

"All the News
That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

THE WEATHER

Today, steady rain in the morning, lighter in the afternoon, high 52. Tonight, evening rain, drying out late, low 46. Tomorrow, mostly cloudy, dry, high 51. Weather map, Page 26.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$6.00



NANNA HEITMANN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Far From Moscow, Confounding Loss
Sapura Kadyrova, whose son died in Ukraine, with her daughter Lena Kabaeva in Ovsyanka, a Russian village scarred by war. Page 8.

Israel Launches ‘Intense’ Strikes In South Gaza

This article is by **Patrick Kingsley**, **Rawan Sheikh Ahmad** and **Thomas Fuller**.

JERUSALEM — The Israeli military heavily bombarded southern Gaza on Saturday and ordered residents of several Palestinian border towns in the area to leave their homes, appearing to set the stage for a ground invasion in the south as hostilities resumed after the collapse of a weeklong truce with Hamas.

The intensity of the renewed bombing — the Israeli military said it had carried out airstrikes against more than 400 targets across the Gaza Strip since fighting resumed on Friday — left many Gazans with a feeling of helplessness.

“I don’t know where to go,” said Sameer al-Jarrah, 67, who lives in Al Qarara, a town that the Israeli military ordered evacuated and that the Gazan Interior Ministry said had been hit in an Israeli strike.

Israel’s latest evacuation orders in southern Gaza evoked similar orders the military gave before invading northern Gaza in late October, when it urged Gazans to seek safety in the southern parts of the territory.

The Israeli military said in a statement that it had struck more than 50 locations in and around Khan Younis, the largest city in southern Gaza, where hundreds of thousands of displaced people have been sheltering after being

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Distrust, Death Threats and a Town’s Hail Mary

By **JONATHAN WEISMAN**

SILVERTON, Colo. — It’s hard to say precisely when Silverton, Colo., started to come apart, but the town election of April 7, 2020, might be a good moment to begin the story.

That was when a young, progressive New York lawyer and adventure skier named Shane Fuhrman beat the longtime fire chief Gilbert Archuleta, part of Silverton’s old guard, by 10 votes to become the new mayor.

To supporters, mainly of his generation, Fuhrman, 42, represented progress. After working at top finance firms in Manhattan, he had returned to his native Colorado and renovated the old Wyman Hotel on Greene Street,

Shared Values Helping Neighbors Bridge Political Divide

not in the mountain-town Victorian style of the Grand Imperial a block away, but as an elegant, hip boutique inn, with rooms going for as much as \$385 a night.

To Fuhrman’s opponents in the former mining town of 796 residents, he was the incarnation of the A-word (Aspen) and the T-word (Telluride) with their staggering housing prices, luxury outposts and billionaire denizens.

Their skepticism turned to anger 14 months into Fuhrman’s tenure when he declared that the council would stop reciting the Pledge of Allegiance until further notice. He said he was concerned about a town trustee who had received threats for not participating in the pledge, but that didn’t stop his critics from standing during a council meeting and shouting their allegiance to Old Glory as the mayor glumly watched.

Soon, Fox News broadcast a “Fox & Friends” episode from the Grand Imperial Hotel in which Mayor Fuhrman’s critics questioned his motives.

“There was a feeling like the mayor was monopolizing Silverton,” said Cole Davenport, a Marine Corps combat veteran who opened his cannabis dispensary

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PHOTOGRAPHS BY JOHNNY MILLER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Dazzling and Delicious

Who doesn’t love a lopsided gingerbread man? But when you want your sweets to make eyes sparkle, go with showy. For Cookie Week, seven recipes for kaleidoscopic delights. Special Section.

Even in Her Final Chapter, O’Connor Balanced Love and Duty

By **KATE ZERNIKE**

Sandra Day O’Connor gave up lifetime tenure on the Supreme Court — a job she loved and one with extraordinary power — to care for her husband of 52 years as he deteriorated from dementia.

That decision, in 2005, began a poignant final chapter of her extraordinary life. Her choice, at age 75, reflected her attempt to inte-

grate the often conflicting demands of professional achievement and family expectations in a country still adapting to changing gender roles and an aging population.

Justice O’Connor, who died on Friday at the age of 93, had hoped to care for her husband at their home in Arizona. But when that soon became untenable, she moved him to an assisted living fa-

cility. He was unhappy about the move, but then something remarkable happened: He found romance with another woman who was a patient there.

And Justice O’Connor, who not long before had been the most powerful woman in the country, was thrilled because he was content and comfortable again — even like “a teenager in love,” as their son Scott put it. The justice

kept up her regular visits, beaming next to the happy couple as they held hands on a porch swing.

This was 2007, and the country was far more polarized than when Sandra Day O’Connor had been nominated to be the first female justice on the Supreme Court in 1981. But even those who disagreed with Justice O’Connor on, say, *Bush v. Gore*, the bitterly

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Control Tower Vacancies Compromising Air Safety

A Fatigued and Demoralized Work Force Is Increasingly Prone to Risky Errors

By **EMILY STEEL** and **SYDNEY EMBER**

One air traffic controller went into work drunk this summer and joked about “making big money buzzed.” Another routinely smoked marijuana during breaks. A third employee threatened violence and then “aggressively pushed” a colleague who was directing airplanes.

The incidents were extreme examples, but they fit into a pattern that reveals glaring vulnerabilities in one of the most important protective layers of the nation’s vaunted aviation safety system.

In the past two years, air traffic controllers and others have submitted hundreds of complaints to a Federal Aviation Administration hotline describing issues like dangerous staffing shortages, mental health problems and deteriorating buildings, some infested by bugs and black mold.

There were at least seven reports of controllers sleeping when they were on duty and five about employees working while under the influence of alcohol or drugs. The New York Times obtained summaries of the complaints through an open-records request.

Air traffic controllers, who spend hours a day glued to monitors or scanning the skies with the lives of thousands of passengers at stake, are a last line of defense against crashes. The job comes with high stakes and intense pressure, even in the best of conditions.

Yet the conditions for many controllers are far from ideal. A nationwide staffing shortage — caused by years of employee turnover and tight budgets, among other factors — has forced many controllers to work six-day weeks and 10-hour days.

The result is a fatigued, distracted and demoralized work force that is increasingly prone to making mistakes, according to a Times investigation. The findings are based on interviews with more than 70 current and former air traffic controllers, pilots and federal officials, as well as thousands of pages of federal safety reports and internal F.A.A. records that The Times obtained.

While the U.S. airspace is remarkably safe, potentially dan-

gerous close calls have been happening, on average, multiple times a week this year, The Times reported in August. Some controllers say they fear that a deadly crash is inevitable.

In the fiscal year that ended Sept. 30, there were 503 air traffic control lapses that the F.A.A. preliminarily categorized as “significant,” 65 percent more than in the prior year, according to internal agency reports reviewed by The Times. During that period, air traffic increased about 4 percent.

A database of aviation safety issues is peppered with recent mistakes by exhausted controllers. A controller at the air traffic control center in the Jacksonville, Fla., area instructed one airliner to turn into the path of another, later blaming being overworked and fa-



JOHN FRANCIS PETERS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

In the fiscal year ending Sept. 30, significant traffic control “lapses” increased 65 percent.

tigued. A controller at a facility that monitors the skies above Southern California told a plane to fly too low, attributing the lapse to being “extremely tired” after working “continuous” overtime.

“If I can make a small mistake like that, I can make a bigger one,” the controller wrote in a submission included in the database, which is maintained by NASA.

Many controllers are aviation enthusiasts who are drawn to the job because it can pay six figures. Some relish the opportunity to earn more by working overtime.

But The Times found that the

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Surge in U.S. Oil Cuts Prices But Raises Climate Concerns

By **CLIFFORD KRAUSS**

HOUSTON — American oil fields are gushing again, helping to drive down fuel prices but also threatening to undercut efforts to reduce greenhouse gas emissions.

Only three years after U.S. oil production collapsed during the pandemic, energy companies are cranking out a record 13.2 million barrels a day, more than Russia or Saudi Arabia. The flow of oil has grown by roughly 800,000 barrels a day since early 2022, and analysts expect the industry to add another 500,000 barrels a day next year.

The main driver of the production surge is a delayed response to the Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, which sent the price of oil to well over \$100 a barrel for the first time in nearly a decade. The wells that were drilled last year are now in full swing.

With the surge in output, gasoline prices have fallen by close to \$2 a gallon since the summer of 2022 and are back to levels that prevailed in 2021. The increase in production has also provided the Biden administration with substantial leverage in its dealings with oil-exporting foes like Russia, Venezuela and Iran while reducing its need to cajole more friendly countries like Saudi Arabia to temper prices.

But the comeback in U.S. oil production poses big risks, too. More supply and lower prices could increase demand for fossil fuels when world leaders, who are meeting in Dubai, United Arab Emirates, are straining to reach agreements that would accelerate the fight against climate change. Scientists generally agree that the world is far from achieving the goals necessary to avoid the catastrophic effects of global warming, which is caused mainly by the burning of fossil fuels like oil, natural gas and coal.

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METROPOLITAN

Little Caracas Is Coming
Venezuelan foods and accents are spreading along Roosevelt Avenue in Queens as thousands of migrants make their home in the city.

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ARTS & LEISURE

The Definition of Diva
The soprano Maria Callas was born 100 years ago this weekend. She and her flash of a career remain beacons of artistic integrity and profundity.

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SUNDAY BUSINESS

Doctors and Pharmacists Unite
Accustomed to a special status outside the management-labor hierarchy, many health professionals now feel as put upon as clock-punching workers.

PAGE 1

SUNDAY STYLES

Noah Kahan Is OK With Bleak
On a walk in the woods, the singer-songwriter says he likes the “dead quiet” of Vermont, where he can feel “lonely as hell.”

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SUNDAY OPINION

Michelle Goldberg

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BEST GIFT EVER

Presents you can't wait to give because they're just that good.

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