



SAHER ALGHORRA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

In late April, the U.N. agency that assists Palestinian refugees said its flour supplies had run out. Bakeries have been forced to close.

## New Faces Put The Cardinals On Their Toes

By JASON HOROWITZ and EMMA BUBOLA

VATICAN CITY — There are so many unfamiliar faces, cardinals are wearing name tags. The Vatican guesthouse for out-of-towners coming to choose the next pope is overbooked. Daily Vatican meetings have taken on the feel of theological speed-dating sessions. “The cardinals don’t know each other so well,” said Cardinal Anders Arborelius of Sweden, who has spent recent days in a crowded Vatican lecture hall listening to the concerns and learning the names of the record number of cardinals Pope Francis appointed who will choose his successor.

Cardinal Arborelius sat in a section reserved for a small group of newcomers from countries that never had cardinals before. They included one from Mali, who, he said, had “disappeared” after the first day, and from Laos, who, many days into the meetings, “hasn’t turned up.” He himself, he said, felt “lost all the time.” Nevertheless, he and scores of other cardinals will file into the Sistine Chapel starting Wednesday afternoon to cast ballots for the next pope under seclusion and Michelangelo’s frescoes, in one of the world’s oldest dramas.

All papal elections are unpredictable. But this conclave has so many unfamiliar faces with unfamiliar politics, priorities and concerns that it could be more fractious than usual.

It also comes at a particularly perilous moment for a church that Francis left deeply divided, with progressive factions pushing for more inclusion and change, and conservatives seeking to roll things back, often under the guise of unity.

The first pope in centuries from outside Europe, Francis expanded the church’s global reach to better reflect the faith’s diversity. The conclave that chose him 12 years ago had 115 cardinals from 48 countries. This conclave is expected to have 133 voting-age cardinals (those under 80), representing about 70 countries. The new pope will need at least 89

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**CONTENDER** Cardinal Pietro Parolin could bring a steady hand to the church’s wheel. PAGE A6

## Choked by Siege, Gaza Aid Nears ‘Total Collapse’

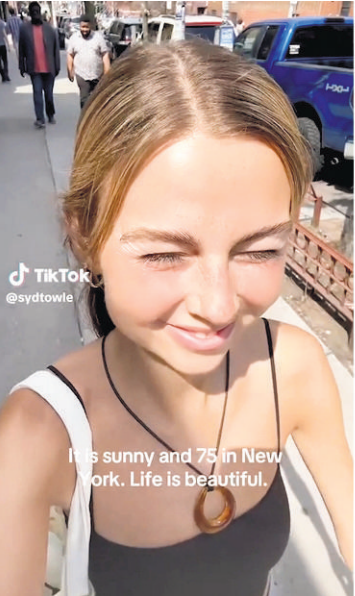
By ERIKA SOLOMON and RAWAN SHEIKH AHMAD

It has been more than 60 days since Israel ordered a halt to all humanitarian aid entering Gaza — no food, fuel or even medicine. As the phone calls pour in, Muneer Alboursh, the director general of Gaza’s health ministry, is running out of answers. The longer Israel’s total siege of the enclave grinds on, the more doctors call to ask where they can find medicine to keep patients alive. Some patients call him up themselves — people with treatable heart problems or kidney failure — to ask: If there is no medicine, what else can they try? “There’s no advice I can give them,” he said. “In most cases, those patients die.” Israel says it will not relent until

### Lack of Food and Drugs Results in a Surge of Preventable Deaths

Hamas releases the hostages it still holds after a two-month cease-fire collapsed in March. It has argued that its blockade is lawful, and that Gaza still has enough available provisions. But humanitarian groups and European officials accuse Israel of using aid as a “political tool” — and warn that the total blockade violates international law. The severity of the siege means it now affects nearly every part of the lives of the roughly two million people trapped inside Gaza, com-

pounding the struggles of a population that has lived for nearly two decades under the partial blockade imposed by Israel and backed by Egypt after Hamas seized control of the enclave in 2007. As supplies of clean water, food and medicine dwindle, preventable diseases and illnesses are surging — and so is the likelihood of dying from them, doctors say. Aid groups are raising the alarm in increasingly drastic messages, warning that the humanitarian support for Gazans is “on the verge of total collapse.” “To the Israeli authorities, and those who can still reason with them, we say again: Lift this brutal blockade,” said Tom Fletcher, the U.N. humanitarian chief. He added: “To the civilians left unprotected, no apology can suffice. Continued on Page A9



SYDNEY TOWLE

Sydney Towle let her followers in on her Stage 4 diagnosis. Some were determined to disprove it.

## A TikTok Star Whose Cancer Brought Her Hate

By KATHERINE ROSMAN

By the time Sydney Towle graduated from Dartmouth College in 2022, she had a growing social media side hustle. On TikTok, where she posted videos, her fans watched her perform dance moves in her kitchen and lip-sync to popular songs. She modeled clothing and posed in bikinis on the beach. She gallivanted around Europe with friends. Within a year, she was an influencer in full, with more than 450,000 followers. But her content took a sharp

### Her Videos Summoned an Army of Skeptics

turn in August 2023. In a pink bikini top, her face stained with tears, she spoke directly to the camera. “I have cancer,” she said. “I am strong, so I’ll be good.” She flashed a thumbs-up and an awkward smile. Her diagnosis, she said, was cholangiocarcinoma, a rare and aggressive cancer of the bile ducts. Ms. Towle’s social media posts

grew more frequent and personal, as she joined the ranks of influencers in what is known as CancerTok. She made videos of herself exploring New York City, where she said she had moved to be close to Memorial Sloan Kettering Cancer Center; struggling with exhaustion and nausea she attributed to chemotherapy; and crying in grief for the carefree life she no longer led. And her growing online fan base — before long, she had more than 760,000 followers — routinely cheered her on: “We are all rooting hard for you girl!!!!” one person posted on TikTok. Continued on Page A18

## Trumps’ 3-Continent Rush To Profit Has Few Parallels

### As Sons Promote Deals to Enrich President, White House Claims ‘No Conflicts’

By ERIC LIPTON and DAVID YAFFE-BELLANY

WASHINGTON — A contest of sorts has played out across Europe, the United States and the Middle East in recent days as President Trump’s two older sons have pursued a blitz of family moneymaking ventures capitalizing on their father’s name and power, each seemingly trying to outdo the other. It is a rush to cash in that involves billions of dollars with few precedents in American history. A luxury hotel in Dubai. A second high-end residential tower in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. Two cryptocurrency ventures based in the United States. A new golf course and villa complex in Qatar. And a new private club in Washington. In many cases these new deals promoted over the last week will personally benefit not only Eric Trump and Donald Trump Jr., but also President Trump himself.

“Challenge everything,” said the brochure for the new \$1 billion, 80-story Trump International Hotel and Tower planned for Dubai, where units went on sale for the first time at prices reaching \$20 million apiece, after a giant party held in Dubai this past week to honor Eric Trump and the new project. “Stop at nothing.” The marathon of deal making has been so rapid that many elements have drawn limited public attention in the United States, despite most of it being out in the open. That is in part because the sons appeared before mostly fawning crowds but also because President Trump, his appointees and his billionaire adviser Elon Musk were making headlines with their own steady stream of norm-breaking controversies. “There’s nothing like it,” said Douglas Brinkley, a Rice University historian who has written books on Presidents Ronald Reagan and Gerald R. Ford, addressing the financial conflicts of interest that have emerged in Mr. Trump’s second term. Both Trump sons are involved

in a wide range of family business ventures. Eric Trump, the president’s middle son, runs the Trump Organization, the main family business, which specializes in real estate. He also serves on the board of a holding company that oversees World Liberty Financial, the family’s crypto firm, and recently joined forces with his older brother, Donald Trump Jr., to start a Bitcoin mining operation, American Bitcoin. The White House has said there are no ethics issues because Mr. Trump’s sons run the businesses. “The president’s assets are in a trust managed by his children,” Anna Kelly, a White House spokeswoman, said. “There are no conflicts of interest.” But Mr. Trump’s financial disclosure report, which he is legally



KARIM JAAFAR/A.F.P. — GETTY IMAGES

Eric Trump in Qatar last week with a model of a development.

required to file, shows that he still personally benefits financially from most of these ventures. Eric Trump noted that many of the ventures they are promoting — from crypto to real estate — were underway before their father was re-elected. “We are building the most iconic projects on earth and leading the way in the digital revolution,” Eric Trump said in a statement to The New York Times. Continued on Page A16

## L.G.B.T.Q. Ties Cited in Ending Health Studies

By BENJAMIN MUELLER

The Trump administration has scrapped more than \$800 million worth of research into the health of L.G.B.T.Q. people, abandoning studies of cancers and viruses that tend to affect members of sexual minority groups and setting back efforts to defeat a resurgence of sexually transmitted infections, according to an analysis of federal data by The New York Times. In keeping with its deep opposition to both diversity programs and gender-affirming care for adolescents, the administration has worked aggressively to root out research touching on equity measures and transgender health. But its crackdown has reverberated far beyond those issues, eliminating swaths of medical research on diseases that disproportionately afflict L.G.B.T.Q. people, a group that comprises nearly 10 percent of American adults. Of the 669 grants that the National Institutes of Health had canceled in whole or in part as of early May, at least 323 — nearly half of them — related to L.G.B.T.Q. health, according to a review by The Times of every terminated grant. Federal officials had earmarked \$806 million for the canceled projects, many of which had Continued on Page A13

## Fighting Trump But Also Trying To Fix Harvard

By GINA KOLATA and JEREMY W. PETERS

Dr. Alan Garber, president of Harvard, disagrees with President Trump about many things. He is fighting Mr. Trump as the federal government tries to strip Harvard of billions of dollars in research funding and its nonprofit tax status. But Dr. Garber agrees with Mr. Trump on one point. In one of the rare interviews he has given since Harvard began its battle with the federal government, Dr. Garber said last week that Harvard has a campus culture problem that needs urgent fixing. Harvard has often shut out voices that many liberals disagree with, he said, and it has allowed antisemitism to go unchecked. “The issue for me was not principally whether we had problems that we needed to address,” Dr. Garber said in a lengthy interview in Washington. The problem is the Trump administration’s methods, which are growing more aggressive by the day. Last month, Trump officials said they would cut more than \$2 billion in federal funds intended for the university, to force it to comply with a series of demands Harvard says violate the First Amendment. On Friday, Mr. Trump escalated the attack, saying the Internal Revenue Service Continued on Page A17



INTERNATIONAL A4-11

### Migrants Trapped in Mexico

Thousands are stranded in the country’s south, forbidden to travel or work, and unable to get back home. PAGE A11

### More Air Defense for Ukraine

Israel is sending a U.S. Patriot system to protect Kyiv from the increase in Russian missile attacks. PAGE A8

BUSINESS B1-6

### Fear of Tariffs in Vietnam

President Trump’s threat of 46 percent levies is rattling Vietnam’s factory managers and workers, as well as thousands of exporters. PAGE B1

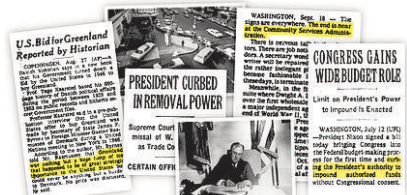
### How Buffett Showed the Way

“Value investing” had long existed, but no one did it as successfully or for as long as Warren E. Buffett did. PAGE B1

OBITUARIES A21, 24

### Redefining Homeless Rights

Joyce Brown successfully challenged her involuntary commitment to Bellevue Hospital. Overlooked. PAGE A24



NATIONAL A12-20

### An ‘Unprecedented’ Start?

Based on replies from historians, a look at the president’s actions that have no past parallel and those that do. PAGE A14

### Trump Wavers on Due Process

The president said he did not know whether every person on American soil was entitled to the right. PAGE A13

SPORTS D1-8

### Elevating His Teammates

Josh Hart, 30 and in his 8th season, had a career year with the Knicks and set a team record for triple doubles. In the process, he set aside his goal of stardom to do what it takes to win. PAGE D1

### Prospects Worth Watching

Is it too early for a 2026 N.F.L. mock draft? Probably. So there is plenty of time for teams (and fans) to get to know these 32 players ahead of the upcoming college season. PAGE D4

OPINION A22-23

### Jonathan Eig

PAGE A22



ARTS C1-6

### An Impromptu Impresario

The one-man band Ari Miller, above right with Gannon Green, creates music on the fly and invites anyone to pick up the microphone and join in. PAGE C1

