

In Fast Stroke, Modi's Backers Banish Gandhi

Dissenter Ineligible for Indian Parliament

By ALEX TRAVELLI and SUHASINI RAJ

NEW DELHI — Rahul Gandhi went to battle against Prime Minister Narendra Modi in elections four years ago waving the banner of India's multi-sectarian tradition and characterizing Mr. Modi as a dangerous Hindu nationalist who would whitewash away the country's democracy if he remained in power.

A Modi landslide in that 2019 vote all but buried Mr. Gandhi and the storied party his family had led for generations, the Indian National Congress.

Moved to finish the job: Officials disqualified Mr. Gandhi from his seat in Parliament, just a day after a court found him guilty of criminal defamation — over a line at a 2019 campaign speech in which he likened Mr. Modi to a pair of prominent "thieves" with the same last name. The move came before he had any chance to appeal.

The sentence in that trial, two years in prison, happens to be the statutory minimum penalty that requires a sitting member of Parliament ineligible for office. New national elections are scheduled to take place early next year, and whenever Mr. Gandhi and his lawyers find in court, the defamation verdict seems likely to keep him and Congress mired in legal



Rahul Gandhi, the Indian National Congress Party's leader.



Anand Ambekar

defense for years to come.

It was the boldest stroke yet by Mr. Modi's allies to winnow out potential rivals and move against sources of criticism, in what is being seen broadly as a consolidation of power ahead of next year's elections.

Mr. Modi is fond of reminding world leaders that India is the biggest democracy on the planet. But his critics accuse him and his Bharatiya Janata Party, known as the B.J.P., of trying to twist the country's political system into something more akin to an electoral autocracy, with himself as total leader.

"The speed with which the system moved is astonishing," the Congress' political chief, P. Chidambaram said in a post on Twitter, commenting on Mr. Gandhi's

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DAVID J. PHILLIPS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Road to Recovery Leads to the U.S.

War has forced Ukraine to become skilled at treating amputees, but with so many, some are turning to a clinic in Minnesota. Page A6.

NEWS ANALYSIS Republicans Strain Limits Of Oversight

By CHARLIE SAVAGE

WASHINGTON — The demand by House Republicans for information from a local prosecutor in New York about his criminal investigation into former President Donald J. Trump is pushing an already escalating fight over the scope and limits of congressional oversight powers into new territory.

Legal battles about the oversight authority of Congress were one of the hallmarks of Mr. Trump's turbulent presidency. Where court fights over congressional subpoenas had once been rare, they became routine after Democrats won the House in 2019 and Mr. Trump vowed to stonewall "all" of their requests for information.

Now, House Republicans are locked in a standoff with the Manhattan district attorney, Alvin L. Bragg. The prosecutor, a Democrat, resisted their demand that he testify and turn over records from his criminal investigation into a 2016 election season hush money payoff to a porn star who says that she and Mr. Trump had an extramarital affair.

The demand for information from a state prosecutor about a potentially imminent indictment crossed a new line. It also foreshadowed broader struggles to come if House Republicans also go after other local and federal

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'Touchstone' for Far Right Turns Campaign Stop

By CHARLES HOMANS

In the chapel at Mount Carmel, the longtime home of the Branch Davidian sect outside Waco, Texas, the pastor preaches about the coming apocalypse, as the sect's doomed charismatic leader David Koresh did three decades ago.

But the prophecies offered by the pastor, Charles Facer, are different from Mr. Koresh's. For one thing, they involve Donald J. Trump.

"Donald Trump is the anointed of God," Mr. Facer said in an interview. "He is the battering ram that God is using to bring down the Deep State of Babylon."

Mr. Trump, embattled by multiple investigations and publicly predicting an imminent indict-

On 30th Anniversary, Site of Waco Raid to Host Trump Rally

ment in one, announced last week that he would hold the first rally of his 2024 presidential campaign on Saturday at the regional airport in Waco.

The date falls in the middle of the 20th anniversary of the week-long standoff involving federal agents and followers of Mr. Koresh that left 82 Branch Davidians and four agents dead at Mount Carmel, the groups' compound east of the city.

Mr. Trump has not linked his Waco visit to the anniversary.

Asked whether the rally — the former president's first in the city of 140,000 — was an intentional nod to the most infamous episode in Waco's history, Steven Cheung, the campaign's spokesman, replied via email that the Waco site was chosen "because it is centrally located and close to all four of Texas' biggest metropolitan areas — Dallas/Fort Worth, Houston, Austin and San Antonio — while providing the necessary infrastructure to hold a rally of this magnitude."

But the rally comes amid a spate of increasingly aggressive statements by Mr. Trump claiming his persecution at the hands of prosecutors, and the historical resonance has not been lost on some of his most ardent followers.

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PENTAGON'S PUSH TO RESTOCK ARMS HITS ROADBLOCK

HITS ROADBLOCK

EFFORT TO ACT QUICKLY As Weapons Pour Into Ukraine, Production Gap Is Exposed

By ERIC LITTON

WASHINGTON — The Navy admiral had a blunt message for the military contractors building precision-guided missiles for his warships, submarines and planes at a moment when the United States is dispatching arms to Ukraine and preparing for the possibility of conflict with China.

"Look at the arm not forgiving the fact you're not delivering the ordinance we need. OK?" Admiral Daryl Cagle, who is in charge of delivering weapons to the newly armed East Coast-based fleet, warned contractors during an industry gathering in January. "We're talking about war-fighting, national security, and going against a major power here and a potential adversary that is like nothing we've ever seen. And we can't dillydally around with these deliveries."

His open frustration reflects a problem that has become worryingly apparent as the Pentagon dispatches its own stockpiles of weapons to help Ukraine hold off Russia and Washington worriedly watches for signs that China might prepare a new conflict by invading Taiwan: The United States lacks the capacity to produce the arms that it needs and its allies need at a time of heightened superpower tensions.

Industry consolidation, depleted manufacturing lines and supply chain issues have combined to constrain the production of basic ammunition like artillery shells, which also prompting concern about building adequate reserves of more sophisticated weapons including cruise, air defense systems and counter-aircraft radar.

The Pentagon, the White House, Congress and military contractors are all taking steps to address the issues.

Procurement budgets are growing. The military is offering suppliers multiyear contracts to encourage companies to invest more in their manufacturing capacity and to prepositioning teams to help solve supply bottlenecks. More generally, the Pentagon is abandoning some of the cost-cutting changes embraced after the end of the Cold War, including corporate-style just-in-time delivery systems and a drive to shrink the industry.

"We are buying to the limits of the industrial base even as we are expanding these limits," Deputy Defense Secretary Kathleen Hicks said this month at a briefing on the Biden administration's 2024 budget plan.

But those changes are likely to take time to have an effect, leaving the military watching its stocks of some key weapons dwindle.

In the first 10 months after Russia invaded Ukraine, contracting in Washington to approve \$33 billion in military aid so far, the United States sent Ukraine so many stinger missiles from its own

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JAMES ROBERTSON VIA TODAY SHOW/VA POSTER

A First: An Elite 8 Minus Any No. 1s

San Diego State celebrated a win over Alabama. Moments later Houston, the last No. 1, fell. Page B6.

Iranian Attacks on Coalition Bases in Syria Raise Tensions Anew

U.S. Retaliates After a Contractor Is Killed

The fighting, among the most serious in the area since 2019, threatens to upend recent efforts to de-escalate tensions across the wider Middle East, whose rival powers, including Iran and Saudi Arabia, have made steps toward rapprochement in recent days after a truce in the conflict.

The initial attack on Thursday

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After Fleeing War for Paradise, They Wore Out Their Welcome

By SU-LIE WEE and MUKITTA SUHARTONO

For most of last year, thousands of Russians and Ukrainians flocked to the Indonesian island of Bali to escape the war. There they found refuge in a tropical paradise where locals rolled out the welcome mat for Ukrainians fleeing the shelling and Russians dodging the draft.

Then, a Russian influencer scaled a 706-year-old sacred tree, after that, a Russian street artist painted an antiwar mural on a private house, and a Russian teenager was caught vandalizing a school.

A string of recent motorcycle collisions involving Russians and Ukrainians has fueled questions about how to best protect the island. Now, the once-welcoming Balinese people have had enough. The Indonesian government to revoke passports, the governor of Bali, Wayan Koster, announced earlier this month that he asked the Indonesian government to revoke Russian and Ukraine's access to

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Revealing a Hidden Killer

Test strips to find fantasy in other drugs are becoming more common as a way to fight an overdose crisis, with more states legalizing them. PAGE A14

Judge Calls on Trump Aides

The ruling paves the way for testimony from Mark Meadows and other ex-officials in the inquiry into the handling of classified documents. PAGE A8E

A Bill on Divisive School Issues

The House passed legislation that would require parental consent to limit a student's request to change gender-identifying pronouns. PAGE A1D



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Propagandist-Turned-Protester

Marina Ovsyanikova stormed live TV to tell Russians they were being lied to. The Saturday Profile. PAGE A4

French Rage Floods Streets

Opponents of a pension overhaul are holding nightly protests, and many are marked by vandalism. PAGE A10

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China's Drift From the West

Xi Jinping has edged ever closer to Russia, while distancing China from countries that have helped it develop over the past four decades. PAGE B1

'Bonders' Bond Trading

Wild swings in the Treasury market are unlike anything many investors today had seen. They're also potentially warning of a recession. PAGE B1

SPORTS B6-8

A Moment in the Garden's Sun

Players embraced the N.C.A.A.'s 50th Madison Square Garden. PAGE B8

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Writing Under the Tuscan Sun

Thanks to the playwright Jeremy O. Harris, the finalists for the 2022 Yale Drama Series Prize suddenly find themselves in Italy, with lots of time to reflect, create and make pasta. PAGE C1

A Regional Museum's Reach

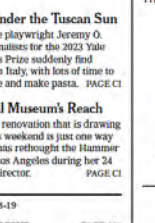
A \$50 million renovation that is drawing to an end has rethought the Hammer Museum in Los Angeles during her 24 years as its director. PAGE C1

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THIS WEEKEND



At Six Wellness Retreats, High-Tech Treatments

By NORA WALSH

Travelers have long flocked to resort destinations for yoga retreats, deep tissue massages and fitness boot camps. But when the pandemic hit, wellness took on a new urgency, and people have begun to focus on their health in new ways — with many seeking high-tech preventive care.

That shift in priorities has supercharged demand. According to a June 2022 report by Grand View Research, a firm that studies business trends, the global wellness tourism market is expected to exceed \$1 trillion by 2030, growing at an annual rate of nearly 10 percent over the next eight years.

In response, hotels and resorts are tracing in the old-school yoga-and-massage approach for advanced wellness treatments that claim to foster longevity, often blending Western diagnostic testing with Eastern therapies.

"The majority of our guests are suddenly much more interested in wellness," said Anna Bjurstan, the head of wellness at Six Senses on the Spanish island of Ibiza. "Those who were already eating, exercising

and sleeping well are now looking into their hormones, peptides, exosomes and stem cells, so we've had to step it up."

Dr. William Kapp, a board-certified orthopedic surgeon and a founding partner of the preventive health and longevity company Fountain Life, also sees the shift.

"Consumers are looking for alternatives to what medicine is traditionally providing," he said. He notes that treatments like red-light therapy and cryotherapy for reducing inflammation have been shown to decrease stress on the rest of the body's systems, but says there are not yet enough long-term, double-blind studies to prove how effective some other alternative treatments are for longevity.

"A lot of these therapies will make you feel better, but I wouldn't hold out hope they do anything else," Dr. Kapp said. "There is no magic bullet yet."

Here's what six destinations around the world are doing to cater to these new wellness travelers. (Consult with your own medical professionals before beginning any treatment program.)



Aman, in New York, offers a three-level spa with tools that measure a variety of body functions.



The Carillon Miami Wellness Resort has a 70,000-square-foot spa.

Salt-Float Baths and Smart Mattresses

Tammy Pahel, the vice president of spa and wellness at the Carillon Miami Wellness Resort in Miami Beach, has witnessed the changing demand. "When we reopened the hotel in November 2020, people were calling with specific issues like anxiety, insomnia and muscle tension and asking what we offered that could help," she said. "They didn't want to just take a pill."

During the pandemic, the Carillon invested more than \$1 million in state-of-the-art equipment for its 70,000-square-foot spa, creating seven wellness circuits aimed at addressing problems like stress, insomnia and back pain. The equipment, called touchless tech because it doesn't require a spa therapist, can also be reserved à la carte. Popular treatments include a salt-flot-

bath and calming red-light therapy, as well as beds that use sounds and electromagnetic waves, said to put the body into a deep resting state.

The resort also offers access to a team of wellness experts, including those versed in Chinese practices like acupuncture and in functional medicine, which looks at a person's whole health to assess the root causes of illness.

Guest rooms are also being furnished with Bryte mattresses, which use artificial intelligence to analyze sleep preferences like firmness and temperature.

Rooms start at \$699; touchless tech services can be booked individually, starting at \$99 for 25 minutes.



A steam room at Six Senses, on the Spanish island of Ibiza.

Assessing Sleep Cycles and the Aging of Cells

Six Senses Ibiza, which opened in Spain in the summer of 2021, is scanning up with the longevity clinic RoseBar to offer programs that include comprehensive wellness screenings and the option of one, three or seven days of services like hyperbaric oxygen therapy (breathing pure oxygen in a pressurized capsule, which is thought to help speed the healing process); cryotherapy; and tests that analyze DNA to show how fast cells are aging. This will be RoseBar's first location.

Packages include consultations with in-house medical experts, IV infusions, oxygen therapy and massages. Additionally, the brand will roll out a program this year that assesses a person's chronotype, or natural sleep cycle.

Sara Nielsen, a working mother of two from London, visited Six Senses Ibiza last summer with her husband. A experience prompted her to change her lifestyle. "I meditate daily now in front of a red-light therapy device, I bought a cold plunge pool for the garden, and I now do slow gentle exercise instead of HIIT classes, to calm my nervous system," she said, referring to high-intensity interval training. "I realized I don't have to make big, sweeping changes in my life. I can consistently stack small habits to support myself and create a better balance."

Rooms start at \$827, including breakfast.



Guests at Joali Being, a resort in the Maldives, can "go beyond relaxing."

Tailored Treatments on a Lush Island

In December, when Mary Lamb, who splits her time between New York City and Singapore, visited Joali Being, a new wellness resort in the Maldives, she hoped to leave with a goal. "Every time I go to a wellness retreat, I do a bit of self-reflection and have a takeaway that I work on at home," she said.

The wellness concept at Joali Being is rooted in four pillars: mind, skin, microbiome and energy. This informs everything — from the design of the property, on a lush island, to the culinary offerings and the treatments provided by a panel of physicians, Ayurvedic doctors, Chinese medicine specialists and an herbalist, among others. As part of the resort's approach, guests receive five consultations: pre-arrival, three times during their stay and

post-trip to ensure the integration of new habits. "We're finding that our guests want to go beyond just relaxing," said Magdy Abdelaty, the director of well-being at Joali.

During her stay, Ms. Lamb received an evaluation with a Qeet 4 device, which claims to use electric currents to test the health of organs and other body parts, providing data that helps tailor treatments for each guest. "The results said my gut needed attention, which is true," Ms. Lamb said. She also discovered that her balance needed improvement after a functional movement analysis using a 3-D camera and a force platform, a device that helps gauge balance, posture and gait. Rooms start at \$2146, plus tax, per night.



Aman New York offers saunas, plunge pools and a cryotherapy chamber.

'A Moment of Quiet in the Chaos'

In New York, the newly opened Aman debuted with a 25,000-square-foot, three-level spa that offers three-day to 12-week programs. A team of medical doctors, Chinese medicine practitioners and physiotherapists customizes treatments and diet using high-tech tools that measure body fat, cognition, minerals and toxic metals, glucose levels, and function of the cardiovascular, respiratory, nervous and musculoskeletal systems. The physician on staff may request previous medical records or order further testing.

Since opening, the spa — which is open to hotel guests and members only and offers an infrared sauna, hot and cold plunge pools, and a cryother-

apy chamber — has experienced a jump in the number of visitors using its purification and detox services. "We have found that guests are visiting the hotel to find a moment of quiet in the chaos and improve their overall well-being instead of visiting New York to sightsee and explore," said Susana McFadden, the director of spa and wellness at Aman New York.

Rooms start at \$3,200; the three-day immersion program starts at \$15,600, including accommodation, food and non-alcoholic beverages.



At Alive Resort in Uruguay, 3-D scans are offered.

A Focus on Building Healthy Habits

In Uruguay, Alive Resort takes its cues from established European spa retreats like Spa Wellness Clinic, Priedhill and the Bürgenstock Waldhotel. As part of Alive's care, medical professionals, including general practitioners, nutritionists and therapists, are coupled with technology like 3-D scanners and zero-gravity beds, which adjust position to relieve pressure on the body.

Personalized plans focus on introducing new habits around diet, fitness and stress management, and the majority of travelers come from Latin America for quit smoking, lose weight and detox. Most guests stay for a week, while others stay for months, the resort said, and about half of the guests book their next visit before checking out.

"Our weight-loss program is a huge success," said Patricia Fernandes, an owner of Alive. She said her mother died of a cancer for which obesity is a risk factor, an event that inspired her to open the resort. "In the restaurant, every guest is eating something different because each person has different objectives, requirements and states of health," Ms. Fernandes said.

"It is life-changing for our guests when their glycemic levels, cholesterol and blood pressure return to normal levels," Ms. Fernandes said. Rooms start at \$449 based on single occupancy with a three-night stay minimum.



At Kamlaya Koh Samui in Thailand, dozens of treatments are available.

Breathing, Meditation and Oxygen Therapy

The new Longevity House at Kamlaya Koh Samui in Thailand offers over 100 treatments and 17 wellness programs. The wellness sanctuary, which has been open for nearly two decades, relies on an array of Eastern and Western medical personnel, visiting practitioners in areas like acupuncture and reiki, and life-enhancement mentors specializing in pranayama breathing exercises and meditation. Its programs focus on ancient healing and spiritual traditions of various Asian cultures with Western science.

"The Longevity House is designed to augment our various wellness programs and maximize benefits in a short amount of time," said Karina Stewart, a co-founder and the chief wellness officer of the

retreat. A la carte services include customized IV vitamin infusions, hyperbaric oxygen therapy and a preventive cancer screening that claims to use blood tests to help detect illness before symptoms have appeared.

"We cover many, many different aspects of health and wellness," Ms. Stewart said. "But ultimately, we specialize in helping our guests fulfill their life's potential." Rates start at about \$1,425, plus tax, for three-day programs, including meals and excluding accommodation; rooms start at approximately \$200.