

## After Citywide Dragnet, Subway Attack Suspect Is Charged as Terrorist

### Arrested Without Struggle in Manhattan

By MICHAEL GOLD

After 29 hours in which the police combed the streets, scoured surveillance cameras, patrolled subway platforms and sent an alert to phones across New York seeking tips, the man accused of opening fire on a subway train in Brooklyn and injuring at least 23 people was arrested near a McDonald's in the East Village, officials said.

The suspect, Frank R. James, 62, was taken into custody without a struggle about five miles from the subway station where he is accused of committing one of the worst attacks on New York's subway system.

"My fellow New Yorkers: We got him," Mayor Eric Adams said in a news conference on Wednesday afternoon. "We got him."

Federal officials charged Mr. James with carrying out a terrorist attack on a mass transit system, according to a criminal complaint filed in federal court in Brooklyn. If convicted, he could face life in prison. He is expected

on the transit system, and to officials who feared that another high-profile violent act on the subway would diminish confidence in the city at a precarious moment in its recovery from the pandemic.

"Everybody's on edge because of what happened yesterday, obviously," said Lee Lloyd, who was inside the bar he owns in the East Village when officers surrounded Mr. James and took him into custody. "When we saw five cop cars come through, I was like, 'Oh, man, what now?'"

But even as the widespread manhunt for Mr. James, which involved multiple federal and state agencies and hundreds of officers, came to a close, the investigation left many questions unanswered. Police officials and prosecutors have not yet provided a motive for the shooting, which left 10 people wounded by gunfire and at least 13 others with other injuries.

The shooting victims ranged from a 15-year-old boy to men and women in their 40s. At least nine people remained hospitalized on Wednesday, but all of them were in stable condition with no life-threatening injuries. A number of those injured in the attack were teenagers or college students who were on a normally mundane trek — heading to school on the train.

Rudy Pérez, 20, was struck in the left leg and had to be helped off the train by another passenger, he said. Doctors told him it will be about a month until he can walk again. Until then, Mr. Pérez, who works in construction, is unsure how he will be able to do his job, and is worried about his safety.

"I'm afraid it'll happen again," he said, adding, "I'm worried about everyone else."

The authorities have not fully accounted for Mr. James's whereabouts after the shooting. And with the attack provoking questions about ongoing efforts to make the subways safer, transit officials on Wednesday acknowledged that a surveillance camera at the station where the attack took place was not working properly.

Maintenance workers inspected the camera at the station on Sunday, transit officials said, two days before the shooting, and traced the problem to a fiber-optic cable connection failure that also interrupted feeds from cameras in two other stations: the local stop immediately before the scene of the shooting and the one immediately after it.

Mr. Adams on Tuesday said the

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STEPHANIE KEITH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Frank R. James, the suspect in Tuesday's Brooklyn shooting.

to appear in court on Thursday. It was unclear who alerted the police that Mr. James was at the McDonald's on First Avenue shortly before he was arrested around 1:40 p.m.

There were scores of calls, and an array of people took credit for turning him in. A number of law enforcement officials also said that Mr. James himself may have called the tip line. Police Commissioner Keechant L. Sewell said that detectives were investigating who provided the information about the McDonald's.

Mr. James's arrest brought some relief to residents worried about an accused gunman at large

## GROWING HUNT FOR SIGNS OF WAR CRIMES



SERGEI ILNITSKY/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

A theater in Mariupol, Ukraine, where hundreds died in a Russian airstrike last month, during a visit set up by the Russian military.

## Putin's War May Push Swedes And Finns to Apply to NATO

By STEVEN ERLANGER and JOHANNA LEMOLA

BRUSSELS — Even before his invasion of Ukraine, President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia had warned Sweden and Finland of "retaliation" should they join NATO. It was, after all, Ukraine's desire to join the alliance that he cited time and again as provocation for his war.

But if his invasion of Ukraine has succeeded at anything so far, it has been to drive the militarily nonaligned Nordic countries into the arms of NATO, as Russian threats and aggression heighten security concerns and force them to choose sides.

In a rapid response to Russia's invasion — and despite Mr. Putin's threat of "serious political and military consequences" — both Finland and Sweden are now seriously debating applications for membership in the alliance and are widely expected to join.

Their accession would be another example of the counterproductive results of Mr. Putin's war. Instead of crushing Ukrainian nationalism, he has enhanced it. Instead of weakening the trans-Atlantic alliance, he has solidified it.

Instead of dividing NATO and blocking its growth, he has united it.

"With the contours of European security irrevocably altered since Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the direction of thinking in both countries — especially Finland — is getting clearer by the day," wrote Anna Wieslander and Christopher Skaluba, of the Atlantic Council.

"From Moscow's perspective, the result might be another unwanted consequence of its needless and reckless aggression," they said.

At a news conference in Stockholm on Wednesday with Prime Minister Magdalena Andersson of Sweden, Prime Minister Sanna Marin of Finland said a decision on whether to apply for membership would be made "within weeks" as her government submitted a document to inform parliamentary debate on the issue.

"There are of course pros and cons with being a member of NATO, as there are pros and cons of other security choices," Ms. Andersson said. But she added, "I

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## Pressure to Hold Kremlin Liable; U.S. Adding \$800 Million in Aid

This article is by Marc Santora, Erika Solomon and Carlotta Gall.

Investigators from almost a dozen countries combed bombed-out towns and freshly dug graves in Ukraine on Wednesday for evidence of war crimes, and a wide-ranging investigation by an international security organization detailed what it said were "clear patterns" of human rights violations by Russian forces.

Some of the atrocities may constitute war crimes, said investigators from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, who examined numerous reports of rapes, abductions and attacks on civilian targets, as well as the use of banned munitions.

On Wednesday, civilians were still bearing much of the brunt of the seven-week-old invasion as Russian forces, massing for an assault in the east, bombarded Ukraine's second-largest city, Kharkiv, striking an apartment building.

In an hourlong phone call with Volodymyr Zelensky, Ukraine's leader, President Biden said the United States, already a major provider of defensive armaments

to Ukraine, would send an additional \$800 million in military and other security aid. The package will include "new capabilities tailored to the wider assault we expect Russia to launch in eastern Ukraine," Mr. Biden said in a statement.

American officials said Wednesday that the United States, in helping Ukraine prepare for such an assault, had increased the flow of intelligence to Ukraine's government about Russian forces in eastern Ukraine and the Crimean Peninsula, which Russia seized from Ukraine eight years ago. The administration also is considering whether to send a high-level official to Kyiv, Ukraine's capital, in the days ahead as a sign of support for the country, according to a person familiar with the internal discussions.

War crimes claims are notably difficult to investigate, and still harder to prosecute. It's rare for national leaders to be charged, and even rarer for them to end up in the defendant's chair.

But the war in Ukraine may prove different, some experts say, Continued on Page A10

## Suspect Drifted From City to City As His Videos Hinted at Violence

This article is by Jonah E. Bromwich, Ashley Southall, Ali Watkins and Kirsten Noyes.

Buried in a sea of disturbing videos that Frank R. James posted on YouTube in recent weeks was a plan.

In between bigoted screeds tied to current events, he described an itinerary that would take him on a trip from Milwaukee in late March to the East Coast, where he was born. In more than one video, he recorded himself behind the wheel of a rented van, apparently making that journey back to what he called "the danger zone."

And the day before the attack in which the police say he opened fire on a subway car, shooting 10 people and injuring at least 13 more, Mr. James posted a video in which he said he had often wanted to kill and to "watch people die" right in front of him.

The thought of prison restrained him, he said, adding, "It's important to think about what you're going to do before you do it."

Mr. James was arrested on Wednesday and charged with committing the worst crime on New York's subway system in nearly 40 years. Investigators and the broader public were struggling to piece together what made him tick — and how the hours of

## Anger Toward a Range of Targets Before His Return to New York

footage he posted offered a hidden preview of an attack he may have been planning for weeks.

In a sense, Mr. James's travel eastward retraced the steps he had taken earlier in life. He was raised in the Bronx but mostly lost touch with his family as he grew older, his sister said. He drifted south and then west, to Newark, then Philadelphia, then Chicago — arrested many times but never convicted of anything serious enough to prevent him from buying a handgun, which he did in Columbus, Ohio, in 2011.

He landed in Milwaukee, where neighbors in his most recent home described him as a sullen, irascible loner. But there, apparently alone in his apartment, he built himself a YouTube personality. Referring to himself as the "prophet of doom," he posted thoughts on race and global affairs and, eventually, threats of violence that, in at least one video, he imagined taking place in New York's subway system.

"He can't stop no crime in no

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TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Grandparents Step Into the Gap

Nearly 200,000 children in the United States have lost parents to Covid, by one estimate, and grandparents are often helping to raise them — while both young and old deal with grief. Above, Willie Lanzisera hugging his grandson good night. Page A18.

## The Developer In an Inquiry Jolting Albany

This article is by Nicholas Fandos, Jeffery C. Mays and William K. Rashbaum.

For the Harlem real estate developer Gerald Migdol, the annual charity golf outing in Westchester County was a showcase to display his generosity. Politicians, business associates and minor celebrities circled the private links, helping his small foundation pay for backpacks and Thanksgiving turkeys distributed to needy families.

The highlight of the September 2019 event, however, occurred off the course, when Mr. Migdol was presented with an oversized cardboard check for \$50,000 in state grant money for his charity, Friends of Public School Harlem. The check surpassed any previous outside contribution and was hand-delivered by Harlem's state senator, Brian A. Benjamin.

"It makes kids happy," Mr. Migdol wrote on Facebook shortly after the tournament, posting a photograph capturing the moment. "What else do you want?"

This week, the check resurfaced — not as a record of the public service both men extolled, but as the linchpin of a corrupt quid

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## How McKinsey Advised Purdue And the F.D.A.

This article is by Chris Hamby, Walt Bogdanich, Michael Forsythe and Jennifer Valentino-DeVries.

Jeff Smith, a partner with the influential consulting firm McKinsey & Company, accepted a highly sensitive assignment in December 2017. The opioid manufacturer Purdue Pharma, beleaguered and in financial trouble, wanted to revamp its business, and an executive there sought out Dr. Smith.

Over the following weeks, he traveled to Purdue's offices in Stamford, Conn., meeting and dining with executives. His team reviewed business plans and evaluated new drugs that Purdue hoped would help move the company beyond the turmoil associated with OxyContin, its addictive painkiller that medical experts say helped to spark the opioid epidemic.

But the corporate reorganization was not Dr. Smith's only assignment at the time. He was also helping the Food and Drug Administration overhaul its office that approves new drugs — the same office that would determine the regulatory fate of Purdue's new line of proposed products.

The story of Dr. Smith's simulta-

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