



TAYLOR GLASCOCK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**Suburbs Thrust Into the Migrant Crisis**  
More immigrants are being dropped off in cities outside Chicago. Some, like Highland Park, Ill., have stepped up to help. Page A11.

## Tangle of Rules for Primaries May Trim Turnout

**By MAGGIE ASTOR**

Democracy is messy, but usually not this messy.

Take, for example, New Hampshire, where President Biden boycotted the primary election last Tuesday, after the state jumped the line in the Democratic Party's new schedule to keep its first-in-the-nation primary status. Because it would have been embarrassing if Mr. Biden had lost there, a group of supporters took to telling voters that, while he might not be asking for their vote, he didn't want it. Could you please write in his name? (They did, and he won.)

Alterations to Formats and Calendar Have Experts Worried

Next on the primary calendar is South Carolina, on Feb. 3, but only if you're a Democrat. If you're a Republican there, you will not vote until Feb. 24, after fellow party members in Nevada have their say.

Oh, and about Nevada: If you support Nikki Haley, you can vote for her in the state's primary on Feb. 6, but your vote will not count toward the Republican nomination. That is tied to the party's caucuses on Feb. 8, and Ms. Haley will not be part of that process. If you support former President Donald J. Trump, you can vote for him in the caucuses, but not in the primary. The primary, which is run by the State of Nevada, will be conducted by mail, while the caucuses will be in person. That's because the Nevada Republican Party opposed conducting the primary by mail, which is part of why it scheduled the caucuses to begin with.

Got it?  
As voters enter an election year

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ANA ELISA SOTELO FOR NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

**Stingless, but Not Without Power**  
These vital pollinators, wild stingless bees, are part of a conservation effort in the Amazon. Page D1.

## More Than Ever, Teenagers See a Bleak Future

**By CLAIRE CAIN MILLER**

Although it has never been easy to be a teenager, the current generation of young Americans feels particularly apprehensive, new polling shows — anxious about their lives, disillusioned about the direction of the country and pessimistic about their futures.

Just one-third of respondents ages 12 to 17 said things were going well for children and teenagers today, in a survey published Monday by Common Sense Media, a children's advocacy group.

In Polls, Citing Politics and Mental Health

Less than half said they thought they would be better off than their parents when they grew up — a downbeat view shared among teenagers in many rich countries, other data shows.

It's not just about teenage angst. A different survey, by Gallup and the Walton Family Foundation, the latest installment of which was also released Monday, has asked questions of young people over time and looked at how their answers have changed. Members of Gen Z, ages 12 to 27, are significantly less likely to rate their current and future lives highly than millennials were when they were the same age, it found.

Among those 18 to 26, just 15 percent said their mental health was excellent. That is a large decline from both 2013 and 2003, when just over half said so.

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**INTERNATIONAL A4-10**  
**Farmers Rally in Paris**  
Hundreds converged on the French capital to protest wages, regulations and foreign competition. *Page A6*

**NATO Prepares for Russia**  
As Ukraine falters on the battlefield and Donald J. Trump's candidacy rises, the bloc is shoring up its readiness. *Page A4*

**BUSINESS B1-6**  
**Stealth D.E.I.**  
Opposition to diversity programs has pushed some business leaders to approach their inclusion initiatives "in a less in your face way." *Page B1*

**Evergrande to Be Dismantled**  
A Hong Kong court has sounded the death knell for what was once China's biggest real estate firm. *Page B1*

**SPORTS B7-11**  
**Super Bowl Rematch**  
San Francisco could return to glory, and get revenge. Kansas City could claim an undisputed dynasty. *Page B7*



**ARTS C1-6**  
**Stomping in the Past**  
"Godzilla Minus One" and other films bring to mind questions on the morality of actions taken during War II. *Page C5*

**A Categorical Change**  
There just has to be a more sensible way to classify screenplays for Oscar consideration, our critic writes. *Page C1*

**SCIENCE TIMES D1-8**  
**In the Cosmic Shadows**  
To dark matter and dark energy, add dark galaxies — groups of stars so sparse they're all but invisible. *Page D1*

**Making Exercise More Routine**  
We all have reasons to avoid working out. You can get over them — just don't call them excuses, experts say. *Page D6*

**OPINION A20-21**  
**Paul Krugman** *Page A20*



## Terror Charges Put Gaza Aid In Jeopardy

**Another Nation Pauses U.N. Agency Funds**

**By PATRICK KINGSLEY and RONEN BERGMAN**

JERUSALEM — Leaders of the largest United Nations agency in Gaza warned on Monday that it may soon run out of money as new allegations emerged about Hamas's influence on the organization.

As U.N. officials fretted over the future of UNRWA, the main aid agency for Palestinians, Israeli officials debated whether it made sense to publicly air accusations that a group of the agency's workers were involved in the Oct. 7 terror attack. Some Israeli military leaders believed it was a mistake to unleash a furor, according to three Israeli officials involved in the discussions, because the agency's collapse would leave a huge administrative and logistical vacuum in the middle of a humanitarian crisis.

UNRWA plays a crucial role in Gaza — distributing food, water and medicine — and it is unclear who would fill the vacuum were it to collapse. Most of Gaza's 2.2 million people are displaced from their homes, and many are sheltering in centers and schools run by the agency, which helps allocate the aid that arrives in Gaza each day.

Israel has charged that at least 12 employees of the agency — the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees — participated in the Oct. 7 attack and that as many 1,300 employees are members of the group. The assault ended with roughly 1,200 people dead and another 240 taken hostage, according to Israeli estimates.

The Israeli military provided the United States with a dossier alleging that roughly 10 percent of the agency's 13,000 employees in Gaza are Hamas members. That assessment is derived from cross-referencing an UNRWA staff list with a directory of Hamas members that soldiers found on a computer during a recent operation inside Gaza, according to the military officials.

The allegations include evidence that one UNRWA worker kidnapped a woman and another took part in a massacre at a kibbutz. The United Nations is investigating the charges, which were first made public on Friday, and it has fired nine of the accused.

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**PROPOSAL** The fighting would pause to allow a swap of hostages for Palestinian prisoners. *Page A9*

## Biden Gambles On Trump Fear And Star Clout

*This article is by Reid J. Epstein, Lisa Lerer, Katie Glueck and Katie Rogers.*

WASHINGTON — As former President Donald J. Trump speeds toward the Republican nomination, President Biden is moving quickly to pump energy into his re-election bid, kicking off what is likely to be an ugly, dispiriting and historically long slog to November between two unpopular nominees.

After months of languid buildup in which he held only a single public campaign event, Mr. Biden has thrown a series of rallies across battleground states, warning that democracy itself is at stake in 2024.

He sent two of his most trusted White House operatives to take the helm of his re-election campaign in Wilmington, Del., after Mr. Trump seized control of the Republican primary race more rapidly than Mr. Biden's advisers had initially expected.

And other Biden aides are drafting wish lists of potential surrogates, including elected officials, social media influencers and the endorsement of their wildest

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## Despite Pledges of Safer Rails, Accidents Are Up

**By PETER EAVIS**

EAST PALESTINE, Ohio — After a freight train carrying hazardous chemicals derailed a year ago in East Palestine, Ohio, forcing the evacuation of hundreds of residents and upending life in the town for months, the rail industry pledged to work to become safer, and members of Congress vowed to pass legislation to prevent similar disasters.

No bill was passed. And accidents went up.

Deraillments rose at the top five freight railroads in 2023, according to regulatory reports for the first 10 months of the year, the most recent period for which data exists for all five companies. And there was a steep increase in the mechanical problem — an overheated wheel bearing — that regulators think caused the derailment in East Palestine.

Norfolk Southern, the operator of the train and the owner of the track that runs through the town,



ROSS MANTLE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Inspection portals along a rail line near East Palestine, Ohio.

was the only railroad among the five to report a decline in accidents in the period.

In response to the accident, members of Congress in March introduced a bipartisan bill aimed at making railroads safer. But crucial parts of the legislation — including a requirement that railroads use more detectors to identify overheated wheel bearings — have faced resistance from rail lobbyists, who contend that they

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