

“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

VOL. CLXXIII . . . No. 60,101 © 2024 The New York Times Company FRIDAY, MARCH 22, 2024 Prices in Canada may be higher \$4.00

Menendez Says He Won’t Run As a Democrat

Indicted Senator Open to Independent Bid

By **NICHOLAS FANDOS**
and **TRACEY TULLY**

Senator Robert Menendez of New Jersey announced on Thursday that he would not run for reelection as a Democrat this year, bowing to intense political pressure and federal charges that place him at the center of an international bribery scheme.

But in a nine-minute video posted on social media, Mr. Menendez, 70, reiterated that he would not resign and left the door open to running as a political independent if he is exonerated at a trial scheduled for May.

“I am hopeful that my exoneration will take place this summer and allow me to pursue my candidacy as an independent Democrat in the general election,” he said.

Still, Mr. Menendez’s decision to forgo the competition for his party’s nomination amounted to a painful concession, after months of near total defiance, that his political career was teetering on the edge.

He was all but certain to lose the June primary for his own seat. Nearly every Democratic ally has abandoned him in recent months, and two prominent Democrats — Representative Andy Kim and Tammy Murphy, the wife of Gov. Philip D. Murphy — are trouncing him in primary polls.

“Unfortunately, the present accusations I am facing — of which I am innocent and will prove so — will not allow me to have that kind of political dialogue and debate with political opponents who have already made it a cornerstone of their campaign,” he said in the video on Thursday.

A campaign as an independent against his own party’s political organization is unlikely to be any easier, even if he were to prevail in court. It could also jeopardize Democrats’ already tenuous hold on the Senate if he siphons votes from the Democratic nominee in a close race.

Mr. Menendez has until early June to decide whether to formally pursue an independent campaign. But former allies speculated that his motivation for pre-

Continued on Page A17



A 62-year-old man is continuing to improve after getting a kidney from a genetically engineered pig on Saturday in Boston.

How Reddit Subdued Its Trolls and Saved Itself

SAN FRANCISCO — A decade ago, no one in their right mind would have put “Reddit” and “publicly traded company” in the same sentence.

At the time, Reddit was known as one of the darkest parts of the internet — an anything-goes forum where trolls, extremists and edgelords reigned. Light on rules and overseen by an army of volunteer moderators, Reddit — which once hosted popular communities devoted to nonconsensual pornography, overt racism and violent misogyny, among other topics — was often spoken of in the same breath as online cesspools like 4chan and SomethingAwful.

Few could have predicted back then that Reddit would eventually clean up its act, shed its reputation for toxicity and go

Message Board Shows Value of Warding Off Bad Actors

public, as it did on Thursday at a \$6.4 billion valuation.

Today, Reddit is a gem of the internet, and a trusted source of news and entertainment for millions of people. It’s one of the last big platforms that feel unmistakably human — messy and rough around the edges, sure, but a place where real people gather to talk about real things, unmediated by algorithms and largely free of mindless engagement bait. Many people, me included, have gotten in the habit of appending “Reddit.com” to our Google searches, to ensure we actually get something useful.

There are a lot of lessons in

Reddit’s turnaround. But one of the clearest is that content moderation — the messy business of deciding what users are and aren’t allowed to post on social media, and enforcing those rules day to day — actually works.

Content moderation gets a bad rap these days. Partisans on the right, including former President Donald J. Trump and Elon Musk, the owner of X, deride it as liberal censorship. Tech C.E.O.s don’t like that it costs them money, gets them yelled at by regulators and doesn’t provide an immediate return on investment. Governments don’t want Silicon Valley doing it, mostly because they want to do it themselves.

Continued on Page A21

I.P.O. Shares of Reddit rose 48 percent, a sign of investors’ big appetite for tech stocks. **PAGE B1**

Patient Mends After Receiving A Pig’s Kidney

By **RONI CARYN RABIN**

Surgeons in Boston have transplanted a kidney from a genetically engineered pig into an ailing 62-year-old man, the first procedure of its kind. If successful, the breakthrough offers hope to hundreds of thousands of Americans whose kidneys have failed.

So far, the signs are promising. Kidneys remove waste products and excess fluid from the blood. The new kidney began producing urine shortly after the surgery last weekend and the patient’s condition continues to improve, according to physicians at Massachusetts General Hospital, known as Mass General. He is already walking the halls of the hospital and may be discharged soon.

The patient is a Black man, and the procedure may have special significance for Black patients, who suffer high rates of end-stage kidney disease.

A new source of kidneys “could solve an intractable problem in the field — the inadequate access of minority patients to kidney transplants,” said Dr. Winfred Williams, associate chief of the nephrology division at Mass General and the patient’s primary kidney doctor.

If kidneys from genetically modified animals can be trans-

Continued on Page A13

Auschwitz Survivor Who Dressed Sinatra, Shaq and 6 Presidents

By **ALEX TRAUB**

Defying boundaries of taste and time, Martin Greenfield made suits for President Dwight D. Eisenhower, the gangster Meyer Lansky, Leonardo DiCaprio and LeBron James. Men skilled in the arts of power projection — along with fashion writers and designers — considered him the nation’s greatest men’s tailor.

For years, none of them knew the origins of his expertise: a beating in Auschwitz.

As a teenager, Mr. Greenfield was Maximilian Grünfeld, a skinny Jewish prisoner whose job was to wash the clothes of Nazi guards at the concentration camp. In the laundry room one day, he accidentally ripped the collar of a guard’s shirt. The man whipped Max in response, then hurled the garment back at the boy.

After a fellow prisoner taught Max how to sew, he mended the collar, but then decided to keep the shirt, sliding it under the striped shirt of his prison uniform.

The garment transformed his life. Other prisoners thought it signified that Max enjoyed special privileges. Guards allowed him to roam around the grounds of Auschwitz, and when he worked at a hospital kitchen, they assumed that he was authorized to take extra food.



The renowned tailor Martin Greenfield in 2010. He immigrated to New York in 1947, carrying \$10.

Max ripped another guard’s uniform. This time, it was deliberate. He was creating a clandestine wardrobe that would help him survive the Holocaust.

“The day I first wore that shirt,” Mr. Greenfield wrote seven dec-

ades later, “was the day I learned clothes possess power.”

He never forgot the lesson. “Two ripped Nazi shirts,” he continued, “helped this Jew build America’s most famous and successful custom-suit company.”

Mr. Greenfield died on Wednesday at a hospital in Manhasset, N.Y., on Long Island, his son Tod said. He was 95.

The miseries and triumphs of Mr. Greenfield’s life exemplified

Continued on Page A24

To Freaknik Revelers’ Chagrin, New Film Digs Up Old Tapes

By **RICK ROJAS**

ATLANTA — Back then, hundreds of thousands of young people, mostly Black college students, descended on Atlanta every spring for the rowdy and raunchy event called Freaknik. Performers like Notorious B.I.G., OutKast and Uncle Luke put on shows all over the city. The traffic hardly budged, and why should it? The party was right there in the street.

Three decades went by. Party-ers became professionals. Children were born. Wardrobes evolved. All the while, some who had been in the middle of it all were perfectly content knowing their youthful exploits that might

be a bit embarrassing today were tucked away. They had their memories. Photographs were stowed in shoe boxes. As for whatever was captured on tape, who has a VCR anymore?

But a new documentary risks shaking things up.

“Freaknik: The Wildest Party Never Told” promises to be more than a racy exposé, exploring the transformation over the 1980s and ’90s of a modest spring break cookout for students at the city’s historically Black colleges into a sprawling spectacle that consumed Atlanta.

Even so, for months, the con-

Continued on Page A16



INTERNATIONAL A4-10

U.S. Offers Gaza Cease-Fire

A Security Council resolution being circulated by American envoys is notable for its strong language. **PAGE A8**

Far-Right Revival in Portugal

The Chega party has found favor once more as memories of dictatorship fade and voter frustration abounds. **PAGE A4**

NATIONAL A11-22

Picking Fights for MAGA

America First Legal, started by the Trump loyalist Stephen Miller, has filed more than 100 actions. Winning may be beside the point. **PAGE A12**

Deep-Pocketed Hopefuls

With Democrats raising more money, the G.O.P. has backed candidates who can self-fund. Their wealth may factor in the fight for Senate control. **PAGE A17**

Driverless Cars in L.A.?

Waymo, a fleet of autonomous taxis that is already operating in San Francisco and Phoenix, has finally come to car-obsessed Los Angeles. **PAGE A11**



SPORTS B7-10

N.C.A.A. Tournament Playlists

Flau’jae Johnson, above, listens to her own rap before games. What of other college players and coaches? **PAGE B7**

Ohtani’s Interpreter Is Fired

Silence shrouded the Dodgers after accusations of theft and illegal betting by the aide surfaced. **PAGE B10**

BUSINESS B1-6

Russia’s Fabulist Front

As the Ukraine war grinds on, the Kremlin has created increasingly complex fabrications online to discredit Ukraine and undercut aid. Some have a Hollywood-style plot twist. **PAGE B1**

F.T.C. Faults Big Grocers

A new government report found that large chains “accelerated and distorted” the effects of supply chain snarls during the pandemic, and raised prices higher than they needed to. **PAGE B1**

OPINION A26-27

David Wallace-Wells **PAGE A26**



WEEKEND ARTS C1-10

Beauty Under the Big Top

The Broadway musical “Water for Elephants” is a love story that leads with movement, eye candy and awe. Jesse Green has the review. **PAGE C1**

