

“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Today, a shower early, another late, high 73. **Tonight**, an evening shower, cloudy, low 61. **Tomorrow**, periodic clouds and sunshine, high 76. Weather map appears on Page D8.

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VICTOR MORIYAMA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

In Brazil, Can More Forests Bring More Profits?
Cattle ranches have ruled the Amazon for decades. New companies are selling the ability to slash planet-warming carbon. Page A8.

FRANK STELLA, 1936-2024

Star of Minimalism and Master of Reinvention

By WILLIAM GRIMES

Frank Stella, whose laconic pin-stripe “black paintings” of the late 1950s closed the door on Abstract Expressionism and pointed the way to an era of cool minimalism, died on Saturday at his home in the West Village of Manhattan. He was 87.

His wife, Dr. Harriet E. McGurk, said the cause was lymphoma.

Mr. Stella was a dominant figure in postwar American art, a restless, relentless innovator whose explorations of color and form made him an outsize presence, endlessly discussed and constantly on exhibit.

Few American artists of the 20th century arrived with quite his éclat. He was in his early 20s when his large-scale black paintings — precisely delineated black stripes separated by thin lines of blank canvas — took the art world by storm. Austere, self-referential, opaque, they cast a chilling spell.

Writing in Art International magazine in 1960, the art historian William Rubin declared himself “almost mesmerized” by the “eerie, magical presence” of the paintings. Time only ratified the consensus.

“They remain some of the most unforgettable, provocative paintings in the recent history of American Modernism,” the critic Karen Wilkin wrote in The New Criterion in 2007. In 1989, “Tomlinson Court

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2015 FRANK STELLA/ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY (ARS), NEW YORK; TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Frank Stella in his studio with a later work, “Michael Kohlhaas Curtain,” which is 100 feet long.

Revised Form On College Aid Brings Chaos

By COLBI EDMONDS and BERNARD MOKAM

By this time of year, college-bound high school seniors are usually celebrating their choices, researching dorms and even thinking of their majors. This year, that’s not necessarily the case.

Because of a disastrous rollout of the new application for federal tuition aid, many still don’t know how much tuition they would be paying and so have not decided where they can afford to go.

The Education Department’s redesigned form for the Free Application for Federal Student Aid, or FAFSA, was supposed to make applying for tuition aid easier and more accessible. But faced with a bureaucratic mess caused by technical meltdowns and severe delays in processing information and receiving aid packages, students say the new system has been anything but clear or streamlined.

The first signs of trouble began in December with the form’s release and have cascaded since, creating uncertainties for students — with graduation right around the corner.

“It’s been a nightmare from point A to point B,” said Reyna Atkinson, a 17-year-old from Michigan, who ultimately committed to Michigan State University after months of waiting.

FAFSA is a free, standardized application for federal aid for college tuition that millions rely on. Students fill out one form, with details on their background and

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Inmate’s Death Highlights Failures in Mental Health

Prisons Struggle in Dual Role of Jailer and Caregiver for Thousands of People

By GLENN THRUSH

ZION, Ill. — Markus Johnson slumped naked against the wall of his cell, skin flecked with pepper spray, his face a mask of puzzlement, exhaustion and resignation. Four men in black tactical gear pinned him, his face to the concrete, to cuff his hands behind his back.

He did not resist. He couldn’t. He was so gravely dehydrated he would be dead by their next shift change.

“I didn’t do anything,” Mr. Johnson moaned as they pressed a shield behind his shoulders.

It was 1:19 p.m. on Sept. 6, 2019, in the Danville Correctional Center, a medium-security prison a few hours south of Chicago. Mr. Johnson, 21 and serving a short sentence for gun possession, was in the throes of a mental collapse that had gone largely untreated, but hardly unwatched.

He had entered in good health, with hopes of using the time to gain work skills. But for the previous three weeks, Mr. Johnson, who suffered from bipolar disorder and schizophrenia, had refused to eat or take his medication. Most dangerous of all, he had stealthily stopped drinking water, hastening the physical collapse that often accompanies full-scale mental crises.

Mr. Johnson’s horrific downward spiral, which has not been previously reported, represents the larger failures of the nation’s prisons to care for the mentally ill. Many seriously ill people receive no treatment. For those who do, the outcome is often determined by the vigilance and commitment of individual supervisors and frontline staff, which vary greatly from system to system, prison to prison, and even shift to shift.

The country’s jails and prisons have become its largest provider of inpatient mental health treatment, with 10 times as many seriously mentally ill people now held

behind bars as in hospitals. Estimating the population of incarcerated people with major psychological problems is difficult, but the number is likely 200,000 to 300,000, experts say.

Many of these institutions remain ill-equipped to handle such a task, and the burden often falls on prison staff and health care personnel who struggle with the dual roles of jailer and caregiver in a high-stress, dangerous, often dehumanizing environment.

In 2021, Joshua McLemore, a 29-year-old with schizophrenia held for weeks in an isolation cell in Jackson County, Ind., died of organ failure resulting from a “refusal to eat or drink,” according to an autopsy. In April, New York City agreed to pay \$28 million to settle a lawsuit filed by the family of Nicholas Feliciano, a young man with a history of mental illness who suffered severe brain damage after attempting to hang himself on Rikers Island — as correctional officers stood by.

Mr. Johnson’s mother has filed a wrongful-death suit against the state and Wexford Health Sources, a for-profit health care contractor in Illinois prisons. The New York Times reviewed more

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CARLOS JAVIER ORTIZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Markus Johnson died in prison after a mental collapse.

As Trump Fan, Pastor Signals A Latino Shift

By JENNIFER MEDINA

On a recent Tuesday evening, two teenage boys approached their pastor, Camilo Perez, before Bible study. They wanted his take on a debate that had been gnawing at them. Their friends from a local public high school had been talking about discrimination against Latinos. Did the pastor agree? Does the government give white people more power?

“No, no, no. That’s not true. We are not in oppression. Everybody here has the same rights,” Mr. Perez recalled telling the boys in a mini-sermon that hit on some of his favorite themes: freedom in the United States, scarcity and repression in Latin America and the dangers of what he views as liberals’ notions of victimhood.

“This is an agenda against the country,” he told them. “They are trying to put confusion in your mind, and they are trying to bully you to be against your country, against everything.”

It was not the first time the pastor’s counsel was more worldly than spiritual. As he ministers to a growing flock of 250 families in the dusty suburbs of Las Vegas, Mr. Perez has transformed from a leader who rarely acknowledged politics to an eager foot soldier in the cultural and political battles in his adopted country.

It is a path traversed by a growing number of Latino evangelicals, a group that is helping re-

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Trump Return? A Wary Capital Talks of Escape.

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — It has become the topic of the season at Washington dinner parties and receptions. Where would you go if it really happens?

WASHINGTON MEMO

Portugal, says a former member of Congress. Australia, says a former agency director. Canada, says a Biden administration official. France, says a liberal columnist. Poland, says a former investigator.

They’re joking. Sort of. At least in most cases. It’s a gallows humor with a dark edge. As much of official Washington is bracing for the possibility that former President Donald J. Trump really could return — this time with “retribution” as his avowed mission — the discussion is where people might go into a sort of self-imposed exile.

Whether they mean it or not, the buzz is a telling indicator of the grim mood among many in the nation’s capital these days. The “what if” goes beyond the normal prospect of a side unhappy about a lost election. It speaks to the nervousness about a would-be president who talks of being a dictator for a day, who vows to “root out” enemies he called “vermin,” who threatens to prosecute adversaries, who suggests a general he deems disloyal deserves “DEATH.”

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She’ll Have an Orange Juice on the Rocks. Hold the Sippy Cup.

By ALYSON KRUEGER

The first time Tom Mathe, head bartender at L’Avenue in Manhattan, saw a child order a mocktail, he didn’t know what to think.

“There was this initial impulse of, ‘Wait, is this OK?’” he said. “I wouldn’t explicitly target children as a demographic when I make any kind of drink.”

Yet he has noticed more children asking for nonalcoholic drinks. “It’s not exactly daily, but more than weekly,” he said.

The restaurant, which sits inside Saks Fifth Avenue, has two spirit-free concoctions on the menu. Most children get the “Mr. Tastee,” Mr. Mathe said, which comes with coconut, vanilla, bergamot orange and soda. It makes sense, he added, considering that he created it with his own childhood in mind: “It reminds me of waiting for an ice cream truck.”

He ultimately decided that while it still feels a little strange to serve the sophisticated beverages to children, it felt satisfying to con-

Craft Mocktails Attract (Much) Younger Set

tribute to family dining experiences “in an interesting way.”

As nonalcoholic cocktails, wines and beers have become staples on bar menus across America, some children — people way under the legal drinking age — have begun to partake.

Technically, there is no reason

they can’t. Though some contain very small traces of alcohol — or at least mimic the taste of alcohol — many nonalcoholic beverages are made solely of juices and other kid-friendly ingredients.

But parents and hospitality professionals alike are asking whether this trend is problematic anyway — financially, ethically or for health reasons.

In a recent Reddit conversation, some parents compared serving their children spirit-free drinks to

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Cost of Insulin in Spotlight

President Biden touts his price cap in his re-election bid. The trick is selling it to Americans of all ages. PAGE A11

Outsiders as Protest Inciters

Officials blame “external actors” for escalating protests at Columbia University, but there’s little evidence. PAGE A14

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Congo Wants Its Skulls Back

Belgium has failed to return the remains of hundreds of people taken by force from former colonies. A draft law could change that. PAGE A4

Israel Shuts Down Al Jazeera

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu accused the news source of harming the country’s security. The network called the decision a “criminal act.” PAGE A6

Ukraine Lags in Naming Dead

Families of some soldiers say they have spent months trying to get official confirmation of their loved ones’ deaths, adding to their anguish. PAGE A10



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Singing the Copyright Blues

What, exactly, is a song? In the eyes of the law, the answer to that question can get a little complicated. PAGE C1

Jerry Seinfeld’s Serious Side

The comedian has been wrestling with what it means to be Jewish amid the Israel-Hamas conflict. PAGE C1

SPORTS D1-8

Defending Against the Steal

New rules imposed by M.L.B. last season created a spike in stolen bases. Although the nature of baseball’s inside cat-and-mouse game might change, the search for an edge never ends. PAGE D4

A Flashback to the 1990s

In what was a regular occurrence decades ago, the New York Knicks and the Indiana Pacers will play each other in a playoff series. The Eastern Conference semifinals begin Monday. PAGE D7

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David French

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BUSINESS B1-5

Toymakers Want Your Ideas

Companies like Lego and Mattel have divisions that seek out design concepts directly from collectors and other highly dedicated fan bases. PAGE B1

