sunset, high 35. Tonight, snow, sleet

and freezing rain accumulating 1 to 3 inches, low 31. **Tomorrow**, clearing. Weather map appears on Page A20.

U.S.A.I.D. TURMOIL

THREATENS GOODS

HEADING TO GAZA

MAY AFFECT CEASE-FIRE

on Leave Is Expected

to Imperil Efforts

By PATRICK KINGSLEY

and ADAM RASGON

administration's efforts to down-

size the United States Agency for

International Development have

endangered the funding for food.

tents and medical treatment for

hundreds of thousands of Pales-

tinians in Gaza, according to U.S. officials and workers for humani-

tarian groups funded by the

the aid supply chain risked de-

stabilizing the fragile cease-fire

agreement between Hamas and

Israel, which is contingent on the

weekly entry of 4,200 aid and com-

The president's plan to put al-

most all U.S.A.I.D. staff on admin-

istrative leave would put just a

handful of officials in charge of

hundreds of millions of dollars in

outstanding payments to the

agency's partners on the ground

in Gaza, raising alarm about how

mercial trucks to the territory.

Officials said that the threats to

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00

Trump Wields New Weapon Against Press

Suits Use Laws Meant to Protect Consumers

By DAVID ENRICH

Media lawyers scoffed last year when President Trump sued two news organizations for producing journalism that, he claimed, violated laws meant to protect consumers from things like deceptive advertising.

They're not laughing anymore. First Amendment experts still believe that Mr. Trump's cases, against CBS News and The Des Moines Register, lack legal merit. But they now also realize that the lawsuits are proving effective at harassing the press — and that more of them are probably on the

The focus of the experts' concern is the decision within Paramount, CBS's parent company, to try to settle one of those lawsuits, showing that even a far-fetched legal argument can yield results. CBS would be the second major media company to recently reach a settlement with Mr. Trump, after ABC paid \$16 million to resolve a defamation suit in December.

The settlement talks between Paramount and Mr. Trump are likely to encourage the president, his allies and others to continue deploying the new strategy of suing media companies under consumer protection laws, said Adam Steinbaugh, a lawyer representing a defendant in The Des Moines Register suit.

"What gets rewarded gets repeated," said Mr. Steinbaugh, who works for the Foundation for Individual Rights and Expression.

Daniel Suhr, the president of the Center for American Rights, a conservative legal group that has filed a similar lawsuit against The Register, said the goal of the consumer protection cases was partly to send a warning to other news

Continued on Page A12



A Palestinian man receiving food from an aid organization. The cease-fire in Gaza is contingent on the weekly entry of trucks and aid.

NEWS ANALYSIS

President's Gaza Plan Could Torpedo the Two-State Solution

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON - For decades, successive presidents in Washington have favored some version of a two-state solution for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. What no one imagined until now was that the second state would be American, not Palestinian.

President Trump's stunning plan to displace the entire Palestinian population of Gaza and have the United States take over

the seaside enclave has not only convulsed the Middle East. It may have also all but written the obituary for the long-sought but maddeningly elusive goal of establishing a Palestinian state alongside Israel in peaceful coexistence.

Any vision of a Palestinian state has included Gaza as an integral part of it, along with the West Bank. In Mr. Trump's vision, however, Gaza would become a U.S. territory transformed into a "Riviera of the

Support for Palestinian Nation Was Already on the Decline

Middle East." It would not belong to the Palestinians anymore but would be open to anyone who wanted to live there. And for that matter, he signaled openness to Israeli annexation of parts of the West Bank, promising to reveal

UKRAINE DISPATCH

At a Kyiv Draft Site, a Woeful Wait in the Dark

his position within four weeks. The prospects for a Palestinian

state had already dwindled in recent years, especially after the Hamas terrorist attack on Israel on Oct. 7, 2023, that killed 1,200 people and led to the Israeli retaliatory war in Gaza that has killed 47,000 combatants and civilians, according to Gaza health authorities. Neither Israeli nor Palestinian populations see the two-state scenario as a viable plan anymore, according to polls.

Continued on Page A7

those groups will fund their operations. On Friday, a federal judge paused Mr. Trump's plan, pending further court hearings. [Page A7.] If the downsizing proceeds, just 21 of more than 200 officials on the agency's Mideast team would remain in post to manage its entire regional portfolio, according to an internal agency email reviewed by The New York Times. The team that organizes emergency aid supplies in dozens of crisis zones around the world each year, of

> down to just 70 staff members from more than 1,000. This is expected to slow or prevent the delivery of food packages to hundreds of thousands of Palestinians, as well as tents, mattresses, blankets, hygiene kits and medical treatment, according to three officials and an aid worker. All four people spoke on the condition of anonymity because they were not authorized to speak to

which Gaza was just one, would be

the news media. While the aid agency does not operate inside Gaza, it has provided roughly \$1 billion in aid to international aid groups on the ground since the war began in October 2023 - about a third of the total aid response, according to the United Nations. Hundreds of millions of dollars have yet to be disbursed and now may never be transferred to United Nations agencies and other major aid organizations, three officials said.

Continued on Page A6

BACKING MUSK President Trump endorsed DOGE, which will now

focus on the Pentagon. PAGE A16

A Fortress for Democratic Elites Denies a Pro-Trump Crypto King

By HEATHER KNIGHT

SAN FRANCISCO — In San Francisco, it is informally called "Susie's Building" in deference to the owner of the 12th-floor penthouse with wraparound views of the bay. Susie Tompkins Buell, a power broker in Democratic politics, is known for throwing lavish fund-raising parties and writing checks so large they can start a campaign.

A who's who of the Democratic Party has made a point of stopping by over the years. Bill and Hillary Clinton. Barack Obama. Kamala Harris. Nancy Pelosi. The political elite in San Francisco still recall the time Mr. Clinton's Secret Service agents got trapped in Ms. Tompkins Buell's elevator and had to be rescued by firefighters.

In other words, the Pacific Heights tower built in the 1920s is not the sort of place where you would expect to find an acerbic,

Legal Feud to Secure a

conservative cryptocurrency executive with a fondness for President Trump and Elon Musk.

Nonetheless, Jesse Powell wanted in.

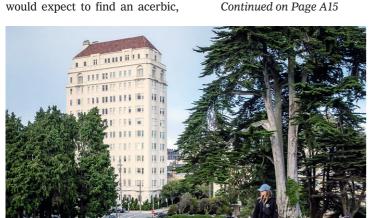
ponent and the founder of the cryptocurrency exchange Kraken, had his heart set on unit No. 9 and its sprawling 3,500 square feet three levels below Ms. Tompkins Buell's penthouse. The living room's picture windows ofstunning views of the sparkling bay, the Golden Gate

Mr. Powell, an early Bitcoin pro-

He could have figured there would be problems, given his conservative politics and his past. But what would unfold wasn't just a

San Francisco Co-op

Bridge and Alcatraz Island.



CARLOS AVILA GONZALEZ/SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE, VIA GETTY IMAGES

A San Francisco co-op has hosted lavish Democratic fund-raisers.

Loved Ones Are Seized By CASSANDRA VINOGRAD and OLEKSANDR CHUBKO in a Desperate Need KYIV Ukraine — They stand

in a small crowd outside the large metal gate, tense and waiting in the dark. Most look weighed down, both by stress and by overstuffed plastic bags all for men who may soon be heading off to war.

"Where's my father? Where's my father?" a boy in a camouflage coat asks, leaning on the gray gate. As his mother tells him to be patient, two women comfort each other nearby.

Svitlana Vakar hovers at the back of the group, crying and sniffling as she holds the dimpled hand of Maksym, her 2-year-old grandson. Wiping her eyes, she

for New Recruits

adjusts Maksym's red "Paw Patrol" puffer jacket to protect him from the winter cold, then plants a long kiss on top of his head.

Maksym's father had been picked up by recruiting officers that morning, on his way to work. He was able to send his mother a message: He had been taken to this military gathering point on the edge of Kyiv along with dozens of other men picked up that day around the Ukrainian capital. Brought in for

processing, they would be held overnight then shipped out in the morning for basic military training as recruits.

"Why take him like a dog? Not allowing him to say goodbye to family, to kids," Ms. Vakar said, starting to sob.

At the start of Russia's fullscale invasion of Ukraine in 2022, men flocked to the recruitment centers. But after three years of grinding war, the well of volunteers has run dry. Now, men wait for their draft papers to arrive before appearing at recruiting centers — or try to avoid being found.

Faced with severe troop shortages and heavy casualties, Ukraine's military has been chasing draft dodgers to help

Continued on Page A8

After Dog Pilot's Last Flight, a Good Home, and an Empty One

By ANDREW KEH

Seuk Kim was loitering cheerfully on the tarmac of Culpeper Regional Airport in Northern Virginia one afternoon last Novem-

He had a lot to be cheerful about. Just a few years earlier, Mr. Kim, a gregarious father of three, was anxiously leaving a stable career to pursue a childhood dream of flying. Now, at 49, he had a pilot's license, his own single-engine plane and, as he proudly told his friends, a job lined up with a charter airline.

On this day, though, he was indulging in a passion project: volunteering as a transport pilot for

shelter animals, joining a small fleet of planes that would help relocate 23 dogs and 12 cats to rescue organizations around the

Among the dogs taking flight that afternoon was a 1-year-old Yorkshire terrier mix named Pluto, who had been discovered astray six weeks earlier along a highway in rural Georgia. Now Pluto found himself on a 1,000mile odyssey that would carry him, in a quirky bit of fate, from an animal shelter just outside Albany, Ga., to an organization just outside Albany, N.Y.

Mr. Kim, petting and cooing at the animals on the tarmac, would be his chaperone for the final leg Continued on Page A14



JK KIM/ANIMAL SHELTER OF SCHOHARIE VALLEY, VIA ASSOCIATED PRES

Seuk Kim flying dogs to a shelter in New York State last year.

NATIONAL A9-17

Tariffs Threaten Way of Life

President Trump's immigration policies have introduced new uncertainty for U.S. border communities.

Not in Anyone's Pocket, He Says

Skeptics say the mayor, the Levi's heir Daniel Lurie, is another sign of the power of San Francisco's rich. PAGE A15



INTERNATIONAL A4-8

Mexican Troops at U.S. Border

Analysts and former officials question whether 10,000 additional National Guard forces can effectively stop the flow of migrants and fentanyl. PAGE A4

Deportations to Venezuela

A promise to start flights in the next 30 days could herald a shift in the relationship between the U.S. and Venezuela's autocrat, Nicolás Maduro.

Funding Freeze Sows Worry

The U.S. drive to cut aid is putting in doubt the long-term security of a Syrian

and their families.

camp that holds Islamic State members

PAGE A7

BUSINESS B1-6

Pace of Job Growth Slows

U.S. employers added 143,000 jobs last month, slightly fewer than forecast, but American workers still appear to be in good shape overall.

A Playbook for Commercials

Knowing when to pause N.F.L. games is a task for league executives, network producers and on-field officials. PAGE B1

TRAVEL C8-10

In a Cold and Quiet Venice

A nighttime exploration inspired by the Russian writer Joseph Brodsky, who loved the city in winter.

ARTS C1-6

Slavery's Roots in Brooklyn

An exhibition at the Center for Brooklyn History focuses on enslaved people and their living descendants.

'Club Shay Shay' Has Its Fans

A podcast hosted by the former N.F.L. star Shannon Sharpe grabs attention in a saturated ecosystem.



SPORTS B7-10

Much More Than Cheesesteaks

At Passyunk Avenue, a Philadelphiathemed bar in London, Eagles fans can find an authentic taste of home. PAGE B7

Trump Discusses Golf Deal

The president met with the PGA Tour commissioner about its venture with the Saudi-backed LIV Golf.

OPINION A18-19

Samantha Power



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