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# The New York Times

**THE WEATHER** 

**Today,** warm and humid, partly cloudy, high 88. **Tonight,** cloudy, humid, light winds, low 75. Tomorrow, some sunshine, an afternoon storm,

\$4.00

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Prices in Canada may be higher

# **6 TOP DEMOCRATS** PRIVATELY SAYING

# BIDEN SHOULD GO

HOUSE LEADERS MEET

Allies of President Insist He Must Do More to Reassure Voters

This article is by Luke Broadwater, Robert Jimison and Annie

President Biden's base of support among key Democrats on Capitol Hill began to crumble on Sunday as a half-dozen top members of the House privately told colleagues he should withdraw from the presidential race amid growing concerns about his age and ability to win re-election.

During a virtual private meeting, the House Democrats — all senior members of powerful committees - discussed how to use their collective influence to convince Mr. Biden he had little chance of defeating former President Donald J. Trump, according to five people familiar with the confidential discussion, including three who were present, all of whom insisted on anonymity to

The consensus during the session, which was convened by Representative Hakeem Jeffries, Democrat of New York and the minority leader, was that a change at the top of the ticket was needed to preserve the party's chances of holding the White House and prevailing in the fight for control of Congress, the people said.

Among those saying explicitly that Mr. Biden should end his candidacy were Representatives Jerrold Nadler of New York, the top Democrat on the Judiciary Committee; Adam Smith of Washington, the ranking member of the Armed Services Committee; Mark Takano of California, the

Continued on Page A15

**UKRAINE** A nation at war strains to stay neutral as the U.S. presidential race intensifies. PAGE A10









Conservationists fear SpaceX operations are damaging the surrounding Boca Chica, Texas, region. From left, a dead Atlantic green sea turtle, a great blue heron and a damaged snowy plover egg.

# French Election Yields Deadlock as Left Surges

By ROGER COHEN

PARIS — France faced a hung parliament and deep political uncertainty after the three main political groups of the left, center and right emerged from snap legislative elections on Sunday with large shares of the vote but nothing approaching an absolute ma-

Projections based on preliminary results upended widespread predictions of a clear victory for the National Rally, Marine Le

Macron's Party at No. 2 — Far Right Loses Projected Lead

Pen's anti-immigrant party that dominated the first round of voting a week ago. Instead, the leftwing New Popular Front appeared to hold the lead, with between 172 and 208 seats, according to several polling institutes.

The centrist Renaissance party of President Emmanuel Macron, who cast the country into turmoil a month ago by calling the election, was in second place with between 150 and 174 seats, the projections indicated. Trailing them was the National Rally, which took between 113 and 152 seats.

The details of the outcome may still shift, but it is clear that, to a remarkable degree, a scramble by centrists and the left to form a "Republican front" to confront the

Continued on Page A9

# At SpaceX, Wildlife Safety Takes Back Seat to Launch

#### Musk Exploits Conflicting Agency Missions to Achieve His Goals, Inquiry Finds

By ERIC LIPTON

BOCA CHICA, Texas — As Elon Musk's Starship — the largest rocket ever manufactured — successfully blasted toward the sky last month, the launch was hailed as a giant leap for SpaceX and the United States' civilian space pro-

Two hours later, once conditions were deemed safe, a team from SpaceX, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service and a conservation group began canvassing the fragile migratory bird habitat surrounding the launch site.

The impact was obvious.

The launch had unleashed an enormous burst of mud, stones and fiery debris across the public lands encircling Mr. Musk's \$3 billion space compound. Chunks of sheet metal and insulation were strewed across the sand flats on one side of a state park. Elsewhere, a small fire had ignited, leaving a charred patch of park grasslands — remnants from the blastoff that burned 7.5 million pounds of fuel.

Most disturbing to one member of the entourage was the yellow smear on the soil in the same spot that a bird's nest lay the day before. None of the nine nests recorded by the nonprofit Coastal Bend Bays & Estuaries Program before the launch had survived in-

Egg yolk now stained the ground.

"The nests have all been messed up or have eggs missing," Justin LeClaire, a Coastal Bend wildlife biologist, told a Fish and Wildlife inspector as a New York Times reporter observed nearby.

The outcome was part of a welldocumented pattern.

On at least 19 occasions since 2019, SpaceX operations have caused fires, leaks, explosions or other problems associated with the rapid growth of Mr. Musk's complex in Boca Chica. These incidents have caused environmental damage and reflect a broader debate over how to balance technological and economic progress against protections of delicate ecosystems and local communi-

That natural tension is heightened by Mr. Musk's influence over American space aspirations. Members of Congress and senior officials in the Biden administration have fretted privately and publicly about the extent of Mr. Musk's power as the U.S. government increasingly relies on SpaceX for commercial space operations and for its plans to travel to the moon and even Mars.

An examination of Mr. Musk's tactics in South Texas shows how he exploited the limitations and competing missions of the various agencies most poised to be a check on the ferocious expansion of the industrial complex he calls Starbase. Those charged with protecting the area's cultural and natural resources - particularly officials from the Interior Department's Fish and Wildlife Service and the National Park Service repeatedly lost out to more powerful agencies, including the Federal Aviation Administration, whose goals are intertwined with Mr. Musk's.

In the end, South Texas' ecology took a back seat to SpaceX's and the country's — ambitions.

Executives from SpaceX declined repeated requests in person and via email to comment. But Gary Henry, who until this year served as a SpaceX adviser on Pentagon launch programs, said the company was aware of the officials' complaints about environmental impact and was committed to addressing them.

Kelvin B. Coleman, the top F.A.A. official overseeing space launch licenses, said he was convinced that his agency was doing its duty, which is to foster space travel safely.

"Blowing debris into state parks or national land is not what we prescribed, but the bottom line

Continued on Page A12

## Israeli Protests Seek Cease-Fire And an Election

By ISABEL KERSHNER

JERUSALEM - Israelis on Sunday marked nine months since the devastating Hamas-led attack of Oct. 7 and the start of the ensuing war in Gaza with a nationwide day of antigovernment protests at a time that many here view as a pivotal juncture in the

Primarily calling for a ceasefire deal with Hamas that would see hostages return from captivity and for new elections in Israel, protesters brought traffic to a standstill at several major intersections in cities and on highways across the country. Much of central Tel Aviv was blocked in one of the biggest protests in months.

Some progress has been made in recent days for a resumption of negotiations toward a tentative deal after weeks of an impasse, even as the fighting continues in Gaza, where an Israeli strike hit in the area of a U.N. school on Saturday, and across Israel's northern border with Lebanon.

But many Israelis, among them the families of some hostages, fear that the cease-fire efforts could be torpedoed not only by Hamas, but also by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel who, they say, might prioritize the survival of his government over a deal that could topple it.

Continued on Page A7



The Israeli military transporting a group of soldiers and journalists inside the southern Gaza Strip.

# In Gaza, Seeing Scarred Land and Eerie Stillness

By ADAM GOLDMAN

RAFAH, Gaza Strip — The armed convoy of jeeps filled with reporters rumbled into a dusty Rafah, passing

flattened houses RAFAH and battered apart-**DISPATCH** ment buildings.

As we dismounted our Humvees, a stillness gripped this swath of southern Gaza, near the border with Egypt. Slabs of

concrete and twisted rebar dotted the scarred landscape. Kittens darted through the wreck-

Streets once bustling with life were now a maze of rubble. Everyone was gone.

More than a million people have fled to avoid an Israeli onslaught that began two months ago. Many have been displaced repeatedly and now live in tent cities that stretch for miles,

where they face an uncertain future as they mourn the loss of loved ones.

As Israel says it is winding down its operation against Hamas in Rafah, the Israeli military invited foreign journalists into the city on a supervised visit. The military says that it has fought with precision and restraint against Hamas fighters embedded in civilian areas.

Continued on Page A7

# Mexico City's Burning Debate: Subdue Salsas for Foreigners?

By JAMES WAGNER

MEXICO CITY — Gerardo Medina runs the Taquería Los Amigos, a 24-hour stand that sits at a busy intersection in an upscale neighborhood.

With more customers from abroad eating his tacos, he began noticing similar reactions to his pico de gallo: red faces, sweat, complaints about the spiciness.

So Mr. Medina, 30, got rid of the serrano peppers, leaving just tomatoes, onions and cilantro. While he still offers an avocado salsa with serrano and a red salsa with morita chiles and chiles de árbol, he wanted to provide a nonspicy option for international visitors unaccustomed to intense heat.

"It attracts more people," he said.

Chiles are fundamental to Mexican cuisine and, in turn, to the country's identity. Mexicans put them, often in the form of salsas, on everything: tacos, seafood, chips, fruit, beer and, yes, even sorbet.

"Food that isn't spicy practically isn't good food for the majority of Mexicans," Isaac Palacios, 37, who lives in Mexico City, said after consuming tacos smothered in salsa.

But since the pandemic, the country's capital — with a metropolitan area of 23 million people, a temperate climate and rich cultural offerings — has become hugely popular as both a tourist destina-



"If you lower the heat on a salsa," one Mexico City resident said, "now it's a dressing."

tion and a new home for international transplants who can work remotely and whose earnings in dollars or euros makes the city more affordable. (Americans are the biggest group.) As a result, in certain neighbor-

hoods, the gentrification has been inescapable.

English is often heard on the streets. Rents have ballooned. Boutiques and coffee shops are increasingly common.

But another key manifestation of this international shift - the lowering of the heat levels of salsas at some of the city's many taquerías - has caused conster-

Continued on Page A6



**INTERNATIONAL A4-10** 

#### **Desert Perils for Migrants**

Researchers say the trek across the Sahel and the Sahara is more dangerous than crossing the sea. PAGE A4

#### Circuslike Election in Japan

Fifty-six people ran to be governor of Tokyo and its surrounding prefecture. Many were far from serious. PAGE A8 NATIONAL A11-16

# DNA and the Tulsa Massacre

After more than a century, researchers hope to finally identify the victims of one of the worst racial attacks in American history. PAGE A11

#### Undeterred by Drownings

The hot weekend brought crowds to New York beaches, where the tally of swimming deaths is now four. PAGE A16

OBITUARIES A17, 20

#### Bard for a Troubled World

Stanley Moss, 99, made free-verse observations on things like friends' deaths and the Holocaust. PAGE A20



ARTS C1-6

#### His Big Step Forward

Success had eluded Grégory Milan in dance and choreography. Then came gymnastics and Simone Biles. PAGE C1

#### Rebound in San Francisco

Arts groups are succeeding in luring back audiences, but attendance remains down from prepandemic levels. PAGE C1 **BUSINESS B1-5** 

#### Paramount Agrees to a Merger

The deal with the media outfit Skydance, approved by Paramount's board, ushers in a new chapter for the company, which owns CBS and the movie studio behind "Top Gun."

#### A Six-Day Workweek?

Greece, which already has the European Union's longest average workweek, wants to add another day in some cases, bucking a growing global trend toward shorter weeks.

OPINION A18-19

Farah Stockman

PAGE A18



SPORTS D1-8

#### New and Used Stars for Sale

Deals between car dealerships and college athletes, once scandalous, are now commonplace. The bargain: free rides for social media posts.

