

“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Today, sunny, low humidity, a light breeze, high 78. Tonight, partly cloudy, light and variable winds, low 65. Tomorrow, clouds and sun, humid, high 83. Weather map, Page 30.

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Suheidy de Leon and her mother, Maty Vargas, taking a spin with Gonzalo Vázquez at La Pulga de Alamo in Texas last month.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY VERÓNICA GABRIELA CÁRDENAS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

CAUGHT DOPING, STILL SWIMMING

Chinese Athletes Failed More Than One Test

By MICHAEL S. SCHMIDT
and TARIQ PANJA

After the revelation in April that 23 elite Chinese swimmers had tested positive for a banned substance months before the last Summer Olympic Games, China and the global antidoping authority vigorously defended their decisions to allow them to compete in the Games in 2021. The swimmers, they insisted, had not been doping.

But as they made those claims, China and the antidoping authority were both aware that three of those 23 swimmers had tested positive several years earlier for a different performance-enhancing drug and had escaped being publicly identified and suspended in that case as well, according to a secret report reviewed by The New York Times.

In both instances, China claimed that the swimmers had unwittingly ingested the banned substances, an explanation viewed with considerable skepticism by some antidoping experts. The two incidents add to longstanding suspicions among rival athletes about what they see as a pattern of Chinese doping and the unwillingness or inability of the global authority, the World Anti-Doping Agency, to deal with it.

The three Chinese athletes revealed to have tested positive earlier, in 2016 and 2017, were no ordinary swimmers: Two would go on to win gold medals at the Tokyo Olympic Games in 2021, and the third is now a world-record holder. All three are expected to contend for medals again at the Paris Games in July.

Antidoping experts say that if Chinese officials and WADA had abided by existing rules with both sets of positive tests, the athletes would have been publicly identified and subject to further scrutiny, and could have been disqualified from the 2021 Olympics, and possibly the Games that open in Paris next month.

“Athletes we have spoken to are appalled with the antidoping system and WADA,” said Rob Koehler, the director general of Global Athlete, a group working for athletes’ rights. “Athletes are expected to follow the antidoping rules to a T, but yet the very organization holding them accountable is the one that is not holding them accountable.”

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Kicking Up Their Heels, and Social Media Fame

By EDGAR SANDOVAL

ALAMO, Texas — The punishing heat of late spring does nothing to keep the crowds from descending on La Pulga de Alamo, one of the flea markets that are a center of both commerce and culture in the Rio Grande Valley of South Texas.

ACROSS
THE
COUNTRY

The tables and booths that spread across 70 acres, shaded under tarps and awnings, carry things that might not always be found at the local Walmart: spiro papa, an elaborate spiral of thinly sliced potatoes on a stick; the fragrant roasted corn cobs known as elotes asados; oversize statues of the Virgin of Guadalupe; piñatas that don’t quite resemble the Disney princesses they are supposed to represent.

Flea Market Spawns Dancing Sensations



For as long as anyone can remember, pulgas — Spanish for fleas — have been part of the fabric of El Valle, as the area is known to the large Spanish-speaking population in this part of Texas, a slice of Mexico just north of the border. This is never more true than on the weekend, when the market in Alamo trans-

forms from a shopping mecca into a one-of-a-kind dance hall whose fame has spread across the country and beyond.

This is mainly because of the collection of colorful characters who began showing up for Alamo’s weekend dance afternoons and found themselves turning into internet celebrities.

A local electrician known as El Divino Colombiano, the Divine Colombian, twirls in a pair of tight blue jeans and ruby-red, six-inch heels. A woman with lime-green feathers around her neck pushes a wheelchair onto the floor. In it is her mother, La Reynita de Oro, the Small Gold Queen, who waves her arms, festooned with gold bracelets, as the music swells. And then there’s the construction worker known as El Bronco because of his resemblance to the lead singer of the popular Mexican band

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MIKE KAI CHEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Reclaiming Tribal Lands

Native American groups see hope in small property transfers in California’s Owens Valley. Page 13.

Opposition to Venezuela’s Autocrats Gains a New Symbol: ‘Freedom Empanadas’

This article is by Isayen Herrera, Julie Turkewitz and Sheyla Urdaneta.

GUÁRICO, Venezuela — A car pulled up recently outside a modest restaurant in the state of Guárico in Venezuela’s sprawling savanna. The driver shouted from behind the wheel: “Are you the

ones whose business was closed by the government? I want a picture with you!”

Bounding out of the car, the man pulled close to Corina Hernández, 44, one of the owners of the restaurant. He snapped a selfie. “We are all outraged,” he told her.

Corina and her sister Elys Hernández have emerged as un-

likely political folk heroes just as Venezuela is heading into its most competitive election in years.

Their transgression? Selling 14 breakfasts and a handful of empanadas to the country’s leading opposition figure. The government’s response came just hours later — an order forcing the sisters to temporarily shut down

Gazans Voice Their Distress Under Hamas

Risking Retribution in Group’s Stranglehold

By RAJA ABDULRAHIM
and IYAD ABUHEWEILA

JERUSALEM — On Oct. 7, as the Hamas-led attack on Israel was unfolding, many Palestinians took to the streets of Gaza to celebrate what they likened to a prison break and saw as the sudden humiliation of an occupier.

But it was just a temporary boost for Hamas, whose support among Gazans has been low for some time. And as the Israeli onslaught has brought widespread devastation and tens of thousands of deaths, the group and its leaders have remained broadly unpopular in the enclave. More Gazans have even been willing to speak out against Hamas, risking retribution.

In interviews with nearly a dozen Gaza residents in recent months, a number of them said they held Hamas responsible for starting the war and helping to bring death and destruction upon them, even as they blame Israel first and foremost.

One Gazan, Raed al-Kelani, 47, said Hamas always acts in its own interests.

“It started Oct. 7, and it wants to end it on its own terms,” said Mr. al-Kelani, who worked as a civil servant for the former Palestinian Authority government in Gaza, which was run by a rival faction to Hamas before Hamas seized control of the territory in 2007.

“But time is ticking with no potential hope of ending this,” he added. Mr. al-Kelani now makes meals and distributes food aid in shelters for displaced Gazans. “Hamas is still seeking its slice of power,” he said. “Hamas does not know how to get down from the tree it climbed.”

Some of the Gazans who spoke to The New York Times said that Hamas knew it would be starting a devastating war with Israel that would cause heavy civilian casualties, but that it did not provide any food, water or shelter to help people survive it. Hamas leaders

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TRUMP RESISTERS DRAFT PLAYBOOK IN CASE HE WINS

A GROWING COALITION

Abortion Pill Stockpiles and Legal Pushback Are Among Tactics

This article is by Charlie Savage, Reid J. Epstein, Maggie Haberman and Jonathan Swan.

Opponents of Donald J. Trump are drafting potential lawsuits in case he is elected in November and carries out mass deportations, as he has vowed. One group has hired a new auditor to withstand any attempt by a second Trump administration to unleash the Internal Revenue Service on them. Democratic-run state governments are even stockpiling abortion medication.

A sprawling network of Democratic officials, progressive activists, watchdog groups and ex-Republicans has been taking extraordinary steps to prepare for a potential second Trump presidency, drawn together by the fear that Mr. Trump’s return to power would pose a grave threat not just to their agenda but to American democracy itself.

“Trump has made clear that he’ll disregard the law and test the limits of our system,” said Joanna Lydgate, the chief executive of States United Democracy Center, a nonpartisan democracy watchdog organization that works with state officials in both parties. “What we’re staring down is extremely dark.”

While the Supreme Court on Thursday rejected an attempt to nullify federal approval of the abortion pill mifepristone, liberals fear a new Trump administration could rescind the approval or use a 19th-century morality law to criminalize sending it across state lines.

The Democratic governor of Washington State, Jay Inslee, said he had secured a large enough supply of mifepristone pills to preserve access for women in his state.

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Marquee Primary for Democrats Is Shaped by Tensions Over Gaza

By NICHOLAS FANDOS

Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York has declared the race her most pressing electoral priority. Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont is slated to join her for a pre-election rally in the Bronx. And a powerful pro-Israel lobby working for the other side has already shattered spending records.

The House primary between Representative Jamaal Bowman, a left-wing Democratic darling, and George Latimer, a more moderate challenger, was always expected to be a marquee showcase of their party’s divisions over the Israel-Hamas war.

But with early voting underway, the June 25 contest in New York has exploded into a proxy war for the Democratic Party’s future, tearing open old wounds

over race, class and ideology in the heart of a presidential election year.

On one side, nearly the entire local Democratic establishment, including Mr. Sanders’s 2016 rival, Hillary Clinton, has lined up behind Mr. Latimer, the Westchester County executive. So has the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, a pro-Israel lobby that has already spent \$12 million — more than any other race in its history — to try to defeat Mr. Bowman over his criticism of Israel.

On the other side, Ms. Ocasio-Cortez, the other members of the House’s left-wing “squad” and their progressive coalition are undertaking a desperate rescue mission, draining bank accounts and leveling increasingly personal attacks.

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French Protest the Far Right

A new left-wing coalition is calling on demonstrators to stop Marine Le Pen’s National Rally party from taking power in coming elections. PAGE 7

A 2022 Ukraine-Russia Deal?

With the two locked in their third year of all-out war, documents show that early negotiations explored peace terms in remarkable detail. PAGE 10

It’s Not Just Russia

China, while not invited to the G7 summit, was referred to 28 times, almost always as a malign force, in the final communiqué. News Analysis. PAGE 6



NATIONAL 13-22

Father’s Day Advice

Pearls of wisdom from Times readers: Trust your instincts, find the fun and don’t forget those nail clippers. PAGE 14

SUNDAY STYLES

Ready to Be Just Some Guy

The fashion designer Dries Van Noten talks about why, at 66, he’s walking away from the career that has defined him for decades. PAGE 6

Stars, Stripes and Trump

His affinity for the red, white and blue is powerful, and Pavlovian, branding, Vanessa Friedman writes. PAGE 10

METROPOLITAN

A Woman Leads This Nation

Lisa Goree takes the helm of the Shinnecock Indian Nation as the Long Island tribe navigates disputes. PAGE 1



ARTS & LEISURE

The Shape of Inspiration

Dozens of this year’s Tony Award nominees discuss the shows and performances that helped make them who they are as artists. PAGES 8-11

SUNDAY OPINION

Stephen Wertheim

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SUNDAY BUSINESS

Full-Court Press in Africa

The N.B.A. has spent hundreds of millions to cultivate a fan base on a continent in which it sees tremendous economic opportunity, with benefits that could go beyond the court. PAGE 1

Goodbye, Work Friends

As she hands off the workplace column after four years, Roxane Gay reflects on the rewards and the frustrations of office life. PAGE 6

