



Lining up for an escalator after arriving on an NJ Transit train at Penn Station in Manhattan. The 21-track layout is essentially the same as it was a century ago.

TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Despite Decades of Attempts, Penn Station Remains Broken

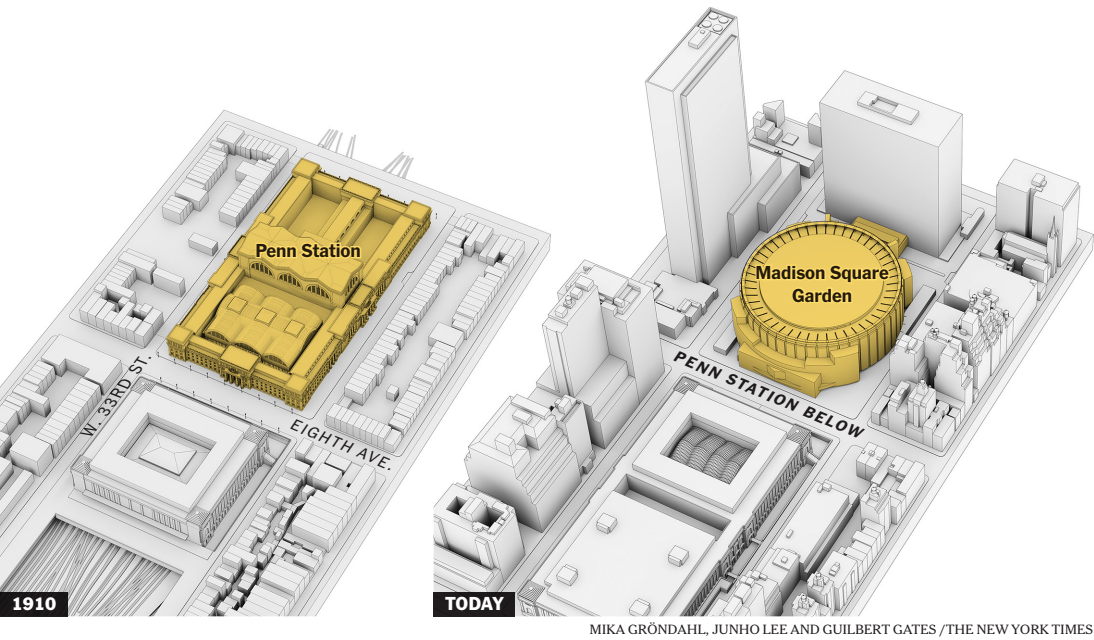
By **PATRICK MCGEEHAN**

In 1999, President Bill Clinton stood across the street from New York's Pennsylvania Station with the state's governor and its senior senator to announce plans for transforming the area into a modern gateway for the nation's big-city.

### AMERICAN INERTIA

*A Symbol of Stagnation*

Presidents do not often appear at news conferences about train stations. But Penn Station, in Midtown Manhattan, was the busiest transportation hub in North America, and Mr. Clinton had made public transit a priority. He and Gov. George E. Pataki posed beside a miniature model of a grand new train hall, while Senator Daniel P. Moynihan extolled its future grandeur.



MIKA GRONDAHL, JUNHO LEE AND GUILBERT GATES/THE NEW YORK TIMES

### Penn Station, Then and Now

When it opened in 1910, Penn Station was lauded as the largest building ever constructed at one time. Modeled after Rome's Baths of Caracalla, the Beaux-Arts station was built with pink granite and travertine marble.

### Politics, Infighting and Powerful Interests Stand in the Way

"Penn Station is the start," Mr. Moynihan said, "and we will find — when we complete this project — that suddenly all will seem possible."

More than 25 years, five presidencies and four governors later, the plan to rebuild Penn Station is nowhere near completion.

For the 600,000 people who pass through it every day, Penn Station is indispensable. It remains the busiest transit hub in the United States, with nearly double the number of daily passengers as the busiest airport, Hartsfield-Jackson Atlanta International. Much of the Eastern Seaboard might grind to a halt

*Continued on Page A12*

## ZELENSKY WARNS OF RIFT WITH U.S. ON A PEACE PLAN

### ALLIES AT CROSSROADS

### Proposal by Trump Gives Russia Most of What It Has Wanted

By **AURELIEN BREEDEN** and **CASSANDRA VINOGRAD**

LONDON — President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine suggested on Friday that his country's alliance with the United States could be at a breaking point as the White House presses Kyiv to respond by Thanksgiving to its plan to end the war with Russia.

The 28-point proposal from the White House — which Kyiv has said was drafted without its involvement — would give Russia most of what it has asked for, including the surrender of Ukrainian territory and sharp limits on Ukraine's military. The plan would require Ukraine to accept conditions that it and its European allies have long called unacceptable and tantamount to capitulation.

In a video address to the Ukrainian people on Friday, Mr. Zelensky said that his country was facing "one of the most difficult moments in our history."

"Ukraine may soon find itself before a very difficult choice," he said. "Either the loss of dignity, or the risk of losing a key partner. Either the difficult 28 points, or an extremely hard winter — the hardest one — and further risks."

Mr. Zelensky did not explicitly name the United States as that "key partner." But the Ukrainian leader, who met with an American military delegation in Kyiv this week to restart peace talks, said that "they will expect an answer" about the 28 points.

"I will present arguments, persuade, propose alternatives," he said, promising "a constructive search for solutions."

Referring to Russia, he said, "We will absolutely not give the enemy any reason to say that Ukraine does not want peace, that Ukraine is disrupting the process or that Ukraine is not ready for diplomacy."

"That will not happen," he said. President Trump was asked if

*Continued on Page A8*

## A Rose Bowl Breakup Tears at L.A. Football Fans

By **SHAWN HUBLER**

PASADENA, Calif. — In Southern California, a place with more than its share of famous couples, few celebrity relationships have been as enduring as that of the Rose Bowl and the University of California, Los Angeles.

For 43 years, the Pasadena landmark has been the home field for the elite university's football program. Never mind that the stadium and the school are 26 miles apart. Marriage is cumulative, and U.C.L.A. and the Rose Bowl have had much to bind them: Four decades. Millions of dollars. An ironclad deal.

Or so it seemed until last month, when Pasadena officials went to court, claiming that U.C.L.A. had been plotting for months in secret to relocate to SoFi Stadium, a newer, closer and glitzier venue. Such a move, Pasadena said, would irreparably harm the Rose Bowl and the city, which owns the stadium and borrowed heavily to refurbish it on condition that the team would remain through June 2044.

The university, in a terse statement, said that "no decision has been made." But behind the scenes, Pasadena said, the university's lawyers had informed the city's lawyers that the school

*Continued on Page A21*



MARK ABRAMSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Rose Bowl has uncomfortable seating and sublime sunsets.

## Kennedy Told C.D.C. to Edit Risk of Autism

By **SHERYL GAY STOLBERG**

WASHINGTON — Health Secretary Robert F. Kennedy Jr. said in an interview that he personally instructed the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention to abandon its longstanding position that vaccines do not cause autism — a move that underscores his determination to challenge scientific consensus and bend the health department to his will.

In an interview on Thursday explaining why the C.D.C. website now says the claim that vaccines do not cause autism is not "evidence-based," Mr. Kennedy acknowledged that large-scale epidemiological studies of the measles, mumps and rubella vaccine had found no link to autism, and that studies of the mercury-based preservative thimerosal had also shown no link.

But he cited gaps in vaccine safety science. He said he ordered the C.D.C. to change its guidance in part because high-quality large studies had not been conducted to examine a potential link between autism and other shots given in the first year of life. Those include

*Continued on Page A18*

## Trump and Mamdani Strike Optimistic Tone Across Divide

By **TYLER PAGER** and **EMMA G. FITZSIMMONS**

President Trump and Zohran Mamdani, the mayor-elect of New York City, put on a remarkable display of bonhomie in the Oval Office on Friday, with Mr. Trump showering praise on the democratic socialist and promising to help him succeed.

Just weeks ago, Mr. Trump was warning New York voters that electing Mr. Mamdani would amount to an existential threat to the nation's largest city.

"I expect to be helping him, not hurting him — a big help," Mr. Trump said, adding, "I think this mayor can do some things that are going to be really great."

For his part, Mr. Mamdani, who had vowed on the campaign trail to stand up to the president, called their meeting "productive" and said that he looked forward to working with Mr. Trump to improve life in New York.

Mr. Trump and Mr. Mamdani, who had lobbed labels like "com-

*Continued on Page A20*



ERIC LEE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Trump greeted Zohran Mamdani in the Oval Office.

### INTERNATIONAL A4-9

**Finding the Missing in Syria**  
Officials are exhuming bodies from scores of mass graves. Over 100,000 people vanished in the war. PAGE A4

**South Africans Seize on G20**  
Protesters are using the summit meeting, the first held on African soil, to highlight domestic problems. PAGE A9



### NATIONAL A10-21

**His Yard Became a Battlefield**  
A Virginia man's yearslong war with his homeowners' association is an example of how the nation's partisan divide has reached the hyperlocal level. PAGE A10

**Kennedy Center Gives 'Favors'**  
Under Richard Grenell, the institution has given steep discounts to CPAC and FIFA, signed contracts with Trump loyalists and spent lavishly. PAGE A17

**The Border Wall Is Back**  
With a \$46.5 billion infusion from Congress, construction is again ramping up on the Rio Grande. But residents of Laredo, Texas, aren't happy. PAGE A16

### BUSINESS B1-5

**Dams in Disrepair**  
Demand for power is growing fast, but hydro plants are struggling because of droughts and other extreme weather linked to climate change. PAGE B1

**Saudi's Plans Hit a Cash Crunch**  
The crown prince is handling a restructuring of the kingdom's fund after years of expensive investments. PAGE B1

### SPORTS B6-9

**Feasting on Cupcakes**  
For years, the top college football teams have been scheduling home games against lesser opponents. PAGE B6

### TRAVEL C7-9

**Canals Without the Crowds**  
The city of Leiden, with all the charm of Amsterdam, offers a variety of opportunities to expand your mind. PAGE C7

**36 Hours in Cozumel**  
Off Mexico's Yucatán Peninsula, the island can feel comfortably uncrowded even amid all the cruise ships. PAGE C9



### ARTS C1-6

**The House That Netflix Built**  
The streamer has opened its first permanent home for branded fun, at a mall near Philadelphia. PAGE C1

**Museums to Miss Art Patrons**  
With the deaths of two wealthy benefactors this year, the cultural megadonor may be a thing of the past. PAGE C1

### OPINION A22-23

**Gail Collins** PAGE A23

