

“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

VOL. CLXXIII . . . No. 60,138 © 2024 The New York Times Company SUNDAY, APRIL 28, 2024 Prices in Canada may be higher \$6.00

Unrest Brings Varied Tactics From Colleges

Administrators Weigh When to Call Police

This article is by **Nicholas Bogel-Burroughs, Alan Blinder and Nee-lam Bohra.**

BOSTON — Wearing riot helmets and carrying zip ties, Boston police officers moved in one day last week and surrounded a group of pro-Palestinian protesters on a grassy patch of Northeastern University’s campus. Six police wagons were idling nearby, and an officer had issued a terse warning. Mass arrests looked imminent.

Then, without explanation, the riot police packed up and left.

The sudden end to the standoff produced cheers from the protesters, and confusion for those who had been bracing for chaos. In recent days, police officers have rushed in to break up student encampments at the University of Southern California, Arizona State University, Ohio State University and other colleges. At Emory University in Atlanta, officers used pepper balls and wrestled protesters to the ground, ultimately arresting 28 people.

On quads and lawns from coast to coast, colleges are grappling with a groundswell of student activism over Israel’s military campaign in Gaza. Administrators are having to make tough decisions over whether to call in the police, and are often criticized regardless of the route they take.

“They don’t seem to have a clear strategy,” said Jennie Stephens, a professor at Northeastern who attended the protest there to support the students. “I think there’s this inclination to kind of control what’s happening on campus, but then that’s balanced with the optics — or the violence, or the real harm — done to students or faculty or staff or others if there are arrests.”

Hundreds of protesters have been arrested across the country. Police and protesters have reported being injured at some college demonstrations, but in many cases, the arrests have been peaceful, and protesters have often willingly given themselves up when officers move in.

At Northeastern on Thursday, about 100 protesters had linked arms in a circle around a half-dozen tents on a lawn known as the Centennial Common.

The dean of students and the university police had warned protesters that they would be considered trespassers if they did not

Continued on Page 22

Has South Africa Overcome Apartheid?



JOAO SILVA/ASSOCIATED PRESS



Thirty years after the ouster of a white minority government and the election of Nelson Mandela as president, many Black South Africans are asking whether they are truly free. With an election looming next month, The New York Times assessed the country’s progress, using The Freedom Charter, a 1955 manifesto of anti-apartheid activists, as a yardstick. Pages 12-13.

An Unlikely Friendship Catapults Vance to the Running Mate List

By **SHARON LaFRANIERE**

It was just 43 days before the 2022 Republican primary in Ohio, and former President Donald J. Trump had yet to throw his weight behind a Senate candidate. J.D. Vance, a political novice competing in a packed field, had a huge problem.

He had publicly called Mr. Trump “loathsome” and an “idiot.” Once, he described him as “cultural heroin.”

Then came an unexpected lifeline. “Enough with the lies being told about this guy,” Donald

Trump Jr., the former president’s son, wrote on Twitter, assuring his followers that Mr. Vance had become a fan of his father. A month later, encouraged by his son, the elder Mr. Trump endorsed Mr. Vance.

Today, Mr. Vance is one of the former president’s most reliable allies and a leader of a band of Republicans pushing Senate Republicans to the right. And his star has only continued to rise: Mr. Vance is on the list of Mr. Trump’s possible running mates, according to two people familiar with the discussions.

Trump Jr. Embraces a Rising Senate Star

In no small part, Mr. Vance owes his quick ascent into the Trump orbit to his unlikely friendship and ideological kinship with the former president’s oldest son. They text or talk nearly daily and try to meet up if they are in the same city, according to people who know them both. They are a social-media tag team, often reposting each other’s messages.

Although he has stressed that the choice of a running mate is his father’s decision alone, Mr. Trump has said he would be happy with Mr. Vance on the G.O.P. ticket.

The friendship is among the MAGA movement’s more unusual pairings. Mr. Vance, 39, is a self-made man who had a fatherless childhood. Mr. Trump, 46, has been at the right hand of his billionaire father his whole life.

Mr. Vance is wonky and well-spoken, a Yale Law School graduate and memoirist regarded as an intellectual standard-bearer for

Continued on Page 18

Losing a Foot Didn’t Stop Her Until She Attempted to Enlist

By **DAVE PHILIPPS**

SPOKANE, Wash. — Hannah Cvancara’s dream is to become a nurse in the military, and she has been trying to achieve that dream for more than a decade. But every time she applies, she gets rejected.

It’s not that the 28-year-old couldn’t handle the job. She is working now as an emergency department nurse at a civilian Level II trauma hospital in Spokane, Wash., tending to bleeding car accident victims, drug users in fits from withdrawal, children in the throes of seizures and whatever else comes through the doors.

And it’s not that she can’t meet the fitness standards. She can do double the number of push-ups required, and has finished the timed 1.5-mile run with minutes to spare.

The issue is that Ms. Cvancara has only one foot and gets around on a prosthetic. So the military will not let her join.

“I’ve proven I can do the work — now I just have to convince

them to let me do it,” she said with a somewhat weary smile as she left her hospital at dawn after a recent night shift. Her stethoscope was still draped around her neck, and she was wearing raspberry-hued sneakers — comfortable enough for a 12-hour shift and, as she noted with characteristic emergency-medicine dark humor, good at camouflaging blood stains.

The U.S. military has always screened recruits rigorously to weed out any who might not be able to perform. In some ways the standards have evolved over time. Flat feet, for example, stopped being disqualifying during the Vietnam War. More recently, childhood asthma and some mental health disorders ceased to be red flags. Despite stunning advances in prosthetics, though, the military still looks on amputees the way it did in the days of flintlocks and cannonballs.

The military says it must be

Continued on Page 16



RAJAH BOSE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Hannah Cvancara meets all the military’s standards. But a bureaucratic twist around her prosthetic keeps her from serving.

Sleuth Who Found Richard III Wants to Clear Him of Murder

By **AMELIA NIERENBERG**

EDINBURGH — For over 400 years, Richard III has been seen as Britain’s most infamous king — a power-hungry usurper who killed his young nephews to clear the way to the throne.

In Shakespeare’s “Richard III,” the king tells an assassin, “I wish the bastards dead,” referring to the princes Edward V and Richard. “And I would have it suddenly performed.”

But the king’s murderous image, drawn from history books and cemented in literature and lore, is just not true — or, at least, it has not been proved true, argues Philippa Langley, an author and independent historian.

“Maybe there is evidence,” she said over a cup of tea in Edinburgh earlier this year. “But there *seems* to be no evidence.”

Langley is, perhaps, Richard III’s most dedicated living defender. A prominent member of the Richard III Society, an organization that has been working since 1924 “to secure a more balanced

THE WEATHER
Today, a morning shower, more clouds than sunshine, warmer, high 74. **Tonight**, mostly cloudy, mild, low 65. **Tomorrow**, partly cloudy, warm, high 84. Weather map is on Page 20.

SHARP REVERSALS OF CLIMATE RULES HINDER ECONOMY

PRESIDENTIAL SWINGS

Experts Say Enacting and Undoing Regulations Costs Industries

By **CORAL DAVENPORT**

The Biden administration’s move on Thursday to strictly limit pollution from coal-burning power plants is a major policy shift. But in many ways it’s one more hairpin turn in a zigzag approach to environmental regulation in the United States, a pattern that has grown more extreme as the political landscape has become more polarized.

Nearly a decade ago, President Barack Obama was the Democrat who tried to force power plants to stop burning coal, the dirtiest of the fossil fuels. His Republican successor, Donald J. Trump, effectively reversed that plan. Now President Biden is trying once more to put an end to carbon emissions from coal plants. But Mr. Trump, who is running to replace Mr. Biden, has promised that he will again delete those plans if he wins in November.

The country’s participation in the Paris climate accord has followed the same swerving path: Under Mr. Obama, the United States joined the global commitment to fight climate change, only for Mr. Trump to pull the U.S. out of it, and for Mr. Biden to rejoin. If Mr. Trump wins the presidency, he is likely to exit the accord. Again.

Government policies have always shifted between Democratic and Republican administrations, but they have generally stayed in place and have been tightened or loosened along a spectrum, depending on the occupant of the White House.

But in the last decade, environmental rules in particular have been caught in a cycle of erase-and-replace whiplash.

“In the old days, the regulatory days of my youth, we were going back and forth between the 40-yard lines,” said Douglas Holtz-Eakin, who directed the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office and now runs the American Action Forum, a conservative research organization. “Now, it’s back and forth between the 10-yard lines. They do it and undo it and do it and undo it.”

Economists and business executives say the constant policy shifts have hurt industries that rely on stable regulations.

Continued on Page 21



SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON

An oil on oak panel portrait of Richard III, artist unknown.

assessment of the king,” she has made a career of researching — and rehabilitating — a man who ruled for two years, from 1483 to his death in 1485.

In 2012, she spearheaded a project to find his remains, which were under a parking lot in the city of Leicester, as she believed

Continued on Page 5

INTERNATIONAL 4-13

Paris on Guard for Olympics

The city is planning to host the opening ceremony outside of a stadium. But making it safe is complicated. PAGE 4

Heavy Metal and Hijabs

The Indonesian band Voice of Baceprot is winning fans in Indonesia and abroad with a message of girl power. PAGE 11

NATIONAL 14-24

An Open House to History

For generations, Columbus, Miss., has opened its antebellum homes to visitors. Some say the time has come to explain the fuller story. PAGE 14



SPECIAL SECTION

More to See, and Do

An exhibition of works by Mickalene Thomas, above, is part of a look at how museums now connect with visitors.

METROPOLITAN

Manhattan’s Boom Town

Five years after its grand opening, the Hudson Yards neighborhood has emerged as perhaps the most dominant office market in the city. PAGE 1

ARTS & LEISURE

Love Triangle, Anyone?

Zendaya, Josh O’Connor and Mike Faist, who play three tennis pros, and their director, Luca Guadagnino, talk about their new movie. PAGE 14

SUNDAY OPINION

Sasha Vasilyuk

PAGE 10



SUNDAY STYLES

The Hoodie Is but a Memory

Mark Zuckerberg’s new look — here a shearling jacket, there a necklace — is the talk of social media. PAGE 1

So Many Legacies

Tremaine Emory, streetwear’s Black history raconteur and former Supreme creative director. PAGE 10

SUNDAY BUSINESS

The Crisis at NPR

Sponsorship revenue has fallen. Listeners are tuning out. A diversity push has caused internal turmoil. Can the nonprofit radio network recover? PAGE 4

Saudi Arabia’s Big Bet on A.I.

The Saudis want to become an artificial intelligence superpower, and that puts them in the middle of an escalating U.S.-China struggle for technological influence. PAGE 1



0 354753 6