount+.*



A New Documentary

Issa Rae, the writer, actor and producer, is behind the new two-part documentary series “Seen & Heard: The History of Black Television.” She began the project in 2019 when she noticed a trend of Black characters disappearing and re-emerging across the decades on TV screens. Alongside Oprah Winfrey, Tyler Perry, Tracee Ellis Ross, Norman Lear and Shonda Rhimes, Rae discusses not only the onscreen talent but also the need for diversity behind the scenes. *Tuesday at 9 p.m. on HBO and streaming on HBO Max.*

Playing Catch-Up

The documentary “Unknown Number: The High School Catfish” is holding court in Netflix’s top 10 movie ranking, so if you’re like me and haven’t watched it, now may be the time. The film follows Lauryn Licari and Owen McKenny, a teenage couple who received threatening and taunting messages — up to 50 a day — from an unknown phone number for almost two years. Even after they broke up, the torment continued, with both the police and the F.B.I. questioning the pair’s classmates and families. When the perpetrator is caught — and it’s not who you think — it is all filmed on police bodycam footage. *Streaming on Netflix.*

If you’re on TikTok, you might have seen KJ Apa moonlighting as Mr. Fantasy, his alter ego. In addition to all that, he stars in the romantic comedy “The Map That Leads to You” with Madelyn Cline. Heather and Jack meet on an overnight train in Spain as he is following his great-grandfather’s journey in Europe and she is wrapping up a girls’ trip. As is rom-com law, they end up ditching their plans and traveling around together. The New York Times critic Chris Zappardi wrote in his review of the film that “the cinematographer Elías M. Félix captures the sights and sounds of the Iberian Peninsula with aspirational warmth — the kind that makes you wonder what it might be like to surrender your own heart among such breathtaking vistas.” *Streaming on Amazon Prime Video.*



KJ Apa and Madelyn Cline in the rom-com “The Map That Leads to You.”

How N.F.L. and Carrie Underwood Tweak ‘Sunday Night’ Lyrics

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1
matchup — “Rams and the Lions in a monster showdown” for last season’s Sunday-night opener — and requires a special recording session. This year, on a rainy June afternoon in Nashville, Underwood walked into a wood-paneled studio, entered a glass booth, adjusted a black headset and then gave a thumbs up to the group outside. For the next hour, publicists, music engineers and sports television producers watched her enunciate the marquee games of the N.F.L. schedule.

She recorded at least 80 permutations of the brief lyric while standing barefoot.

“The song is powerful, it’s got attitude — I feel it helps my energy stay up,” said Underwood, who taped the video for the television broadcast this spring in Las Vegas. “If I were sitting, I’d feel like I’d be more melow.”

Rob Hyland, an NBC producer who has

overseen “Sunday Night Football” since 2022, wrote the team-specific lyrics for each of NBC’s 18 Sunday night games. The five-page document included dozens of lines for backup matchups in case the league adjusts its prime-time slate to avoid featuring unexpectedly bad teams.

Many of the customized lyrics have similar verbiage — “about to throw down,” “nasty showdown” — because they must rhyme with the previous line that ends with “the show’s back in town.” For Sunday night’s rematch between the Ravens and the Bills, Hyland said it was important to highlight the running prowess of quarterbacks Lamar Jackson and Josh Allen.

As Underwood stood in the studio, a bottle of water and pencil resting nearby, she began with the lines Hyland had written in capital letters:

“Ravens and Bills in a monster showdown.”
“Alt 1: Allen and Jackson sluggin’ pound for pound.”
“Alt 2: Allen and Jackson running ‘round and ‘round.”

Underwood gamely sings each version before her, giving NBC options when it edits the song into the version that makes the television broadcast. The written stanzas are only suggestions, though. She has the freedom to alter them based on how they sound off the tongue.

Those changes are often minimal but effective, Underwood said. During this recording session, she abbreviated the Jacksonville Jaguars to “Jags” and added “the” before “Dolphins” for euphony.

“It’s just all about flow and the rest of the sentence,” Underwood said. “You get in there and sometimes you’ll sing something and it sounded clunky, and then somebody will be like, ‘Why don’t you switch the names or switch the order?’”

Hyland said the goal was to differentiate the lyrics whenever possible, such as noting divisional rivalries. When the Los Angeles Rams opened their \$5 billion stadium against the Dallas Cowboys in 2020, Underwood sang, “Boys and the Rams are breaking new ground.” When the Tampa Bay Buccaneers faced the New England Patriots in 2021 — pitting Tom Brady against Bill Belichick, his former coach, for the first time — the line used was “Brady and Bill, a colossal showdown.”

“There’s not a whole lot of time to really rewrite the narrative,” Hyland said, “but when we get a good story line, we will probably write something very specific.”

Underwood joked that some quarterback names can be tricky, such as the Atlanta Falcons signal-caller Michael Penix (pen-ICKS). It took multiple takes to finalize an alternate line for Week 10, when Underwood briefly struggled articulating the stanza that referred to the quarterbacks of the Pittsburgh Steelers and Los Angeles Chargers: “Rodgers and Herbert sluggin’ pound for pound.”

“Dang it,” Underwood said playfully in the booth. “This is my downfall.”

Things can also quickly change in the studio. For December’s matchup between the Cincinnati Bengals and Miami Dolphins, Fred Gaudelli, Hyland’s predecessor, asked Underwood to slightly adjust the line “Joe and Tua in a QB showdown,” to “Joe and Tua in their latest showdown.” Joe Burrow and



Tua Tagovailoa are often compared because they entered the league the same year.

“These guys have history,” Gaudelli said.

NBC will not learn which game it is airing for the regular-season finale until December because to maximize ratings, the N.F.L. waits to see which teams have the most playoff positioning at stake. But all the games that week are between divisional rivals, allowing Underwood to rattle off 11 versions of the same line in rapid succession.

“Packers and the Vikings, a division showdown.”

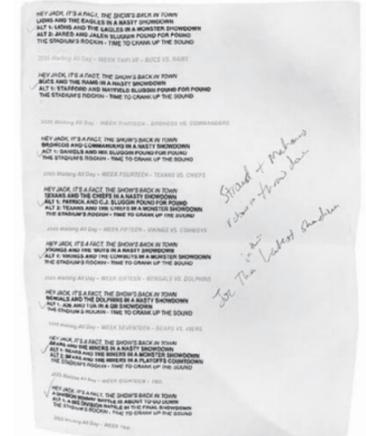
“Commanders and the Eagles, a division showdown.”

“Ravens and the Steelers, a division showdown.”

Gaudelli produced “Sunday Night Football” during its first 16 seasons on NBC before stepping down in 2022, but he remains on the network’s N.F.L. production staff. He previously worked at ABC, which featured “Are You Ready for Some Football?” by Hank Williams Jr., ahead of its “Monday Night Football” games in the 1990s.

On his hunt to develop a similar music touchstone at NBC, Gaudelli sifted through 1,800 songs on his iPod. He landed on “I

Above, for each rendition of “Waiting All Day for Sunday Night,” Carrie Underwood sings a slightly different version to fit the opposing N.F.L. teams. (For a Buffalo Bills-Baltimore Ravens game, it was “Allen and Jackson in a QB showdown.”) Above right, during a recording session, Underwood noted alternate lyrics suggested by the producers.



Hate Myself for Loving You” because of its tone.

“It had the great guitar groove, so the second you hear it, you start vibing to the music,” he said.

Gaudelli said Underwood was his first choice to sing partly because fans would instantly know her from “American Idol,” which at that time was the highest-rated show on television.

Underwood quickly declined, though, saying she needed to further establish herself in the entertainment industry. So NBC pivoted to Pink, who performed the song for one year before parting ways amid creative differences. Faith Hill sang it from the 2007 to 2012 seasons before she amicably left, saying she felt the show needed a new face, Gaudelli said.

When Gaudelli inquired about Underwood again, she was more open to the idea. “I don’t think there was any convincing at that point,” Underwood said. “The timing was right and it just made sense.”

After several years of “Waiting All Day for Sunday Night,” Underwood and NBC tried some different openings. In 2016 and 2017, she sang a rendition of “Somethin’ Bad,” her duet with Miranda Lambert; for the 2018 season, Underwood wrote an original song, “Game On.” But they decided to return to NBC’s initial concept the next year.

“It’s just something nice and comforting about having something that people know really well kick off the show,” Underwood said.

Gaudelli said that Hill took a more leisurely approach while recording the specialized lyrics, needing about 45 minutes to warm up her voice and expressing openness to recording more lines during the season. But Underwood, who was an “American Idol” judge this year, comes into the studio preferring to complete the task in one sitting.

“These days are long, and they get tedious and all these things, but you get all of her for all the time she’s there,” said Gaudelli, who added that they would work together as long as Underwood is interested.

The feeling is mutual. “We’ll know when it’s time to pass the torch,” Underwood said, “but we’re all still having fun.”

JEOPARDY!
CLUE OF THE DAY

FAMOUS NAMES

ON JUNE 12, 1942, SHE WROTE, “I HOPE I WILL BE ABLE TO CONFIDE EVERYTHING TO YOU, AS I HAVE NEVER BEEN ABLE TO CONFIDE IN ANYONE”

FOR THE CORRECT RESPONSE, WATCH JEOPARDY! TONIGHT OR LOOK IN THIS SPACE TOMORROW IN THE TIMES.

Friday’s Response: WHAT ARE SEMICOLONS?

Watch JEOPARDY!
7 p.m. on Channel 7

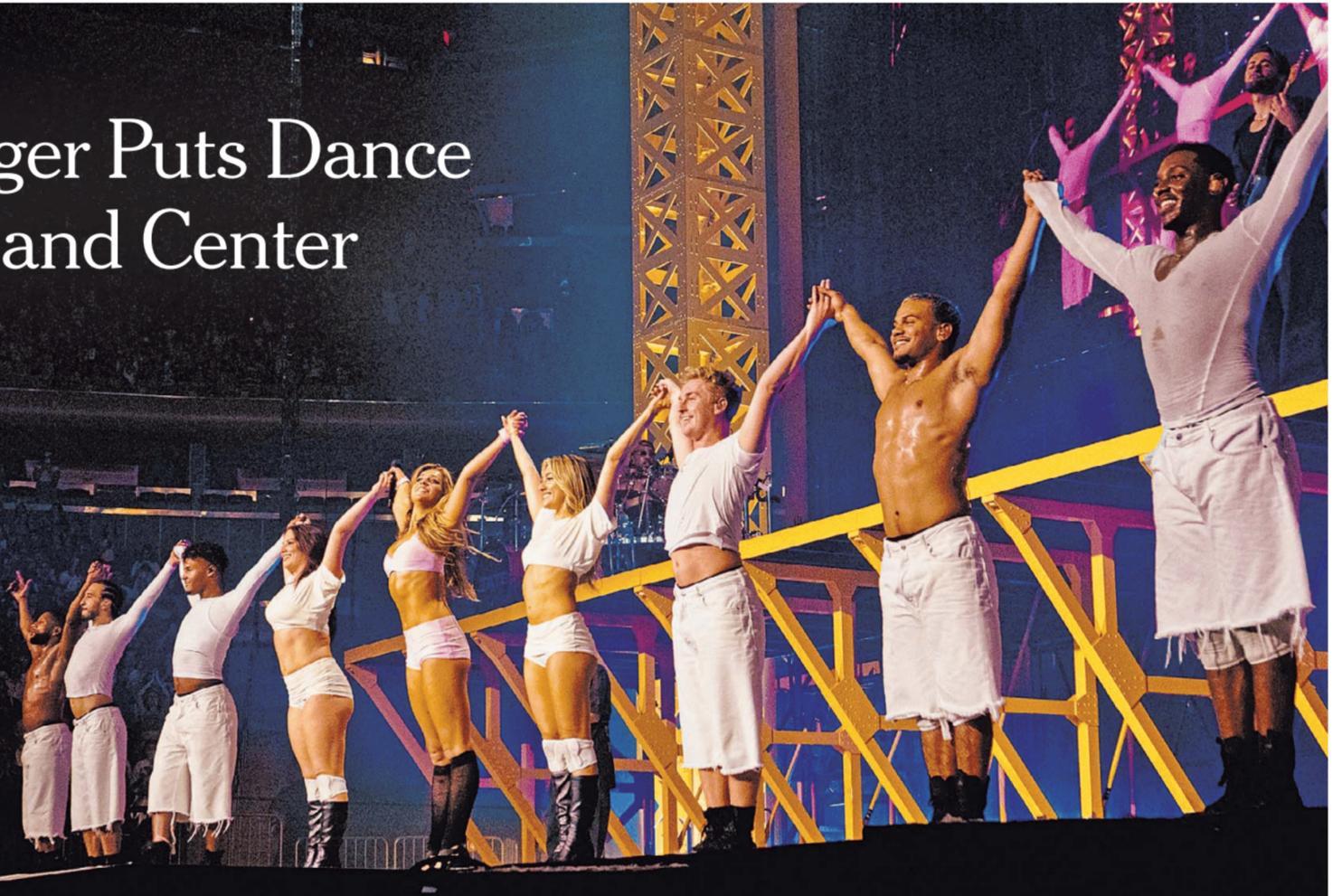
The New York Times Games

Give the gift of play.

nytimes.com/gamesgift

MARGARET FUHRER | CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

A Singer Puts Dance Front and Center



PHOTOGRAPHS BY THE NEW YORK TIMES



The singer Tate McRae is the center of it all during her Miss Possessive concert tour stop at Madison Square Garden last week, whether with her dancers or alone, above right.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

to the side to make room for it. In a 2017 magazine profile, she said she dreamed of dancing on Broadway, or with the Netherlands Dans Theater, or for Ariana Grande or Taylor Swift. Had fate dealt her slightly different cards, she probably could have achieved any — maybe all — of those goals.

Instead, as a teenager, McRae started writing songs and posting them to YouTube. A few years and successful albums later, she's selling out arenas.

Unsurprisingly, dance has been a central part of McRae's pop persona from the beginning. At the Garden on Wednesday night, McRae, now 22, leaned hard into an image she has been cultivating for the past few years: an early aughts-style diva, a hair-whipping siren in the manner of Christina Aguilera or Britney Spears.

McRae has frequently been compared to Spears in particular. Both have a charisma that's inextricably tied to movement; to paraphrase Spears, dancing's what they love. The choreographer Sean Bankhead has cannily channeled Spears's thrashy, voluptuous style in several of McRae's music videos. Fans have even campaigned for McRae to star in the Spears biopic currently being developed.

The Miss Possessive tour positions McRae as a Britney for the smartphone era. Choreographed by Bankhead with contributions from the rising talent Robbie Blue, it showcases McRae's ability to drop her body into the rhythm with thrilling precision — and allows her to play to each of the umpteen video cameras surrounding her at all times.

The footage from those cameras, projected on the giant screens that stretch above the stage, was in many ways the real show. While singing "Like I Do," McRae prowled around a sweaty group of dancers under a platform at the front of the arena — a scene invisible to the audience except through the intimate gaze of the camera following her. During "Blood on My Hands," one of the dancers commandeered a video recorder, and his charmingly inept filming created an endearingly scruffy moment in an otherwise high-gloss show.

McRae, weaned on social media and reality TV, certainly knows how to perform for the camera. But the concert's most thrilling moments were its old-fashioned dance breaks, when McRae could forget about the screens and just move. That's when her uninhibited, ultra-confident alter ego — she calls her Tatiana, à la Beyoncé's Sasha

Fierce — appeared.

Cleverly sprinkled throughout the choreography's body rolls and snapped isolations — the building blocks of conventional pop performance — were nods to McRae's contemporary dance past. In "Exes," she casually threw a tilt into a hard-hit phrase. In "Sports Car," she straddled a chair, then stepped atop it to unfurl an enormous arabesque penchée.

Even when aiming for pure pop, she couldn't betraying her classical dancierliness. When she held out her microphone so the audience could sing along, her hyperextended elbow and arched wrist formed a graceful curve. During an impressive pole dance sequence (created by Cami Arboles), she twirled with balletic form, her legs turned outward from the hips. Her high heels didn't stop her from pointing her toes.

Toward the middle of the concert, McRae slowed down, performing several songs while sitting at a piano or simply standing. With only her voice to speak for her, she suddenly appeared a little uncertain. She had the uncomfortable air of a greyhound waiting to run.

In dancer mode, though, she can do stillness. At the end of the heavily choreographed "Revolving Door," McRae sang, "I

need a minute" — and then sat, with her feet tucked underneath her, as a timer on the screen ticked out 60 seconds. Without moving, she seemed to alter the atmosphere's electrical charge.

I found myself thinking of a moment in Kenneth MacMillan's ballet "Romeo and Juliet," when Juliet — after Romeo has been exiled, and she has been ordered to marry Paris — sits on the edge of her bed, her body motionless but vibrating with feeling as the music swells around her. It's a reference McRae, with her ballet background, just might know.

Before long, she ramped the energy all the way back up. Tatiana runs the show at the Miss Possessive tour. She was likely to be present on Sunday night, when McRae was scheduled to perform at the raucous MTV Video Music Awards.

But as she continues to discover herself, McRae seems increasingly open to exploring more vulnerable modes. This year, the music video for "Revolving Door" ventured into intriguing new territory, with choreography by Blue that pretzeled McRae into gymnastic contortions, channeling the lyrics' twisty anxiety. What might it look like to see McRae dancing on a pop stage, not as Tatiana, but as Tate?

Nazi Loot Found In Argentina Leads to Charges

The daughter of a German official and her husband are accused of hiding a painting taken from a Jewish art dealer.

By CLAIRE MOSES and DANIEL POLITI

Prosecutors in Argentina on Thursday charged a couple with aggravated cover up for hiding a painting that was looted by the Nazis during World War II, said Carlos Martínez, the federal prosecutor in the Mar del Plata.

Patricia Kadgien, the daughter of a Nazi who escaped to Argentina after the war, and her husband, Juan Carlos Cortegoso, could face up to six years in prison, Mr. Martínez said.

"The crimes that were being covered up are especially serious," Mr. Martínez told journalists after a court hearing on Thursday in Mar del Plata. "They are linked to crimes of genocide, to theft in the context of genocide."

Ms. Kadgien and her husband had handed the artwork, which dated to the early 18th century and belonged to a Jewish art dealer during World War II, to the Argentine authorities on Wednesday, more

Claire Moses reported from London and Daniel Politi reported from Buenos Aires.



JOSE SCALZO/REUTERS

than eight decades after it was taken.

The painting, by the Italian artist Giuseppe Ghislandi, had long been on international and Dutch lists of missing works. It had not been seen since 1945 — until last month, when journalists from a Dutch newspaper spotted it on a real estate listing on an Argentine website.

The painting had belonged to the Dutch Jewish art dealer Jacques Goudstikker. In 1940, the Nazis forced Goudstikker to sell his gallery, and the painting ultimately ended up with Friedrich Kadgien, a high-

ranking Nazi official.

After the journalists spotted it online, prosecutors and Interpol tried to locate the painting, which they believed was hanging above a couch in the home of Ms. Kadgien, Kadgien's daughter. But when prosecutors raided her house, as well as three other properties owned by the family, they could not find it, Mr. Martínez said.

Ms. Kadgien and her husband, Mr. Cortegoso, were then placed under house arrest, Mr. Martínez said, because they had obstructed the investigation by removing

"Portrait of a Lady," by Giuseppe Ghislandi, was stolen from a Jewish art dealer during World War II. The art expert Ariel Bassano, left, talked to reporters after its recovery.

the painting from their home. On Thursday, a judge lifted their house arrest but took their passports to prevent them from leaving the country.

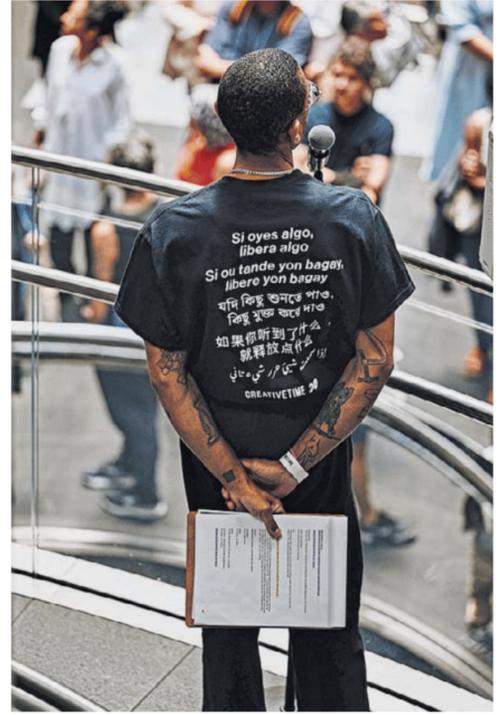
Goudstikker's descendants have made a claim for the painting, said Yael Weitz, their lawyer.

"I remain committed to reclaiming the painting and having it returned to my family," Marei von Saher, Goudstikker's daughter-in-law, said in a statement on Wednesday. "It is what is just and fair."

It's possible there are other looted works in properties owned by the Kadgien family, prosecutors said earlier. Two paintings from around 1840 had been seized from a house belonging to another of Mr. Kadgien's daughters, Mr. Martínez said.

And last month, inspired by the journalists' find, a researcher at the Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands identified a 17th-century still life that had also been missing since World War II from pictures of the Kadgien family posted on Facebook.

Mr. Martínez said that he was not surprised that Ms. Kadgien handed over the painting. "Perhaps at first they wanted to keep ownership of the painting," he said. But after all the attention and deployment by official agencies, he added, "they understood that the best situation was to hand it over."



Left, Chloë Bass at Fulton Street station, and right, Jeremy Toussaint-Baptiste, who created the distinctive sound starting the announcements; center, the project kicked off with a live performance.

Down in Subway, Uplifting Messages

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

over the years, including the mosaics that decorate subway stations around the city — Bass herself did one in 2024 in Brooklyn. But this is the first time they've allowed an artist to broadcast over the M.T.A.'s public address system.

The 10- to 45-second announcements, 24 in all, will be in English, Spanish, Arabic, Bangla, Haitian Kreyol, and Mandarin — the six most commonly spoken languages in New York City. (ASL translations will also be available on the Creative Time website.) They are voiced by a range of vocalists, assembled in part through an on-the-street casting of regular New Yorkers. At the Fulton St. station in Lower Manhattan, videos will be shown on the hour on nearly 50 digital billboards.

"You'll be able to hear the announcements in places in the subway system where you have a moment of peace, a moment of calm — maybe as you're exiting the station, or as you're transferring between two trains," said Juliette Michaelson, the M.T.A. chief of staff and chief of strategic planning, who until recently was interim director of M.T.A. Arts & Design. "Those moments, times, places, where people would be more receptive to a little bit of joy, a little bit of art in their day."

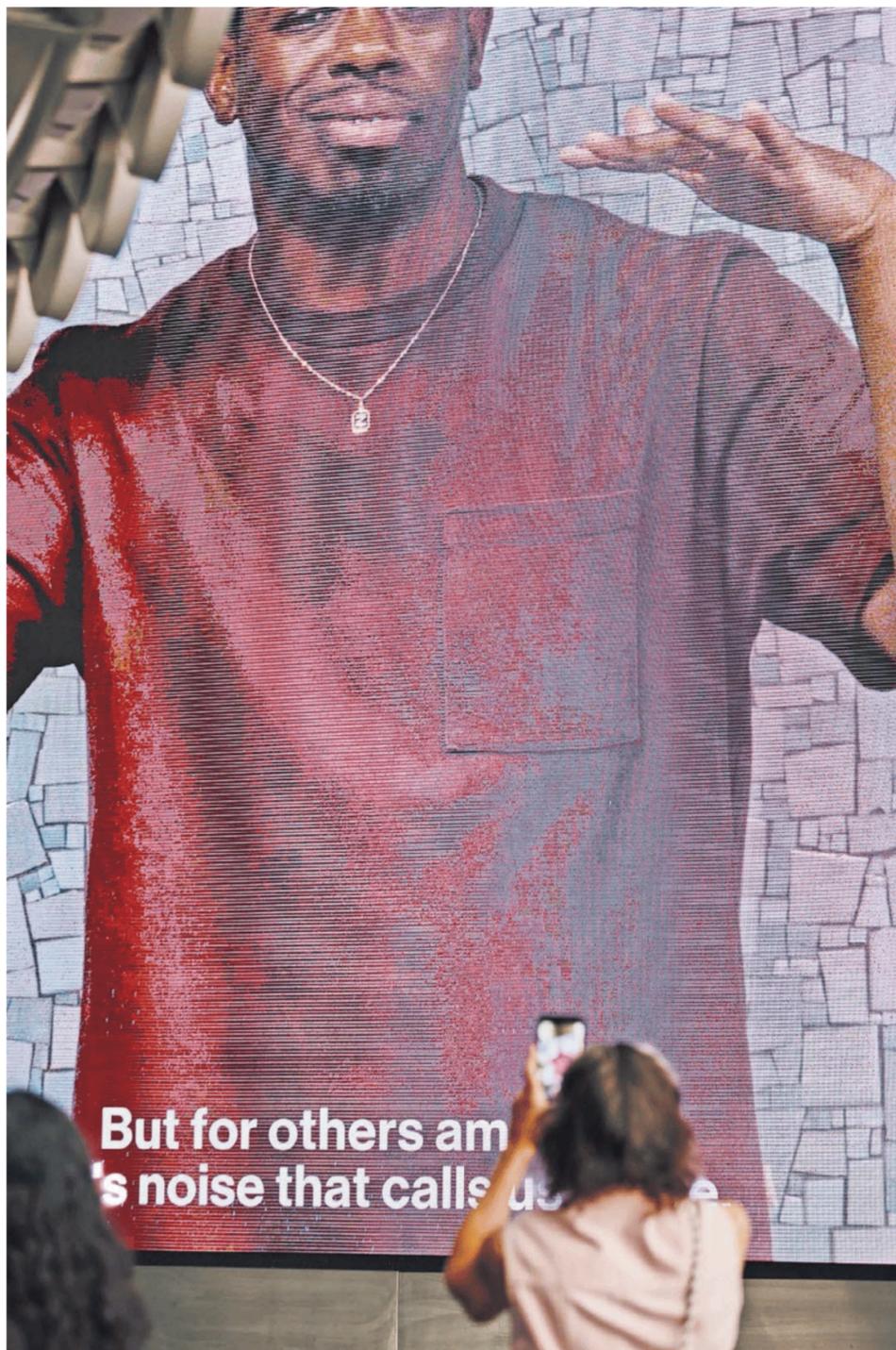
Though Bass has made many public artworks — often in the form of poetic "suggestions" inscribed onto billboards, rocks, mirrors, aluminum plaques and other devices — this is her first audio work. Born and raised in New York, Bass, 41, conceived the project over the course of her long train and bus commutes between Brooklyn and Queens College, where she taught in the visual arts program for more than eight years. (She left that position this summer.) "I normally used it as a form of studio time — I would read or write or think or photograph," she said. "But after 2016, there were more and more announcements, and they were really wrecking my emotional landscape."

While broadcasts conveying basic information or emergency instructions were understandable and necessary, she said the constant reminders of police presence and increasingly frequent attempts to shape people's behavior disrupted her thoughts. "We're constantly being asked to internalize the idea that we are supposed to be watchful over each other, not in a supportive or caring way, but to report things to someone else," she said. "Even the 'Courtesy Counts' campaigns are telling you how to behave."

"If you hear something, free something" doesn't tell anyone what to do ever," Bass said.

Diya Vij, curator at Creative Time, said that when she and Bass started thinking about what the project could achieve, they realized "it could help people see themselves and each other again and think about being neighbors and community differently in a space that might feel more tense than it should."

It's a quietly radical intervention. But Mi-



At the Fulton Street station, nearly 50 digital screens will show videos to accompany the sound work.

chaelson said she is not worried that the announcements might undermine the transit authority's focus on safety. "For the M.T.A., vigilance will always be a priority," she said. "I think people will be able to differentiate between Chloë's messaging and ours and still say something if they see something."

Of the 24 announcements, Bass herself only voices one. "I wasn't planning on it," she said. "But the day we were in the recording studio, I got really jealous."

In addition to voices, the messages include sonic elements made in collaboration with the musician Jeremy Toussaint-Baptiste, who created the musical tone that opens each. (It draws in part from Bass's research into the healing qualities of certain frequencies.)

Before writing the scripts, Bass convened a series of focus groups composed of commuters, M.T.A. employees, transportation advocates and teenagers. ("Large groups of teens are everybody's subway nightmare, but they're New Yorkers, too," she said.)

Maggie Murtha, part of the project team at the M.T.A., said one of her takeaways from the focus groups was that "there was a

Passing along 'a little bit of joy, a little bit of art' in the day of a commuter.

longing to feel connected to the people around you."

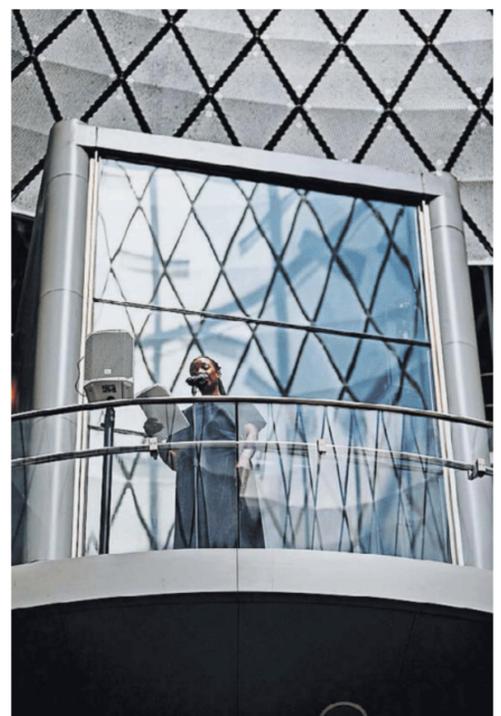
Since Bass's announcements function as "counterprogramming" to the M.T.A.'s usual fare, the venture required a range of approvals within the M.T.A. "We've worked with Chloë in the past and done many projects with Creative Time, so there was trust there," Michaelson said.

The artwork presented technical and logistical challenges as well, including choosing which among the city's 472 stations would be appropriate for broadcasting the announcements.

It was decided that the messages shouldn't be heard on platforms, to avoid confusion among commuters and so are limited to mezzanines and tunnels. Then there was a negotiation over the script. Bass avoided certain words because while they worked in a poetic context they were clearly not appropriate on a public address system. ("Threat" was one word that was removed, the artist said.)

The artist and the M.T.A. were fully aligned when it came to encouraging New Yorkers to think about life underground as a space of community.

"I think people who don't live here might think that taking the subway is just how people get to work," Michaelson said. She added that her boss, Janno Lieber, the chair of the M.T.A., "likes to say that the subway is the town square of New York City. For our town square to give riders a moment of thoughtfulness during their commute is just great fun."



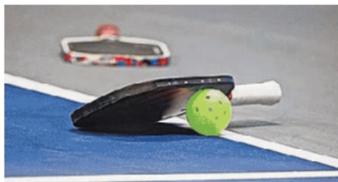
Left, an American Sign Language interpretation of the announcements will be available on the Creative Time website. Center and right, Ashley Grier and Rena Anakwe performed on Wednesday.

3 COLLEGE FOOTBALL

Florida continues to have some boneheaded moments.

4 PICKLEBALL

Aerial photos show how the sport has eaten tennis courts.



6 TENNIS

Aryna Sabalenka won the U.S. Open with consistency and calm under pressure.

ANALYSIS | COMMENTARY

Sports

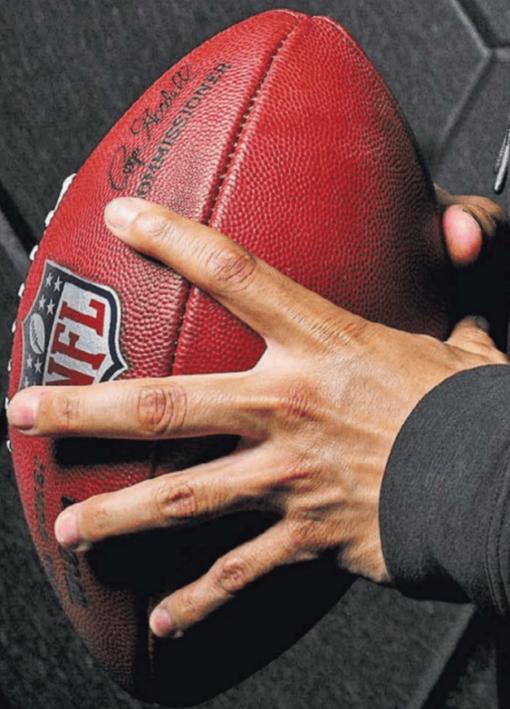
The New York Times

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 2025 D1
N

PRO FOOTBALL | N.F.L. WEEK 1

Lessons On Facing Hardships In Chicago

Williams Gains Perspective
After Difficult Rookie Year



'I think there's so much growth that happens in chaos.'

RYAN POLES, the general manager of the Bears, on quarterback Caleb Williams, above.

TODD ROSENBERG/GETTY IMAGES

By KEVIN FISHBAIN
The Athletic

When Chicago Bears quarterback Caleb Williams thinks about his rookie season in the N.F.L., he can go a number of ways.

His play caller was fired in early November. His head coach was fired before that month ended. His team lost in heartbreaking fashion over and over again. He was sacked way too many times. He put up impressive numbers overall, but was part of a 10-game losing streak and another last-place finish.

"I put it in perspective as: Last year was good. Needed it," Williams said during training camp. He added, "To have a year like that was a good reset for me."

Williams can see now what would have been nearly impossible to see during the toughest moments of his rookie season. Take that Thanksgiving road loss to the

Kevin Fishbain is a senior writer covering the Bears for The Athletic.



MICHAEL REAVES/GETTY IMAGES

Caleb Williams is learning the system of a new coach, Ben Johnson, right, and aims to prove that last season's flaws are fixed.

Detroit Lions. It was devastating, but now it can provide obvious tools for when he's in a similar spot. And it all led to the head coach who is here to help turn it all around. If Williams's career goes the way he hopes, it's a responding-to-adversity success story the Bears could use.

He now needs to turn the page and become an expert in Coach Ben Johnson's system, all while proving that any exposed flaws from last season can become learning experiences and not red flags.

How can Williams learn from the past without dwelling on it? How can he move forward but not forget what happened — the good and the bad?

"I think there's so much growth that happens in chaos," General Manager Ryan Poles said.

Poles wants to continue to see how Williams bounces back. "When things happen, or maybe it's a bad decision, what's the response after that?" Poles said. "And I think that's going to show

Continued on Page D2

PRO FOOTBALL | N.F.L. WEEK 1



GEORGE MCGOVERN, VIA THE ATHLETIC

Justin Jefferson and Quinn McGovern at Destrehan High School with Ed Reed, with his back turned, in the background.

Making Connections On and Off the Field

By ALEC LEWIS
The Athletic

Justin Jefferson arrived unannounced.

It was the N.F.L. off-season, a few years ago, and Destrehan High School was playing its spring football game. Jefferson, already a star wide receiver for the Minnesota Vikings, had returned home to St. Rose, La., about a half-hour from New Orleans's French Quarter. He and his father, John, thought it would be fun to watch some football, like in the good old days. They didn't tell anyone they were coming.

For a while, Jefferson, wearing a cherry-red bucket hat, blended in. He said some hellos. Snapped a few photos. Scribbled the occasional autograph. But he was mostly unimpeded, unbothered, able to roam around freely like the kid he had always been.

He eventually made his way down to the sideline to chat with the school's athletic director, George McGovern. McGovern was standing with his son, Quinn, whose eyes bulged when he realized who his father was talking to. Jefferson asked Quinn to do the Griddy dance for him. They tossed some passes back and forth.

They took a picture together. In the foreground is Jefferson, looking as happy as ever. In the background is a man with his back turned, another product of Destrehan: the Pro Football Hall of Famer Ed Reed.

"My son did not know who Ed was," McGovern said. "That was the moment for me. Growing up, it was, 'Ed! Ed! Ed!' Then Justin came on the map."

It wasn't merely Jefferson's popularity that McGovern appreciated when other children began to flock toward him on the sideline. It was the way they looked at

Alec Lewis covers the Vikings for The Athletic.

Jefferson — and the way he looked at them. There was a sense of connection, a magnetism. Something different.

At age 26, Jefferson already owns multiple N.F.L. records. In 2022, he became the youngest player ever to lead the league in both receptions (128) and receiving yards (1,809). He recorded the most catches and receiving yards in a player's first three and four seasons in league history.

He was the fastest player in N.F.L. history to reach 30 career 100-yard receiving games, doing so in just 62 games. He surpassed 7,000 receiving yards faster than any other player. Entering the season, he holds the record for receiving yards per game (96.5).

He is a superstar on and off the field, and superstars command attention. He could be a recluse, a hero unwilling to play the part, and companies would still seek his endorsement.

So what separates Jefferson from all the others? What makes him so popular, especially among children? It's how mindful he is about his position as a role model. It's the value he and those around him place on what he does and says when he's not the larger-than-life figure on the field wearing No. 18.

"I take a lot of pride in it," Jefferson said. "I take a lot of pride in everything that I do. Because I know who's watching."

He knows because he was once on the other side of the equation.

His parents, John and Elaine, remain present. This summer, Jefferson hosted his camp, "JJets Flight School," and both of his parents attended. His two brothers, Jordan and Rickey, did, too. John often attends nondescript training camp practices, staying far from the cameras but always watching. Jordan acts almost like a marketing arm to alleviate the number of nagging requests of Justin.



DAVID REGINEK/IMAGN IMAGES

At 26, Jefferson already owns multiple N.F.L. records, including most receiving yards per game.

"I guess the best way to put it is I don't think he's changed that much," said Greg Boyne, Jefferson's offensive coordinator at Destrehan. "He still laughs goofily the same way he always laughed. He tells the same bad jokes. He's still got that megawatt smile."

Ask anyone from those days, and they will tell you that Jefferson never loved school. His grades limited his college options as much as anything else. He received only three Division I scholarship offers.

Jefferson may have been skinny, but even then, his talent was undeniable. He palmed one-handed catches on the sideline. He ran crisp routes.

And he knew that he could hold his own among a group of future college receivers. Jefferson didn't lack for self-confidence, and his coaches and teammates sensed it. But it didn't bleed over into arrogance.

Destrehan's head coach, Steve Robicheaux, ran a tight ship. He did not want to see any horseplay on the field. "It was just old school," Robicheaux said. "That's

how I was."

But Jefferson inched toward the line. The team would practice punt returns, and when Robicheaux turned his back, Jefferson would tap-dance back and forth. Robicheaux wanted postgame bus rides to be quiet. Blood recalled the aftermath of one victory when Jefferson, seated near the middle, let out a holler.

"He was extremely himself," said Kohen Granier, another of Jefferson's high school quarterbacks. "I have videos on my phone of him just singing. He was just a very outgoing personality."

The teachers noticed. Jefferson took a web-design class with Jaime Jo Lee, who fondly remembered his positive energy. The bounce in his step as he entered the classroom. The tone of his voice when he would shout at her in the hallways.

In Boyne's mind, Jefferson's joy made the teachers want to help him qualify academically. But he often wonders: What if they hadn't? What if Jefferson had gone the junior college route? Would he

have committed enough to academics to find his way to a Division I program? And more broadly, how many talented kids with warm hearts are not able to find their way to a program loaded with resources like Louisiana State? How many don't have the chance to affect others the way that Jefferson ultimately has?

Why did L.S.U. hold a walk-on spot for him, after all?

"Everybody at the school loved him," said Ed Orgeron, the former L.S.U. coach. "I knew Coach Robicheaux. He talked about the character, the integrity. He said I'd fall in love with him."

Orgeron then received reports from the longtime N.F.L. receivers coach Jerry Sullivan, whom Orgeron had hired as a consultant. Sullivan raved about Jefferson's route-running ability and his willingness to learn. Above all, though, he said something to Orgeron that he still believes today: "Of all the guys we have, he has everything that it takes to be the quintessential role model."

A few days before last February's Super Bowl in New Orleans,

Vikings wide receiver takes pride in serving as a role model.

Jefferson returned to Destrehan High. This time, he was flanked by a more robust security detail. Such is life as an N.F.L. superstar.

McGovern informed Ms. Lee that Jefferson would be there to film another commercial. He asked her to come out to the field to catch up with her former student. She hemmed and hawed. What if he didn't remember her? What if he blew her off?

"I was kind of nervous," Lee said. "Because you're saying in your mind, 'How are people when they hit celebrity status?'"

She eventually made her way to the field. Jefferson was at the 50-yard line. McGovern approached him and pointed over at Lee. He spotted her, shrieked and immediately came skipping over for a hug.

"My eyes are watering, and I'm like, 'I didn't think you would remember me,'" she said.

"Of course I remember you, Ms. Lee!" Jefferson blurted.

As Jefferson has evolved from walk-on to national champion at L.S.U., from first-round pick to All-Pro, and as his laundry list of off-field responsibilities continues to grow, he still approaches life the same way he did before he became what he has become.

This summer, Jefferson hosted his camp at IMG Academy in Bradenton, Fla., and invited some of the nation's top high schoolers to participate. The former N.F.L. wide receiver Torrey Smith also attended the event. Smith was curious: Was Jefferson playing a front-facing role in the camp? He wanted to know mainly because his oldest son constantly wears Jefferson's jersey.

"I don't take it lightly, my kids wanting to look up to somebody," Smith said. "I know the person means more than the player. I think there are some people who wear masks. All of a sudden, they achieve success, fame and popularity, and the real them comes out. Justin comes off as different because he's real."

Even as he nursed a hamstring strain this summer, Jefferson attended every training camp practice for the Vikings. Some days, he was shoulder-bumping with Coach Kevin O'Connell. Others, he was jawing at defenders on the sideline while chomping on candy. Between drills, he threw the football around like he was hanging out in the backyard.

This isn't some cosplay, and therein lies the secret sauce. This is a man who, despite his multitude of achievements on the football field, still has the spirit of a child, who knows what it is like to view the world with wide eyes and dreams of becoming something few ever have.

Lessons on Facing Hardships in Chicago for Williams After Hard Rookie Year

From Page D1

some growth and maturity."

Preparation and study habits will help. When Williams showed up for work at 5:45 a.m. early in camp, his routine began with his notebook. He started by drawing plays, then saying them to simulate the call he would give to his teammates in the huddle. The next step was to walk through them.

"So I hit all the different areas," Williams said. "I go through the whole thing as if I got the call. I repeat it in the huddle, I say the cadence, I get up to the line and just go through the whole gymnastics of what Ben expects us to do when we're out in the field, so that when we get out there, it's a lot smoother."

Poles has noticed a recalibration from Williams in how he spends his time.

"There's just the time on task," he said. "And it really wasn't all that different last year. But he's here all the time, and there's a level of urgency in terms of how he wants to get better and spending time on it, which is good to see."

Using his time efficiently means getting together with Johnson often. The two have weekly reviews, but Poles said that when Williams has free time, he uses it to find Johnson.

Case Keenum, 37, who is on his eighth N.F.L. team, took note that Williams would get to the facility before him.

"He wants it, he wants it bad," said Keenum, the third-string quarterback. "I've heard of young guys who just kind of show up and go, and he's not one of those guys."

Being the first one in the building, being studious in meetings and maximizing time with the head coach do not guarantee touchdowns and wins. But it's part of the evolution of a quarterback. It's something anyone who wants

to be great needs to do.

Williams used that mentality to be ready for what Johnson threw at him this summer.

When Stephen Curry practices basketball, only a swish counts as a make, and Williams wanted to mimic that strategy during the off-season. Johnson told him to work on short throws to his left, so Williams did his best to perfect them.

"For me, it was like I want this ball to be in a certain location," he said. "So if I didn't hit the location, it was: Redo."

Johnson also put left-to-right throws on Williams's to-do list, the types of throws that can be challenging for a right-handed thrower. He has spent enough time with Johnson to know that his coach cares about every yard and every detail.

"Making sure I place the ball exactly where I want to because those extra 2 yards could be a 3-yard route, and those extra 2 yards gives you 5 yards and that now you're maybe second-and-5 and now you are ahead of the chains," he said.

Then there was the footwork, like Williams switching to having his left foot forward when he takes a shotgun snap. Once he has that down, it is doing everything else off that.

"It always starts with the feet," Johnson said. "It doesn't matter what level you're at. It always starts with the feet for a quarterback, and if you're not aligned properly from the ground up, then you're going to have inconsistencies with your target. That's what we've been talking about."

"Specifically, for all right-handed quarterbacks, when you throw to a target that's moving from right to left, you typically throw it behind. So you have to train yourself to make sure you're opened up enough to throw to where he's going to be and not



MICHAEL REAVES/GETTY IMAGES

Caleb Williams often looked like a No. 1 pick last season.

where he's at. That's something we talked about going into the summer break and something we still harp on. You can't get enough of that. It takes a long time to develop habits. That's the starting point.

"He's got a beautiful throwing motion. That was ingrained into him at a young age, and that still shows up. There's nothing mechanically wrong. It's just all about the alignment and getting out in front of the target."

The footwork and timing element that the coach and quarterback reviewed found their way into Williams's notebook, too.

"We've spoken about things that I need to improve on from last year, and it's footwork and it's timing," Williams said. "A lot of those timing pieces, they go with the feet. Having my feet on point allows me to deliver the ball with some anticipation. It allows me to deliver the ball where I want, when I want and not be hesitant on what I'm seeing or what I am doing because my feet aren't in the right place at the right time."

Then there's spitting out the

plays. He had to learn a new playbook and the long, detailed ways Johnson wants the plays uttered in the huddle.

Well, Williams has to drive to and from the facility. What a perfect time to practice.

"It's going over, 'Set, hut!' you know, and then just rolling through a cadence or so when I'm driving randomly, whenever it pops in my head," he said.

There was a rocky part of training camp. Delay-of-game flags happened too often. Part of that is the number of details within a call, the passing game coordinator, Press Taylor, explained, from formations to motions. But some of that has also been by design to help prepare Williams for the real thing.

"Sometimes we can make that challenging, sometimes that's just what we're trying to get," Taylor said. "We want a sense of urgency with the way we communicate in the huddle and at the line of scrimmage."

It was all about getting Williams ready for Monday night, when the Bears open their regular

season against the Minnesota Vikings in Chicago. Training camp was a challenge. Williams had some rough days and had to manage the "two steps forward, one step back" journey. He also had some encouraging moments. It can take time, even when other quarterbacks have had it click immediately.

"I still believe there's going to be some ups and downs," Poles said. "Because I think it takes these quarterbacks two, three years to all of a sudden stabilize a little bit. We've seen guys jump into this league and spike and be really good, and then Year 2 come back down. Like, I think there's this little bit of up and down you've got to go on. For us, I hope it's a stair step that we go on and we just continue to go up."

Things did not go the way anyone wanted last season. But it happened. There might not be a carry-over from the plays Williams ran. There is, however, the defenses he saw, the situations he dealt with and the throws he made, or didn't.

Chapter 1 is done, but the book continues.

"You want to remember all the looks you saw from the defense, all those plays you ran," tight end Cole Kmet said.

He added, "But we can definitely move on from the emotional wear and tear of last year."

Rarely did it seem like things were smooth or in rhythm for Williams last season. Things can only slow down from that discord.

"When you're in survival mode, when you're trying to figure out the speed of the game, maybe things don't make sense," Poles said. "So then, when you finally do get clarity and understanding of why we're doing what we're doing, there's structure to it. Like even if things are blocked up a little bit better, you add more talent around you, so everything should

slow down significantly."

At times last season, though, things did look good. Williams had more than his fair share of moments when he looked like a No. 1 pick, a franchise quarterback for a franchise starved for one.

There was a four-touchdown game in London. A late rally to force overtime against the Vikings last November. And of course, the season-ending, game-winning drive at Lambeau Field to beat the Green Bay Packers.

Johnson has highlighted Williams's electric ability when a play breaks down, or how he can be at his best in the two-minute drill. Those all matter, too, when looking in the rearview mirror. The plays Williams will run Monday night will be different. The guy making the calls in his ear will be different. The guy snapping him the ball is different. It's still football. It's a defense he saw twice last season. And, ideally, going through the challenges of last season will make what's next a little bit easier.

"Now, everything's been cleaned up," Poles said. "And I think it's almost like taking the weight off the bat where you're swinging free now."

Williams posted videos over the summer in which he practiced taking a snap from under center, faking a handoff and ripping a throw. It could be a short throw, an intermediate pass or a deep ball. It's a staple of Johnson's offense. It's one of the things Williams tried to perfect, and it's representative of Johnson's scheme aiming to make things look the same, even if the plays are different.

Soon we will see how different Williams is.

"Having all those things look the same and all be different, it's great," Williams said. "It's being able to push myself, being able to understand what Ben wants and then go out there and execute."

COLLEGE FOOTBALL



JUSTIN FORD/GETTY IMAGES

MISSISSIPPI STATE Brenen Thompson scoring with 30 seconds left in the second half of a 24-20 upset of No. 12 Arizona State.



LM OTERO/ASSOCIATED PRESS

BAYLOR Sawyer Robertson helped the Bears redeem themselves in a 48-45 double overtime win over No. 17 Southern Methodist.



REESE STRICKLAND/IMAGN IMAGES

IOWA STATE With a 16-13 victory against Iowa, the Cyclones have now won the Cy-Hawk Trophy three times in the past four years.

ANALYSIS

A Nightmare for the Gators in a Thrilling Slate of Upsets

By STEWART MANDEL
The Athletic

And now, 20 final thoughts from the second full week of the college football season, which remained undefeated at turning a light slate of games into a bunch of upsets.

1 The University of Florida is a fine institution, but for some reason, its football field continues to be home to some foolish moments.

You may recall how Dan Mullen's 2020 Florida team was rolling at 8-1 until cornerback Marco Wilson ripped off a Louisiana State player's shoe and hurled it downfield, resulting in an unsportsmanlike conduct penalty that set up a game-winning Tigers field goal. That was the beginning of the end for Mullen, who was fired a year later.

If the same fate befalls Florida's current coach, Billy Napier, we may look back at an incident on Saturday in the same way.

2 Florida was clinging to a 16-15 lead against pesky South Florida with two minutes left when Gators defensive lineman Brendan Bett was ejected for spitting in the face of Bulls offensive lineman Cole Skinner. The free 15 yards helped South Florida advance to its 39-yard line, at which point quarterback Byrum Brown completed a 29-yard pass to Alvon Isaac. From there, the Bulls marched down and set up a chip-shot field goal for Nico Gramatica (yes, son of Martin) to stun the 13th-ranked Gators, 18-16.

Needless to say, this was a nightmare for Napier, a fourth-year coach who finally earned some good will with a strong finish last season but may now face trouble again. Florida's next four opponents happen to be No. 3 Louisiana State, No. 5 Miami, No. 7 Texas and No. 19 Texas A&M. The Gators will need much more from prized quarterback D.J. Lagway to avoid spiraling. The sophomore led just one touchdown drive on Saturday.

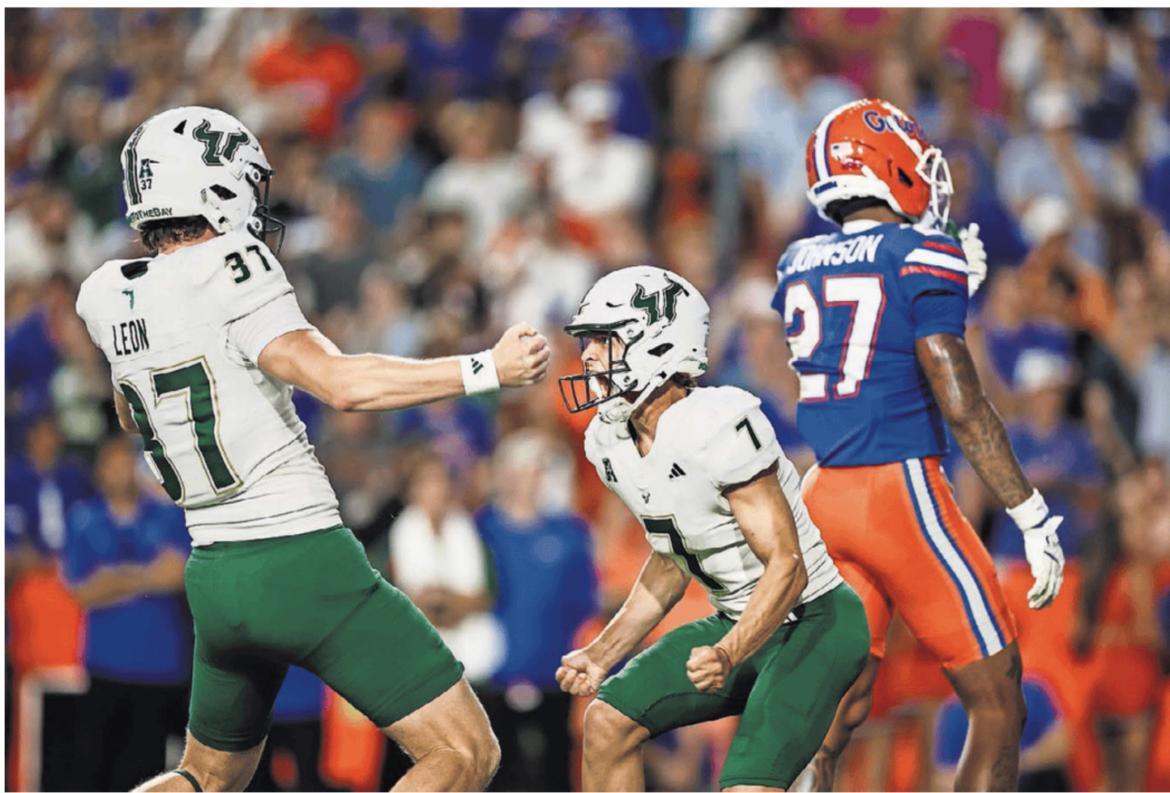
3 Meanwhile, it took only two games for South Florida to spring to the front of the pack for the Group of 5's College Football Playoff berth. The Bulls opened the season by thumping last year's darling, Boise State, 34-7. They followed that with a Southeastern Conference road win against a ranked opponent.

South Florida's third-year coach, Alex Golesh, made his reputation running Josh Heupel's explosive offenses at Central Florida and Tennessee, but it has been his defense putting on a show so far. South Florida's first two opponents have averaged just 5.7 yards per pass attempt, equal to the best mark in the country last season (Washington).

4 You know how the N.F.L. gives the worst teams the best draft picks and the easiest schedules to try to keep anyone from being down too long? And how it still doesn't stop the New York Jets from being the Jets? It occurs to me that college football may have stumbled upon a more effective means with the transfer portal.

The Oklahoma offense against No. 15 Michigan on Saturday bore no resemblance to the one that could barely complete a first down last year. The hyped Washington State transfer John Mateer threw for 270 yards and a touchdown while running 19 times for 74 yards and two touchdowns in the 18th-ranked Sooners' 24-13 victory against the Wolverines. He made several highlight plays, like throwing a rope down the sideline 36 yards to Isaiah Sategna III (Arkansas) or weaving around eight Wolverines defenders on a 19-yard run.

Mateer was hardly perfect. He was intercepted on an overthrow late in the first quarter and was



JAMES GILBERT/GETTY IMAGES

SOUTH FLORIDA Nico Gramatica's (7) field goal delivered a stunning win over No. 13 Florida, a team that continues to make mistakes.

less effective in the second half than in the first. But he was dangerous enough against one of the Big Ten's best defenses to suggest Oklahoma could be a factor come SEC play. Especially when you combine the offensive coordinator Ben Arbuckle's unit with what looks like another stingy Brent Venables defense.

5 Michigan's freshman sensation, Bryce Underwood, had a tough night at Oklahoma (9 of 24 for 142 yards), but it is hard to be critical of his passing when he appeared to have few options. Without the injured tight end Marlin Klein, who had six catches for 93 yards against New Mexico, the Wolverines seemed to have just one receiver who could get open, the Indiana transfer Donovan McCulley (three catches, 91 yards). Despite the Wolverines continually having to settle for field goals, Underwood kept his team within one score, 21-13, well into the fourth quarter. And he finished his first road start without a turnover.

I'd call his performance encouraging, if underwhelming. He is probably not going to lead Michigan to a national title this season, but I assume he and the offense will improve over the course of the year.

6 It was not a great week for Oklahoma State's embattled coach, Mike Gundy. First, he ired his Oregon counterpart, Dan Lanning, by complaining about how much money Oregon spent on its roster. Then the Ducks humiliated Gundy's team, 69-3. Ducks quarterback Dante Moore (16 of 21 for 266 yards, three touchdowns) and the freshman receivers Dakorin Moore (65-yard touchdown) and Jeremiah McClellan (two catches, 76 yards) served notice that Lanning's team has reloaded just fine. Oklahoma State looked worse than last year's squad, which went 0-9 in Big 12 play.

We may be down to the last days of Gundy, the former Cowboys quarterback and head coach for 21 years. He was nearly fired last December, instead agreeing to a restructured contract that makes it easier to do so.

7 The Big 12 commissioner, Brett Yormark, is deploying every marketing ploy to bring some attention to his overlooked conference. But there is only so much he can do to paint over a bad loss by his league's reigning champion.

Mississippi State, the SEC's 16th-place team last season, stunned No. 12 Arizona State,

and Gronowski got sacked twice on Iowa's last drive.

8 Baylor redeemed itself on Saturday with a 48-45 double overtime win against No. 17 Southern Methodist. A week after throwing for 419 yards and three touchdowns in that loss to Auburn, Bears quarterback Sawyer Robertson went on the road and led a comeback from 38-24 with 8:38 left. Robertson, who outdueled Kevin Jennings, finished with an immaculate stat line: 34 of 50 for 440 yards, four touchdowns and no picks.

9 The joke's on me for thinking any quarterback could come in and thrive in the Iowa offense. The touted transfer Mark Gronowski was a miserable 13 of 24 for 83 yards and a pick in a 16-13 loss to rival Iowa State. It was still a tie game with two minutes left, because the Hawkeyes' defensive coordinator, Phil Parker, is just that good, but Cyclones kicker Kyle Konrardy drilled a 54-yard field goal,

Baylor Coach Dave Aranda's team was staring at an 0-2 start to 2025. Instead, it got a confidence-boosting win over one of last season's College Football Playoff teams.

10 The first Kansas-Missouri Border War game since 2011 was suitably entertaining. Jayhawks quarterback Jalon Daniels staked the visitors to a 21-6 lead and, even after that evaporated, put Kansas back up, 31-28, with 8:45 left. But Lance Leipold has yet to field a defense to match his exciting offenses. Missouri quarterback Beau Pribula threw a go-ahead 27-yard touchdown, and Jamal Roberts broke a run 63 yards to seal the Tigers' 42-31 win.



LYDIA ELY/ASSOCIATED PRESS

OKLAHOMA STATE These might be the last days of Mike Gundy, the former Cowboys quarterback and head coach for 21 years.

and Gronowski got sacked twice on Iowa's last drive.

11 Clemson, a trendy pre-season national championship pick, looked like it might start 0-2 when it fell behind, 16-0, in the first half against Troy. The Tigers took the lead five minutes into the third quarter and won, 27-16, but their offense did not inspire confidence for the second consecutive week. Cade Klubnik, who was again without his top receiver, Antonio Williams, threw for a modest 196 yards, and his batted pass at the line became a pick-6

12 Texas' Arch Manning (19 of 30, 295 yards, one interception) brushed off his Week 1 nightmare against Ohio State to throw for four touchdowns and run for another in a 38-7 win against San Jose State. Parker Livingstone is emerging as Manning's favorite target. After scoring Texas' only touchdown against the Buckeyes, he caught Manning's first two touchdowns on Saturday, including an 83-yard dash to start the game when he exploited a defensive back who fell.

13 For one half on Saturday, it appeared my skepticism about Illinois was warranted. Duke, a home underdog, was dominating the 11th-ranked Illini's offensive line, notching three sacks (all by Vincent Anthony Jr.) and eight tackles for loss. But a Blue Devils muffed punt and an Illinois strip sack gave Bret Bielema's team a 14-13 lead.

In the second half, Illini quarterback Luke Almyer (22 of 31 for 296 yards, three touchdowns, 0 interceptions) caught fire, while Duke imploded with three more turnovers on the way to a 45-19 Illinois blowout. That's a nice nonconference win over a team coming off a 9-4 season that may still contend in the Atlantic Coast Conference. Almyer outplayed Blue Devils quarterback Darian Mensah (23 of 34 for 334 yards, two touchdowns, one interception), the Tulane transfer who reportedly got a \$3 million-plus name, image and likeness deal. He made several big throws but had three costly turnovers.

14 The SEC's first intra-conference game of the year, Mississippi-Kentucky, did not exactly feel like a heavyweight fight, as Rebels quarterback Austin Simmons threw two interceptions and his counterpart, Zach Calzada, had his second consecutive woeful outing (15 of 30 for 149 yards). The difference maker was Mississippi's Kewan Lacy, who ran for just 104 yards as a freshman at Missouri. He has had more than that in each of his first two games, including 138 on 28 carries on Saturday.

15 It will be good to finally watch No. 4 Georgia play a meaningful game next week at Tennessee. In the meantime, we are left wondering whether the offensive coordinator Mike Bobo has been playing things extremely close to the vest or quarterback Gunner Stockton is a cause for concern. Stockton was a respectable 26 of 34 for 227 yards in the Bulldogs' 28-6 win over Austin Peay, but as On3/Rivals pointed out, 14 of those 26 completions were screen passes and another four were for 5 or fewer yards.

On Saturday, Georgia goes against Tennessee's Joey Aguilar, who is averaging 9.1 yards per play through two games (against Syracuse and East Tennessee State). I have visions of a slugfest.

that put the Trojans up, 16-0.

On the bright side, the converted receiver Adam Randall, now Clemson's top running back, had 21 carries for 112 yards after notching just five attempts against Louisiana State.

16 What a 180-degree turn for Army, which went from losing to Tarleton State to knocking off a Big 12 foe, Kansas State, 24-21. Quarterback Cale Hellums, who came on in relief of the injured starter DeWayne Coleman a week ago, got the start and made the most of it, running 41 times for 124 yards and two touchdowns, including the go-ahead 14-yard score with 2:52 left. Army's Collin Matteson picked off Avery Johnson to ice it.

17 Syracuse Coach Fran Brown went from an unknown a year ago to one of the sport's most entertaining figures. Brown, who was 10-3 in his debut last season, was not pleased that his team followed its blowout loss to Tennessee by needing overtime to survive UConn, 27-20. So as the stands began emptying afterward, Brown ordered his players to run sprints after his team's sloppy performance.

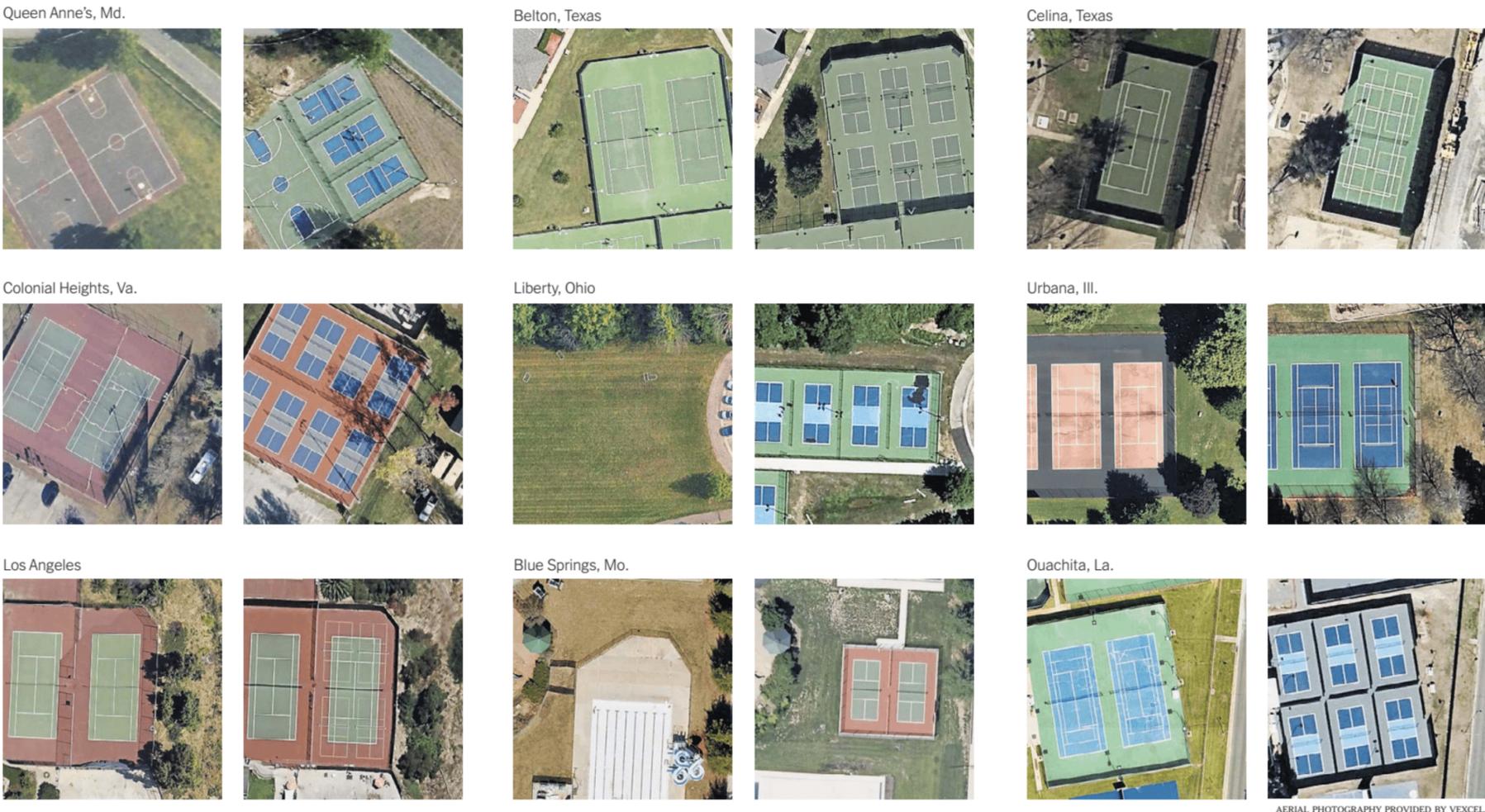
18 I believe Rich Rodriguez will eventually win games in his second stint at West Virginia, but his first year always figured to be rough. His offenses thrive when he has a quarterback who can fly like Pat White, Denard Robinson or Khalil Tate, and there was no evidence on Saturday that he has found one. The Mountaineers fell, 17-10, at Ohio, the defending Mid-American Conference champion, which gave Rutgers trouble the week before. West Virginia gained just 250 total yards and managed to lose despite Bobcats quarterback Parker Navarro throwing three interceptions.

19 I did not expect a Boston College-Michigan State game to turn into a mid-2010s Big 12-style quarterback shootout. Aidan Chiles, who followed Jonathan Smith from Oregon State to East Lansing last year, notched his signature performance as a Spartan so far. He threw four touchdowns, and in double overtime, ran for a score, then executed a 2-point conversion to pull out a 42-40 thriller.

20 Finally, we should acknowledge the upstart North Carolina coach, Bill Belichick, who earned his first college coaching victory, 20-3, against Charlotte. It just goes to show that 73 is hardly too old to develop a new passion.

Mississippi will most likely move up from No. 20 in the Associated Press poll, but my early read is that the Rebels are not a Top 25 team.

PICKLEBALL



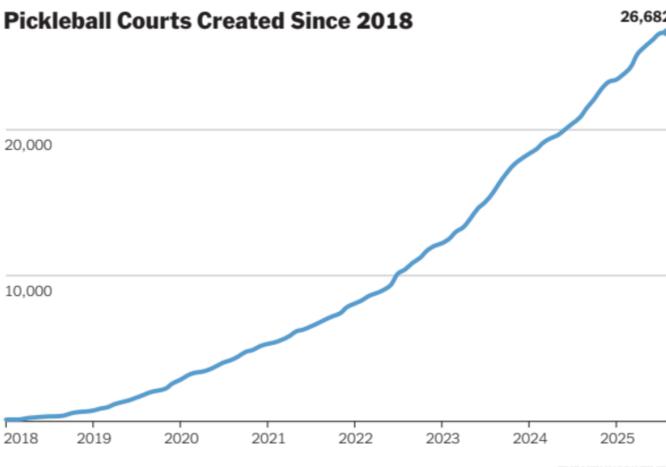
AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHY PROVIDED BY VEXCEL

It's the Sport That Ate Tennis Courts

In 2022, the Santa Monica Tennis Center in Southern California had a lone tennis court. Today, that court is gone. In its place are four pickleball courts, attached to what is now called the Santa Monica Pickleball Center.



In 2019, Cincinnati's Sawyer Point Park had eight worn-down tennis courts. Today, the park has 24 pickleball courts, six of which are drawn atop the three tennis courts that remain.



NORA WILLIAMS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Alex Mouton says that tournaments held at the pickleball facility he works at in Cayce, S.C., lift the local economy.

By ETHAN SINGER

The lost tennis courts at the Santa Monica Pickleball Center and Sawyer Point Park are hardly alone. They are among the thousands of tennis courts identified by The New York Times that have given way to — or now share space with — pickleball. By analyzing nearly 100,000 aerial photographs, we were able to identify more than 26,000 outdoor pickleball courts made in the last seven years — a majority of them at the expense of once-exclusive tennis spaces and created since the onset of the pandemic in 2020. In total, we found more than 8,000 tennis courts that had been transformed for pickleball. By 2024, 14 pickleball courts were being built or drawn each day, on average, across the country. Our analysis is not comprehensive: By trade group estimates, there are more than 270,000 tennis courts — and now 68,000 pickleball courts — in the United States, including indoor courts that we were not able to track. But the photographs are an expansive, bird's-eye view of what has been happening on the ground in all corners of the country: There's only so much ready asphalt to go around, and pickleball can't get enough of it.

'As many courts as possible'
Jon Neeter, the owner of the Santa Monica Pickleball Center, said his former tennis business had been doing very well for a single court with a pro shop. A lifelong tennis player and coach, he wanted his shop to be a home away from home for regular clients. "That was one of the things that made it really tough to take that plunge to go all in" on pickleball, he said. By 2024, just a year after the pickleball conversion, Neeter said the business was bringing in seven times as much revenue as it ever did as a tennis-only shop. One explanation is basic geometry. Using the same square footage, Neeter

Characteristics of Places Where New Pickleball Courts Were Built

	In 2019	In 2024
Median income above 100k	45%	36%
Majority of residents 65 or older	18%	7%
In a coastal state	67%	53%
Rural	13%	28%
Suburban	71%	53%
Urban	16%	20%

can now host four times as many people, across four times as many classes and events. He can schedule different programs simultaneously, like a children's camp on one court and a competitive drill on another, or lessons at two different skill levels. "When I had a single court, if I had one person in a class that didn't fit, I couldn't bump them over to another court where maybe everybody would feel more comfortable," he said. He's also now hosting corporate events for big companies and has had a big increase in retail sales. The conversions have been successful at many public spaces, too. At Sawyer Point Park, more than 150 people a day play pickleball during group sessions. And the swarm of visitors has prompted more upgrades across the park, including at a neighboring ice rink and amphitheater. Alex Mouton, the facility coordinator and head instructor at the Cayce Pickleball Complex in South Carolina, said "the amount of traffic coming in and out" had changed the area for the better since the conversion of four tennis courts into 16 bright blue pickleball courts. The complex has hosted five amateur and professional tournaments

since the opening of the new courts in March, bringing in revenue for local hotels and businesses, she said. Not every new pickleball court rises from the ashes of a tennis court, however. Many, like six of the 24 at Sawyer Point, are hybrid courts, where the smaller pickleball outlines overlap with larger tennis borders. The most common approach, our analysis showed, is to overlay a single pickleball court in the middle of the tennis court, where they share a net. (Officially, the pickleball net is supposed to be slightly shorter than the tennis net.) But there are far more variations available. A pickleball court is 20 feet wide and 44 feet long — just under a third of the size of a tennis court, even less if you count the out-of-bounds running space afforded to tennis courts. That means there are multiple ways to draw pickleball courts on a tennis court. (Four is the most we saw crammed into one tennis court.) One thing common to all these arrangements: At no point can tennis and pickleball players play at the same time. The United States Tennis Association, unsurprisingly, wants to avoid losing court space to pickleball. Ted Loehrke, the managing director of section partnerships, said the U.S.T.A. relied on relationships across its 17 regions to lift the sport locally. It monitors things like town hall agendas for mentions of tennis and pickleball, and then makes sure "somebody is there to speak up on behalf of tennis." An email from a U.S.T.A. regional officer in 2022 provided guidance for a coming City Council meeting by saying, "The point must be made that one court given to pickleball temporarily is just the beginning of pickleball's attempt to take over as many courts as possible." Tensions between tennis and pickleball have eased in the last year or so, Loehrke said, as stand-alone pickleball courts have become more popular. Indeed, our analysis found that the

PICKLEBALL

Beaufort-Port Royal, S.C.



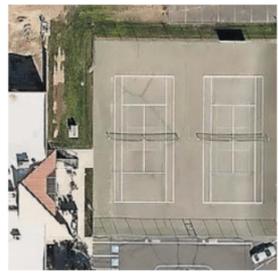
Boston



Fort Wayne, Ind.



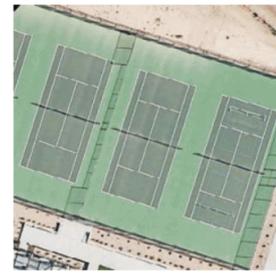
Yakima, Wash.



Irvine, Calif.



Aurora, Colo.



Olympia Heights, Fla.



Shelter Island, N.Y.



Madison, Wis.



AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHY PROVIDED BY VEXCEL



DeSEAN McCLINTON-HOLLAND FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Jon Neeter at Major League Pickleball's 2025 Final. He changed his tennis business to pickleball and prospered.

number of new pickleball courts created atop tennis courts declined for the first time last year, even as the number of new stand-alone courts — and pickleball courts overall — continued to rise.

These new courts are frequently built on land near tennis facilities, like open fields of grass or dirt, or parking lots.

Building new courts isn't cheap. Rich Gallagher, the chief executive of the Y.M.C.A. of the Sunbelt, which has two branches in southwestern Georgia, said his organization spent about \$150,000 on resurfacing to convert four tennis courts to 12 pickleball courts. He said brand-new courts would have cost roughly \$1 million.

But they may be increasingly preferable even to hybrid courts. "A pickleballer wants just their lines," Gallagher said. "A tennis player just wants their lines."

At Jaquith Park in Newberg, Ore., the parks and recreation district is building several new stand-alone pickleball courts after an experiment with hybrids. Nick Konen, a director for the parks district, said that "for the longevity of pickleball and tennis, there does need to be some separation."

Two of the park's hybrid courts are even returning to tennis only.

Konen, who was previously on the town's pickleball advisory committee, said he was feeling pressure from his pickleball-loving constituents to get the new courts done. (They helped propel him to his board seat.) "The pickleball community, now that I've been elected, they are wanting to see results," he said, "which I totally understand, but they're really hounding me."

'There's an addiction to it'

When asked if there's a risk he might regret switching his business from tennis to pickleball, Neeter said there was a "zero percent chance" that it was a temporary fad. It's weaving into "the fabric of people's lives," he said. "It's their social circles. It's like everything. There's an addiction to it."

TheUpshot

The Upshot provides news, analysis and graphics about politics, policy and everyday life. nytimes.com/upshot

Gary Lessis, a Cincinnati resident and volunteer who had pushed for the city to replace Sawyer Point Park's tennis courts, said, "When we first started back in 2020, it was primarily 70-year-olds" playing pickleball. Today, he said, the fastest-growing segment is players 20 to 35.

Census numbers back that up to an extent. In the areas where our analysis shows new pickleball courts over time, there's a clear trend: The neighborhoods with new courts are getting younger, less suburban, less wealthy.

Kim Mills, an associate director of the Bainbridge Family Y.M.C.A. in southwestern Georgia, said her small town used to have a bowling alley and a movie theater, both of which are now closed.

After the Y.M.C.A.'s pickleball court conversions, she said, "people immediately started coming and playing — especially the young people." She said the sport was more social than tennis: "You can hear them laughing and talking."

The old tennis courts, she said, had fallen into disrepair. Lessis said the same of Sawyer Point Park. In many of the aerial photographs, you can see cracks marring the tennis courts.

None of this means that tennis is a dying sport. According to research by the U.S.T.A., tennis participation has increased since the pandemic, though not as propulsive as pickleball's. But even tennis die-hards acknowledge that there's more the sport can do to be welcoming.

Varenes, the director of operations at the Hartford Tennis Club in Connecticut. The club has no intention of converting any of its 12 green clay tennis courts to pickleball.

Instead, DeVarenes said, the club has marketed more to younger families and has upgraded its court sign-up system from a chalkboard to online, in a bid to modernize.

At the U.S. Open this year, the U.S.T.A. showcased a play format called red ball tennis, a fast-paced, more social version of tennis that's also more friendly to beginners. "We recognize that not everybody wants to play competitively," said Liz McSorley, managing director of strategy and innovation. "There are large segments of the population who are tennis curious and need an easy and gentler entry into the sport."

The sport, developed in collaboration with research firms, is optimized for doubles. It uses shorter rackets and slower balls, and is best played on smaller courts — like pickleball courts.

Methodology

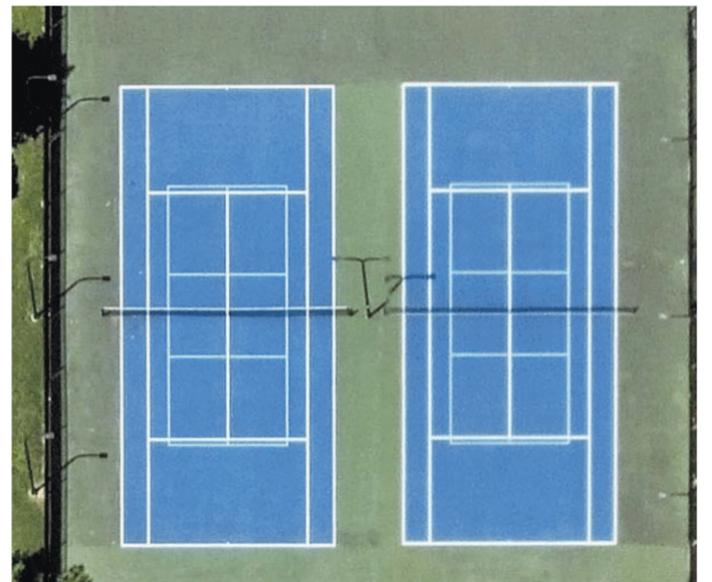
To track pickleball and tennis courts across the country, we started with a set of more than 12,000 locations with pickleball courts based on aggregated data from Pickleheads, the official court listing partner of U.S.A. Pickleball, and Open Street Map. We then obtained historical aerial images of each of these locations from the imagery and mapping company Vexcel.

We used computer vision tools to identify the precise locations of courts in each image, and whether they were pickleball or tennis courts (or hybrids). We primarily relied on "oriented bounding box detection," a machine-learning technique, and manually annotated a training set of courts. We then used template matching to verify the outputs of the model.

Finally, court locations were compared with each location's historical imagery to identify new and changing courts over time.

Many Ways to Divide a Tennis Court

Sunset Hills, Mo.



The most common approach, our analysis showed, is to overlay a single pickleball court in the middle of the tennis court, where they share a net.

Mullica Hill, N.J.

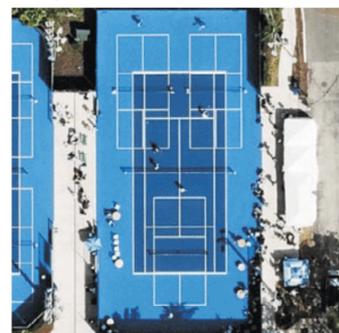


Boynton Beach, Fla.

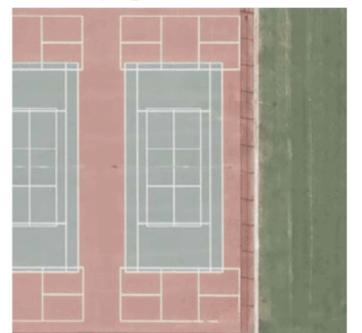


There are multiple ways to draw two pickleball courts on a tennis court...

Delray Beach, Fla.



Colorado Springs, Colo.



...or three...

Hudson, Wis.



Soquel, Calif.



...or even four. Four is the most we saw on one tennis court.

TENNIS | U.S. OPEN

ANALYSIS

Sabalenka Upends Narrative About Buckling Under Pressure

By CHARLIE ECCLESHARE
The Athletic

With one victory, Aryna Sabalenka transformed her whole year.

She was close to having a season full of near misses. Instead, she will be able to look at 2025 as one of the most consistent campaigns in recent tennis memory: a second U.S. Open title in women's singles, secured with a 6-3, 7-6 (3) win against Amanda Anisimova, after runner-up finishes at the Australian and French Opens and a semi-final finish at Wimbledon.

By winning the U.S. Open, Sabalenka has upended the narrative that her year should be viewed as exposing a tendency to buckle under pressure when it matters most.

Three Grand Slam tournament titles even before Saturday night would have rendered that idea nonsensical, but being a world No. 1 without holding one of the four majors would not have sat well with Sabalenka. And the pressure on her at the Australian Open would have been suffocating had she lost the final in New York. Especially if she had done so having missed a smash deep into the second set that would have given her a match point. That she was able to recover and close out the match in the tiebreaker speaks to her strength of character.

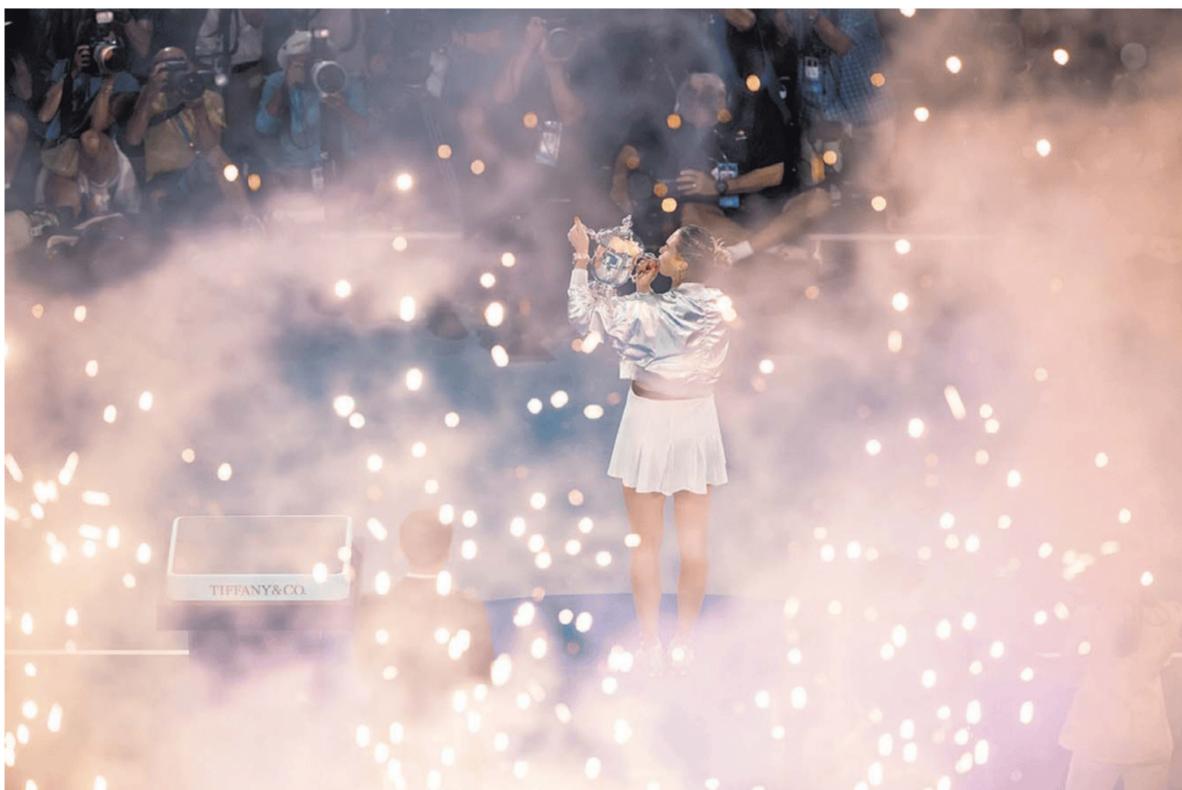
"That was the moment, but then, yeah, I turned around, and I took a deep breath in, and I was like: 'OK, it happens. It's in the past. Let's focus on the next one,'" Sabalenka said.

But how much was riding on this match also underlines the fact that Sabalenka often seems to tread a fine line between triumph and implosion. At her final news conference of the French Open, she angrily vented about her performance and the conditions; two majors later, she sauntered into the interview room with a bottle of Champagne and novelty sunglasses.

The swings in fortune tend to be drastic with Sabalenka. Even early-round matches are often up-and-down affairs in which she can look on the brink of losing control at various points. She invariably gets through. Even though her focus can waver in matches, the bigger picture is one of remarkable consistency.

She has reached the semifinals or better in 11 of her last 12 Grand Slam tournaments and has made six finals in her previous eight. Sabalenka is the run-

Charlie Eccleshare is a tennis writer for *The Athletic*.



KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Aryna Sabalenka after a second U.S. Open title in women's singles on Saturday, with a 6-3, 7-6 (3) win against Amanda Anisimova.

away world No. 1, and by winning Saturday, she became the first singles champion, man or woman, to successfully defend the U.S. Open since Serena Williams in 2014.

But this year offers a neat encapsulation of why she has not yet completely taken over the WTA Tour. It is an exaggeration to say Sabalenka, a Belarusian, does not produce her best in major finals, but it is not totally wide of the mark. Certainly against the American Coco Gauff at the French Open in June, where her performance did not meet the standards one would expect from a dominant world No. 1. At the Australian Open, Madison Keys of the United States played the braver tennis down the stretch, as did Anisimova, another American, in their Wimbledon semifinal.

All of which leaves the WTA Tour feeling typically unpredictable and full of parity heading into 2026. Sabalenka will be the favorite to win a third Australian Open in four years, but there are no guarantees. Iga Swiatek must still be considered the default favorite for the French Open since she has won it four times,

while Wimbledon, with 11 different winners in 12 editions, remains anyone's guess. The U.S. Open feels like Sabalenka's domain, but Anisimova, a finalist at the last two Slams, could be a factor at any of the four.

The way Anisimova rebounded from her 6-0, 6-0 loss to Swiatek in the Wimbledon final in July to beat her last week was a remarkable turnaround. She said she also learned a lot from that first Grand Slam final, which she applied in her much better showing against Sabalenka on Saturday night.

Where Sabalenka has retained an edge on the field is through her desire to evolve. Not just by adding more variety and touch to a game that was previously one-dimensional, but in how she thinks and the people on her team. Swiatek is going through a similar process with Coach Wim Fissette, while Gauff, the world No. 3, is remodeling her serve.

Ahead of the final, Sabalenka's performance coach, Jason Stacy, talked about how Sabalenka was constantly adding layers. It could be the addition of a drop shot or something psychological, which was a priority over the last few

challenging months.

After losing the French Open final, Sabalenka took control of the situation. She talked in her on-court interview Saturday night about learning lessons from her Grand Slam final defeats this year, then later explained that in trying to forget about her Australian Open and move on, she realized she needed to confront what had happened

MEN'S U.S. OPEN FINAL

See coverage of the Alcaraz-Sinner match on [nytimes.com/athletic](https://www.nytimes.com/athletic) and in Tuesday's paper.

at the French Open. While on a break, she asked herself why she was allowing her emotions to take over in big matches. Why was she assuming she would win every final she played just by showing up?

Sabalenka called a meeting with her team to try to make sense of what had happened in Paris and to explain her new mind-set.

"For us, that was a really nice thing that she started to actually initiate, wanting to figure some

things out, to talk about it and get things out of her head," Stacy said in a news conference. "Because before, she would have a habit of keeping it to herself until it becomes something bigger."

Stacy added that the player who has a tiger tattoo on her left arm "sometimes has this internal battle of how to keep that tiger under control but let it free at the same time." He continued, "So there's this constant battle that she's revisiting."

It was a battle Sabalenka won on Saturday.

"Going into this final, I decided for myself that I'm going to control my emotions," she said. "I'm not going to let them take control over me, and doesn't matter what happens in the match — if she breaks me back or if she plays incredible tennis."

"My mind-set was just going out there, fight for every point. Doesn't matter the situation. Just focus on myself and focus on things that I have to do to win the match. I think from what I understand today, that's the lesson learned, and I really hope it will never happen again — that I will be more in control."

Sabalenka also spoke about her decision to stop working with her long-term psychologist a couple of years ago because she felt she was becoming too reliant on her. She has never been afraid to shake up the team around her.

That includes this year, when, after Wimbledon, she added her fellow Belarusian Max Mirnyi, the former doubles world No. 1 and top-20 singles player, to her coaching group. Her lead coach, Anton Dubrov, was a big driver for that change.

Dubrov has been coaching Sabalenka for five years and did not want their partnership to become stale. "That's why I'm always asking Aryna, 'What can we do?'" Because it's pretty normal to move on to find someone else.

Sabalenka was clear she did not want to make that kind of change, but they agreed to ask Mirnyi to join the team. They have known each other for years, and after a weeklong training block together in an informal capacity, it was clear this was an additional layer that would help Sabalenka.

As a six-time men's doubles Grand Slam tournament champion, as well as the winner of an Olympic gold medal, he has experience delivering in big moments. And his technical knowledge of shots like the serve and volley, both of which he was outstanding at, has been valued by Sabalenka and the rest of the team.

"She's got plenty of tools," Mirnyi said last week. "Me entering the team is just maybe — it's a delicate mission because if I can only add one or two extra tools in her toolbox that she can operate with, I would consider my mission complete."

That was certainly the case on Saturday, and it sets up Sabalenka for 2026. It will be a year next month since Sabalenka assumed the world No. 1 ranking from Swiatek on a points technicality associated with mandatory tournaments, which by winning the U.S. Open she has well and truly converted into a position of merit.

But different winners at all of the majors this year, for the seventh time in nine seasons, points to a far more equitable distribution of power than on the men's side.

Still, on Saturday, it was clear that Sabalenka, with a Champagne bottle in hand and a few demons slain, remains the woman to beat.

Beaten and Hurting, Players Still Face All

By CHARLIE ECCLESHARE
The Athletic

This summer, Amanda Anisimova of the United States captured the tennis world's imagination with her runner-up's speech at Wimbledon. After a 6-0, 6-0 loss to Iga Swiatek of Poland, the first "double bagel" in a Wimbledon final since 1911, she broke down in tears before she delivered a heartfelt monologue lasting more than five minutes that paid tribute to her mother, describing her as "the most selfless person I know."

It resonated with new fans and fans who knew her, aware of the journey Anisimova had been on since the death of her father, Konstantin, in 2019, when Anisimova was 17.

The last time Aryna Sabalenka of Belarus stood in front of a microphone after losing a Grand Slam tournament final, at the French Open in June, her speech was heard around the world. She opened with "this one hurts so much, guys." She then lamented her performance, the conditions and the match itself, describing all three as terrible before congratulating the winner, Coco Gauff, and apologizing again for "this terrible final."

When the U.S. Open women's singles final ended Saturday night with Sabalenka as the winner, Anisimova again had to reflect on defeat, taking part in a tennis ritual that drips with emotion and goes against almost every other sport.

In a conversation with the broadcaster Mary Carillo, Anisimova said she "didn't fight hard for her dreams today," before telling Sabalenka that she was "in awe of what you have accomplished."

She then thanked her team, freestyling as she did at Wimbledon, but with much less emotion.

Charlie Eccleshare is a tennis writer for *The Athletic*.

Winners sharing their joy with those watching is a fixture of just about every sport. Asking a beaten finalist to stick around, to watch her rival be presented with a trophy and, hardest of all, to summarize her own defeat in front of the crowd that just watched it is a form of emotional laceration unique to tennis.

"We love people's pain, but on the other hand, we like the idea that that pain might be temporary, that things might be OK," Michael Ronayne, a public speaking adviser, said in a recent phone interview.

"And what we want from our winners or losers, but obviously losers, in this particular situation, is for them to bare their souls. We're asking them to bleed in front of us."

Bare their souls and bleed, but not too much. The apparently raw and unfiltered outpouring of feelings is, in reality, governed by an unwritten code of etiquette and expectations. The qualities that players demonstrate during their matches — fight, intensity, the desperation to win — are expected to be shelved in favor of acquiescence moments later.

"Things happen when you're so heightened with emotions, your blood is running hot," Novak Djokovic, who has won 24 Grand Slam tournaments in his career, said in a news conference this summer at Wimbledon.

"It's not always easy to suppress that and put diplomacy ahead, even though it's important to pay respect and acknowledge the success of your opponent who just beat you."

And if a player breaks that code, even by being honest, the moment can turn quickly. Sabalenka was heavily criticized for her speech after the French Open, though largely in the context of a news conference in which she doubled down on the self-flagellation and suggested that she had lost the fi-



MICHELLE V. AGINS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Amanda Anisimova taking a moment after her loss to Aryna Sabalenka on Saturday night.

nal, with Gauff barely playing any part in winning it.

In the initial speeches, Anisimova spent a similar amount of emotion on Swiatek as Sabalenka did on Gauff. It was Anisimova's vulnerability and humor — thanking her mother for breaking a superstition of flying in, only to see her daughter not win a game — that made her feel like a hero to the Wimbledon crowd in defeat.

Ahead of this U.S. Open final, the two players reflected on their last experience of being onstage after defeat.

Anisimova said in a news conference last week that she was happy with the way she carried herself. Sabalenka's views have changed over time. "What happened in Paris is definitely not going to happen here," she said. "I learned that lesson, and I will never behave that way. It's not me. I was superemotional. I let it go and let emotions take control over me, and it's not who I am. It's never going to happen again."

The BBC commentator Annabel Croft appreciates how

two sporting gladiators can come together at the end of a tennis match, while Carillo, a former player, likes the "sweaty interview" for its rawness.

Being a great tennis champion does not mean being a great orator. After losing the Canadian Open final last month to Victoria Mboko, Naomi Osaka forgot to congratulate the 18-year-old Canadian. She later apologized, explaining she felt in a daze and did not want to repeat two other speeches — one at Indian Wells in 2018 and one after the Australian Open final in 2021, in which she asked her beaten opponent Jennifer Brady whether she preferred Jenny or Jennifer. Brady replied, "Jenny." Osaka addressed her as Jennifer.

Osaka's management strategy is writing something down in advance. Mirra Andreeva, who has started saying, "I'd like to thank me," in victory speeches, said she heard the quotation from the American rapper Snoop Dogg.

The emotions involved make the runner-up's speech more com-

plicated than the winner's. "It is one of the most challenging moments as a tennis player," the former world No. 1 Maria Sharapova said in July.

Some in tennis wish that genuineness of the runners-up speech could carry over into authenticity that includes resentment or self-flagellation, like that which Sabalenka displayed at the French Open.

"I'd love to be like, 'I don't like you,'" Frances Tiafoe said in a news conference ahead of the U.S. Open.

"I wish there was a lot more of that because, I mean, like you lose a tough match. 'Oh, man, I'm so happy for you.' No, you're not. Like, you're not. You're just not."

Ronayne said that looking for something genuine should include negative emotions. "If struggling to be genuine, avoid the subject. 'They were the better player' — if you don't feel it, don't say it."

Djokovic's solution is to vent in the privacy of the locker room, taking advantage of time to decompress, but the immediacy of

'Win or lose, you're going to be giving a speech,' said one.

the runner-up speech disallows this.

"When you lose a heartbreaker, it's hard to bounce back, and three minutes later there's a microphone in your face," the Australian Open champion Madison Keys said in April. "But I think it's just part of the job, and you kind of know that when you make a final, whether you win or you lose, you're going to be giving a speech."

Andy Murray had to give eight runners-up Grand Slam speeches, and delivered some killer lines. After losing to Roger Federer in the 2010 Australian Open final, a tearful Murray said: "I can cry like Roger, it's just a shame I can't play like him."

At Wimbledon two years later, Murray transformed public perceptions of him with a raw speech after losing a fourth straight Grand Slam final. "I'm getting closer," he said, before his voice broke along with many people's hearts. Ronayne said that the absence of rhetorical devices in most speeches made Murray stand out, while the player himself said the Wimbledon speech was the first time that he "really showed emotions to the public, and from there I probably felt a bit more comfortable opening up."

After the 2021 U.S. Open final, the beaten finalist, Leylah Fernandez, offered a beautiful example of connecting with a crowd emotionally. Her defeat to Emma Raducanu was played on the 20th anniversary of 9/11, and addressing the crowd directly, she said: "On this day, I know it is especially hard for New York and everyone around the United States."

"I just want to say I hope I can be as strong and as resilient as New York has been the past 20 years. Thank you for always having my back, thank you for cheering for me. I love you, New York, and hope to see you next year."

HOCKEY

ANALYSIS

Which Rebuilding N.H.L. Teams Are Closest to Being Contenders?

By COREY PRONMAN
The Athletic

Plenty of teams in the N.H.L. are fighting for relevance. Which ones might be closest to getting there?

With only a month before the 2025-26 season starts, I ranked the rebuilding N.H.L. teams with one question in mind: Who do I think is likeliest to win the Stanley Cup sometime within the next 10 years?

I define a rebuilding team simply by looking at the 16 teams that did not make the playoffs last season. Using this criterion excludes one team that ranked in the top 10 of The Athletic's pipeline rankings: the Montreal Canadiens. If I were to include them here, they would rank fourth.

1. San Jose Sharks

While I do not expect the Sharks to be contending any time in the next few years, they are putting together an extremely desirable group of young players that is easy to envision becoming a formidable core. Led by the star Macklin Celebrini and his surrounding high-end talents in Michael Misa, Will Smith and Sam Dickinson, among other young players, the Sharks have a group that can grow together into a winner.

2. Utah Mammoth

The Mammoth took notable steps as an organization last season and lucked into the No. 4 pick through the lottery to add Caleb Desnoyers to an already-impressive group of young players. They could easily push for the playoffs this season, but the young core led by Logan Cooley, Dylan Guenther, Desnoyers and their numerous other high picks of the last decade, going back to Clayton Keller, could help them make noise in the very near future.

3. Anaheim Ducks

The Ducks' rebuild has gone frustratingly slow for their fans, with some steps back, such as Trevor Zegras's development and subsequent trade after a promising start. The young forward group they have assembled, though, is outstanding. Leo Carlsson, Roger McQueen, Mason McTavish, Cutter Gauthier and Beckett Sennecke all have size, can skate and have high-end skill. There is likely still a need for more patience, but the pieces are there in Anaheim for the team to come together and be competitive.

4. Chicago Blackhawks

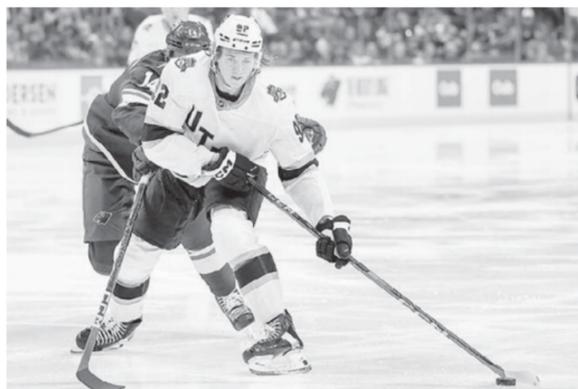
Chicago is in a strong position, having made a ton of high picks in recent years. The Blackhawks are led by their star offensive talent in Connor Bedard, with an excellent young supporting cast of tall, mobile defensemen and two-way forwards around him. There is a minor question as to who else has the star potential in this group after Bedard, although the 2024 No. 2 pick Artyom Levshunov has a strong case. Chicago will still have some tough

Corey Pronman is a senior N.H.L. writer for The Athletic.



ERIN HOOLEY/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Blackhawks are led by their star, Connor Bedard, with a supporting cast of mobile defensemen and two-way forwards.



MATT KROHN/IMAGN IMAGES

Logan Cooley of the Utah Mammoth. The team lucked into a No. 4 pick, and it could easily push for the playoffs this season.

years ahead, but there is a path to becoming a competitive team with what the Blackhawks have acquired.

5. Columbus Blue Jackets

Columbus fans have been extremely patient throughout this franchise's history, but last season, they saw some glimpses of hope between the play of young players like Adam Fantilli, Kirill Marchenko and Kent Johnson, along with some veterans. This may be one of the better spots this organization has found itself in its history in terms of roster quality and youth.

6. Seattle Kraken

Seattle is building one of the more desirable groups of young forwards in the league. Matty Beniers, Shane Wright, Berkly Catton and Jake O'Brien could be the nucleus of a consistent playoff team. At some point, though, the Kraken will need to add a premium blueliner or two.

7. Philadelphia Flyers

The Flyers' build has shown promise because of the play of Matvei Michkov and the addition of Porter Martone in this summer's draft. This is likely still the early stages of their rebuild, though. They will likely still need to add more premium talent at center or defense.

8. Detroit Red Wings

Detroit's rebuild has been frustratingly slow for fans, but the Red Wings have steadily built one piece at a time in the first round. They aren't picking in the top 10 as often, but the N.H.L. team has not improved that much. The organization has a bunch of high-quality prospects, although none who project as true impact types. I see a way for this team to be a consistent playoff contender in time, but there may not be enough elite players to go the distance.

9. New York Islanders

The Islanders had a massive summer at the draft, led by the No. 1 pick Matthew Schaefer. One N.H.L. scout told me recently that he thinks the Islanders' 2025 draft could do for them what the 2017 draft did for Dallas. Their organization is in a bit of a reset. They have good players, but with Noah Dobson traded, they likely do not have enough talent to be a true contender with their current core.

10. Calgary Flames

Calgary performed surprisingly well last season in large part because of the young goalie Dustin Wolf. If Wolf can maintain that level, the Flames can be a respectable team. While they have a true top defense prospect in Zayne Parekh, even if he hits in a major way, I don't quite see the vision for this organization to become a contender with this current group. I could see it being a playoff team, though.

11. Buffalo Sabres

Buffalo's rebuild has been frus-



SERGEI BELSKI/IMAGN IMAGES

Alexander Wennberg of the Sharks, who are putting together a group of young players that could easily become a formidable core.

trating for Sabres fans as the team has continued to acquire high picks for a long time but has yet to take material steps forward. The Sabres have a very good collection of young players between the N.H.L. team and the farm system, led by Rasmus Dahlin on the blue line. I do wonder whether there's enough star power up front, though. The Sabres could improve on their recent results, but they may need more impact talent to be more than a bubble playoff team.

12. Nashville Predators

Nashville's direction is unclear. The Predators took a big step back last season. They have a strong farm system, but unless their 2025 No. 5 pick Brady Martin becomes a star, there is not much in the way of top-tier talent. Ideally, they would bottom out for a few years and restock, but General Manager Barry Trotz seems to want to get back to winning soon.

13. Vancouver Canucks

Vancouver has a solid N.H.L. team with a superstar blueliner in Quinn Hughes, but the roster is not overly deep, and the farm system has only a handful of quality pieces. It's not clear what the direction is here. The Canucks could be a playoff team, but minus an Elias Pettersson revival plus some luck on the draft/development front, it is hard to see the plan to contend.

14. Pittsburgh Penguins

The Penguins' system is in significantly better shape than it was over the previous decade, and while that is promising for Penguins fans, there is a ways to go. Pittsburgh has good midrange prospects but still needs a lot of premium young talent that will likely only be acquired by years of bottoming out.

15. New York Rangers

The Rangers are in a precarious position. This isn't a bad N.H.L. team, but it's been a roster propped up by goaltending for a long time. Beyond the net, the Rangers have good players but not enough of them. Their system is quite bare, too, especially at the premium positions. There was a window of competitiveness for this organization, but it feels like it is closing, and it may be time for a rebuild-on-the-fly version 2.0.

16. Boston Bruins

The Bruins are 16th in this exercise with some caveats. I don't think their N.H.L. team is poor. They should improve next season with better health, and although that Jeremy Swayman contract seems ugly today, he should be better than he was last year. But outside of James Hagens, there is not much coming prospect-wise to be excited about. Hagens, Charlie McAvoy and David Pastrnak can only do so much, and while I can see Boston making the playoffs soon, contending for a title seems a long way off.

THE NEW YORK TIMES CLASSIFIED LISTINGS

UCC Public Sale Notice

Please take notice that Newmark ("Newmark"), on behalf of BMD-III CHT Mezz, LLC, a Delaware limited liability company (the "Secured Party"), offers for sale at public auction on **Tuesday, September 23, 2025, at 2:30 p.m. (Eastern Time) on the steps of the New York county courthouse located at 60 Centre Street, New York, New York 10007**, in connection with a Uniform Commercial Code sale, 100% of the limited liability company membership interests (the "Interests"), owned by (i) CF E 88 MEZZ 3 LLC, a Delaware limited liability company ("CF E 88 Borrower"), (ii) SM E 88 MEZZ 3 LLC, a Delaware limited liability company ("SM E 88 Borrower"), (iii) CF E 86 MEZZ 3 LLC, a Delaware limited liability company ("CF E 86 Borrower"), (iv) SM E 86 MEZZ 3 LLC, a Delaware limited liability company ("SM E 86 Borrower"), and (v) LSG E 86 MEZZ 3 LLC, a Delaware limited liability company ("LSG E 86 Borrower"); and with CF E 88 Borrower, SM E 88 Borrower, CF E 86 Borrower and SM E 86 Borrower, each a "Borrower" or "Pledgor" and collectively the "Borrowers" or "Pledgors", in, respectively, (a) CF E 88 MEZZ 2 LLC, a Delaware limited liability company, (b) SM E 88 MEZZ 2 LLC, a Delaware limited liability company, (c) CF E 86 MEZZ 2 LLC, a Delaware limited liability company, (d) SM E 86 MEZZ 2 LLC, a Delaware limited liability company, and (e) LSG E 86 MEZZ 2 LLC, a Delaware limited liability company, which in turn owns 100% of the limited liability company membership interests, respectively, in (1) CF E 88 MEZZ 1 LLC, a Delaware limited liability company, (2) SM E 88 MEZZ 1 LLC, a Delaware limited liability company, (3) CF E 86 MEZZ 1 LLC, a Delaware limited liability company, (4) SM E 86 MEZZ 1 LLC, a Delaware limited liability company, and (5) LSG E 86 MEZZ 1 LLC, a Delaware limited liability company; which in turn owns 100% of the limited liability company membership interests, respectively, in (x) CF E 88 LLC, a Delaware limited liability company, (y) SM E 88 LLC, a Delaware limited liability company, (z) CF E 86 LLC, a Delaware limited liability company, (aa) SM E 86 LLC, a Delaware limited liability company, and (ab) LSG E 86 LLC, a Delaware limited liability company, which are the tenant-in-common owners of the properties commonly known as 305-313 East 86th Street, New York, New York 10028 (Block: 1549; Lot 1) ("Yorkshire") and 160 East 88th Street, New York, New York 10128 (Block: 1516; Lot 52) ("Lexington"); and together with Yorkshire, collectively, the "Property".

The Secured Party, as lender, is the holder of (i) those certain notes evidencing a loan (the "Loan") to the Pledgors; and (ii) those certain notes evidencing a subordinate loan (the "Subordinate Loan") to the sole members of each Pledgor. In connection with the Loan, the Pledgors granted to the Secured Party a first priority lien on the Interests pursuant to that certain (i) Pledge and Security Agreement - Mezzanine C, dated as of May 12, 2022, given by CF E 88 MEZZ 3 LLC and CF E 86 MEZZ 3 LLC (the "CF Pledge Agreement"); and (ii) Pledge and Security Agreement - Mezzanine C, dated as of May 12, 2022, given by SM E 88 MEZZ 3 LLC, SM E 86 MEZZ 3 LLC, and LSG E 86 MEZZ 3 LLC (the "SM/LSG Pledge Agreement"); and together with the CF Pledge Agreement, the "Pledge Agreement". The Secured Party is offering the Interests for sale in connection with the foreclosure on the pledge of such Interests.

The sale of the Interests will be subject to all applicable third-party consents and regulatory approvals, if any, and the outstanding balance due on the Loan pursuant to the terms of the Loan Documents and the outstanding balance due on the Subordinate Loan pursuant to the terms of the Subordinate Loan Documents. Without limitation to the foregoing, please take notice that there are specific requirements for any potential successful bidder in connection with (i) obtaining information and (ii) bidding on the Interests, including but not limited to, that each bidder must deliver such documents and pay such amounts as required by the applicable governing documents relating to the Interests and meeting any requirements shall be at the sole risk, cost, and expense of a prospective bidder.

The Interests are being offered as a single lot, "as-is, where-is", with no express or implied warranties, representations, statements or conditions of any kind made by the Secured Party or any person acting for or on behalf of the Secured Party, without any recourse whatsoever to the Secured Party or any other person acting for or on behalf of the Secured Party and each bidder must make its own inquiry regarding the Interests. The winning bidder shall be responsible for the payment of all transfer taxes, stamp duties and similar taxes incurred in connection with the purchase of the Interests.

Secured Party reserves the right to credit bid, set a minimum reserve price, reject all bids (including, without limitation, any bid that it deems to have been made by a bidder that is unable to satisfy the requirements imposed by Secured Party upon prospective bidders in connection with the sale or to whom in Secured Party's sole judgment a sale may not lawfully be made), terminate or adjourn the sale to another time, without further notice, and to sell the Interests at a subsequent public or private sale and to impose any other commercially reasonable conditions upon the sale of the Interests as Secured Party may deem proper. Secured Party further reserves the right to determine the qualifications of any bidder, including a prospective bidder's ability to close the transaction on the terms and conditions referenced herein and to modify these terms of sale. Secured Party further reserves the right to verify that each certificate for the Interests to be sold bears a legend substantially to the effect that such interests have not been registered under the Securities Act of 1933, as amended (the "Securities Act"), and to impose such other limitations or conditions in connection with the sale of the Interests as the Secured Party deems necessary or advisable in order to comply with the Securities Act or any other applicable law.

All bids (other than credit bids of the Secured Party) must be for cash, and the successful bidder must be prepared to deliver immediately available good funds within ten (10) days after the sale and otherwise comply with the bidding requirements. Further information concerning the Interests, the Data Room, the requirements for bidding on the interests, and the Terms of Sale can be found at Revere Data Site or by contacting Newmark using the contact information below.

Contact Information for Newmark:

Attn: Brock Cannon
Tel: +1 (212) 372-2066
E-mail: brock.cannon@nmrk.com

MARSHAL/
SHERIFF SALES

3650

MARSHAL EXECUTION SALE
PUBLIC AUCTION
Re: Parking Violations Vs. Various
Judgment Debtors I Will Sell
At Public Auction For
City Marshal Richard A. Capuano
By Courtney Morris, Auctioneer
On Wednesday September 10, 2025
At 10:00AM A.I.S.'s Towing
62-62 Broadway
Arverne, New York, 11692.

All R/T/I in & to the Following Vehicles:
08 HONDA 1HGCP2865A061889
17 JEEP 1C4ARJBF9C913870
03 TOYOT 4T1BE32K5J0242897
05 NISSA 5N1AR18W75C04612
13 CHRY'S 2C4RC1BG9D631467
25 HYUND KMHL14JAX5A471865
04 HONDA 2HKYF18624H570106
03 HONDA 2HKYF18624H570106
02 TOYOT 4T1BF28842L20006
09 CHEV'R 1GNDT33S292101931
05 FORD 1FAPF36W1W152765
11 INFINITI JN1CV6AR2B4351389
11 CHEV'R 20N1FEE53B4255993
15 HYUND SNEP34AF4H027849
03 HONDA 5J6YH18563L007887
Following Vehicles Sold With Liens
16 NISSA 1NAAL3AP9C127313
19 MAZDA JM3KFBCK6K0613168
15 NISSA KNMA72M5FP515931
13 HYUND 53YJLJL1B3C065489
11 JEEP 1J4PN2GK5B573442
11 TOYOT 5TD8K3E9H85053572
19 HONDA 1HGCV1F1XKA146473
16 MASER 2AM5TRT8C1191502
19 INTERNA 3HAMMMML8KL382264
17 HONDA 3CZRUS72M728075
19 MITS 3A4AP3AUAJK00630
Following Vehicles Sold As Salvage
08 MEBE WDDNG86X2A159991
02 TOYOT 4T1BF30K62U51396
01 SHAW WBXP9407WFD8596
CASH ONLY Inspect 1/2 Hr. Prior to Sale
City Marshal Richard A. Capuano
Phone (718) 478-0400
Badge #22

PUBLIC AUCTION SALE

RE: NYC Parking Violations Bureau
Vs. Various Judgment Debtors I will sell
at Public Auction for
City Marshal Kenneth Giacchetta
By Stuart L. Medow, CAI Auctioneer on
Wednesday, September 10, 2025 At
9:30AM At Green Brothers Towing
1908 Shore Pkwy, Brookville, N.Y. 11214
the right, title & interest of the judgment
debtors in & to the following vehicles:
06FORD 1FMCU9H45K28054
18GMC 2GKFLVEK9N625630
02TOYOT 4T1BE32K72U639591
18BMW WBXYJ5C30JEF60711E1
15CADIL 1G6AR3S521029210
03GMC 1GKFK66U13197362
09HYUND SNEP24C29H553108
09HONDA 1HGCV296789A93884
05GMC 1GKFK13T651601974E1E
10MAZDA JMBER2WMDA0330960
16GMC 2GKFLUE37G61327861E1
10FORD 1FAHP2D9W9A1G2202
09BMW SUXFE4579L25641E1E
01HONDA 456DM58W114400075
12NISSA 1NAAL2AP3C247296
08BMW WB4H835880179375AL
13NISSA 1NAAL3AP4DN58069
09FORD 1FDFE4579D42261
12FORD 3FAHP0JAACR133909
12FORD 1FMAJ1J54CFE3729
18NISSA 1NAAL3AP4DN58069
15FORD 1FDDE45F4DA09793
01INFIN JNKCP1AS11T401855
09BMW WBADN6539XGM62017
16TOYOT 1J8FF48W97D303508
18BUICK THGCM657VXT468651
08BMW WBABD5335PL16982
07TOYOTA 4T1BB46K37U014704
04TOYOT JTD6R2E1E420217
02VOLVO YV1ZSD021076425
14TOYOT 4T1BDFK6E1114655AL
12DODGE 2C3CDYAG4CH0887991E1E
11BUICK 5GAKVBE7D7B220996
12NISSA 1NAAL2AP3C247296
11LA RO SALS2F2D47BA289920
08MAZDA 1YVHP8C355M2372L1E1E
13NISSA JNBASS5M10D1W630691
05CHEV'R 1GCDM19X15B1255955AL
15NISSA 1NAAL3AP7FC108315
14IC 4DRBL5AN8B14728
11NISSA 1NAAL2AP3C102620
08INFIN 5FN9YF4H72B001696
08INFIN JNKCV64E8X8M112301
11VOLK'S 1YVMB7A28E0722AL1E1E
13SUBAR 453BMDP67D2066691E1E
13DODGE 1C4RDJAG8DC583001
08CADIL 1GYPK668X8R103853
09DODGE 2D4G557VXT468651
14BMW WBASB3C7ED538295
08HONDA JHLRE483X0568775AL
12TOYOT 4T1BF1FK7CU159973
05AUCURA 19UJ46623A08691E1E
CASH ONLY Inspect 1/2 Hr. Prior to Sale
Badge #80 Tel 718-351-4515

The New York Times

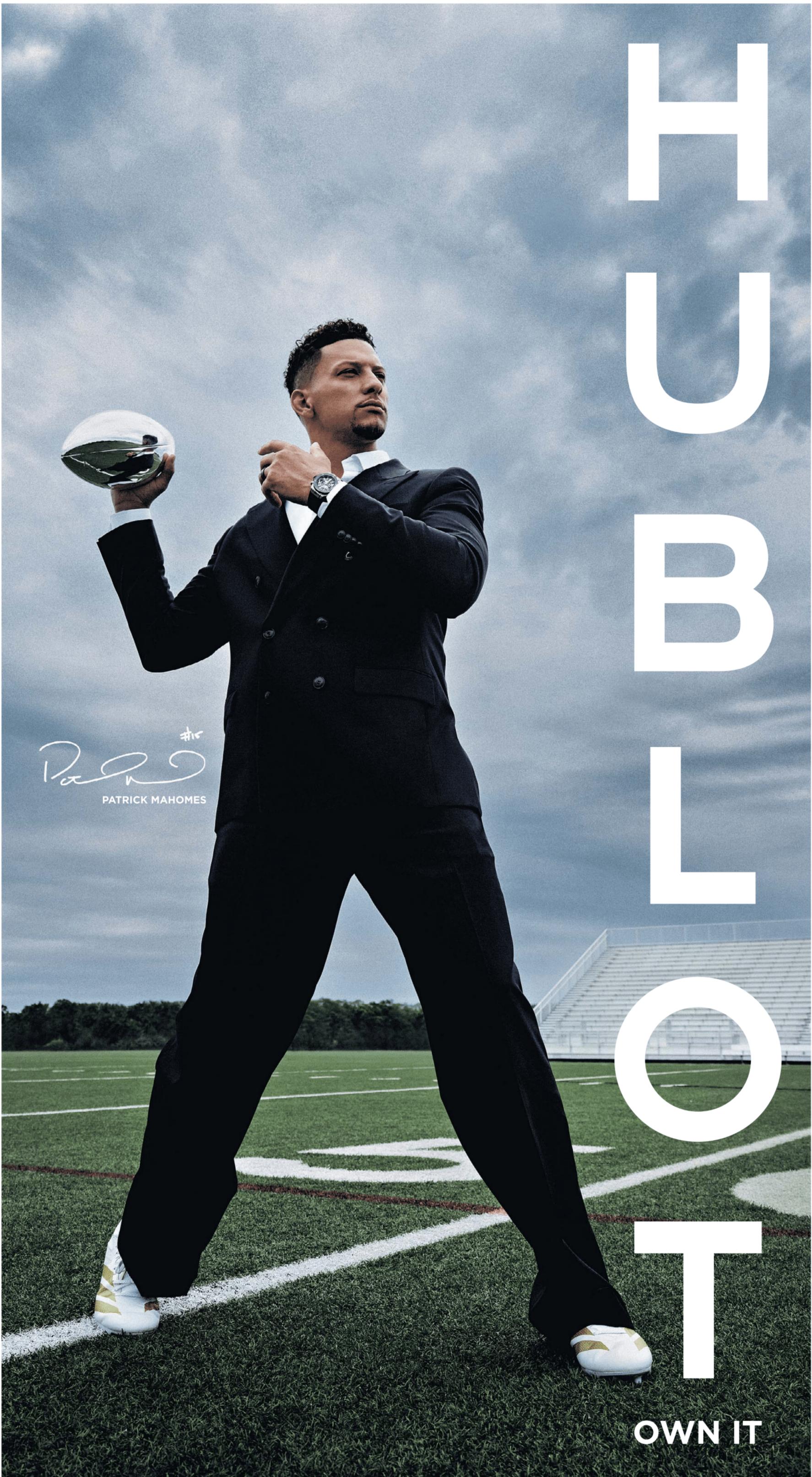
Prepare today's
college students to
become tomorrow's
global citizens.

Get campuswide access
to The New York Times.
Learn more at
nytimes.com/campuswide



On the job.
Out in the world.
Provide a companywide
subscription to The Times.
nytimes.com/atwork

The New York Times



Patrick Mahomes
PATRICK MAHOMES

H
U
B
L
O
T

OWN IT