

**THE WEATHER**  
Today, very warm, humid, thunderstorms, high 89. Tonight, thunderstorms, humid, low 75. Tomorrow, warm, humid, thunderstorms, high 88. Weather map is on Page D12.



Evan Gershkovich hugged his mother, Ella Milman, after he and other freed Americans arrived at Joint Base Andrews on Thursday.

## HARRIS CLOSES IN ON RUNNING MATE

Formal Vetting Process Is Finished by Fall Firm

This article is by Lisa Lerer, Reid J. Epstein and Katie Gleason.

The law firm hired by the Harris campaign to investigate potential vice-presidential candidates has completed its work, leaving the final decision — the most important of the still-new campaign — squarely in Vice President Kamala Harris's hands.

Covington & Burling, the Washington law firm tasked with the vetting, completed the job on Thursday afternoon and turned over its findings to Ms. Harris, according to two people briefed on the process.

Ms. Harris has blocked off several hours on her calendar this weekend to meet with the men being considered to join the ticket, according to two people who had viewed her schedule and who, like others interviewed, spoke on the condition of anonymity because they were not authorized to discuss the private process. The Harris campaign has suggested it will announce the decision by Tuesday evening, when the vice president and her to-be-named running mate begin a five-day tour of presidential battleground states, starting in Philadelphia.

Several of the contenders, including Govs. Josh Shapiro of Pennsylvania and Andy Beshear of Kentucky, canceled events this weekend, reflecting both a desire to be available for those conversations and to avoid drawing additional speculation from the news media about their chances.

The choice of a running mate is one of the most consequential decisions of Ms. Harris's political career, one that can play dividends in votes and years of counsel or backfire disastrously. In some ways, Ms. Harris is setting a direction for the future of the party, a reality she intimately understood after given her own bid for presidential ascension to the top of the ticket.

Routine previous nominees, who spent months considering candidates, she must make her

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## SECURED Democrats said Kamala Harris had enough delegates to be the nominee. PAGE A16

## Lavish Spending at a Top L.G.B.T.Q. Nonprofit

By EMILY STEEL

A light rain fell at the Zurich airport one Sunday morning in January 2023 as Sarah Kate Ellis made her way from a seat in Delta's most exclusive cabin to a waiting Mercedes. It was there to chauffeur her to the Swiss Alps, where she and her colleagues would stay at the Tivoli Lodge, a seven-bedroom chalet that cost nearly half a million dollars to rent for the week.

Ms. Ellis, who was on route to the World Economic Forum in Davos, doesn't run a Wall Street bank or a high-flying tech start-up. She is the chief executive of the nonprofit organization GLAAD, one of

GLAAD Files Suggest It May Have Broken I.R.S. Regulations

the country's leading L.G.B.T.Q. advocacy groups. The group, which has an annual budget of roughly \$30 million, paid for Ms. Ellis's trip, as well as a day of skiing, according to internal documents reviewed by The New York Times and interviews with current and former employees and others with knowledge of GLAAD's operations.

The trip was part of a pattern of

lavish spending at GLAAD, much of it by Ms. Ellis, that may have violated the organization's own policies as well as Internal Revenue Service rules.

The Times reviewed dozens of GLAAD expense reports and accompanying receipts from January 2022 through June 2023, as well as employment agreements, tax filings, audit reports, other financial documents and internal communications.

When Ms. Ellis traveled for work, there were first-class flights, stays at the Waldorf Astoria and other luxury hotels and expensive car services. Not to mention a Cape Cod summer rental.

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## Inside the Prisoner Trade: Spies, a Killer and Couriers

Secret Talks Involving Multiple Countries Led to Deal That Freed Americans

This article is by Mark Mazzetti, Anton Troianowski, Michael D. Shear and Peter Baker.

WASHINGTON — A turning point came on June 25, when a group of C.I.A. officers met with their Russian counterparts during a secret meeting in a Mid-Eastern capital.

The Americans floated a proposal: an exchange of two dozen prisoners sitting in jails in Russia, the United States and scattered across Europe, a far bigger and more complex deal than either side had previously contemplated but one that would give both Moscow and Western nations more reasons to say yes.

Quiet negotiations between the United States and Russia over a possible prisoner swap had dragged on for more than a year. They were punctuated by only occasional glimpses of hope for the families of the American prisoners — including Evan Gershkovich, a reporter for The Wall Street Journal, and Paul Whelan, an American security contractor growing increasingly impatient for their ordeal to end. Those hopes were always dashed when one of the two sides balked.

But the June meeting changed things, according to accounts from American and Western officials and other people familiar with the long process of bringing the deal to fruition.

The Russian spies took the proposal back to Moscow, and only days later the C.I.A. director was on the phone with a Russian spy chief agreeing to broad parameters of a massive prisoner swap. On Thursday, seven different planes touched down in Ankara, Turkey, and exchanged passengers, bringing to a successful close an intense diplomatic effort that took place almost entirely out of public view.

The deal between longtime adversaries — negotiated mostly by spies and sometimes through se-

cret messages hand-delivered by couriers — secured the release of Mr. Gershkovich, Mr. Whelan and 14 other imprisoned Americans, Russians and Europeans.

The deal also freed, among others, a Russian hit man, Vadim Kravtsov. He had been jailed in Germany since 2019 for the murder of a Chechen former separatist fighter in a park in Berlin. He was the prize most sought by President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia, who had publicly praised the killing as an act of patriotism and for years had insisted that Mr. Kravtsov be part of any swap.

The stunning deal took place against the geopolitical backdrop of the war in Ukraine, where the United States is sending weapons to the battlefield aimed at killing as many Russian troops as possible.

And it reached its conclusion even as President Biden, who got personally involved in the negotiations at key points, was losing hope of continuing his re-election bid following a disastrous televised debate that took place two days after the C.I.A. gave the Russians what proved to be the decisive new offer.

On the morning of Sunday, July 21, Mr. Biden, still with Covid, placed a call from his vacation home in Delaware to Slovenia's Prime Minister, who was one of the last pieces of the prisoner agreement. Less than two hours after the deal was struck, he was drawing from the presidential race.

The deal that made this possible was a feat of diplomacy and friendship," Mr. Biden said on Thursday, giving remarks from the White House, flanked by family members of the prisoners. He

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**GERMANY'S ROLE** The chancellor overcame opposition in his decision to release a hit man. PAGE A5

## In 10 Seconds, One-Man Team Could Be Done

By HANNAH BEECH

PARIS — As his nameless line athlete at the Paris Olympics, Winzar Kakiokea carries an additional burden. Most people have no idea that his country is a country.

Also, his homeland could one day disappear into the ocean.

First, a brief geography primer: Niuru, with a population of less than 13,000, is an island nation perched in the middle of the Pacific Ocean. Once known as Pleasant Island, Niuru (pronounced No-roo, not Nih-ooh-roo) gained its independence in 1981, after a period of trusteeship by the United Nations. Its economy for decades depended on guano, or bird droppings, a key ingredient in fertilizer. Mining destroyed parts of the island; chunks of Niuru slid into the sea. Climate change is nibbling at its southern coast.

"Most people don't know about Niuru," Kakiokea said. "When I tell them about it, they are shocked that this little, tiny place is a country."

On Saturday, Kakiokea, 23, will compete in the preliminaries of the men's 100-meter dash as a fast runner — the fastest man in the franchise of the Pacific known as Micronesia, and he is a year after they were disqualified from the world championships in Paris for test results of one of his.

Still, Kakiokea's presence in Paris is testament to more than 11 seconds.

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## Slowed Hiring Casts Doubts On Fed's Wait

By JEANNA SMIALEK

Federal Reserve officials held off on cutting interest rates this week because they were trying to see how much more damage to the economy that inflation is truly causing under control. While that approach is cautious when it comes to price increases, Friday's employment report underscored that it might be a risky one if it comes to the job market.

Unemployment rose to 4.3 percent in July, up from 4.1 percent previously, as hiring slowed sharply. The labor market cracks have given sudden urgency to concerns that the Fed has waited too long to begin cutting rates — and that it might be falling behind, allowing the job market to slow in a way it will be hard to soothe or reverse.

"They are absolutely behind the curve and will be hard to catch up," said Julia Coronado, founder of MacroPolicy Perspectives.

High Fed interest rates help to cool inflation by slowing demand. When it costs more to borrow to buy a house or expand a business, people make fewer big purchases and cut back on discretionary spending. As economic activity pulls back, businesses struggle to raise prices and cut back on hiring.

This chain reaction can come at a serious cost to the economy, though. And once the labor market

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Angela Carini of Italy, right, abandoned her bout against Algeria Imane Khelif in just 46 seconds.

## Olympic Officials Try to Quell Fury Over Fairness

By JERE LONGMAN and EMMANUEL MORGAN

PARIS — Lin Yu-xing strode toward the boxing ring on Friday fully aware that she was walking straight into a swirling controversy that has turned the Paris Olympics into a forum for a fierce debate about biology, gender and fairness in women's sports.

Dressed all in red and greeted with a mix of cheers and boos from the crowd, Lin, who competes for

Defending the Eligibility of Two Female Boxers

Taiwan, stepped through the ropes for her opening match, bowed a couple of times and got to work. Emerging victorious after 15 minutes later, she greeted some of her supporters and then left the arena as silently as she had arrived. She declined to speak to re-

ports. At the same time, Olympic officials were working urgently to tell them about it, they are shocked that this little, tiny place is a country."

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## INTERNATIONAL A12-11

### Taking a Break From Troubles

Some young people in China are pretending to be birds on social media as a way of escaping from exam pressures, employment woes and overall bustle culture. PAGE A4

### Funeral for Hamas Leader

Four Palestinians appeared to lead Hamas's call for a day of anger to condemn the killing of Israeli Haneen and Israel's bombardment. PAGE A18

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### Hard Path for Harris in Nevada

Polls show Democrats' chances have improved, but Kamala Harris faces a challenge in undecided voters who had turned out completely. PAGE A12

### Campaign Audit Faults Adams

A 900-page draft review of the mayor's 2021 campaign found widespread errors that could lead to fines or forfeiture of public matching funds. PAGE A16

### Ruling Narrows Voting Act

Reversing decades of precedent, federal appeals court said different minority groups cannot jointly claim their votes had been diluted. PAGE A17

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### Trump's 'Opportunity Zones'

His tax incentive, with bipartisan roots, aims to foster development in poor areas. It has faded building, but it hasn't always added child tax. PAGE B1

### TikTok Sued Over Child Data

The Justice Department said the company knowingly allowed users younger than 13 to create accounts. PAGE B1

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### Always a Devastating Spin

Dwight Freeman made the Pro Football Hall of Fame by making blockers "look absolutely silly." PAGE D11

## ARTS C1-6

### Where Pieces Come Together

Puzzling has been around for as long as humans, but more than 250 years, but a budding tournament has drawn participants from more than 75 countries, is giving it a new vitality. PAGE C8

### Art Lands in Ski Country

Aspen, Colo., a town with one of the nation's highest concentrations of ultra-wealthy homeowners, became the site of a new art fair. PAGE C1

## TRAVEL T8-18

### Keeping It Local, and Cheap

A Chicago resident explores her city as a visitor might — a visitor with an open mind and a tight budget. PAGE C2

### 36 Hours in Nice

The French Riviera's official capital has ancient ruins, a Matisse museum and a world-famous beach. PAGE C8

## OPINION A18-19

### Charles M. Blow

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# Arts

The New York Times



Several galleries, including Rasha and Co., installed their art sale in guest rooms at the Hotel Jerome. On the bed is Sienna Shields's "The Tone-Scientists 7," 2023, made of dozens of long, stringy tentacles covered in blue beads.

## Aspen's New Art Fair Follows the Money

How to lure customers and sell paintings and sculptures in a down market? Pitching a tent next to billionaires is a start.

By RAY MARK RINALDI

ASPEN, COLO. — A down art market? Depressed dealers? Fatigued buyers? None of that matters in Aspen. At least, that is the theory behind a new art fair in the city when the global arts industry is in a slump. Aspen is both rich and spendy, with one of the highest concentrations of ultra-

wealthy homeowners in the country.

Even the worst of times is not all that bad here, said Doug Leiblinger, a longtime real estate agent in Aspen, who represented the seller in a \$77 million cash deal for an eight-bedroom home in April, setting a Colorado sales record during a downturn in the U.S. housing market. The record was broken again with another Aspen deal just a week later.

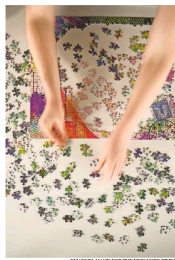
"Our marketplace is anomalous to the rest of the planet," Leiblinger said. "There are people who find Aspen desirable regardless of what happens in the greater economy."

All those bustling waiters and bare walls add up to a consistent demand for paintings and sculpture, enough for Rebecca Hoff-

man, a co-founder of the Aspen Art Fair, to plunge ahead confidently with her event, even when trade reports show international art spending down more than 10 percent in 2023.

The inaugural fair, staged at the Hotel Jerome, a 135-year-old resort, ended on Friday. Visitors were elbow to elbow during Monday's opening preview, and there were bustling crowds the first few days; many of the 22 galleries reported multiple sales by Wednesday. Prices varied, with a number of offerings in the \$12,000 to \$40,000 range, in line with the leading fairs of comparable size. (Art Basel Miami Beach in 2023, with its nearly 300 exhibitors, still dwarfed this fair.)

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EMANUEL GINSBURG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Do You Want A Piece of This?

The World Jigsaw Puzzle Championship will bring together participants from more than 75 countries next month in Spain. Page 6.

## Saving Holocaust Memories With A.I.

The Museum of Jewish Heritage is using it to create an installation where visitors can interact with survivors.

By JOSEPH BERGER

The Museum of Jewish Heritage in Lower Manhattan, like other institutions that memorialize the Holocaust, has long relied on survivors to provide firsthand accounts of the cruelties imposed by the Nazis and the various paths people took to endure.

But with the ranks of survivors thinning — almost all are in their 80s or 90s — the museum has been working to find the most effective ways to convey to future generations how easily a civilized society can descend into almost incomprehensible barbarism and systematic mass slaughter.

"What I care about is what your grandchildren's grandchildren will know," said Jack Kliger, the museum's president and chief executive, a son of survivors.

In planning for what Kliger calls "a post-survivor world," the museum could have simply offered taped videos of individuals recounting their painful experiences. But museum officials worried that such an approach risked putting forth a fragmented and misleading sense of what happened; that someone viewing, say, the testimony of a prisoner of a concentration camp might think that all Holocaust survivors spent World War II in concentration camps.

Instead, in an effort to depict the widest range of experiences and context, the museum has decided to use artificial intelligence.

When the museum's new A.I.-powered installation allows its visitors to interact with prerecorded images of those who experienced the Holocaust.



EMANUEL GINSBURG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Alice Ginsburg being interviewed last month for a new installation at the Museum of Jewish Heritage, which will use artificial intelligence to allow its visitors to interact with prerecorded images of those who experienced the Holocaust.

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COVER: JEFFREY M. HARRIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

presreader

Rebecca Hoffman, right, a co-founder of the Aspen Art Fair in Colorado. Below, the Hotel Jerome, where many of the fair's exhibitors showed artworks in guest rooms.



VIA HOTEL JEROME, ASPIEN; REBECCA HOFFMAN COLLECTION



PHOTOGRAPHS BY KRISTEN BRAGA WRIGHT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

## In Aspen, a New Art Fair Follows the Money

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

Hoffman, in an interview late Tuesday, said that was a good start. She had spent much of the day codding collectors, coaching dealers and extinguishing the fires that break out with any start-up.

"My jobs this week are house mom, shrink, punching bag, puppeteer and cheerleader," she said.

Those are roles she is familiar with, and Aspen is a place she knows well. Hoffman, who lives in New York, consults with art fairs internationally and spent the last three years as director of Intersect Art and Design, Aspen's other art fair, which is taking place simultaneously. Both fairs run during Aspen Arts Week, a series of lectures, exhibitions and parties hosted by the Aspen Art Museum.

When Hoffman ventured out on her own this year, departing from Intersect and producing her own fair in partnership with Bob Chase, an Aspen dealer, several exhibitors followed along, including the French gallery Perronin, Miles McNary Gallery, whose headquarters are in Chelsea, and K Contemporary, a gallery in Denver.

Newcomers signed on as well, including Galerie Gmurzynska, from Zurich, a secondary-market specialist that featured a Picasso painting in its booth priced at \$3.5 million. Another, Southern Guild, a gallery in Cape Town, brought along the South African photographer Zanele Muholi, who currently has solo shows at Tate Modern in London and the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, and who was one of the fair's artists in residence.

That leap of faith in the new venture came with risk. Booth rentals ranged from \$12,000 to \$18,000, and dealers who wanted to set up shop in one of the Hotel Jerome's elegant guest rooms paid up to \$30,000 for the five-day run.

The hotel setting was a lure to some exhibitors. The Jerome is an enduring treasure, an 1889 red-brick landmark that has been welcoming guests since Colorado's silver rush and today trades in a style that is part Wild West boom, with wall-mounted lion heads and bellhops in cowboy hats, and part luxury inn, with a swank cocktail bar in the lobby and rooms priced at \$1,200 a night.

Most art fairs unfold in drab convention centers and resemble trade shows, of any sort, with booths lined up in perfect, endless rows. The Intersect fair, for example, takes place in the Aspen Ice Garden; it is dressed up for the event and has a luxury aura that draws well-heeled customers, but there is no mistaking that it is a hokey rink.

"We were on board because it sounded cool to try something new and to do it in a place that so many people are already coming to intuitively," said Matthew McCardwell, associate director of Perronin, whose booth in the Aspen Art Fair's main hall featured work by Paola Pivi, Galilee Park and Josh Sperling.

K Contemporary made the most of its hotel-room space, stacking work on dressers and desks, in closets, even in the bathroom. The gallery turned a wall piece by the textile artist Anne von Freyburg into a bedspread, stationed two humanlike sculptures by Viktor Preso on the terrace and hung a painting by Marc Dennis over the toilet. It was unusual but playful.

"I love taking artwork out of that idea of the white cube," the gallery owner Doug Kacena said. "Taking over a space like this feels more authentic."

A few doors down, Rusha & Co., a Los Angeles gallery, had a piece by Sienna Shields. It consists of dozens of long, stringy tentacles covered in blue beads and is meant to be hung from the ceiling, though in the hotel room it took over an entire king-size bed. Guy Rusha, the owner of the gallery, was actually staying in the room, and said that he simply pushed the work to one side when he woke up.

On the fair's first day, he sold a few vintage drawings of Aspen by LeRoy Neiman that were installed over a coffee table. There was more work for sale on side tables and next to the shower.

"I love the gallery. I'm always thinking less is more," he said. "But here it's like more is more because there are beautiful rooms and they are competing against a lot of design and style."

Many of the collectors at the fair were Aspen regulars who live in the city and go to the fair for Art Week. The Aspen Art Museum's annual Art Crush gala — to many,



the social event of the summer — with its art-star auction raised \$3.8 million last year.

Barbara and Bruce Berger, who are philanthropists and collectors, were at the new fair for Monday's preview. They spent some time browsing the booths with their dog, Brooklyn Berger. Christine Mack, founder of the Mack Art Foundation — a nonprofit in New York that collects art and sponsors artists' residencies — was there early, too, and quickly bought an acrylic painting by Rodrigo Valenzuela from Hexton Gallery, one of the fair's busiest sellers.

On the second day, Sharon and John Hoffman showed up. The couple (who are not related to the fair's organizer) live mostly in

Kansas City, Mo., and have been collecting for 35 years with a recent focus on Black artists, such as Kerry James Marshall, Kehinde Wiley and Nick Cave. They were not sure if they were buying at the fair with wide, and lasting, appeal. For her event to succeed beyond this year, however, the galleries have to make money.

She is optimistic that will happen. "Aspen is not suffering," she said. "Aspen is blossoming and blooming, and in a space where it is a playground for engaged and informed individuals from around the world."

known for many years. Rebecca Hoffman grew up in the art business; her mother, Nancy Hoffman, has operated a gallery in Manhattan since 1972.

Rebecca Hoffman makes the most of the personal and professional connections she has cultivated but said she is building her business model on creating a fair with wide, and lasting, appeal. For her event to succeed beyond this year, however, the galleries have to make money.

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Second row: Zanele Muholi, a South African photographer and artist in residence at the Aspen Art Fair, and three of her images: "Q'qiso V the Sails, Durban," 2019 (bottom left); "Better I, New York," 2019 (top); "Zigzag IV, Cape Town," 2020. Above, Doug Kacena, owner of K Contemporary gallery in Denver, in his room at the Hotel Jerome, with artworks for sale.