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That’s Fit to Print”

# The New York Times

**THE WEATHER**  
Today, an early shower in spots with a mix of clouds and sun, high 83. **To-night**, mainly clear, low 61. **Tomorrow**, not as warm, sun and clouds, high 75. Weather map, Page D8.

VOL. CLXXIII . . . No. 60,174      © 2024 The New York Times Company      MONDAY, JUNE 3, 2024      Prices in Canada may be higher      \$4.00

**NEWS ANALYSIS**

## Biden Pushes Israel’s Leader Into a Corner

*Netanyahu Must Back Allies or His Far Right*

**By ISABEL KERSHNER**

JERUSALEM — For months, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel has refused to offer a timeline for ending the war against Hamas in Gaza, a stance his critics see as a political tactic. But he has been put on the spot by President Biden’s announcement outlining a proposal for a truce.

Mr. Netanyahu, a conservative, has long juggled competing personal, political and national interests. He now appears to be facing a stark choice between the survival of his hard-line, hawkish government and bringing home hostages held in Gaza while setting himself and Israel on a new course away from growing international isolation.

Critics of the prime minister have portrayed him as indecisive and say there are two Netanyahus. One, they say, functions pragmatically in the small war cabinet he formed with some centrist rivals, to give it public legitimacy. The other is effectively being held hostage by the far-right members of his governing coalition, who oppose any concession to Hamas and who ensure his political survival.

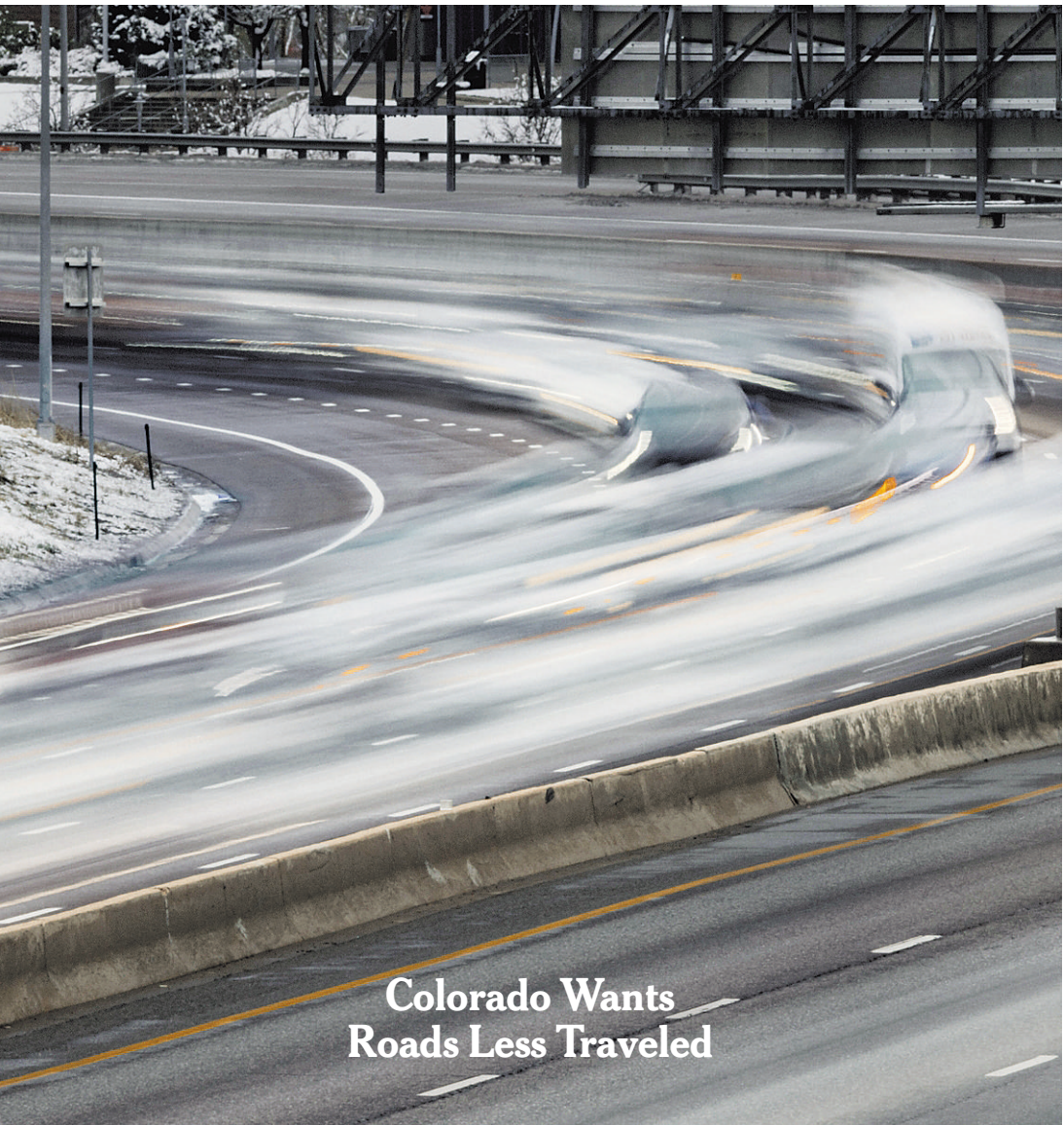
On Friday, Mr. Biden outlined broad terms that he said were presented by Israel to the American, Qatari and Egyptian mediators who have been pushing for a deal to pause the fighting and free hostages in Gaza. Israeli officials confirmed that the terms matched a cease-fire proposal that had been approved by Israel’s war cabinet but not yet presented to the Israeli public.

Now, analysts say, it is crunchtime for Bibi, as the prime minister is popularly known.

Mr. Biden “booted Netanyahu out of the closet of ambiguity and presented Netanyahu’s proposal

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**ISRAEL DAY** Thousands marched peacefully in a New York parade, under tight security. **PAGE A18**



## Colorado Wants Roads Less Traveled

ELLIOT ROSS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The state, spurred by climate change, has made it harder to expand highways, and transportation officials are turning eyes and money to public transit. **PAGE A12.**

## Tired of Chaos and Leaving House by the Dozens

**By ROBERT DRAPER**

WASHINGTON — At some point during a routine seven-hour trip from his Oregon district to Washington, Representative Earl Blumenauer, 75, a Democrat who has served in Congress for almost three decades, experienced a depressing epiphany.

“I distinctly recall crawling on yet another plane to come back for yet another vote that made absolutely no difference and was going absolutely nowhere,” he said in an interview. “And I had this singular experience of asking myself, ‘Why would you do this?’”

Mr. Blumenauer’s moment of truth was in fact far from singular. A total of 54 House members, or

## Wondering, ‘Why Am I Here?’ as Agitators Obstruct Congress

about one-eighth of the total body, will not be seeking another term this November.

As a matter of sheer numbers, the exodus is not history-making. What is striking are the names on the list. There are rising stars, seasoned legislators and committee chairs. But not a single bomb-thrower.

For three of the 54, the issue was forced: one by expulsion (George Santos, the Long Island Republican) and two by being ger-

rymandered out of winnable districts (Representatives Wiley Nickel and Kathy Manning, both North Carolina Democrats). Two others died (Donald M. Payne Jr., of New Jersey, and A. Donald McEachin of Virginia, both Democrats).

Another 18 members vacated their seats to seek a different elective office. That leaves 31 members — 19 Republicans and 12 Democrats, 20 of whom were interviewed for this article — who have decided to leave the House of their own volition, with no electoral pressure to do so.

“It’s a shocking number,” said one of them, Representative Patrick T. McHenry, the North Carolina Republican who was first

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**NEWS ANALYSIS**

## If a President Is a Felon, Who Can Stop Him?

*Founders Saw Peril of Unchecked Power*

**By PETER BAKER**

WASHINGTON — The revolutionary hero Patrick Henry knew this day would come. He might not have anticipated all the particulars, such as the porn actress in the hotel room and the illicit payoff to keep her quiet. But he feared that eventually a criminal might occupy the presidency and use his powers to thwart anyone who sought to hold him accountable. “Away with your president,” he declared, “we shall have a king.”

That was exactly what the founders sought to avoid, having thrown off the yoke of an all-powerful monarch. But as hard as they worked to establish checks and balances, the system they constructed to hold wayward presidents accountable has ultimately proved to be unsteady.

Whatever rules Americans thought were in place are now being rewritten by Donald J. Trump, the once and perhaps future president who has already shattered many barriers and precedents. The notion that 34 felonies is not automatically disqualifying and a convicted criminal can be a viable candidate for commander in chief upends two and a half centuries of assumptions about American democracy.

And it raises fundamental questions about the limits of power in a second term, should

Mr. Trump be returned to office. If he wins, it means he will have survived two impeachments, four criminal indictments, civil judgments for sexual abuse and business fraud, and a felony conviction. Given that, it would be hard to imagine what institutional deterrents could discourage abuses or excesses.

Moreover, the judiciary may not be the check on the executive branch that it has been in the past. If no other cases go to trial before the election, it could be another four years before the courts could even consider whether the newly elected president jeopardized national security or illegally sought to overturn the 2020 election, as he has been charged with doing. As it is, even before the election, the Supreme Court may grant Mr. Trump at least some measure of immunity.

Mr. Trump would still have to operate within the constitutional system, analysts point out, but he has already shown a willingness to push its boundaries. When he was president, he claimed that the Constitution gave him “the right to do whatever I want.”

After leaving office, he advocated “termination” of the Constitution to allow him to return to power right away without an-

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## Once a Creature of New York, Trump Has Become Its Pariah

**By JESSE MCKINLEY and MAGGIE HABERMAN**

New York City was once Donald J. Trump’s playground, the place where he made his name and then plastered it everywhere he could.

Now, the city that helped make him rich and famous has become his battleground. And Mr. Trump keeps losing.

His conviction last week was the third and heaviest blow the former president has been dealt in his erstwhile hometown this year — a series of challenges to his ego, his bottom line, and now, perhaps, his freedom.

His felony conviction on Thursday, delivered by a jury of 12 Manhattan residents, brought with it the possibility that he could eventually be imprisoned in New York, a far cry from the image he spent decades cultivating as a real estate mogul and man about town.

In February, Mr. Trump endured another humiliation: a judgment of more than \$450 million in a civil fraud case brought by the state’s attorney general,



ADAM GRAY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Donald Trump lost three court cases in New York this year.

Letitia James, for overvaluing his net worth. The ruling undermined a central element of his public identity as a brilliant businessman.

And in January, another jury in Manhattan ordered the former

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**MAGA REACTION** Trump loyalists took the jury’s finding as a rejection of themselves. **PAGE A15**

## Barbara’s Rhubarb Bar of Barbarians Brings Blitheness to Berlin

**By SARAH MASLIN NIR**

BEELITZ, Germany — In the past month, millions of people have found themselves stumbling through the contorted and catchy syllables of a song about, of all things, a woman named Barbara and some rhubarb-loving barbarians who drink beer while getting their beards barbered. In German.

Or more rightly: Rhabarber-barbarabarbarbarenbartbarbier-bier.

The hyper-compound words of the popular German tongue twister about Barbara, her “bombastic” rhubarb cake and her hirsute customers shot to inexplicable and extreme popularity this spring, a few months after a pair of comedic musical content creators from Berlin posted a rap version late last year. Their silly ditty has more than 47 million views on TikTok; for a brief moment on some online streaming charts, Barbara beat out Beyoncé. *Beyoncé.*

“There is a prejudice that, first, Germans don’t have any sense of humor, and second, they do not have fun, and third, their language sounds very aggressive,” said Bodo Wartke, the rap’s lyricist who, along with Marti Fischer, the composer, created the viral “Barbara’s Rhubarb Bar” tune. They spoke on a recent day in their



LENA MUCHA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A German song captured the nation’s springtime fixation on rhubarb, strawberries and asparagus.

Berlin studio as they giggled and tripped over their own stanzas — which exploit a feature of German grammar that crams nouns together into strings of syllables.

“And we proved them all

wrong,” Mr. Wartke said.

But lost in translation, as global copycats stumble through the al-literative story of Barbara, the bar she opens and the pie that made her famous, is a quirk not only of

language, but also of German gastronomical culture. Rhubarb is much more than a word in German that sounds a lot like “Barbara”; it is an object of springtime

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**BUSINESS B1-5**

### Family Farms Getting a Hand

The Biden administration aims to support small farmers with subsidies while still aiding big operations. **PAGE B1**

**A.I. Search Vexes Publishers**

Media executives are trying to assess the danger Google’s new tool poses to their brittle business models. **PAGE B1**

**INTERNATIONAL A4-9**

### A Cyberattack Rattles Palau

The island country’s claims that China orchestrated the attack remain unproven. But the breach also presents a danger to the United States. **PAGE A4**

**Abandoning the A.N.C.**

Some South African voters welcomed the defeat of the African National Congress in last week’s elections. **PAGE A8**

**OBITUARIES A19, 22**

### Prolific Child Actor of the ’40s

Darryl Hickman was in “The Grapes of Wrath” and later oversaw programming at CBS. He was 92. **PAGE A19**



**ARTS C1-6**

### Finally Ready to Roar

“The Primevals,” a movie about Yetis and other creatures, took a very, very long time to reach theaters. **PAGE C5**

**How One Artist Broke Through**

Hugo McCloud has gone from designing fountains and furniture to his fifth show with an established gallery. **PAGE C1**

**NATIONAL A10-18**

### Extremists Target Charities

Faith-based groups that feed, clothe and shelter migrants fear for the safety of their employees and volunteers as the election nears and the vitriol over immigration intensifies. **PAGE A10**

**End-of-Session Targets**

With a week left in the 2024 session, New York lawmakers are rushing to pass measures on plastic packaging and social media companies’ use of algorithms to target minors. **PAGE A18**

**OPINION A20-21**

### Jessica Grose

**PAGE A20**



**SPORTS D1-8**

### A Legacy on Full Display

African Americans’ representation in baseball is dwindling, but a new exhibit at the Hall of Fame traces 150 years of their feats and obstacles. **PAGES D4-5**

