



Members of the Naumenko family prepared to evacuate this month from the frequently attacked village of Velykyi Burluk, Ukraine.

LYNSEY ADDARIO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Delays in Data Make Housing Riddle for Fed

By BEN CASSELMAN

The Federal Reserve may have a housing problem. At the very least, it has a housing riddle. Overall inflation has eased substantially over the past year. But housing has proved a tenacious — and surprising — exception. The cost of shelter was up 6 percent in January from a year earlier, and rose faster on a monthly basis than in December, according to the Labor Department. That acceleration was a big reason for the pickup in overall consumer prices last month.

The persistence of housing inflation poses a problem for Fed officials as they consider when to roll back interest rates. Housing is by far the biggest monthly expense for most families, which means it weighs heavily on inflation calculations. Unless housing costs cool, it will be hard for inflation as a whole to return sustainably to the central bank’s target of 2 percent.

“If you want to know where inflation is going, you need to know where housing inflation is going,” said Mark Franceski, managing director at Zelman & Associates, a housing research firm. Housing inflation, he added, “is not slowing at the rate that we expected or anyone expected.”

Those expectations were based on private-sector data from real estate websites like Zillow and Apartment List and other private companies showing that rents have barely been rising recently and have been falling outright in some markets.

Continued on Page A13

SHRINKFLATION President Biden has a new favorite economic villain he is targeting. PAGE B1

Weary but Hopeful, Ukrainians Are Unbowed

By CARLOTTA GALL

KHARKIV, Ukraine — When Russian missiles struck the Ukrainian city of Kharkiv a couple of weeks ago, schoolchildren and their teachers installed in newly built underground classrooms did not hear a thing. Down in the bowels of Kharkiv’s cavernous, Soviet-era subway stations, the city administration has built a line of brightly decorated classrooms, where 6- and 7-year-olds are attending primary school for the first time in their lives in this war-stricken city.

“The children were fine,” said Lyudmyla Demchenko, 47, one of

Optimism Persists but Rides on Continued Western Aid

the teachers. “You cannot hear the sirens down here.” Ten years after the conflict with Russian-backed separatists broke out and two years into Moscow’s full-scale invasion, Ukrainians are weary but ever determined to repel the invaders. The war has touched every family — with thousands of civilians dead, close to 200,000 soldiers killed and wounded, and nearly 10 million

refugees and displaced people in a country of nearly 45 million. Yet, despite the death, destruction and deprivations, a majority of Ukrainians remain optimistic about the future, and even describe themselves as happy, according to independent polls.

Kharkiv is a good example. It lies only 25 miles from the border with Russia and has suffered a heavy share of Russian artillery, drone and missile attacks. Most families fled at the beginning of the war or lived for months underground in the subway, as Russian troops came close to seizing the city. But the Ukrainian defenses

Continued on Page A6

Biden Is Losing Party Loyalists Over Gaza War

By JENNIFER MEDINA

FARMINGTON HILLS, Mich. — Tucked down in Terry Ahwal’s basement is her personal wall of fame: Here she is at the Obama White House Christmas party. Here is a framed thank-you note from President Bill Clinton. There she is grinning alongside Jennifer Granholm, the former governor of Michigan.

President Biden, Ms. Ahwal says, will not appear on her wall.

After a lifetime of work in Democratic politics — running local campaigns, asking strangers for money, begging acquaintances to vote for candidates — she is now campaigning against the Democrat in the White House.

A Palestinian American who emigrated from the West Bank more than 50 years ago, Ms. Ahwal is furious over the president’s alliance with Israel in its war against Hamas that has killed tens of thousands of Palestinians in Gaza. She does not even have a better candidate in mind, but she vows there is nothing Mr. Biden can do to get her back now.

“You want my vote? You cannot kill my people in my name. As simple as that,” she said recently, sitting at the dining room table of her home in Farmington Hills, a Detroit suburb. Photographs of her travels to Jordan, Peru and the Great Lakes decorate her walls. “Everything Israel wants, they get.”

Such promises to punish Mr. Biden in November have the power

Continued on Page A14



INTUITIVE MACHINES

Life Ebbs From Tilted Moon Lander

Odysseus, the U.S. robotic craft that tipped over, is likely to die shortly, as a long night renders its solar panels useless. PAGE A12.

The Business of Child Care Is Back on the Brink

By CLAIRE CAIN MILLER

Running a child care business has long been a very challenging math problem: Many providers can barely afford to operate, yet many parents cannot afford to pay more. During the pandemic, there was temporary relief. The federal government spent \$24 billion to keep the industry afloat. Many provi-

Costs Crushing Parents and Providers

ders were given thousands of dollars a month, depending on the size of their businesses, which they used to pay for expenses, the biggest of which was wages. But that financing, which start-

ed in April 2021, expired in September. Five months later, the child care business is more precarious than ever.

In addition to the end of the monthly checks, providers’ costs have increased along with inflation — for food, supplies and liability and property insurance. Rising wages at food service and retail jobs have made it harder to recruit

Continued on Page A13



SPORTS B6-10

Olympic Controversy Lives

After doping upended team skating and led to revised results, Canada argued it deserved bronze. PAGE B9

Premier League Cuts Penalty

The decision to reduce Everton’s loss of points in the standings from 10 to 6 eases its fears of relegation. PAGE B9

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Prisoner Swap for Navalny?

Allies of the Russian activist said he was about to be freed. A Western official said discussions for his release and two Americans had occurred. PAGE A4

BUSINESS B1-5

Social Media on Trial

A Supreme Court decision on laws in Florida and Texas could alter the nature of speech on the internet. PAGE B1

Echoes of 1994’s Economy

Thirty years ago, the U.S. entered an era of productivity that enabled growth. Experts see parallels. PAGE B1

NATIONAL A11-17

Redefining Domestic Terrorism

Demonstrators against a new police training center near Atlanta have been charged under a law that critics say stifles free speech. PAGE A11

Exit at Harvard Task Force

Professor Raffaella Sadun’s departure as a co-chair is a setback for the effort to propose ways for the university to address antisemitism. PAGE A17

Traditional, but Is It Original?

In a talk to law students, a conservative jurist said the Supreme Court had strayed from originalism in parts of its rulings on abortion and guns. PAGE A12



SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

The Biggest Singers

Unusual experiments on organs recovered from three carcasses suggest how baleen whales call out at sea. PAGE D2

Tackling Kawasaki Disease

Dr. Jane Burns leads a team that is trying to solve one of pediatric medicine’s greatest mysteries. PAGE D1

NEWS ANALYSIS

As Sweden Joins NATO, Bloc Asserts Its Resolve

Working to Contain Russian Ambition

By STEVEN ERLANGER

BERLIN — Russia’s full-scale invasion of Ukraine two years ago was an enormous shock to Europeans. Used to 30 years of post-Cold War peace, they had imagined European security would be built alongside a more democratic Russia, not reconstructed against a revisionist imperial war machine.

There was no bigger shock than in Finland, with its long border and historical tension with Russia, and in Sweden, which had dismantled 90 percent of its army and 70 percent of its air force and navy in the years after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

After the decision by Russia’s president, Vladimir V. Putin, to try to destroy a sovereign neighbor, both Finland and Sweden rapidly decided to apply to join the NATO alliance, the only clear guarantee of collective defense against a newly aggressive and reckless Russia.

With Finland having joined last year, and the Hungarian Parliament finally approving Sweden’s application on Monday, Mr. Putin now finds himself faced with an enlarged and motivated NATO, one that is no longer dreaming of a permanent peace.

As NATO countries look with some trepidation at the possibility that the unpredictable Donald J. Trump, no fan of the alliance, may become U.S. president again, its European members are taking measures to ensure their own defenses regardless.

Critics consider their actions to be too slow and too small, but NATO is spending more money on defense, making more tanks, artillery shells, drones and jet fighters, putting more troops on Russia’s borders and approving more serious military plans for

any potential war — while funneling billions of dollars into Ukraine’s efforts to blunt Russia’s ambitions.

The reason is sheer deterrence. Some member states already suggest that if Mr. Putin succeeds in Ukraine, he will test NATO’s collective will in the next three to five years.

If Mr. Trump is elected and



JONATHAN NACKSTRAND/A.F.P. — GETTY IMAGES

Prime Minister Ulf Kristersson of Sweden after ratification.

casts serious doubt on the commitment of the United States to come to the defense of NATO allies, “that might tip the scales for Putin to test NATO’s resolve,” said Robert Dalsjo, director of studies at the Swedish Defense Research Agency.

Even now, Mr. Dalsjo said, Mr. Trump or not, Europe must prepare for at least a generation of heightened European containment and deterrence of a Russia becoming militarized, and where Mr. Putin clearly “has considerable public support for his aggressive revanchism.”

Still, with Hungary finally voting for Sweden’s accession to NATO, at last the pieces are falling into place for a sharply enhanced NATO deterrent in the

Continued on Page A8



DAVID DEE DELGADO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ruth Gottesman’s donation aims to broaden affordability.

\$1 Billion Gift to Make Tuition At Bronx Medical School Free

By JOSEPH GOLDSTEIN

The 93-year-old widow of a Wall Street financier has donated \$1 billion to a Bronx medical school, the Albert Einstein College of Medicine, with instructions that the gift be used to cover tuition for all students going forward.

The donor, Ruth Gottesman, is a former professor at Einstein, where she studied learning disabilities, developed a screening test and ran literacy programs. It is one of the largest charitable donations to an educational institution in the United States and most likely the largest to a medical school.

The fortune came from her late husband, David Gottesman, known as Sandy, who was a protégé of Warren Buffett and had made an early investment in

Berkshire Hathaway, the conglomerate Mr. Buffett built.

The donation is notable not only for its staggering size, but also because it is going to a medical institution in the Bronx, the city’s poorest borough. The Bronx has a high rate of premature deaths and ranks as the unhealthiest county in New York. Over the past generation, a number of billionaires have given hundreds of millions of dollars to better-known medical schools and hospitals in Manhattan, the city’s wealthiest borough.

Dr. Gottesman said her donation would enable new doctors to begin their careers without medical school debt, which often exceeds \$200,000. She also hoped it would broaden the student body

Continued on Page A17

ARTS C1-6

A Lesson for Hollywood

The grown-ups overseeing the sitcom “Abbott Elementary” try to let the many kids in the show’s cast be kids. PAGE C1

Spiritually Provocative

The iconographer Mark Dox has confronted what it means to be Black in America through faith and art. PAGE C6

OPINION A18-19

Margaret Renkl

PAGE A19

