

“All the News  
That’s Fit to Print”

# The New York Times

**THE WEATHER**  
Today, warm, less humid, sunshine and some clouds, high 86. **Tonight**, partly cloudy, low 65. **Tomorrow**, mix of clouds and sun, high 79. Weather map appears on Page A24.

VOL. CLXXIII . . . No. 60,164 © 2024 The New York Times Company FRIDAY, MAY 24, 2024 Prices in Canada may be higher \$4.00

## In Top Court, G.O.P. Prevails On Voting Map

### Partisanship vs. Racial Aims in S. Carolina

**By ADAM LIPTAK**

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court cleared the way on Thursday for South Carolina to keep using a congressional map that a lower court had deemed an unconstitutional racial gerrymander that resulted in the “bleaching of African American voters” from a district.

The conservative majority, by a 6-to-3 vote, returned the case to the lower court, handing a victory to Republicans by allowing them to maintain boundaries that helped make the district in question a party stronghold.

The immediate effect of the ruling will be limited, as the court’s delay in ruling had already ensured that this year’s elections would take place under the contested map. But the majority opinion, written by Justice Samuel A. Alito Jr., will have an impact beyond South Carolina in the years to come, said Richard L. Hasen, a law professor at the University of California, Los Angeles.

“Justice Alito for a court majority has once again come up with a legal framework that makes it easier for Republican states to engage in redistricting to help white Republicans maximize their political power,” Professor Hasen said.

The ruling was the latest in a series of closely divided decisions on elections that characterize the work of the court led by Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr., including ones that have amplified the role of money in politics, made it easier to restrict voting and exempted partisan gerrymandering from review in federal court.

The trend is not entirely uniform, as the court ruled last year that Alabama lawmakers had diluted the power of Black voters in drawing a congressional voting map. But the overall pattern has been to limit the oversight of elections by Congress and the federal courts, often in ways that have

*Continued on Page A15*



RAMADAN ABED/REUTERS

Palestinians swarmed around trucks delivering aid into central Gaza on Saturday through a pier newly built by the U.S. military.

## Seeking Compensation for a Neighborhood Lost

**By AUDRA D. S. BURCH**

PALM SPRINGS, Calif. — The billboards rise above the desert valley, introducing millions of visitors to what was an almost forgotten chapter in Palm Springs history. “Know before you go. Palm Springs Section 14,” one billboard reads. “We smelled the smoke, we watched our houses burn.”

In the 1960s, in Palm Springs, a sun-drenched resort destination in Southern California, a neighborhood of mostly Black and Latino families was razed to make room for commercial development. A 1968 report by the state attorney general called it “a city-engineered holocaust.”

Today, there are few physical re-

### In 1960s Palm Springs, a Claim of an Attack Driven by Racism

mains of the community called Section 14 beyond a vacant lot and the remnants of concrete slab foundations that once held houses. A convention center, hotels and a casino now dominate the landscape.

The Palm Springs Section 14 Survivors group, made up of aging former residents and descendants, is asking for compensation for the loss of their homes and personal property, along with dam-

ages for racial trauma. The city apologized for its role and said it was committed to pursuing a reparations program. But negotiations stalled.

Until now.

California is at the forefront of the movement to compensate African Americans who have been harmed by systemic racism and the legacy of slavery, but the experience in Palm Springs underscores the challenges of broadening largely symbolic support to concrete actions. Last year, a state panel recommended dozens of policy changes and billions of dollars in reparations to the state’s Black residents. State lawmakers have acted on some of that guidance.

*Continued on Page A18*

## U.S. Files Suit To Dismantle Concert Giant

**By DAVID McCABE  
and BEN SISARIO**

WASHINGTON — The Justice Department on Thursday sued Live Nation Entertainment, the concert giant that owns Ticketmaster, asking a court to break up the company over claims it illegally maintained a monopoly in the live entertainment industry.

In the lawsuit, which is joined by 29 states and the District of Columbia, the government accuses Live Nation of leveraging its sprawling empire to dominate the industry by locking venues into exclusive ticketing contracts, pressuring artists to use its services and threatening its rivals with financial retribution.

Those tactics, the government argues, have resulted in higher ticket prices for consumers and have stifled innovation and competition throughout the industry. The suit asks the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York to order “the divestiture of, at minimum, Ticketmaster,” and to prevent Live Nation from engaging in anticompetitive practices.

“It is time for fans and artists to stop paying the price for Live Nation’s monopoly,” Merrick B. Garland said.

*Continued on Page A20*

## U.S. Strains To Aid Gaza From Its Pier

### Looting Complicates Delivery of Supplies

**By HELENE COOPER  
and ADAM RASGON**

WASHINGTON — In the week since the U.S. military and allies attached a temporary pier to the Gaza shoreline, Pentagon planners have come face to face with the logistical nightmare that critics had warned would accompany the endeavor.

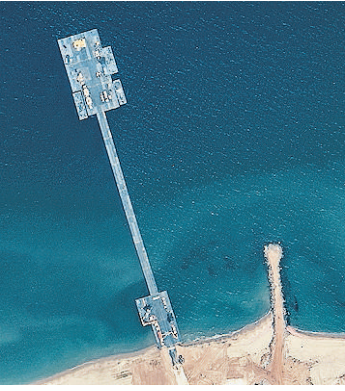
The Defense Department predicted that a steady stream of humanitarian aid would be arriving in Gaza via the pier by now, but little relief has reached Palestinians in the besieged strip, officials acknowledged this week. Several trucks were looted as they made their way to a warehouse, the U.N. World Food Program said, and the complexity of operating the pier project in a war zone is continuing to slow distribution.

The problems, as expected, are on the back end of the operation. Looting of aid trucks has continued, officials said, and forced the World Food Program to suspend operations for two days. The U.N. agency for Palestinian refugees, UNRWA, suspended food distribution in Rafah on Tuesday, citing lack of security. It added that it had not received any medical supplies for 10 days because of closures and disruptions at the Rafah and Kerem Shalom border crossings.

The project was always expected to be difficult. For one thing, White House policy does not allow U.S. troops to be on the ground in Gaza. So the Pentagon has the ability to start but not finish the mission, a situation one military analyst likened to having the engine of a car but not the wheels.

As the pier project struggles to get going, the situation in Gaza remains dire. More than 34,000 people have died and more than 77,000 have been wounded, according to the U.N.

*Continued on Page A9*



A satellite image of the floating pier built by the U.S. off Gaza.



BYRN MAWR COLLEGE

The Class of 1898 at Bryn Mawr. Commencement is the rare American ritual that still has rules. That’s why it’s ripe for disruption.

## Graduation Time: Pomp Goes On, No Matter the Circumstances

Recycled robes, processional marches, silver pens from Tiffany: It is graduation season in America. May brings a nationwide festival of youth, with roots stretching back to before the foundation of the republic, and though many college commencements this month have taken place under police surveillance amid student outcry, the ceremonies have gone on.

There are more than three

centuries of precedents for graduation rituals — for its dress, for its speeches, and for its disturbances. If commencement is ripe for contestation (the backs turned on the speaker, the kaffiyeh replacing the pointed sash), that’s because it’s one of the very last venues in which Americans show a commitment to how we do things, and not just what we say and record. I am always a little surprised that universities have hung onto these habits, almost uniquely longstanding. This is a country where very

little endures. You can arrive at the Met Gala half-naked. You can play Bach or Beyoncé at a funeral. But graduation still has rules.

The students graduating from four-year colleges and universities this month began their studies, for the most part, in Pandemic Year Zero. They missed, in 2020, the walk across the football field or the auditorium stage to collect their high school diploma, and as the war in Gaza continues to inflame campuses some are facing disarray again. Columbia

University, which called in the New York Police Department to oust pro-Palestinian student demonstrators, broke its universitywide commencement into smaller chunks. Emory University moved its ceremonies off campus.

None has been outright canceled, though. It takes a lot to cancel a graduation. At Harvard, where hundreds of students walked out of this year’s main ceremony, outbreaks of smallpox

*Continued on Page A17*

## Patient Care Delayed as Fallout From Hack on Hospitals Persists

**By REED ABELSON**

In more than a dozen states, doctors and nurses have resorted to paper and handwritten treatment orders to chart patient illnesses and track them, unable to access the detailed medical histories that have long been available only through computerized records.

Patients have waited for long stints in emergency rooms, and their treatments have been delayed while lab results and readings from machines like M.R.I.s are ferried through makeshift efforts lacking the speed of electronic uploads.

For more than two weeks, thousands of medical personnel have turned to manual methods after a cyberattack on Ascension, one of

the nation’s largest health systems with about 140 hospitals in 19 states and the District of Columbia.

The large-scale attack on May 8 was reminiscent of the hacking of Change Healthcare, a unit of UnitedHealth Group that manages the nation’s largest health care payment system. The assault shut down Change’s digital billing and payment routes, leaving hospitals, doctors and pharmacists without ways to communicate with health insurers for weeks. Patients were unable to fill prescriptions, and providers could not get paid for care.

While some earlier cyberattacks affected a single hospital

*Continued on Page A19*

NATIONAL A11-21

### Pizza and Bodega Stops

While on trial in New York City, former President Donald J. Trump has been campaigning for president in unfriendly political territory. *PAGE A11*

### G.O.P. Demands Discipline

During a hearing on campus antisemitism, House Republicans asked university leaders why so few student protesters had been suspended. *PAGE A16*

### Where Biden Leads Trump

New data show that the president has recently overtaken Donald J. Trump in the total number of donors who have given to his campaign. *PAGE A12*



INTERNATIONAL A4-10

### Russian Forces Gain Ground

Moscow’s gains since late 2022 include areas in and around Kharkiv, which was hit by a deadly strike Thursday. *PAGE A4*

### India’s Opposition on the Rise

After setting a high bar, Prime Minister Narendra Modi is on the defensive as the voting nears its end. *PAGE A6*

BUSINESS B1-6

### Biden Loses in Silicon Valley

Several leading tech venture capitalists are increasingly criticizing the president and making their disaffection known in an election year. *PAGE B1*

### Railroad Settles in Derailment

Norfolk Southern agreed to pay more than \$310 million to resolve claims from an accident in Ohio. *PAGE B1*

OBITUARIES B11-12

### Author of Steamy ‘Lace’

Shirley Conran planned to write a sex guide for schoolgirls and ended up with a best-selling novel. She was 91. *PAGE B12*



WEEKEND ARTS C1-10

### A Wedding as Part of the Show

The founder of the DanceAfrica festival urged his friends to marry at the Brooklyn Academy of Music in 1983. *PAGE C1*

### ‘Hit Man’ Is a Hit, Man

Glen Powell stars in one of the year’s funniest, sexiest, most enjoyable movies — and it’s deep, too. *PAGE C1*

SPORTS B7-10

### Endless Love for a Maverick

Slovenes love Luka Doncic. But amid rocky playoffs, they are needing to trust his Dallas teammates, too. *PAGE B7*

### Roland Garros Draw

Rafael Nadal, the 14-time champion and sentimental favorite, faces a difficult path at the French Open. *PAGE B8*

OPINION A22-23

### David Brooks

*PAGE A22*

