"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

THE WEATHER

Today, cloudy with occasional snow and flurries, high 37. **Tonight**, clouds breaking, low 33. **Tomorrow**, plenty of sunshine, warmer, high 44.

VOL. CLXXIII ... No. 60,026

© 2024 The New York Times Company

How Harvard Came to Oust Its President

From Hoping to Heal to Needing to Move On

By MAUREEN FARRELL and ROB COPELAND

Claudine Gay was in Rome on a family vacation on Dec. 27 when Penny Pritzker, the leader of Har-University's governing board, called to ask: Did she think there was a path forward with her as the school's president?

Ms. Pritzker sounded weary, and it was posed as an open question, two people with knowledge of the conversation said. But Dr. Gay understood what it meant. Her six-month tenure as Harvard's president was over. On Jan. 2, she announced her resignation.

That marked the end of one of the most tumultuous periods in Harvard's 387-year history, a controversy that thrust the school into the public debate after Hamas's Oct. 7 attack on Israel and Israel's subsequent invasion of Gaza. Not only did the university's president lose her job, but the secretive workings of its board, the Harvard Corporation, were laid

For weeks the board had stood by its embattled president as she dealt with withering criticism of her tepid response to antisemitism on campus, her disastrous testimony before a House panel and mounting allegations of plagiarism in her academic work. Ms. Pritzker, who had led the selection of Dr. Gay as the school's first Black president, was an especially ardent backer.

On Dec. 12, the corporation put out a statement in support of Dr. Gay, citing "our confidence that President Gay is the right leader to help our community heal and to address the very serious societal issues we are facing.'

But within two weeks, the once strong support had begun to dissolve, according to interviews with a dozen people with knowledge of the discussions, including those who had spoken directly with Dr. Gay, Ms. Pritzker and other board members or were briefed on their thinking and actions. They requested anonymity because they weren't authorized

Continued on Page 16

Time of Tension For Hollywood: Speech Season

By BROOKS BARNES

LOS ANGELES — As Hollywood heads into the heart of its awards season — a three-month orgy of frothy self-celebration and pop culture glamour - celebrities and their handlers find themselves with a serious decision to make: what, if anything, to say about the Israel-Hamas war.

Movie stars have become increasingly willing, even determined, to use award shows like the Golden Globes, scheduled for Sunday on CBS, to bring attention to progressive causes and concerns. In recent years, winners like Meryl Streep, Russell Crowe and Michelle Williams have incorporated topics like sexual harassment, the global refugee crisis, abortion rights, Trumpism, climate change, Black Lives Matter, veganism and the Ukraine war into acceptance speeches.

Viewers from both political sides sometimes bristle at what they see as elitist lecturing. But in the Los Angeles ballrooms where these trophies are awarded and such speeches are made, the response is usually uniform praise. The couture-clad A-listers leap to their feet to offer ovations.

The Israel-Hamas war is much more complicated.

Continued on Page 16

SUNDAY, JANUARY 7, 2024

Prices in Canada may be higher

OUR BELOV DIXIE HART

PHOTOGRAPHS BY SARAH BLESENER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Thousands of animals, and quite a few of their human companions, are interred at Hartsdale Pet Cemetery in Hartsdale, N.Y.

Here Lie Rex, Fluffy ... and a Mystery Woman

The Pet Cemetery Was Used to Odd Requests. Then Came Patricia Chaarte's.

By ANDREW KEH

Ed Martin III was 14 years old when he began working at his father's pet cemetery, and in the decades since he has tended to the graves of innumerable dogs, many cats, flocks of birds, a few monkeys, a lion cub, a Bengal tiger and countless other creatures from every corner of the animal kingdom.

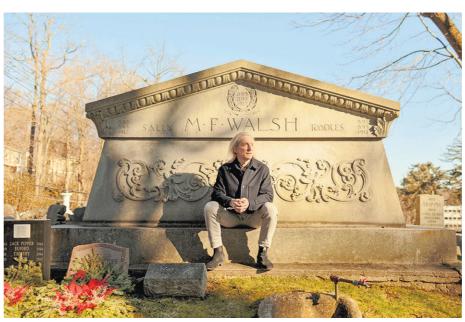
In all that time, after all those burials, there was only ever one request, a few years ago, that gave him pause.

Calling that morning, on Jan. 29, 2020, was Bruce Johnson, a lawyer from New York, who had in his possession the cremated remains of a woman named Patricia Chaarte. Ms. Chaarte had died at her home in Mexico, at the age of 92. In her will, she had requested that her ashes be interred at Hartsdale Pet Cemetery, just north of New York City

She had no next of kin. The executor of her estate was not a family member or friend, but merely another lawyer at the firm. There were no further instructions.

The thought of burying a human at a pet cemetery, for Mr. Martin, was not in itself particularly confounding. Alongside the 80,000 or so animals currently interred at his family's graveyard are approximately 900 people — including all four of his grandparents - who wished to rest eternally with their pets.

In dealing each day with the emotionally convoluted rigors of his job, Mr. Martin, now 57, had become attuned to the various



Ed Martin III was moved by Ms. Chaarte's wish to be buried at his family's cemetery.

human compulsions around the ritual of death. Prominent among them, for many, is the desire for a level of physical proximity to loved ones, animals included, even after one's soul has departed.

But this case felt different. Ms. Chaarte, in death, seemed so alone.

"Please let me know what is involved in purchasing a place of rest for the decedent,

and then we will probably arrange to have the remains shipped directly to you," Mr. Johnson wrote, with lawyerly formality, in an email later that day. "There will be no funeral or burial ceremony.'

Sitting at his desk, Mr. Martin felt both bewildered and sad. Who was this woman who had died more than 2,000 miles away?

Continued on Page 14

TO GAIN BACKING, TRUMP EXERCISES FEAR AND FAVOR

\$6.00

A METHODICAL EFFORT

Pursuing Endorsements With Rounds of Golf, or With Threats

This article is by Jonathan Swan, Shane Goldmacher and Maggie Ha-

On his last day as president on Jan. 20, 2021, Donald J. Trump stood in a snapping wind and waved goodbye to relatives and supporters before he took his final flight on Air Force One back to Mar-a-Lago. No elected Republican of any stature showed up at Joint Base Andrews for the bleak farewell

Mr. Trump, at that moment, was a pariah among Republican elites. The party's leaders in the House and Senate, Kevin McCarthy and Mitch McConnell, blamed him for the Capitol siege. Party fund-raisers assured donors they were done with him. On conference calls, House Republican leaders contemplated a "post-Trump" G.O.P.

Today, three years after Jan. 6 and more than a week before the Iowa caucuses, Mr. Trump has almost entirely subjugated the elected class of the Republican Party. At this point, every member of the House Republican leadership is formally backing his campaign to recapture the White House.

Mr. Trump has obsessed over his scorecard of endorsers, according to more than half a dozen Trump advisers and people in regular contact with him, most of whom insisted on anonymity to describe private conversations.

He sees gathering the formal endorsements as a public validation of his triumphant return that serves his strategy of portraying himself as the inevitable victor. He calls endorsements the "E word"; when lawmakers merely say they "support" him, he considers it insufficient and calls that the "S word." In recent weeks, his allies have told lawmakers that Mr. Trump will be closely watching who has and hasn't endorsed him before the Iowa caucuses on Jan.

Mr. Trump works his endorsements through both fear and favor, happily cajoling fellow politicians by phone while firing off ominous social media posts about those who don't fall in line quickly enough. In October, he felled a top candidate for House speaker, Rep-

Continued on Page 13

F.A.A. Grounds Some Boeing Max 9s After Scare | Colleges Deride the Rankings,

By MARK WALKER and NIRAJ CHOKSHI

The Federal Aviation Administration on Saturday ordered U.S. airlines to stop using some Boeing 737 Max 9 planes until they were inspected, less than a day after one of those planes lost a chunk of its body in midair, terrifying passengers until the plane landed safely. Alaska and United Airlines on

Saturday began canceling dozens of flights after grounding their Max 9 fleets so the planes could undergo the federally mandated inspections. Alaska Airlines Flight 1282 took

off from Portland, Ore., on Friday, bound for Ontario, Calif., but was diverted back to Portland six minaccording later, FlightAware, a flight tracking website. Those on board the flight described an unnerving experience, with wind blowing through a gaping hole that showed the night sky and the city lights below. The plane landed about 20 minutes after it had taken off, and no one



A hole left after a wall blew out on Alaska Airlines Flight 1282.

aboard was seriously injured. A passenger, Vi Nguyen of Port-

land, said she woke up to a loud sound during the flight. "I open up my eyes and the first thing I see is the oxygen mask right in front of me," Ms. Nguyen, 22, said. "And I look to the left and the wall on the

side of the plane is gone." "The first thing I thought was, 'I'm going to die,'" she added.

The National Transportation Safety Board sent a team to Portland to begin its investigation into the incident.

Continued on Page 20

But Some Pay to Flaunt Them

By ALAN BLINDER

AUGUSTA, Maine — Jonathan Henry, a vice president at the University of Maine at Augusta, is hoping that an email will arrive this month. He is also sort of dreading it.

The message, if it comes, will tell him that U.S. News & World Report has again ranked his university's online programs among the nation's best. History suggests the email will also prod the university toward paying U.S. News, through a licensing agent, thousands of dollars for the right to advertise its rankings.

For more than a year, U.S. News has been embroiled in another caustic dispute about the worthiness of college rankings — this time with dozens of law and medical schools vowing not to supply data to the publisher, saying that rankings sometimes unduly influence the priorities of universities. But school records and inter-

views show that colleges nevertheless feed the rankings industry, collectively pouring millions of dollars into it.

Many lower-profile colleges are straining to curb enrollment declines and counter shrinking budgets. And any endorsement that might attract students, administrators say, is enticing.

Maine at Augusta spent \$15,225 last year for the right to market U.S. News "badges" — handsome seals with U.S. News's logo commemorating three honors: the 61st-ranked online bachelor's program for veterans, the 79thranked online bachelor's in business and the 104th-ranked online

Mr. Henry, who oversees the school's enrollment management and marketing, said there was just too much of a risk of being outshined and out-marketed by com-

Continued on Page 18

INTERNATIONAL 4-9

Pining for a Lost Hockey Team

When the Quebec Nordiques decamped in 1995, officials vowed to bring them back. But younger voters may be starting to forget the team.

Diplomatic Tightrope in Niger

The United States is trying to save one of its most strategic military assets in Africa, but without cozying up too much with the generals now in charge. PAGE 9

Shielding Ukraine's Skies

U.S.-provided Patriot missiles have probably saved thousands of lives. But the supply is dwindling as Russia steps up its aerial assaults.



NATIONAL 11-20

The Spirit of '48, Revisited

Stop us if you've heard this before: an unpopular president and consumer dissatisfaction, even as other economic signals showed strong promise. PAGE 11

SUNDAY OPINION

Jamelle Bouie

PAGE 3

ARTS & LEISURE

Oscars Preview

Our critics and writers take a look at the films, actors and directors who have a good shot at taking Oscar home.

Spreading Afrofuturism

As the digital age connects the African diaspora, we focus on artists at the center of a global shift.

SUNDAY STYLES

Everywhere, All at Once

It seems Travis Kelce is inescapable. That's the result of a business plan created by the Eanes brothers. (And Taylor Swift doesn't hurt.)



METROPOLITAN

Local Pies, Broader Horizons

New Haven, Conn., has long been heralded for its pizza. Can that allure translate in other far-flung markets? PAGE 1

Arresting Performances

The N.Y.P.D. Dance Team, formed in 2022, has mastered hip-hop and salsa and is seeking recruits.

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Life Without a Smartphone

Can a flip phone help alleviate the addiction to your smartphone? Even after putting up with its inconveniences, a reporter found that it could be one way to break the spell.

Unions Calling for Cease-Fire

For decades, the most prominent American labor groups were largely supportive of Israel, but generational change has exposed philosophical rifts. PAGE 1

