

All the News
That's Fit to Print

The New York Times

THE WEATHER

Today, cloudy, rain arriving late, high 46. Tonight, cloudy, heavy rain, low 44. Tomorrow, clouds breaking for some sunshine, morning rain, high 56. Weather map, Page B8.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



JOSÉ A. ALVARADO JR. FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Underlying shocking attacks on the subway and the streets are portraits of individual suffering by unstable people in the city's care.

Behind Acts of Violence, Years of Mistakes

How New York's Safety Net Fails Homeless Mentally Ill People

By AMY JULIA HARRIS and JAN RANSOM

The last breakdown of Marcus Gomez began in full view of the people whose job it was to stop it. First, Mr. Gomez, a slight 45-year-old who was homeless and had long lived with schizophrenia, started hearing voices. Then he stripped off his clothes and stalked naked through the halls of his transitional housing program. Finally, according to his treatment notes, the voices overpowered

him: They were telling him to kill the program's staff. Afraid for their safety, the program workers asked a nearby hospital, Long Island Jewish Medical Center in Queens, to admit Mr. Gomez for inpatient care. Once stable, he might continue treatment, perhaps even find permanent housing. But the hospital did not stabilize him. Instead, hours after receiving him in July 2018, it discharged him into the night. Still psychotic, he drifted across New York City to his grandmother's apartment in

the Bronx, seized a kitchen knife and, swinging wildly, set upon her home health aide, stabbing the 62-year-old caregiver in the head, chest, armpits, arms — 37 times in all. "My mind made me do it," Mr. Gomez told the police when they questioned him. The caregiver barely survived. Mr. Gomez went to jail. Even in a city where encounters with unstable homeless people have become a part of daily life, the shocking act of violence that Mr. Gomez carried out was un-

usual. But the circumstances that allowed it to happen were not. For years, the social safety net intended to help homeless mentally ill people like Mr. Gomez — and keep them from unraveling violently — has failed in glaring and preventable ways. Yet rather than be held accountable, a New York Times investigation found, city and state agencies have repeated the same errors again and again, insulated from scrutiny by state laws that protect patient privacy but hide failings from public view.

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OpenAI Strife Recalls Story Of Steve Jobs

By DAVID STREITFELD

SAN FRANCISCO — Steve Jobs, driven by his genius and his gut, invented the iPhone and built Apple into the world's most valuable company. He was uncompromising, larger than life and irreplaceable. His life was creating the future, which would be filled with devices controlled by their users. Sam Altman spent the last year taking on the mantle of Mr. Jobs as the Silicon Valley entrepreneur in charge of tomorrow. It is the biggest job in Silicon Valley, and now the most difficult. As more people worry they will be controlled rather than in control, the future is fraught with danger. Until Friday, Mr. Altman was the chief executive of OpenAI, the dominant artificial intelligence company. He promised A.I. would usher in humanity's first golden age even though it came from the same kind of inventors who thought there was a market for internet-connected toasters. Mr. Altman's vague but vast ambitions got him in trouble with the board of OpenAI, which said he was "not consistently candid" in his communications and fired him. This shocked Silicon Valley, which did everything but march to the company's San Francisco headquarters with pitchforks to demand Mr. Altman's reinstatement. The future is abstract, but serious money was at risk. The attempt at a reinstatement apparently failed — this is an on-

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TYLER HICKS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Ukrainian soldier from the 110th Brigade who was severely injured on the front line in Avdiivka.

Bloody Cost for Both Sides in Ukraine 'Stalemate'

By MARC SANTORA

DONBAS REGION, Ukraine — The agony came in waves as the wounded Ukrainian soldier in the back of the ambulance slipped in and out of consciousness. The driver, hurtling past cratered fields on roads thick with mud, was racing to escape Russian artillery fire north of the city of Avdiivka, while hoping he was not spotted by drones. "They are just razing everything to the ground," said the driver, Seagull, using only his call-sign in accordance with military protocol. "I have never seen anything like this."

The Front Line Barely Moves, but Bodies Keep Piling Up

Russian forces have been staging fierce assaults around Avdiivka for more than a month and have recently launched simultaneous offensives across eastern Ukraine in what military analysts say is a bid to regain the initiative as winter approaches. Ukrainian forces are resisting furiously, while probing for openings in a southern counteroffensive and

conducting river crossings near the southern port city of Kherson. When Ukraine's top military commander, Gen. Valery Zaluzhny, said recently that the war had reached a "stalemate" — with intense and exhausting battles yielding little territorial gains — it created an impression in some quarters that the fighting may have stalled. But for the Ukrainian soldiers and medics on the front, the violent struggle to stop relentless Russian onslaughts, while fighting to claw back advantageous positions, does not feel the least bit static.

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In Mideast, A Bitter Split Opens Wider

Conflict Is Scarred by Decades of Trauma

By ROGER COHEN

JERUSALEM — Eight years after the foundation of the state of Israel, Moshe Dayan, the chief of staff of the Israeli military, stood close to the Gaza border to pronounce a eulogy for a 21-year-old Israeli security officer slain by Palestinian and Egyptian assailants. "Let us not today cast blame on his murderers," he said in 1956. "What can we say against their terrible hatred of us? For eight years now, they have sat in the refugee camps of Gaza and have watched how, before their very eyes, we have turned their land and villages, where they and their forefathers previously dwelled, into our home." His short speech, a little longer than Lincoln's Gettysburg Address and a powerful reference for Israelis, is perhaps recalled less for this insight into Palestinian anger than for Mr. Dayan's resolute conclusion. "Without the steel helmet and the cannon's maw, we will not be able to plant a tree and build a home," he said.

Today, 67 years later, at a time when Jews have again lost their lives to Palestinian gunmen at the same kibbutz, Nahal Oz, that Roi Rotberg guarded, Mr. Dayan's explicit evocation of the sources of Palestinian "hatred and desire for revenge" remains rare in Israel. Many Israelis have preferred to avert their gaze from the rage at their doorstep. In the same way, Palestinian insight into the devouring specters of antisemitic persecution awakened in Jews by the Oct. 7 Hamas terrorist attack appears negligible. Mutual empathy is very hard to find.

"Each side begs for the status of five-star victim," said Mohammad Darawshe, the director of strategy at the Givat Haviva Center for Shared Society in Jerusalem, which promotes Jewish-Arab dialogue. "If you are stuck in victimhood, you see everyone else as victimizing and dehumanizing."

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HOSPITAL AIRSTRIKE At least 12 people were killed at a medical center in northern Gaza. PAGE A4

A Surprising Discovery Reveals That Groups of Apes Cooperate

By CARL ZIMMER

If a troop of baboons encounters another troop on the savanna, they may keep a respectful distance or they may get into a fight. But human groups often do something else: They cooperate. Tribes of hunter-gatherers regularly come together for communal hunts or to form large-scale alliances. Villages and towns give rise to nations. Networks of trade span the planet. Human cooperation is so striking that anthropologists have long considered it a hallmark of our species. They have speculated that it emerged thanks to the evolution of our powerful brains, which enable us to use language, establish cultural traditions and perform other complex behaviors. But a new study, published in Science on Thursday, throws that uniqueness into doubt. It turns out that two groups of apes in Africa have regularly mingled and cooperated with each other for years.

AUTOCRATIC TONE INTENSIFIES FEARS OF TRUMP'S PLANS

'THREAT FROM WITHIN'

Dehumanizing Language Toward Rivals Echoes Strongmen of Past

By MICHAEL C. BENDER and MICHAEL GOLD

Donald J. Trump rose to power with political campaigns that largely attacked external targets, including immigration from predominantly Muslim countries and from south of the United States-Mexico border. But now, in his third presidential bid, some of his most vicious and debasing attacks have been leveled at domestic opponents.

During a Veterans Day speech, Mr. Trump used language that echoed authoritarian leaders who rose to power in Germany and Italy in the 1930s, degrading his political adversaries as "vermin" who needed to be "rooted out."

"The threat from outside forces," Mr. Trump said, "is far less sinister, dangerous and grave than the threat from within."

This turn inward has sounded new alarms among experts on autocracy who have long worried about Mr. Trump's praise for foreign dictators and disdain for democratic ideals. They said the former president's increasingly intensive focus on perceived internal enemies was a hallmark of dangerous totalitarian leaders.

Scholars, Democrats and anti-Trump Republicans are asking anew how much Mr. Trump resembles current strongmen abroad and how he compares to authoritarian leaders of the past. Perhaps most urgently, they are wondering whether his rhetorical turn into more fascist-sounding territory is just his latest public provocation of the left, an evolution in his beliefs or the dropping of a veil.

"There are echoes of fascist rhetoric, and they're very precise," said Ruth Ben-Ghiat, a professor at New York University who studies fascism. "The overall strategy is an obvious one of dehumanizing people so that the public will not have as much of an outcry at the things that you want to do."

Mr. Trump's shift comes as he and his allies devise plans for a second term that would upend some of the long-held norms of American democracy and the rule

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MARTIN SURECK/KOKOLOPORI BONOBO RESEARCH PROJECT

Bonobos from neighboring groups during grooming.

"To have extended, friendly, cooperative relationships between members of other groups who have no kinship ties is really quite extraordinary," said Joan Silk, a primatologist at Arizona State University who was not involved in the study. The new research comes from long-term observations of bonobos, an ape species that lives in

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NATIONAL A11-18

Plucked to Be Spared

On the day President Biden celebrated his 81st birthday, he saved two turkeys from the Thanksgiving platter. PAGE A17

Voting Rights Act Takes a Hit

A federal court effectively barred individuals and civil rights groups from suing under the landmark law. PAGE A18

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Falling Short on Climate

Nations are making some progress at fighting global warming but not nearly enough, according to a U.N. report ahead of global climate talks. PAGE A9

Breaking the Mafia's Grip

Hundreds were sentenced in a case said to deal a crippling blow against the Mafia in southern Italy. PAGE A10

OBITUARIES A19

Renegade Prince and Politician

Karel Schwarzenberg served twice as the Czech foreign minister and ran for president. He was 85.

BUSINESS B1-6

OpenAI's Winners and Losers

It is hard to see the last few days as anything but a big loss for an artificial intelligence company now in chaos, Kevin Roose writes. PAGE B1

SPORTS B7-11

When Fans Own Teams

Unlike most of Europe, Sweden put fans before finances. Now, business is booming, but it comes with risk. PAGE B7

A Billion Broken Hearts

India's big year on the global stage ended in agony with a loss to Australia in the Cricket World Cup. PAGE B11



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Flocking to Wealthier Locales

A variety of policies adopted in urban areas may have affected the distribution of birds and other species. PAGE D1

Breathing Uneasily

The pandemic and recent wildfires showed how unhealthy indoor air can be, but improving it will take time. PAGE D1

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'Scott Pilgrim' in Anime Form

A series revives the bassist who battles his romantic rivals. Its creators discuss how the new show came about. PAGE C1

Guggenheim Selects Director

Mariët Westermann, with N.Y.U.'s Abu Dhabi campus, will come to New York to run the museum complex. PAGE C1

OPINION A20-21

Jonathan Alter

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