

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

THE WEATHER

Today, sunny, slightly warmer, high 72. Tonight, clear skies, low 53. Tomorrow, a good deal of sunshine with a warmer afternoon, breezy, high 75. Weather map, Page B12.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



WEST BANK A Palestinian boy with a portrait of Yahya Sinwar, the Hamas leader who was killed on Wednesday, during a rally Friday.



ISRAEL Demonstrators outside the Defense Ministry in Tel Aviv in support of the families of Israeli hostages being held in Gaza.



YEMEN Paintings in Sana'a showing Hamas's Yahya Sinwar, right, and Ismail Haniyeh, both of whom have been killed this year.

Biden Renews Peace Push After Hamas Chief's Death

A Death Will Shake but Won't Topple a Militant Group

By BEN HUBBARD

ISTANBUL — He was there from the early days of Hamas, rose through the ranks to lead the organization and equipped it for the deadliest assault on Israel in its history.

And now, Yahya Sinwar is dead, depriving the militant group of a ruthless, intelligent leader and raising questions about what direction its battered remnants will take in their fight against Israel.

Mr. Sinwar's killing was a powerful blow to a violent organization that had already been gravely damaged by a year of brutal combat with Israel. Though he was only the latest senior leader to be killed since the war began, few experts expect Hamas to collapse.

Among the senior figures killed since January are Saleh al-Arouri, a key liaison with Iran and Hezbollah in Lebanon; Muhammad Deif, the shadowy head of Hamas's military wing, who Israel said was killed in July; and Ismael Haniyeh, who headed its political office in Qatar, making him central to cease-fire negotiations.

Mr. Sinwar was loathed by Israelis for starting the war and taking Israeli hostages, and resented by many Gazans who blamed him for the extensive suffering the conflict has brought to their lives.

But he was revered by Hamas loyalists for helping plot the assault on Israel last October that left 1,200 people dead and 250 others dragged back to Gaza as hostages.

That made him an "iconic figure" among the group's members, and a hard one to replace, said Fuad Khuffash, a Palestinian analyst close to Hamas.

"Sinwar was an extremely important man in the movement," Mr. Khuffash said. "His assassination is no easy matter. But it won't make Hamas retreat and surrender."

Israel has assassinated dozens of Hamas leaders and killed many thousands of its fighters since the group was founded in the 1980s with the goal of destroying Israel and replacing it with an Islamist, Palestinian state. Those blows have never prevented Hamas

Continued on Page A6

Closing Wide Divide With Netanyahu Will Be Hurdle

By DAVID E. SANGER

WASHINGTON — Within hours of the death of the Hamas leader Yahya Sinwar on Thursday, President Biden and his aides scrambled to design one last push for a broad de-escalation of violence in the Middle East: a cease-fire and hostage deal in Gaza, a pullback from Israeli attacks on Hezbollah in Lebanon, a confident declaration of victory by Israel that might allow it to forgo a major retaliation against Iran.

"It is time for this war to end," Mr. Biden said as he emerged from Air Force One when it landed outside Berlin late Thursday. He added that he had called Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel and urged him to "move on" from the war and focus on building a new political landscape for the region.

Vice President Kamala Harris, carefully navigating the campaign politics of the moment, declared "it is time for the day after to begin" — a phrase suggesting that after three weeks in which Israel eliminated the leaders of Hezbollah and Hamas, its goals to defeat its adversaries had been met.

Mr. Netanyahu delivered the opposite message: "This war is not over."

The stark difference encapsulated the argument that has been the consistent theme of Mr. Biden's often angry exchanges with Mr. Netanyahu for the past year. Now, with only three months left in office, closing that huge gap will be a final diplomatic mission of his presidency.

Nothing in his face-offs with Mr. Netanyahu suggests that the Israeli prime minister will take his advice or seize the chance to turn the military victories into a lasting political accomplishment. One of Mr. Biden's senior aides said the administration's concern was that the killing of Mr. Sinwar, and before him the killing of the Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah, rattles in Mr. Netanyahu's mind his certainty that he was right to deflect American calls for de-escalation over the past few months.

But this time, more out of hope and exhaustion than evidence, administration officials suggest things might be different.

With Hamas's and Hezbollah's leadership ranks so devastated,

Continued on Page A7

Shelters in City Called Plagued By Self-Interest

By AMY JULIA HARRIS

Self-dealing, nepotism and conflicts of interest are widespread at dozens of the nonprofit groups that run New York City's \$4 billion network of homeless shelters, according to a sweeping report released on Thursday.

The comprehensive review, which was conducted by the city's Department of Investigation, found that some shelter operators were enriching themselves as homelessness climbed to record levels.

They were paid more than \$700,000 a year, hired their family members and simultaneously held jobs at other companies, like security firms, that did business with their nonprofit groups and received city money, the report found.

One nonprofit group awarded millions of dollars in city business to a security company tied to one of the group's executives, allowing him to collect nearly \$200,000. Another group employed at least five relatives of senior employees, including the child and niece of its executive director.

In total, the review identified hundreds of problems, including financial mismanagement and conflicts of interest, at 51 of the nonprofit groups that run New York City's shelters. (When the review began, there were about 70 such groups contracted by the city — that number has since grown.)

"When it comes to protecting the vast taxpayer resources that city-funded nonprofits receive, prevention is key," Jocelyn E. Strauber, the commissioner of the Department of Investigation, said in a statement.

Continued on Page A20

Microsoft and OpenAI 'Bromance' Begins to Fray

This article is by Cade Metz, Mike Isaac and Erin Griffith.

SAN FRANCISCO — Last fall, Sam Altman, OpenAI's chief executive, asked his counterpart at Microsoft, Satya Nadella, if the tech giant would invest billions of dollars in the start-up.

Microsoft had already pumped \$13 billion into OpenAI, and Mr. Nadella was initially willing to keep the cash spigot flowing. But after OpenAI's board of directors briefly ousted Mr. Altman last November, Mr. Nadella and Micro-

Tensions as a Start-Up Tries to Alter a Deal

soft reconsidered, according to four people familiar with the talks who spoke on the condition of anonymity.

Over the next few months, Microsoft wouldn't budge as OpenAI, which expects to lose \$5 billion this year, continued to ask for more money and more computing power to build and run its

A.I. systems.

Mr. Altman once called OpenAI's partnership with Microsoft "the best bromance in tech," but ties between the companies have started to fray. Financial pressure on OpenAI, concern about its stability and disagreements between employees of the two companies have strained their five-year partnership, according to interviews with 19 people familiar with the relationship between the companies.

That tension demonstrates a

Continued on Page A17



A panda, left, at Dujiangyan Panda Base in China. Scientists at a research base for panda breeding.



Program to Save Pandas Harmed Them Instead

By MARA HVISTENDAHL and JOY DONG

WASHINGTON — Two chunky pandas, a male and a female, arrived from China this week at the National Zoo in Washington. If everything goes as planned, they will eventually have cubs.

Exchanges like this have helped turn giant pandas into the face of conservation worldwide.

The panda program was created with the stated goal of saving a

Cubs Were Pathway to Profits, Inquiry Finds

beloved endangered species. Zoos would pay up to \$1.1 million a year per pair, which would help China preserve the pandas' habitat. By following carefully crafted breeding recommendations, zoos would help improve the genetic diversity of the species.

And someday, China would release pandas into the wild.

But a New York Times investigation, based on more than 10,000 pages of documents, has found that the Chinese authorities and American zoos have put a rosy sheen on a program that has struggled, and often failed, to meet those objectives. The records, photographs and videos — many of them from the Smithsonian Institution Archives — of

Continued on Page A8

CAMPAIGN NOTEBOOK

Bitter, Sour and Salty on Menu As Trump's Fans and Foes Meet

By SHAWN MCCREESH

Donald J. Trump and the assorted fat cats to whom he was speaking seemed to be processing many complicated emotions all at once.

"You think this is easy?" the former and perhaps future president asked. "Standing up here in front of half a room that hates my guts, and the other half loves me?"

There he stood, the godhead of a populist revenge movement, tucked into his satiny cummerbund, a black bow tie around his neck. It was the Alfred E. Smith Memorial Foundation Dinner in Midtown Manhattan.

This charity event, held Thursday evening in the ballroom of the Hilton Hotel, has been a stop for presidential candidates ever since 1960. That's when John F. Kennedy and Richard Nixon showed up, at the dawn of the television age, to make self-

deprecating jokes while courting the Roman Catholic vote. In 1970s New York, the era in which Mr. Trump came up, the dinner was one of the glitziest events on the social calendar, attended by governors and mayors and media moguls and real estate titans.

In 2016, he came as a presidential candidate himself. But when Mr. Trump's remarks about his then-opponent, Hillary Clinton, veered into nasty territory, he was booed. He and his wife, Melania Trump, slunk out of the room the second it was over.

Eight years later, the dinner he returned to was not the same. Like so much else in the Trump era, the Catholic charity event had become savage, warped by blunt force politics. There were all sorts of open wounds and grudges on display among the tuxedoed and the begowned.

Continued on Page A14



SPORTS B7-10, 12

A Long Ride to Equality

This year, women took part in mountain biking's scariest event. PAGE B7

NATIONAL A11-17, 20

Campaigning in the Canyon

A Democrat running for Senate in a fiercely competitive race in Arizona hiked thousands of feet down to meet a Native tribe on their own land. PAGE A11

Hint of a Liberal Shift

The Supreme Court's decision to not temporarily block an E.P.A. rule this week could signal a pivot in favor of environmental regulators. PAGE A17

More of the Blame Game

The Trump campaign has consistently pointed to unauthorized immigration as the cause of a series of problems, but it's usually wrong. PAGE A15



BUSINESS B1-6

Black Voters and the Economy

African American voters are weighing which of the past two administrations has improved their lives more. PAGE B1

Safety Check for Tesla

A federal auto safety regulator is looking into Elon Musk's electric car company's full self-driving system. PAGE B1

TRAVEL C7-8

36 Hours in the Berkshires

October is an ideal time to visit this Massachusetts region of deeply connected communities, with one of America's largest contemporary art museums and plenty of leaf-peeping. PAGE C8

A Canadian Urban Oasis

Much of Toronto is oriented around a straightforward grid of streets. But for those who know where to look, there is an expansive emerald city of ravines hidden inside that grid. PAGE C7

OPINION A18-19

Paul Krugman

PAGE A18



ARTS C1-6

Warriors, Come Back to Play

Lin-Manuel Miranda and Eisa Davis made an album inspired by the 1979 movie "The Warriors," with the main gang now made up of women. PAGE C1

