"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

LATE EDITION
Today, rain and snow early, then some sunshine, high 45. **Tonight,** skies turning mostly clear, low 34. **Tomorrow,** times of clouds and sun, high 47. Weather map, Page A16.

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FACING CRITICISM, PRESIDENT VISITS MEXICAN BORDER

SURGE IN IMMIGRATION

Biden Set for Summit on Crossings and Trade After El Paso Trip

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR and EDGAR SANDOVAL

EL PASO — President Biden on Sunday made his first visit to the border since taking office, arriving at a city swamped by migrants amid a historic surge in illegal immigration and anger from both parties about how he is handling it.

In a brief visit to El Paso's busiest crossing and a migrant services support center, Mr. Biden acceded to demands by Republicans that he make the trip he had not taken for two years.

But as he arrived in El Paso, he found himself under siege from all sides.

Democrats and human rights activists condemned his new enforcement plan as a "humanitarian disgrace." Republicans blasted his delay in coming to a border they say is "wide open" to illegal immigration. And Mexican officials — who are preparing to welcome him to a summit of North American leaders on Monday — warned that his proposals would cross a "red line" for them.

The number of migrants apprehended trying to illegally cross the 2,000-mile border with Mexico has hit record highs. In the 12 months leading up to last October, the Border Patrol encountered 1.7 million migrants trying to cross illegally, the highest number since 1960. Officials said overall crossings had dipped some during the holiday season in December, but they said they expected the numbers to rise again quickly in the coming months.

The surge in migrants has reached deep into the United States. Cities as far away as New York and Washington are struggling to provide services to the growing numbers who are arriving, some at the behest of Republican governors in Florida and Texas, who have bused or flown the migrants out of their states.

In El Paso, a record-breaking swell of migration from across Central and South America has made the city one of the most vivid symbols of the decades-long breakdown in America's immigration system. Desperate people, often with small children, spend cold nights on park benches, with no legal status and nowhere to go after making the brutally dangerous trek north in the hopes of finding refuge.

The question of what to do with them — Accept them? Detain them? Send them home? — has become one of the most polarized political debates in the United States. And Mr. Biden has not found a solution as the situation in El Paso and communities along

Continued on Page A12

EVARISTO SA/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Thousands of supporters of Jair Bolsonaro, Brazil's former president, at the Esplanada dos Ministérios in Brasília on Sunday.

IN BRAZIL CAPITAL, A FRENZIED MOB STORMS CONGRESS

AKIN TO JAN. 6 ATTACKS

Supporters of Bolsonaro Claim Vote Rigging Without Evidence

By JACK NICAS and ANDRÉ SPIGARIOL

Thousands of supporters of Brazil's ousted former president, Jair Bolsonaro, stormed Brazil's Congress, Supreme Court and presidential offices on Sunday to protest what they falsely claim was a stolen election, the violent culmination of years of conspiracy theories advanced by Mr. Bolsonaro and his right-wing allies.

In scenes reminiscent of the Jan. 6 storming of the United States Capitol, protesters in Brasília, Brazil's capital, draped in the yellow and green of Brazil's flag surged into the seat of power, setting fires, repurposing barricades as weapons, knocking police officers from horseback and filming their crimes as they committed them.

"We always said we would not give up," one protester declared as he filmed himself among hundreds of protesters pushing into the Capitol building. "Congress is ours. We are in power."

For months, protesters had been demanding that the military prevent the newly elected president, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, from taking office on Jan. 1. Many on the right in Brazil have become convinced, despite the lack of evidence, that October's election was rigged.

For years, Mr. Bolsonaro had asserted, without any proof, that Brazil's election systems were rife with fraud and that the nation's elites were conspiring to remove him from power.

Mr. Lula said Sunday that those false claims had fueled the attack on the plaza, known as Three Powers Square because of the presence of the three branches of government. Mr. Bolsonaro "triggered this," he said in an address to the nation. "He spurred attacks on the three powers whenever he could. This is also his responsibility."

Late Sunday, Mr. Bolsonaro criticized the protests, saying on Twitter that peaceful demonstrations are part of democracy, but that "destruction and invasions of public buildings, like what occurred today," are not. But he also rejected Mr. Lula's accusations, saying they were "without proof."

At his inauguration, Mr. Lula said that uniting Brazil, Latin America's largest country and one of the world's biggest democracies, would be a central goal of his administration. The invasion of the capital suggests that the nation's divisions are more profound than many had imagined, and it saddles the new president with a major challenge just one week into his administration.

Continued on Page A8

CONGRESSIONAL MEMO

G.O.P. Rules Face Logjam Frozen Tight

By CARL HULSE

WASHINGTON — Smarting after a dozen years under iron-fisted Republican rule, House Democrats promised to do things differently and open up the institution when they regained majority control in 2007.

One of their changes was to allow any lawmaker to offer amendments to the voluminous spending bills once they hit the floor. Republicans seized the opportunity and put forth scores of politically charged proposals to alter a routine agriculture spending bill, bringing the debate to a virtual standstill. Democrats quickly reversed course and put limits on amendments.

Now the new House Republican majority is proposing to make institutional changes of their own as part of a rules package Speaker Kevin McCarthy negotiated with hard-right rebels in exchange for their support for his job. The handful of Republicans who are forcing the changes, which are scheduled to be considered on Monday, pointed to the rushed approval in December of a roughly $1.7 trillion spending bill to fund the entire government as an example of back-room legislating at its worst.

"What this rules package is designed to do is to stop what we saw happen literally 15 days ago, where the Democrats passed a

Continued on Page A11

Fighting for Ukraine to Take Revenge on Russia

Inspired by Enmity for the Kremlin, Ethnic Groups Raise Arms

By CARLOTTA GALL

KYIV REGION, Ukraine — The sharp crack of sniper fire rang out across the snowbound valley. Soldiers in white camouflage crouched low, shooting at the hill opposite to provide cover as four men evacuated a casualty.

The action was part of a live-fire training exercise for new recruits on a recent morning outside the Ukrainian capital, Kyiv. But there was an unusual element to the event. While a Ukrainian Army officer was giving the orders, the trainees were members of a volunteer Chechen battalion that also mixed in some Crimean Tatars and Ukrainians.

Ukraine's military commanders have long said they do not lack soldiers for the war, but they have nonetheless welcomed to their ranks thousands of volunteers, including foreign citizens. Many of them, like the Chechens, are refugees from Russia itself. Others have come from surrounding countries, like Georgia, that have a history of opposition to Moscow and the leadership of President Vladimir V. Putin.

"We saw what was happening," said Muslim Madiyev, a gray-bearded deputy commander of the Chechen battalion, wearing ear protectors to muffle the sound of gunfire as he watched the training exercises. "Ukraine has no shortage of men, but we have to join and be a part of this war."

Many of the volunteers were already living in Ukraine, either for work or seeking refuge from political oppression back home. Some volunteers have struggled with visas and residency permits, while their eagerness to join the fight has aroused suspicions among some Ukrainian officials and com-

Continued on Page A6

DAVID GUTTENFELDER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Members of a Chechen battalion training with new recruits outside Kyiv, Ukraine, last month.

ELIZABETH FRANTZ/REUTERS

Many names of service members on a wall of remembrance in Washington are misspelled.

Korean War Memorial Is Riddled With Errors

Imperfect Records and Federal Missteps

By DAVE PHILIPPS

An arc of gleaming black granite slabs etched with 36,634 names was unveiled on the National Mall over the summer, built to honor American service members who died fighting in the Korean War.

People like Frederick Bald Eagle Bear, an Army corporal who was killed as he rallied his infantry squad to fend off an enemy attack.

And Walder McCord, a bomber pilot who crashed during a night mission. And John Koelsch, a helicopter pilot who was shot down trying to rescue another pilot, died in captivity and was posthumously awarded the Medal of Honor.

But Lieutenant Koelsch's name is spelled wrong, Lieutenant McCord's name is not on the wall at all, and the name of Frederick Bald Eagle Bear, a member of the Lakota tribe, is so mangled that the polished granite lists him as Eagle B F Bald.

There are hundreds more mistakes like those.

"It's just a damn mess — full of old bookkeeping errors and typos," said Hal Barker, a historian who, together with his brother, Edward Barker Jr., maintains a vast online repository of information about the conflict, a trove known as the Korean War Project.

The brothers estimate that the $22 million wall of remembrance — an addition to the 27-year-old Korean War Veterans Memorial — contains 1,015 spelling errors. It also incorrectly includes 245 names of service members who died in circumstances totally unrelated to the war, they say, including a man killed in a motorcycle accident in Hawaii and another

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Bolstered by Netanyahu Deals, Ultra-Orthodox Push Autonomy

By ISABEL KERSHNER

JERUSALEM — To preserve his new government, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel is making significant concessions to far-right political parties on Palestinian issues, judicial independence and police powers, but also less noticed moves on behalf of another key member of his coalition: parties that represent the fast-growing ultra-Orthodox public.

Members of Israel's ultra-Orthodox community have long enjoyed benefits unavailable to many other Israeli citizens: exemption from army service for Torah students, government stipends for those choosing full-time religious study over work and separate schools that receive state funds even though their curriculums barely teach government-mandated subjects.

Those benefits have fueled resentment among large segments of the more secular public, and Is-

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South Africa's New Nightlife
Clubs in Khayelitsha, the country's second-largest township, are attracting Black professionals with entertainment that "we love, we want." PAGE A4

100 Years Since U.S.S.R.'s Birth
A look back at the Soviet Union through photos reflecting layered realities that loom over the war in Ukraine. PAGE A7

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Chronicling the Working Class
Russell Banks relied on his blue-collar upbringing to explore race and power in the Northeast. He was 82. PAGE B8

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Problems in New York City's early childhood divisions run deep, according to current and former staff. PAGE A12

California Facing More Storms
With thousands already without power, another storm system could bring more flooding and outages. PAGE A9

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A Global Hub in the Making
The Texas border city of Laredo is set to become one of the world's most vital land ports as U.S. companies shift production away from Asia to Mexico. PAGE B1

China Opens Its Borders
Alongside the joy of planned reunions, there is a whiff of anxiety about resuming the flow of travelers when Covid infections are high. PAGE B1

Police Shows Are Still Thriving
In the era of streaming services, viewers like to settle in with familiar, old-school crime procedurals like "Criminal Minds." PAGE B1

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Championship Showdown
T.C.U., a surprise College Football Playoff team with an unlikely defensive leader, will meet Georgia. PAGE D8

Catharsis, Joy and Victory
Damar Hamlin's No. 3 was a rallying point for Bills fans, who saw their team prevail days after his collapse. PAGE D1

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The theater world is seeking more diversity among those who translate shows for deaf audiences. PAGE C1

Climate and Book Preservation
As extreme weather events become more common, conservators are trying to protect their collections. PAGE C3

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Charles M. Blow PAGE A15

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The New York Times

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The Newspaper and Beyond

TODAY'S PAPER

Crossword C3
Obituaries B7-8
Opinion A14-15
Weather A16
Classified Ads D8

AUDIO With a blockbuster LP and a smash tour, Bad Bunny set a new bar for himself in 2022. A new episode of the "Popcast" podcast explores the ways he's embraced social and political causes and how his success has expanded the possibilities for Spanish-language musicians. Listen to the episode at *nytimes.com/popcast*.

INTERACTIVE Thinking about buying a home? Use the Real Estate desk's mortgage calculator to figure out what you will pay each month for your mortgage — the amount of money you intend to borrow to buy your new home. *nytimes.com/realestate*

NEWSLETTER Get Pete Wells's restaurant reviews sent to you directly — and a day before everyone else — with the Restaurant Review newsletter. It may just be the reason you can snag a reservation before the next must-try place books up. Sign up for this weekly subscriber-only newsletter at *nytimes.com/newsletters*.

Quote of the Day

"People ask us how we could spend so much effort doing this. I say, how could we not? We feel we owe it to these guys."

TED BARKER, OF THE KOREAN WAR PROJECT, *about tracking the thousands of mistakes he estimates are on a wall dedicated to American service members who died fighting in the conflict. Page A1.*

The Story Behind the Story

SAM KALDA

A Monday Crossword Collaboration That Rocks

In Wordplay, a crossword columnist shares tips for solving the day's puzzle.

By RACHEL FABI

I love a good puzzle collaboration, and this one from Andrea Carla Michaels, who has written 70 New York Times Crossword puzzles, and Kevin Christian, who has written 15, is a perfect example of top-notch teamwork.

I spoke with Tracy Bennett, an associate puzzle editor, about this offering from Ms. Michaels and Mr. Christian. She commented on their strengths as constructors, observing that "Andrea and Kevin are both experts in devising simple, elegant Monday themes built around lively phrases." In this puzzle, she said, "they've pooled their resources."

Ms. Michaels confirmed that interpretation of their collaboration, explaining in her notes that Mr. Christian developed the theme and the grid, while she contributed the Monday-level clues and tweaked the grid. Let's take a look at Mr. Christian's theme and then unpack a few of Ms. Michaels's clues. Warning: spoilers below.

Today's Theme

This puzzle features five theme entries in the long Across positions. The revealer, at 55D, asks solvers to identify the "'Highway to Hell' rock group . . . or a hint to electrical switches found in 16-, 23-, 36-, 44- and 57-Across." That rock group, and the electrical switches, are AC/DC — these sets of two letters are found, in that order, in each of the identified entries.

The AC/DC theme entries are:

- **16A.** SACRED COW ("Concept that can't be criticized or questioned, metaphorically")
- **23A.** CRACKED CRAB ("Seafood often served with picks")
- **36A.** BACKGROUND CHECK ("Pre-employment investigation")
- **44A.** JACK AND COKE ("Cocktail named for two iconic beverage brands")
- **57A.** ACTED COOL ("Behaved in a laid-back way")

I asked Ms. Bennett what stood out to her about this theme. She said: "As a solver, once you get to the revealer, you can go back to the four longest answers and find the pattern. Though many people happily enjoy puzzles without noticing themes, finding the theme can add to the specialness and memorability of a puzzle and can enhance the experience of solving."

I completely agree with this assessment. I was unable to identify the AC/DC theme as I was solving (I thought perhaps the ACK string in 23A, 36A and 44A might have something to do with it, but that's as far as I got). But when I got the revealer, I enjoyed the "aha!" moment of revisiting the theme entries and finding the embedded AC/DC.

All of the theme entries do a great job of hiding the "DC" by splitting it across two words, although ACTED COOL feels like an outlier — perhaps because it is a verb? But there's no denying that all four are interesting, in-the-language phrases that make up a great theme set.

Tricky(ish!) Clues

Because this is a Monday, few of the clues were what I'd call "tricky." So instead, here are some I wanted to comment on.

9A. "How revenge (or pizza for breakfast) is best served" is a fantastic clue for COLD. I bet this clue stirs up some controversy; I, for one, fully agree that pizza for breakfast should be served COLD.

25A. "Dab, as with a paper towel" is BLOT. Because this is the day for controversial pizza takes, I want to plant a flag firmly in the "Please don't BLOT the grease off your pizza!" camp.

41A. "Music Mann?" is a play on the musical "The Music Man," but instead of the Broadway show, it refers to the singer AIMEE Mann.

49D. I enjoy clues that take the form "word before" or "worth with." Here, the "Word before space or limits" is OUTER, as in OUTER space or OUTER limits.

Notes From the Constructors

It's always a pleasure to collaborate with Andrea. She's the best Monday constructor out there, in my opinion. AC/DC was a significant part of the soundtrack of my teenage years. This puzzle is dedicated to their original lead singer, Bon Scott, who died in 1980. — *Kevin Christian*

Some collaborations are equal back and forth, ironing out themes, grid layout, fill and cluing. Others, one might do most of the theme (my preferred role), the other most of the grid. Today's puzzle was 90 percent Kevin: his idea, his grid. I merely offered advice from the sidelines, smoothed out a section or two and clued it for Monday difficulty.

My biggest contribution was ignored! I wanted circles, not just to ease the solve, but to highlight how brilliantly Kevin found phrases that did not just contain the letters A, C, D, C in that order (no mean feat) but phrases that paired them together.

I was assured by Kevin (and every editor I pleaded with) that solvers would be able to pick up on that construction subtlety by the revealer alone. We shall see! I look forward to many future collaborations between Kevin and me, or should I say, AC/KC? — *Andrea Carla Michaels*

Play the crossword on Page C3, and read more Wordplay columns at nytimes.com/wordplay.

Today's Top Trending Headlines

The Hottest Gen Z Gadget Is a 20-Year-Old Digital Camera Digital cameras, seen as outdated and pointless by those who originally owned them, are in vogue again. To take photos, young people are ditching their smartphones and are opting for point-and-shoots instead. Kalley Huang, the writer behind this article, reports on youth and technology from San Francisco. In elementary school, her family used a Sony Cyber-shot DSC-H70.

In Speaker Fight's Final Hours, Arm-Twisting, Flaring Tempers And Calls From Trump Speaker Kevin McCarthy's slog to his post ended with a remarkably public show of intraparty strife that played out in a history-making overnight session. The moment, between Mr. McCarthy and Representative Matt Gaetz of Florida, was a fitting coda to a week that spotlighted the deep divisions in the Republican Party. Catie Edmondson and other Times reporters spent the week covering the speaker news from the press gallery.

After 6-Year-Old Is Accused in School Shooting, Many Questions And a Murky Legal Path A first grader at Richneck Elementary in Newport News, Va., shot a teacher with a handgun on Friday afternoon, the Newport News Police Department said. The police said it was "not an accidental shooting." The teacher suffered "life-threatening" injuries but had improved by Saturday and was in stable condition.

A Lecturer Showed a Painting of the Prophet Muhammad. She Lost Her Job. The adjunct professor at Hamline University showed the painting for an art history class. An outcry from Muslim students followed. University officials said it was Islamophobic, but many scholars say the work is a masterpiece. Vimal Patel, who covers higher education for The Times, reported this article.

A Headline From History

ELVIS COMES ALIVE
AT THE POST OFFICE

January 9, 1993. "Slicked-back hair was the style of the day. Long lines were the order of the day. And the catch of the day? Elvis." Fans and stamp collectors lined up outside U.S. post offices the previous day to buy postage honoring Elvis Presley on what would have been his 58th birthday, The Times reported. In 1992, the public had voted on the artwork that would be featured on the stamp, landing on a portrait of young Elvis by Mark Stutzman. The Postal Service printed 500 million 29-cent Elvis stamps and expected to make more than $20 million off them and related souvenirs. Though many considered the stamps collectible items, others doubted their long-term worth: "They're never going to be valuable," an 81-year-old stamp collector said. "It's just another method for the post office to sell stamps that will never be used." The Elvis stamp remains one of the most popular of all time; the stamps are now sold on websites such as eBay and Etsy.

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Facts of Interest

About $800 million worth of products as diverse as auto parts, clothing and avocados pass through Laredo, Texas, every day. Laredo has long been the dominant land port on the border between the United States and Mexico.
A Texas City Shaping The Future of Trade B1

At Tulane University, 1.5 million books and manuscripts were drenched when Hurricane Katrina swept through Louisiana in 2005.
Racing to Protect Books From Climate Change C3

In a survey conducted by ZipRecruiter, the employment search site, job seekers on average said they would take a 14 percent pay cut in order to work remotely.
Getting Rid of Remote Work Will Take More Than a Downturn B6

Khayelitsha, a township outside of Cape Town, was created in 1983 by the apartheid government to relieve overcrowded settlements nearby. It is now South Africa's second largest Black township.
Cranking Up the Sound Outside Of the City A4

The Italian Renaissance master Giovanni Battista Moroni was distinguished by his remarkably naturalistic portraits. Of the approximately 125 portraits by Moroni that are known to exist, about 15 are portraits of women alone.
Frick Acquires an Unusual Italian Renaissance Portrait C6

Africa accounts for about 20 percent of the world's road fatalities, even though it accounts for only 3 percent of the world's registered vehicles, according to the W.H.O.
Buses Collide in Senegal; 40 Are Killed and 80 Hurt A5

The Mini Crossword

	1	2	3	
4				5
6				
7				
8				

1/9/2023 BY JOEL FAGLIANO

ACROSS
1 In need of moisturizer
4 With 4-Down, do the absolute minimum at one's job, in modern lingo
6 Vernon Dursley, to Harry Potter
7 Poker declaration
8 Past, present or future

DOWN
1 Dummy
2 Puerto ___
3 Raises one's voice
4 See 4-Across
5 The "T" of TV

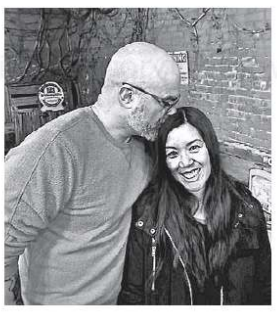
SOLUTION TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

G	H	O	S	T
T	O	N	K	A
O	P	T	I	C
S	P	O	R	T
	Y	E	T	

SARAH MAZZETTI

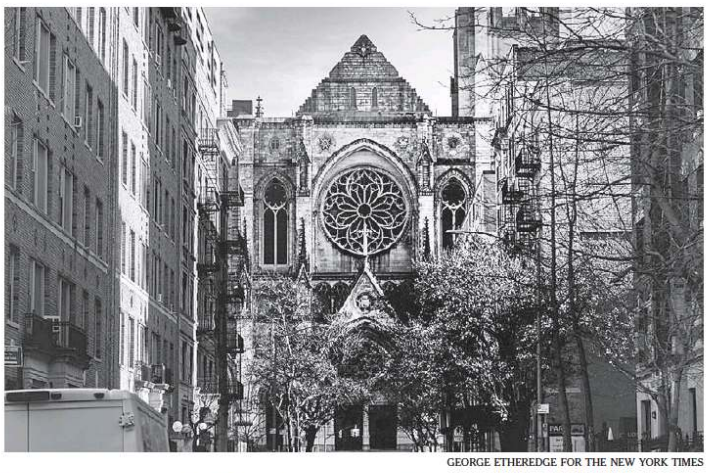
Reader Corner
Tiny Love Stories

Tiny Love Stories, a Modern Love project, asks contributors to share their epic love stories in 100 words or less. In a recent batch of micro-nonfiction, authors wrote of forgiveness and sweet habits. Read one edited Tiny Love Story below.



I'm 5-foot-4. The tallest man I've dated seriously was 5-foot-8; the man I once thought of as my soul mate was 5-foot-6. I like being eye level with my partner. I don't like being towered over. After a series of failed relationships, including a divorce, friends introduced me to a historian. They described him as "charming and funny, but tall." At 6-foot-3, Zach is far outside my height preference, someone I wouldn't have noticed on my own. But, we've been together for five months and I can't remember feeling this compatible with anyone. Everything is looking up.
— MINH-HA T. PHAM

In Our Inbox
Excerpts From New York Times Newsletters



GEORGE ETHEREDGE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine remains half-built after some 130 years.

When the science journalist William J. Broad and his wife went on a tour of the Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine in Manhattan, a guide mentioned that there was deep water in the subbasement. That got Mr. Broad's attention and led to months of research and interviews — and more tours, this time to places beneath the cathedral. For New York Today, James Barron asked him about his reporting. Read an edited excerpt below.

You wrote that St. John's is one of the great could-have-beens. How so?

Its planners saw it as setting new standards for ecclesiastical size and splendor, not only in Manhattan but the world. Its massive central tower was to have soared to a height of more than 40 stories, dwarfing the day's skyscrapers. But the chosen ground for the giant cathedral turned out to be honeycombed with springs and decomposing rock. That surprise did in plans for the colossal tower and began what in time became known, jokingly, as St. John the Unfinished.

St. John's officials took you to a deep vault where lingering flows of water can still be found. Were you wearing waders?

I was surprised at how many St. John's officials talked about the waters but had never visited the cathedral's depths. Maybe it was superstition. After all, the deep vault lies below the crypt, which holds the tombs of bishops. One staffer said it held a river, another, a creek. I wasn't sure what to expect and had no time to prepare. We had no flashlights, no boots, no waders. It was suspenseful and a little bit spooky at times. A second visit under higher illumination was more revealing. Signs of past flooding were plentiful. But at present the waters beneath the cathedral are less of a threat than a curiosity.

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Here to Help
Vanessa Friedman Answers Your Style Questions

I love a crisp white shirt with a good collar and a little length that can be dressed up or casual. I am drawn to well-made, classic white shirts and would ideally like to have several, in rotation, so they need to be reasonably priced. Have you ever found a unicorn such as this? SARAH, CLEVELAND HEIGHTS, OHIO

In 2020, Alexandra Shulman, the former editor of British Vogue, published a memoir that included an entire chapter devoted to the white shirt. "These pieces," she wrote, "are masters of illusion."

"They signify order and neatness, professionalism and authority," she went on — and also "unshowy competence." They can be "shorthand for 'the real me.'"

I think she was underselling the matter.

White shirts are that magic garment that can be all things to all people: a symbol of efficiency and power synonymous with corporate headshots everywhere, as well as relaxation and ease. Think Marilyn Monroe in jeans on the beach, her white shirt knotted just so at the waist, or Meghan Markle making her royal-date debut at the Invictus Games with Prince Harry.

They are suitable for the Oscars red carpet (see Sharon Stone in 1998, when she wore a Gap white shirt with a long Vera Wang satin skirt) and a walk through land mines (Princess Diana in Angola in 1997). The white shirt can be downtown cool — Patti Smith on the cover of "Horses," in a white shirt undone at the neck, a suit jacket slung over the shoulder — and uptown haute. It's gender neutral. There's almost no one who doesn't look good in one.

As a result, the perfect white button-up is a garment that floats like a mirage on the landscape of the mind, just out of reach. It's the fashion equivalent of the blank page. Which is why the designer Anne Fontaine, who started her namesake business with a line of only white shirts in 1993, is still able to offer new styles every year.

So how to choose? White shirts range from the very inexpensive (Amazon Essentials has one for $13.60) to the semi-outrageous. A Charvet cotton poplin shirt will cost you $568. Karl Lagerfeld, who was famous for his high-collar white shirts and owned about 1,000, bought his at the British tailor Hilditch & Key, where a standard white shirt runs about £140 (about $165).

For a less expensive version, the basic white shirt from Brooks Brothers in Supima cotton is a good place to start, especially if crisply traditional is what is desired. Also check out the shirts from the Shirt (the name says it all), which achieved Oprah-approved fame with the promise of "no-gap" buttons, as well as Alex Mill and Sezane, which offers a slightly more insouciant Gallic version of the classic.

If you want to test different details — shaped at the waist, different pocket placements and so on — try the Frankie Shop.

Whatever you end up with, remember that careful laundering and storage are key to keeping a white shirt fresh and preserving its appeal. Dry cleaning is not necessary, but ironing is important. Nothing ruins the promise of a white shirt like a splotchy souvenir of last week's Bolognese.

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

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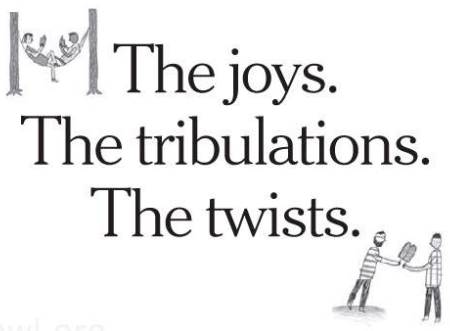
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International

The New York Times

Evening in the township of Khayelitsha: outside the booming dance halls, people also sell liquor from their vehicles, left, and grill food, right. "People used to go to town," one partygoer said, referring to nearby Cape Town — with its traffic, expensive drinks and whiter population — for a night out. But some Black professionals say the township venues "know what it is that we love, we want."

SOUTH AFRICA DISPATCH

Cranking Up The Sound Outside Of the City

Nightlife Takes Off In the Townships

By JOHN ELIGON

KHAYELITSHA, South Africa — At night, quiet and darkness shroud much of Khayelitsha, a township outside of Cape Town. But along a roughly quarter-mile stretch of Spine Road, a major thoroughfare, blue-and-yellow lights glow from bare wooden structures that vibrate with the electronic beats of the wildly popular South African genre amapiano.

Several Mercedes-Benzes and BMWs are among cars parked along the road, while smoke wafts from the grills of dozens of food vendors. Some people sell alcohol from the trunks of their cars, while others peddle joints outside the clubs.

On a recent evening, 36-year-old Ncedo Silas — looking ready for the office with a sweater zipped to his neck and thick clear-framed glasses — bobbed inside one of the clubs with a shoulder-to-shoulder crowd basking in an eye-burning haze of hookah.

"People used to go to town," he said, referring to Cape Town, for a good time. But now, he added, there are numerous establishments in the township, population 450,000, whose owners "know what it is that we love, we want."

Townships in South Africa were born of racist apartheid-era social engineering that kept nonwhite citizens segregated from economic opportunities and basic infrastructure. That legacy continues to be felt in the poverty and crime that afflicts many townships.

In recent years, though, Khayelitsha's nightlife scene has grown immensely, with restaurants and clubs cropping up, particularly along Spine Road. All the activity has helped to temper concerns about encountering violent crime at nighttime venues in the township, and attracted more local Black professionals like Mr. Silas, who works in insurance. He and others are rejecting the velvet ropes of the larger city of Cape Town — with its traffic, expensive drinks and whiter population — for nightlife they believe better suits their culture and tastes.

"I can't relate to that — it's white music," Mr. Silas said of Cape Town establishments.

Although many townships under apartheid lacked basic services like running water and electricity, many people who grew up in them have long found comfort in gathering, socializing and celebrating in them.

After the country's transition to multiracial democracy in 1994 led to greater economic opportunities for Black South Africans, the entertainment possibilities in townships became increasingly sophisticated. That's evident nationwide; clubs in Soweto, near Johannesburg, and Umlazi, near the coastal city of Durban, are among the hottest in the country.

"The township comes with a certain kind of freedom," said Zinhle Mqadi, the chief executive of Max's Lifestyle Village in Umlazi, a sprawling venue that includes a restaurant, nightclub, carwash and salon.

Khayelitsha was created in 1983 by the apartheid government to relieve overcrowded settlements nearby. It is now South Africa's second largest Black township.

The origins of its booming nightlife scene date to 2007, when a local businessman, Bulelani Skaap, better known as Ace, opened the nightclub KwaAce, around the corner from Spine Road. Over the years, other establishments popped up nearby, attracting the luxury car set.

Spine Road grew into a casual hub of evening activity. Revelers parked their cars along the side of the road, and grilled meat and drank.

Fikile Makuliwe, a 31-year-old Khayelitsha native, saw opportunity.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY JOAO SILVA/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Club Canda, one of several nightclubs in Khayelitsha. Restaurants and clubs along the township's Spine Road are attracting revelers eager to smoke, drink and move to amapiano, a South African hybrid of house, jazz and lounge music.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

About four years ago, while studying engineering in college, he began setting up a gazebo along Spine Road every weekend with comfortable chairs, hookah pipes and a cellphone charging station. Mr. Makuliwe said he hoped the setup, which he broke down at the end of each evening, would attract revelers looking for an experience that felt V.I.P.

After saving money from this venture and an engineering apprenticeship, Mr. Makuliwe in late 2020 opened Ocean Canda, which sells sushi and other seafood by day and features D.J.s spinning ear-splitting beats by night.

"There's no place like this place," said Thando Mpushe, a 35-year-old professional opera singer, standing on the elevated platform that is Ocean Canda's V.I.P. section.

Ocean Canda's tall, boxy structure, framed with exposed logs and a corrugated tin roof, feels more beachfront shack than ritzy club.

But it was one of several establishments opened during the pandemic — some without the city's blessing — that helped make Spine Road a hive of activity.

"It has now outgrown what would have been expected," said Ndithini Tyhido, the chairman of the Khayelitsha Development Forum, adding that Spine Road has attracted an influx of working professionals, some from Cape Town and surrounding suburbs. "Look at the clothes they wear, the cars they drive, the types of drinks they are having."

Despite the best efforts of some establishments to try to exude an upscale aura — with plush sofas, and names like "Paris Lifestyle" — the atmosphere along Spine Road remains decidedly working class.

Wedged between neighborhoods of tightly packed bungalows, the corridor features several slapdash sheds playing music and serving drinks. Hundreds of people hang around cars, and as the night progresses, drunken stragglers stumble along dirt paths or collapse in the street.

To some, Khayelitsha's flourishing nightlife is a testament to the hustle and ingenuity of people in a country where about a third of the population is unemployed, and where many are constrained by systemic barriers — like difficulties getting bank loans and a persistent lack of stable, affordable housing.

Thera, a 36-year-old former restaurant manager, used to sell liquor on Spine Road out of his compact hatched Renault. Last March — without permission from the city, he said — he put together a tin shack about the size of a classroom on the street, and strung lights on a wall in the shape of letters bearing the name of his new establishment: R Lounge.

Thera, who asked that his last name be withheld for fear of getting in trouble, said he was motivated by hunger and poverty. "What we are doing is illegal," he said. "We'll try to make as much money as we can."

Khayelitsha's intrepid nightlife entrepreneurs are also forced to keep an eye on crime.

Through last September, Western Cape Province recorded 571 mass shootings over a three-year period, most of them occurring in the townships near Cape Town. There were 130 murders in Khayelitsha over a three-month span last year, among the most in the country.

Malibongwe Dadase, who last October opened Dadase's Shisanyama, a restaurant and lounge a lonely and dark five-minute drive from Spine Road, said that although the violence deterred some customers, he hoped the presence of businesses like his could help thwart crime.

"I was like, 'OK, it's fine, let me take a risk,'" Mr. Dadase, 42, said of his decision to open. "Fear can limit your dreams."

In some ways, the booming nightlife has created pockets of safety, community leaders said.

Murders and some other violent crimes generally don't occur along Spine Road, possibly because the crowds act as a deterrent, said Lunga Guza, the head of the area's Community Police Forum, a residents group that works with the police. But there has been gender-based violence, he said, and the traffic and drunkenness can be a nuisance.

Another possible crime prevention measure is so-called protection fees. Gangs in Khayelitsha are notorious for forcing business owners to pay for "protection," or face potentially fatal consequences. Although the gangs' efforts are considered illegal extortion, locals say they can keep serious criminals away. But all of the nightlife owners interviewed denied having paid such fees.

Several years ago, Sbongile Matyi and his family moved into a home they bought in the suburb of Kuils River because they felt it was safer than Khayelitsha, where he grew up. Yet here was Mr. Matyi, 34, on a recent evening sucking on a hookah pipe in Ocean Canda.

In his new suburb, which has many more white residents than Khayelitsha, he sometimes felt judged, he said. A neighbor once asked how he could afford to buy a home in Kuils River, said Mr. Matyi, who is Black and works in law enforcement. He doesn't want to have to deal with that type of attitude when he is trying to relax and have a good time.

"The reason I come back here: People, they value me, they respect me," he said.

Hanging out at Ocean Canda. "There's no place like this place," said a patron watching from the club's V.I.P. platform.

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Buses Collide In Senegal; 40 Are Killed And 80 Hurt

By RUTH MACLEAN

DAKAR, Senegal — At least 40 people were killed and about 80 were injured early Sunday when two buses collided in Senegal, according to officials in the West African country.

The crash, in the country's central Kaffrine region, happened about 3:30 a.m., said Cheikh Dieng, the country's public prosecutor. He said that initial evidence in the investigation suggested that a tire on one of the buses had burst, causing it to collide with the other.

Senegal's president, Macky Sall, announced on Twitter a national mourning period of three days, and he said that he was "profoundly saddened by the tragic accident." A council involving several ministries will look into road safety as well as the safety of public transportation, he said.

Videos of the crash posted on Senegalese news sites on Sunday showed two large white buses crumpled against each other, with debris strewn along the rural, bush-lined road, and a long stretch of vehicles waiting to get by, their hazard lights flashing.

About 27,000 people a year are victims of traffic accidents in Senegal, according to the World Health Organization. In recent years, the country — which has a population of about 17 million — has been trying to improve data collection on such accidents. Until that effort began, only about a quarter of accident data was being recorded, according to Ousmane Ly, the head of road safety at Senegal's Road Transport Directorate.

Africa accounts for about 20 percent of the world's road fatalities, even though it accounts for only 3 percent of the world's registered vehicles, according to the W.H.O. The Africa Transport Policy Program, which works on developing transportation policies, has called it an "epidemic of road fatalities and serious injuries."

Over 270,000 people die on Africa's roads each year. The W.H.O. projects that figure will almost double by 2030, partly because of rapid urbanization. More vulnerable road users, like cyclists and pedestrians, are the most likely to die in road accidents, which disproportionately affect the poor and push many into poverty.

Badly maintained roads, underfunded road safety agencies and spottily enforced traffic laws all contribute to the toll.

A survey released in 2021 of road users' attitudes in 12 African countries found that about half of the respondents who drove cars and a third of the motorcyclists said they had recently made calls with hand-held phones while driving.

Iranian Plotted Poison Attack, Germans Say

By CHRISTOPHER F. SCHUETZE

BERLIN — Late Saturday night, the specialized police descended on a calm commercial strip in the town of Castrop-Rauxel, in western Germany.

They entered the apartment they had targeted wearing full chemical protective gear in an effort to stop a planned poison attack that, according to news media reports, had been flagged by the intelligence service of an allied country.

"We had a serious tip that led the police to intervene that very night," Herbert Reul, North Rhine-Westphalia's interior minister in charge of state security, told DPA, the German wire service, on Sunday.

In the raid that followed, the police arrested a 32-year-old Iranian citizen who the authorities believe was preparing the attack, and who the police said was suspected of having procured cyanide and ricin in an effort "to commit an Islamist-motivated attack." Another man who was in the apartment at the time was also detained.

Evidence was collected in big blue plastic tubs and taken to a local lab for analysis.

"The accused is suspected of having prepared a serious act of violence that endangers the state," the police said in a statement.

It remains unclear how far along the suspect's plans were, the authorities say. The federal prosecutor is investigating whether the accused was preparing "for seditious acts of violence," a crime that could lead to 10 years in jail.

In 2018, a Tunisian man was arrested in Cologne after buying castor bean seeds, which contain ricin, on the internet. The authorities found substantial amounts of ricin in his apartment.

Matt Stevens contributed reporting from Seoul.

Bolstered by Netanyahu, Ultra-Orthodox Push Autonomy

From Page A1

raeli leaders have declared for years that their intention was to draw more of the ultra-Orthodox, known as Haredim, into the work force and society.

But the string of promises by Mr. Netanyahu in recent weeks as he pulled together the country's most right-wing and religiously conservative government ever suggest that Haredi leaders are pushing hard to cement the community's special status, with broad-ranging implications for Israeli society and the economy.

Mr. Netanyahu has promised ultra-Orthodox leaders a new, separate city for Haredim where the Haredi lifestyle would guide planning. He has agreed to increase funding for Haredi seminary students and provide access to government jobs without university degrees. And he has pledged a wide range of government handouts for the Haredi school system.

"It's very clear that the Haredi leadership that sewed up these agreements is going for strengthening the Haredi autonomy and not integration," said Prof. Yedidia Stern, president of the Jewish People Policy Institute, an independent research center.

The departing finance minister, Avigdor Liberman, a staunch critic of the Haredi parties, said the cost of all of the additional promised funding for Haredi causes would come to an estimated 20 billion shekels (about $5.7 billion) a year and constituted "an attempt to collapse the Israeli economy."

The promises to the Haredim are a part of a range of changes that the Netanyahu-led coalition is trying to enact, including judicial overhauls that would allow Parliament to strike down Supreme Court decisions and give politicians more influence over the appointment of judges. The coalition has the numbers in Parliament to push through the measures, which it plans to soon introduce as legislation, as long as the various parties stay united, but they could also face challenges in the courts.

The new coalition government has also promised an uncompromising approach to the Palestinians, with some senior officials ultimately supporting the annexation by Israel of the occupied West Bank, territory that the Palestinians see as part of a future state for them, as well as an acceleration in Jewish settlement construction there.

In one of his first acts as Israel's minister of national security, the ultranationalist Itamar Ben-Gvir last week visited a volatile Jerusalem holy site sacred to Jews and Muslims, defying threats of violent repercussions and eliciting a furious reaction from Arab leaders and international condemnations.

Mr. Netanyahu, Israel's longest serving prime minister, was ousted from office 18 months ago and replaced by a tenuous coalition of anti-Netanyahu forces from the right and left, but excluding the Haredi and far-right parties. After that coalition collapsed, Israel's fifth election in under four years brought Mr. Netanyahu and his far-right and ultra-Orthodox bloc back to power, together winning a majority of 64 seats in the 120-seat Parliament.

Ultra-Orthodox parties won the most parliamentary seats in years in the November elections, reflecting the fast growth of this largely insular community and making them linchpins of Mr. Netanyahu's government.

To ensure the loyalty of the ultra-Orthodox parties, Mr. Netanyahu also agreed to create special budgets for public transportation in Haredi areas and to pass a law anchoring Torah study as a national value, akin to compulsory military service. Another contentious measure would formalize the longstanding arrangement granting exemption from the draft to Torah students, further undermining the once-hallowed principle of universal conscription.

Haredi society is not homogeneous, and some more modern Haredim join the army, seek a secular higher education to equip them for the labor market and even work in high tech.

Most Haredi women have jobs, albeit often low-paying ones. But only about half of ultra-Orthodox men go to work. Critics say that the promise to increase stipends for Torah students will be a disincentive for them to join the labor force.

Haredi children now make up a quarter of all Jewish children in the school system and a fifth of all pupils in the country, Jewish and Arab. Most Haredi boys focus on religious studies and learn little or no math, English or science.

"When the Haredim were a small group, that was OK," Professor Stern said. "Now it's impossible. To allow this to go on despite the large numbers of Haredim means the country won't be able to function."

In order to increase at least one area of employment for Haredim — their representation in public authorities and corporations — a university degree will no longer be a criterion for some, mostly unspecified jobs. (One of the few examples cited was for art therapists, who are much in demand but in short supply in the ultra-Orthodox community.)

Diplomas like those given out to graduates of post-high school religious seminaries for women will be considered as equivalent to a university degree, as will five years of work experience. At present, the vast majority of ultra-Orthodox high school graduates do not meet the minimum university entry requirements.

Torah study will be formally recognized as higher education, and yeshiva students will get the same 50 percent discount on public transportation as university students.

Haredi politicians have long promoted a conservative social agenda that rejects the idea of civil or same-sex marriage, and opposes gay rights, as well as work and the provision of public transportation on the Sabbath. And their political involvement has alienated many Jews abroad who practice less stringent forms of Judaism.

The new concessions agreed to by Mr. Netanyahu — including proposals to restrict the Law of Return, which currently grants refuge and automatic citizenship to foreign Jews, their spouses and descendants who have at least one Jewish grandparent — are already straining Israel's ties with many in the Jewish diaspora.

More than half of the country's Haredim live in Jerusalem or Bnei Brak, just east of Tel Aviv, or in ultra-Orthodox suburbs of those cities, according to the annual statistical survey of the Israel Democracy Institute, a nonpartisan research group, and poverty rates are higher than among the general population.

Haredim make up some 13 percent of the population, but Haredi families have an average of seven children, more than double the number of the average Israeli family. If current trends continue, almost one in four Israelis, and about one in three Israeli Jews, are projected to be Haredi by 2050.

Another significant pledge by Mr. Netanyahu to the Haredi parties would allow rabbinical courts to arbitrate in civil matters if both sides in a dispute agree, meaning that some work disputes, for example, could be settled according to ancient religious law.

Secular Israelis have been alarmed by other Haredi demands they view as further encroachment in the public sphere, including demands for more gender-segregated beaches to comply with modesty rules.

Yitzhak Pindrus, a senior representative of the United Torah Judaism alliance, made up of two Haredi parties, sought to play down the concerns, saying that nothing had changed in the Haredi mind-set.

"Our demands are the same since 1977," he said in an interview. "We are really old-fashioned — 2,500 years old. We don't change our demands as a result of elections."

"If 3 percent of the beaches were enough, we now need more if we are 20 percent of the population," he said, referring to a practice of setting aside gender-segregated areas of beaches for Haredim. "The idea is to get closer to 6 percent," he said, insisting that the point was not more autonomy, but to cater to the community's larger numbers.

The separatist approach of the Haredi politicians has become a matter of debate within the Haredi community itself.

The coalition agreements for the new government "lay the foundations for the two-state solution: the state of Israel and the state of the Shtetl," wrote Eliyahu Berkovits, a Haredi research assistant at the Israel Democracy Institute, in a recent article, using the Yiddish word for the traditional Jewish villages of Eastern Europe before the Holocaust.

The "Haredi enclave" has grown much larger, he wrote, and "is set to go one step further and become an autonomous state."

In an interview, Mr. Berkovits said that Haredi politicians still acted as if they were representing a small minority that needed to protect its own interests. "The Haredi community has to understand that we are bigger," he said, "and we are responsible for the future of Israel."

He said he was proud of his community and praised its "amazing values." But, he added, "it's easier to do what you have done for past 20 years than to rethink the whole thing."

While the numbers of modern, working Haredim are increasing, so are the hard-core and extremist factions. In recent weeks, extremists in Jerusalem vandalized an optical store because it used pictures of women wearing spectacles in its advertising and rioted over the arrest of a Haredi suspected of setting fire to a cellphone store, critically wounding a mother of 11 who was hit by a burning dumpster.

The Haredi approach over the years was one of "exile mentality," said Israel Cohen, a political commentator for Kol Berama, a Haredi radio station, focusing on remaining apart rather than trying to influence general society.

A "Haredi-Israeli culture" has now grown up, he said, and "Haredim want Israel to be more Jewish." He added: "You'd think a Haredi becoming more Israeli would become more liberal. But no, it's the opposite. They want Israel to become more Haredi."

AVISHAG SHAAR-YASHUV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

LAETITIA VANCON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Election signs in November urging votes for ultra-Orthodox parties. Left, Yanki Katzburg, a Haredi journalist, and his five children after a Sabbath dinner in 2021. A raft of measures would cement the special status of the Haredi community.

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War in Ukraine

PHOTOGRAPHS BY BRENDAN HOFFMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Kovtuns, an Eastern Orthodox family, gathered on Friday for Christmas Eve dinner in a temporary home in Makariv, Ukraine. Rocket fragments, top right, remained near their destroyed house.

UKRAINE DISPATCH

‘No Time to Weep’: A Holiday Feast Beside a House in Ruins

By MEGAN SPECIA

MAKARIV, Ukraine — The smell of oranges and roasting duck wafted from behind the metal door of a small barn as Oksana Kovtun put the final touches to her family’s Christmas dinner.

As she hustled from the outbuilding into the warmth of a small modular home carrying the bird toward the table, a thin dusting of snow settled on the collapsed walls and scattered debris in the center of her yard.

It is all that is left of her family’s house in Makariv, destroyed by shelling this past spring as the Russians made their failed grab for the Ukrainian capital, Kyiv, some 30 miles away.

In the Eastern Orthodox tradition, Christmas this year fell on Saturday — the church still uses the Julian calendar, rather than the newer Gregorian one — and the set-piece family meal comes on Christmas Eve. Friday was the first Christmas Eve the Kovtuns had spent at war, now living alongside the ruins of their house in a donated temporary building.

With one of her sons in the army in the east, and with no permanent home, Ms. Kovtun, 49, said the past several months had at times felt punishing.

“But there is nothing else to do; we have to hold on,” she added. “You can sit and cry, but then you get up and get to work. And that’s how it is.”

The Kovtuns were among countless Ukrainian families celebrating the holiday under stark new circumstances. Many have damaged homes; many more were displaced entirely or have fled the country as refugees.

Even in areas that have never been near the front lines, celebrations were taking place amid hardship and uncertainty, after weeks of attacks by Russian forces on critical civilian infrastructure that have crippled Ukraine’s ability to provide consistent electricity, heat and water.

Such conditions can turn the Christmas Eve meal into both an act of defiance and a demonstration of resilience. In the Kovtuns’ modular home, the electricity flickered out two hours before dinner was set to begin. But flashlights were close at hand.

The youngest in the family, Ms. Kovtun’s 7-year-old grandson, David, struck a match to light candles on the table with the swift hand of someone for whom it has become a nightly ritual.

“You can’t really call it a house now,” Viktor Kovtun, Ms. Kovtun’s husband, said of the tiny prefabricated building, which had been sectioned off into three rooms. Without its electric heating, it would cool quickly, Mr. Kovtun, 53, explained, lighting a gas heater instead. “But we will rebuild,” he said of the family’s lost house.

It will not be the first time they have remade their home of nearly three decades. “When we bought it, it was just walls and a roof, no windows, doors or floor,” Ms. Kovtun said of the house they bought in 1997. “And we have been building and building.”

> Family celebrations of Orthodox Christmas are acts of defiance.

They raised their two sons there, and then added on to make room for their daughter-in-law and eventually their grandson — three generations under one roof. They had more work planned for when their son Mykhailo, 22, was scheduled to return last year from military service. He had joined the army in 2021.

But only days after the Kovtuns finished renovating their kitchen in February, Russian forces occupied Makariv as they invaded Ukraine from the north. Battles between Ukrainian and Russian troops soon engulfed the area.

“There was no siren, no alert; we just heard the shelling,” said Tetiana Kovtun, 30, who is married to the couple’s oldest son, Vitalii, also 30. They barely had time to grab a few belongings as they fled.

Weeks later, on March 16, artillery fire burst through the wall of the elder couple’s bedroom. A second rocket slammed into another wall. The shelling and subsequent fire nearly leveled the home, and the family dog was killed.

But the elder Ms. Kovtun’s pain over their loss is laced with optimism. She had escaped town safely before the devastating attack, along with her husband, Vitalii, Tetiana and David. Weeks later, Russian forces were ousted, and the family eventually returned to survey the damage.

They found their house in ruins, but an outbuilding — a barn with a small kitchen — had survived. So the couple moved in there for a time.

“When we arrived and had to live in the barn, I was saying, ‘It doesn’t matter what conditions we live in if it’s home,’ ” Ms. Kovtun said. “Home is home.”

Their modular building arrived in November, donated by a Ukrainian charity as part of a program called Nest that has erected 585 homes in the Makariv area alone. It has made it possible for the family to live on-site while trying to rebuild.

Just before Christmas Eve dinner, Ms. Kovtun’s phone rang. It was Mykhailo. His father’s face lit up, and David leaped toward the phone to yell a Christmas greeting to his uncle. Mykhailo — who is a chef in the military, his service now extended for the duration of the war — described the dinner he was making for his fellow soldiers.

When her sons were young, Ms. Kovtun said, she would send them outside to look for the first Christmas star in the sky before they began their meal, an Orthodox tradition. Now, David, Ms. Kovtun’s grandson, took up the search as the family gathered for dinner.

Only days before, on New Year’s Eve, the family had gazed at the night sky together in horror, their eyes drawn up by the unmistakable buzz of several Iranian-made drones launched by Russian forces. They were most likely destined for Kyiv, part of a major Russian attack as the new year began. Many were intercepted, however: Vitalii showed videos of the explosions on his cellphone as the family gathered in the small kitchen.

The customary 12 dishes served on Christmas Eve crowded the Kovtuns’ modest table, and David helped his grandmother count them out one by one. The first that they served was kutya, a traditional dish made of wheat berries, poppy seeds, nuts, raisins and honey.

Some of the plates the family used had been pulled from the ruins of the home, among the few things to survive.

The family recipe book was lost in the fire, so this year Ms. Kovtun made many of the traditional dishes from memory.

Next year, Mr. Kovtun said, he hopes his family will have Christmas in a newly rebuilt home. They plan to begin work in the spring.

It is that work that keeps the family occupied and distracts the Kovtuns from what they have had to endure. Ms. Kovtun eases her mind by telling herself maybe the home was simply the price her family had to pay in this war.

Maybe it will prevent something worse.

“But when we rebuild the house, we will have a huge party there. I’ll get drunk and then I’ll start crying and I’ll cry out all of the pain, every last drop of it,” she said. “Now, there is no time to weep.”

Oleksandra Mykolyshyn and Natalia Yermak contributed reporting.

Taking Up Arms for Kyiv To Get Back at Moscow

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manders, who are on high alert for saboteurs.

But the volunteers seem to be finding their place. Mr. Madiyev, a veteran of two wars in Chechnya against Moscow, was an associate of Dzhokhar Dudayev, the former Soviet general who led Chechnya’s bid for independence from Russia in the 1990s. Exiled from Chechnya, Mr. Madiyev settled in Ukraine in 2016.

His battalion, named for the deceased Chechen leader, is one of several Chechen units that have joined Ukraine in its fight against Russia in recent years, following the 2014 uprising of Russian-backed separatists in eastern Ukraine and the annexation of Crimea. Mr. Madiyev declined to reveal how many active fighters he had, saying simply, “We have enough.”

He spoke about the Russian invasion the way many Ukrainians do, saying that if Moscow is not stopped in Ukraine, it will threaten many more countries of Europe.

But the younger fighters in his battalion take things further.

“Our aim is the liberation of the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria,” a Chechen fighter said, using the name of the erstwhile self-declared republic, “and to help all the nations who want it, to gain freedom.” In accordance with military protocol, he gave only his code name, Maga.

The Chechens are only one example of numerous ethnic-based battalions and regiments that have been forming in Ukraine since Russia’s invasion last February.

Fighters from Belarus have formed a regiment thousands strong. Other volunteers come from the Caucasus and Central Asia, as well as from ethnic minorities that have large populations in Russia: Chechens, Tatars and Turkic-speaking groups.

Most of them are motivated by historical grievances of dispossession and suppression by Moscow. Chechens and Tatars were among many groups that were decimated by forcible deportations under Stalin in the 1940s.

There is also a smattering of Russian exiles, among them Russian nationalists and neo-Nazis who are opposed to Mr. Putin. A thousands-strong regiment of Belarusians includes many opponents of the country’s president, Aleksandr G. Lukashenko.

Their participation in the war may be useful for Ukraine, but it is also a potentially explosive issue for the Kyiv government because most of them harbor long-term political ambitions to return home and overthrow the Russian and Belarusian governments. Ukrainian military officials declined to comment on their use of the volunteer groups, while a spokesman for the Ukrainian security service, the S.B.U., said it was not responsible for managing them.

But the volunteers themselves say that they are acting with the full knowledge and under the orders of the Ukrainian Army and intelligence services. Many of their operations are covert, including dangerous reconnaissance or sabotage missions behind Russian lines.

In response to an appeal by Ukraine’s president, Volodymyr Zelensky, early in the war, thousands of volunteers poured in from Western countries, including the United States and Britain. Most joined the International Legion, which has been recognized by the Ukrainian government and, to some extent, integrated into the Ukrainian Army.

DAVID GUTTENFELDER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Chechen battalion training near Kyiv, Ukraine. Several Chechen units have joined the war effort.

At a news briefing last month, Ukraine’s defense minister, Oleksii Reznikov, said there were ideological and political benefits to having foreign soldiers fighting alongside Ukrainians in defense of European values.

Foreign soldiers were also gaining valuable experience, he added: “The experience of the modern war here, the war of technologies, drone war and electronic warfare. So I think it’s a win-win exchange.”

But the volunteers from former Soviet republics are, in many ways, even more useful.

They have a linguistic advantage because most speak Russian, which is widely spoken in Ukraine, and sometimes Ukrainian, making coordination with the Ukrainian military easier. And some, like a group of Georgians in the Kavkaz Legion, have battlefield experience, having served with the NATO-led force in Afghanistan.

Their knowledge of Russia and Russians, and their hatred of Moscow, has made the volunteers good undercover operators for Kyiv. Some Ukrainian officials and lawmakers have even expressed support for their causes. In October, for example, the Ukrainian Parliament passed a motion recognizing the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria as a territory occupied by Russia.

But they also face substantial risks, given the nature of their work behind enemy lines. Not just Russian citizens, but virtually any undercover soldiers captured by Russian forces would be dealt with harshly.

One of the more recently formed volunteer battalions, Turan, is composed of Turkic-speaking ethnic groups from the Caucasus, Central Asia and Russia. It is led by a refugee from Kyrgyzstan, Almaz Kudabek, who had worked as a barber on American bases in his home country and in the Afghan city of Kandahar.

He says he has recruited Azerbaijanis, Tatars and Chinese Uyghurs to the group, and he talks passionately about the marginalization and oppression of Turkic-speaking minorities in Russia. He said that Moscow had unfairly drawn conscripts for the war predominantly from remote and poorer regions of Russia, including those populated by Turkic-speaking ethnic minorities, who have been killed in far greater numbers than ethnic Russians.

But Mr. Kudabek said members of his unit could turn that injustice to their advantage, infiltrating Russian-occupied territory on sabotage missions and even passing themselves off as Russian soldiers.

> *‘We have to join and be a part of this war,’ a Chechen fighter said.*

“We just want to fight Russians,” he said. “We know what they are.”

Despite their evident value to the Ukrainian military, the commanders of ethnic battalions complained of a lack of support from Kyiv. The Chechen battalion leader, Mr. Madiyev, said that beyond weapons and ammunition, the units have to provide for their own food, fuel and equipment.

The leader of a Russian regiment, a far-right nationalist who uses the code name White Rex, said he ran into multiple obstacles when he formed the unit shortly after the Russians invaded.

Although he and his fellow volunteers had lived in Ukraine for years, they were initially met with suspicion from Ukrainians on edge about Russian saboteurs. “We were held at gunpoint,” he said. “We had many funny, and not so funny, encounters, but I was determined to have this regiment.”

But they have also found support among Ukrainians.

A Ukrainian volunteer group, Bratstvo, eventually helped the Russian regiment find a role for itself not so dissimilar from the other ethnic battalions, operating behind Russian lines and carrying out reconnaissance and sabotage missions for the Ukrainian Army.

Minutes before setting out on a night mission recently, White Rex said his aim had always been to find a way to return home to Russia. But he said the war had taught him that the way to return to Russia was to overthrow Mr. Putin and his government.

“The Russian Volunteer Corps marches in and destroys the current government — that’s the only way,” he said. “You cannot persuade a tyrant to leave, and any other force would be seen as invaders.”

Oleksandr Chubko contributed reporting.

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In Scene Reminiscent of Jan. 6, Protesters in Brazil Storm Congress

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After Mr. Lula was inaugurated, protesters put out calls online for others to join them for a massive demonstration on Sunday. It quickly turned violent.

Hundreds of protesters ascended a ramp to the roof of the congressional building in Brasília, the capital, while a smaller group invaded the building from a lower level, according to witnesses and videos of the scene posted on social media. Other groups of protesters splintered off and broke into the presidential offices and the Supreme Court, which are in the same plaza.

The scene was chaotic.

Protesters streamed into the government buildings, which were largely empty on a Sunday, breaking windows, overturning furniture and looting items inside, according to videos they posted online.

The crowds shouted that they were taking their country back, and that they would not be stopped. Outnumbered, the police fired what appeared to be rubber bullets, pepper spray and tear-gas canisters, including from two helicopters overhead.

"Police are cowardly trying to expel the people from Congress, but there is no way, because even more are arriving," said one protester in a video filmed from inside Congress and showing hundreds of protesters on multiple floors. "No one is taking our country, damn it."

Eventually Brazilian Army soldiers helped retake control of some buildings.

Mr. Lula, who was not in Brasília during the invasion, issued an emergency decree until Jan. 31 that allows the federal government to take "any measures necessary" to restore order in the capital. "There is no precedent for what these people have done, and for that, these people must be punished," he said.

The president, who arrived in the capital late in the day to inspect the damage, said that his government would also investigate anyone who may have financed the protests.

Mr. Bolsonaro appeared to be in Florida. He flew to Orlando in the final days of his presidency, in hopes that his absence from the country would help cool off investigations into his activity as president, according to a friend of the president's who spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe private conversations. He planned to stay in Florida for one to three months, this person said.

Mr. Bolsonaro has never unequivocally conceded defeat in the election, leaving it to his aides to handle the transition of power and skipping the inauguration, where he was supposed to pass the presidential sash to Mr. Lula, an important symbol of the transition of power for a country that lived under a 21-year military dictatorship until 1985.

After the election, he said he supported peaceful protests inspired by "feelings of injustice in the electoral process."

But before departing for Florida, Mr. Bolsonaro suggested to his supporters that they move on. "We live in a democracy or we don't," he said in a statement. "No one wants an adventure."

His calls were ignored.

The next day, thousands of his supporters remained camped outside the Army headquarters in Brasília, with many convinced that the military and Mr. Bolsonaro were about to execute a secret plan to prevent Mr. Lula's inauguration.

Reporting was contributed by Ana Ionova, Yan Boechat, Leonardo Coelho, Laís Martins and Gustavo Freitas.

ADRIANO MACHADO/REUTERS

UESLEI MARCELINO/REUTERS

ADRIANO MACHADO/REUTERS

Rioters backing Jair Bolsonaro, Brazil's former president, raided government buildings in Brasília on Sunday. Above, broken glass outside the National Congress; below, vandals inside the Planalto Palace; left, security forces outside Planalto Palace.

"The army will step in," Magno Rodrigues, 60, a former mechanic and janitor, said in an interview on Dec. 31, the day before Mr. Lula took office. He had been camped outside the army's headquarters for nine weeks and said he was prepared to stay "for the rest of my life if I have to."

One of Mr. Lula's central challenges as president will be to unify the nation after a bitter election in which some of his supporters framed Mr. Bolsonaro as genocidal and cannibalistic, while Mr. Bolsonaro repeatedly called Mr. Lula a criminal. (Mr. Lula served 19 months in prison on corruption charges that were later thrown out.)

Surveys have shown that a sizable chunk of the population say they believe Mr. Lula stole the election, fueled by false claims that have spread across the internet and a shift among many right-wing voters away from traditional sources of news — problems that have also plagued American politics in recent years.

President Biden, who was visiting the southern U.S. border, called the protests "outrageous," and Jake Sullivan, his national security adviser, said the United States "condemns any effort to undermine democracy in Brazil."

"Our support for Brazil's democratic institutions is unwavering," Mr. Sullivan wrote on Twitter. "Brazil's democracy will not be shaken by violence."

Some far-right provocateurs in the United States however, cheered on the attacks, posting videos of the riots and calling the protesters "patriots" who were trying to uphold the Brazilian Constitution. Steve Bannon, a former adviser to President Donald J. Trump, called the protesters "Brazilian Freedom Fighters" in a social-media post. Mr. Bannon has had close ties with one of Mr. Bolsonaro's sons.

At first, the rioters had a relatively easy time breaching the buildings. State police officers tried to hold them back, but they were far outnumbered. The demonstrations had been advertised widely on social media for days.

"It was scary, it was insanity," said Adriana Reis, 30, a cleaner at Congress who witnessed the scene. "They tried hard, with pepper spray, to drive them off, but I don't think the police could handle them all." After protesters streamed in, "we ran away to hide," she said.

Videos from inside Congress, the Supreme Court and the presidential offices quickly filled social-media feeds and group chats, showing protesters wearing their national flag and trudging through the halls of power, not exactly sure what to do next.

They sat in the padded chairs of the Chamber of Deputies, rifled through paperwork in the presidential offices and posed with a golden coat of arms that appeared to be ripped from the wall of the Supreme Court's chambers. Federal officials later distributed images and videos from the presidential offices that showed destroyed computers, art ripped from frames and firearm cases that had been emptied of their guns.

Outside the presidential offices, they raised the flag of the Brazilian Empire, a period in the 19th century before Brazil became a democracy, and they sang Brazil's national anthem. Videos of the rampage showed many protesters with phones aloft, recording.

"There is no way to stop the people," one protester declared as he live-streamed hundreds of protesters charging onto the roof of Congress. "Subscribe to my channel, guys."

Several news outlets said their journalists were attacked and robbed during the rioting. And Ricardo Stuckert, Mr. Lula's official photographer, had his passport and more than $95,000 worth of equipment stolen from a room in the presidential offices, according to his wife, Cristina Lino.

By late afternoon, military trucks had arrived.

Armed soldiers entered the presidential offices through a back door to ambush rioters inside. Shortly after, protesters began to stream out of the building, including some escorted by law enforcement officers.

By 9 p.m., more than seven hours after the invasions began, Brazil's justice minister, Flávio Dino, said the buildings had been cleared. He said officials had arrested at least 200 people. The governor of Brasília said the number of arrests had exceeded 400.

Valdemar Costa Neto, the head of Mr. Bolsonaro's right-wing Liberal Party, criticized the protesters.

"Today is a sad day for the Brazilian nation," he said in a statement. "All orderly demonstrations are legitimate. Disorder has never been part of our nation's principles."

Prince Harry Promotes His Memoir in Interviews on U.S. and British Television

By ELISABETH EGAN

The death of his mother, Diana. His decades chafing under the eye of the British press. His marriage to Meghan Markle and his rift with the royal family. His drug use, his years in the Army, even his decision to keep his beard: In the first interviews about his memoir, "Spare," Prince Harry appeared confident defending his perspective, even under tough questioning.

After 38 years of having his story told by other people, "it felt like a good time to tell it myself," Prince Harry said of the book, which Random House will publish on Tuesday.

The interviews, which aired on the British network ITV and on the CBS program "60 Minutes," weren't the first time Harry has spoken publicly about the relentless glare of scrutiny on his family and its toll, but they were the first time he did so without his wife, Meghan, the Duchess of Sussex, by his side. The two covered similar ground, with a few exceptions.

'60 Minutes'

In his first interview for American audiences, Prince Harry told Anderson Cooper that "Spare" gives "a full picture of the situation as we were growing up, and also squashes this idea that somehow my wife was the one that destroyed the relationship between these two brothers."

Prince Harry described what happened in September after the palace announced that his grandmother, the queen, was under medical supervision at Balmoral Castle, in Scotland. He was in London but wasn't invited to join family members who flew there together. He traveled to Balmoral by himself; when he arrived, his aunt asked if he wanted to see his grandmother, who had died.

"I went upstairs," he said, "and just spent some time with her alone."

Mr. Cooper asked the prince about the treatments he tried after seeing a therapist for the first time seven years ago, including the use of psychedelics.

"I would never recommend people to do this recreationally," Prince Harry said. But he said that "doing it with the right people if you are suffering from a huge amount of loss, grief or trauma, then these things have a way of working as a medicine."

He added, "For me, they cleared the windscreen, the windshield, the misery of loss."

'Harry: The Interview'

The interviewer for the 90-minute ITV interview was Tom Bradby, who, in 2019, asked Meghan a straightforward question: Are you OK? She was not. The pained look on the Duchess's face foreshadowed a drumbeat of revelations about royal life that has sounded steadily over three years, including an explosive interview with Oprah Winfrey.

60 MINUTES

Interviewed by Anderson Cooper, Prince Harry talked about his marriage, his rift with the royal family and his use of psychedelics.

Prince Harry and Mr. Bradby appeared in a sunny room with yellow brocade curtains. The vibe was more cozy living room than formal drawing room; the conversation was wide-ranging and occasionally contentious. When the prince's face reddened and his eyes hinted at tears, he still projected an air of composure.

Prince Harry quickly shut down the topic of how and where he lost his virginity, which he said merits only four lines in the book. Mr. Bradby suggested that the prince's use of cocaine would be of public interest, but Prince Harry shifted the focus back to his treatment at the hands of the press.

"My life itself has been put through a blender," he said.

The media was a recurring theme throughout the interview; every time a new subject came up, Prince Harry found a way to return to his favorite punching bag.

One unexpected disclosure involved Prince Harry's beard. According to protocol, the prince needed his grandmother's approval to keep the facial hair for his wedding. Queen Elizabeth was amenable, but his brother, Prince William, was not; he ordered Prince Harry to shave. Prince Harry's response: "I don't believe that Meghan is going to recognize me."

When Mr. Bradby asked Prince Harry about his brother's feelings toward Meghan, Harry said, "He never tried to dissuade me from marrying Meghan," but "he said it was going to be very hard."

The behavior of his brother and sister-in-law toward Meghan, Prince Harry said, left him feeling like "stereotyping was causing a bit of a barrier to them really sort of, you know, introducing or welcoming her in."

Mr. Bradby said, "You talk about accountability. In the Oprah interview you accused members of your family of racism."

"No I didn't," Prince Harry said. "The British press said that."

What the royal family is guilty of, Prince Harry said, was institutional bias. Later, he illustrated the point by describing what happened when Susan Hussey, one of Queen Elizabeth's longtime ladies-in-waiting, buttonholed a guest at a palace reception, Ngozi Fulani, and quizzed her about where she was from, not accepting that she was British.

Later, Ms. Hussey met with Ms. Fulani in Buckingham Palace and offered her apologies.

Prince Harry said that Ms. Hussey "never meant any harm at all, but the response from the British press, and from people online because of the stories that they wrote, was horrendous."

In the most poignant moments of the discussion, Prince Harry described his decision, years after his mother died, to look at pictures taken after her car crash in Paris. In the photographs, he could see reflections of paparazzi in the windows of the car: "Not one of them was checking on her, offering her help, comforting her. They were just shooting, shooting, shooting."

Mr. Bradby pressed the prince on how he squares his desire for privacy with his public retellings of his story. The prince said he feels the book and a Netflix documentary are "necessary and essential."

He was sorry that "me owning my story" was upsetting to some, he said. But he still believed a reconciliation with the House of Windsor was possible, he said, adding, "Peace can happen when there's truth."

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The New York Times

Blustery Storm Batters Sacramento, and California Braces for More

This article is by Judson Jones, Luke Vander Ploeg and Carly Stern.

Heavy winds pummeled the Sacramento region late Saturday night, toppling trees and knocking out power for more than 300,000 customers, as California braced for yet another series of storms this week that could bring additional flooding, more outages and tree damage, as well as dangerous mudslides and mountain snow.

Wind speeds topped out at nearly 70 miles per hour on Saturday night and early Sunday morning in the Sacramento area. At least one person was killed, a homeless woman struck by a falling tree, the Sacramento Fire Department said.

By Sunday evening, about 62,000 customers remained without power. A spokesperson with the Sacramento Municipal Utility District said that the company had dozens of crews on the ground working but that extensive damage from the storm meant that some customers would be without power through the night.

Parker Wilbourn, fire captain with the Sacramento Metropolitan Fire District, said they were responding with a "all hands on deck" approach. Saturday night's storm was particularly devastating, he said, coming on the heels of the rain, outages and flooding the city has already suffered.

The storm followed a week of downpours across California that caused widespread flooding and felled countless trees. Six people were killed, including a toddler struck by a tree that crashed into his home in Sonoma County.

"Each one of these storms really just compounds on the previous storm," Mr. Wilbourn said. The worry now, he said, is what happens when more rain hits in the coming days. "Our soils are already saturated. So it would just take, you know, a couple more inches of rain and we could potentially see another catastrophic event."

The state is being hit by a family of atmospheric rivers — huge plumes of water vapor in the sky — in rapid succession. The most potent is expected to arrive Monday through Tuesday, renewing concerns from meteorologists of widespread damage.

"The West Coast remains under the target of a relentless parade of cyclones that form and intensify over the Pacific Ocean while moving directly toward the North American continent," forecasters at the National Weather Service's Weather Prediction Center said on Sunday morning.

Heavy snow and rain fell in Northern and Central California over Saturday night but began to clear in many places by Sunday.

In San Francisco, the sun shone amid scattered clouds in the morning, and residents took advantage of the drier weather there. More than 50 volunteers gathered at Manny's, a cafe and civic gathering space in the heart of the city's Mission District, for a disco-themed trash pickup. Music blared in the cafe as volunteers of all ages, clad in glimmering orange construction vests and disco ball necklaces, gathered gloves and gear before fanning out on the surrounding blocks.

Though a group gathers every Sunday to help beautify the neighborhood, the organization did extra outreach to get more volunteers for storm cleanup. "Everyone was extra pumped up today to hit the ground running and gather after everyone's been alone in their house during the rainstorms," said Rosamand Carr, a 26-year-old financial analyst who attended the cleanup.

FRED GREAVES/REUTERS

MIKE KAI CHEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The aftermath of the storm in Sacramento on Sunday, above. Cleaning up on Friday in Capitola, Calif., left. The state is being hit by a family of atmospheric rivers — huge plumes of water vapor in the sky — in rapid succession.

Even so, she is readying herself for the next batch of storms. "I have my puzzles, I have my book," she said. She has filled up several water bottles with water, and has candles and flashlights on hand if she loses power. "Other than that, we're mentally preparing to hunker down inside," she said.

A day earlier, Elijah Kaplan, a 29-year-old video editor who lives in the Presidio neighborhood, was resigned to waiting longer to make major repairs on his apartment, which sits beneath a hill and where water has continued seeping into the walls each day. He has taken to strapping on hiking boots and wading through knee-deep mud to dig a trench to redirect water away from his home, but he knows that more storms are coming.

"It's been a huge pain and disruption to all of our lives, but we also acknowledge that we've been living through a drought," Mr. Kaplan said. "Even this torrential amount of rain is still just a drop in the bucket for what California needs."

On Monday morning, what some forecasters in the Los Angeles weather office are calling the "main show" begins. A potent atmospheric river will begin in the northern part of the state on Monday before moving south through the day and into Tuesday.

According to the Weather Prediction Center, many areas could see an amount of precipitation that occurs only once every five or 10 years.

Rain totals could reach two to four inches over most areas and could be more than eight inches along the coast and coastal ranges and along the western slope of the Sierra.

More than 300,000 customers in the region lose their electricity.

"The longevity and intensity of rain, combined with the cumulative effect of successive heavy rain events dating back to the end of December, will lead to widespread and potentially significant flood impacts," the Weather Prediction Center said Sunday morning.

The forecasters said to expect minor to isolated major river flooding, with potentially record river levels.

Forecasters also expected damaging winds of up to 60 m.p.h. Monday through Tuesday, which could lead to more widespread power outages across the region. Thunderstorms could include a brief tornado along or near parts of the central California coast.

In a news conference on Sunday afternoon, Gov. Gavin Newsom emphasized the danger this storm presented. "These floods are deadly, and have now turned to be more deadly than even the wildfires here in the state of California," he said.

He and other officials said that the state had resources set up to deal with the coming rain and flooding including rescue helicopters, deep-water vehicles and temporary shelters.

In higher regions of the Sierra, the threat involved extreme snow that could exceed five feet. "The heavy snow loads will increase the threat of avalanches and damage to infrastructures," the Weather Prediction Center forecasters said.

Across the Sierra, the winter storm severity index is at its highest level, meaning travel is not advised and extensive and widespread road closures and disruptions to infrastructure may occur.

This storm system will be warmer than some of the previous ones. The snowfall will start at 5,000 feet but will rise above 6,500 to 8,000 feet throughout the day, meaning that areas with fresh snow will see rain, allowing it to melt and increasing the amount of water entering creeks and rivers. The rising snow levels raised concerns of flooding, the Sacramento National Weather Service office said.

The system should begin to wane on Tuesday. On Wednesday, another system will begin, though it is expected to be weaker. Any precipitation, however, will fall on a region susceptible to additional rainfall and could exacerbate swollen rivers and creeks.

There may be a brief break before another atmospheric river forecast for the weekend, which would bring more heavy rainfall and threats of flooding.

Forecasters in the San Francisco Bay Area office of the National Weather Service say that there is a 60 percent to 80 percent chance that the wetter-than-normal pattern will continue for the next couple of weeks.

JEFF CHIU/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Riding the waves on Friday in front of a Golden Gate Bridge tower in San Francisco. The most potent storms are expected to arrive Monday through Tuesday, renewing concerns about major damage.

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PHOTOGRAPHS BY NITASHIA JOHNSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Above, collections of war data belonging to the brothers Hal and Ted Barker, from bottom left. They maintain a vast repository of information about the conflict called the Korean War Project. "We owe it" to service members who died, Ted says. The wall of remembrance is "full of old bookkeeping errors and typos," Hal says.

New Korean War Memorial Wall Is Riddled With Errors

From Page A1

who drank antifreeze thinking it was alcohol. And it includes one Marine who lived for 60 years after the war and had eight grandchildren.

Beyond that, there are about 500 names that should be listed but are not, according to the Barkers. They say that the official roster used for the wall was so slapdash that they cannot find much rhyme or reason to who was included and who was left out.

For example, records show that when Lieutenant McCord's bomber crashed, nine crew members aboard were killed, but the names of only three are included on the wall. In another case, a Navy plane collided with an Air Force plane off Japan, killing both pilots; the Navy pilot is on the wall, but the Air Force pilot is not.

How did it all go so wrong? Through the shared missteps of several federal agencies and a veterans' group that failed to devote the time, money and scrutiny needed to prepare an accurate list, probably ensuring that even more time, money and scrutiny will be required to fix it.

The granite slabs were erected by the Korean War Veterans Memorial Foundation to recognize a largely forgotten conflict that left more than a million people dead and a country divided. The money for the project was largely provided by the government of South Korea. Like other monuments on the mall, the slabs are maintained by the National Park Service. The error-riddled list of names was supplied by the Defense Department. And no one seems to have checked it.

The foundation declined to comment. The park service deflected blame to the Defense Department. The Defense Department declined to make decision makers available for comment. In response to questions from The New York Times, it acknowledged that there were errors on the wall, saying in a statement that compiling an accurate list was "challenging."

"We encourage all family members or concerned citizens to notify the Department of any names that were omitted, misspelled, or included in error," the statement said, adding that the department would work with the park service to make any necessary corrections or additions, though they did not offer any details of how the granite could be fixed.

The brothers said they could think of no options but tearing out the slabs and starting over.

It is not the first time the department has botched casualty figures from the conflict in Korea, where three years of bitter fighting ended in stalemate and an armistice in 1953. For nearly 50 years afterward, the official number of American dead from the conflict was 54,246, a number published in history books, quoted in speeches and etched in stone when the Korean War memorial was unveiled. But in 2000, the Pentagon acknowledged that the figure included all troops who had died anywhere, for any reason, during the war years, and that the true number of war deaths was 36,516.

Before the carving started on the new wall of names, the Barker brothers repeatedly warned planning commissioners, military officials and eventually even the White House about problems with the list, records show. But the process lumbered forward.

"No one bothered to check it before they set it in stone," said Edward Barker Jr., who goes by Ted.

War memorials that recognize thousands of people were once rare.

In recent generations, however, engraved lists have come to be almost expected, as society grew more focused on individuals. Major memorials like those for the Vietnam War and the Sept. 11 terror attacks now prioritize listing masses of people name by name.

But as the Korean War wall of remembrance shows, efforts to be inclusive can instead call attention to who was left out. Should the wall include a nurse killed in a plane crash on her way to the war zone? What about a Marine who died by suicide a month after coming home? Even with the best proofreading, any attempt to recognize all who died in as complex an event as a war will inevitably involve hard decisions.

For that reason, the National Park Service repeatedly opposed adding the Korean War memorial wall when it was proposed. The service had already waded through controversy over the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, just across the Mall's reflecting pool, where factions faced off over who deserved to be listed. Years of arguments and lobbying led to the addition of more than 380 names to that granite wall, including one man who died 28 years after he was wounded in Vietnam.

"There is not always agreement on those names to be included," the parks service's deputy director for operations at the time, Peggy O'Dell, warned at a congressional hearing in 2016. "Choosing some names and omitting others causes a place of solace to become a source of hurt."

Erika Doss, a professor of American studies at the University of Notre Dame who has written extensively about monuments, said that Americans increasingly saw recognizing individuals as critical. "We see ourselves as a nation of individuals, so listing the names becomes unifying," she said. But she wondered how so solemn a gesture could have gotten so flawed this time. She asked, "Didn't they have an editor?"

The mistakes might have attracted little notice if not for the Barker brothers.

Ted, 77, and Hal, 75, both 5 foot 6 and partial to loose jeans and white running shoes, share a two-bedroom apartment outside Dallas where, over the years, more and more living space has been ceded to their research. Walls are covered with bulletin boards. Out-of-print books and binders stuffed with obscure infantry rosters weigh down sagging shelves. Hal's bed is little more than a cot, pushed into a corner to make room for a sprawling homemade desk with six computer monitors where he maintains their project's website.

The brothers began what they readily admit has become an obsession more than 40 years ago, hoping to better understand their father, Lt. Col. Edward L. Barker, a Marine pilot whose portrait hangs in their hall. He was often brooding and quick to anger, Hal said: "A good Marine, but a bad father."

The colonel, who died in 2009, had a uniform that gleamed with ribbons, including a Silver Star, but Hal said that whenever the brothers asked what he did in the Korean War, their father responded, "None of your damn business."

Hal majored in history in college, and after graduating, he sought out veterans who could tell him about his father. That led to collecting oral histories of nearly forgotten battles. Ted got involved as the project grew, and the brothers created the website in 1995 to share their findings. The site has grown to thousands of pages of maps, photographs and profiles, crowdsourced by veterans and their families and meticulously curated by the brothers.

More than 1,000 mistakes were set in stone, experts say.

In the 1990s, as part of their research, the Barkers started cobbling together a list of all Americans who died in the war. It was based largely on military personnel records entered on IBM punch cards in the 1950s. The cards had room for only a limited number of characters, and could not accommodate hyphenated or multiword surnames like Bald Eagle Bear, so hundreds of names got scrambled.

Much of the data has since been converted to modern digital files, but the errors introduced in the punch-card era endured. So the brothers started checking their list against personnel files, census rolls and gravestones — work that has taken years.

"People ask us how we could spend so much effort doing this," Ted Barker said. "I say, how could we not? We feel we owe it to these guys."

Around 2010, a group of veterans running the Korean War Veterans Memorial Foundation began lobbying to add a memorial wall to the existing monument. When the foundation asked the Barkers for names, the brothers said they could supply a list but warned that a lot of correction work would still be needed.

The foundation pushed ahead, and in 2016, despite National Park Service opposition, Congress authorized the wall. Tucked in the legislation, though, was something the park service insisted on. Because the park service feared that a protracted public process like the one for the Vietnam memorial would yield another divisive mess, the law required that the office of the Secretary of Defense decide on and issue the list of names, all at once with no outside input.

In a statement, the park service said the accuracy of the list was the responsibility of the foundation and the Defense Department. That statement concluded, "We will continue to work with those organizations to ensure that the names engraved on the memorials are as accurate as possible."

The National Park Service's legislative provision created a problem: All the Pentagon had were its old, error-ridden records, without the Barkers' corrections. The brothers say they emailed the Defense Department repeatedly to offer their services, but the department was unresponsive.

Then the brothers noticed something odd happening: The Korean War Project website started to be visited thousands of times a day by computers associated with civilian researchers hired by the Defense Department. The brothers grew suspicious that the Defense Department might be paying people to vacuum up their decades of research, rather than engaging directly with them, so in 2020, they sharply limited access to the data and the corrections they had made.

The Defense Department did not respond to questions about the brothers' suspicions.

The foundation, whose leaders by now were in their 80s and 90s, pushed the government to deliver a list, as required by law, so the memorial wall could be completed.

The foundation did not make leaders available for comment for this article.

The Pentagon delivered its list in 2021. When the Barkers saw proofs of what would be carved into the granite, they again raised the alarm but said they received little response.

Truth be told, the brothers agreed, they never liked the idea of a wall of names. It not only draws dividing lines among the dead, they said, it ignores those who lived — men like their father who came home but were forever scarred by their experiences.

"A wall should have never been done," Ted Barker said. "But now that it has been done, we need to get it right."

ELIZABETH FRANTZ/REUTERS

The wall, mostly funded by South Korea, was unveiled on the National Mall last summer.

Judge Blocks Giving a Raise To Uber Drivers In New York

By ANA LEY and WINNIE HU

A New York State judge has blocked regulators from raising the pay of ride-hail drivers, saying that the Taxi and Limousine Commission had not sufficiently justified the increase.

Uber sued the commission, a New York City agency, last month and argued that the increase, approved in November, was too high and could require the company to spend an additional $21 million to $23 million per month to pay its drivers. Uber argued that to avoid taking on the extra costs, it would have to raise fares by 10 percent, which could drive business away.

Justice Arthur F. Engoron of State Supreme Court in Manhattan agreed with the company's argument on Friday that the commission had used a faulty methodology to calculate the pay increase, including factors such as last summer's sharp increase in gas prices, which has since abated. Uber had called the commission's move a "drastic departure" from past practices.

Justice Engoron is expected to issue a written ruling this week. A spokesman for the commission said that it would decide whether to appeal after studying the decision.

"I am disappointed for the city's drivers, who deserve better," David Do, the commission's chairman, said in a prepared statement. "Once the written ruling is issued, we are going to review it carefully and continue to do what's needed to protect this important pay standard."

Oltimidje Ouattara, 43, an Uber driver since 2015, estimated that he would have earned between $200 and $300 more a week with the raise, for a total of about $1,800 to $1,900 a week.

In the last year, his expenses have increased to about $750 a week from $550, he said. "We really deserve our raise," said Mr. Ouattara, an immigrant from Burkina Faso who sends money to support his wife and three children there. "All our expenses are on our back."

The judge had temporarily blocked the raise on Dec. 14, five days before the taxi commission had scheduled it to take effect. Uber drivers have since protested by staging one-day strikes on Dec. 19 and again this week.

"It's the wrong decision," said Bhairavi Desai, the executive director of the New York Taxi Workers Alliance, which represents about 27,000 for-hire drivers in the city, more than half of whom work for Uber or Lyft.

Ms. Desai said that drivers' work and living expenses had increased with inflation and that the judge's ruling would delay any future raise by months. Still, Ms. Desai vowed to continue fighting, including calls for more strikes in the future.

A representative for Uber praised the judge's decision and said the commission's proposed pay increase had been arbitrary and based on temporary market shocks.

"Rates should be calculated in a way that is transparent, consistent and predictable," said the representative, Josh Gold. "Existing T.L.C. rules continue to provide for an annual review tied to the rate of inflation."

Drivers received a 5 percent raise in March to adjust to inflation, which is about half of what the commission had approved in November.

Under the increases, driver pay rates for for-hire vehicles would have risen by 7 percent on per-minute changes and 16 percent on per-mile charges. For a sample trip of 30 minutes and 7.5 miles, the new rates would have required a minimum payment for drivers of $27.15, up more than $2.50 from current rates. The commission also approved an increase in yellow cab fares for the first time in 10 years. That increase is expected to bolster the earnings of taxi drivers by a third, according to the commission.

Mohammad Azizul Haque, 33, a Lyft driver from Jackson Heights, Queens, who attended the court hearing, said that he had been hoping to get a raise on Friday and had instead found out that "my suffering is getting longer."

Mr. Haque, who immigrated from Bangladesh in 2010, said he earned about $1,300 a week driving an average of 40 hours for Lyft. But after deducting his work expenses — including a car payment, gas and insurance — he was left with only about $700 a week. He had planned to use the raise to help pay his bills, bring his relatives from Bangladesh to visit and save up to get married.

"I'm very upset," he said.

Since arriving in New York City in 2011, Uber's popularity has soared, eclipsing that of the yellow cabs that once filled the streets. The latest data available from the Taxi and Limousine Commission logged a daily average of 52,000 for-hire vehicles on the road citywide in October, compared with only 6,000 yellow taxis.

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House Republicans Plan a Wide Inquiry Into F.B.I. and Security Agencies

By CHARLIE SAVAGE and LUKE BROADWATER

WASHINGTON — Newly empowered House Republicans are preparing a wide-ranging investigation into law enforcement and national security agencies, raising the prospect of politically charged fights with the Biden administration over access to sensitive information like highly classified intelligence and the details of continuing criminal inquiries by the Justice Department.

The House plans to vote this week on a resolution to create a special Judiciary subcommittee on what it calls the "weaponization of the federal government," a topic that Republicans have signaled could include reviewing investigations into former President Donald J. Trump.

The panel would be overseen by Representative Jim Jordan, Republican of Ohio, who is also poised to become the Judiciary Committee's chairman. It remains to be seen who else Speaker Kevin McCarthy, who made numerous concessions to a far-right faction of his party to win the speakership, will put on it.

A mandate to scrutinize criminal investigations.

In a Fox News interview on Friday evening, Representative Chip Roy of Texas, a lead negotiator for hard-right lawmakers who pushed Mr. McCarthy's team for concessions, portrayed the panel as part of the agreement they struck for their support. He said Mr. McCarthy had committed to giving the subcommittee at least as much funding and staffing as the House special committee in the last Congress that investigated the Jan. 6, 2021, attack on the Capitol.

"So we got more resources, more specificity, more power to go after this recalcitrant Biden administration," Mr. Roy said. "That's really important."

A spokesman for Mr. Jordan did not reply to a request for comment, but both he and Mr. McCarthy have spoken for months about their desire for such an investigation and pledged to voters during the 2022 campaign to carry one out.

"We will hold the swamp accountable, from the withdrawal of Afghanistan, to the origins of Covid and to the weaponization of the F.B.I.," Mr. McCarthy said in his first remarks as speaker early Saturday. "Let me be very clear: We will use the power of the purse and the power of the subpoena to get the job done."

Catie Edmondson contributed reporting.

The text of the resolution establishing the subcommittee would give the panel essentially open-ended jurisdiction to scrutinize any issue related to civil liberties or to examine how any agency of the federal government has collected, analyzed and used information about Americans — including "ongoing criminal investigations."

The Justice Department has traditionally resisted making information about open criminal investigations available to Congress, suggesting that legal and political fights over subpoenas and executive privilege are most likely looming.

Republicans are promoting Mr. Jordan's panel as a new "Church Committee," referring to a 1970s investigation by Senator Frank Church, Democrat of Idaho, that uncovered decades of intelligence and civil liberties abuses by presidents of both parties.

But in an environment in which Mr. Trump has been the subject of multiple criminal investigations for years — including continuing inquiries into his attempts to overturn the 2020 election results and his hoarding of sensitive documents — Democrats predicted the new investigative subcommittee was likely to adopt a more partisan edge.

Representative Jerrold Nadler of New York, the top Democrat on the Judiciary Committee, said the Church Committee had been "a serious and bipartisan attempt to reform the conduct of the intelligence community, based on hard and verifiable evidence."

By contrast, he said that "this new thing, fueled by conspiracy theories and slated to be run by the most extreme members of the MAGA caucus," was likely to be more similar to the notorious House Un-American Activities Committee of the mid-20th century.

Mr. Jordan is a staunch ally of Mr. Trump. Late last year, as the top Republican on the Judiciary Committee when his party was still in the minority, he oversaw a 1,000-page staff report that claimed that the F.B.I. had "spied on President Trump's campaign and ridiculed conservative Americans" and that the "rot within the F.B.I. festers in and proceeds from Washington."

The resolution appears to give him authority to subpoena the Justice Department for information about the special counsel inquiry into Mr. Trump's attempts to overturn the 2020 election and his handling of classified documents, along with other politically charged matters like an open tax investigation into President Biden's son, Hunter Biden.

HAIYUN JIANG/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Clockwise from top: Representative Jim Jordan, who is poised to oversee the subcommittee; Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene, whose chances of being selected for the panel are unclear; Representative Chip Roy, who said Speaker Kevin McCarthy agreed to support the panel.

KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The text of the resolution would also grant Mr. Jordan's panel the power to receive the same highly classified information that intelligence agencies make available to their oversight committee, the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence.

Intelligence Committee members have access to some of the most sensitive secrets in the government, including information about covert actions, which are not shared with other lawmakers. Traditionally, House leaders tend to place on the intelligence panel members of their party they think are especially trustworthy not to disclose classified information.

While Mr. Jordan's investigative unit will be housed within the Judiciary Committee, its 13 members — eight of whom would be Republicans — will not be limited to lawmakers on that panel.

It is not clear, for example, whether Republican leaders would select hard-right members, such as Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene, the Georgia Republican who was stripped of her committee assignments in 2021 for making a series of violent and conspiratorial social media posts before she was elected. Mr. McCarthy has already promised her a spot on the House Oversight Committee, and she broke with other far-right members to support his speakership bid from the first ballot, as did Mr. Jordan.

Such a situation could result in lawmakers trying to scrutinize a Justice Department investigation as that inquiry potentially examines some of those same lawmakers' conduct concerning the events of Jan. 6.

In an interview on ABC's "The Week" on Sunday, Representative Scott Perry, Republican of Pennsylvania, rejected a suggestion that he should pledge not to serve on Mr. Jordan's subcommittee because it may scrutinize the Jan. 6 investigation and as a witness in that inquiry, he had a conflict of interest. Mr. Perry, who played an important role in Mr. Trump's attempt to overturn the results of the 2020 election, had his cellphone seized by the F.B.I.

"Why should I be limited — why should anybody be limited just because someone has made an accusation?" Mr. Perry said, adding: "I get accused of all kinds of things every single day, as does every member that serves in the public eye. But that doesn't stop you from doing your job. It is our duty and it is my duty."

Some Republicans also seem to see the panel as an opportunity to raise culture-war issues and promote conspiracy theories. In his interview with Fox, Mr. Roy described the subcommittee's mission as going "after the weaponization of the government, the F.B.I., the intel agencies, D.H.S., all of them that have been, you know, labeling Scott Smith a domestic terrorist."

In fact, no agency labeled Mr. Smith a domestic terrorist. Mr. Smith, whose daughter was sexually assaulted in a high school bathroom in Virginia, was arrested after he lunged at someone at a school board meeting during a tense and chaotic debate over bathroom policy for transgender students. He was convicted of disorderly conduct.

In September 2021, the National School Boards Association sent Mr. Biden a letter pointing to a trend of violence and threats against school officials. It included a brief reference to Mr. Smith's arrest incident amid a long list of examples, with a footnote to a news account of the meeting that mentioned the arrest in passing but without details like his daughter's assault. The letter also said acts of violence and threats against school officials could be classified as "equivalent to a form of domestic terrorism and hate crimes," and asked for federal help.

A few days later, Attorney General Merrick B. Garland issued a memorandum directing U.S. attorneys and the F.B.I. to convene meetings across the country with local officials to discuss "strategies for addressing threats" against school officials and teachers. His memo did not call anyone a domestic terrorist, and it specifically distinguished spirited debate, which it stressed was constitutionally protected, from acts of violence and threats.

But voices on the right have made Mr. Smith a cause célèbre, falsely telling their viewers and readers that the Biden-era Justice Department and the F.B.I. consider parents who disagree with liberal school board policies to be domestic terrorists.

The subcommittee investigation proposed by Mr. Jordan is just one of a number of inquiries House Republicans plan to approve this week.

Included in a separate rules package scheduled to come up for a vote on Monday is a wide-ranging inquiry into the coronavirus pandemic, including the origins of the virus, so-called gain-of-function research, the production of vaccines and the conduct of Dr. Anthony S. Fauci, Mr. Biden's former chief medical adviser, whom Republicans have pledged to haul before them for questioning.

Republicans are also planning to form a special committee to investigate the Chinese government's "economic, technological and security progress, and its competition with the United States."

Both the China investigation and the investigation into law enforcement are scheduled for a vote on Tuesday.

CONGRESSIONAL MEMO

G.O.P. Rules Are Facing A Logjam Frozen Tight

From Page A1

$1.7 trillion monstrosity of a bill that spent the American taxpayers' money in all kinds of crazy ways," Representative Jim Jordan, Republican of Ohio, said Sunday on Fox News. He said Republicans would require 72 hours to allow lawmakers to pore over any bill.

Part of the fight over the speakership was about the way Congress works, in particular the unwieldy "omnibus" spending bills that appear to materialize out of nowhere and with only minutes to spare.

But restoring any semblance of order and structure to the consideration of spending bills and other measures will prove to be extremely difficult with conservative Republicans in charge of the House and Democrats controlling the Senate and the White House. The new dynamic is more likely a prescription for shutdown and gridlock. The roots of dysfunction run deep.

Even lawmakers with long experience in trying to make Congress work acknowledged the collapse of what is called "regular order" — the civics class version of "how a bill becomes law" in getting legislation through the House and the Senate and signed by the president.

"We have clearly found new levels of inefficiency in the past decade — one big bill at the end of the year to fund the government, plus whatever the four leaders of the House and Senate can agree to add to it," lamented Roy Blunt, the Republican senator from Missouri who retired this year after serving in the leadership of both the House and the Senate.

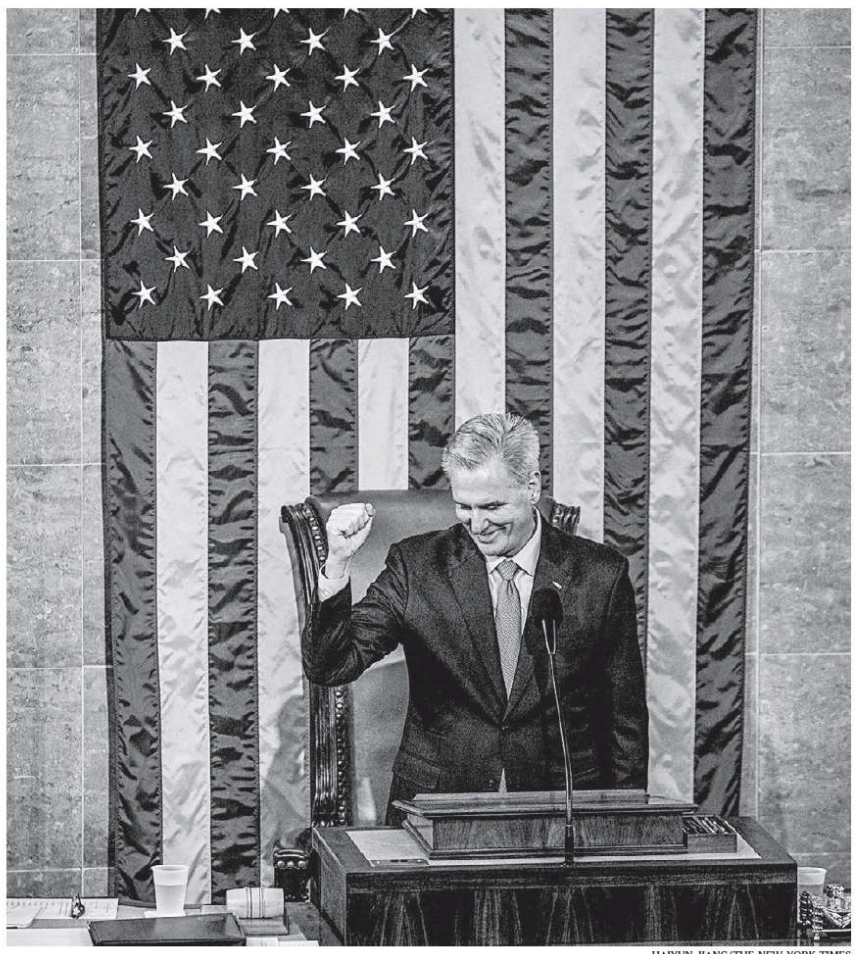
It wasn't always this way. For most of its existence, Congress had a methodical approach to producing spending bills, which were the core of its workload, its major legislative responsibility as it exercised its vaunted power of the purse. Knowledgeable subcommittees in the House and the Senate would take detailed testimony from executive branch officials on what they needed, draft individual measures for each area of the government and hold line-by-line committee reviews of the bills.

Then they would move each bill across the floor of the House and the Senate one by one in the spring and summer, work out differences between the two chambers and get them signed by the president before the end of the fiscal year on Sept. 30 so the government wouldn't be disrupted. The lawmakers who oversaw the appropriations subcommittees were labeled "cardinals," reflecting the extent of their power, and jealously protected their control over their areas of the federal government. The spending panels were the place to be for lawmakers who wanted to exert influence.

But those days seem as distant as when bills were written with quill pens. Some of the foundational work still takes place as members of the appropriations panels — and, importantly, their staffs — assemble the bills, but the process is done with far less public review and transparency. And because it is so difficult to move individual pieces of legislation through both chambers — filibusters are the rule, no longer the exception, in the Senate — the measures are now almost always mashed together into giant packages.

Just six of the 12 separate appropriations bills were considered by the House last year, and none reached the Senate floor.

Instead, the senior members of the committees agreed among themselves what the "top line" spending number would be, worked out versions of the individual bills and then huddled with the leaders of the Senate and the House to get agreement on the final legislation in late December. Members were then faced with a take-it-or-leave-it proposition as the year came to a close, with the threat of much more time in Washington over the holidays and a crippling Christmas government shutdown being the alternative if they opted to leave it. The leadership added a few more bills seen as must-pass items to the mix, including an overhaul of the way presidential electoral votes are counted.



HAIYUN JIANG/THE NEW YORK TIMES

House Republicans stayed out of the machinations, though Senate Republicans had a large say since they were needed to provide enough votes to overcome a filibuster. It was a textbook case of legislating ugly, and House Republicans have vowed it will never happen again.

But there are explanations for why it happened, and one of them is the heightened partisanship in Congress. While the appropriations process always contained a dose of bipartisanship — and the appropriators were treated almost as a party unto themselves — that aura has faded amid deeper polarization.

Now the bills themselves have become a ripe target for political attacks when they reach the floor, leading both parties to restrict the opportunity to propose amendments to save their members from taking tough votes. The limits have chafed, and Republicans are promising to ease them. But it will make legislative life difficult, as Democrats discovered.

"What you have is filibuster by amendment," said Representative Steny H. Hoyer, a Maryland Democrat and former majority leader who is also a veteran member of the Appropriations Committee. "You have 435 members, and 435 amendments at 10 minutes will take you a long time."

Congress doesn't like to spend that kind of time legislating any more. At best, lawmakers are in town three or four days a week, and much of that period is spent away from the floor on fund-raising and other political activities. The idea of devoting hour after hour to slogging through amendments is anathema to many.

The demise of earmarks, the pet projects lawmakers add to bills to steer federal money to their states and districts, was celebrated as a crackdown on "pork." But the ban also contributed to making it much more difficult to pass spending bills the old-fashioned way. Banned in 2011, earmarks could no longer provide the grease for the appropriations skids, and advancing the bills separately became even more arduous. Earmarks made a return last year and were instrumental in providing the votes for approval of the huge spending bill, particularly among Republicans.

Speaker Kevin McCarthy won his job by negotiating a rules package with hard-right rebels.

House Republicans plan to make it much more difficult to win earmarks. They also intend to make it much easier to cut spending and to force offsets in spending elsewhere to compensate for increases, a plan certain to encounter resistance from Democrats. And they want to couple any increase in the federal debt limit with corresponding federal spending cuts, an approach that almost caused an international economic calamity when Republicans newly installed in the House majority tried it in 2011.

"We will end wasteful Washington spending," Mr. McCarthy promised early Saturday morning in his post-midnight victory speech.

Democrats don't share the view of Mr. McCarthy and his colleagues of what constitutes wasteful spending. They already see collisions ahead, particularly if Republicans pursue domestic cuts without similar reductions in military spending.

Senator Chuck Schumer, Democrat of New York and the majority leader, met Mr. McCarthy's election with a warning that House Republicans are likely to "cause a government shutdown or a default with devastating consequences to our country."

Republicans are already talking about a spending freeze or keeping the government running under a "continuing resolution" with automatic cuts if lawmakers cannot find agreement. It is going to be a real struggle to find common ground. And though Mr. Blunt was discouraged by the decline in the way Congress has operated, he warned that there is an even darker alternative.

"The only thing worse than the way we do it would be not doing it," he told his colleagues in his parting speech. "The only thing worse than the way we do it is just to decide not to get our work done and see what happens."

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Facing Criticism on Immigration, President Visits the Southern Border

From Page A1

the border has worsened during his presidency.

On Sunday, Mr. Biden met with Border Patrol officers, members of Congress and local officials at the Bridge of the Americas Port of Entry, El Paso's busiest crossing, which is set to receive $600 million from the president's infrastructure law. He also made an unannounced stop along the 18-foot border wall that separates El Paso from Juárez, Mexico, talking to Border Patrol agents as he strolled along a dirt road on the American side.

Asked later what he learned, Mr. Biden said: "They need a lot of resources. We're going to get it for them," apparently referring to the Border Patrol agents he just met with.

Mr. Biden also toured the El Paso County Migrant Services Center and talked to local business owners.

Mr. Biden did not visit areas where migrants have been sleeping outdoors in El Paso. Hours before he landed, streets were relatively quiet. But the mood was tense mere steps from the Bridge of the Americas in El Segundo Barrio, which has become the epicenter of the migrant crisis in the city.

By Sunday, a group of men had turned the small gap behind a fence of Sacred Heart Church into rudimentary accommodations. They turned a pile of sheets, some of them donated by the Red Cross, into beds, next to worn-out Bibles they carried from home.

John Cardenas, a native of Venezuela who arrived in El Paso on Dec. 31, prefers to sleep next to a large statue of the Virgin of Guadalupe.

"I feel like she protects me, so I sleep right here next to her," Mr. Cardenas said, his eyes scanning the image next to him. But on Sunday he was praying for a different kind of protection. "I hope Biden can offer us some help, too. We need it desperately."

Jesús Ramirez, 19, another Venezuelan who traveled with Mr. Cardenas from Panama, also arrived on Dec. 31. He said he does not regret the risks he took during a grueling three-month trek to the U.S. border. He saw people die along the way, even children, he said, closing his eyes. He still has nightmares about the dead bodies he saw in the Darién Gap, a dangerous and roadless land bridge that connects Colombia and Panama.

On the Mexican side on Sunday afternoon, fewer than a dozen migrants, the majority from Venezuela, appeared defeated, staring across the Rio Grande, where they were welcomed by a newly installed fence, barbed wire and a row of heavily armed Texas National Guard members.

Responding to mounting criticism of his handling of the border, Mr. Biden on Thursday announced a crackdown on illegal border crossings paired with some new avenues for migrants to immigrate legally. Mr. Biden has leaned on several Trump-era immigration policies, including for a time one that required migrants to wait in squalid camps in Mexico while their asylum applications were processed.

As a candidate, Mr. Biden assailed President Donald J. Trump's handling of the border, calling it inhumane and ineffective. But as Mr. Biden heads to Mexico City for two days of meetings that will be dominated by the issue of immigration, his critics have only ramped up their assault on his policies.

"They flout refugee law & will unleash more suffering at the border, w/ disparate harm to Black, Brown & Indigenous asylum seekers," Heidi Altman, the policy director at the National Immigrant Justice Center, a liberal human rights group, said on Twitter.

The criticism from the same groups that fiercely opposed Mr. Trump's policies has infuriated Mr. Biden and his aides, who say the comparison is unfair and wrong.

The president's aides also braced for renewed attacks from Republicans who have spent months accusing the administration of being too weak on the border. In an opinion article published before the president's trip, Senator Shelley Moore Capito, Republican of West Virginia, chided Mr. Biden for waiting almost two years to visit.

Republicans have argued that Mr. Biden's desire to be more "humane" along the border was an open invitation to increased migration, and they have assailed what they said was the administration's continued release of many migrants into the United States while their immigration cases are litigated.

Upon arriving in El Paso on Sunday, Mr. Biden was greeted by Gov. Greg Abbott of Texas, who handed him a letter. A news release from the governor's office said that the letter said, "This chaos is the direct result of your failure to enforce the immigration laws that Congress enacted."

The question of what to do along the southern border in places like El Paso will be at the center of the discussions when Mr. Biden arrives for meetings with President Andrés Manuel López Obrador of Mexico and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau of Canada.

In an interview before Mr. Biden's departure on Sunday, Mexico's top official for North American relations bluntly rejected a proposal by the Biden administration that would automatically deny asylum to migrants who have traveled through Mexico without seeking refuge in that country first. A version of that idea, known as a "safe third country" policy, was first proposed by Mr. Trump in 2019.

"The safe-third-country idea is a red line for us," said Roberto Velasco, the Mexican Foreign Ministry's chief officer for North America. "It would overwhelm the system."

Finding ways to cooperate with Mexico on migration is a key goal for Mr. Biden on his visit to the country. In his remarks on Thursday, the president announced that Mexico had agreed to accept up to 30,000 migrants each month from Haiti, Venezuela, Cuba and Nicaragua if they tried to cross into the United States illegally and their asylum claims were rejected.

But longtime observers of the relationship between the two countries said there were limits to what Mexico would accept.

"Mexico cannot guarantee the security of those fleeing violence," said Ana Lorena Delgadillo, the director of the Foundation for Justice, an organization that supports migrants in Mexico. "Mexicans are fleeing violence in their own communities. How are we going to protect others if we cannot protect our own?"

While the current Mexican administration has pushed hard to stem the stream of migrants traveling across Mexico and into the United States, security experts said the government had done less to stop drugs from flowing north — another planned topic of discussion at the summit this week.

David Shirk, the director of the Justice in Mexico Program at the University of San Diego, said that "what we have seen in the last three years is essentially the Mexican government shrugging its shoulders."

But on Thursday, the Mexican military detained Ovidio Guzmán López — the son of the infamous drug lord Joaquín Guzmán Loera, known as "El Chapo" — who is believed to be a leader of the Sinaloa drug cartel that his father once headed.

At the summit on Monday and Tuesday, the three leaders are also expected to clash over a sharp rise in the number of formal trade disputes since the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement went into effect in 2020.

Several conflicts loom large. The United States and Canada have protested Mexican energy policies that benefit Mexican firms over their companies. Mexico also plans to ban genetically modified corn, to the frustration of the United States. And the other countries have complained about how the United States is interpreting the trade agreement's rules for making cars, arguing that Washington is favoring American products over their own.

American officials have tried to emphasize the benefits that its neighbors can expect to see from the investments, given that the countries' economies are so intertwined.

The trade issue is particularly important for Mr. Trudeau, who has served as Canada's leader since 2015 but has recently become a more polarizing figure in his country.

"There's been some discussion, because he's been in power for quite a while, about who the potential successor might be," said Andrew McDougall, a political scientist at the University of Toronto. "But there isn't any obvious candidate right now and, in the medium term, it doesn't seem like he's going anywhere."

Steve Fisher contributed reporting from Mexico City, Norimitsu Onishi from Montreal, and Ana Swanson from Washington.

DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Biden with Border Patrol agents on Sunday at the U.S.-Mexico border in El Paso. "They need a lot of resources," he said later. "We're going to get it for them."

New York's Pre-K System Was a Model. Now Employees Insist It's a Mess.

Federal Head Start funding may be in jeopardy because of turmoil in New York City's preschool program.

By TROY CLOSSON

New York City's free preschool program is a national model, embraced by parents and praised for its high quality. But a year into a new mayoral administration, the influential initiative faces challenges that may threaten its standing and undermine its future.

The problems are so severe that the program, which won accolades from experts and attracted visits from leaders of other cities hoping to copy it, could lose more than $70 million in Head Start funding and suffer a decline in standards, according to interviews with more than two dozen current and former employees of the Education Department's Division of Early Childhood Education.

The turmoil in pre-K and 3-K, which together serve 90,000 3- and 4-year-old city children, first spilled into public view after preschool providers complained that the Department of Education was behind in paying them this fall.

Now, several providers say the payments still haven't come, despite city promises. The division also plans to do significantly fewer quality checks this academic year, workers said.

"I'm worried about the future of early childhood education in New York City, period," said Emmy Liss, the division's former chief operating officer, adding that she fears the division no longer has enough expertise to support the hundreds of sites and public schools. "I think we're going to see a reduction in the academic and social-emotional benefits that kids get."

Free pre-K for all was the signature achievement of Bill de Blasio's mayoralty and was instantly popular with parents across race and class lines. Now, his successor, Eric Adams, is pulling back from expanding the program to provide universal preschool to 3-year-olds, as Mr. de Blasio had planned.

Major changes in policy priorities are typical of any new mayoral administration, and the schools chancellor, David C. Banks, has said that officials inherited an early childhood system that was "a mess of epic proportions." He and other Education Department officials said the complaints reflect resistance to a new administration's efforts to make changes.

New York's early childhood initiatives have resonated with families in a city where private preschool can cost more than $15,000 a year. As the city's public school system loses students, prekindergarten and 3-K have also been a bright spot: The programs made systemwide enrollment declines less dramatic.

The city's programs also built a good reputation, winning a gold medal from a national organization and attracting visits from national politicians, though one recent study found that in the initiative's first six years, classrooms that served mainly white and Asian students tended to be of higher quality than those in Black and Latino neighborhoods.

Workers in the division agree that there were issues in the program during the de Blasio administration: Some complained about slow progress on equity efforts, special education issues and leaders' visions for early childhood education.

But the current level of internal turmoil has been unique, many workers said. Several spoke on the condition of anonymity because they did not want to put their jobs at risk.

Many of these employees blamed, in part, the leadership of Kara Ahmed, who was named to the post after Mr. Adams took office and was the former principal of the city's LYFE Program, an early childhood program for teenage parents.

The city's teachers' union took a rare no-confidence vote in the leadership last month, arguing that the division has been plagued by disorganization and "managerial incompetence." The union accused Ms. Ahmed of mismanaging funds and said officials used "retaliation to silence dissent," targeting or reassigning outspoken staff members.

In a recent interview, education officials attributed the complaints to the pains that come with major overhauls. The schools chancellor has said often this year that the city's free preschool for 3-year-olds initiative has been flawed because it emphasized a rapid expansion; he has pointed to 40,000 unused 3-K and pre-K seats. The mayor has also focused less on universal pre-K and 3-K and more on child care for families with children under 3 and on widening access to child care programs for low-income parents.

Ms. Ahmed said that as the agency shifts gears, she has tried to foster an open work environment. "I recognize that change is hard," she said. "We're going to continue to be honest about what needs to be changed. And not everyone will agree with that."

Daniel Weisberg, the first deputy chancellor, said that staff reassignments and other overhauls were needed to address duplication with other divisions.

"Not a surprise that the folks who designed that structure — or were working in that structure — might disagree with some of those decisions," Mr. Weisberg said.

More than 150 workers have left since this year began, including some who oversee staff members who measure the quality of programs, and many have not been replaced. This fall, the early childhood division was about 45 percent understaffed, with about 460 full-time positions filled out of about 830, according to a recent report from the city comptroller — the sixth highest vacancy rate across more than 130 divisions at city agencies.

Ms. Ahmed said she disagreed with the report's findings. "I certainly don't think we're understaffed," she said.

Employees said that staff departures have drained crucial expertise. On the division's data team, for example, an internal tool that workers often used to flag issues at preschool sites crashed in May after no one was left who knew how to maintain the system, according to two employees on the team.

JAMES ESTRIN/THE NEW YORK TIMES

"You started feeling the gaps that your colleagues left," said Humberto Cruz-Chavarria, the division's former director of multilingual education. "They were taking with them institutional knowledge that couldn't be replicated, but also logins and access to systems that all of us needed to to do our jobs."

The schools chancellor and others have defended Ms. Ahmed's leadership. Sherry Cleary, the former head of the New York Early Childhood Professional Development Institute, said that "people did not give her a chance."

> Internal complaints of disorganization and a loss of quality.

"She comes at this work with the most profound dedication, no ego and extraordinary grace," said Ms. Cleary, a longtime mentor to Ms. Ahmed who recommended her for the job.

Each year, Department of Education employees have visited programs to measure quality and offer feedback, using assessment tools that track key factors like the warmth of interactions between teachers and students.

But this academic year, there will be at least a 50 percent decline in the number of programs evaluated with those tools than in earlier periods, according to three people with knowledge of the department's plans.

Ms. Ahmed said that the prior approach to assessments "was not getting us to a high-quality system." This year, officials plan to assess more providers through a statewide system that they say will offer stronger, more timely feedback.

One employee, who declined to be named for fear of professional retribution, said that after a preschool site earned one of the lowest scores they could recall on a program assessment report in the spring, the evaluators raised concerns with division leaders. The employee said that the group was admonished and later learned that the head of the particular program had a close relationship with Ms. Ahmed.

An Education Department spokesman, Nathaniel Styer, did not comment on the specific incident. But he said that a solely punitive approach to assessment "has no place in our work," and that sites have appreciated the culture shift.

In previous years, evaluators have found children eating on the floor or not having play time, and more rarely have uncovered serious infractions, including teachers berating students and using corporal punishment. Low-performing sites might have had early childhood division staff visit more often to help them improve.

Samantha Lopez, who joined the department in 2014 and resigned about eight weeks ago from the program assessment team, said that the division no longer maintained adequate records of new providers, among other issues.

"The systems had totally disintegrated," Ms. Lopez said. "Early childhood in New York City is consistently held up as the ultimate example in this country of 'We got it right. We executed it.' But we're not going to have a way of talking about the quality moving forward."

New York's federal Head Start funding may now also be at risk, several workers said.

After hundreds of social workers and instructional coordinators were moved out of their roles over the summer, employees said it was unclear how mental health services and instructional coaching that Head Start mandates would be fulfilled. The division's policy support team, which helped lead health and safety reviews for Head Start programs, was disbanded months ago.

"That begs the question, 'How are we meeting those requirements?'" said Courtney Klamar, a lead writer of the department's Head Start application who resigned in the spring after more than four years in the division.

Ms. Ahmed said that the administration inherited several challenges from the previous administration and that officials have been "very transparent" with the federal Head Start office about resolving them. She said that "we have no knowledge or understanding" that the funding was in any danger.

Despite the criticisms, officials have made some changes that workers and early childhood advocates view as positive.

This month, Mr. Adams said the city would begin offering child care assistance for low-income undocumented immigrant families, who tend to be ineligible because of their immigration status. Mr. Adams and Mr. Banks also recently announced several changes to preschool special education, including extending the school day and raising pay for teachers to match rates in general education at many providers. They have also followed a plan initiated by Mr. de Blasio's administration to create 800 seats for students with disabilities by spring.

Beyond the current challenges, a long-term funding source for the 3-K program must be found, because it has been supported primarily through time-limited federal coronavirus aid.

Susan C. Beachy contributed research.

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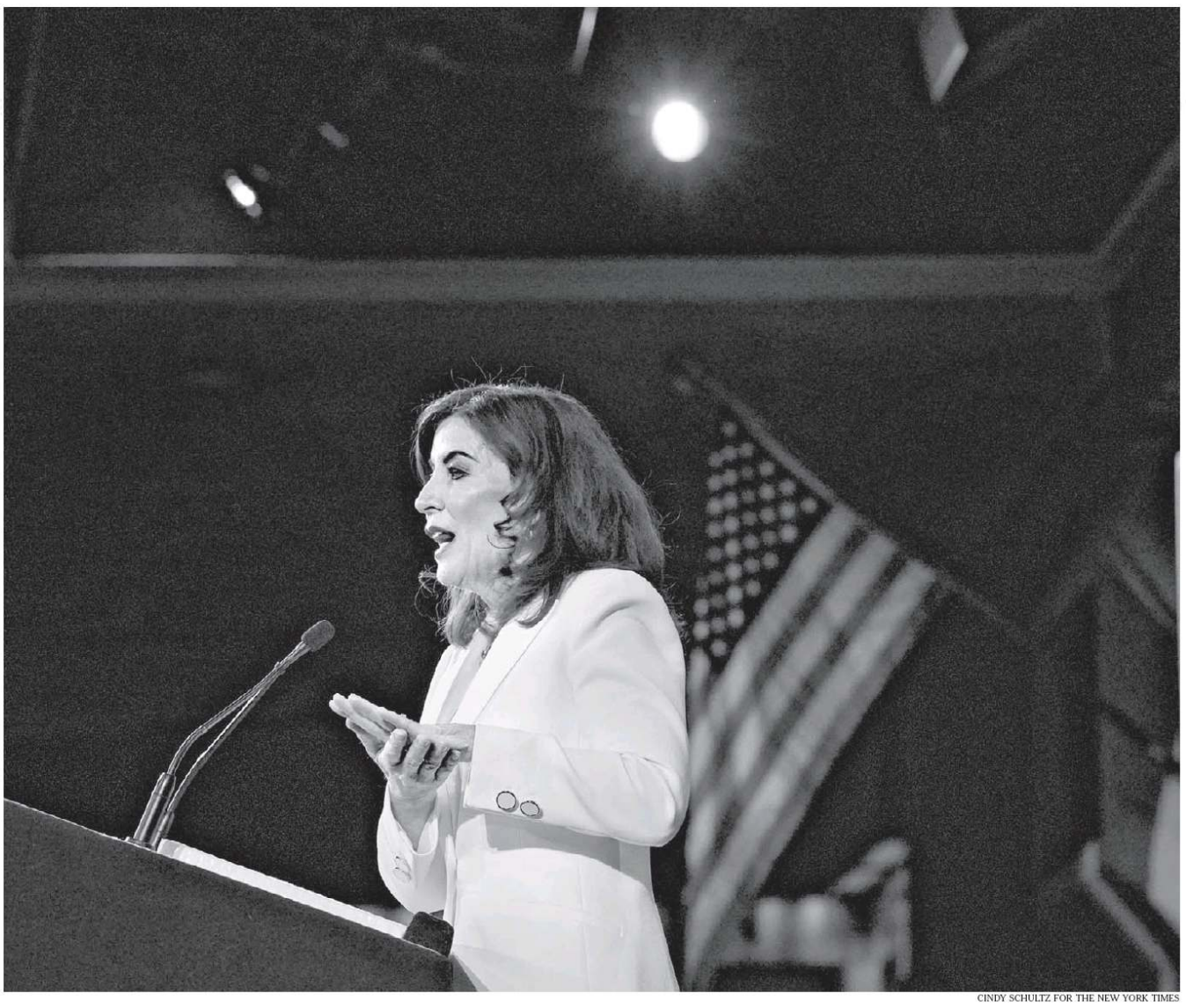
Opinion

The New York Times

Are New York's Democratic Leaders Listening to Voters?

Mara Gay
A member of the editorial board, focusing on New York State and local affairs.



CINDY SCHULTZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

FOR politicians in some places in the United States, election losses tend to prompt a kind of soul-searching.

In Albany? Not so much.

Just two months after New York voters delivered New York Democrats a drubbing at the polls, it's not clear if the message is penetrating the party's thicket of dysfunction and hubris.

The hubris made an appearance over the holiday, when the governor approved a 29 percent pay raise that the State Legislature gave itself in December. And the Democratic Party chairman, Jay Jacobs, remains in his post, never mind the shellacking his party received in November, in which Republicans flipped four House seats and came surprisingly close to taking the governor's mansion in a heavily Democratic state.

Most concerning, Gov. Kathy Hochul and the State Legislature, which began its new session last week, appear prepared to return to business as usual, which means cautiously tinkering with policy while they are fixated on crises of their own making. The first questions before the Legislature include whether to approve Ms. Hochul's choice for chief judge of the New York State Court of Appeals, whom liberals oppose because of his conservative-leaning rulings in labor, abortion and criminal justice cases — as well as more mundane headaches, like whether to remove a newly elected Republican assemblyman who is facing questions about whether he lives in the borough he was elected to serve. (Lester Chang, the assemblyman in question, says he does.)

Back in the real world, New York is suffering.

A crisis in confidence over public safety in the state, made worse by persistent concerns over gun violence and hate crimes, continues, even as it's clear some progress is being made.

Unemployment in the state remained higher than the national rate in 2022, and it is especially high in New York City, where unemployment averaged 6.2 percent, according to an analysis from the state's comptroller. Among Black residents in New York City, that figure was more than 10 percent.

More and more, living in New York is out of reach not just for working-class or middle-class residents but for nearly anyone without a trust fund. If the governor and Legislature tried apartment hunting in New York City right now, they would discover that the median rent for a two-bedroom apartment in New York City this January is $4,890 — more than 20 percent higher than this time last year. Little wonder then, that 67,000 people slept in city shelters this week, more than 20,000 of them children.

What is required from Albany is not business as usual, but bold, swift action on the issues that residents in the state are confronting in their daily lives.

That means finding new and creative ways to expand the state's economy and improve public safety, including by further strengthening its gun laws. Among the bright spots last year was a measure that Ms. Hochul pushed for in the wake of the mass shooting in Buffalo, which made the red flag laws barring individuals who may pose a risk to themselves or others from obtaining a firearm more effective. In the six months after the law was changed, judges approved more than 2,000 such orders, a significant increase from the year before, according to the Albany Times Union newspaper.

If Hochul heeds her constituents' message, she'll act boldly on housing and public safety.

New York needs Ms. Hochul and the Legislature to deliver that kind of relentless focus on housing. The way to begin is to do everything possible to spur housing production.

For one thing, this means coming up with a new kind of tax incentive for developers that encourages more truly affordable housing. The state's previous program, known as 421a, mostly created units for high-income people even as it cost taxpayers $1.7 billion per year. Albany allowed it to expire last year without replacing it.

In December, the governor said she would build 800,000 units of housing in the state over the next decade. That's good, but the harder task is to push for zoning and tax changes across the state that will allow the region to build the multifamily housing needed to truly end the crisis and let New York grow.

Voters will know Ms. Hochul and the Legislature are serious about the housing crisis when they start fighting — hard — to build multifamily housing in suburban areas like Long Island, where it is decades overdue. The governor backed off similar proposals last year, wary that doing so might alienate voters in Long Island, where multifamily housing has historically been unwelcome. In the end, Long Island voted Republican anyway.

Ms. Hochul and other Democrats should discard this tepid, safe approach to policymaking. It is failing the state, as well as the party. Ideally, the governor can work with local communities to build support for zoning changes to permit multifamily housing. But the governor can also make clear that infrastructure dollars for Long Island are contingent on welcoming the housing the region needs.

The failure to boldly address central issues like housing is in part why, while Democrats outperformed expectations nationally, the outcome in New York was just the opposite.

New York Democrats bungled their shot at congressional mapmaking last year, then went on to lose four House seats, a series of events that was not only embarrassing for the state party, but played a pivotal role in delivering the House into Republican hands. Democrats lost several State Assembly seats, too, though they held on to their supermajority, thanks to a more than 2:1 advantage in registered voters that Democrats enjoy in New York.

In spite of that overwhelming advantage, Governor Hochul won re-election with just 53.2 percent of the vote in November. For comparison, Gretchen Whitmer of Michigan motivated voters in a decidedly less Democratic swing state and was re-elected by a much larger margin.

In this new year, New York Democrats have a chance to deliver on the issues that truly matter to people who live in the state — and give their voters a reason to show up at the polls.

Grant Wahl Fought for the Truth. I Will Protect His Legacy.

Céline Gounder
An infectious-disease physician and epidemiologist and a senior fellow at the Kaiser Family Foundation.

IT WAS the end of the workday on Friday, Dec. 9, 2022. I was wrapping up a Zoom call when my phone started to vibrate with calls, text messages and emails. Gabriele Marcotti, an ESPN journalist, was trying to reach me from Qatar, where he was covering the World Cup alongside my husband, Grant Wahl.

Gabriele's an old friend. He was at our wedding over 20 years ago. Now, he told me on the phone, colleagues were saying that Grant had collapsed in the stadium press box toward the end of the Argentina-Netherlands match. He had heard that bystanders had started CPR on Grant. I gasped, barely forming the words to ask, "Did he have a pulse?" Gabriele didn't know. Soon, Grant was transported by ambulance to Hamad General Hospital. It wasn't until over an hour later that I tracked down a doctor in the emergency department for an update. My Grant had died.

As soon as the news became public, rumors and disinformation began to spread. Amid seemingly inexplicable tragedy, there's an understandable reflex to grasp onto narratives that could explain how something so shocking could occur. Even those of us who love Grant did so in our grief. But soon strangers began blaming Grant's death on Covid-19 vaccines, a playbook I know all too well and a move I refuse to let stand.

I knew that disinformation purveyors would blame Grant's death on Covid vaccines, and I knew what tactics they would use to do so. I also knew that debunking what these people believe head-on in public risks giving them the attention they crave and invites further trolling. But this situation was different from the many others I'd dealt with as an infectious disease specialist and epidemiologist or while serving on the Biden-Harris transition Covid Advisory Board. This was *my* Grant, and I needed to know what had happened to him. And I knew I had to share that information publicly: Pairing facts with empathy is the best way to disempower trolls.

So, in the days following Grant's death, I swallowed my grief. I worked to have Grant flown home for an autopsy. It was a herculean task to overcome the various bureaucratic and logistical barriers, and I needed a lot of help. His autopsy was performed at the New York City Office of Chief Medical Examiner, which is staffed by some of the world's top pathologists and forensic scientists. I wanted his autopsy results to be unimpeachable.

I got the preliminary results on Dec. 13. Grant's aorta, the large blood vessel carrying blood from his heart, had ruptured. Once I got the news, my every instinct was to protect the boy I'd met as a college junior. I had to end the rumors and refocus attention on Grant's legacy. I swallowed my grief even deeper. I put out a written statement the following day. I agreed to interviews with The Times, CBS, NPR and "The Peter King Podcast."

I didn't respond to disinformation or harassment on Substack or on social media. I didn't reply to the email that read: "Now you understand that you killed your poor husband. Karma is a bitch." I've received these kinds of messages before, including rape and death threats, over the course of the pandemic, but receiving them about Grant was vile, especially as waves of anguish threatened to consume me.

But when these disinformation opportunists recently used the same playbook to blame Damar Hamlin's in-game cardiac arrest on Covid vaccines, the dam broke. I knew I had to write this essay.

The vaccine disinformation playbook includes the use of fake experts, logical fallacies, impossible expectations, cherry-picked data and conspiracy theories. Not a single qualified medical or public health expert has supported the claim that my husband died from Covid vaccination. Logical fallacies, also known as cognitive biases, are mental shortcuts we use to simplify information, but which also leave us vulnerable to errors in judgment. The most common logical fallacy is to say that because A happened before B, A must have caused B. Given that over 80 percent of the U.S. population has received at least one dose of a Covid vaccine, chances are that most Americans who die today will have been vaccinated, but that doesn't mean they died from their vaccinations. To be clear, there is no increased risk of death from non-Covid causes after Covid vaccination.

My husband's death isn't a tool for merchants of vaccine disinformation.

Other logical fallacies include non sequiturs, posing the question while assuming the answer and failing to consider alternative hypotheses. Vaccine disinformationists have incorrectly linked myocarditis, inflammation of the heart muscle — which is far more likely to be caused by Covid infection than by Covid vaccination — to my husband's aortic aneurysm. Yes, the aorta and the heart are in the same vicinity, but the relevance stops there. It does not logically follow that Covid vaccination was a risk factor for his condition. Others have called for investigations into his death as if information is being suppressed. I, too, wanted to know what happened to my Grant. Did I miss something? Was there something that could have been done to prevent this? This is why I requested an autopsy.

Vaccine disinformationists have cherry-picked data to support their claims, failing to note that genetic connective tissue disorders are important risk factors for ascending aortic aneurysms (and in my husband's case the most likely risk factor, as early genetic test results suggest).

When disinformation profiteers leverage tragedies like Grant's and Mr. Hamlin's for their personal gain, they re-traumatize families, compromising our ability to interpret information and distinguish truth from lies and putting all of us at risk. The results of allowing this to continue will be disastrous. Merchants of disinformation argue that vaccines killed my husband, but they're also at least in part responsible for the return of polio to the United States and the fact that so many children in Ohio are suffering from measles right now. A recent Kaiser Family Foundation poll found that while most of the public still supports routine childhood vaccinations, significantly fewer people support requirements that children be vaccinated against measles, mumps and rubella than did just two years ago. In December, Congress repealed a Covid vaccine mandate for troops even though doing so threatens military readiness and puts our nation's security at risk.

I believe in karma. Even if it's used against me as a threat. I believe that what we put out into the world shapes our experience of it. Karma is what brought Grant into my life. Karma is what sustained our marriage through trials, adversities and endless work pressures that demanded every piece of us. Karma is why Grant touched so many people's lives. I was reminded of this at his memorial service in New York City, which was attended by several hundred people in person and many more on Zoom. Karma resulted in tributes in numerous publications, on social media and in private messages.

Grant will be remembered for his kindness, openness and generosity. His legacy is his commitment to seeking truth through reporting, supporting human rights and fighting for equality. I will continue to honor Grant by living by our shared values. I'm channeling my grief into something productive: protecting the public's health against those who would profit from the suffering of others.

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MAX WHITTAKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

California Should Capture Its Floodwaters

Erica Gies
A National Geographic Explorer, a journalist and the author of "Water Always Wins: Thriving in an Age of Drought and Deluge."

AFTER a long, dry summer, winter has brought the gift of water to California, via a series of atmospheric river storms. Unfortunately, as these sprawling rivers in the sky have met developed areas covered with concrete and rivers locked in by levees, they have brought destruction: floods, mudslides, washed-out roads, blackouts, uprooted trees and at least six deaths.

But California doesn't have to passively suffer through the whiplash of drought and floods. To reduce risk from both, it can return some of its land to water, working with natural systems.

One way to do this is by making use of unique geologic features called paleo valleys. These buried canyons carved into the state's Central Valley were formed by Ice Age rivers that flowed down the western flank of the Sierra Nevada and were later filled in with coarse sand and gravel from glacial melt.

Today that coarse sand and gravel is a superpower, making paleo rivers exceptionally porous and capable of moving heavy rains underground quickly. The permeability is so great that they can absorb about 60 times more water than the surrounding material that is dominated by clay and silt. Only three of them have been found so far, but the hunt is on to find more, and quickly.

Graham Fogg, a professor emeritus of hydrogeology at the University of California, Davis, who has studied California's water systems for 40 years, has a long-held dream: to find a dozen or more paleo valleys and use them to replenish groundwater depleted by over-pumping and controlling rivers with levees and dams. For decades, few people were listening. But lately, that's beginning to change. The state's Department of Water Resources began a three-year survey to find more of them.

The big hope is that an array of paleo valleys could be turned into giant storm drains to quickly absorb heavy rain. Storm water spread over the valleys would sink underground and then move into the surrounding clays and silts, for more than 12 miles on either side of the valley and for hundreds of feet in depth, according to one study. It would raise the diminished water table, which is important because a healthier underground water system can feed rivers from below and allow people to continue to pump water from wells. It can also make more water available to plants and soil, help to sustain the rain cycle and reduce fire risk.

There is enough unmanaged surface water from rain and snow statewide to resupply Central Valley aquifers, making more water available to farmers, urban dwellers and the environment. Even with climate change, the state will most likely have enough water for recharge in the future in part because of more extreme weather, according to a 2021 study.

The state can fight drought by leveraging unique geologic features.

To use paleo valleys to store these big rains, the land above them must be conserved for groundwater recharge. And that's already a challenge: One paleo valley found outside of Sacramento has been slated for housing developments, which would cover it with impermeable concrete and asphalt. Such decisions are typically governed by city and county governments, but the state could incentivize areas with paleo valleys to protect the land above them.

Land use isn't the only issue. The state's major aqueducts that move water from north to south can also play a big role in helping floodwater reach the paleo valleys. The aqueducts are underused in winter when fewer growers need to irrigate their crops and could transport excess storm water to depleted aquifers. Pipes could be added to them to move the water to the paleo valleys.

The California Department of Water Resources survey is using airborne technology to map about 100 groundwater zones, some of which could contain paleo valleys. The good news is that the location of paleo valleys is somewhat predictable: Every tributary coming off the Sierra Nevada very likely has one, according to Dr. Fogg. Whether paleo valleys will be used for recharge depends on local land use priorities and each water basin's plan submitted to the state under the Sustainable Groundwater Management Act to balance extraction with recharge.

But governments that prioritize natural systems like paleo valleys will find they are good value, with a cost of about half that of industrial interventions like levees and often performing better in terms of absorbing floods and supplying water through the summer. Although construction continues in flood-prone places, every dollar invested in buying undeveloped land for water's ebbs and flows can save $2 to more than $5 in avoided flood damages. Healthy systems can also maintain themselves, saving money otherwise spent in constant battle with natural forces.

Although California's water is infamously over-allocated in the summer, a great deal of winter water is less constrained by water rights. People are now trying to stake claims to winter water to recharge aquifers so more water is available in the summer when the need is greater. Sorting this out is an opportunity to update the water rights system for a growing population, weakened ecosystems and the climate crisis of the 21st century to better serve the common good.

Paleo valleys are one of the best opportunities for California to find balance between dangerous floodwaters and depleted underground aquifers. And the state wouldn't be alone if it pursued this strategy. Many states, cities and countries are joining what I call the "slow water movement" to restore water's slow phases where surface and groundwater connect. Moving away from our strict control mind-set toward more respect for water's natural cycles can make our human habitat more flexible and strengthen our ability to go with the flow.

COLUMNIST | **CHARLES M. BLOW**

The Republicans Are Putting Trump Out to Pasture

MANY FAMILIES have a grandfather or an uncle who, in his prime, was the patriarch, the family's force and compass. His counsel was sought and heeded. He was treated with the utmost respect and deference.

But, as the years passed, his power waned, his acuity dulled, his admonitions began to sound archaic. The family reordered itself. So another man or a woman became the leader and the grandfather or uncle was demoted, without any formal proclamation but by familial inertia, to a kind of elder emeritus.

The family still loves him and honors him, but they also regularly tune him out or ignore him. He was integral to the family's journey but is now only incidental to its future.

This is what is happening to Donald Trump in the Republican Party, a dynamic underscored by the disastrous speaker battle in the House of Representatives. Donald Trump is essentially being put out to pasture.

Not only is there no love lost between him and Mitch McConnell, the minority leader in the Senate (in September, Trump accused McConnell of hating him), Kevin McCarthy, his choice for speaker of the House, was blocked for days by some of Trump's most ardent — and outrageous — acolytes.

Trump's calls to holdouts didn't immediately quell their opposition.

Before one of the votes for speaker, Representative Lauren Boebert of Colorado, a woman who once said that Trump was called by God to run for president and was "anointed for that position," rebuked Trump and McCarthy. Giving Trump instructions rather than taking his, she told her fellow Republicans in the House:

"Let's work together. Let's stop with the campaign smears and tactics to get people to turn against us. Even having my favorite president call us and tell us we need to knock this off. I think it actually needs to be reversed: The president needs to tell Kevin McCarthy that 'Sir, you do not have the votes, and it's time to withdraw.'"

Talk about damning with faint praise. She suggested that Trump wasn't even operating on his own convictions but was being told what to do by the Republican House leadership. It sounded laudatory, even loving, but it was a cutting reprimand, the way we Southerners say, "Bless your heart," with a smile but dripping in disdain.

At one point during the voting, Representative Matt Gaetz of Florida almost mockingly nominated Trump for speaker. (The speaker doesn't have to be a member of the House.) Gaetz had been a ferocious Trump defender, but he recently tweeted after Trump urged him to fall in line behind McCarthy: "Supporting McCarthy is the worst human resources decision President Trump has ever made. Sad!"

Trump has suffered a staggering string of losses, most recently watching voters reject many of the candidates he endorsed during the midterms, and the speakership battle, which ended in McCarthy ceding so much power that he is essentially a speaker-in-name-only, was another loss for Trump, because it exposed the fact that his devotees no longer mindlessly follow his directions.

Trump knows better than most that loss lingers on a person like a rancid odor.

Trump, like every other president, had a moment, but now the sun is setting on that moment. The country and his own party are drifting away from him. He is shrinking in open view.

But, if Trump is not the leader of his party now, who is? By default, even if diminished, he retains the title, even without the power. So, in a way, the Republican Party is a runaway chariot. No one fully controls it.

The party became so anti-establishment and pro-iconoclast that it actually came to reject institutional procedure and tenured professionalism. You can only operate so long with a throw-the-bums-out mentality before you run out of "bums" and realize that you're left with no one to replace them but scoundrels.

The people who ground the workings of the House to a halt are the progeny of Trump's chaos.

In Greek mythology, Cronus, who had overthrown his father, Uranus, learned that one of his children was destined do the same to him. So he ate them all. But his sixth child, Zeus, came along and was hidden by Zeus' mother. When Zeus was older, he forced Cronus to disgorge his siblings (gross, I know), and together Cronus's children overthrew their father.

The sun is setting on the former president's moment.

The Republican Party, and Trump himself, are also caught in this loop: They topple their party's "establishment" every few years only to become the establishment in need of toppling.

The party has completely lost sight of the values of wisdom and service, of paying one's dues and working one's way up. For it, every cycle is a revolution and a war. In the long run, this is bad for the party and for the country.

But, in the short run, it's even worse for Trump. His protégés are coming to either overthrow him or put him out to pasture, and there is precious little he can do to stop them.

LETTERS

Chaos and Concessions: McCarthy Is In

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "McCarthy Wins Speakership on 15th Vote After Concessions to Hard Right" (nytimes.com, Jan. 7):

So Kevin McCarthy is finally speaker of the House. It took 15 votes to get him there.

But considering the concessions he had to make, the unruly nature of right-wing Republicans and the razor-thin margin, the next two years are likely to be a nightmare for Mr. McCarthy.

Sometimes be careful what you wish for.

ALLAN GOLDFARB, NEW YORK

TO THE EDITOR:

It's easy to blame Republicans for the debacle of the House leadership vote and all its predictable miserable consequences. But where were the 212 Democrats in all this?

Sure, I can see the rationale behind a show of support and unity for Hakeem Jeffries at the outset. He's much deserving and would have done a fine job. But that's a battle Democrats were never going to win.

Deep into the voting rounds when it became apparent that there would be no win for Kevin McCarthy without further empowering the right-wing extremists, wouldn't it have been smarter for Democrats to have gotten together to nominate some (any!) moderate Republican and hope to deny both Mr. McCarthy and the extremists their day?

Democrats are just as bad as Republicans in putting party loyalty ahead of what's best for the American people.

RUSSELL ROY
MANCHESTER, N.H.

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "How a Battle for Control Set the Table for Disarray" (news article, Jan. 8):

As Emily Cochrane points out, in getting elected speaker, Kevin McCarthy accepted making changes to the rules of the House that are not merely a weakening of the powers of the speakership, but also a danger to the country. If Congress cannot agree to raise the debt ceiling, the United States could default on its debt for the first time. The mere threat is a clear and present danger.

Is it possible that some Republican members of the House could, even though they voted for Mr. McCarthy, nonetheless join Democrats in voting against the most dangerous changes in the rules?

If, instead, all House Republicans regard their vote for Mr. McCarthy as a vote for the concessions he made to become speaker, then each and every one of them has as much responsibility for the damage these rules will do the country as the radicals who insisted on the changes.

JEFF LANG, CHAPEL HILL, N.C.
The writer is a former chief international trade counsel for the Senate's Committee on Finance.

TO THE EDITOR:

What a day. I imagine that the second anniversary of the Jan. 6 insurrection will go down in history as the day the Democrats commemorated all the patriotic heroes who fought to save our democracy, while simultaneously the Republicans in Congress could be seen doing their level best to destroy it.

SHARON AUSTRY, FORT WORTH

TO THE EDITOR:

It's not just the far-right representatives who can disrupt the workings of the House. The concession to change the rules to allow a single lawmaker to force a snap vote to oust the speaker gives the Democrats a filibuster-like power.

If they want to stop a particular vote for a Republican-sponsored bill, all the Democrats have to do is keep calling for votes to remove the speaker. That vote would take precedence until the Republicans give up and take their bill off the agenda.

By insisting on having the power to disrupt the workings of the House, the far-right Republicans have given the same power to the Democrats.

HENRY FARKAS
PIKESVILLE, MD.

TO THE EDITOR:

Teachers seeking to explain to their students the meaning of a Pyrrhic victory, look no further than Kevin McCarthy!

PETER ROGATZ
PORT WASHINGTON, N.Y.

Should Babies Sit in First Class on the Plane?

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Um, Perhaps Your Baby Will Fit in the Overhead Bin?" (Travel, Jan. 7):

This article has particular relevance for me, as someone who has traveled more than 100,000 miles every year for the last 25 years. I have seen a number of variations on this theme of babies in first class.

The alternative to having one first-class or business seat with an infant on one's lap is to buy two seats or even three seats in coach, which allow for the parent to have the option of holding the child or placing the child in a travel seat. It would also be fairer for airlines to require that parents buy an actual seat for an infant when it comes to purchasing seats in business or first class.

There is a clear difference between a domestic first-class cabin for a two-hour flight and an overnight transcontinental flight where the entire point of paying $5,000 for a seat is to be able to sleep so one may function the next day during back-to-back meetings.

My heartfelt advice to those parents contemplating their options is to buy a Comfort Plus or premium coach seat for you as well as for your infant to have ample space and to be a good citizen.

RONNIE HAWKINS
WASHINGTON

TO THE EDITOR:

A few years ago, my husband and I flew on Scandinavian Airlines from D.C. to Copenhagen. There were perhaps half a dozen babies on the plane, but we heard not a peep from any of them for the length of the flight. Why? The plane had fold-down bassinets in the bulkheads, and people traveling with babies were assigned those seats.

Of course, there are no surefire ways to prevent disruptive passengers, whether they're children or adults, but the airlines in this country disregard their own role in this mess by making flying such a miserable experience for everyone.

DEBRA DEAN, MIAMI

Chatbot as Writing Tool

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Fourth Grader or Chatbot?" (The Upshot, Jan. 4):

I have been a teacher of writing for 38 years, and my first reaction to ChatGPT, a new artificial intelligence chatbot, was dread: How could I prevent my students from using this technology? My second reaction was to wonder how I might use it myself.

Once we are done with denial and hand-wringing, teachers need to think about how we can use A.I. to help teach student writing. This tool can help generate ideas, offer suggestions, map out structures, transform outlines to drafts and much more that could demystify the writing process.

The technology is here to stay; our job will be to advance the education of our students by using A.I. to develop their writing and thinking skills.

HUNTINGTON LYMAN
MIDDLEBURG, VA.
The writer is the academic dean at The Hill School in Middleburg.

Support Family Farms

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "What Growing Up on a Farm Taught Me About Humility," by Sarah Smarsh (Opinion guest essay, Dec. 25):

I am just one generation removed from the family dairy farm, and my cousins still operate one in Idaho and their lives are tough. In the words of Ms. Smarsh, they're "doing hard, undervalued work."

Ms. Smarsh makes a strong case against giant agricultural corporations and their "torturous treatment of animals."

Currently, the majority of farm production is driven by corporate greed. However, small-farm, organic-raised meat and produce are expensive alternatives, which are out of reach for low-income, food-insecure families.

More moral, sustainable food production is a policy issue that our lawmakers should address. Ms. Smarsh is right: Family farms are being "forced out of business by policies that favor large industrial operations."

MARY POUND, ALEXANDRIA, VA.

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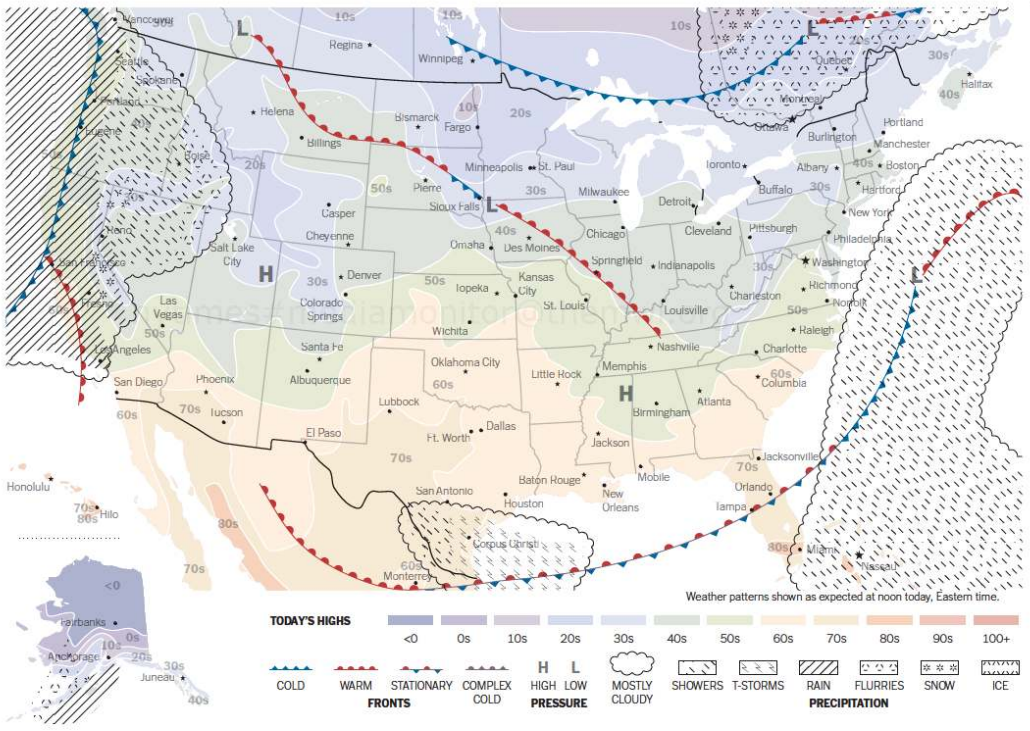
Weather Report

Meteorology by **AccuWeather**



Highlight: Strong Winds Expected in California

Inundated California will continue to have an abnormally wet couple of days as yet another storm brings heavy rain, mountain snow and gusty winds to the region. Monday and Tuesday will bring plenty of rain to the already saturated state along with gusty winds. Some coastal and mountainous areas may have gusts from 60-80 miles per hour. Widespread power outages and extensive tree and property damage are expected.

National Forecast

A storm off the coast of the Northeast Atlantic beaches will allow for some lingering showers at coastal locations early today. It may be just cold enough for some locations around the Interstate 95 corridor from Baltimore to New York City to have a slushy, slippery coating of snow.

Dry conditions will be in place for most of the Southeast, Midwest and Plains, with a couple of showers and a thunderstorm in South Texas. Meanwhile, a large intense storm system will move onshore along the West Coast. Steady rain is expected from coastal Washington to Southern California.

This rain will be especially heavy in Central California, where several inches or more will fall. Flooding issues, and even mudslides, will be a concern in this area, especially given recent heavy rain.

Metropolitan Forecast

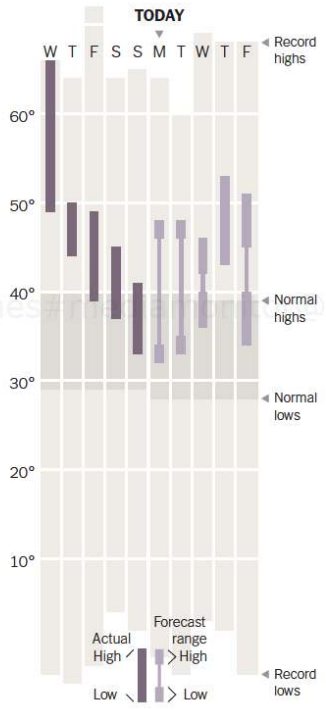
TODAY .....A rain or snow shower
High 45. Temperatures in the city will hover in the mid-30s but may be lower across the interior. This may yield rain and snow across the area with above-normal temperatures. Travel delays are possible.

TONIGHT .....Clear
Low 34. The sky will be clear, which will allow for temperatures to fall close to freezing, but still be above normal for this time of year. Winds will be at 4-8 m.p.h.

TOMORROW .....Partly sunny
High 47. Transient high pressure will move across the area, which may yield to dry weather. Expect clouds and sunshine. Temperatures may be a few degrees above normal. Winds will be at 4-8 m.p.h.

WEDNESDAY .....Partly sunny
High pressure will remain across, allowing for dry air. The sky will have clouds and sunshine with above-normal temperatures. Winds at 4-8 m.p.h. High 44.

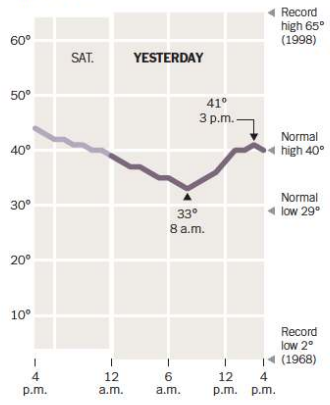
THURSDAY
FRIDAY .....Some rain and wind
Thursday, clouds will increase and temperatures will rise. High 44. On Friday, low pressure will push through, which may bring above-normal temperatures and rain. High 48.



Metropolitan Almanac

In Central Park, for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday.

Temperature



Avg. daily departure from normal this month ..... +13.3°
Avg. daily departure from normal this year ..... +13.3°

Reservoir levels (New York City water supply)

Yesterday	89%
Est. normal	89%

Precipitation (in inches)

Yesterday	0.00	Snow	0.0
Record	1.25	Since Oct. 1	Trace

For the last 30 days

Actual	4.77
Normal	4.01

For the last 365 days

Actual	45.60
Normal	49.52

LAST 30 DAYS

Air pressure

High	30.36 10 a.m.
Low	30.25 4 p.m.

Humidity

High	61% 8 a.m.
Low	36% 1 p.m.

Heating Degree Days

An index of fuel consumption that tracks how far the day's mean temperature fell below 65

Yesterday	28
So far this month	135
So far this season (since July 1)	1654
Normal to date for the season	1835

Trends

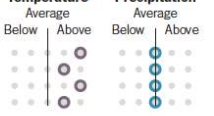


Chart shows how recent temperature and precipitation trends compare with those of the last 30 years.

Recreational Forecast

Sun, Moon and Planets

Last Quarter	New	First Quarter	Full
Jan. 14	Jan. 21 3:54 p.m.	Jan. 28	Feb. 5 1:29 p.m.

Sun	RISE	7:20 a.m.	Moon	S	9:21 a.m.
	SET	4:46 p.m.		R	7:18 p.m.
	NEXT R	7:20 a.m.		S	9:48 a.m.
Jupiter	R	10:48 a.m.	Mars	S	4:43 a.m.
	S	10:52 p.m.		R	1:30 p.m.
Saturn	R	9:14 a.m.	Venus	R	8:33 a.m.
	S	7:34 p.m.		S	6:16 p.m.

Boating

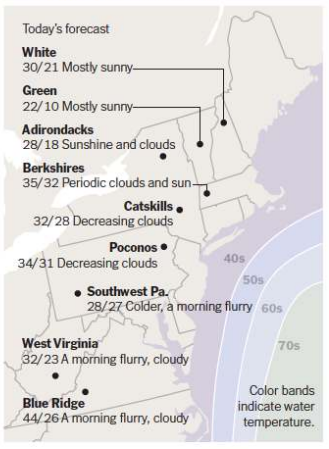
From Montauk Point to Sandy Hook, N.J., out to 20 nautical miles, including Long Island Sound and New York Harbor.

Rain early in the day. Winds will be from the northwest at 5-10 knots. Waves will be 1-2 feet on the ocean and less than a foot on Long Island Sound and New York Harbor. Visibility unrestricted.

High Tides

Atlantic City	8:42 a.m.	9:13 p.m.
Barnegat Inlet	8:49 a.m.	9:23 p.m.
The Battery	9:30 a.m.	10:16 p.m.
Beach Haven	10:19 a.m.	10:59 p.m.
Bridgeport	12:28 a.m.	12:37 p.m.
City Island	12:43 a.m.	12:28 p.m.
Fire Island Lt.	9:47 a.m.	10:27 p.m.
Montauk Point	10:31 a.m.	10:58 p.m.
Northport	12:35 a.m.	12:39 p.m.
Port Washington	12:42 a.m.	12:29 p.m.
Sandy Hook	9:01 a.m.	9:41 p.m.
Shinnecock Inlet	8:52 a.m.	9:21 p.m.
Stamford	12:33 a.m.	12:37 p.m.
Tarrytown	11:19 a.m.	---
Willets Point	12:45 a.m.	12:29 p.m.

Mountain and Ocean Temperatures



Dry weather will prevail across the majority of the mountains today as a storm passes off the East Coast. Temperatures will be near normal to the south, but above normal to the north. Winds may be breezy across the Blue Ridge Mountains extending into the central Appalachians, which may make temperatures feel lower.

Cities

High/low temperatures for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday, Eastern time, and precipitation (in inches) for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday. Expected conditions for today and tomorrow.

C ..... Clouds
F ..... Fog
H ..... Haze
I ..... Ice
PC ..... Partly cloudy
R ..... Rain
Sh ..... Showers
S ..... Sun
Sn ..... Snow
SS ..... Snow showers
T ..... Thunderstorms
Tr ..... Trace
W ..... Windy
– ..... Not available

N.Y.C. region	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
New York City	41/ 33 0	45/ 34 C	47/ 32 PC
Bridgeport	38/ 27 0	45/ 31 C	45/ 30 PC
Caldwell	42/ 25 0	48/ 30 C	47/ 28 PC
Danbury	42/ 23 0	46/ 30 C	43/ 25 PC
Islip	40/ 27 0	45/ 29 Sn	45/ 30 C
Newark	41/ 28 0	48/ 32 Sn	46/ 30 PC
Trenton	41/ 26 0	46/ 29 Sn	44/ 30 PC
White Plains	39/ 25 0	46/ 32 C	43/ 27 PC

United States	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Albany	37/ 25 0	39/ 31 PC	38/ 22 PC
Albuquerque	51/ 29 0	55/ 33 S	57/ 35 PC
Anchorage	15/ 11 0	17/ 15 PC	28/ 20 Sn
Atlanta	59/ 44 0.09	57/ 37 PC	64/ 40 S
Atlantic City	41/ 39 0	47/ 34 R	47/ 33 PC
Austin	67/ 43 Tr	67/ 50 S	78/ 57 S
Baltimore	44/ 38 0	50/ 30 PC	51/ 32 PC
Baton Rouge	66/ 45 2.07	67/ 42 C	70/ 56 PC
Birmingham	58/ 39 0.87	55/ 36 PC	64/ 46 S
Boise	47/ 34 0.05	44/ 33 Sh	44/ 36 Sh
Boston	38/ 30 0	43/ 32 PC	40/ 27 S
Buffalo	33/ 27 0	37/ 30 PC	38/ 31 C
Burlington	33/ 25 0.01	37/ 25 S	30/ 16 C
Casper	38/ 24 0	39/ 35 S	43/ 25 W
Charlotte	51/ 42 0.20	57/ 33 PC	58/ 35 PC
Chattanooga	54/ 40 0.26	53/ 35 PC	60/ 40 PC
Chicago	37/ 26 0	42/ 34 PC	43/ 32 PC
Cincinnati	37/ 26 0.05	44/ 31 PC	47/ 35 PC
Cleveland	38/ 28 0	42/ 32 PC	41/ 36 C
Colorado Springs	54/ 30 0	53/ 33 S	59/ 33 PC
Columbus	40/ 26 0.01	42/ 29 PC	43/ 34 PC
Concord, N.H.	37/ 17 0	41/ 24 S	36/ 14 PC
Dallas-Ft. Worth	63/ 41 0	68/ 47 S	78/ 55 S
Denver	45/ 29 0	47/ 34 PC	53/ 29 PC
Des Moines	40/ 27 0	47/ 27 C	46/ 30 PC
Detroit	36/ 26 0	43/ 29 C	38/ 33 C
El Paso	65/ 39 0	69/ 40 S	69/ 45 C
Fargo	24/ 9 0	20/ 11 C	24/ 18 PC
Hartford	40/ 26 0	43/ 30 PC	42/ 25 PC
Honolulu	81/ 65 0	82/ 64 S	83/ 70 PC
Houston	68/ 48 0.22	66/ 51 C	75/ 60 S
Indianapolis	39/ 25 0.01	44/ 34 PC	48/ 35 PC
Jackson	64/ 39 0.12	61/ 38 C	69/ 53 S
Jacksonville	73/ 50 0	71/ 42 PC	68/ 40 S
Kansas City	49/ 33 0	56/ 33 PC	59/ 34 S
Key West	79/ 69 0	76/ 68 S	76/ 67 PC
Las Vegas	58/ 43 0	56/ 47 C	59/ 41 R
Lexington	43/ 31 Tr	45/ 31 PC	53/ 38 PC
Little Rock	59/ 37 0	60/ 42 PC	68/ 52 S
Los Angeles	64/ 53 0.02	59/ 54 R	58/ 48 R
Louisville	43/ 32 0.07	49/ 36 S	55/ 42 PC
Memphis	54/ 36 0	56/ 42 PC	63/ 53 PC
Miami	80/ 66 0	81/ 64 PC	78/ 59 PC
Milwaukee	36/ 25 0	42/ 34 PC	41/ 32 PC
Mpls.-St. Paul	23/ 14 0	31/ 21 PC	31/ 25 PC
Nashville	56/ 35 0	55/ 35 PC	61/ 45 PC
New Orleans	69/ 50 0.55	64/ 48 C	69/ 57 PC
Norfolk	48/ 42 0.11	52/ 34 C	52/ 39 PC
Oklahoma City	57/ 36 0	64/ 34 PC	66/ 38 S
Omaha	42/ 29 0	47/ 26 PC	47/ 27 PC
Orlando	78/ 55 0	77/ 54 PC	73/ 50 PC
Philadelphia	43/ 36 0	47/ 32 C	47/ 32 PC
Phoenix	69/ 44 0	70/ 49 C	71/ 46 PC
Pittsburgh	39/ 27 0	39/ 27 PC	43/ 32 PC
Portland, Me.	36/ 23 0	39/ 26 S	38/ 18 S
Portland, Ore.	51/ 41 0.21	51/ 37 R	49/ 42 PC
Providence	38/ 27 0	43/ 29 PC	44/ 26 S
Raleigh	44/ 41 0.21	55/ 29 PC	55/ 34 PC
Reno	47/ 34 0.03	44/ 34 R	43/ 32 Sn
Richmond	44/ 37 0.08	54/ 28 C	52/ 31 PC
Rochester	36/ 25 0	38/ 29 PC	33/ 27 C
Sacramento	59/ 53 0.06	58/ 51 R	55/ 46 R
Salt Lake City	45/ 34 0.04	45/ 40 Sh	51/ 33 R
San Antonio	72/ 47 0	69/ 52 S	80/ 56 S
San Diego	66/ 50 0	67/ 58 C	64/ 53 R
San Francisco	60/ 54 0.03	59/ 52 R	57/ 50 R
San Jose	61/ 55 0.02	61/ 51 R	56/ 47 R
San Juan	84/ 72 0.08	84/ 73 PC	85/ 72 Sh
Seattle	50/ 43 0.18	51/ 42 R	53/ 38 C
Sioux Falls	24/ 15 0	31/ 17 C	31/ 11 PC
Spokane	40/ 30 0.15	38/ 30 Sh	39/ 30 C
St. Louis	43/ 29 0.04	55/ 39 PC	56/ 42 PC
St. Thomas	82/ 75 0	84/ 73 PC	84/ 73 Sh
Syracuse	35/ 27 0	40/ 31 PC	34/ 27 C
Tampa	76/ 58 0	75/ 55 S	70/ 53 PC
Toledo	38/ 27 0	43/ 29 C	40/ 32 C
Tucson	71/ 42 0	73/ 46 S	74/ 45 PC
Tulsa	55/ 35 0	64/ 36 W	66/ 39 S
Virginia Beach	48/ 43 0.09	52/ 34 C	51/ 40 PC
Washington	45/ 38 0.09	50/ 34 PC	51/ 33 PC
Wichita	54/ 32 0	56/ 29 S	59/ 32 S
Wilmington, Del.	44/ 34 0	47/ 28 R	46/ 29 PC

Africa	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Algiers	70/ 37 0	71/ 51 Sh	68/ 48 C
Cairo	68/ 56 0.02	66/ 53 PC	68/ 53 S
Cape Town	79/ 61 0	82/ 62 S	81/ 60 PC
Dakar	82/ 69 0	81/ 69 PC	81/ 68 PC
Johannesburg	71/ 52 0.01	80/ 58 S	88/ 60 S
Nairobi	81/ 59 0	78/ 59 T	77/ 59 T
Tunis	69/ 46 0	69/ 54 C	64/ 54 PC

Asia/Pacific	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Baghdad	61/ 46 0	60/ 46 C	59/ 39 S
Bangkok	83/ 71 0	87/ 75 PC	89/ 76 R
Beijing	57/ 15 0	46/ 18 PC	42/ 19 PC
Damascus	54/ 42 0	57/ 40 C	58/ 38 PC
Hong Kong	68/ 60 0.04	65/ 61 R	65/ 60 R
Jakarta	86/ 75 0.14	85/ 75 Sh	88/ 75 T
Jerusalem	56/ 45 0	53/ 46 Sh	56/ 44 PC
Karachi	81/ 53 0	81/ 58 PC	82/ 62 PC
Manila	85/ 75 0	87/ 75 C	86/ 75 PC
Mumbai	90/ 73 0	89/ 70 PC	90/ 69 PC
New Delhi	67/ 47 0	68/ 48 PC	70/ 50 PC
Riyadh	62/ 51 0	66/ 58 PC	65/ 44 PC
Seoul	41/ 21 0	46/ 21 S	46/ 24 PC
Shanghai	64/ 41 0	66/ 39 PC	56/ 38 PC
Singapore	91/ 75 0	88/ 76 T	89/ 76 T
Sydney	76/ 61 0	78/ 64 S	79/ 66 S
Taipei City	79/ 60 0	70/ 62 Sh	68/ 63 Sh
Tehran	50/ 36 0	48/ 33 PC	43/ 32 C
Tokyo	69/ 39 0	54/ 42 S	52/ 37 W

Europe	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Amsterdam	50/ 43 0.07	48/ 42 Sh	50/ 47 C
Athens	63/ 44 0	61/ 52 S	61/ 46 Sh
Berlin	48/ 40 0.04	47/ 40 PC	45/ 38 C
Brussels	51/ 43 0.16	47/ 39 Sh	49/ 46 R
Budapest	52/ 36 0	44/ 38 R	45/ 32 Sh
Copenhagen	44/ 42 0.37	43/ 40 Sh	45/ 40 Sh
Dublin	46/ 39 0.02	45/ 40 PC	58/ 39 R
Edinburgh	46/ 41 0.30	44/ 40 Sh	49/ 42 R
Frankfurt	51/ 45 0.30	48/ 40 Sh	46/ 42 C
Geneva	49/ 42 0.95	44/ 38 R	44/ 39 C
Helsinki	25/ 15 0.18	28/ 25 C	35/ 34 Sn
Istanbul	54/ 42 0	52/ 46 S	58/ 50 C
Kyiv	22/ 13 0	30/ 22 SS	29/ 18 C
Lisbon	63/ 58 0.11	63/ 52 PC	61/ 56 C
London	50/ 43 0.40	48/ 40 PC	56/ 44 R
Madrid	57/ 48 0.19	57/ 33 PC	53/ 40 PC
Moscow	7/ -9 0.02	7/ 4 C	13/ 5 C
Nice	54/ 50 0.72	61/ 46 PC	60/ 46 C
Oslo	41/ 37 0.69	38/ 33 Sn	36/ 32 Sn
Paris	52/ 46 0.24	48/ 40 PC	53/ 49 R
Prague	41/ 34 0.02	44/ 36 Sh	44/ 34 C
Rome	61/ 46 0.25	62/ 44 R	58/ 38 S
St. Petersburg	7/ 0 Tr	17/ 14 C	28/ 25 Sn
Stockholm	38/ 36 0.48	38/ 35 Sn	38/ 36 C
Vienna	41/ 35 0	48/ 40 R	46/ 30 W
Warsaw	40/ 35 0	47/ 39 R	43/ 35 C

North America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Acapulco	85/ 70 0	85/ 70 S	85/ 70 S
Bermuda	65/ 63 0.25	69/ 64 C	70/ 61 S
Edmonton	23/ 13 0	20/ 9 C	19/ 9 C
Guadalajara	80/ 42 0	78/ 38 S	78/ 39 S
Havana	84/ 63 0.05	81/ 67 S	80/ 58 S
Kingston	87/ 74 0.08	87/ 75 PC	87/ 74 PC
Martinique	84/ 75 0.10	84/ 73 W	83/ 72 PC
Mexico City	71/ 49 0	70/ 50 PC	67/ 48 S
Monterrey	70/ 56 0	69/ 51 C	80/ 52 S
Montreal	26/ 12 0.04	34/ 20 Sn	29/ 14 S
Nassau	80/ 68 0	80/ 68 Sh	79/ 65 S
Panama City	90/ 72 0.07	85/ 73 R	87/ 72 T
Quebec City	18/ 4 0.05	27/ 17 Sn	24/ -2 C
Santo Domingo	82/ 69 0.09	83/ 70 PC	84/ 69 T
Toronto	32/ 21 0	39/ 30 PC	33/ 29 C
Vancouver	45/ 38 0.11	47/ 42 R	47/ 37 R
Winnipeg	22/ 5 0	20/ 13 C	21/ 17 C

South America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Buenos Aires	82/ 71 0	82/ 73 S	83/ 73 S
Caracas	88/ 75 0.37	87/ 75 R	88/ 74 Sh
Lima	78/ 67 0.01	78/ 68 C	78/ 69 PC
Quito	63/ 50 0.25	61/ 49 R	62/ 49 R
Recife	84/ 76 0.09	87/ 74 C	88/ 75 Sh
Rio de Janeiro	75/ 69 0.10	76/ 72 R	81/ 74 T
Santiago	88/ 59 0	85/ 57 S	82/ 58 PC

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3 LAWSUITS
The attorney general for the Virgin Islands is fired amid tensions with the governor over the Epstein case.

6 WORKPLACES
A handful of top C.E.O.s have tried to get rid of remote work. But some economists say that it is here to stay.

6 TRAVEL
An airline's mistake made a traveler miss a cruise, but the carrier and her insurance wouldn't make good.

nytimes#mediamonitor@themwl.org

PHOTOGRAPHS BY CARTER JOHNSTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Vacant storefronts in Laredo, Texas. A boom in U.S.-Mexico commerce is helping to turn the border city into an even more vital hub. Already, about $800 million worth of goods pass through it every day.

A Texas City Shaping the Future of Trade

Laredo is primed to become one of the world's most important land ports as U.S. companies reduce their reliance on factories across Asia.

By PETER S. GOODMAN

LAREDO, TEXAS — The teeming warehouses carved into the desert surrounding Laredo attest to an explosion of trade between the United States and Mexico.

On a recent morning, 55-gallon drums full of chemicals concocted in Ohio awaited trucks that would haul them across the Rio Grande, for use as raw materials at a paint factory in Mexico's industrial city of Monterrey. Destined northbound, brake pads manufactured in Mexico were headed to trucking firms as far away as South Dakota.

The more trade expands, the greater the opportunities for Laredo, a sprawling city of over 250,000 people that has long been the dominant land port on the meandering border between the United States and Mexico. Now, it is poised to become an even more vital component of the global economy. American companies sobered by the supply chain upheavals of the pandemic and alarmed by the animosity between the United States and China are reducing their dependence on factories across the Pacific by shifting production to Mexico.

Already, about $800 million worth of products as diverse as auto parts, clothing and avocados pass through Laredo every day. That reality is underscored by the parade of trucks rumbling through, waiting — often for hours — for their chance to cross a bridge spanning the Rio Grande, the murky river dividing Texas from Mexico.

By nearly every indication, more goods are on the way, presenting customs brokers, freight handlers and trucking companies with a monumental opportunity.

"Everyone's been growing around here — 10, 20, 30 percent every year," said Pablo Garza, 30,

CONTINUED ON PAGE B4

Two million square feet of warehouse space is said to be under construction in Laredo. Such facilities in the region are more than 98 percent occupied.

Crime and Police Shows Still Big Hits

By JOHN KOBLIN

Just a few years ago, it looked as though shows in which a group of characters confront and neatly resolve a crime or a court case in a single episode, a staple of TV since its earliest days, might not make the leap to the streaming future.

In the 2010s, as Netflix was ascendant, several hugely successful procedurals were shown the door. NBC unceremoniously canceled "Law & Order." CBS canceled "CSI," the popular police show, as well as three "CSI" spinoffs. Many television executives felt that a story told over the course of a whole season, like "Big Little Lies" or "House of Cards," would be better for Netflix-style binge watching.

As it turns out, those old-fashioned procedurals aren't just surviving, they are thriving, in a new medium.

The back libraries of network series like "Criminal Minds" (2005-2020), "NCIS" (2003 to present), "The Blacklist" (2013 to present) and "Bones" (2005-2017) are all among the most streamed shows since 2020, according to Nielsen's streaming ranker, which totals up series by the number of minutes watched.

In fact, "Criminal Minds" was the most-watched show in streaming in 2021, beating out shows considered cultural phenomena like "Squid Game," "The Great British Baking Show" and "Bridgerton." In 2022, "NCIS" was more watched than "Ozark" and the film "Encanto."

CONTINUED ON PAGE B2

Unease as China Reopens Its Borders

This article is by Alexandra Stevenson, Zixu Wang and Tiffany May.

HONG KONG — Over the past three years, Zhou Wanhui, a Hong Kong resident, has visited her parents in China just three times. Though they live only two hours away by train, Covid restrictions made it so difficult to cross the Hong Kong border into mainland China that one of Ms. Zhou's trips included a three-hour flight to Shanghai and nearly a month of quarantine in two cities.

Families like Ms. Zhou's — kept apart for weddings and funerals, birthdays and graduations — are finally preparing for less arduous reunions.

On Sunday, China fully opened its borders for the first time since the coronavirus pandemic began, welcoming visitors without strict quarantine requirements and allowing its citizens to go overseas once again just as the travel period for Lunar New Year, typically the busiest season, begins. In Hong Kong's airport, hundreds of people waited to check in for flights to cities in the south like Xiamen and Chongqing and in the north like Beijing and Tianjin, but the arrivals hall was more quiet. Many of the city's border checkpoints were reopened; empty transportation halls filled up with groups of people, and shuttered storefronts were open once again.

Ms. Zhou, 22, a university student, texted her parents that she planned to be home for Lunar New Year on Jan. 22. "Wow, this is

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Accounting complexities prompt ~~challenges~~ INNOVATION

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As China Opens Its Borders, Mixed Feelings at Home and Abroad

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

such happy news! The border is finally open," her parents wrote back with a line of thumbs-up emoji.

But unease, from both travelers and nations that have long waited to welcome deep-pocketed Chinese tourists again, has tempered the celebratory mood.

As China swiftly abandoned Covid restrictions, a ferocious outbreak has ripped through the country in recent weeks, causing chaos in hospitals and putting pressure on health care workers. Beijing's decision, announced less than two weeks ago, to open its borders has left many surprised, confused and cautious.

"It was too abrupt," said Jenny Zhao, 34, referring to China's swift reversal of its Covid policies. Ms. Zhao, who is a marketing manager, has been living in Singapore for the past year. She found herself stuck overseas with near-impossible barriers to getting back home to China last year and decided to stay put after finding a job with an international company.

Now, with infections spreading in China, Ms. Zhao isn't sure she is ready to go back.

"All of my family members, including my grandmother, who is 88 years old, have gotten Covid," Ms. Zhao said. Her mother told her that everyone in their 3,000-unit compound in the southern city of Chongqing seems to be sick with the virus.

Instead of going there over the Lunar New Year, Ms. Zhao has decided to wait until summer to see her family. By then, she hopes, the current surge in Covid numbers will have fallen, restrictions on Chinese travelers overseas will have eased and airfare will be less expensive. Ms. Zhao said she plans to then take her parents on a trip to Thailand.

Nations around the world are eager to welcome the return of Chinese tourists like Ms. Zhao and her parents. Before the pandemic, Chinese tourists spent $250 billion a year overseas. Their abrupt disappearance in early 2020, when China suspended tour groups and travel packages, plunged many tour guides and travel operators into bankruptcy. The impact was acutely felt in places like Thailand, Japan and South Korea.

But some of those same countries are also hesitating between attracting Chinese tourists and concerns from health experts about the extent of China's Covid outbreak, the potential for new mutations of the coronavirus and the possible strain that sick tourists could have on health care systems.

TYRONE SIU/REUTERS

ANDY WONG/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Above, travelers in Hong Kong heading for a border checkpoint with mainland China on Sunday. The first day of fully opened borders came as Covid cases were still high in places like Beijing, left.

Global health experts and the World Health Organization have warned that the outbreak in China, and the country's opacity in reporting cases, has made it hard to assess the severity of the situation.

In recent days, dozens of countries worldwide have started to require Covid testing and health monitoring of travelers coming from China. That has prompted rebuke from Beijing, which has argued that the moves have no scientific basis.

The European Union on Wednesday said it "strongly encouraged" its 27 members to put in place testing and masking requirements as Chinese travelers begin to return to popular European cities.

Even Hong Kong, where the government imposed many of the same border restrictions as China until a few months ago, has taken a cautious approach to opening its border with the mainland, capping the number of visitors at 60,000 people a day. The rule will be applied to Hong Kong visitors traveling north as well. Anyone entering either side of the border is required to show a negative P.C.R. test.

On Jeju Island, a South Korean destination once favored by Chinese tourists, many businesses are in wait-and-see mode. The government has halted all direct flights from China to the island, redirecting visitors to the country's main airport in Seoul, where travelers will have to take a P.C.R. test upon arrival and quarantine if they are found to be sick.

"We are focused on alternative markets for the time being, such as Japan and Southeast Asia," said Kim Chang-hyo, an official at the Jeju Island Tourism Association. South Korea has also stopped processing short-term visas for Chinese citizens, except those for diplomatic or business visits.

Thailand's response has been friendlier. One government minister floated the idea of offering booster vaccines to Chinese tourists. Another urged Thais not to "bully" Chinese visitors based on unfounded fears about Covid.

But the Thai government is also taking measures to prevent its hospital system from being inundated by a sudden outbreak now that China's borders are open. All visitors to the country must have two shots of a Covid vaccine, and the government has recommended mask-wearing in public. Visitors also must have medical insurance to cover Covid treatment if they get sick.

Thailand is anticipating around 300,000 Chinese visitors in the first three months of 2023, said Yuthasak Supasorn, governor of the country's Tourism Authority. "There are only 15 flights per week compared to before Covid, where there are around 400 flights per week," he said. Before the pandemic, nearly a million Chinese tourists visited every month.

At the Maetaeng Elephant Park in the northern Thai province of Chiang Mai, employees said they were excited to see Chinese tourists return. For now, though, they are busy with South Koreans, who have largely replaced the Chinese as their biggest clientele.

"It is all still wait and see," said Thipsuda Poungmalee, a sales and marketing manager at the park.

In Osaka, Japan, where Chinese tourists would sometimes make the news for what the Japanese call "bakugai" — or explosive buying — the optimism is also muted. "Of course, it has been much quieter without tourists from China, the city has been less lively," said Makoto Tsuda, an official with the Osaka Prefecture's Tourism Promotion office. Before the pandemic, nearly half of all foreign visitors to the city came from China, he said.

Japan is requiring visitors from China to provide a negative P.C.R. test before arriving and to take another test when they arrive. Mr. Tsuda said he expects to see more visitors from China, but perhaps not right away.

"I do think there is an additional hurdle compared with visitors from other countries, so it may not be a sudden burst of incoming tourists from China, but more gradual," Mr. Tsuda said.

Among those at Hong Kong International Airport on Sunday was Yan Yan, a 55-year-old garment wholesaler who had traveled from South Carolina with her husband.

They waited patiently to check their luggage on a Xiamen Airlines flight to Tianjin as the lines in a packed departures hall inched forward.

She used to visit her parents in Tianjin every year. But this will be her first time home since the start of the pandemic in early 2020. Limited flights and abrupt cancellations, not to mention onerous quarantines and P.C.R. testing, had deterred her until now. One of her friends who had flown back to China had spent the entire trip between quarantine facilities.

"Now that the restrictions have loosened, it's much better," she said, adding that she was relieved to see her relatives after they had recovered from difficult bouts of Covid several weeks ago.

"It will be a great new year to spend with family."

Reporting was contributed by Hikari Hida, Muktita Suhartono and John Yoon.

On Streaming Services, Old-School Crime and Police Shows Continue to Thrive

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

And "Law & Order"? It restarted last year.

Part of the reason the shows rank so high is that there are hundreds of episodes for viewers to watch. "Criminal Minds," for example, has more than 300 episodes, and it appears lots of viewers automatically play to the next episode, over and over again. Many of the most popular shows with a story arc that lasts a season or more have far fewer episodes. "Squid Game" has nine.

Part of the appeal is that the procedurals have a low barrier to entry. They are, to a fault, uncomplicated — if viewers zone out or scroll through their phones, they won't be missing much; nor is there a need for an online recap or podcast to help decode intricate plot points.

David E. Kelley, the veteran producer of series like "Ally McBeal" and "The Practice," and now the creator of a show for Peacock, "The Calling," said that is a big draw.

"It only makes sense that a viewer is going to say: 'I want to watch something. I don't have time to watch 100 hours of it, or even 10 hours, but I want to commit to three, four hours to it. I want to feel like I had a whole meal,' " he said.

He continued: "You feel you've had the whole totality at least of the storytelling experience in three or four episodes, and then you can choose to go back to that restaurant or not for another meal."

Going back to the 1950s with "Dragnet," or the 1980s and '90s with "Murder: She Wrote" or the 2000s with "Law & Order: SVU," the procedural has survived technological shifts before.

Steven Binder, an executive producer of "NCIS," said he believed that older procedurals and other network-style dramas had a "universal appeal" that allowed them to thrive in streaming libraries.

"When I look at other shows in history that have been as popular as 'NCIS,' back to 'Gunsmoke' or 'Star Trek,' you've got characters on the show working together to solve problems," he said. "Our show isn't about the fighting between the characters."

He pointed out that Gene Roddenberry, the creator of "Star Trek," had a concept: no conflict among the Starfleet crew.

"It was groundbreaking back in the time when he said, 'No, we're not going to have our characters fighting each other — they're all a team, and the conflict is going to come externally,' " he said. "That's what our show is: It's competent, capable people working together to solve problems. I think people have always liked seeing that. They're heroes."

'Criminal Minds' was the most-streamed program in 2021.

George Cheeks, the president of CBS since 2020, who was a top NBC executive before that, noticed that "NCIS" and "Criminal Minds" were performing well on Netflix.

As a network executive, Mr. Cheeks said, people often asked him why he wasn't following the mid-2010s Netflix model where he could spend $10 million or more an episode for premium serialized dramas.

"I would always politely remind them," he said, "that these shows that you don't seem to think have value any more are demonstrating value both on broadcast TV and streaming."

The most popular shows on Paramount+, the home of popular streaming series like "Survivor" and "1923," are dominated by procedurals, with five series in its top 10 most watched list over the past few months, according to internal Paramount+ data, which was reviewed by The New York Times.

Series like "NCIS," "Criminal Minds," "Blue Bloods," "FBI" and "SEAL Team" are all in the top 10. Likewise, on free streaming services like Pluto, procedurals perform very strongly.

"There's a beginning, middle and end, and you don't have to have watched the prior episode to enjoy the current episode," Tom Ryan, a co-founder of Pluto TV and the president of streaming at Paramount, said on The Town podcast in October. "Lots of the content on Pluto that performs so well is just like that."

It also helps that the format travels well outside the United States. Mr. Cheeks said that "CSI," "NCIS" and "FBI" have high interest in international markets "in a way that streaming originals just don't."

When Mr. Cheeks saw that "Criminal Minds" was performing well on streaming, he urged restarting it for Paramount+. "Criminal Minds: Evolution" debuted in November, two years after the series was canceled on CBS. It will continue its weekly run on Paramount+ on Jan. 12.

And while the show has been slightly reimagined, the core story line remains.

"When you turn on 'Criminal Minds,' you know we're going to take you to the dark, we are going to scare you — and then we're going to save you," said Erica Messer, an executive producer of "Criminal Minds: Evolution" who worked on the original iteration. "A lot has changed over the course of the 15-plus years the show's been on. But that hasn't changed.

"I think there's a comfort in knowing that I'm going to get really scared," she continued, "but I'm going to solve the mystery alongside these heroes."

IN THE UNITED STATES BANKRUPTCY COURT
FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS, HOUSTON DIVISION

In re: HONX, INC.,[1] Debtor.) Chapter 11, Case No. 22-90035 (MI) **Re: Docket No. 444**

NOTICE OF DEADLINES FOR THE FILING OF PROOFS OF CLAIM, INCLUDING REQUESTS FOR PAYMENTS UNDER SECTION 503(B)(9) OF THE BANKRUPTCY CODE
THE NON-ASBESTOS GENERAL CLAIMS BAR DATE IS MARCH 17, 2023 AT 5:00 P.M., PREVAILING CENTRAL TIME.
THE GOVERNMENTAL GENERAL CLAIMS BAR DATE IS MARCH 17, 2023 AT 5:00 P.M. PREVAILING CENTRAL TIME
PLEASE TAKE NOTICE OF THE FOLLOWING:

Notwithstanding anything contained herein, the claimants who have claims against the Debtor as a result of alleged exposure to asbestos and other toxic substances at the Refinery are *not* required to submit a Proof of Claim Form, solely to the extent they are asserting Asbestos Claims.

Deadlines for Filing Proofs of Claim. On November 2, 2022, the United States Bankruptcy Court for the Southern District of Texas (the "Court") entered an order [Docket No. 444] (the "Non-Asbestos Bar Date Order") establishing certain deadlines for the filing of proofs of claim, including requests for payment under section 503(b)(9) of the Bankruptcy Code (collectively, "Proofs of Claim"), in the chapter 11 case of the following debtor and debtor in possession (the "Debtor"): **DEBTOR, CASE NO.:** HONX, Inc., 22-90035.

The Bar Dates. Pursuant to the Non-Asbestos Bar Date Order, ***all*** entities (except governmental units and holders of Asbestos Claims,[2] solely with respect to such Asbestos Claims), including individuals, partnerships, estates, and trusts that have a claim or potential claim against the Debtor that arose prior to April 28, 2022, no matter how remote or contingent such right to payment or equitable remedy may be, ***including*** requests for payments under section 503(b)(9) of the Bankruptcy Code, MUST FILE A PROOF OF CLAIM on or before ***March 17, 2023 at 5:00 p.m., prevailing Central Time (the "Non-Asbestos General Claims Bar Date")***. Governmental entities that have a claim or potential claim against the Debtor that arose prior to April 28, 2022, no matter how remote or contingent such right to payment or equitable remedy may be, MUST FILE A PROOF OF CLAIM on or before ***March 17, 2023, at 5:00 p.m., prevailing Central Time (the "Governmental Bar Date")***. All entities holding claims arising from the Debtor's rejection of executory contracts and unexpired leases are required to file Proofs of Claim by ***the date that is (a) the later of the Non-Asbestos General Claims Bar Date or the Governmental Bar Date***, as applicable, and ***(b) the date that is thirty days following entry of the order approving the Debtor's rejection of the applicable executory contract or unexpired lease (the "Rejection Damages Bar Date")***. All entities holding claims affected by an amendment to the Debtor's schedules of liabilities filed in this case (the "Schedules") are required to file Proofs of Claim by ***the later of (a) the Non-Asbestos General Claims Bar Date or the Governmental Bar Date***, as applicable, and ***(b) 5:00 p.m., prevailing Central Time, on the date that is fifty (50) days from the date on which the Debtor mails notice of the amendment to the Schedules (the "Amended Schedules Bar Date")***, ***provided that for the avoidance of doubt the Amended Schedules Bar Date shall not apply with respect to Asbestos Claims***.

ANY PERSON OR ENTITY WHO FAILS TO FILE A PROOF OF CLAIM, INCLUDING ANY REQUEST FOR PAYMENT UNDER SECTION 503(B)(9) OF THE BANKRUPTCY CODE, ON OR BEFORE THE NON-ASBESTOS GENERAL CLAIMS BAR DATE OR THE GOVERNMENTAL BAR DATE, AS APPLICABLE, SHALL NOT BE TREATED AS A CREDITOR WITH RESPECT TO SUCH CLAIM FOR THE PURPOSES OF VOTING AND DISTRIBUTION ON ANY CHAPTER 11 PLAN.

Filing a Proof of Claim. Each Proof of Claim must be filed, including supporting documentation, by either (i) electronic submission through PACER (Public Access to Court Electronic Records at http://ecf.txsb.uscourts.gov), (ii) electronic submission using the interface available on the Claims and Administrative Agent's website at https://cases.stretto.com/HONX, or (iii) if submitted through non-electronic means, by U.S. Mail or other hand delivery system, so as to be ***actually received*** by the Claims and Administrative Agent on or before the Non-Asbestos General Claims Bar Date or the Governmental Bar Date, or other applicable Bar Date, at the following addresses: **If by First-Class Mail, Hand Delivery, or Overnight Mail:** HONX, Inc. Claims Processing, c/o Stretto, 410 Exchange, Suite 100, Irvine, CA 92602.

PROOFS OF CLAIM SUBMITTED BY FACSIMILE WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED.

Contents. Each Proof of Claim must: (i) be written in legible English; (ii) include a claim amount denominated in United States dollars; (iii) conform substantially with the Proof of Claim Form provided by the Debtor or Official Form 410; and (iv) be signed by the claimant or by an authorized agent or legal representative of the claimant on behalf of the claimant, whether such signature is an electronic signature or is ink, and (v) include any and all documentation on which the claim is based.

Electronic Signatures Permitted. Only ***original*** Proofs of Claim signed in ink or electronically by the claimant or an authorized agent or legal representative of the claimant may be deemed acceptable for purposes of claims administration. Copies of Proofs of Claim, or Proofs of Claim sent by facsimile or electronic mail will not be accepted. Unless otherwise ordered by the Court, any original document containing the original signature of any party other than the party that files the Proof of Claim shall be retained by the filing party for a period of not less than five (5) years after the Debtor's chapter 11 case is closed, and upon request, such original document must be provided to the Court or other parties for review, pursuant to the Administrative Procedures for the Filing, Signing, and Verifying of Documents by Electronic Means in Texas Bankruptcy Courts.

Section 503(b)(9) Claim. Any Proof of Claim asserting a claim entitled to priority under section 503(b)(9) of the Bankruptcy Code must state: (i) include the value of the goods delivered to and received by the Debtor in the twenty (20) days prior to the Petition Date; (ii) attach any documentation identifying the particular invoices for which the 503(b)(9) claim is being asserted; and (iii) attach documentation of any reclamation demand made to the Debtor under section 546(c) of the Bankruptcy Code (if applicable).

Supporting Documentation. In order to have *prima facie* validity, each Proof of Claim must include supporting documentation in accordance with Bankruptcy Rules 3001(c) and 3001(d). If, however, such documentation is voluminous, upon prior written consent of the Debtor's counsel and the Committee's counsel, such Proof of Claim may include a summary of such documentation or an explanation as to why such documentation is not available; *provided* that any creditor that received such written consent shall be required to transmit such writings to Debtor's counsel and the Committee's counsel upon request no later than ten (10) days from the date of such request.

Additional Information. If you have any questions regarding the claims process and/or you wish to obtain a copy of the Bar Date Notice, a Proof of Claim Form or related documents you may do so by: (1) calling the Debtor's restructuring hotline at (855) 345-6272 (US/Canada Toll Free) or (949) 236-4562 (International); and/or (2) visiting the Debtor's restructuring website at: https://cases.stretto.com/HONX.

If you believe that you hold an Asbestos Claim and have questions regarding this notice as it pertains to your Asbestos Claim, or if you have any questions regarding this notice whatsoever, you may contact counsel to the Official Committee of Unsecured Creditors: Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld, One Bryant Park, NY, NY 10036, Attn: Arik Preis, or by email at apreis@akingump.com.

[1] The Debtor in this chapter 11 case, along with the last four digits of the Debtor's federal tax identification number, is HONX, Inc. (2163). The location of the Debtor's service address in this chapter 11 case is: 1501 McKinney Street, Houston, Texas, 77010.

[2] As used herein, "Asbestos Claim" shall mean any claim (as defined in section 101(5) of the Bankruptcy Code) for costs or damages, including with respect to bodily injury, death, sickness, disease, emotional distress, fear of cancer, medical monitoring or other personal injuries (whether physical, emotional or otherwise), for which the Debtor is alleged to be liable, directly or indirectly, arising out of or relating to the presence of or exposure to asbestos or asbestos-containing products or materials. Asbestos Claims include all such claims, whether: (a) in tort, contract, warranty, restitution, conspiracy, contribution, indemnity, guarantee, subrogation or any other theory of law, equity or admiralty; (b) seeking compensatory, special, economic, non-economic, punitive, exemplary, administrative or any other costs or damages; or (c) seeking any legal, equitable or other relief of any kind whatsoever. Asbestos Claims also include any such claims that have been resolved or are subject to resolution pursuant to any agreement, or any such claims that are based on a judgment or verdict.

IN THE UNITED STATES BANKRUPTCY COURT
FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS, HOUSTON DIVISION

In re: HONX, INC., Debtor.) Chapter 11, Case No. 22-90035 (MI) **Re: Docket No. 461**

NOTICE OF DEADLINES FOR THE FILING OF PROOFS OF CLAIM
THE ASBESTOS CLAIMS BAR DATE IS MARCH 17, 2023 AT 5:00 P.M., PREVAILING CENTRAL TIME.
PLEASE TAKE NOTICE OF THE FOLLOWING:

Deadlines for Filing Proofs of Claim. On November 7, 2022, the United States Bankruptcy Court for the Southern District of Texas (the "Court") entered an order [Docket No. 461] (the "Asbestos Claims Bar Date Order") establishing certain deadlines for the filing of proofs of claim (the "Proofs of Claim"), in the chapter 11 case of the following debtor and debtor in possession (the "Debtor"): **DEBTOR, CASE NO.:** HONX, Inc., 22-90035.

The Asbestos Claims Bar Dates. Pursuant to the Asbestos Claims Bar Date Order, ***all*** holders of Asbestos Claims,[2] including individuals, partnerships, estates, and trusts that have an Asbestos Claim or potential Asbestos Claim against the Debtor that manifested prior to April 28, 2022, no matter how remote or contingent such right to payment or equitable remedy may be, must file an Asbestos Proof of Claim on or before ***March 17, 2023 at 5:00 p.m., prevailing Central Time (the "Asbestos Claims Bar Date")***.

ANY PERSON OR ENTITY WHO FAILS TO FILE AN ASBESTOS PROOF OF CLAIM ON OR BEFORE THE ASBESTOS CLAIMS BAR DATE SHALL NOT BE TREATED AS A CREDITOR WITH RESPECT TO SUCH CLAIM FOR THE PURPOSES OF VOTING AND DISTRIBUTION ON ANY CHAPTER 11 PLAN.

Filing an Asbestos Proof of Claim. Each Asbestos Proof of Claim must be filed, including supporting documentation, by either (i) electronic submission through PACER (Public Access to Court Electronic Records at http://ecf.txsb.uscourts.gov,[3] (ii) electronic submission using the interface available on the Claims and Administrative Agent's website at https://cases.stretto.com/honx, or (iii) if submitted through non-electronic means, by U.S. Mail or other hand delivery system, so as to be ***actually received*** by the Claims and Administrative Agent on or before the Asbestos Claims Bar Date at the following address: **If by First-Class Mail, Hand Delivery, or Overnight Mail:** HONX, Inc. Claims Processing, c/o Stretto, 410 Exchange, Suite 100, Irvine, CA 92602.

ASBESTOS PROOFS OF CLAIM SUBMITTED BY FACSIMILE WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED.

Contents. Each Asbestos Proof of Claim must: (i) be written in legible English; (ii) conform substantially with the Asbestos Proof of Claim Form provided by the Debtor; and (iii) be signed by the claimant or by an authorized agent or legal representative of the claimant on behalf of the claimant, whether such signature is an electronic signature or is ink.

Electronic Signatures Permitted. Only ***original*** Asbestos Proofs of Claim signed in ink or electronically by the claimant or an authorized agent or legal representative of the claimant may be deemed acceptable for purposes of claims administration. Copies of Asbestos Proofs of Claim, or Asbestos Proofs of Claim sent by facsimile will not be accepted. Unless otherwise ordered by the Court, any original document sent to the Claims and Administrative Agent shall be retained by the Claims and Administrative Agent for a period of not less than five years after the Debtor's chapter 11 case is closed, and upon request, such original document must be provided to the Court or other parties for review, pursuant to the Administrative Procedures for the Filing, Signing, and Verifying of Documents by Electronic Means in Texas Bankruptcy Courts.

Receipt of Service. Claimants submitting an Asbestos Proof of Claim through non-electronic means wishing to receive acknowledgment that their Asbestos Proofs of Claim were received by the Claims and Administrative Agent must submit (i) a copy of the Asbestos Proof of Claim Form (in addition to the original Asbestos Proof of Claim Form sent to the Claims and Administrative Agent) and (ii) a self-addressed, postage-paid envelope.

Additional Information. If you have any questions regarding the claims process and/or you wish to obtain a copy of the Asbestos Claims Bar Date Notice, a proof of claim form or related documents you may do so by: (1) calling the Debtor's restructuring hotline at (855) 345-6272 (US/Canada Toll Free) or (949) 236-4562 (International); and/or (2) visiting the Debtor's restructuring website at: https://cases.stretto.com/HONX.

If you believe that you hold an Asbestos Claim and have questions regarding this notice as it pertains to your Asbestos Claim, or if you have any questions regarding this notice whatsoever, you may contact counsel to the Official Committee of Unsecured Creditors: HONXClaimantInfo@akingump.com

[1] The Debtor in this chapter 11 case, along with the last four digits of the Debtor's federal tax identification number, is HONX, Inc. (2163). The location of the Debtor's service address in this chapter 11 case is: 1501 McKinney Street, Houston, Texas, 77010.

[2] As used herein, "Asbestos Claim" shall mean any claim (as defined in section 101(5) of the Bankruptcy Code) for costs or damages, including with respect to bodily injury, death, sickness, disease, emotional distress, fear of cancer, medical monitoring or other personal injuries (whether physical, emotional or otherwise), for which the Debtor is alleged to be liable, directly or indirectly, arising out of or relating to the presence of or exposure to asbestos or asbestos-containing products or materials. Asbestos Claims include all such claims, whether: (a) in tort, contract, warranty, restitution, conspiracy, contribution, indemnity, guarantee, subrogation or any other theory of law, equity or admiralty; (b) seeking compensatory, special, economic, non-economic, punitive, exemplary, administrative or any other costs or damages; or (c) seeking any legal, equitable or other relief of any kind whatsoever. Asbestos Claims also include any such claims that have been resolved or are subject to resolution pursuant to any agreement, or any such claims that are based on a judgment or verdict.

[3] Asbestos Proofs of Claims filed through PACER ***must*** be redacted by the holder of an Asbestos Claim prior to filing; *provided that* holders of Asbestos Claims who file their redacted Asbestos Proofs of Claims through PACER ***must*** also serve an unredacted Asbestos Proof of Claim upon the: (a) co-counsel to the Debtor, Kirkland & Ellis LLP, 601 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York 10022, Attn: Christopher T. Greco, P.C. and Matthew C. Fagen, and Kirkland & Ellis LLP, 300 North LaSalle, Chicago, Illinois, 60654, Attn.: Whitney Fogelberg and Jaimie Fedell, and Kirkland & Ellis LLP, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004, Attn: Michael F. Williams, P.C. and Daniel T. Donovan, P.C., and Jackson Walker LLP, 1401 McKinney Street, Suite 1900, Houston, Texas 77010, Attn: Matthew D. Cavenaugh, Jennifer F. Wertz, and Veronica A. Polnick; (b) counsel to the Committee, Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld LLP, One Bryant Park, New York, New York 10036, Attn: Arik Preis, Mitchell P. Hurley, Sara L. Brauner, and Theodore James Salwen; and (c) counsel to the FCR, Young Conaway Stargatt & Taylor, LLP, 1000 North King Street, Wilmington, Delaware 19801, Attn: Robert S. Brady, Edwin J. Harron, Joseph M. Mulvihill, and Jared W. Kochenash. To avoid having to redact information and serve unredacted copies, holders of Asbestos Claims should file Asbestos Proofs of Claims by (i) electronic submission using the interface available on the Claims and Administrative Agent's website, or (ii) U.S. Mail.

IN THE UNITED STATES BANKRUPTCY COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF DELAWARE

In re: REVERSE MORTGAGE INVESTMENT TRUST INC.,*et al.*,[1] Debtors.) Chapter 11, Case No. 22-11225 (MFW) (Jointly Administered)

NOTICE OF DEADLINES FOR FILING PROOFS OF CLAIM
THE GENERAL BAR DATE AND ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSE BAR DATE IS FEBRUARY 21, 2023 AT 4:00 P.M. PREVAILING EASTERN TIME.
PLEASE TAKE NOTICE OF THE FOLLOWING:

Entry of the Bar Date Order. On January 3, 2023 the United States Bankruptcy Court for the District of Delaware entered an order [Docket No. 293] (the "Bar Date Order") establishing certain deadlines for the filing of proofs of claim and administrative expense requests in the chapter 11 cases of the above-captioned debtors and debtors-in-possession (collectively, the "Debtors"). The table below lists the respective case number for each Debtor: **DEBTOR, CASE NO.:** Reverse Mortgage Funding LLC, 22-11224; Reverse Mortgage Investment Trust Inc., 22-11225; RMIT Cash Management LLC, 22-11226; RMIT Operating I LLC, 22-11227; RMIT Operating II LLC, 22-11228.

EXCEPT AS TO CERTAIN EXCEPTIONS EXPLICITLY SET FORTH IN THE BAR DATE ORDER, ANY PERSON OR ENTITY WHO FAILS TO FILE A PROOF OF CLAIM OR ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSE REQUEST ON OR BEFORE THE GENERAL BAR DATE, ADMINISTRATIVE BAR DATE, OR GOVERNMENTAL BAR DATE SHALL BE (1) FOREVER BARRED FROM ASSERTING THAT CLAIM (OR FILING A PROOF OF CLAIM OR ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSE REQUEST FORM WITH RESPECT TO THAT CLAIM), AND (2) BARRED FROM RECEIVING ANY DISTRIBUTION OR VOTE IN THESE CHAPTER 11 CASES ON ACCOUNT OF THAT CLAIM.

Who Must File a Claim Form. Pursuant to the Bar Date Order, all persons and entities other than governmental units who have a claim or potential claim against the Debtors that arose on or before November 30, 2022, no matter how remote or contingent such right to payment or equitable remedy may be, **including holders of claims allowable under section 503(b)(9) of the Bankruptcy Code**, MUST FILE A PROOF OF CLAIM on or before **4:00 p.m. prevailing Eastern Time, on February 21, 2023** (the "General Bar Date"). For claims held by governmental entities, this date shall be **May 30, 2023 at 4:00 p.m. prevailing Eastern Time**, (the "Governmental Bar Date"). All persons are entities who have a claim that arose **on or subsequent to November 30, 2022 and prior to or on January 31, 2023**, no matter how remote or contingent such right to payment or equitable remedy may be, MUST FILE AN ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSE REQUEST FORM on or before **4:00 p.m. prevailing Eastern time, on February 21, 2023** (the "Administrative Claims Bar Date").

Filing a Claim Form. Each original Claim Form, including supporting documentation, must be filed so as to be **actually received** by the Debtors' notice and claims agent, Kroll Restructuring Administration LLC ("Kroll") on or before the General Bar Date, Administrative Claims Bar Date, or the Governmental Bar Date (or, where applicable, on or before any other Bar Date set forth in the Bar Date Order) (i) via the electronic filing interface available at https://cases.ra.kroll.com/rmit/ or (ii) by United States mail or other hand delivery system at the following address: For First-Class Mail or Overnight Mail to: **Reverse Mortgage Investment Trust Inc. Claims Processing Center, c/o Kroll Restructuring Administration LLC, 850 3rd Avenue, Suite 412, Brooklyn, NY 11232.**

PROOFS OF CLAIM AND ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSE REQUESTS SUBMITTED BY FACSIMILE OR ELECTRONIC MAIL WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED.

Contents of Claim Forms. Subject to the Bar Date Order, each Claim Form must: (i) be written in English; (ii) include a claim amount denominated in United States dollars, the conversion rate used in such conversion); (iii) clearly identify the Debtor against which a claim is asserted; (iv) conform substantially to Official Form 410 in the case of a proof of claim; (v) be signed by the holder of the claim or by an authorized agent of the holder of the claim (and the Claim Form bearing the original signature must be the form filed); and (vi) include as attachments any and all supporting documentation on which the claim is based.

Additional Information. If you have any questions regarding the claims process and/or if you wish to obtain a copy of the Bar Date Order (which contains a more detailed description of the requirements for filing Claims Forms), a Proof of Claim Form, Administrative Expense Request Form, or related documents, you may do so by: (i) visiting the website of the Debtors' notice and claims agent, Kroll, at https://cases.ra.kroll.com/rmit/, (ii) calling Kroll at (888) 511-5072 (Toll-free) or (646) 440-4157 (International), and/or (iii) writing via hardcopy to: Reverse Mortgage Investment Trust Inc. Claims Processing Center, c/o Kroll Restructuring Administration LLC, 850 3rd Avenue, Suite 412, Brooklyn, NY 11232. Please note that Kroll cannot advise you on how to file, or whether you should file a proof of claim.

[1] The Debtors in these jointly administered chapter 11 cases, along with the last four digits of each Debtor's federal tax identification number, include: Reverse Mortgage Investment Trust Inc. (3421); Reverse Mortgage Funding LLC (0209); RMIT Cash Management LLC (6241); RMIT Operating I LLC (1844); and RMIT Operating II LLC (2301). The location of the Debtors' service address for purposes of these chapter 11 cases is: 1455 Broad Street, 2nd Floor, Bloomfield, NJ 07003.

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LAWSUITS

Attorney General Out After Epstein Lawsuit From Virgin Islands

By MATTHEW GOLDSTEIN

The attorney general for the Virgin Islands, who recently secured a $105 million settlement from the estate of Jeffrey Epstein, has been fired following months of friction between her and the U.S. territory's governor over the handling of the investigation into the disgraced financier, according to people briefed on the matter.

Denise N. George, the former official, was dismissed by Albert Bryan Jr., the governor of the Virgin Islands, on New Year's Eve, four days after her office sued JPMorgan Chase in federal court in Manhattan for its dealings with Mr. Epstein, who died of an apparent suicide in 2019 while in federal custody.

The timing of Ms. George's firing fueled media speculation in the Virgin Islands and beyond that the suit against JPMorgan was the immediate cause.

But the people briefed on the matter, who were not authorized to talk publicly because Mr. Bryan's office did not give a specific reason for Ms. George's dismissal, said there had been tension between the two public officials for a while.

It was partly tied to Mr. Bryan feeling that Ms. George didn't keep him apprised about the investigation in a timely manner, one of the people said. Attorneys general aren't usually required to inform governors of lawsuits they intend to file.

Ms. George did not address the speculation, but defended her decision to sue the bank and the work her office had done to make sure the dozens of women who were victims of Mr. Epstein's sexual abuse as teenagers or young adults were appropriately compensated.

> ***'No institution, organization or person should be off-limits, no matter how wealthy.'***
>
> Denise N. George, fired as attorney general for the Virgin Islands.

"I stand firm in my belief that the lawsuit I filed against JPMorgan Chase in our pursuit of justice must continue," Ms. George said in a statement to The New York Times. "No institution, organization or person should be off-limits, no matter how wealthy or powerful."

Ms. George also thanked Mr. Bryan for appointing her to the role in 2019.

Richard Motta, a spokesman for Mr. Bryan, said in an emailed statement that "media reports indicating the JPMorgan lawsuit as the reason are not entirely accurate."

A JPMorgan spokeswoman declined to comment.

In a November interview with a local publication following his reelection to a second term, Mr. Bryan had said he intended to make some changes in his cabinet, but did not name any government officials.

During her four-year tenure, Ms. George led a wide-ranging investigation into the activities of Mr. Epstein. In November, her office secured a hard-fought settlement with his estate that will return at least $105 million to the Virgin Islands, where the poverty rate is far higher than the U.S. national average. The territory stands to take in more money depending on the sale price the estate can get for Little St. James, Mr. Epstein's former private island residence.

Ms. George had also subpoenaed some of the wealthy men who did business with him, including Wall Street billionaire Leon Black. Mr. Black paid Mr. Epstein $158 million for tax and estate planning services in the years before Mr. Epstein was arrested in 2019 on federal sex trafficking charges.

In late December, Ms. George's office sued JPMorgan in federal court in Manhattan, claiming that bank was derelict in providing banking services to Mr. Epstein during the time he was charged with sexually abusing teenage girls and young women at Little St. James and elsewhere in the United States.

The lawsuit accused JPMorgan of facilitating and concealing wire and cash transactions that should have raised suspicions that Mr. Epstein was engaging in the sexual trafficking of teenage girls and young women. The lawsuit contends the bank essentially turned a "blind eye" to Mr. Epstein's conduct because it was profitable.

JPMorgan, the largest U.S. bank by assets, was Mr. Epstein's primary banker from the late 1990s to 2013. In 2008, Mr. Epstein pleaded guilty in Florida to two counts of soliciting prostitution from a teenage girl and was required to register as a sex offender in most jurisdictions.

Ms. George's investigation was complicated by the fact that Mr. Epstein had a two-decade-long relationship with the Virgin Islands, both as a resident and as a businessman.

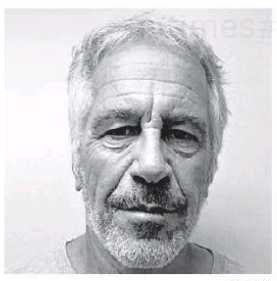
Mr. Epstein contributed money to local politicians, and one of his foundations donated to local schools. His businesses there received several lucrative tax incentives that allowed them to avoid paying tens of millions of dollars in taxes.

Before becoming governor, Mr. Bryan was the chairman of the economic development agency that had awarded lucrative tax benefits to one of Mr. Epstein's companies.

"The Virgin Islands attorney general, as in everywhere else in the United States, is required to prosecute or pursue legal action for violations of the law, and to serve the people," Ms. George said in her statement. "Doing the job of the attorney general should not be incompatible with holding the job of attorney general."

There is no indication that the Virgin Islands will move to dismiss the lawsuit against JPMorgan.

GABRIELLA N. BAEZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



REUTERS

Denise N. George, above, was dismissed four days after her office sued JPMorgan Chase in federal court in Manhattan, claiming that bank was derelict in providing banking services to Jeffrey Epstein, left, during the time he was charged with sexually abusing teenage girls and young women.

SUMMARY ADVERTISEMENT

This announcement is neither an offer to purchase nor a solicitation of an offer to sell Shares (as defined below). The Offer (as defined below) is made solely by the Offer to Purchase, dated January 9, 2023 and the related Letter of Transmittal and any amendments or supplements thereto. The Purchaser (as defined below) is not aware of any state where the making of the Offer is prohibited by any administrative or judicial action pursuant to any valid state statute. If the Purchaser becomes aware of any valid state statute prohibiting the making of the Offer or the acceptance of the Shares pursuant thereto, the Purchaser will make a good faith effort to comply with that state statute or seek to have such statute declared inapplicable to the Offer. If, after a good faith effort, the Purchaser cannot comply with the state statute, the Purchaser will not make the Offer to, nor will tenders be accepted from or on behalf of, the holders of Shares in that state. Except as set forth above, the Offer is being made to all holders of Shares. In any jurisdiction where securities, "blue sky" or other laws require the Offer to 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 that are licensed under the laws of such jurisdiction.

Notice of Offer to Purchase for Cash
All Outstanding Shares of Common Stock and Series B Preferred Stock
of

Horizon Global Corporation

at
$1.75 Net Per Share of Common Stock
and the Redemption Price (as defined herein) Net Per Share of Series B Preferred Stock
by
PHX Merger Sub, Inc.,
An Indirect, Wholly Owned Subsidiary of
First Brands Group, LLC

PHX Merger Sub, Inc., a Delaware corporation (the "Purchaser") and an indirect, wholly owned subsidiary of First Brands Group, LLC, a Delaware limited liability company ("Parent" and, together with Purchaser, the "Purchaser Parties"), is offering to purchase all of the outstanding shares of common stock, par value $0.01 per share (the "Common Stock"), and all of the outstanding shares of Series B Preferred Stock, par value $0.01 per share (the "Preferred Stock" and together with the Common Stock, the "Shares"), of Horizon Global Corporation, a Delaware corporation ("Horizon"), at a price of $1.75 per share of Common Stock and an amount equal to the Redemption Price (as defined in the Preferred Stock Certificate of Designations) per share of Preferred Stock calculated as of the Acceptance Time, in each case (the "Offer Price"), net to the seller in cash, without interest thereon and less any applicable withholding taxes, upon the terms and subject to the conditions set forth in the Offer to Purchase (the "Offer to Purchase") and in the related letter of transmittal that accompanies the Offer to Purchase (the "Letter of Transmittal" which, together with the Offer to Purchase and other related materials, as each may be amended or supplemented from time to time in accordance with the terms of the Merger Agreement (as defined below), constitutes the "Offer").

THE OFFER AND WITHDRAWAL RIGHTS WILL EXPIRE ONE MINUTE AFTER 11:59 P.M., EASTERN TIME, ON FEBRUARY 6, 2023, UNLESS THE OFFER IS EXTENDED.

The Offer is not subject to any financing condition. The Offer is conditioned upon, among other things, the satisfaction of the Minimum Tender Condition (as described below). The Minimum Tender Condition requires that the number of Shares validly tendered and not withdrawn in accordance with the terms of the Offer on or prior to the Expiration Time, represent at least a majority of the Shares outstanding at the Expiration Time. The parties do not anticipate needing to seek any approval or make any filing with any regulatory body in connection with the Offer or the Merger. In addition, no governmental body of competent jurisdiction shall have issued any temporary restraining order, preliminary or permanent injunction or other order preventing consummation of the Offer or the Merger nor shall any law have been enacted or promulgated by any governmental body of competent jurisdiction which prohibits or makes illegal the consummation of the Offer or the Merger.

The Offer is being made pursuant to the Agreement and Plan of Merger, dated as of December 30, 2022 (as it may be amended or supplemented from time to time in accordance with its terms, the "Merger Agreement"), by and among Parent, Purchaser and Horizon. The Merger Agreement provides, among other things, that following the acceptance for payment of Shares pursuant to and subject to the conditions to the Offer (the date and time of such acceptance, the "Acceptance Time"), and subject to the satisfaction or waiver of conditions set forth in the Merger Agreement, Purchaser will merge with and into Horizon (the "Merger"), with Horizon continuing as the surviving corporation in the Merger and a wholly owned subsidiary of Parent (the closing of the Merger, the "Closing"). In the Merger, each Share issued and outstanding immediately prior to the effective time of the Merger, other than (i) any Shares that are owned by or held in the treasury of Horizon; (ii) any Shares owned by Parent, Purchaser, Horizon or any of their respective direct or indirect wholly-owned subsidiaries; and (iii) Shares owned by stockholders who validly exercise appraisal rights under the Delaware General Corporation Law (the "DGCL") with respect to such Shares, will be will be cancelled and extinguished, and no payment or other consideration will be made with respect to such Shares, subject, in the case of stockholders who validly exercise appraisal rights under the DGCL, to receive the fair value of such Shares to the extent afforded under the DGCL. As a result of the Merger, Horizon will cease to be a publicly traded company and will become wholly owned by Parent. **Under no circumstances will interest be paid on the purchase price for Shares, regardless of any extension of the Offer or any delay in making payment for Shares.**

After careful consideration, Horizon's board of directors (the "Horizon Board") has unanimously (i) determined that the Merger Agreement and the Transactions (as defined below) are in the best interests of Horizon and its stockholders and approved and declared advisable the Merger Agreement and the Transactions; (ii) approved the execution and delivery of the Merger Agreement by the Company, the performance of Horizon's covenants and other obligations in the Merger Agreement, and the consummation of the Transactions upon the terms and subject to the conditions set forth in the Merger Agreement, (iii) resolved to recommend that Horizon's stockholders accept the Offer and tender their Shares to Purchaser pursuant to the Offer; and (iv) resolved that the Merger would be effected under Section 251(h) of the DGCL.

The Merger Agreement provides that the Merger shall be governed by Section 251(h) of the DGCL. Section 251(h) of the DGCL provides that following consummation of a successful tender offer for a public corporation, and subject to certain statutory provisions, if the acquirer holds at least the amount of shares of each class of stock of the target corporation that would otherwise be required to approve a merger for the target corporation, and the other stockholders receive the same consideration for their stock in the merger as was payable in the tender offer, then the acquirer can effect a merger without the action of the non-tendering stockholders of the target corporation. Accordingly, if Purchaser consummates the Offer, Purchaser intends to effect the Closing without a vote of the stockholders of Horizon pursuant to and in accordance with Section 251(h) of the DGCL. Pursuant to Section 251(h) of the DGCL, the word "consummation" as used herein means irrevocable acceptance for purchase of shares tendered pursuant to a tender offer. Therefore, references to a consummation of the Offer herein refers to the occurrence of the Acceptance Time.

Parent and the Purchaser have agreed in the Merger Agreement that, subject to their rights to terminate the Merger Agreement in accordance with its terms:

If, as of the then-scheduled Expiration Time, the Minimum Tender Condition or any of the other conditions set forth in the Offer to Purchase (the "Offer Conditions") is not satisfied (unless such condition is waivable by Purchaser or Parent and has been waived), Purchaser may, in its discretion (and without the consent of Horizon or any other person), extend the Offer for additional periods of up to 20 business days per extension, to permit such Offer Condition to be satisfied; and if, as of the then-scheduled Expiration Time, any Offer Condition is not satisfied (unless such condition is waivable by Purchaser or Parent and has been waived), at the request of Horizon, Purchaser shall, and Parent shall cause Purchaser to, extend the Offer for additional periods specified by Horizon of up to five business days per extension (or such other period as the parties may agree) to permit such Offer Condition to be satisfied.

In no event shall Parent or Purchaser be required to extend the Offer beyond the earlier to occur of (x) the valid termination of the Merger Agreement and (y) June 30, 2023 (the "Outside Date").

This transaction has not been approved or disapproved by the SEC or any state securities commission, nor has the SEC or any state securities commission passed upon the fairness or merits of the transaction or upon the accuracy or adequacy of the information contained in the Offer to Purchase. Any representation to the contrary is a criminal offense.

Parent and Purchaser expressly reserve the right to waive any Offer Conditions to increase the Offer Price or to make any other changes in the terms and conditions of the Offer not inconsistent with the terms of the Merger Agreement; provided, however, that Parent and Purchaser shall not unless otherwise provided in the Merger Agreement or previously approved by Horizon in writing (i) reduce the number of shares of Company Stock subject to the Offer; (ii) reduce the Offer Price; (iii) add to the Offer Conditions or change, modify or waive any Offer Condition in a manner adverse to any holder of Company Stock in its capacity as such; (iv) extend or otherwise change the Expiration Time (except as required or permitted by the Merger Agreement); or (v) change the form of consideration payable in the Offer.

On the terms of and subject to the conditions to the Offer, promptly after the Acceptance Time, Purchaser will pay, or cause the paying agent to pay, for all Shares validly tendered (and not validly withdrawn) in the Offer. For purposes of the Offer, Purchaser will be deemed to have accepted for payment, and thereby purchased, Shares validly tendered and not validly withdrawn as, if and when Purchaser gives written notice to Computershare, in its capacity as depositary for the Offer (the "Depository Agent") of Purchaser's acceptance for payment of such Shares pursuant to the Offer. Upon the terms and subject to the conditions to the Offer, payment for Shares accepted for payment pursuant to the Offer will be made by deposit of the Offer Price for such Shares with the Depository Agent, which will act as paying agent for tendering stockholders for the purpose of receiving payments from Purchaser and transmitting such payments to tendering stockholders whose Shares have been accepted for payment. If Purchaser extends the Offer, is delayed in its acceptance for payment of Shares or is unable to accept Shares for payment pursuant to the Offer for any reason, then, without prejudice to its rights under the Offer and the Merger Agreement, the Depository Agent may retain tendered Shares on its behalf, and such Shares may not be withdrawn except to the extent that tendering stockholders are entitled to withdrawal rights as described in the Offer to Purchase and as otherwise required by Rule 14e-1(c) under the Exchange Act. **Under no circumstances will Purchaser pay interest on the purchase price for Shares by reason of any extension of the Offer or any delay in making such payment for Shares.**

In all cases, Purchaser will pay for Shares tendered and accepted for payment pursuant to the Offer only after timely receipt by the Depository Agent of (i) certificates representing such Shares (the "Share Certificates") (or a book-entry confirmation relating to such Shares) and (ii) a properly completed and duly executed Letter of Transmittal, together with any required signature guarantees (or in the case of a book-entry transfer, an agent's message relating thereto) and any other documents required by the Letter of Transmittal pursuant to the procedures set forth in the Offer to Purchase and (iii) a final determination of the adequacy of the items received has been made when necessary by the Purchaser. For a description of the procedure for tendering Shares pursuant to the Offer, see "The Offer—Section 3—Procedures for Accepting the Offer and Tendering Shares" in the Offer to Purchase.

Shares tendered pursuant to the Offer may be withdrawn at any time prior to the Expiration Time. For a withdrawal to be effective, a written notice of withdrawal must be timely received by the Depository Agent 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 Shares to be withdrawn, the number of Shares to be withdrawn and the name of the registered holder of such Shares, if different from that of the person who tendered such Shares. If Share Certificates evidencing Shares to be withdrawn have been delivered or otherwise identified to the Depository Agent, then, prior to the physical release of such Share Certificates, the serial numbers shown on such Share Certificates must be submitted to the Depository Agent and the signature(s) on the notice of withdrawal must be guaranteed by a financial institution that is a member in good standing of a recognized Medallion Program approved by the Securities Transfer Association, Inc., including the Security Transfer Agents Medallion Program, the New York Stock Exchange Medallion Signature Program and the Stock Exchanges Medallion Program (each, an "Eligible Institution"), unless such Shares have been tendered for the account of an Eligible Institution. If Shares have been tendered pursuant to the procedure for book-entry transfer as set forth in the Offer to Purchase, any notice of withdrawal must also specify the name and number of the account at DTC to be credited with the withdrawn Shares. Withdrawals of Shares may not be rescinded. Any Shares validly withdrawn will thereafter be deemed not to have been validly tendered for purposes of the Offer. However, withdrawn Shares may be re-tendered by again following one of the procedures described in the Offer to Purchase at any time prior to the Expiration Time.

Purchaser will determine, in its sole discretion, all questions as to the form and validity (including time of receipt) of any notice of withdrawal and the Purchaser's determination shall be final and binding. The Purchaser also reserves the absolute right to waive any defect or irregularity in the withdrawal of Shares by any stockholder, whether or not similar defects or irregularities are waived in the case of any other stockholder. None of Parent, the Purchaser, the Depository Agent, D.F. King & Co., Inc., a Delaware corporation (the "Information Agent") or any other person will be under any duty to give notice of any defects or irregularities in any notice of withdrawal or incur any liability for failure to give any such notification.

The information required to be disclosed by paragraph (d)(1) of Rule 14d-6 of the General Rules and Regulations under the Exchange Act is contained in the Offer to Purchase and is incorporated herein by reference.

In general, the receipt of cash in exchange for Shares pursuant to the Offer or the Merger will be a taxable transaction for U.S. federal income tax purposes. See "The Offer—Section 5—Certain United States Federal Income Tax Consequences" in the Offer to Purchase. **Each holder of Shares should consult its own tax advisor to determine the tax consequences to it of participating in the Offer in light of its particular circumstances (including the application and effect of any state, local or non-U.S. income and other tax laws).**

The Offer to Purchase and the related Letter of Transmittal contain important information and both documents should be read carefully and in their entirety before any decision is made with respect to the Offer. Horizon has provided Purchaser with Horizon's stockholder list and security position listings for the purpose of disseminating the Offer to Purchase, the related Letter of Transmittal and other related materials to holders of Shares. The Offer to Purchase and related Letter of Transmittal will be mailed to record holders of Shares whose names appear on Horizon's stockholder list and will be furnished, for subsequent transmittal to beneficial owners of Shares, to brokers, dealers, commercial banks, trust companies and similar persons whose names, or the names of whose nominees, 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 Shares.

Questions or requests for assistance may be directed to the Information Agent at its telephone numbers, address and/or email address set forth below. Requests for copies of the Offer to Purchase, the related Letter of Transmittal and all other tender offer materials may be directed to the Information Agent or brokers, dealers, commercial banks and trust companies, and copies will be furnished promptly at the Purchaser's expense. Stockholders may also contact their broker, dealer, commercial bank, trust company or other nominee for assistance concerning the Offer.

The Information Agent for the Offer is:

D.F. King & Co., Inc.
48 Wall Street, 22nd Floor
New York, NY 10005
Shareholders Call (Toll-Free): (888) 541-9895
Banks and Brokers Call: (212) 269-5550
By Email: hzn@dfking.com

January 9, 2023

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INTERNATIONAL

How a Texas Border City Is Shaping the Future of Global Trade

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

head of strategic planning at Akzent Logistics, which owns two warehouses in Laredo and is nearly finished constructing a third. "It's a hectic town. It's astonishing the amount of movement that the city sees in terms of freight."

During an event at City Hall last month, local officials celebrated a milestone — data revealing that $27 billion worth of freight moved through Laredo in October, exceeding the flow through the twin ocean ports of Los Angeles and Long Beach, Calif., the primary gateway for American imports.

The Southern California ports grew exponentially during an era of globalization centered on China. Laredo appears primed to assume a similar role in the anticipated next phase of globalization, one centered on regional supply chains, with American companies forging greater reliance on Mexico and Central America.

But the exhilaration comes tinged with anxiety as businesses and city leaders fret that the existing infrastructure — a pair of commercial bridges spanning the Rio Grande, traffic-choked roads and a hive of warehouses — could be overwhelmed by an influx of cargo.

"We've got to get ahead of this tsunami that's coming," said Laredo's then-mayor, Pete Saenz. "We're behind now."

A huge build-out is underway. North of the city, an army of excavators tore at the pale soil, turning ranch land dotted by cactus into industrial parks, warehouses and trucking yards on both sides of Interstate 35, the ribbon of pavement linking Mexico to the midsection of the United States and Canada.

Two million square feet of warehouse space is under construction in Laredo, according to Prologis, a real estate investment firm. That amounts to a 5 percent increase in space.

But with warehouses more than 98 percent occupied, the new facilities may be quickly filled.

"There's definitely a space issue in Laredo," Mr. Garza said. "Warehouses are full. We say no to clients a lot."

Goods traded between the United States and Mexico in 2021 exceeded $660 billion, an increase of nearly one-fifth from the previous year, according to U.S. census data. Trade expanded at a similar clip last year, according to available data.

Adding to the urgency is the widely held assumption that this is merely the beginning of what could be decades of growth in trade between the two neighboring countries, as American retailers seek suppliers in the same hemisphere as their customers.

"A lot of companies are no longer willing to chase cheap labor at the cost of getting their goods to customers on time," said Gene Lindgren, president of the Laredo Economic Development Corporation, which courts investment for projects in the area. "China's so big that just taking a tiny little slice and putting it in Mexico is huge for Laredo."

Four years ago, the U.S. Department of Transportation projected steep increases in trucks passing through Laredo, with southbound border crossings alone reaching 9,800 by 2025. Traffic reached that level by the end of 2021, four years earlier than anticipated.

"All the projections are behind," said Glafiro Montemayor, president of Gemco, another Laredo-based freight handler. He noted that goods crossing the border had more than doubled since 2000 without the addition of major infrastructure.

"Laredo is full of trucks," he added. "How are you going to handle it?"

Mr. Montemayor is raising funding for a project presented as the answer to that question: a $360 million bridge crossing the Rio Grande south of Laredo. The customs process would be handled jointly by American and Mexican authorities, entailing only one inspection. That would allow trucks to complete the crossing within 30 minutes.

The Mexican government has already approved the project, Mr. Montemayor said, while the U.S. State Department is nearing the completion of its own review.

His plan is a linchpin to a logistics hub that could provide an alternative to excessive reliance on major ports like Los Angeles, the scene of torturous floating traffic jams during the worst months of the pandemic.

Nearly two-thirds of the containers reaching ocean ports on the West Coast of the United States are destined for the middle of the country and the East Coast — regions reached more easily by rail and truck from Laredo, Mr. Montemayor said.

Already, some American companies importing goods from Asia are bypassing the docks in Southern California and shipping instead to Manzanillo, on Mexico's Pacific coast. From there, they move containers north to Laredo en route to destinations across North America.

Kansas City Southern, the giant railroad, picks up containers arriving from Asia at the port of Lázaro Cárdenas, in the Mexican state of Michoacán, and carries them north. The company recently broke ground on a $100 million project that will double the capacity of a rail bridge spanning the Rio Grande.

At the same time, Mexican authorities are pursuing their own plans to ease the flow of goods across the border.

At the City Hall event, Mayor Saenz appeared with officials from the Mexican state of Nuevo León, on the opposite bank of the Rio Grande. There, a young, development-minded governor, Samuel García, is promising to upgrade highways linking Monterrey to the border as part of an aggressive courtship of foreign investment.

The highway project is aimed at increasing the appeal of a now largely spurned Rio Grande crossing, the Colombia bridge, a 40-minute drive from the warehouses and distribution centers in Laredo. More than 80 percent of the cross-border truck traffic opts for the far closer World Trade bridge.

Given the typically horrendous congestion on the roads leading to the World Trade bridge, Nuevo León is betting that it can entice more traffic to the Colombia crossing by easing passage from that span to Monterrey.

Demand for the Colombia bridge appears destined to accelerate.

Tesla is expected to announce plans to locate a new electric vehicle plant within the Mexican state, shipping completed vehicles to the United States and Canada. Lego operates its largest factory in Nuevo León, using the Colombia bridge to ship finished products directly to warehouses in Texas.

In Laredo, business interests and local government officials accuse state and federal authorities of jeopardizing the opportunities for the region by withholding funds needed to expand the surrounding highway system.

They complain that the Texas Department of Transportation bases highway funding on population size — a process that favors major cities like Dallas and Houston — even though the traffic passing through Laredo supports jobs at retailers and warehouses across the state and beyond.

Over the decades, Laredo has grown in rings, each distinguished by its distance from the Rio Grande.

Smack against the river in the old downtown, the pastel shades of Mexico visible on the opposite shore, storefronts lie abandoned.

What businesses remain highlight desperation — bail bonds agents, plasma collection centers offering cash for bodily fluid, pawnshops.

Border patrol officers sit in their vehicles on a bluff looking down on the thigh-deep water.

A mile away from the river, alongside railroad tracks, the first generation of warehouses sit idle, the sun gleaming off their siding.

Nine miles to the north, at the Killam industrial park, trucks hauling 53-foot trailers pull in and out of sleek, modern warehouses, carrying goods moving north and south.

Mr. Garza's family business occupies two of these structures. Its freight forwarding business is largely devoted to moving auto parts.

On a recent morning, orange plastic crates holding seals for car doors made in Alabama were arrayed on wooden pallets, en route to an assembly plant in Mexico.

Transmission parts produced in Illinois and headed for a factory in Monterrey were stacked in a pile under a laminated white card marked "Expedited."

"They will be out by the end of the day," Mr. Garza said. "'Urgent' is a very common word around here."

A forward-thinker by nature, Mr. Garza, whose only child is still a baby, confidently describes plans to have three more.

He brings the same state of mind to surveying the terrain four miles up the interstate, looking for an empty plot that his company can buy and turn into more warehouses.

"We need to buy land now and build later," he said.

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WORKPLACES | TRAVEL

Getting Rid of Remote Work Will Take More Than a Downturn

By SARAH KESSLER

JARED ORIEL

During the nearly three years since pandemic precautions pushed remote work into the mainstream, companies have been negotiating a "new normal" in an environment that some say gives workers an upper hand: Hiring has been difficult, quitting has been popular, and employers had been in a good position to accommodate workers' preferences.

That era is over. While the labor market remains tight even as many forecast that the United States will fall into a recession, most economists expect more layoffs and fewer job openings in the coming months as companies rethink how they operate. Last week, Amazon said it would cut 18,000 jobs, or about 6 percent of its corporate work force, and Salesforce said it planned to lay off 10 percent of its employees, or about 8,000 staff members. Goldman Sachs is preparing to lay off as many as 4,000 people.

As the workplace shifts, some prominent chief executives see an opportunity to get their employees back in the office. In May 2021, David Solomon, chief executive of Goldman Sachs, told workers to get ready to return the next month to encourage more in-person collaboration and shared culture. Elon Musk ended Twitter's "work from anywhere policy" in his first email to employees after acquiring the company last year, saying he would require them to work at least 40 hours a week from the office. Bob Iger stopped short of an office mandate when returning to Disney as chief executive in November, but he reportedly told employees that "I worry long term about the negative impact on people who have decided not to spend as much time at the office."

But is the pandemic-induced remote work experiment about to end? Economists studying the shift to more flexible workplaces say it is not likely despite the push by some of the world's most high-profile chief executives.

Hybrid work is establishing itself as the new normal.

Last year, remote work stabilized at well above prepandemic levels, according to data compiled by a group of researchers at Stanford University, the University of Chicago and Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México.

In 2019, around 5 percent of full paid working days in the United States were completed remotely, according to census data. But when the research group started gathering data for the U.S. Survey of Working Arrangements and Attitudes, or S.W.A.A., a monthly poll of workers, that proportion jumped to more than 60 percent in May 2020. For the past year, the percentage has been hovering around 30 percent.

"We are all back to prepandemic trends in online shopping, but permanently up on online work," said Nick Bloom, an economics professor at Stanford and a co-author of the monthly survey.

The most common remote work situation, according to the S.W.A.A. and a number of other surveys, is now hybrid work, with employees spending some days in the office and some working remotely. Companies, industries and individual situations vary greatly on preferences and the feasibility of remote work, but on average, both sides have similar ideas about the ideal amount of time to spend in the office.

In the December S.W.A.A. survey, workers able to do their jobs from home said they preferred to operate remotely about 2.8 days per week. Their employers planned to allow them to work from home about 2.3 days per week. That's not a big gap in expectations.

There are obvious reasons employees say they like working remotely: They want to avoid the time and costs of commuting; they focus better without office chatter; they feel it's better for their well-being to be at home. When McKinsey, the consultancy, asked 12,000 job seekers last year about their reasons for looking for a new job, "flexible working" came in just behind "greater pay or hours" and "better career opportunities."

What often gets glossed over — and one reason some economists believe that a recession would have little impact on the shift in working arrangements — is that allowing employees to operate outside of the office can also benefit companies.

In a survey conducted by ZipRecruiter, the employment search site, job seekers on average said they would take a 14 percent pay cut in order to work remotely.

While the labor market remains strong, the economy is slowing down, and companies are looking for ways to make their jobs more valuable without raising pay. And many of them say they're using remote work to do it.

"It's not that there won't be some loss of bargaining power by workers," said Steven Davis, a professor at the University of Chicago and a co-author of the S.W.A.A. "It's just that many employers have their own independent reasons to think that the shift, the partial shift, to remote work is beneficial for them as well."

Managers are finding it hard to reverse the changes.

For a working paper published by the National Bureau of Economic Research, Bloom, Davis and others asked the hundreds of senior business executives who are surveyed each month by the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta if they had expanded remote work as a way to "keep employees happy and to moderate wage-growth pressures." Thirty-eight percent said they had done so in the past 12 months, including half of executives working in sectors such as finance, insurance, real estate and professional services. Forty-one percent said they planned to do so in the next year.

The authors used executives' estimates for how much they saved in pay by offering remote work to conclude that it would cut companies' salary bill by 2 percent over two years."That's not huge," Davis said. "But what it suggests is that there are nontrivial benefits to many firms from remote work."

A downturn could even make remote work more, not less, sticky. Recruiting more widely, including in cities where the cost of living is lower than where a company is headquartered, could mean paying lower salaries (though in some industries, such as tech, there is some evidence that salaries in different cities are converging).

Workers with an option to log in remotely may also take fewer sick days or decide to work remotely when they would previously have taken a day off to attend a friend's wedding or extend a holiday.

Of course, there are costs to remote work, too. Managers and workers often disagree about which environment is most productive. And working virtually can involve security considerations, new software purchases and compliance headaches around hiring in multiple states or countries. But, Davis said, in a lot of cases, companies have already paid for those costs. "We had almost three years of experience doing this," he said.

Perhaps the most practical reason that companies may hold on to remote work in a recession is that it is difficult to revoke. Even Musk, a little more than a week after mandating full-time office work, reportedly clarified that all that was required of employees who wanted to work remotely was an approval from a manager willing to take responsibility for ensuring excellent work (albeit at the risk of being fired).

"Many, many companies in recent months have insisted that people come back to the office five days a week, only to reverse that mandate within about a week after hearing that they'd lose their best and brightest," said Julia Pollak, the chief economist ZipRecruiter.

Remote work, Pollak added, "is not just used as a sort of perk in a tight labor market that's going to go away in a slacker labor market."

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nytimes#mediamonitor@themwl.org

TRIPPED UP

Help! An Airline's Mistake Made Me Miss a $17,000 Cruise.

MIGUEL PORLAN

Dear Tripped Up,
I was set to take what for me was the "trip of a lifetime," a $17,000 Antarctic cruise with Australia-based Aurora Expeditions. But when I tried to check in for my flight from Nashville to Santiago, Chile (via Miami), the check-in agent insisted that entering Chile required two forms I had never heard of, even though I had researched the requirements carefully. I missed my flight, and the cruise. When I complained, American Airlines quickly refunded the (nonrefundable) flight, but Aurora would not give me credit for a future cruise and my travel insurer, Trip Mate, denied my claim. I'd like American to acknowledge in writing that they made a mistake and use that to ask Aurora to reconsider and to file an appeal to Trip Mate. Can you help?
DEBORAH, FRANKLIN, TENN.

Dear Deborah,

I have good news for you: American will reimburse you for the total cost of your cruise.

I have bad news for everyone else: Getting you reimbursed for the airline's obvious incompetence was such a maddening process, even for me, that I have very little hope for average consumers who suffer equally absurd wrongs in the future.

For starters, Trip Mate and Aurora could have been more understanding or even — though this is a stretch — humane. In an ideal world, American would have immediately recognized its error in writing, Trip Mate would have approved your claim for at least a portion of the cruise's cost, and Aurora would have made up for another chunk with a sharp discount on a future cruise.

This is especially true given how responsible and persistent you were before, during and after your debacle.

You researched requirements for entering Chile on Sherpa, a free website that helps with travel documentation, determining correctly that a valid passport and a proof of Covid-19 vaccination were enough. When you were told differently at the airport, you pleaded your case, asked for (and were denied) an explanation in writing, returned to the airport later to seek such explanation, and wrote what you described to me as more than 25 emails to American, asking for a written statement to support your insurance claim and your request to Aurora for credit.

How could the original error have happened? My best guess is that the American agent confused the requirements to enter Chile as a whole to the much stricter documentation needed to visit the country's isolated Rapa Nui (also known as Easter Island). And then he stuck to his guns. So did American customer service: The responses they sent were unfailingly polite and entirely unhelpful. In one nonsensical email you forwarded, an American representative appeared to be plugging in random boilerplate language. "While I am glad that we were still able to accommodate you," he wrote, "I realize that it was not the flight of your choice."

Even so, you correctly filed a claim with Trip Mate. "The reason provided for your claim is not covered under the trip cancellation provisions," they told you in a denial email. You also asked Aurora for credit, but they said you needed to cancel 90 days in advance, not one.

I would be remiss not to point out your one mistake: You booked a multi-leg, international flight that was to arrive less than 24 hours before your very expensive trip was to begin, a risky plan. But just because someone walks perilously close to the edge of a cliff does not absolve the person (or airline) that pushes them over.

American began by refusing my request to interview someone on the record, or even to answer my list of questions in writing. After an extensive back and forth, I finally received a brief statement from the airline's director of corporate communications, Jermaine Spight, saying it was "unfortunate" that you were unable to complete your journey and the company had already refunded the cost of the flight. "We are reviewing additional documents recently submitted," he continued, "and hope to reach an amicable resolution soon."

You then forwarded me communications with an American representative who pledged to be back in touch in 18 to 21 days. It sounded to me like American would offer you something that was neither an admission of guilt nor the full value of the cruise.

Then, to see how you might fare if you declined their offer and sued them instead, I dove into the sprawl of legal documents on American's site.

I knew from previous mind-numbing reading of airlines' conditions of carriage that they go to great lengths to limit their liability to the value of the airfare, regardless of subsequent consequences. But, at least in American's case, not great enough lengths.

Rule 25 of their 299-page General Rules of the International Tariff limits American's liability when it refuses to board passengers for everything from traveling barefoot to having a diagnosed illness that may cause them to "become obnoxious aloft" and, of relevance to your case, when "travel documents are not in order." But nowhere does it mention limited liability when they mistakenly refuse you boarding.

I pointed this out to American and drafted a column urging you to take American to small claims court in Tennessee (and offering to be your witness). But before we published, Mr. Spight wrote again with the good news.

Great. But this should not have been your (or my) battle to fight. This sort of situation is precisely why we have travel insurance.

I asked Trip Mate to explain why your claim had been denied. A spokesman, Patrick Jordan, said to me via email that your plan only covers specific events, called "hazards."

"While we empathize and understand that the insured's travel was negatively impacted," he wrote, "the plan does not cover errors made in determining travel documentation."

I begged to differ, noting that your policy covers trip delays caused by common carriers "including, but not limited to, scheduled departure and return times and actual departure and return times." That "not limited to" implies to me that events like being involuntarily bumped from a flight or, say, being told mistakenly by a rookie agent in Nashville that you can't board a flight to Chile, also qualify as potential "hazards."

I told this to Trip Mate, and they seemed to blink, if just slightly. "With any claim that is submitted," Mr. Jordan wrote back, "we look at the situation holistically to see where we can apply benefits within the limits of the specific policy." The policy does limit reimbursement for "trip delays" to $3,000, though.

What about Aurora? They were "deeply sorry to hear" you were unable to make it, said Cameron Ward, an Aurora spokesman. "Unfortunately, a multitude of travel incidents happen all the time. It's for this reason we require all of our guests purchase travel insurance that provides complete coverage for any number of issues that may arise."

Fair enough, but I think Aurora was in a good position to be generous (and score some good P.R. points). Finding a way to get you on a future cruise with a nice discount — perhaps under the condition you take one that was not expected to fill up — would cost them a lot less than $17,000. When I offered such a suggestion, they declined to comment.

Which brings me to how I'm feeling about customer service in the travel industry as we enter 2023. After careful review of this newspaper's policy on the use of curse words, I, too, decline to comment. *SETH KUGEL*

If you need advice about a best-laid travel plan that went awry, send an email to TrippedUp@nytimes.com.

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Bernard Kalb, 100, Who Covered Wars And Revolutions, Dies

A correspondent who lectured on foreign affairs until his 90s.

By DENNIS HEVESI

Bernard Kalb, a veteran correspondent for CBS, NBC and The New York Times who also made a brief and unhappy foray into government as a State Department spokesman, died on Sunday at his home in North Bethesda, Md. He was 100.

His death was confirmed by his daughter Claudia Kalb, who said his health had declined after a fall on Jan. 2.

In his many years on television, Mr. Kalb's sonorous voice, thick eyebrows and command of detail became familiar to millions of viewers. He covered wars, revolutions and the diplomatic breakthroughs that presaged the end of the Cold War.

He reported for The Times from 1946 to 1962, for CBS during the next 18 years (during which he joined his brother, Marvin, on the diplomatic beat) and as NBC's State Department correspondent from 1980 to 1985. Then, for nearly two years, he served in the Reagan administration's State Department — a stint that ended contentiously.

As a CBS correspondent in 1972, Mr. Kalb accompanied President Richard M. Nixon on the trip to China that proved to be a major step in the normalization of relations between the two nations. He also made virtually every overseas trip with Henry A. Kissinger, Cyrus R. Vance, Edmund S. Muskie, Alexander M. Haig Jr. and George P. Shultz during their tenures as secretary of state.

"You have a sense of being something of an eyewitness to the evolutions and eruptions of the decades since World War II," Mr. Kalb said in November 1984 when President Ronald Reagan announced his appointment as assistant secretary of state for public affairs. It was the first time a journalist who had covered the State Department became its spokesman.

But Mr. Kalb resigned in October 1986 to protest what he called a "reported disinformation program" — he stopped short of confirming its existence — conducted by the administration against the Libyan leader Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi.

The Washington Post reported that the program included plans to plant false reports in the press about internal opposition to Colonel Qaddafi and American military plans against Libya. Asked about Mr. Kalb's resignation, Mr. Reagan said, "No one on our side has been lying to anyone."

"My resignation does not endow me with sudden freedom to act on what may be or not be secret and what can be classified or what cannot be classified," Mr. Kalb said. But he added, "You face a choice — as an American, as a spokesman, as a journalist — whether to allow oneself to be absorbed in the ranks of silence, whether to vanish into unopposed acquiescence or to enter a modest dissent."

Bernard Kalb was born in Manhattan on Feb. 4, 1922, His parents, Max and Bella (Portnoy) Kalb, were immigrants — his father from Poland and his mother from what is now Ukraine. The family moved to Washington Heights when Bernard was a teenager. His father worked principally as a tailor in the garment district, but at nights he also did tailoring at a dry cleaner in Washington Heights that his mother ran by day.

After graduating from the City College of New York in 1942, Mr. Kalb spent two years in the Army, mostly working on a newspaper published out of a Quonset hut in the Aleutian Islands of Alaska. His editor was Sgt. Dashiell Hammett, the author of the detective novels "The Maltese Falcon" and "The Thin Man."

In 1946, Mr. Kalb joined The Times. He originally wrote for the radio station WQXR, which at the time was owned by the company. He went on to write for the newspaper; he was a metropolitan reporter and covered the United Nations before being sent to Southeast Asia as a correspondent.

His first overseas assignment, in late 1955, was to accompany Adm. Richard E. Byrd on a mission to Antarctica. He once mused that on some days his most difficult task on that assignment was to come up with variations on the word "ice."

More difficult was his coverage of the rule of President Sukarno of Indonesia. In 1958, Mr. Kalb was arrested and briefly detained after he revealed that Soviet-built aircraft had been delivered to the Indonesian military. The arrest prompted a protest from Western correspondents, and he was soon released.

After leaving The Times in 1962, Mr. Kalb joined CBS as a correspondent in Hong Kong. He was regularly dispatched from there to cover the Vietnam War, and he was the network's on-scene reporter for an hourlong documentary in 1964 warning that the war was unlikely to end soon. Four years later he won an Overseas Press Club Award for a documentary on the Vietcong.

Returning to the United States in 1970, Mr. Kalb became Washington anchorman for the "CBS Morning News." In 1975 he joined his brother on the diplomatic beat, and five years later they both moved to NBC. Bernard Kalb covered the State Department until he became its spokesman in 1985.

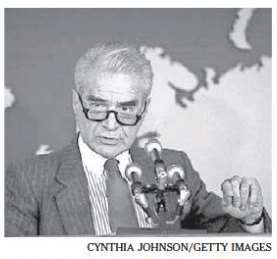
In addition to his daughter Claudia, Mr. Kalb is survived by his brother; his wife of 64 years, Phyllis (Bernstein) Kalb; three other daughters, Tanah, Marina and Sarinah Kalb; nine grandchildren; and four step-grandchildren.

For six years starting in 1992, Mr. Kalb was the moderator of the weekly CNN program "Reliable Sources," which analyzed the news media's objectivity and interviewed print and broadcast journalists. He continued lecturing on journalism and foreign affairs into his 90s, including as an occasional panelist on "The Kalb Report," a televised series of live talks hosted by his brother at the Washington National Press Club.

On a street in Romania in 2004, a young boy sold Mr. Kalb a souvenir for $16: a set of Soviet-era binoculars etched with red stars, hammers and sickles, and crossed Kalashnikov rifles. Days later, Mr. Kalb was in a hotel room in Athens with his wife. In the distance was the Parthenon. With little time left before they had to get to the airport, the Kalbs peered through those binoculars to view from afar that symbol of democracy.

"The Cold War had come to the rescue, finally producing a scrap of redeeming value," Mr. Kalb wrote in an essay for The Times. "R.I.P., Cold War. Couldn't have done it without you."

Dennis Hevesi, a former obituary writer for The Times, died in 2017. Alex Traub contributed reporting.



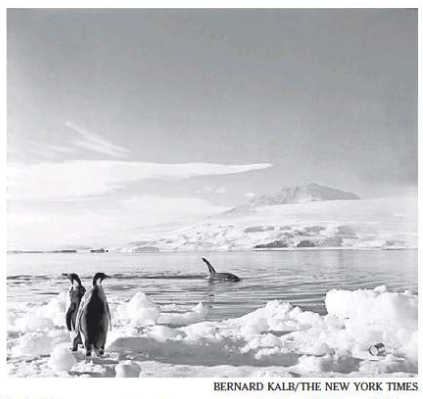
CYNTHIA JOHNSON/GETTY IMAGES

Mr. Kalb during his tenure as a State Department spokesman. He resigned in protest.

CBS PHOTO ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

Bernard Kalb in 1962, the year he joined CBS News. He went on to work for NBC in the 1980s.

BERNARD KALB/THE NEW YORK TIMES



BERNARD KALB/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mr. Kalb's first overseas assignment for The New York Times was to accompany Adm. Richard E. Byrd on a mission to Antarctica. As part of his assignment, Mr. Kalb photographed penguins, right.

Deaths

Dengler, Marilyn
Doan, Marion
Helfat, Robin
Hughes, Thomas
Labaton, Edward
Loening, Michael
MacEachron, Fred.
McAnaney, Edward
Rosen, Michael
Schacht, Sam
Schwartz, Nona
Traverse, Robert

DENGLER—Marilyn Elizabeth.

Marilyn Dengler, nee Hermann, of Bronx sadly left us on January 7, 2023 at 87 years old. Beloved daughter of Albert and Victoria Hermann. She is survived by her loving husband of 65 years, Norbert Dengler, their seven children and spouses, 19 grandchildren and two great-granddaughters. A Mass of Christian Burial celebrating her life will be held at the Church of St. Benedict, Bronx, on January 10 at 10:30 am. Burial at St. Raymond's Cemetery. Donations Poor Clares, 70 Nelson Avenue, Wappingers Falls, NY 12590 - 1121. https://poorclaresny.com/

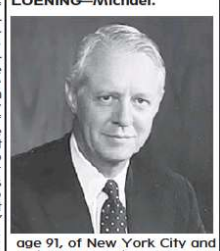
DOAN—Marion Sandel,
on November 11, 2022, at age 99. Graduate Madison High School, Hunter College Phi Beta Kappa. Beloved wife of Hon. Samuel Doan, mother, grandmother and great-grandmother.

HELFAT—Robin E.,
passed away on January 6, 2023 at age 71. Beloved wife of Jonathan, loving and devoted mother of Joshua (Abigail) and Benjamin (Kate) loving grandmother of Jacob, Henry, Samuel and Lucile. Brother of Jeffrey Engle. Devoted companion of Barney. Past President of Port Jewish Center, active member of Knickerbocker Yacht Club. Funeral Services will be held at 11am on Sunday, January 8, 2023 at Port Jewish Center, 20 Manorhaven Blvd., Port Washington, NY. In lieu of flowers, contributions can be made in Robin's memory to Port Jewish Center.

HUGHES—Thomas Lowe.
Beloved husband of Jane Casey Hughes died January 2, 2023, age 97. Supremely knowledgeable about world history and U.S. foreign affairs, Hughes was a voice of reason inside the Johnson administration on the Vietnam War. He came to Washington in 1955 as legislative counsel to Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota. Hughes then served Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, 1961-1969, as Assistant Secretary of State for Intelligence and Research. From 1971-1991 he was president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. In 1965 Hughes helped compose a memo from Vice President Humphrey to President Johnson warning about the negative effects of the proposed intensification of the war in Vietnam. Johnson did not take the advice. Hughes's off-the-record speeches during that period have been published in Speaking Up and Speaking Out. Several of his speeches to Anglo-American audiences have been published in Oxford After Dinner. The lighter moments of his career in diplomacy and the foundation world have also appeared in book form as Anecdotage. In person as well as in print, Hughes was known for his intelligence and charm. (A full biography of Hughes, by intellectual historian Bruce L.R. Smith is entitled The Last Gentleman.) Hughes's friend Sanford Ungar, former director of the Voice of America, once wrote, "If there is anyone in Washington who can credibly lay claim to the moniker of "smartest person in the room"-any room, anytime-it is Tom Hughes. There is also a good chance, in most rooms he steps into, that he is the funniest, the best piano player, and has the clearest memory for historical detail." A native of Mankato MN, Hughes was immensely proud of his small-town roots and of his Welsh and German forebears. A national debate champion in high school and college, Hughes in 1944, age 18, was elected national president of Student Federalists, working for a postwar union of democracies. In 1944 he spoke at both the Republican and Democratic conventions, and in 1945 attended the founding conference of the United Nation in San Francisco. After graduating from Carleton College in 1947, Hughes was a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford (Balliol). (Under President Nixon in 1969-1970, he was Deputy Chief of Mission in the American Embassy in London, a short but happy return to England.) Following a Yale Law School degree and Air Force service, Hughes made the move to Capitol Hill first as legislative counsel to Rep. Chester Bowles (D-CT) before joining Senator Humphrey's staff. Hughes's first wife, journalist and designer Jean Hurlburt Reiman, died in 1993. In 1995 Hughes married Jane Casey Kuczynski, a former reporter for the Voice of America, who survives him. Also surviving are a sister Mrs. Marianne Hughes Nordholm of Oak Park Heights, MN; and two sons from his first marriage - Thomas Evan Hughes (and wife Lynn McCary) of Brooklyn, NY and Allan Cameron Hughes of Athens, GA. Also surviving are a nephew and nieces Bradford Nordholm, Sarah Davis, Karen Anderson, and their children. Three Kuczynski stepchildren and five step-grandchildren also survive. Donations in Hughes's memory may be made to Carleton College.

LABATON—Edward,
Died peacefully in Washington, DC on January 6, 2023, his 91st birthday. Beloved husband of Laura, loving father of Mark and Stephen, proud father-in-law of Miriam, adoring grandfather of Max and Ellie, devoted brother of Arnold and Tootsie. We are heartened during this time of loss by the knowledge that he touched so many lives through his loving presence, wisdom and humanity.

LOENING—Michael.



age 91, of New York City and Salisbury, CT, died peacefully at home after a short illness. He was a true gentleman, with impeccable manners and a gracious demeanor. "How wonderful!" was a phrase he often uttered, expressing his genuine delight. He is remembered by those with whom he made acquaintance, from his barber to his garage mechanic, as well as by friends and colleagues as "the nicest, kindest person I ever met."
A devoted husband, father and grandfather, he also absolutely loved being a lawyer. He was never one to dream of retirement, working full time and going to the office daily up until he fell ill, three weeks before his passing.
He was highly respected in the field of international tax law and was known for his meticulous attention to detail, thoroughness and discretion. He was a partner for more than two decades at Everett, Johnson & Breckenridge, a boutique tax law firm in New York City. In 1995 he joined LeBoeuf, Lamb, Greene & MacRae as of counsel, and in 2003 in the same role he joined Emmet, Marvin & Martin, one of the nation's oldest continuously operating law firms. He advised public and privately held international businesses in a variety of industries on complex U.S. corporate tax issues. He also advised U.S. and foreign nationals on a wide variety of U.S. income, gift and estate tax planning matters. In addition, he served as a trustee for numerous trusts and as a corporate board director.
Born in 1930 in Bremen, Germany, he was a graduate of The Loomis Chaffee School, Williams College '53 and Harvard Law School '56, and served in the US Army. He was known as a sharp wordsmith and grammarian and was often recruited by his friends, his colleagues and his sons to edit their written works. He was an enthusiastic member of the Sharon Country Club in Connecticut and the Union Club in New York City, serving as an officer of both. He was an accomplished bridge and backgammon player, had a good game of chess and took up yoga and lifting weights in his late 80s.
He never complained or uttered a bad word about anyone and he will be remembered and celebrated for his endless optimism and positivity.
He is survived by his wife Edith Twiss Loening, of 60 years, his sons George and Brooke Loening, and his daughters-in-law Kimbrough Towles and Cybele Loening, and grandchildren, Heidi, Lola, Chloe, Luke and Ruby, as well as his sister's children, Peter and Annette Kerckhoff, and their families, in Germany. To all who knew and loved him, he leaves a legacy of kindness, courtesy and integrity that will not be forgotten.
A memorial service will be held on Thursday, May 11, 2023 at 4pm at Grace Church, 802 Broadway, NYC.

MACEACHRON—Frederick.

Frederick Grant MacEachron, of New York City, died peacefully on December 21, 2022. He was born in Grand Rapids, Michigan on July 4, 1940 to F. Grant MacEachron and Jean VanDam MacEachron. Fred graduated from Michigan State University. After serving two years in the army as a Second Lieutenant, he earned his MBA from Northwestern University and CPA while working for Arthur Andersen in Chicago. Fred moved to New York in 1970. After working in various capacities for Lehman Brothers and Salomon Brothers, he joined Merrill Lynch in 1980. Six years ago his team merged with "The Izzo Group" where his title was Senior Vice President-Wealth Management Advisor. He has made many wonderful friendships at Merrill Lynch and found the best part of the job to be working with his clients. Fred loved The University Club of New York and became a 50 Year Life Member this year. Another organization he belonged to was the St. Andrew's Society where he became Chairman of the Board. He was also an active member of Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church serving on the session many times and also serving as trustee. Fred will be remembered for his love of golf joining the National Golf Links of America in Southampton the summer of 1993. He has played on many different golf courses, Pebble Beach, Seminole, fourteen courses in Scotland in eight days, but National was his favorite. Another sport Fred loved was skiing. He skied in areas all over the world including heli-skiing in British Columbia. He was a zealous sports fan and never wavered in his support of his beloved Michigan State Spartans where he had played varsity football and ran track. Fred was generous with his time and talents. He was loyal and had a strong moral and ethical compass which was evident both in his deeds and his words. Fred was outgoing and humble but with a quiet confidence that people naturally liked and felt comfortable with. He is predeceased by his parents, beloved wife Allison Bailey MacEachron and niece Tricia Cox. Fred is survived by two sisters, Jane (James) McCandless, and their children Jill (Jody) Taube and Scott McCandless and sister Patricia (Daniel) Cox, and their daughter Jennifer (Michael) Fernandez as well as his special companion Louise Clare, many extended family members and friends. A celebration of Fred's life will be held on January 21, 2023 at 11am at the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, 921 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10021. In lieu of flowers, contributions may be made in his memory to the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church or to a charity of your choice. Funeral services provided by Frank E. Campbell - The Funeral Chapel, www.frankecampbell.com.

McANANEY—Edward G. "Knute",
died on December 24th. He was born on April 6, 1941, to Katherine (McClatchy) and Francis McAnaney. He graduated from Fordham Prep in 1957, the University of Notre Dame in 1961 and Harvard Law School in 1964, the same year he married Jeanne Glennon. During his legal career he practiced trust and estates and real estate law. A staunch believer in education, he was a trustee of Fordham Prep and Dominican Academy. From a four generation Notre Dame family, he was a lifelong passionate fan of the Fighting Irish. He earned the nickname Knute due to his legendary knowledge of ND lore. He is survived by his wife, Jeanne, his children Kathleen Molinsky (George), Eamon (Brooke), Margot Ryan (Edward) and Ashling (Matt Kramer), 12 grandchildren and his eight siblings. A wake will be held on Thursday, January 12th at Frank E. Campbell, 1076 Madison Ave. from 4 to 7pm. Funeral Mass at St. Ignatius Loyola, 980 Park Ave, Friday, January 13th at 11:00am. His family was his universe forever.

McANANEY—Edward G.
CIVITAS CITIZENS mourns the death of Edward G. McAnaney, a former treasurer and a leader helping our city be a better place in which to live. We send our sympathies to his wife, Jeanne and his family.

ROSEN—Dr. Michael R.
On January 6, 2023, Dr. Michael R. Rosen passed away at age 84 following a lengthy battle with cancer. He is survived by his wife, Tove, daughter Jennifer and husband Rafael Valverde, daughter Rachel and partner Derek Morse, and granddaughters Maya and Lily Valverde. Throughout his life, he remained devoted to the memory of his late eldest daughter, Dina, and he treasured his family and dear friends around the world. A Professor of Pharmacology and Pediatrics at Columbia University, Michael authored and co-authored over 500 peer-reviewed publications and received multiple national and international awards. His ground-breaking research led to the discovery that pharmacological interventions can be used to prevent and treat cardiac arrhythmias; that the heart has a memory; and, more recently, that gene and stem cell therapies might be used to create a biological pacemaker. Throughout his career, he advocated for improving public understanding of science and increasing government funding for research. A beloved teacher and mentor, Michael always took time to advise, guide, and support those who sought his counsel. Michael loved literature, music, travel, kayaking, and Cape Cod. He will be remembered for his intellect, kindness, generosity, and uncanny ability to find the humor in all things. The family requests donations in Michael's name be made to Doctors Without Borders and the Advanced Research Fellowship Program Fund at Columbia University Vagelos College of Physicians and Surgeons.

SCHACHT—Sam,
86, of New York City, passed away on Thursday, January 5th, after a brief illness. Born in New York City to Max and Tobey Schacht, he was a lifelong resident of the City. Sam graduated from CCNY. Some years later, Sam became a member of The Actor's Studio, where he studied with Lee Strasburg. Sam was fortunate to have three careers that were profoundly meaningful to him - he was an actor, acting teacher, and psychoanalyst. Sam enjoyed decades of acting on stage, screen, and television and was later pleased to be a teacher of acting. He taught both privately and at The Actors Studio Drama School where he previously served as Dean. Most recently, he was a Master Teacher at the Stella Adler Studio of Acting. Sam also co-founded two thriving theater companies in New York: The New Group and The Workshop. In later years, Sam returned to school and received a Master's degree in Psychoanalytic Studies through the Center for Modern Psychoanalytic Studies where he also served on the Board of Directors. Sam loved life. He was endlessly curious, a constant reader and a student of the arts, history and culture. Sam is survived by his most beloved wife of sixty years, Sybil Schacht. He was also the proud and loving father of Alexei Schacht and Daniel Schacht. He loved his four grandchildren: Oliver, Owen, Avery and Leo and his daughters-in-law, Jamie Nagler and BethAnn Schacht. For details about a memorial this week, contact schachtgathering@gmail.com

SCHWARTZ—Nona,
of East Brunswick, NJ, passed away on Thursday, December 29, 2022, at her home. She was 81 years old. Born in Trenton, to David and Freda (nee Levine) Levine, she resided in East Brunswick for more than 50 years. Prior to retiring, she worked as a teacher for Woodbridge Township, as well as a legal secretary, and homemaker. In her spare time, she greatly enjoyed reading, knitting, cooking, and whenever possible, spending time with her two grandchildren. She and her husband, Gary, made frequent trips to visit them in Upstate New York, and on school vacations, the girls would come visit for extended stays. Nona is predeceased by her parents (David and Freda Levine) and her sister, Susan Mitnick. Surviving are her husband, of 57 years, Gary; her son, Rob, of West Hollywood, CA; her daughter, Lynn Bossom (nee Schwartz) and her husband, Stuart, of Clifton Park, NY, and her grandchildren, Tessa and Maya. A graveside service was held on Friday, December 30, 2022, at South River Hebrew Association, under the direction of The Brunswick Memorial Home, East Brunswick, NJ. The family anticipates holding a memorial service at a future date to be announced. To leave a message of condolence, please visit: www.brunswickmemorialhome.com Contributions may be made to the American Cancer Society or St. Jude Children's Research Hospital.

TRAVERSE—Robert C.
Acclaimed graphic designer and artist Robert C. Traverse died peacefully at the age of 97 on December 21, 2022 at the family farm in Decatur, Michigan. Best known for his iconic designs of Post Cereal boxes in the 1950s and 1960s, he was also a prolific fine artist who worked in various media until his death. Bob was born on September 6, 1925 in Kalamazoo, MI. After service in the U.S. Army during World War II, he resumed his career, first in Kalamazoo, and later in Chappaqua, NY. His main client was General Foods, with Post Cereal, Maxwell House, and Tang among its product lines. In 1948, Bob married Betty Kemp. Their two children, Kim Traverse and Lyn Traverse, survive him. After Betty's death in 1987, Bob found love a second time with Phyllis Parmater, a widowed family friend. Bob had boundless enthusiasm for life and saw joy in each day. He will be sorely missed by his family and friends.

In Memoriam

MARCOVE—Ralph C., M.D.
Loved and remembered.
Christina, Laura, Adam, Wyatt, Esme and Rowan

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Russell Banks, Novelist Who Explored Poverty And Race, Dies at 82

By REBECCA CHACE

Russell Banks, whose vivid portrayals of working-class Americans grappling with issues of poverty, race and class placed him among the first ranks of contemporary novelists, died on Sunday at his home in Saratoga Springs, N.Y. He was 82.

His literary agent, Ellen Levine, said the cause was cancer.

The prolific author of 21 works of fiction and nonfiction, Mr. Banks brought his own blue-collar background to bear in his writing, delving into the psychological pressure of life in economically depressed towns in the Northeast, their stark reality often shadowed by the majestic Adirondacks of northern New York State.

"In Banks's world, geography is a kind of grim destiny," Jennifer Schuessler wrote in The New York Review of Books in 2008.

Two of his novels, "Continental Drift" (1985) and "Cloudsplitter" (1998), were finalists for the Pulitzer Prize for fiction.

"Continental Drift," his breakthrough novel, proclaimed itself with a bold statement: "This is an American story of the late 20th century."

Bob Dubois, a disillusioned New Englander looking for a break in Florida, and Vanise Dorsinville, a young Haitian woman trying to make her way to that state by any means necessary, drove the narrative as Mr. Banks traced his personal reckoning with race and class through the separate trajectories of these two disparate characters.

The result was a "visionary epic about innocence and evil and a shattering dissection of contemporary American life," Michiko Kakutani of The New York Times wrote.

Literary accolades and acclaim soon followed. Mr. Banks received the John Dos Passos Prize for Literature in 1985 as well as his first Pulitzer Prize nomination.

In his monumental work "Cloudsplitter," Mr. Banks took on John Brown, the radical abolitionist who was hanged in 1859 after leading an armed assault on a federal armory at Harpers Ferry, in what is now West Virginia, in a failed attempt to establish a bastion for freed slaves in the surrounding mountains.

This ambitious and fully realized novel struck close to home for Mr. Banks, who lived for eight months a year in Keene, N.Y., a small Adirondacks town close to the John Brown farm and burial site. Mr. Banks took his title from the English translation of Tahawus, the Algonquin name for Mount Marcy, the highest peak in the Adirondacks, which can be seen from John Brown's farm.

Discussing the foundations of the book in The Paris Review in 1998, he said, "I am interested in the whole question of the possibility of heroism, especially in a secular age and especially in a democratic society."

He noted that many Americans, particularly Black ones, considered Brown a hero, while other Americans, particularly many white ones, viewed him as a criminal madman. And he observed that groups on the fringes of American life — radical anti-abortionists and extremist militias, for instance — had evoked Brown's name, making Mr. Banks further aware of Brown's contemporary resonance.

"Is there such a thing as heroism?" he asked in the interview.

Mr. Banks's writing developed from a self-consciously experimental style in his early books to the gritty realism that brought him renown. And as he became more self-confident as a writer, he increasingly connected his own life experiences to his explorations of American mythology — as he did in "Rule of the Bone" (1995), in which a young rebel rejects what passes for civilization to light out for parts unknown.

That book's 14-year-old narrator, Chappie, follows in his author's footsteps as he flees upstate New York and heads south with little more than youthful bravado. Mr. Banks had made the same journey at 18.

In an authorial nod to "Huckleberry Finn," Chappie tells his tale with swagger: "You'll probably think I'm making a lot of this up just to make me sound better than I really am or smarter or even luckier but I'm not."

In much of Mr. Banks's writing, his concerns about race, class and power repeatedly surfaced, with particular attention given to the powerless and the overlooked, especially his outwardly unremarkable blue-collar characters.

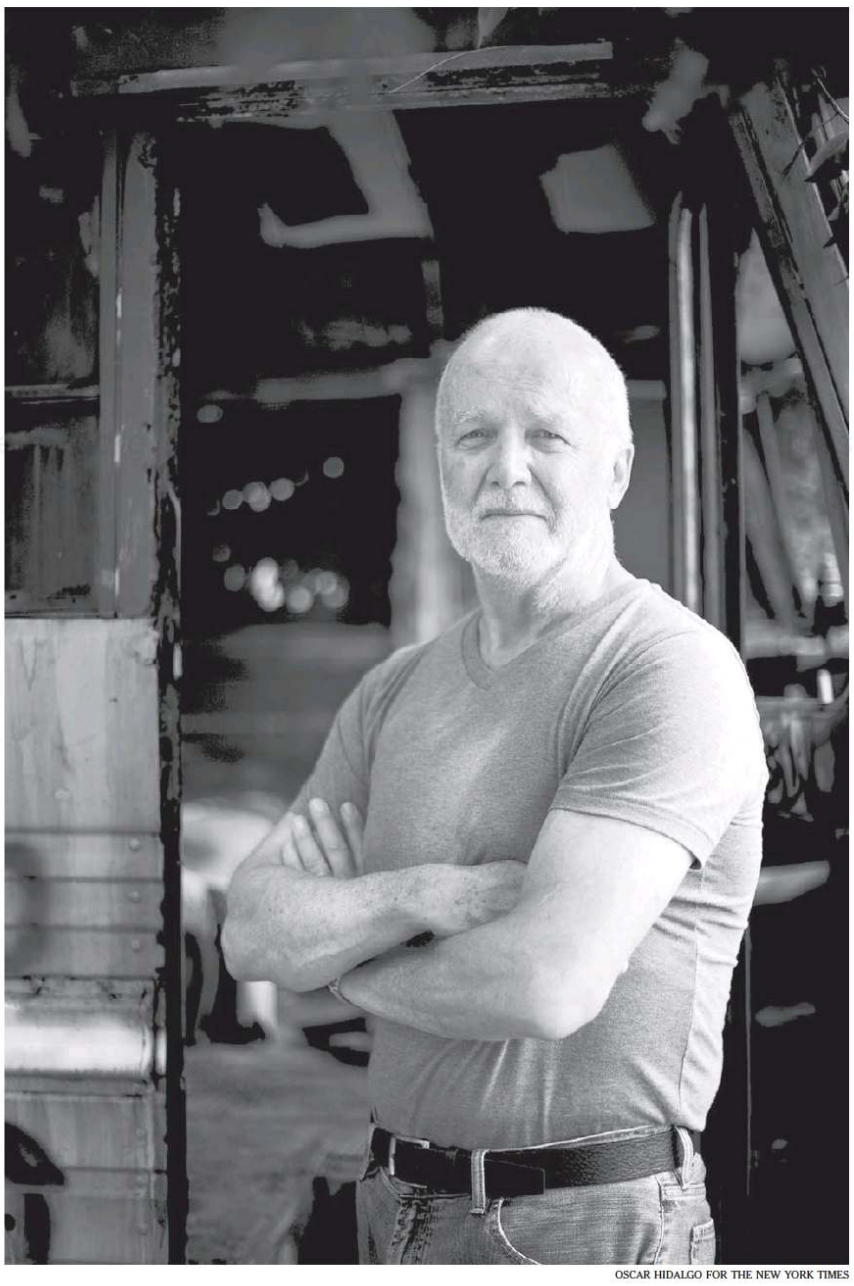
"There's an important tradition in American writing, going back to Mark Twain and forward to Raymond Carver and Grace Paley, whose work is generated by love of people who are scorned and derided," Mr. Banks told The Guardian in 2000. "I have an almost simple-minded affection for them. My readers are not the same as my characters, as I'm very aware. So I'm glad when they feel that affection too."

Russell Earl Banks was born on March 28, 1940, in Newton, Mass., just west of Boston. His father, Earl Banks, was a plumber, and his mother, Florence (Taylor) Banks, was a homemaker and bookkeeper.

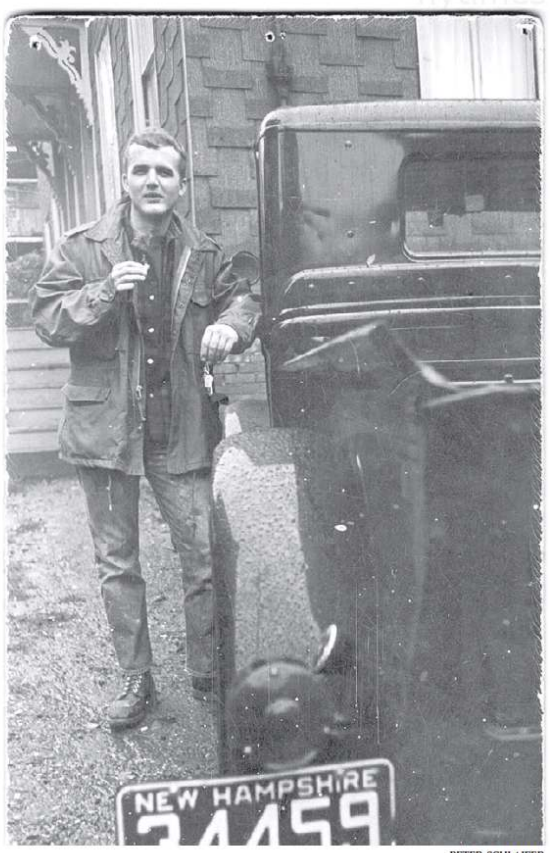
The eldest of four children, Russell was raised in Barnstead, N.H., a small town about 90 miles to the north. He was open about his father's alcoholism and the physical abuse his father inflicted on him as a child — a blow to the head cost him the mobility of his left eye — but he also acknowledged his conflicting feelings about him.

"I don't remember not being physically afraid of my father," he told People magazine in 1989. "I hated my father, and I adored him."

Earl Banks left when Russell was 12, and the family moved back to Massachusetts, settling in Wakefield, where Russell worked odd jobs to help support his mother and siblings. He excelled in school, earning a full scholarship to Colgate University and becoming the first in his family to attend college.



OSCAR HIDALGO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



PETER SCHLAIFER

Mr. Banks in 1962, shortly after he had begun writing stories. His writing evolved from an experimental style to gritty realism.

Colgate at that time was an all-male institution for sons of the upper middle class. Russell left after eight weeks, hitchhiking through a snowstorm with the romantic notion of joining Fidel Castro's revolution in Cuba. He was already thinking of himself as an artist — inspired by the spirit, if not the stream-of-consciousness writing style, of Jack Kerouac, another son of Massachusetts, whose explosive novel "On the Road" was published when Russell was 17.

"Kerouac was a working-class boy from Lowell, and it wasn't too hard to make an identification," Mr. Banks told the literary journal Ploughshares in 1993.

He told The Paris Review: "I only got as far as Miami. By that time Castro was marching into Havana and didn't need me anymore. Also, I realized I didn't quite know how to get from Key West to Cuba and I couldn't speak Spanish."

Remaining in Florida for a time, he worked odd jobs, including a stint as a mannequin dresser at a Montgomery Ward department store, where he met Darlene Bennett, a salesclerk. They married and eventually moved to Boston, where their daughter, Lea, was born in 1960. Mr. Banks found work in a bookstore, fell in with a literary crowd and began to write poetry and short stories.

"Bohemianism is a useful way for a person to drop out of the class wars of America," he told Ploughshares.

In 1963, after a brief return to New Hampshire, where he worked as a plumber and pipe fitter alongside his father, Mr. Banks attended the Bread Loaf Writers Conference at Middlebury College in Vermont, where he met his first real mentor, the novelist Nelson Algren. By this time he had divorced his first wife and married Mary Gunst, a poet, with whom he had three daughters. When her wealthy parents offered to pay his tuition to attend the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, he gratefully accepted.

While at college, he co-founded a small literary press and magazine, Lillabulero, and entered into the social ferment of the civil rights era, becoming involved with Students for a Democratic Society and participating in protests. He graduated with honors in 1967.

During this time he published two volumes of poetry; a first novel, "Family Life" (1975); and his first short-story collection, "Searching for Survivors" (1975), which won an O'Henry Award.

The family eventually returned to southern New Hampshire, where Mr. Banks began teaching creative writing at New England College. He taught at several other institutions over the decades, including Sarah Lawrence and Columbia; in 1982 he joined the faculty at Princeton University, where his colleagues included Toni Morrison and Joyce Carol Oates.

His mature prose style began to emerge in "Hamilton Stark" (1978), a critically acclaimed novel about a misanthropic New Hampshire pipe fitter, not unlike his father. His next novel, "The Book of Jamaica" (1980), revolved around a white American living in Jamaica who wrestles with his embedded racism and the country's colonialist history. Both novels were ambitious works that sought to dismantle the unfulfilled promises of America through the gimlet eye of the white working class.

He tapped into his blue-collar upbringing to explore a reality.

"Continental Drift" had its roots in "The Book of Jamaica." Beginning in 1976, Mr. Banks spent a year and a half in Jamaica on a grant from the Guggenheim Foundation; while there he became obsessed with the history of that island nation as well as the entire Caribbean basin.

That period was a moral turning point for him, as he explained in The Paris Review.

"I began to live my life more consciously and aggressively in racial and class terms, laying the ground on which I stood a few years later when I wrote 'Continental Drift,'" he said. He would make the Haitian immigrant Vanise one of that book's central characters.

Building on the success of that novel, Mr. Banks spent the 1980s and '90s solidifying his craft in works like "Affliction" (1989), a father-son story dealing with domestic violence. Mr. Banks dedicated that book to his father and admitted to The Guardian that his own experiences were omnipresent in it.

"He died in 1979," he said of his father, "and yet he appears in my dreams two or three times a week, as he was in his mid-40s, when he was at his most powerful. He left a residue of violence my neurons are still patterned around."

"The Sweet Hereafter" (1991), a novel based on a fatal school bus crash in Alton, Texas, in 1989, focuses on the way such an accident changes a small town forever. Ms. Kakutani wrote in The Times that it "underscores the innate precariousness of our lives, our susceptibility to grief and loss and hurt."

Film versions of his work brought Mr. Banks recognition beyond the literary world. "The Sweet Hereafter" (1997), adapted and directed by Atom Egoyan, received two Academy Award nominations. Mr. Banks himself appeared in the movie as a doctor.

A film version of "Affliction," adapted and directed by Paul Schrader and also released in 1997, starred Sissy Spacek, Nick Nolte, Willem Dafoe and James Coburn. It was nominated for two Oscars, and Mr. Coburn won for best supporting actor.

Mr. Banks received many awards and fellowships. He was a member of Phi Beta Kappa and the Academy of Arts and Letters and served as president of the International Parliament of Writers. He was the official New York State author from 2004 to 2008.

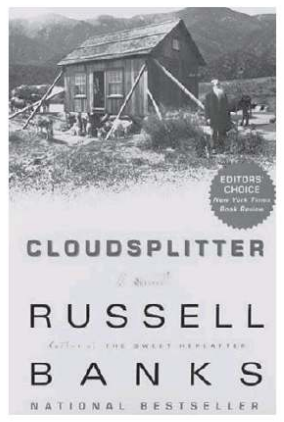
His marriage to Ms. Gunst ended in divorce in 1977. A third marriage, to Kathy Walton, a book editor, in 1982, ended in divorce in 1988. He married the poet Chase Twichell in 1989.

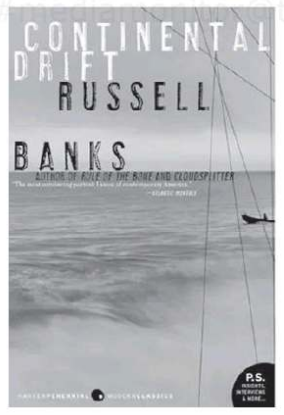
She survives him, along with Lea Banks, his daughter from his first marriage; three daughters, Caerthan, Maia and Danis Banks, from his second marriage; a brother, Stephen; a sister, Linda Banks; a half sister, Kathleen Banks-Nutter; two grandchildren; and a great-granddaughter.

Mr. Banks's own intentions as a writer are summed up in his narrator's closing lines in "Continental Drift":

"Good cheer and mournfulness over lives other than our own, even wholly invented lives — no, especially wholly invented lives — deprive the world as it is of some of the greed it needs to continue to be itself. Sabotage and subversion, then, are this book's objectives. Go, my book, and help destroy the world as it is."

Alex Traub contributed reporting.





Russell Banks vividly portrayed working-class Americans. "Continental Drift," his breakthrough novel, proclaimed itself with a bold statement: "This is an American story of the late 20th century."

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JAMES PONIEWOZIK | CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

NETFLIX

How Do You Like to Watch Television?

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

math] *a lot* of possible permutations you could experience.

That's the interesting part of "Kaleidoscope." And let's be honest, at this point, it's not that interesting! A few years ago, sure; the series would have seemed like a bold experiment in the ways new technology might change TV.

Now, for much the same reason, "Kaleidoscope" feels like a throwback. It's one in a series of attempts to use streaming to alter the space-time fabric of television, to make it less linear and in some cases more interactive — many of which have gotten attention, but none of which have really stuck.

Netflix has been the platform most active in these experiments, maybe because it was the most invested in the idea that it was an alternative not only to cable or broadcast networks but also to the genre and business of television itself.

Its 2013 revival of "Arrested Development" was a kind of deconstructed puzzle, its episodes appearing out of chronological order and from different characters' points of view. Its interactive film/show/game "Black Mirror: Bandersnatch" allowed viewers to choose the path the story followed. So did the "Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt" special "Kimmy vs. the Reverend"; the animated "Cat Burglar" added a trivia-game element. Netflix was not alone in this either, with Steven Soderbergh going the choose-your-own-adventure route in the HBO series/app "Mosaic."

After all this, a good decade or so into the streaming revolution, TV today looks — well, it still looks a lot like TV. Attempts at interactivity have gotten no more traction than Smell-o-Vision, maybe in part because our culture already has a popular and relatively young form of interactive amusement, the video game. (One of those, "The Last of Us," is being adapted by HBO as a conventional TV drama.)

TV's dominant format continues to be the static season, in which episodes are served up in a set progression. Often — even on streaming — they arrive once a week. The only choosing viewers do is what to watch, when to watch and whether to fill their couch-side snack bowl with chips or pretzels.

In other ways, streaming has absolutely changed the business and aesthetics of TV. As I wrote in 2015, giving viewers the option to binge when they please has encouraged a form of storytelling more focused on the season and less on the episode. Netflix's philosophy of "the first season is the pilot" — itself an outgrowth of the serial approach of networks like HBO — has led to a more long-game form of narrative, and not only on streaming platforms.

CLAUDETTE BARIUS/HBO

Top, Giancarlo Esposito in an episode of "Kaleidoscope." All of its episodes, except the last, can be watched in any order. Above, Paul Reubens and Sharon Stone starred in "Mosaic." In 2017, HBO released the show first as a smartphone app.

Streaming changed TV. Now is the same thing happening in reverse?

Increasingly, TV series of the past decade have aimed less at hooking viewers from the first minutes than at getting them to sink in, as into quicksand. In an interview with Rolling Stone, Tony Gilroy, the showrunner of the "Star Wars" prequel series "Andor" on Disney+, dismissed "the idea that you have to wrap up every episode in a bow" and defended the series's slow-burn start as a necessary "investment." (Granted, it's easier to get audiences to pony up that investment when you're selling one of the world's most famous franchises.)

All this has made a difference for better and for worse. It has added to TV's bag of tricks, giving creators the option of making more unitary long-form works. (Among other things, the streaming era has been the heyday of the multi-hour limited series.) Other times it imposes the expectation of length where it's not needed. One thing "Kaleidoscope" has in common with many streaming series is the feeling of being a two-hour movie pitch that was repackaged and padded into a TV season.

The experience of TV, meanwhile, has become less tied to the cable box and the network schedule. A generation of viewers is now used to watching TV at the time, and in the portion size, of its choosing. FX, a pioneer of the High Cable Era of the early aughts, is now as much a boutique subplatform of Hulu as it is a cable channel. There is still a distinction between HBO (the premium channel) and HBO Max (the streamer), but I'm not sure anyone outside the TV business thinks much about it anymore.

Lately, however, it seems as if we're hitting the limits of how much change TV can handle and how much audiences want. It turns out that TV wants to be linear. Not necessarily in chronology — since the flashbacks and -forwards of "Lost," TV has become suffused with in media res openings and Vonnegutian unstickings in time. But in almost every case you progress, scene by scene, episode by episode, through a narrative order chosen by a creator, not by you or by the roll of some automated dungeonmaster's eight-sided die.

Critics of build-your-own-TV experiments often use the restaurant analogy: You want the chef to prepare your dinner; you don't want to have to cook the ingredients yourself. But that doesn't mean you want to eat hamburgers every night for the rest of your life. Within that traditional structure — a creative artist deciding what you get, in what order — people are willing to change up the number of courses (episodes) or opt for a family-style experience in which the entire meal (season) arrives to the table at once.

This flexibility goes both ways. As more streaming competitors have come online, some have opted for a more, well, TV-like release schedule. Apple is fond of introducing series with a few episodes, then releasing one a week. Disney favors a one-at-a-time, tune-in-next-week pattern for its tentpole Marvel and Star Wars series. Even Amazon, which once mirrored Netflix in dropping its seasons all at once, went with a weekly schedule for its mithril-plated Tolkien series, "The Lord of the Rings: The Rings of Power."

There's a certain school of TV fan and critic — call them the episodicists — who will hail these changes as proof that the old ways are the right ways. TV needs tightly constructed individual episodes, goes the argument, and the audience craves the communal experience of tuning in at the same Bat-time to the same Bat-channel (or -platform).

I think something more nuanced is going on: Decision by decision, TV is collectively feeling its way toward figuring out which viewing experience works best for which kind of series. As the critic Kathryn VanArendonk wrote in Vulture, a well-crafted TV season is not simply "a ten-hour movie." But neither does every show in 2023 need to be structured and experienced like "Dragnet."

Some shows benefit from the giddy feeling of unwrapping a new present every week. "Game of Thrones," though its episodes only occasionally focused on single stories, might not have become as big a phenomenon without the weekly hype cycle.

On the other hand, FX on Hulu's "The Bear," whose entire season dropped at once last summer, prompted more buzz and discourse than many of FX's weekly series. It may be that this kind of dramedy — character-based, relatively short, not driven by big plot detonations — is better taken in one gulp.

Elsewhere in streaming, TV-like practices seem to be returning out of the sheer dollars-and-cents realization that the business is not limitless.

Netflix has gone from saving canceled shows to axing series like "1899" after a single season, like an old-time broadcaster with an itchy trigger finger. As for streaming as an infinite video library — well, it's looking more finite, with titles like "Westworld" pulled from circulation to cut costs, in a return to the pre-VCR days when a canceled show simply vanished into memory.

For now, at least, streaming and TV seem to be meeting in a still-coalescing middle, with elements of media's future and its past. The talent is still flowing to streaming; the director Rian Johnson ("Knives Out"), for instance, is about to premiere his first series, "Poker Face," on Peacock. But rather than a mind-melting narrative experiment in the mold of his movie "Looper," it is a case-of-the-week detective story, à la NBC in the 1970s.

As for Netflix, amid recent signs that it can't keep growing explosively forever, it has introduced something that used to be anathema to it: a subscription tier with ads. A decade ago, Netflix defined our current conception of streaming. Its next phase may involve turning itself into TV.

Scary 'M3gan' Exceeds Expectations

The $12 million PG-13 horror film trailed only the 'Avatar' sequel at the box office.

By BROOKS BARNES

Hollywood has a new scream queen.

"M3gan," a campy PG-13 horror movie starring a mean-girl robot (insert snotty hair flip here), sold an estimated $30.2 million in tickets in the United States and Canada over the weekend, or about 30 percent more than box office analysts had predicted. Universal Pictures, which released the $12 million horror-comedy, has already fast-tracked a sequel.

Reviews were 94 percent positive, according to Rotten Tomatoes. That level of critical response alone made "M3gan" something of a triumph: When it comes to well-worn movie concepts, the killer doll is right up there with "mediocre guy attracts supermodel." Coming up with a fresh take is almost impossible. (Chucky is 35 years old and has been the focus of eight movies and a TV series. The demonic Annabelle has headlined three films since 2014.)

Horror movies continue to do well in theaters — in contrast to sophisticated dramas, which have struggled — because they are fun to experience in the dark with strangers. "Young moviegoers want to see them with their friends, on the big screen, for the maximum thrill," said David A. Gross, a film consultant who publishes a newsletter on box office numbers. About 44 percent of the audience for "M3gan" was under 24, according to Universal.

"M3gan" is also notable because it reflects the manner in which comedy has evolved as a theatrical offering. Traditional comedies have struggled to sell tickets. But comedy has become a bigger part of other types of movies, with Marvel superhero spectacles as the obvious example. In some ways, "M3gan" is a comedy disguised as a horror film; the four-foot robot doll humorously breaks into song, exhibits weird dance moves and wryly tosses shade — when she's not murdering.

The director-writer-producer James Wan, known for "The Conjuring," "Aquaman" and "Saw" franchises, came up with the idea for "M3gan," which stands for Model 3 Generative Android. (It is pronounced Megan.) Warner Bros. passed, in part because it already has Annabelle, prompting Wan to take the idea to the megaproducer Jason Blum, whose Blumhouse Productions is affiliated with Universal. Gerard Johnstone, a relative newcomer, directed "M3gan" from a screenplay by Akela Cooper (known for "Luke Cage" and "Malignant").

Universal backed "M3gan" with an inventive marketing campaign. TikTok figured prominently into the studio's efforts, as did Twitter, where an account ostensibly controlled by M3gan began sparring with one run by Chucky.

GEOFFREY SHORT/UNIVERSAL PICTURES

In its first weekend, "M3gan" brought in 30 percent more than film industry analysts had predicted.

Hollywood is hoping that 2023 will mark a return to box office form after three pandemic-battered years. Cinemas in North America sold roughly $7.5 billion in tickets last year, a 34 percent decrease from 2019, according to EntTelligence, a research firm. That total equated to about 626 million tickets. Before the coronavirus pandemic, Hollywood was selling about 1.2 billion tickets annually in the United States and Canada.

Worldwide ticket sales for 2022 totaled roughly $26 billion, according to Gower Street Analytics, down about 35 percent from 2019.

Boding well for a box office recovery, "Avatar: The Way of Water" (Disney), directed by James Cameron, has overcome a slower-than-expected start and a series of severe winter storms in the United States and Canada to collect an estimated $1.7 billion worldwide. The ultraexpensive "Way of Water" should cross the $2 billion mark, analysts say, making it one of the five best-selling movies of all time and justifying Disney's plans for three more "Avatar" installments.

Over the weekend, "The Way of Water" took in about $45 million at domestic theaters, easily enough for first place. "M3gan" was second, followed by the animated "Puss in Boots: The Last Wish" (Universal), which had $13.1 million in ticket sales, for a three-week domestic total of $88 million ($130.8 worldwide).

Dramas continue to struggle, however.

Damien Chazelle's star-studded "Babylon" (Paramount), an extreme take on the hedonism of early Hollywood, failed to gain traction in its third weekend in theaters, selling just $1.5 million in tickets, for a new total of $13.5 million. It cost nearly $80 million to make, not including marketing.

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Racing to Protect Books From Climate Change

Archivists and conservators are scrambling for ways to safeguard their collections.

By EMMETT LINDNER

At Tulane University, 1.5 million books and manuscripts were drenched when Hurricane Katrina swept through Louisiana in 2005. In 2018, the University of California, Los Angeles was in talks to receive a donor's collection when it was destroyed in the Woolsey fire. And the following year, the Getty fire sent up thick, black plumes of smoke that threatened to filter into U.C.L.A.'s libraries and damage the fragile materials housed inside.

"We were lucky" that day, recalled Chela Metzger, the school's head of preservation and conservation. Acidic smoke and greasy soot are grave concerns for any conservator, but in this case, the winds held them at bay.

But luck is not a safeguard against the growing threat posed by extreme weather events such as wildfires and floods to book collections, even collections housed in professional facilities. As those events have become more common as a result of climate change, preservationists across the United States know they must adapt their practices to keep books and archives safe. But the solutions can raise their own set of sustainability issues.

Many experts feel they are in a race against time. A 2018 study published in the Climate Risk Management journal assessed 1,232 archival repositories in the United States and found that nearly 99 percent were "likely to be affected by at least one climate risk factor."

Both immediate and long-term strategies are needed to keep books secure in changing environments, experts say, but some threats are more insidious than wildfires or hurricanes.

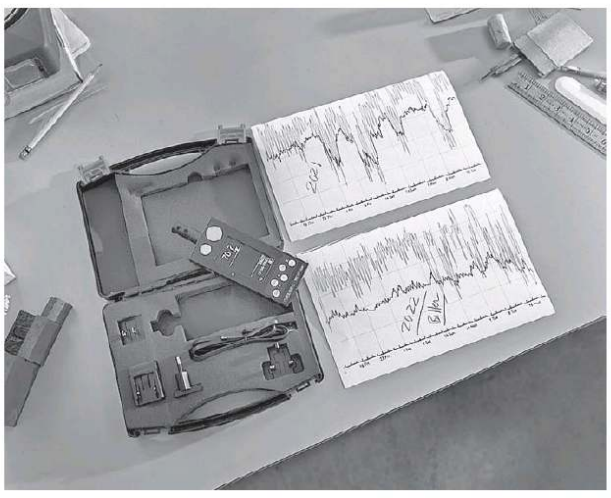
Shifts in temperature and humidity from climate change can have large consequences. Archivists and conservators in Cincinnati, for example, are worried about big temperature swings in a single day. Humidity is on the rise in Southern California, where the climate is historically dry; most preservation systems in the area aren't designed to manage precipitation.

"The higher the humidity, the higher the temperature, the quicker they will break down their organic materials," said Holly Prochaska, the interim head of the Archives and Rare Books Library at the University of Cincinnati. "Leather will wet rot. Collagen fibers in vellum will tighten and shrink."

Institutions like U.C.L.A. are developing ways to combat humidity to work in tandem with their climate-controlled stacks and collections rooms. Now, because of climate change, Metzger thinks twice before loaning out materials, which can keep history and knowledge under lock and key.

"Books gain meaning by use — use is exhibit, use is research — and there's a beauty in use," Metzger said. "If we just isolate things and keep them in these little, perfectly controlled environments with guards around them, what is their meaning anymore?"

PHOTOGRAPHS BY JESSICA PONS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



One solution is digitization — scanning pages and storing them online. The process is not only an answer to climate change; it also allows for documents to be easily accessible and shared, broadening a collection's reach. Adding documents to a server or the cloud, though, presents its own set of obstacles, both practical and environmental.

Digitization can be catalyzed by times of great distress: when war threatens the destruction of buildings that house cultural materials, for example, or when a climate becomes too harsh. What may seem easy — scanning and uploading — relies on vast amounts of servers on a large scale, and the energy used adds to overall emissions. According to a 2019 study published in The American Archivist, the process "has considerable negative environmental impacts, which in turn threaten the very organizations tasked with preserving digital content."

Preservationists are left with a choice of what holds enough value to digitize.

Once uploaded onto a server, cataloging is not seamless. Files can be mislabeled and lost in the ether, Metzger said, and the digital files still require maintenance and oversight.

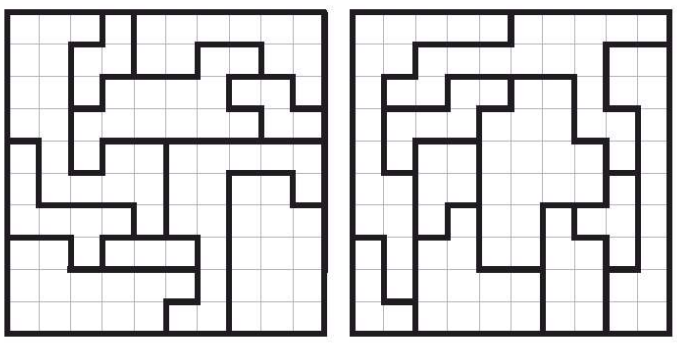
Researchers are studying ways to maintain physical books for longer and sustainably. The Image Permanence Institute, a research center based at the Rochester Institute of Technology, has analyzed more than 1.9 billion environmental data points from institutions around the world to find the best practices for keeping collections safe. The National Endowment for the Humanities recently announced a grant to aid institutions seeking to organize climate plans and reduce their environmental impact.

The threat from climate change is an ongoing problem, and there is no perfect solution as collections by design amass more and more materials.

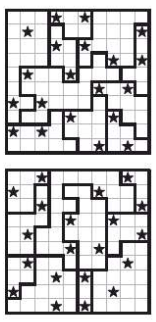
"The needs of the book are actually not that complicated," Metzger said. "The world around it has become more complicated."

Clockwise from top: Chela Metzger, head of preservation and conservation for the library at the University of California, Los Angeles, with a water-damaged book; Metzger checking the library's temperature; data showing the difference between the library's outside and inside environments.

Two Not Touch



ANSWERS TO PREVIOUS PUZZLES



Put two stars in each row, column and region of the grid. No two stars may touch, not even diagonally.

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Brain Tickler

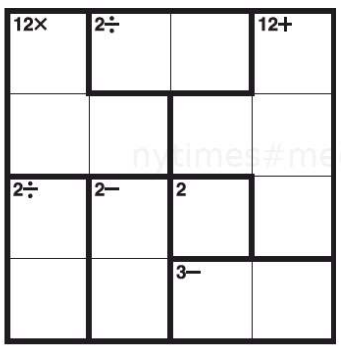
All these words have something unusual in common — except that one word has it in a different way from the others. Which one?

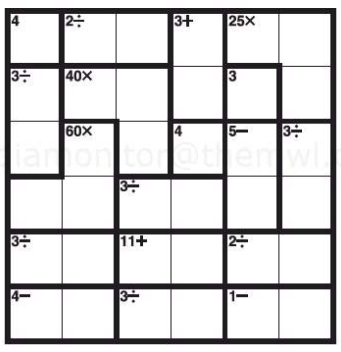
AWKWARD CRYBABY FALAFEL GARAGED INANITY MINIMAL PARAPET

PUZZLE BY WILL SHORTZ

SATURDAY'S ANSWER Solemn, lemons, melons (the last two in either order)

KenKen





ANSWERS TO PREVIOUS PUZZLES

3	2	1	4
1	4	3	2
4	1	2	3
2	3	4	1

5	4	2	1	6	3
6	2	3	5	1	4
1	5	6	4	3	2
3	1	5	2	4	6
2	6	4	3	5	1
4	3	1	6	2	5

Fill the grid with digits so as not to repeat a digit in any row or column, and so that the digits within each heavily outlined box will produce the target number shown, by using addition, subtraction, multiplication or division, as indicated in the box. A 4x4 grid will use the digits 1-4. A 6x6 grid will use 1-6.

For more games: www.nytimes.com/games

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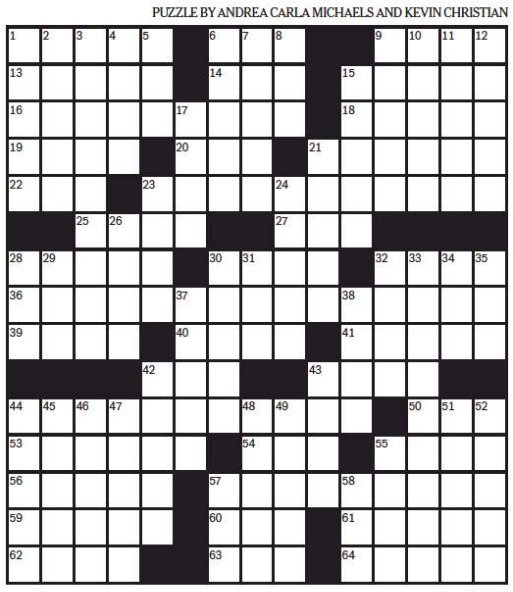
Crossword | Edited by Will Shortz

PUZZLE BY ANDREA CARLA MICHAELS AND KEVIN CHRISTIAN



1/9/23

ACROSS

1 Crooked, as a painting on the wall
6 Nine-digit ID
9 How revenge (or pizza for breakfast) is best served
13 Steeple
14 Noshed
15 Corporate rule or regulation
16 Concept that can't be criticized or questioned, metaphorically
18 Tennis's Agassi
19 Torah holders
20 Bigeye or yellowfin tuna, at a sushi bar
21 Feel great sorrow
22 Shout made with a fist pump
23 Seafood often served with picks
25 Dab, as with a paper towel
27 Chicago trains
28 Not showy
30 Language spoken in Bangkok
32 Ballet dancer's knee bend
36 Pre-employment investigation
39 "A guy walks into a bar ..." may start one
40 Caesar's words to Brutus
41 Music Mann?
42 Shoofly ___
43 Norway's biggest city
44 Cocktail named for two iconic beverage brands
50 Catch forty winks
53 Changes, as a hemline
54 22-Across, in French
55 Regarding
56 Latin for "in itself"
57 Behaved in a laid-back way
59 Connections for car wheels
60 Author Edgar Allan ___
61 In an unusual way
62 Army's football rival
63 Mr. Potato Head piece
64 Sell illegally, as tickets

DOWN

1 Test for purity
2 What a diagonal line represents on a bowling scoresheet
3 Relaxes
4 Commits a fumble
5 Small, to a Scot
6 Borat creator ___ Baron Cohen
7 Showing no emotion
8 Either "N" in NY, NY
9 Jaded doubter
10 More ancient
11 Stage in a butterfly's development
12 Socially inept sort
15 Poets of yore
17 It's tossed toward a bull's-eye
21 Frozen
23 Viet ___ (armed force of the 1960s-'70s)
24 Reeves of the "Matrix" films
26 Thumbs-up on Facebook
28 Gooey lunchbox sandwich, informally
29 Language spoken in Vientiane
30 Schlepped
31 Primitive dwelling
32 TV's Dr. ___
33 San Pellegrino offering
34 "Rocks" that clink in a drink
35 ___ out a living
37 Rider's handful
38 Assignment for a lawyer
42 Removes skin from
43 "The Grapes of Wrath" figure
44 Mount Fuji's locale
45 Amazon "assistant"
46 PC command to paste
47 Ken who wrote "One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest"
48 Hot drink with marshmallows
49 Word before space or limits
51 Coral islet chain
52 Coral reef producer
55 "Highway to Hell" rock group ... or a hint to electrical switches found in 16-, 23-, 36-, 44- and 57-Across
57 Gorilla, e.g.
58 Uno + uno

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

G	O	S	H	D	A	R	N	I	T	■	■	B	E	D
O	U	T	O	F	T	O	U	C	H	■	J	A	V	A
O	N	A	P	L	A	T	T	E	R	■	E	K	E	D
S	C	R	E	A	M	■	S	T	U	N	N	E	R	S
E	E	K	■	T	I	N	■	■	■	A	N	D	Y	■
■	■	■	■	S	N	O	■	A	D	D	I	C	T	S
M	I	S	T	■	I	T	A	L	I	A	N	L	I	T
O	N	C	E	■	M	I	N	E	D	■	G	A	M	Y
S	T	A	N	D	U	P	G	U	Y	■	S	M	E	E
S	H	R	O	O	M	S	■	T	O	M	■	■	■	■
■	E	E	R	O	■	■	■	S	U	E	■	H	E	M
P	L	A	S	M	A	T	V	■	H	E	L	E	N	A
I	O	W	A	■	T	H	E	S	E	P	A	R	T	S
C	O	A	X	■	M	E	N	I	A	L	W	O	R	K
S	P	Y	■	■	S	U	N	D	R	E	S	S	E	S

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This Week on TV

A SELECTION OF SHOWS, SPECIALS AND MOVIES. BY GABE COHN

Monday

A QUIET PLACE (2018) and **US** (2019) *5 p.m. and 6:50 p.m. on FXM.* Why do families make for such rich horror fodder? Because they have complex internal dynamics? Or because family vacations can be naturally hellish? Whatever the reasons, these two modern horror blockbusters package as a nice do-it-yourself double feature. First, at 5 p.m., "A Quiet Place," from John Krasinski, which centers on a mother (Emily Blunt) and father (Krasinski) raising their children (Millicent Simmonds and Noah Jupe) in a post-apocalyptic world where sightless aliens hunt for humans by ear. Then, at 6:50 p.m., is Jordan Peele's "Us," about a mother and father (Lupita Nyong'o and Winston Duke) and their children (Shahadi Wright Joseph and Evan Alex), who are stalked by their psychotic doppelgängers while on a seaside vacation.

Tuesday

80TH GOLDEN GLOBE AWARDS *8 p.m. on NBC.* The Golden Globes return on Tuesday night after an ethics, finance and diversity scandal involving the Hollywood Foreign Press Association, the group behind the awards, led to cancellation of the 2022 telecast — and an ongoing debate about whether the Globes should exist at all. It's unclear whether Tuesday's ceremony, hosted by the comic and filmmaker Jerrod Carmichael, will be anything like the movie-awards-season bellwether the Globes have traditionally been. But the top categories include many films and shows of note: Nominees in the category for best picture, drama, are "Avatar: The Way of Water," "Elvis," "The Fabelmans," "Tár" and "Top Gun: Maverick." Nominees for best picture, musical or comedy, are "Babylon," "The Banshees of Inisherin," "Everything Everywhere All at Once," "Glass Onion: A Knives Out Mystery" and "Triangle of Sadness." And TV shows up for multiple awards include "Abbott Elementary," "House of the Dragon," "Better Call Saul" and "The Crown."

LIANE HENTSCHER/HBO

Bella Ramsey, left, and Anna Torv in "The Last of Us," a post-apocalyptic PlayStation series adapted for TV.

Wednesday

THE MENU (2022) *9 p.m. on HBO Signature.* Snootiness smells like caviar in this dark satire of fancy dining from the director Mark Mylod ("Succession"). The story centers on a young couple, Margot (Anya Taylor-Joy) and Tyler (Nicholas Hoult), dining at a luxe island restaurant run by a famous chef (Ralph Fiennes). As courses are served, the night grows ever more chaotic — and, eventually, violent. The movie is far from subtle, taking on its satire "more often with cleaver than paring knife," Jeannette Catsoulis wrote in her review for The New York Times. "Yet everyone is having such a good time, it's impossible not to join them," she added. "The movie's eye might be on haute cuisine, but its heart is pure fish and chips."

ERIC ZACHANOWICH/20TH CENTURY STUDIOS

Ralph Fiennes, center, stars in "The Menu," a dark satire of upscale dining.

Thursday

WILLIE NELSON: LIVE AT BUDOKAN *8:30 p.m. on PBS (check local listings).* This 1984 concert from Willie Nelson was filmed in Japan but, watching it, you'd be forgiven for thinking otherwise: The stage is backed by an enormous Texas flag. See Nelson perform some of his biggest songs, including "Whiskey River" and "On the Road Again," during an era that was arguably his peak.

Friday

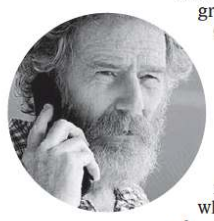
DAYS OF THUNDER (1990) *8 p.m. on AMC.* Four years after "Top Gun," the director Tony Scott released another Tom-Cruise-in-a-dangerous-vehicle movie with this drama about the escapades of a NASCAR newcomer (Cruise). You won't hear Kenny Loggins sing "Danger Zone" here, for better or worse, though you will experience a relatively early score from Hans Zimmer.

Saturday

WHITE HEAT (1949) *4:15 p.m. on TCM.* James Cagney, Virginia Mayo and Edmond O'Brien star in this classic film noir about a gangster (Cagney) who unknowingly brings an F.B.I. agent into his crew. When the movie debuted in 1949, the critic Bosley Crowther pointed to its "thermal intensity" in his review for The Times. "There is no blinking the obvious," he wrote, "the Warners have pulled all the stops in making this picture the acme of the gangster-prison film."

Sunday

YOUR HONOR *9 p.m. on Showtime.* Bryan Cranston returns as a former New Orleans judge on a downward spiral in the second season of this drama, adapted from the Israeli TV series "Kvodo." Its grim story follows Cranston's character, Michael Desiato (left), in the aftermath of his son's involvement in a hit-and-run collision that killed the son of a prominent crime-family kingpin. The new season picks up where the first left off, after a grisly accident.



THE LAST OF US *9 p.m. on HBO.* "The Last of Us," a post-apocalyptic PlayStation series, became one the most highly regarded video games of the past decade through cinematic gameplay and strong writing. Whether that makes adapting it for TV easier (the games have a first-rate story) or harder (they already play like movies, so why bother?) is an open question. Sunday's debut episode introduces the flesh-and-blood versions of Joel (Pedro Pascal), a seasoned survivor, and Ellie (Bella Ramsey), a teenager whom Joel is hired to smuggle out of a dangerous quarantine zone. The show is a creation of Neil Druckmann, who was behind the original game series, and the screenwriter Craig Mazin, who created the 2019 HBO miniseries "Chernobyl."

Dates, details and times are subject to change.

Historians Grapple With Past, Present and Future

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

divisive concepts — including what constitutes "good history" to begin with.

Controversy exploded in August, when the association's president, James H. Sweet, a leading historian of the African diaspora at the University of Wisconsin, published a column in its magazine called "Is History History?," which lamented a "trend toward presentism" and a troubling politicization of scholarship.

The study of pre-modern history, Sweet wrote, is shrinking, while scholars of all periods increasingly question whether work that doesn't focus on "contemporary social justice issues" like race, gender and capitalism really matters. "The allure of political relevance, facilitated by social and other media," he argued, has encouraged "a predictable sameness" that misses the messiness and complexity of the past.

And in the public realm, Sweet argued that too many on both left and right treat history as "an evidentiary grab bag."

"We suffer from an overabundance of history," he wrote, "not as a method of or analysis, but as anachronistic data points for the articulation of competing politics."

The column provoked a firestorm, which spread along racial and generational fault lines. Many younger historians, consigned to poorly paid adjunct work in a shrinking job market, saw the out-of-touch complaints of the privileged. And for many Black scholars, it was an attack on the inherently political traditions of Black studies.

Within days, Sweet, who is white, posted a statement calling the column "clumsy" and apologizing for causing "damage" to the profession and for "alienating some of my Black colleagues and friends," but did not retract his arguments.

The continuing fracas hung over the gathering, even if few rank-and-file historians were eager to talk about it on the record.

"I think he intended it as a prick," Earl Lewis, a former president of the Mellon Foundation, said on Thursday, after an opening-night panel of five prominent scholars organized to address the controversy. "But some folks felt it as a stab."

Sweet sat near the back of the room during the panel, "The Past, the Present and the Work of Historians." Afterward, he said that he stood by both his column and his apology. But if he had to do it over, he said, "I would probably tamp down my tone."

MICHELLE GUSTAFSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

From left, the historians Rashauna Johnson, Jane Kamensky and Herman Bennett at the 136th annual meeting of the American Historical Association.

Thursday's panel was short on disagreement, and long on juxtapositions and questions, including a big one: Are the traditional methodologies extolled by Sweet an effective tool of justice and truth, or are they too enmeshed in their own racist past?

Carol Symes, an associate professor of medieval studies at the University of Illinois, said that since its inception in the 19th century, the historical profession had often done "the work of injustice," bolstering empire, colonization and subjugation with "apologetics for those movements."

Rashauna Johnson, a historian of the 19th-century African diaspora at the University of Chicago, said that Black history had arisen "in response to" racist dominant narratives.

"To tell different stories, that aren't rooted in histories of anti-Blackness," she said, historians of Black people "have had to by default take up the cause of justice, and think of the cause of justice as deeply tied to the work of history."

Herman Bennett, a historian of Latin America and the African diaspora at the CUNY Graduate Center, agreed with Johnson, and also posed a question about Sweet's questions: "Why now?"

Disciplines like history, he said, have been "exclusionary," treating whole swathes of humanity as having no history. The field of Black history, he said, has had to develop techniques for recovering the stories of those who left few written records. But today, Bennet said, when the call for racial justice is reshaping the country, "these kinds of concerns, these kinds of imaginings, are suddenly questionable."

There was little reference to the widespread dismay that the field was (as a participant at another session put it) "in contraction, if not collapse." But during a lightning round of closing comments, Jane Kamensky, a historian of early America at Harvard, was blunt. "We need to talk about money," she said.

"Ford and Mellon have gotten out of the history business," she continued, referring to the two mega-foundations, which have recently ended or reduced support for graduate study and higher education generally, as part of a broader refocusing on social justice. "If the support isn't going to come from there, it certainly isn't going to come from state legislatures."

Kamensky also defended the value of "slow, patient, potentially useless" research. "We all want the vaccine," she said. "We don't want to just sit in the trenches looking at mRNA for 30 years. But if you don't spend 30 years looking at mRNA, you don't have the vaccine."

"How do we leverage the fierce urgency of now," she asked, "without being captured by it?"

Sweet offered an answer in his presidential address, titled "Slave Trading as a Corporate Criminal Conspiracy, from the Calabar Massacre to BLM, 1767–2022," in front of a standing-room crowd.

Over an hour, he traced the story of a slave-trading family from Liverpool whose 18th-century patriarch, Ambrose Lace, had cemented his dominance over rival traders by carrying out a "gangland-style" massacre of 400 people in present-day Nigeria. Lace dodged criminal charges in Britain, and over time his family whitewashed their history, in part by selectively providing documents to historians.

In 2014, the family-founded legal services firm merged with another firm to form another carrying a name using their combined initials: BLM.

"It would be hard," Sweet said, "to think of a riper target for reparations."

Sweet then turned to the debate over presentism. How to repair historical wrongs, he said, is an important present-day question. And historians should offer not answers but context, giving "as full a rendering of the past as our sources allow."

History, he said, "is a big tent." But he urged historians to "lean into the methodological approaches of our discipline." If not, he said, "we risk replacing one set of myths and lies with another."

Afterward, there was hushed chatter about "doubling down," and whether Sweet's closing invocation of the Black scholar W. E. B. DuBois was "cringey."

And there was disagreement about whether genuinely open debate was really happening — or could happen.

"People are scared to speak honestly sometimes, even what they know to be historically true, because they don't want to end up on the wrong side," Johann Neem, a historian of 19th-century education at Western Washington University, said.

Johnson, the University of Chicago scholar, sounded a cautiously optimistic note on how the controversy had been handled.

"Not to minimize what has come before," she said, "but I do think it does model something important about being able to embrace contentious, difficult conversations, in the hopes we can really figure out how to be better historians."

THEATER DIRECTORY
Your daily guide to theater

BROADWAY

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The New York Times Critic's Pick
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CLUE OF THE DAY
U.S.A.
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Friday's Response: WHO IS WILLIAM BLIGH?
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VINCENT TULLO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Clear Signal for More Diversity

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

efforts to recruit more diverse interpreters, the push for better representation is not without challenges.

That became evident in November, when Keith Wann, who is white, filed a lawsuit against the Theater Development Fund and its director, Lisa Carling, accusing them of discrimination. In the suit, Wann charged that a job offer from TDF — for theatrical interpreting for "The Lion King" on Broadway — had been retracted because of his race. A spokesperson for TDF, a nonprofit organization focused on making theater more affordable and accessible, declined to comment. The show, which has a racially mixed cast, draws on African imagery.

Some deaf people took to social media when news of the lawsuit (which was eventually settled) broke, calling for more alignment along racial lines between productions and those providing interpreting services.

"The interpreting field itself is very white-dominated," said Kailyn Aaron-Lozano, who has worked as a DASL for "My Onliness" at the New Ohio Theater and "Sweeney Todd" at IRT Theater, speaking through an interpreter.

Aaron-Lozano, who is Deaf and Afro-Latina, explained that having theatrical interpreters and DASLs who are BIPOC (an acronym that stands for Black, Indigenous and people of color) can have a big impact on the audiences of the productions that focus on those groups. "We are screaming for more BIPOC individuals to be in these positions," she said. "There are not enough BIPOC interpreters who can fit the roles — and to better understand those nuances and those cultural pieces."

Jina Porter, a hearing theatrical interpreter and a person of color, said that when there is a mismatch between the interpreting team and what is happening onstage, it can be jarring for deaf viewers. "I feel like you should look at the team and then look at the show and feel like they would all kind of be in the same place together," she said.

Porter said that ensuring more diversity in theatrical interpreting is also a matter of providing equal access and opportunity. "That's just the way the world should be," she said.

Patrice Creamer, a Black and Deaf theater artist who also works as a DASL, says that not every show requires a perfect racial match of actors and those making the show accessible. (She is currently a DASL for "The Lion King" but was not named in Wann's lawsuit.)

But having that alignment, Creamer said through an interpreter, can help the viewer form a more immediate connection with a show. That was the case, she added, with her work in the 2000 Broadway revival of "Jesus Christ Superstar," where she interpreted for the role of Mary Magdalene, played by Maya Days, who is Black.

"I played that character so that the Deaf audience could really take everything in with their eyes," she said, "since their focus

Zavier Sabio, hosting an ASL Slam at the Bowery Theater. Many deaf people seek racial alignment of the interpreters onstage when ASL services are provided for theaters.

'I really wanted to present this story, as well as the interpretation, through a Black lens.'

ZAVIER SABIO
CO-DIRECTOR OF ARTISTIC SIGN LANGUAGE FOR 'A SOLDIER'S PLAY'

isn't as much on what is happening on the stage, but on what's happening with the interpreter."

Having deaf people whose first language is ASL working in artistic sign language direction brings a whole other perspective — a deaf one — to a production, Michelle Banks, a Black actress, director and writer who is Deaf, said through an interpreter. DASLs can also have a say in hiring, and can choose interpreters who are a better fit for the characters, the culture represented and the chosen signing style, Banks added.

Banks has served as a DASL on shows including Camille A. Brown's Broadway revival of "For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide/When the Rainbow Is Enuf," which starred Alexandria Wailes, a deaf and mixed race actress, and incorporated ASL into the fabric of the show.

"I worked with Deaf actors, but I also worked with hearing actors," Banks said of "For Colored Girls." "So it's not just Deaf culture that I brought to the production, but also the Black Deaf culture. And I did that with signing that showed that specific culture that is specific to the Black Deaf community."

She described one scene, for example, in which Wailes signs in Black American Sign Language, or BASL, which relies in a unique way on body language and rhythm. Onstage, Wailes's signing became almost sensual, she said. "It was totally different from everyday conversational ASL."

"It became a lot more emotive," Banks added. "There was a lot more feeling in that."

Sabio, who also incorporated BASL in the interpreting for "A Soldier's Play," said that for authenticity, he also researched and used signs from the historical period in which the play is set.

Monique Holt, a professor in the theater and dance program at Gallaudet University in Washington, who also works as a director, actor and DASL, said that although more diversity exists in theater these days, there are not enough interpreters from diverse backgrounds — especially those who, like her, are Asian and Deaf.

Offering more training opportunities and scholarships for those hoping to have a career in the field could make a difference, added Holt, who also mentors people interested in becoming artistic directors for sign language.

Banks believes that theatrical interpreters can also be more thoughtful when booking interpreting roles and "really do some self-assessment: Am I the right person for this role? Am I the right interpreter for this job?"

Theaters that provide interpreting should be part of the solution, too, Creamer said, adding that some of them tend to rely on a narrow group of established interpreters who are predominantly white. "They don't have people of color on their list," she said. "And there are excuses: 'We can't find them. We don't know where they are.' But how hard are those people really looking?"

For Prince Harry's Book, Chaos and Brisk Sales

Leaks have made the process tricky for the publisher, but have also driven early interest.

By ALEXANDRA ALTER and ELIZABETH A. HARRIS

The details streaming from leaks and interview teasers in advance of Prince Harry's memoir, "Spare," have been sensational, even explosive. News organizations around the world have covered them breathlessly.

There's Harry's description of his brother, William, knocking him to the floor during a fight, and Harry's admission that he killed 25 people in Afghanistan. There's also his claim that William and his wife, Kate, encouraged him to dress up as a Nazi, and his recollection of losing his virginity to an older woman in a field behind a bar.

A tell-all by a member of the British royal family was bound to be a nightmare to manage. Big books, widely anticipated books, will often leak, despite publishers' best attempts to keep the process tightly orchestrated. But the contents of Harry's memoir have been excavated to such a degree that it has raised the question: Will readers still be curious enough to buy the book?

So far, it looks as if the answer is yes. The media frenzy seems to be driving interest in the memoir, which is due out on Tuesday. "Spare" held the No. 1 spot on Amazon in the United States and Britain on Friday, as well as at Barnes & Noble. Booksellers and distributors said that preorders are enormous and growing with the avalanche of news media coverage.

Still, the extraordinary volume of leaks highlighted the challenges, and perhaps the impossibility, of choreographing the release of what may be the most anticipated and divisive celebrity memoir of all time.

Many of the memoir's eye-popping revelations have already spilled in leaks, and some of the most dramatic moments from the interviews Harry gave promoting the book have circulated online as teasers. This was all preceded by a six-part Netflix documentary, "Harry & Meghan," which ran in December, and where Harry made incendiary accusations against his family, including a claim that his brother's communications aides planted negative stories about his wife, Meghan Markle, in the London tabloids.

Despite the risk that blanket coverage could lead to Harry and Meghan fatigue, many booksellers expect the memoir to be an unmitigated success. Random House has said it is printing 2.5 million hardcover copies for North America alone. Ingram, the book wholesaler, has 90,000 copies in its warehouses to restock stores that run out. ReaderLink, which distributes books to chain stores like Target and Walmart, said it had ordered about 300,000 copies. Barnes & Noble has also ordered hundreds of thousands of copies.

James Daunt, who heads Barnes & Noble and the British bookstore chain Waterstones, said that even the negative leaks have been driving up customer interest in "Spare," and that he expected to see "the most extraordinary" first-day and first-week sales.

After The Guardian obtained a copy of the book and revealed some of its biggest bombshells, reservations for in-store purchases of the book shot up in Britain, he said.

"This one has really whipped up a level of press hysteria that I really struggle to think of one that's comparable," Daunt said. "All it does is build up this great excitement, which gets people into bookstores."

Ever since Penguin Random House announced in 2021 that it had acquired a memoir by Harry — who stunned the world when he and his wife announced they were parting ways with the royal family — the book's content has been the subject of intense speculation in the publishing world, in the British tabloids and among royal watchers.

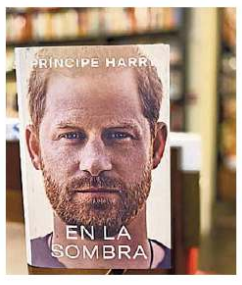
Publishers often guard against leaks with strict embargoes, in some cases requiring anyone who works on the book, including typesetters and copy editors, to sign nondisclosure agreements. Retailers are often required to sign an affidavit agreeing to store books in a monitored, locked and secure area if they get copies before the on-sale date. Some publishing executives even choose not to send highly anticipated books to airport bookstores because they tend to pay less attention to embargoes.

Matt Latimer, a founder of the literary agency Javelin, which has handled many books by high-profile politicians, said he had never seen an embargoed book leak from within a publishing house or printing plant. It's in the days before publication, when the books have to be put on trucks and shipped to stores, that the revelations start.

"I call this the danger zone," Latimer said. "The week or two before publication, there is almost always a leak."

A simultaneous international release complicates this delicate process further. "Spare" will be released in 16 languages at the same time, multiplying opportunities for leaks: In Spain, the book accidentally went on sale early on Thursday.

Publishing executives say that leaks can



Prince Harry's memoir, "Spare," at a bookstore in Barcelona last week. In Spain, the book accidentally went on sale before the official release date.

be beneficial if they drive the right kind of media coverage, and drum up interest in the book. During the era of President Trump, some of the most explosive information in tell-all books by journalists and former administration officials often leaked out and dominated cable news coverage for days, which catapulted titles to the top of the best-seller lists. But in some cases, books that are built around news nuggets can experience sales that nosedive after the news cycle is exhausted and the media has moved on.

It's too soon to say whether the overall sales trajectory of Harry's memoir will be affected by the steady drip of revelations. Many readers will buy the book for an intimate view of Prince Harry's life from his perspective, not just for bomblets of news. Harry has partnered with a highly regarded ghostwriter, J. R. Moehringer, and a cascade of articles does not offer the same narrative journey as a well-crafted book. And his story, while ripe for tabloid fodder, also deals with universal themes like race, class, and the sometimes tortured relationships between brothers or between fathers and sons. The book's title refers to a phrase that the current King Charles III is reported to have used to refer to Harry, his second son, as his "spare," or backup heir, since he had already secured an heir in Harry's older brother.

"It's ridiculous and it's fun, but it's also clearly going to be an interesting book that's going to keep on selling and it's going to keep on being part of the conversation," said Daunt, the chief executive of Barnes & Noble.

"We're making a bet that this book has got legs," he said. "It's not going to be a flash in the pan."

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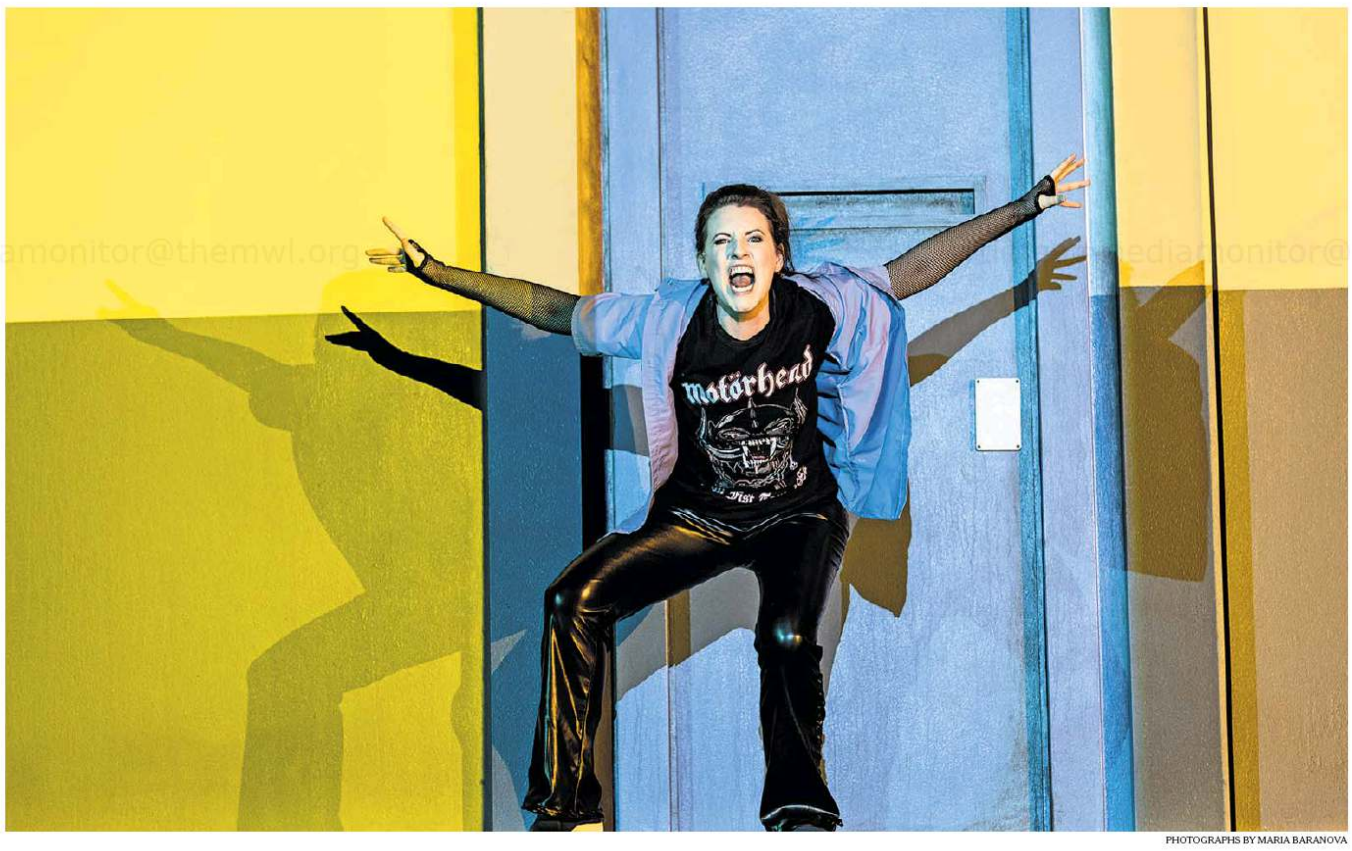
ZACHARY WOOLFE | CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

Bold, Inviting and Back in Full Force

The Prototype festival's lineup includes a tale that looks well into a distant future.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARIA BARANOVA

A CRY IN THE DARK, gentle yet penetrating.

At some moment in time immemorial, emerging from some creature, that sound must have been made: A voice was being used to make drama, and — eons before 16th-century Italy — opera was truly born.

So it feels like a connection to the very roots of the art form when "[morning//mourning]," Gelsey Bell's wonderful, uncategorizable guide to what might unfold on Earth in the millions and billions of years after human history, begins with exactly such a gentle, penetrating cry in the dark; a slippery hum from singers, the barest shuffle of clapping, then lights.

Presented by the bold, invaluable Prototype festival of new music-theater at HERE Arts Center in SoHo, "[morning//mourning]" is an intimate storytelling ritual, a kind of campfire tale that offers a look far beyond the future as we generally perceive it.

Dressed in commune-style thrift-store pattern clashes on a barely adorned cork stage in front of just over 100 people, Bell and four other performers sing and play modest instruments and objects including drizzles of water and marbles swirling in bowls; simple synthesizers; a hand-held Celtic harp and a bowed wooden daxophone.

The group doesn't ever make clear the catastrophe that has wiped out human existence. ("Within the first few hours," we are told for a start, "millions of dogs have peed in places they'd rather not.") But in song and speech, Bell, Ashley Pérez Flanagan, Justin Hicks, Aviva Jaye and Paul Pinto describe — poetically, prosaically, funnily, heartbreakingly — the stages of rewilding, decomposition and evolution to come.

Obviously ominous but ultimately sly and sweet, wistful and winsome and altogether lovable, the 90-minute show, directed by Tara Ahmadinejad, recalls the wordless collective solemnity of Meredith Monk, the enigmatic texts and yarn-spinning ability of Laurie Anderson, and the folksy keening, shading into luminous pop sweetness, of the Duncan Sheik of "Spring Awakening." Bell is also an experienced performer in Robert Ashley's pathbreaking operas, to which she nods here with the use of wry, matter-of-fact speaking (sometimes in airily musical cadences) over gently woozy drones.

Prototype began presenting small-scale but high-impact, carefully considered and often exciting work 10 years ago. Organized by Beth Morrison Projects and HERE, it filled a niche for experimental yet professionally produced opera, much of it staged in intimate black-box-style venues, and its record of accomplishment has grown distinguished: Two Prototype shows, Du Yun and Royce Vavrek's "Angel's Bone" and Ellen Reid and Roxie Perkins's "Prism," have won the Pulitzer Prize for Music.

This year's iteration, which runs through Jan. 15, marks a joyous return to theaters for the festival, which was almost entirely virtual in 2021 and was canceled last year because of the Omicron wave. The loss of Prototype 2022 felt especially sharp because classical music and its stylistic descendants were otherwise largely spared in an outbreak that wreaked more havoc on dance and theater.

The work Prototype has presented has ranged widely, but over a decade a kind of house style (or at least stereotype) has emerged. The subject matter leans toward the politically charged and emotionally brutal, extreme even by operatic standards of suffering. Electronics are often in the mix, as is amplification even in tiny theaters, and the music tends rock-inflected and intense — and often just plain loud, with a shouting-in-your-face urgency that can be thrilling from some artists, wearying from others.

Despite a couple of crashing moments, though, the three premieres over this year's first weekend kept the volume fairly moderate. (Silvana Estrada's "Marchita" and David Lang's "note to a friend" open later this week, and the animated opera "Undine" is streaming.)

Even without (too much) screaming, the intensity rarely flags in Emma O'Halloran's two-hour double bill about the down and out and desperate for connection, "Trade/Mary Motorhead," at Abrons Arts Center on the Lower East Side.

Directed by Tom Creed, both operas offer virtuosic showcases for daring singing actors. "Mary Motorhead" is a monodrama featuring the vivid, charismatic Naomi Louisa O'Connell in the raconteur title role of a woman in prison for killing her husband. In "Trade," set in a hotel room where two men — one older, one younger — are meeting for sex, the Broadway veteran Marc Kudisch and the tenor Kyle Bielfield are fiercely committed as they toggle between aggression and tenderness.

With Elaine Kelly conducting the ensemble NOVUS NY, O'Halloran shapes lucid, communicative vocal lines; the text always sings out. "Mary Motorhead" finds its protagonist sometimes angry, sometimes exhausted; "Trade" has the relentlessly, effectively weepy emotionalism of Kevin Puts's "The Hours," which recently played at the Metropolitan Opera, but is more affecting without the Met work's overblown trappings.

O'Halloran rides these stories' waves of feeling with some squealing electric guitar riffs, but Du Yun's "In Our Daughter's Eyes" — a collaboration with the librettist and director Michael Joseph McQuilken and the baritone Nathan Gunn at Baruch Performing Arts Center in Kips Bay — has more of the chamber-metal spirit that is a Prototype trademark.

Structured as a series of diary entries written by an expectant father who struggles to avoid falling off the wagon after learning that his unborn child has catastrophic health problems, the work (and Maruti Evans's set) has a naturalistic core but also dreamlike flights. Gunn, once a hunky star in Mozart and Britten, is now in his early 50s and the physical and temperamental embodiment of the earnest American dad. He's masculinity incarnate, in all its confidence and anxieties.

The score is intriguingly varied and eccentric: sometimes spare yet warm, as in a clever passage bringing together cello and muted trumpet; sometimes noirish Badalamenti-style cool vamping; sometimes chilly instrumental squiggles and shards; and sometimes exploding in raucous energy.

The more blaringly rock passages have much in common with "Black Lodge," McQuilken's recent, wailing collaboration with the composer David T. Little, which premiered in Philadelphia a few months ago. As in that piece, the music here is rather more interesting than the text, which could use a little more subtlety. And the 75-minute length is palpable in a one-man show; "Mary Motorhead," by comparison, lasts a compact 30.

Despite a bit of lag toward the end, "[morning//mourning]" felt considerably tighter, without losing its charmingly patient way of unfolding. One of its most memorable scenes is a wittily nostalgic look back at humans and their habits, once the Anthropocene has been left far behind: "I liked their sustaining fealty to two-dimensional imagery in rectangle frames," one line goes.

The quiet climax of the piece is a song that relishes the moral that "nothing lasts forever." Climate change is the work's unspoken context, of course, and Bell offers a considerably more accepting (indeed, Zenly optimistic) vision of its deadly consequences than the current liberal consensus — something closer to that early-pandemic fantasy that "nature is healing." Disaster is a fait accompli, Bell seems to be saying, so why not embrace what's to come?

But is the piece's implication that control over our destiny is an illusion and resistance is (at best) futile complicit in climate denialism? I'm not sure, and that question is why "[morning//mourning]" left me smiling yet unsettled. And wanting to hear it again: Bring out a recording, please.

Top, Naomi Louisa O'Connell in "Mary Motorhead," a monodrama. Above left, Nathan Gunn in "In Our Daughter's Eyes." Above right, from left: Justin Hicks, Gelsey Bell, Ashley Pérez Flanagan and Paul Pinto in the hard-to-categorize "[morning//mourning]."

Prototype
The festival runs through Sunday at various locations; prototypefestival.org.

Frick Acquires an Unusual Italian Renaissance Portrait

With its direct gaze, the work is 'a very big deal' in the way it depicts a woman from that time period.

By SARAH BAHR

From a gilded frame, a red-haired woman eyes the viewer warily. Her gaze is steely, direct and somewhat confrontational.

The painting, "Portrait of a Woman" (circa 1575) by the Italian Renaissance master Giovanni Battista Moroni, was a centerpiece of a 2019 exhibition of his work at the Frick Collection, "Moroni: The Riches of Renaissance Portraiture." Now it will become the first painted portrait of a woman from the Italian Renaissance to join its permanent collection, the New York museum announced on Friday.

"We have two Titians, we have a Tintoretto, we have a Bronzino — and they're all of men," Aimee Ng, a curator and co-organizer the 2019 exhibition, said of the paintings currently in the collection. "So it's a very big deal."

It will go on display on Thursday at the Frick Madison, the museum's temporary home on Madison Avenue while its Gilded Age mansion on Fifth Avenue undergoes renovations.

The painting, an anomaly among Renaissance portraits of women, which tended to promote a more modest and restrained image, is the most significant Renaissance painting acquired in more than a half-century by the Frick, which is known for its old master paintings and European fine and decorative arts, Ng said. It is a gift to the museum from the trust of a longtime board member, Assadour O. Tavitian, who died in 2020.

FRICK COLLECTION

Giovanni Battista Moroni's "Portrait of a Woman," from the 16th century, goes on display Thursday at the Frick Madison.

Neither the identity of the woman nor the purpose of the portrait is known, Ng said, and it does not seem to clearly fit into any of the reasons for which portraits were often made of women: betrothals, engagements or a couple's move to a new, grander house.

"The demureness of what was much more of a quote-unquote feminine expectation is sort of out the window here," she said. "Whoever is looking at her is definitely getting judged back."

Moroni, who spent most of his life working in northern Italy, where he was born between 1520 and 1524, was distinguished by his remarkably naturalistic portraits. In her review of the Frick's 2019 exhibition, The New York Times's co-chief art critic Roberta Smith wrote that Moroni "scrutinized reality with a new directness," creating work that evokes "the feeling that we are looking at real people as they existed — unidealized."

Of the approximately 125 portraits by Moroni known to exist, about 15 are portraits of women alone, according to the museum. The woman depicted here was probably aristocratic, Ng said, judging by her pink dress brocaded in silver-gilt and silver-wound thread, white neck ruff and fine jewelry.

Ng said she hoped the portrait, which is the first piece by Moroni in the Frick's permanent collection, would bring more attention to the artist, who has achieved much greater recognition in Europe than in America.

"There, he's ended up in Henry James's and George Eliot's novels, and become part of the culture," she said. "I'd love to think that by having a Moroni painting of this quality and visual impact in the Frick Collection, we can bring more of this artist into an American awareness."

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The Dolphins are in as the postseason field takes shape.
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8 TENNIS
Naomi Osaka, out since September, won't play in the Australian Open.

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PRO FOOTBALL | N.F.L. WEEK 18

A Celebration of No. 3 Hits Home

ADRIAN KRAUS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Bills players, led by Taiwan Jones, prayed before Sunday's game for safety Damar Hamlin, who is hospitalized in Cincinnati as he recovers from having cardiac arrest after a tackle last Monday.

Prayers and 'Happy Tears' Where Hamlin Grew Up

By JERÉ LONGMAN

McKEES ROCKS, Pa. — The marquee at the Parkway Theater and Film Lounge gave more prominence to a recovering local hero than to its latest movie showing on Sunday, proclaiming, "You Won Damar Keep Fighting" and urging him to "Get Well Soon."

A sign at First Baptist Church asked people to pray for Damar Hamlin, 24, and his family as he continued to recover in a Cincinnati hospital after entering cardiac arrest upon making a tackle, something witnessed by millions of viewers on "Monday Night Football."

Churchgoers and football fans communed with Hamlin in mind, as they have done for nearly a week in this distressed but tight-knit borough across the Ohio River from downtown Pittsburgh. They have cried for him, prayed for him and gained cautious hope, embracing a native son who made it to the N.F.L. with the Buffalo Bills and then kept extending his hand to others, leaving home but never losing his connection to the place where he grew up.

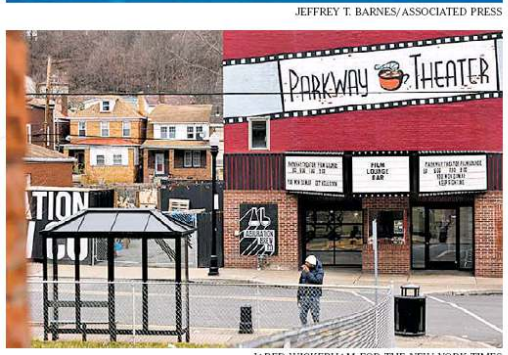
As the news about Hamlin's recovery has grown more hopeful by the day, stunned disbelief and apprehension have become "happy tears," said Michele Turner, 48, the owner of a bakery where Hamlin's mother, Nina, has been a longtime customer.

At First Baptist Church, the Rev. Jay Freudenberg said during his sermon that he had been shocked to tears upon seeing Hamlin collapse. But he also said that he was heartened not only by the televised prayers of fellow players, fans and even commentators in the following days, but also by the networks that did not cut away from them.

"Something bad happened Monday night, but something great happened Monday night," Freudenberg said. The show of prayers "didn't get cut." He added: "Nobody put it down. And this young man is on his way to recovery."

Continued on Page D7

JEFFREY T. BARNES/ASSOCIATED PRESS



JARED WICKERHAM FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

John Brown, top, making a touchdown catch in a 35-23 victory. Above, Hamlin's hometown, McKees Rocks, Pa.

For Buffalo, Joy and Healing Take 14 Seconds to Set In

By ANDREW KEH

ORCHARD PARK, N.Y. — The sight of the football fluttering through the sky and nestling into the arms of Nyheim Hines signaled the return of some normalcy to the reeling universe of the Buffalo Bills on Sunday, and the tens of thousands of people watching from the stands seemed to hold their breaths.

These fans had been seeking something, anything, to lift their collective spirit since last Monday night, when Damar Hamlin, a young Bills player, collapsed on the field during a game in Cincinnati, setting off days of worry across the football landscape.

On Sunday, as Hines bolted through an open channel amid a clutter of New England Patriots defenders, the spectators at Highmark Stadium expelled their pent-up anxieties in a unified roar, urging him down the right sideline until he returned the opening kickoff of the game 96 yards for a touchdown.

Bills fans had arrived in need of catharsis; few could have predicted it would materialize 14 seconds into the game.

Following the lead of Hines, who returned another kickoff for a 101-yard touchdown in the third quarter, the Bills (13-3) produced a 35-23 victory against the Patriots (8-9) in their first game since the Monday night meeting in Cincinnati that was cut short after Hamlin went into cardiac arrest.

Bills quarterback Josh Allen passed for 254 yards and three touchdowns — of 4, 42 and 49 yards — and the Buffalo defense intercepted Patriots quarterback Mac Jones three times.

The contest, the Bills' last of the regular season, carried playoff

Continued on Page D4

CHANGING THE NARRATIVE

The games returned, and worries about football's risks went away. Sports of The Times. Page D5.

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BRETT DAVIS/USA TODAY SPORTS, VIA REUTERS

FINDING HIS TARGET Tom Brady, center, the Buccaneers quarterback, threw 490 completions this year for an N.F.L. single-season record, but Tampa Bay still fell to the Falcons, 30-17, in a moot game.

What We Learned This Week

By DERRIK KLASSEN

This year's Week 18 was bigger than last-second playoff berths. It was a rally for Bills safety Damar Hamlin, who went into cardiac arrest on the field Monday night against the Bengals. Teams across the N.F.L. gave Hamlin their support throughout the week, from little gestures on social media to heartfelt messages from coaches and players.

This week, with the regular season coming to a close, was a reminder that it's the people who make the games worth it.

Dolphins and Jaguars stepped up in the A.F.C.

It took until the final day of the regular season, but the dust finally settled on a wild A.F.C. playoff race. Heading into the weekend, two spots were left: the A.F.C. South division title and the third wild-card slot. The Jaguars, Titans, Dolphins, Patriots and Steelers all had chances under the right conditions.

In the wild-card race among Miami, New England and Pittsburgh, the Dolphins got some help to take the final spot. They beat the Jets, 11-6, and they needed the Patriots to lose to the Bills, who won, 35-23.

The Patriots have been steady in their struggle for offense and the Steelers ramped up at season's end. The Dolphins' record was marked by streaks caused by injuries to both quarterbacks, Tua Tagovailoa and the backup Teddy Bridgewater, leading to the rookie seventh-round pick Skylar Thompson seeing far more playing time than anyone envisioned. Still, Miami's peak was higher than the also-rans and, as the No. 7 seed, the Dolphins could be a scary opponent for the division-rival Bills in the first round.

In the A.F.C. South battle, Jacksonville beat Tennessee, 20-16, on Saturday to join Kansas City, Buffalo and Cincinnati as division winners and hosts of at least one playoff game. With the No. 4 seed, the Jaguars will face the Chargers in the playoffs' opening weekend.

For the Jaguars to get there in Year 1 of the Doug Pederson era, after the chaos wrought by the former Coach Urban Meyer, is a miracle. Pederson turned the second-year quarterback Trevor Lawrence into a legitimate star, and the defense, though inconsistent, has the talent up front to be a nuisance from time to time. They're not a Super Bowl-caliber team just yet, but to be in the dance at all has to feel like vindication.

For the wild-card round, the best part may be not who got in, but who they each have to face. All three A.F.C. games are rematches: The games between the second and seventh seeds (Bills-Dolphins) and the third and sixth seeds (Bengals-Ravens) are both divisional matchups, and both series are split 1-1 this year. The fifth-seed Chargers also get a chance at revenge against the fourth-seed Jaguars, who pulled off a Week 3 upset of Los Angeles. Those kinds of rematches in a playoff environment are ripe for some funky one-off game plans that tilt the result one way or the other.

Two of the N.F.C.'s top contenders stumbled.

Week 18 in the N.F.C. had a little of everything. There was a conference favorite crushing a division rival, another going down to the wire to hold onto the top seed, and another completely melting down and playing its worst game of the season.

Both N.F.C. East powerhouses faltered, one much more comically than the other. The Eagles held onto their top seed, but only by a smidgen, in a 22-16 win over the Giants. Philadelphia quarterback Jalen Hurts returned to the lineup from injury only to be blitzed nonstop. Without right tackle Lane Johnson to help protect Hurts, the Eagles saw the Giants' blitzes regularly get home and throw a wrench in a number of Philly's drives.

The Cowboys, on the other hand, imploded. They had a slight chance to win the N.F.C. East, needing to beat the Commanders and the Eagles to lose to the Giants. But the Cowboys couldn't even hold up their end of the bargain, losing 26-6 and settling for the fifth seed. Dak Prescott and the Dallas offense never got off the ground, and Prescott produced his worst game of the season at the worst time. Meanwhile, the Cowboys' defense let a Sam Howell-led Commanders' offense hit a number of chunk plays and move the ball consistently.

The 49ers were the division-rival crushers, easily handling a zoned-out Cardinals team, 38-13. A heavy dose of San Francisco's run game opened up throws for the rookie quarterback Brock Purdy, presenting him with plenty of favorable down-and-distance situations and a few well-designed shot plays. Getting another clean game from him has to feel good for the second-seeded 49ers, especially given how the rest of the N.F.C. contenders played.

As for the three-team race for the final wild-card spot, the Seahawks did their part toward getting into the playoffs. Heading into the night game between the Lions and Packers, the Seahawks held the seventh seed after squeezing past the Rams, 19-16, in overtime. They aren't as scary a team as they were, say, six weeks ago, but there's still the possibility of quarterback Geno Smith heating up for stretches and making some division winner play in a shootout.

Chargers paid price for playing their starters.

Once the Ravens fell to the Bengals in the afternoon, the Chargers were locked into the fifth seed in the A.F.C. and no longer had any seeding considerations in their game against the Broncos. This should have been more or less a glorified scrimmage, an opportunity for Los Angeles to rest its starters and get a good look at some role players.

But Chargers Coach Brandon Staley — who regularly holds starters out of preseason games — decided to treat this unserious affair with the importance of a playoff game. Everyone in the typical starting lineup played just about the entire game, or as much of it as they could. That included quarterback Justin Herbert, linebacker Joey Bosa and receiver Mike Williams, star players who have dealt with injuries at some point this season. Despite the starters' presence, the Chargers lost, 31-28.

Herbert took a number of shots from a fierce Broncos front four. He was unscathed, but there was no reason to let him take those hits in a meaningless game. And though Herbert was able to finish the game fairly comfortably, Staley paid the price for playing Williams and Bosa.

Williams injured his back late in the second quarter; he was able to walk to the sideline before being carted to the locker room. The Chargers' offense desperately needs Williams's jump-ball ability to stay on schedule.

The most egregious inclusion in the starting lineup was Bosa. A star pass rusher, Bosa was activated only last week after missing most of the season with a groin injury. Maybe there's an argument to be made that Bosa could have used a few reps to get back to game speed, but that acclimation isn't worth the injury risk. Like Williams, Bosa limped off the field during this game and never came back. It's not clear yet what Bosa aggravated or how much it will hurt him next week, but again, it was a risk not at all worth taking.

Around the N.F.L.

SUNDAY'S GAMES

SEAHAWKS 19, RAMS 16 (OT) True to form, the Seahawks brought it down to the wire in a game with their playoff hopes on the line. Seattle quarterback Geno Smith had a roller-coaster evening, pinging between ill-timed interceptions and beautiful downfield throws to DK Metcalf and Tyler Lockett. In the end, it was enough. Rams quarterback Baker Mayfield threw an arm punt of an interception early in overtime, setting up the Seahawks to cruise into field-goal range and take home the win.

DARRON CUMMINGS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

NO QUIT Instead of sailing to a top draft pick, Houston fought for a win, with Brandin Cooks (13) helping to beat the Colts, 32-31.

BRONCOS 31, CHARGERS 28 Though Chargers Coach Brandon Staley played all his starters in a meaningless game, they still couldn't beat a putrid Broncos roster. The Chargers even let Russell Wilson throw three touchdown passes for only the second time all season.

COMMANDERS 26, COWBOYS 6 The Cowboys started and ended the regular season with their two worst performances. Against the Commanders, quarterback Dak Prescott and the Dallas offense shrank. Prescott was uncharacteristically inaccurate and, at a certain point, started jamming in throws he normally wouldn't try. That gave the Washington offense plenty of chances. The Commanders rookie quarterback Sam Howell played admirably, showing great success on downfield throws, a specialty of his at the University of North Carolina.

EAGLES 22, GIANTS 16 The first-seeded Eagles allowed a Giants team quarterbacked by Davis Webb to stay around a bit too close for comfort. Webb was terrible, but he did avoid throwing any interceptions, which allowed the Giants' rushing attack to slow the game down and put some points up. The real issue for the Eagles came on the other side of the ball. Quarterback Jalen Hurts returned to action, but it wasn't triumphant; he showed less comfort outside the pocket than usual.

49ERS 38, CARDINALS 13 The 49ers' offense ran every which way on the Cardinals' undisciplined front. Four players earned at least five carries, and three of them had at least one run break for more than 10 yards. The David Blough-led Arizona offense stood no shot of matching the 49ers' firepower, especially not against San Francisco's fierce front seven. Blough and the backup quarterback Trace McSorley combined for three picks.

BILLS 35, PATRIOTS 23 There aren't many times two kick return touchdowns are the difference in a game, but that was the case here. Bills running back Nyheim Hines took back the opening kickoff for a score, giving the team a jolt after a long and difficult week. Hines didn't stop there, eventually returning another kickoff for 6 points in the middle of the third quarter. His second return and the extra point put the Bills up by 21-17 and were the final lead change of the game, handing the Patriots a loss that dropped them out of the playoffs.

DOLPHINS 11, JETS 6 A Week 18 game with Skylar Thompson and Joe Flacco playing quarterback, in which one of the teams has no chance to make the playoffs, went exactly like you would expect. Both offenses struggled to move the ball save for a handful of special plays here and there, like Jets receiver Garrett Wilson's 36-yard tackle-breaking extravaganza late in the second quarter. The Dolphins squeaked by in the end, though, and snagged the A.F.C.'s final wild-card berth.

FALCONS 30, BUCCANEERS 17 In terms of playoff implications, this game meant nothing. Tampa Bay quarterback Tom Brady started the game, but he eventually stepped aside and took a seat on the bench — though not until after he broke the N.F.L.'s single-season completion record. The Falcons had nothing to play for either, but they at least saw some flashes from their young players on offense. Running back Tyler Allgeier ran hard, quarterback Desmond Ridder once again improved on his previous performance, and receiver Drake London snagged a tough 50-50 ball down the field in the second half.

PANTHERS 10, SAINTS 7 Neither team could make the playoffs, and it showed. Panthers quarterback Sam Darnold struggled mightily, ending the game 5 of 15 for 43 yards, two interceptions and no touchdowns. Darnold was lucky to have the run game supporting him, as well as a defense that remained stout. The Saints' offense moved the ball efficiently until third downs, when they converted on just 4 of 13 opportunities.

STEELERS 28, BROWNS 14 There's no constant in the N.F.L. like Pittsburgh Coach Mike Tomlin finishing a season at or above .500. Sadly for the Steelers, a 9-8 record wasn't enough to get them into the playoffs this year, though Tomlin's crew still fought valiantly on Sunday. Steelers quarterback Kenny Pickett made a few inspired plays outside the pocket, though he was inconsistent overall. The Pittsburgh pass-rushing unit stepped up, sacking Browns quarterback Deshaun Watson seven times and completely derailing any chance he had at getting into a rhythm.

TEXANS 32, COLTS 31 The Texans enthusiastically threw away the

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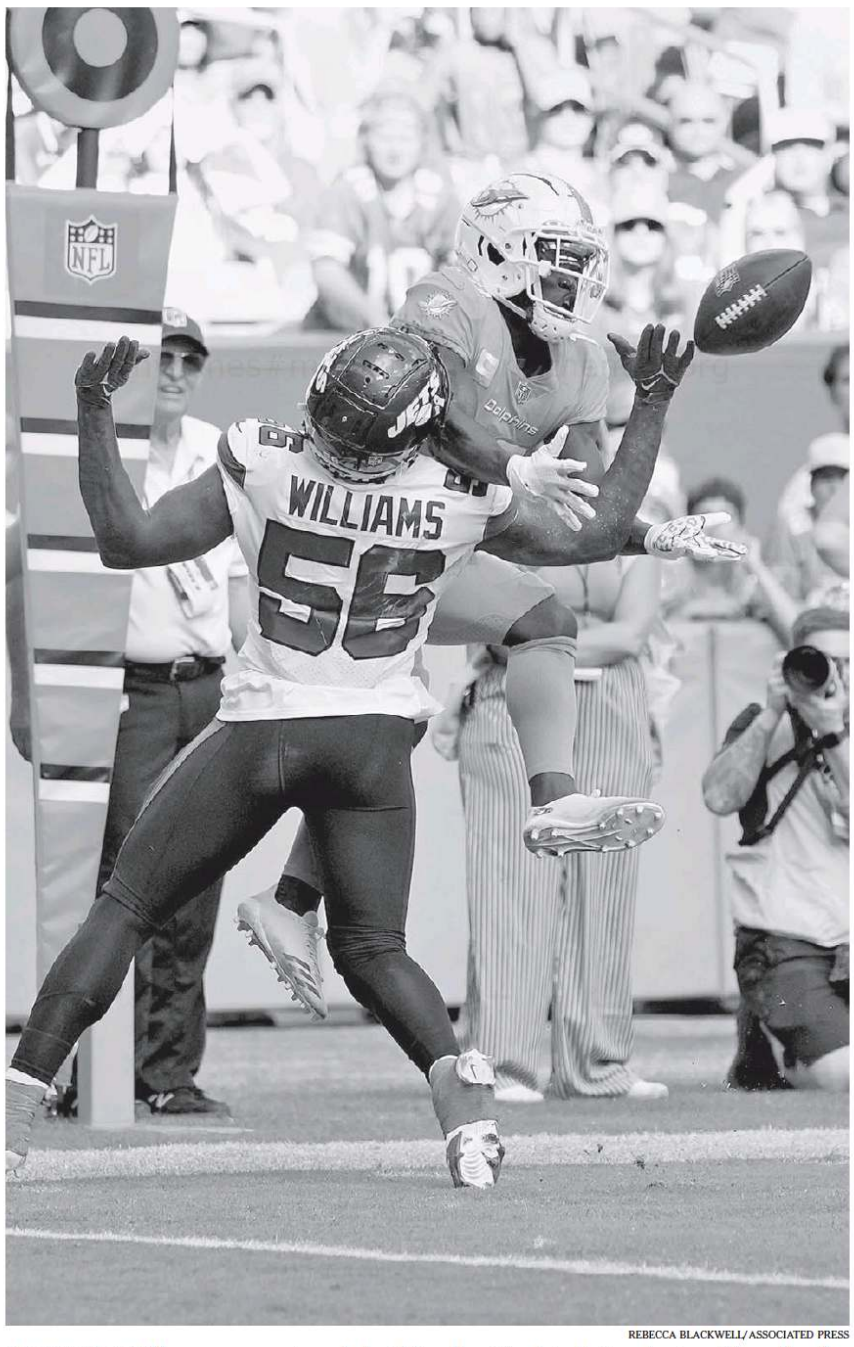


REBECCA BLACKWELL/ASSOCIATED PRESS

SQUEAKING PAST The game was a struggle, but Miami beat the Jets, 11-6, and got a wild-card berth.

BUTCH DILL/ASSOCIATED PRESS

ENDING ON A HIGH NOTE A field goal by Eddy Pineiro (4) pushed the Panthers past the Saints, 10-7.

CHARLES REX ARBOGAST/ASSOCIATED PRESS

ROOM TO RELAX Alexander Mattison and the Vikings built an early lead and beat the Bears, 29-13.

first overall pick in the 2023 draft with this win. A fumble-filled brawl between two bottom-feeders, the game was decided by two miraculous Davis Mills throws and a gutsy 2-point conversion. Mills converted on a late fourth-and-18 and launched a ball on a fourth-and-20 into the end zone for what could have been the game-tying score. The Texans didn't want overtime, though, forgoing the extra point and for the 2-point attempt, and they took the lead right then and there with 50 seconds to go.

VIKINGS 29, BEARS 13 The Bears started Nathan Peterman at quarterback, briefly gave the keys over to backup Tim Boyle, then let Peterman play again. That's about all there is to know about how lifeless and sloppy this game was. The Vikings also played only one half of real football, resting their starters after easing their way into a 16-6 lead, thanks largely to quarterback Kirk Cousins and the passing game. Most important, the Bears' loss secured them the No. 1 overall pick in the 2023 draft.

SATURDAY'S GAMES

KANSAS CITY 31, RAIDERS 13 Kansas City cruised right through Las Vegas to finish the regular season. Its front seven, led by the star defensive tackle Chris Jones, had an uncharacteristically great day against the run. To slow down Raiders running back Josh Jacobs, Kansas City loaded the box, a strategy that resulted in a lot of long down-and-distance plays for Las Vegas quarterback Jarrett Stidham. That defensive performance paired with quarterback Patrick Mahomes's usual offensive greatness made for a straightforward affair.

JAGUARS 20, TITANS 16 After quarterback Trevor Lawrence carried Jacksonville over the back half of the season, its defense paid its debt to him in this game. Lawrence had an up-and-down night — natural for a young player in his first professional playoff-ish game. But after the Jaguars' defense allowed a field goal to open the second half, it held the Titans to a punt, a turnover or a turnover on downs on five straight possessions. That stingy run included a strip sack that defensive end Josh Allen scooped up and returned for a touchdown with less than three minutes left in the fourth quarter. That score made the difference between the Jaguars hosting a playoff game or going on an early vacation.

After Monday's Halted Game, Bengals Finish With a Win

Upbeat news on Hamlin eases players' minds as Cincinnati secures a No. 3 seeding in the A.F.C.

By EMMANUEL MORGAN

CINCINNATI — The tribute outside the University of Cincinnati Medical Center started small. On Tuesday, the day after Buffalo Bills defensive back Damar Hamlin went into cardiac arrest and collapsed after a routine tackle in a nationally televised game against the Cincinnati Bengals, it included only a few signs and some lit candles.

By Friday, after a series of positive updates about Hamlin's health, the tribute had swelled. Signs spanned across much of the fencing of the hospital parking lot and balloons were fashioned into a football helmet with Hamlin's No. 3 in the center.

On Sunday, at Paycor Stadium, the Bengals' players, who had watched as medical personnel performed CPR and restored Hamlin's heartbeat on this field last week, attempted to block out those images and complete a football game. The Bengals defeated the Baltimore Ravens, 27-16, as the last regular-season games concluded.

The win assured the Bengals (12-4) of a No. 3 seeding in the A.F.C. playoffs, which guaranteed them a home playoff game, something that was jeopardized by a number of changes announced last week to account for Hamlin's collapse and its aftereffects, including the cancellation of the game last Monday, which was stopped in the first quarter after Hamlin went down.

By Sunday, though Hamlin was still in critical condition, he posted regularly on social media. And at each step, Bengals players' emotions seemed to ease as the game took on its normal contours.

As usual, fans tailgated in a sea of orange and black and cheered throughout the game. Players and coaches wore shirts honoring Hamlin and a video screen showed a picture of him before kickoff. The Bengals burst to a 17-0 lead as the Ravens' top quarterbacks, Lamar Jackson and Tyler Huntley, did not play because of injuries. The Ravens (10-7) also rested the star tight end Mark Andrews.

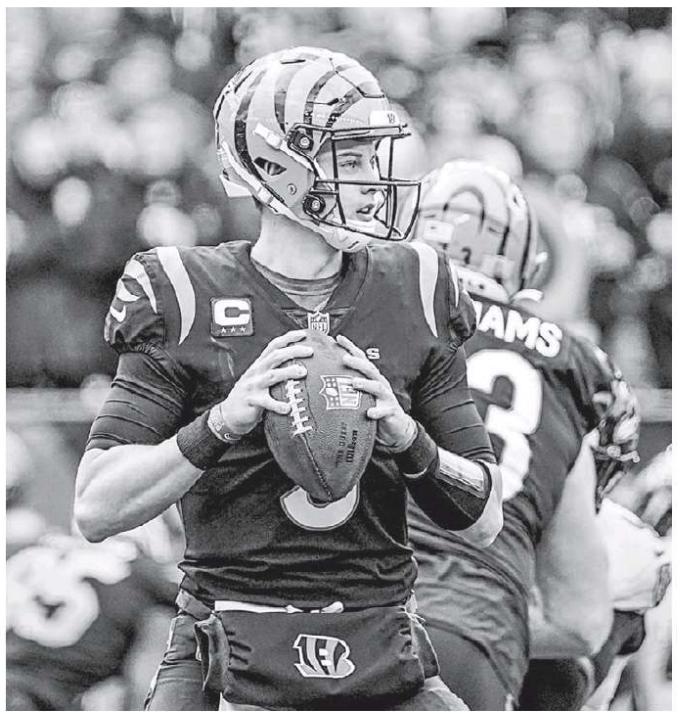
After scoring a 1-yard touchdown in the first quarter, running back Joe Mixon took a coin out of his glove and flipped it in the end zone as a jab toward the N.F.L. for announcing possible schedule changes, such as for home field assignments, because of the canceled game. The Bengals' defense celebrated after a fumble was returned for a touchdown and after two interceptions. Baltimore also lost another fumble.

The two teams even had a brief skirmish in the fourth quarter after a Bengals player ran into the Ravens' sideline after a play. Joe Burrow completed 25 of 42 passing attempts for 215 yards and a touchdown, and receiver Ja'Marr Chase caught eight passes for 86 yards and a score. It was the Bengals' eighth consecutive win, and it set up another matchup with the Ravens in the playoffs.

The game capped a tense week in Cincinnati as the nation fixed on Hamlin and his recovery.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY JOSHUA A. BICKEL/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Bengals receiver Tyler Boyd, stopped short of a touchdown, knew Damar Hamlin from growing up in the Pittsburgh area. Quarterback Joe Burrow said some players had wondered whether they should play Sunday's game.



On Wednesday, the players' first day back at practice, with Hamlin's condition still more precarious than it appears now, Coach Zac Taylor singled out Vincent Rey, a former Bengals linebacker who is now the team's chaplain, for helping the team cope. Assistant coaches made sure to let players talk about the situation in small meetings. Brian Callahan, the Bengals' offensive coordinator, said he and his staff would more closely monitor players' body language and demeanors as they returned to the field.

"I think you just try to pay more attention and just to make sure that you're not missing something," Callahan said Wednesday.

When the N.F.L. announced Tuesday that the Bills-Bengals game, one pivotal to A.F.C. playoff seeding, would not be resumed, some players questioned if they should even play Sunday.

Burrow, the star quarterback, suggested there would be "mixed votes" if a locker room poll on playing was taken. Defensive tackle D.J. Reader said that those feelings were natural, but that he and his teammates, as professional athletes, might not have the luxury of choice.

"Week to week to week, players have to deal with things off the field, on the field, and they're expected to go out there and perform," Reader said.

But as promising bits of news of Hamlin's health spread each day last week, the players' moods seemed to lighten.

On Thursday, the N.F.L. laid out scenarios for playoff seedings and home-field games to account for the two teams having played 16 games this season while the others had played 17. The changes, approved by the N.F.L. Competition Committee, were ratified by the N.F.L. owners Friday.

By then, table tennis and card games had broken out among players and hip-hop music blared from the locker room. Hamlin's improvement was especially warming for Bengals wide receiver Tee Higgins, whom Hamlin was tackling before he collapsed, and receiver Tyler Boyd, who knew Hamlin from growing up in the Pittsburgh region.

"If I wouldn't have got good news for him, there ain't no telling how I would have took this week," Boyd said Thursday. "I probably would have reacted a little differently."

Though the Bills and the Bengals defeated Kansas City earlier in the season, Kansas City on Saturday secured the No. 1 seeding and the coveted first-round playoff bye week in the A.F.C. playoffs after defeating the Las Vegas Raiders. If Buffalo and Cincinnati were to meet in the A.F.C. championship game, it would be played at a neutral site.

But after the game on Sunday, with their seeding secured, the players seemed not to care. The Bengals' locker room smelled of cigar smoke as players celebrated clinching the A.F.C. North division. They wore customary shirts and hats to commemorate the feat. Mixon said that because of the circumstances, the win felt extra special.

"I thought we did a hell of a job coming together as brothers and having them conversations and really leaning on each other through hard times," Mixon said at his locker.

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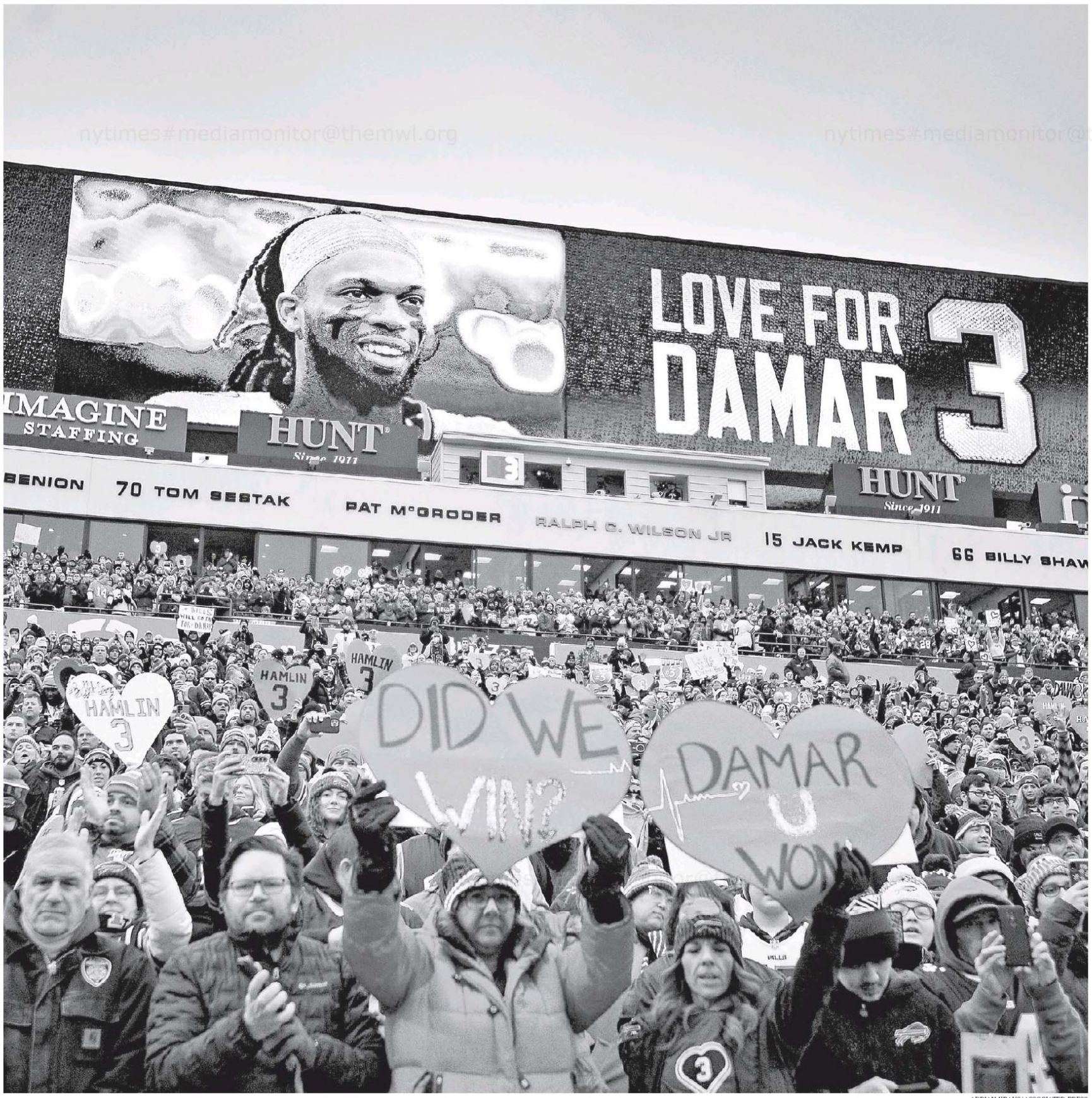
PRO FOOTBALL

For Bills Fans, Joy and Healing Take 14 Seconds to Set In



ADRIAN KRAUS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

ADRIAN KRAUS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

JOSHUA BESSEX/ASSOCIATED PRESS

A Bills crowd that had Damar Hamlin on its mind quickly found reason to celebrate, as did Nyheim Hines, right, when he opened the game with the first of his two kickoff returns for scores, left.

From Page D1

seeding implications for a team that has Super Bowl hopes. But for those on hand, its actual significance felt more layered than that.

It was a vigil for a young man still regaining his health in a hospital bed. It was a celebration of the lifesaving competence of the often unsung medical personnel who sprang to action last week to save his life. It was an emotional, hourslong communion in the cold for tens of thousands of people from this city, which has weathered all manner of heartbreaking moments over the past several months, including a mass shooting last May and a deadly blizzard last month.

"This is what we do," said Pat Danner, 85, a longtime Bills fan, who had Hamlin's No. 3 painted onto her left cheek. "We're all just trying to get together and make things better for everybody."

Reminders of Hamlin — most vividly in the form of the No. 3 that he wears on his uniform — were everywhere on Sunday.

Players wore his number on shirts and hats as they arrived at the stadium. They waved flags bearing his name and number during pregame introductions on the field. They held three fingers in the air after touchdowns, big defensive plays and any other moment in the game that felt meaningful and good.

Fans who had struggled to process the unnerving developments of the last week joined in these acts, finding in the gathering a sense of communal healing.

Catharsis for a city that has endured its share of heartbreak.

The temperatures were below freezing. The sky was gray. It was a beautiful day, they said.

They included Carolyn Markowski, 52, of Buffalo, who bought two tickets on Friday with her fiancé, Dan Keleher, 54, for $1,000. She was not a football fan, she said, but felt compelled to attend her first game.

"We saw this man go down — I'm getting emotional thinking about it now — and I've been emotional about it ever since," said Markowski, who had crafted a homemade No. 3 out of blue felt and pinned it to her coat. "I said, 'I want to go to that football game.' I never wanted to go to a football game, never in my life."

In the Bills' team store, a clerk said it was the first time he had ever seen the jersey of Hamlin, a little-known second-year player, sold amid the other inventory. The No. 3 shirts appeared on a rack behind a security rope, where another employee enforced a one-per-customer limit.

Fans in the parking lots nearby tailgated next to signs that read, "Prayers for Damar," "Love for Damar" and "We Are Damar." Another sign propped up on the bed of a pickup truck read, "Learn CPR, because you never know" — a reference to the procedures that helped save Hamlin's life.

"It's very emotional, and it should be," said Lisa Bubel, 44, a firefighter emergency medical technician from Rochester, N.Y., who was wearing Bills-themed sandals and who had made the CPR sign. "It's a heartwarming tragedy, I guess, is one way to put it. It's united everybody. And in a world where we see bad news all the time, it has been great to see people come together as human beings."

A few hours before the game, Hamlin's account posted a greeting on Twitter. His condition has been improving in increments over the past several days, and the account showed him in his hospital bed at the University of Cincinnati Medical Center.

"Nothing I Want More Than To Be Running Out That Tunnel With My Brothers," wrote Hamlin, who also posted an image of himself with his parents, Nina and Mario. "God Using Me In A Different Way Today. Tell Someone You Love Them Today!"

The emotionally charged atmosphere only grew as game time neared.

Players curled their fingers into hearts, and fans lovingly returned the gesture.

Thirteen members of the Bills' medical and training staff were recognized on the field moments before the action began. They held three fingers in the air as they received a standing ovation from the raucous crowd, which was clearly raring to go.

Then came Hines's first touchdown, and the stadium shook.

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THE FANS SPEAK

PHOTOGRAPHS BY BRENDAN BANNON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

'Damar's love and healthiness are still bringing people together.'
RINALDO FOYE, center in the Bills jacket, with his family at the Buffalo tailgate on Sunday

'My heart broke when I saw what happened to Damar. I wanted to give back a little.'
SUMMER FLORES

'This game is all about Damar Hamlin...it is his game.'
SHANE KINN

'I work at a school of Buffalo Public schools and I am a social emotional coordinator. The most emotional part for me was seeing [the students] cry. That's when I knew that was very serious. The kids at school were very happy that he was getting better.'
SAMIYAH JONES

'These young men taught us that humanity and family just come first. Those guys are family, they're away from their true families.'
AMY LEWIS, with her husband, Steve

'I think the response has been really good. It's very sad for me that it took this long to have everybody come together. I think if people could be like this all the time it would be a different world.'
MARCELLA WHITMAN

Storybook Weekend Can't Erase Memory Of Hamlin's Collapse

KURT STREETER
SPORTS OF THE TIMES

ORCHARD PARK, N.Y. — As Nyheim Hines of the Buffalo Bills cradled a kickoff on Sunday and scooted across the cold field and then down the sideline, a 96-yard touchdown on the first play of this emotion-drenched game, you could feel Highmark Stadium rumble and sway — fans letting loose of this past week's fear and hope in a stunning moment of community catharsis.

Whew. Talk about a storybook beginning.

The N.F.L. is an unalterable narrative machine. More than any other sports league in America, and probably the world, it possesses a seemingly unparalleled ability to cast off bad news, survive and even thrive. Even as the league swims in controversy, there is another human drama to draw fans in each week, causing the latest obstacle to fade away.

And in the Bills' game against the New England Patriots on Sunday, the story got only more heartwarming. Damar Hamlin, the lucky-to-be-alive player to whom this game had been dedicated, watched from his Cincinnati hospital bed, providing real-time commentary.

Via social media, we got to see him react to his teammates' emotional play.

Commenting on Hines's kick return, Hamlin, who wears No. 3, posted, "God Behind All this No Coincidence."

When fans sent him a post showing their love for him, he sent back: Love you more.

This game was powered by the deepest of emotions. It was about life and living, but also about the pain of loss. It was about Hamlin, but also about tried-and-true Buffalo, a city that over the past year has endured the pain of a racist mass shooting that killed 10 residents and a winter storm that claimed nearly 40.

Had it been less than a week since Hamlin, 24, a second-year defensive back, collided with a Cincinnati Bengals player and gone into cardiac arrest during the first quarter of a Monday night game broadcast to millions of viewers?

In that moment and over the course of the next hours, nobody knew, of course, whether Hamlin would live. All we knew was that he did not get up, that medical personnel pounded and shocked his chest in frantic attempts to revive his heart. We watched as he was carted off the field to the hospital in an ambulance.

It could easily have been a terrible, tragic event — an N.F.L. player dying in front of millions of viewers.

But Hamlin, by some miracle, survived. And then, through the week, there were answers to countless prayers: Hamlin came to. Slowly, steadily, his condition improved.

By Friday, Hamlin was appearing before his teammates by video chat from his hospital, flexing his biceps, showing a heart sign, saying, "I love you boys."

Hamlin's father, Mario, told the grieving and shocked Bills to win for his son.

As the week went on, the news had gone from tragic to something bordering sublimely wonderful. And then, as Hines bolted down the sideline on Sunday, a truth once again emerged: Narrative is the engine that runs professional football. It makes the N.F.L. the most dominant, compelling league — and the one most durably able to slough off any type of crisis.

Before kickoff, in the tailgate parking lots outside the Bills' low-slung stadium, the scene was drenched with tributes to Hamlin. Parents, grandparents and young children wore newly bought No. 3 jerseys or carried heart-shaped signs with phrases like "Hamlin Strong" written on them. A man clutched a nearly 12-foot wooden cross near a flashing sign that read, "Love for Damar."

I spoke to scores of fans who said they had barely slept that night after watching as Hamlin was carted off to a hospital. Many said they assumed the worst would happen. To say they'd been shaken undersells their experience.

But those same fans told me how their spirits soared as the week wore on and the news of Hamlin's recovery kept dripping in.

"Since that first night, the emotions have been heading in one direction — and that's up," said Bill Snow, who stood next to his daughter in a home-sewn blue-and-red shirt that professed love for No. 3.

"This game," he added, "will be our chance to come together and celebrate."

None said Hamlin's collapse made them rethink the N.F.L. and the health risks it poses for players. Not even close.

That's precisely what the N.F.L. wants to hear: nobody expressing doubt, nobody thinking twice. Hamlin's healing and the communal expression of sympathy have helped the league turn this tale for its purposes.

MITCHELL LEFF/GETTY IMAGES
Eagles defensive end Brandon Graham on Sunday before his team's game against the Giants.

The N.F.L. has an ability to cast off bad news and thrive.

His close call with death, the lifesaving aid performed by medics and his rise from hard-scrabble beginnings to community beacon are now threads woven to triumphant effect.

The league knows well how to use these stories to its benefit.

On Saturday, Roger Goodell, the N.F.L. commissioner, sent an open letter to fans.

He wrote that players and coaches from each of the 32 teams would wear "Love for Damar" T-shirts during pregame warm-ups over the weekend. (Don't be surprised to see those shirts available for sale at an N.F.L.-licensed retailer near you.)

Goodell added, "Seeing the entire N.F.L. family — teams, players, coaches and fans like you — band together was yet another reminder that football is family: human, loving and resilient."

Note that, like all players in this league, which trades on crippling violence, the terms of Hamlin's contract are not guaranteed. It took Hamlin nearly dying for the N.F.L. to step in and strike an ad hoc deal ensuring he gets every penny of his $3.6 million contract.

The human, loving, resilient N.F.L. is the same league that keeps failing to do right by retired players struggling with dementia and other woes that emerge after years of hard collisions.

It is the league of Deshaun Watson, Jon Gruden and Daniel Snyder and their more tawdry story lines.

Who remembered any of it on Sunday?

Not many.

Not now.

Not after the Bills won by a dozen points, in a game wrapped in the stirring story of Damar Hamlin's healing and Buffalo's compassionate, cathartic love.

ALEX SLITZ/GETTY IMAGES
A sign in Atlanta on Sunday before the Falcons game.

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NATE SMALLWOOD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Aaron Stubna, owner of the Parkway Theater in McKees Rocks, Pa., with his own tribute to Damar Hamlin. The Bills game was on the main screen, the Steelers-Browns game in the lounge area.

Prayers and 'Happy Tears' Where Hamlin Grew Up

From Page D1

At the Parkway Theater, Buffalo's game on Sunday against the New England Patriots was shown on the main screen, while the Pittsburgh Steelers played the Cleveland Browns on another screen in front of a drum kit and a piano in the lounge area. If only briefly, talk about football pivoted from its inherent catastrophic risks to the frivolity of playoff possibilities. The Bills beat the Patriots, 35-23.

During earlier phases of the coronavirus pandemic, while Hamlin played at the University of Pittsburgh and spectators were prohibited or restricted from attending many sporting events, his parents, relatives and friends often filled the theater's 45 seats to overflowing to watch his college games, said Aaron Stubna, 51, the theater's owner.

"After getting good news about Damar, it's almost like we're looking forward to the game," Stubna said before kickoff. "Regardless of who you root for, I think you want Buffalo to win to honor him."

Even so, some had avoided watching video of a seemingly innocuous tackle becoming a life-threatening collision. "It's too personal," said Mike Dean, 42, a local radio personality who hosted one of Hamlin's youth football camps last summer. "If it's a movie, I know the person is acting. This is real life. We see so much on TV about people killing and stuff. I didn't need that. I'm cool."

'We all have the same dream, and he fulfilled it. He's like a big brother. I see his mother all the time.'

ZAY DAVIS, who completed his senior high school football season.

Instead, Dean said, "I prayed and prayed and prayed."

Shortly after Buffalo opened Sunday's game with a stirring kickoff return for a touchdown, two families from nearby townships ducked into the main theater while celebrating a birthday. When CBS showed a photograph of Hamlin watching from his hospital room, Kellie Bonini, 46, said: "That's pretty awesome. It makes me tear up a little bit that he's sitting up, he's talking."

Asked if it was time for the N.F.L. to resume playing now that Hamlin's recovery is increasingly optimistic, Bonini, a self-described big sports fan, said: "It is a little scary. I think it needs to change a little bit. But I definitely want to see him get healthy and hopefully back to playing because that's what he wants to do."

As doctors have become more sanguine about Hamlin, there are signs that Buffalo is becoming something of a fan favorite in the playoffs. Sean Sprankle, who was celebrating his 44th birthday, said a friend had texted him, saying, "Now that Damar's good, I'm thinking of putting money on the Bills to win the Super Bowl."

On Monday, there will be a prayer vigil here for Hamlin at Sto-Rox High School. Friday was Damar Hamlin day in the schools. Students have been writing get-well cards to him, wearing blue and red ribbons in the colors of the Bills, donning Bills jerseys and those from his days at Pitt. At a basketball game on Friday night at Central Catholic High School in Pittsburgh, where Hamlin went to high school, students also wore red and blue and held aloft one of his jerseys.

McKees Rocks, known locally as the Rocks, reached its heyday in the first half of the 20th century, drawing immigrant expertise to work in the iron, steel and railroad industries. Its population peaked just above 18,000 in the 1930s, but has dwindled to fewer than 6,000 today, according to census figures. Its citizens — about half are white, mostly of Italian and Eastern European heritage; and 29 percent are Black — celebrate a mélange of traditions, but more than a quarter live in poverty.

Locals lament the influx of drugs and crime. But Hamlin has purposefully remained connected to the Rocks, which helps explain the outpouring of support for him, such as a sign on the marquee at the Roxian music venue that says, "We Love You Damar!"

His ties to home are evident in the tattoo inside his left biceps that says "Gray St.," where he lived; in his decision to attend Pitt instead of Penn State or Ohio State so his family could conveniently watch him play; in the youth football camps he holds; and in the toy drive he started in connection with his mother Nina's day care center that has grown via a GoFundMe campaign to more than $8 million.

"He never forgot us," said Archie Brinza, 50, the borough council president. "Now we're fighting for him."

On Saturday, Hamlin posted on social media that he had been overwhelmed by public support, asked for continued prayers and wrote that "when you put real love out into the world it comes back to you 3x's as much."

Local athletes are not star-struck by Hamlin; they find him approachable and knowable, said Marvin Mills, 44, the football coach at Sto-Rox High School. Before nearly every game, Sto-Rox players call or text Hamlin, and he responds with encouragement, they said. "He's the hero of the neighborhood," said Zay Davis, 19, who just completed his senior football season. "We all have the same dream, and he fulfilled it. He's like a big brother. I see his mother all the time."

Davis and friends started a clothing line called 1WayOut, and Hamlin, who also has an apparel line, called Chasing Millions, has inspired the possibilities of their enterprise, Davis said. "If he can, why not me?" Davis said.

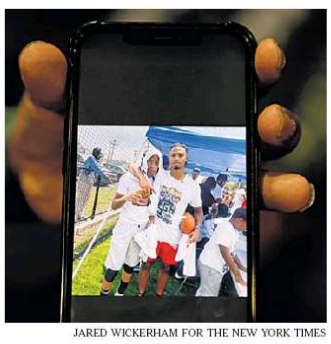
On Saturday morning at the Hard-Work Sports and Performance gym in Pittsburgh, where Hamlin trains in the off-season, Morgan Lewis, 31, a trainer, turned on the big-screen television to ESPN to get the latest medical update.

Many people "think he's OK, he's back to normal," Lewis said. "This ain't nothing normal."

Still, Lewis said he could not wait for the next time Hamlin walked through the door again in the off-season.

"It'll be," Lewis said, "like seeing a real-life angel."

JARED WICKERHAM FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



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The trainer Morgan Lewis at the Pittsburgh gym where Hamlin works out in the off-season. Above, Hamlin with Lewis's son Jashawn.

NATE SMALLWOOD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Rev. Jay Freudenberg said on Sunday at First Baptist Church that he was heartened that TV networks didn't cut away from prayers for Hamlin. Archie Brinza, left, the borough council president, said Hamlin "never forgot us."

JARED WICKERHAM FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

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COLLEGE FOOTBALL | NATIONAL CHAMPIONSHIP

Unwanted Linebacker Finds a Home at T.C.U.

By BILLY WITZ

LOS ANGELES — As the stampede into the college football transfer portal continues, there is a popular conception of how it works: Players enter their names and are immediately deluged with calls from coaches; recruiting visits are lined up; and within days every player has a new home, where the grass is greener, the playing time is abundant and the endorsement deals go cha-ching.

Johnny Hodges had a different experience.

He was unhappy at the United States Naval Academy, where he was a lacrosse player before he was a football linebacker. He left the team before the end of the 2021 season and entered the portal to . . . crickets.

Hodges sent emails to coaches. He sent emails to recruiting coordinators. Nothing.

His father, commandeering Hodges's email account while he studied for final exams, sent even more emails — to big schools, like Michigan, and smaller ones, like William & Mary, about 50 in all. Silence.

Days turned into weeks. Eventually, Northwestern, which won one game this season, was polite enough to say he wasn't good enough. Towson, which plays in the Football Championship Subdivision, offered him a scholarship, but that wasn't appealing. He told his father his football days were done.

"At the end of the day I'm a realist," Hodges said. "So when I wasn't hearing anything back and I was reaching out to every school, twice, and reaching out to F.C.S. schools and I wasn't hearing back, I was like, you know what? Maybe that's how it's supposed to be."

Texas Christian's transformation from an unranked, underestimated afterthought to lining up against the reigning champion Georgia in the College Football Playoff title game on Monday night has been fueled by a cast of unlikely heroes. And it is hard to find a more improbable one than Hodges — the player nobody else wanted who leads the Horned Frogs' defense in tackles.

Hodges, who grew up in Darnestown, Md., hadn't even been to Texas last January when he accepted a scholarship offer from the defensive coordinator Joe Gillespie, packed his sport utility vehicle to the roof and drove 20 hours with his father through a storm to Fort Worth to begin a whirlwind journey.

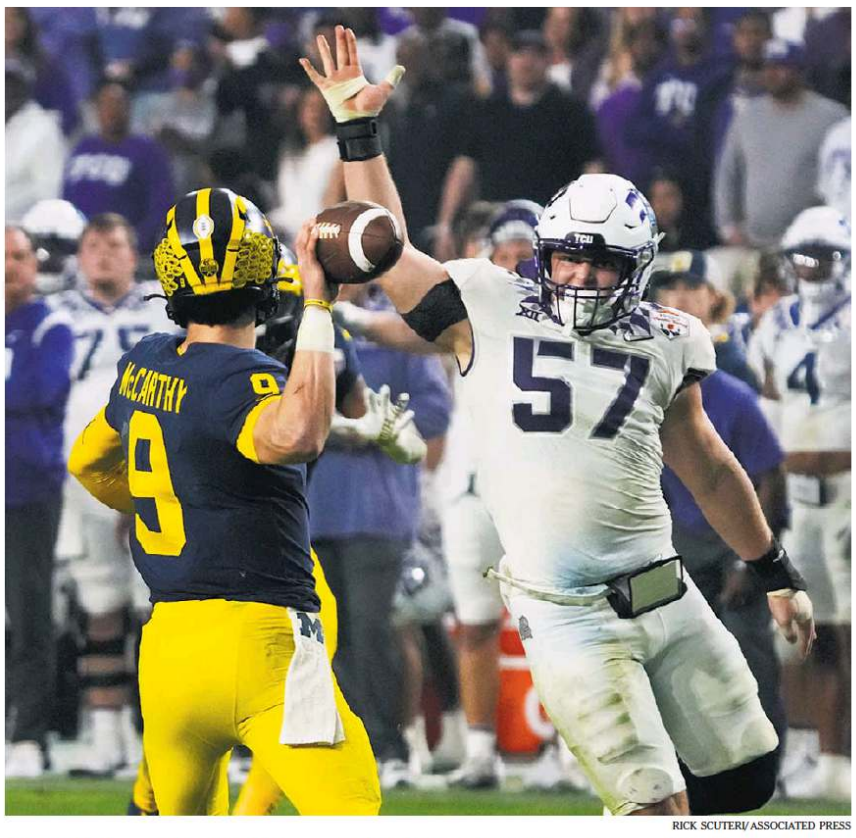
"Sometimes it doesn't feel like real life, coming from where I came from," Hodges said.

It's not as if this experience has been without some reminders of what he left behind.

Three months before Hodges left Annapolis, he signed a contract that service academies require of all students at the start of their junior year. It binds them to a five-year military commitment after graduation, but if they leave they must reimburse the government for the cost of the education, training and stipends they have received, which can be hundreds of thousands of dollars. (Students can leave in their first two years without recriminations.)

Hodges said he had hired a lawyer, as had his family, and that discussions were ongoing with the Navy, though he declined to discuss his case in detail. He said it may take many years to be resolved.

"If I stayed, it would have ruined my life for the long run," said Hodges, who said he was so miserable that he suffered from depression. "Money doesn't matter. I'm not worried about it. Everything happens for a reason. I have a really good lawyer and I'm comfortable with that."



RICK SCUTERI/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Johnny Hodges, right, played lacrosse at Navy before playing two seasons on its football team.

Taking on the Navy is consistent with Hodges's athletic path, which has seemed to sail into the headwinds of convention at every turn.

At a time when the youth sports complex encourages early specialization, Hodges and his older brother, Joe, who works as a civil engineer in the Kansas City area, dabbled in a variety of sports. At one point, Hodges was more intent on becoming the next Michael Phelps than the next Ray Lewis. In high school, while his football contemporaries were off at college camps, he was competing in other sports. When he committed to the Naval Academy at the start of his junior year, it was to play lacrosse.

> He drew zero interest in the transfer portal. Now, a title game.

And yet, there he was in the fall, an accomplished high school football player hiding in plain sight. Hodges helped Quince Orchard High win the Maryland 4A state championship in 2018. He was chosen to the Washington Post's all-Metro area first team, which included would-be college standouts like Alabama safety DeMarcco Hellams, Clemson defensive tackle Bryan Bresee and Southern California quarterback Caleb Williams, this season's Heisman Trophy winner.

"Growing up was difficult for him," said his father, Brian Hodges, who recalled a lacrosse coach being upset that Johnny, then 12, missed the start of a tournament to attend a swim meet. "Everybody wants you to play one sport. We fought that all the way through."

Now, it is possible to see in Hodges, who has filled out to 6-foot-2, 240 pounds, the fluid hips and the hand-eye coordination of a lacrosse and basketball player, and the broad shoulders and sturdy back of a swimmer. The enthusiasm of an athlete whose attachment to the sport hasn't become a burden is also apparent.

"That's the biggest thing with college athletes — they're so burned out by the time they get here that they don't want to play any more," Hodges said. "I didn't have to go through the anxiety of camps because I never went to them."

Hodges would sit in the stands as a plebe in his first season at Annapolis, watching the football team and not missing the sport. But when the coronavirus pandemic shut down his lacrosse season in the spring of 2020, he gave football a second thought. He didn't get much encouragement from the coaches, but he joined the team and got his first start in the season finale against Army.

One year later, Hodges was out the door.

"It's meant to break you down and build you up," Hodges said of the academy. "I've seen a lot of that since I've come over here. I wish I was a little more mature when I was there to see it from that kind of perspective. I had a tough time with my coaches."

Said his father: "Let me put it this way. When T.C.U. preaches family, they're preaching family you want to be in. When Johnny and I spoke to Coach Gillespie for the first time, on FaceTime, he said, 'I'll be Johnny's dad away from home.' Then he tells my wife, 'Here's my wife's cell number. We're available 24-7.' That was music to my ears."

At T.C.U., there are signs of what might have made a good Navy officer.

Hodges diligently studies film. He is among the first to arrive at the football facility in the morning. He answers questions from reporters with "Yes, sir," and "No, sir." He shaved his head about a month ago. He is often in bed by 8 p.m. He assiduously folds his laundry as if he is awaiting inspection.

"Normal Navy stuff," said Griffin Kell, the kicker who lives with Hodges and punter Jordy Sandy.

That Hodges ended up on this stage is at its core a story of serendipity.

Just as Hodges had given up hope of continuing to play football, he got a call from a number he did not recognize. It was Gillespie, who was hired a month earlier by the new head coach, Sonny Dykes.

Gillespie called again the next day, telling Hodges he must be a modest young man because he did not post his offers on social media. "Eh, yes, sir," Hodges said, trying to keep a straight face. "Yes, sir."

Then Gillespie made an offer.

Hodges asked if it was a scholarship or walk-on.

"A full ride," Gillespie said.

As it turned out, Gillespie, who also coaches linebackers, had remembered Hodges from when he coached at Tulsa, which is in the American Athletic Conference with Navy. Dykes had recalled Hodges from his days at Southern Methodist, which is also in the American.

Hodges, who started eight games in his two seasons at Navy, happened to have his two best performances against S.M.U. and Tulsa with a combined 21 tackles, including four for losses, an interception, a forced fumble and a pass breakup.

Gillespie said if he had not seen Hodges, "I probably would have pulled up his stuff and said, 'You know, maybe. We'll keep our eye on him,' and he probably would have gone somewhere else or not been playing football. I don't know.

"I got to watch enough of him to sit there and say, I want a guy like that in our room."

BOXING

A Showdown Is Set Up, Pending Legal Obstacles

By MORGAN CAMPBELL

After Round 8 of his lightweight bout against Gervonta Davis at Capital One Arena in Washington on Saturday night, Héctor Luis García trudged back to his corner, sat on his stool and informed his trainer that he could not see.

The temporary blindness did not result from an accident, like an inadvertent thumb in the eye. It came from Davis's power. A volley of punches late in the eighth had culminated with a left hand to García's right cheek that whiplashed his head, buckled his knees and impaired his vision.

When García refused to answer the bell for Round 9, Davis, who was born and raised in Baltimore, was declared the winner by technical knockout. He climbed to the top rope in a corner of the ring and backflipped to the canvas.

Davis, 28, emerged from the bout — and his celebration — injury free. He is now pointed toward a high-profile showdown in April against Ryan Garcia, an undefeated lightweight with social media cachet and mainstream fame. Few active boxers are familiar enough to casual sports fans to appear in Gatorade commercials; Ryan Garcia, who is not related to Héctor García, stars in one with the N.B.A. star Damian Lillard.

Davis and Ryan Garcia have spoken openly about fighting this spring, but just because fans, promoters and the fighters want the bout does not mean it will happen. The long-delayed welterweight title match between Errol Spence Jr. and Terence Crawford is a case in point. Spence is now scheduled to face Keith Thurman, and the International Boxing Federation has indicated that the winner of that bout should not meet Crawford but instead face Jaron Ennis, who beat Karen Chukhadzhian in a unanimous decision on Saturday night.

An hour after Davis dispatched Héctor García, a reporter at the postfight news conference asked Davis whom he planned to fight next, just in case plans had changed.

They had not.

"If it's up to me, Ryan's definitely next," said Davis, who is 28-0 with 26 knockouts.

From a boxing standpoint, Davis has plenty of control over his short-term future. He completed the final bout of his contract with Floyd Mayweather Jr.'s promotional company last May, and has acted as his own promoter since then.

Davis, the World Boxing Association's lightweight champion, works closely with Al Haymon, the boxing power broker and head of the Premier Boxing Champions managerial outfit. But Davis has final approval over his opponents.

With the Ryan Garcia bout all but locked in, Davis agreed to a bout with Héctor García, a 31-year-old lefthander from the Dominican Republic who trains in Las Vegas. Last February, Héctor García upset a highly rated prospect, Chris Colbert, to earn a shot at the W.B.A. title in the 130-pound super featherweight division. He won that belt via unanimous decision against Roger Gutiérrez last August, and then landed the bout with Davis.

Though García moved up a weight class, he entered Saturday's bout with height and reach advantages. Davis had trained for García less as a tuneup opponent than an interim challenge, and an ideal opponent to showcase Davis's tools.

"That's the type of wins I like," said Calvin Ford, Davis's trainer. "When he's putting it together and showing his real talents."

But Davis's future also hinges on the outcome of a criminal trial, set to begin in February, on hit-and-run charges. Prosecutors in Baltimore allege that on Nov. 5, 2020, Davis ran a red light in his Lamborghini and crashed into another vehicle, injuring its four occupants. A judge had rejected a plea proposal that would have allowed Davis to avoid jail time.

Eleven days before Saturday's bout, Davis was arrested in Parkland, Fla., and charged with battery, accused of striking a woman on the side of the head. Later, his girlfriend posted on Instagram that she and Davis had an intense argument but that nobody was hurt.

"While the emotions were running high, I made an unnecessary call to law enforcement," her post read. Davis pleaded not guilty last week.

The cases prompted Showtime's Jim Gray, the in-ring interviewer on Saturday's broadcast, to ask Davis how he could prevent derailing his own career. "You said this week that the only one who can beat me is me. How do you avoid that happening?" Gray said.

PATRICK SMITH/GETTY IMAGES

Gervonta Davis, left, beat Héctor Luis García by TKO.

Davis pledged to stay focused and rely more heavily on people he trusts, like Haymon.

Inside the ring, Davis remains a reliable, efficient problem solver. After tensely contested early rounds, Davis widened his advantage with his signature style: low output, high precision, high power.

García threw 345 punches, landing 55. Davis threw 239, but landed 99, including the overhand lefts late in Round 8 that compelled García to quit the fight.

"My head still hurts," García told Gray a few minutes later during an in-ring interview. "My vision is back."

Because the current cohort of world-class lightweights are fluent in social media, the buildup to and after Davis's win were riddled with online bickering.

Before the bout, Devin Haney, who holds belts from all of the major sanctioning bodies, retweeted a video of himself sparring with García, implying he had already beaten up Davis's opponent. Just after the bout, a contender named Frank Martin tweeted the word "food" with a pair of emojis, hinting at his belief that he could feast on Davis or García. Ryan Garcia spent the week sniping with Davis and other fighters over Twitter, and then declared he was taking future conflicts offline.

"No more talking let's get it on," he tweeted. "APRIL 15."

That would be pending Garcia's final sign-off and any developments in Davis's legal cases.

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16 BMW	WBA8A7C54GG146676
04 ACURA	2HNYD18874H542154
07 AUDI	WAUAF78EX7A037117
04 NISSAN	1N4AL11E94C159864
11 MITSUB	4A4JN2ASXBE034785
07 CHEVR	2CNDL73F176250975
06 LINCOLN	5LTPW18596FJ09692
02 HONDA	1HGCF86692A124269
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00 FORD	1FAFP552SYA151778
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06 CHEVR	1GNET13M262240639
17 LEXUS	JTHCM1D36H5006687
19 NISSAN	KNMAT2MV1KP521171
11 CHEVR	2CNFLGE52B6208790
18 TOYOTA	2T3DFREV0JW749127
16 NISSAN	3N1AB7AP6GY265099
16 HONDA	19XFC1F82GE025021
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18 NISSAN	1N4AA6AP4JC360748
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TENNIS

Osaka, Struggling to Regain Form, Withdraws From Australian Open

By MATTHEW FUTTERMAN

Naomi Osaka, a four-time Grand Slam champion, has withdrawn from the Australian Open, the latest turn in an increasingly enigmatic career.

The Australian Open announced Osaka's withdrawal on Sunday in Melbourne. Dayana Yastremska will now move into the main draw of the tournament, which starts Jan. 15.

Osaka, who won the Australian Open in 2019 and 2021, has not played a tournament since September, when she withdrew from a match in Japan with abdominal pain.

Once seemingly destined to compete for the biggest championships in tennis for the next decade, Osaka has struggled to regain her form since she took two lengthy breaks from competition in 2021.

The first break came after her withdrawal from that season's French Open, where she went public with her longtime struggles with depression. She returned for the Olympic Games in midsummer, but after a disappointing early-round loss at the U.S. Open, she announced an indefinite break.

MATTHEW STOCKMAN/GETTY IMAGES

Naomi Osaka had a disappointing early exit from the U.S. Open in August, after which she announced an indefinite break.

Osaka returned to the tour compete in Australia last January, and she seemed to be well down the road back when she reached the final of the Miami Open in April. She said that she wanted to be No. 1 again. But an Achilles' tendon injury cut short her clay-court season and also prevented her from playing in Wimbledon.

Osaka then won just one match during the summer hardcourt swing in North America, a disappointing result because Osaka was once considered the world's premier hardcourt player. The Australian Open, the year's first Grand Slam, is played on hardcourts as well.

Despite her limited play and a ranking that sunk to 85th in the world last February, Osaka remains one of the highest earning athletes in the world, with endorsement deals that have pushed her annual income to more than $50 million, according to Forbes.

And she remains very busy away from the court. Osaka launched a representation agency in May to take further control of her mounting business portfolio. Osaka and her longtime agent, Stuart Duguid, left IMG, the sports and entertainment conglomerate, to begin Evolve. Nick Kyrgios, an Australian tennis star, has since joined the agency as well.

At the time, Duguid said that Osaka's main priority remained winning tennis matches and tournaments but that launching Evolve allowed her to engage her interests in culture and business.

> *She remains busy with her business ventures away from the court.*

"She's not someone who likes to play video games and binge Netflix all day," said Duguid, who has worked closely with Osaka since she was a teenager.

Duguid predicted that Osaka's business portfolio could grow to $150 million annually in the coming years through investments and ventures such as Kinlò, a skin care products company focused on people with darker skin tones.

In December, Osaka released a children's book, "The Way Champs Play." She wrote that she hoped the book "inspires kids to chase their dreams and encourages them to believe they can do anything they put their minds to."

Other points of view on the Opinion pages seven days a week. The New York Times

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