

Monitors Report Gaza City
Is Officially Under Famine

Half a Million Face Deadly Conditions That
Are Deemed 'Entirely Man-Made'

By VIVIAN YEE

Gaza City and the surrounding territory are officially suffering from famine, a global group of experts announced on Friday, nearly two years into an unrelenting war in which Israel has blocked most food and other aid from entering the Gaza Strip.

The group, which the United Nations and aid agencies rely on to monitor and classify global hunger crises, said that at least half a million people in Gaza Governorate were facing the most severe conditions it measures: starvation, acute malnutrition and death.

With rare exceptions, the rest of Gaza's total population of two million people was also struggling with severe hunger, according to the group, the Integrated Food Security Phase Classification, which is made up of experts who monitor world hunger.

For many of those people, the group said, conditions were likely to worsen, sending two additional governorates farther south — Deir al-Balah and Khan Younis — into an official famine by the end of September.

The group said in a report published on Friday that a combination of factors had tipped Gaza

into famine: the intensifying conflict, stringent Israeli restrictions on aid, the collapse of health care, water and sanitation systems, the destruction of local agriculture and the growing number of times people had been forced to flee for new shelters.

It said that conditions in the northernmost part of Gaza were likely to be as severe, or worse, than in Gaza City, but that it had not had enough data to judge whether famine was occurring there. And it said it did not analyze Rafah, the southernmost part of Gaza, because most people there had been forced to leave.

The report said that famine in Gaza could be “halted and reversed” because it was “entirely man-made.”

“The time for debate and hesitation has passed,” it added. “Starvation is present and is rapidly spreading.”

Even a short delay in flooding Gaza with aid would “exponentially” increase preventable deaths, it said.

Throughout the war, Israeli officials have consistently played down or denied the severity of hunger in Gaza. In a statement on

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Critic of Many U.S. Colleges
Sees a Need to Defend Them

By JENNIFER SCHUESSLER
and VIMAL PATEL

The Foundation for Individual Rights and Expression, an increasingly prominent free-speech organization, has long been known as a fierce opponent of campus political correctness. Since its founding in 1999, it has been celebrated for defending conservatives and other dissidents from the prevailing liberal culture at America's universities.

So when the group announced a lawsuit this month challenging the Trump administration's efforts to deport noncitizen students who expressed pro-Pales-

inian views, some admirers were dismayed.

“In my lifetime,” one X user, Robert McLaws, wrote, “you went from supporting Republicans who were persecuted in colleges to supporting terrorist sympathizers who are guests of this country and whose presence is not constitutionally protected. Shameful.”

The group, long a scourge of university administrators, also

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New York City Corruption's Fall From Grandeur

By MICHAEL WILSON

If New York's City Hall is indeed selling favors, as a growing pile of corruption and bribery indictments say, the prices have fallen to bargain-basement, clearance levels.

The allegations feature a boat party with a D.J. A karaoke nightclub in Queens. Crab cakes. Seafood salad. A guy calling himself “Suave Luciano” whose real name is Glenn.

The four indictments unsealed on Thursday, with their mundane details of petty criminality, target a former top adviser to the mayor,

Sour Cream and Onion
Usurps Boss Tweed's
Lofty Ambitions

her son and several members of the business community.

They follow a slew of other corruption charges that together form a dispiriting whole. An 8.5 million-person metropolis built on muscle, willpower and can-do innovation finds itself sidetracked with investigations into grafts, gifts and side hustles with pointedly low returns.

The latest indictments center on one of Mayor Eric Adams's top aides and his former chief adviser, Ingrid Lewis-Martin, who is charged with accepting more than \$75,000 in bribes in exchange for her influence over city agencies.

Bribery charges are, of course, nothing new in New York City. In Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn, a headstone marked “Tweed” stands over the resting place of the city's notorious 19th-century political boss, William M. Tweed.

Boss Tweed, who ruled the city from Tammany Hall in Union Square, a building that became shorthand for municipal graft,

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F.B.I. AGENTS SEARCH BOLTON'S HOME



On Friday morning, F.B.I. agents emerged from the Bethesda, Md., home of John R. Bolton, the former national security adviser.

By DEVLIN BARRETT
and GLENN THRUSH

WASHINGTON — F.B.I. agents on Friday searched the home and office of John R. Bolton, President Trump's former national security adviser, a major escalation of a long-running inquiry into whether he collected or leaked sensitive national security information, law enforcement officials said.

A representative for the bureau said agents were “conducting court-authorized activity in the area” after agents wearing F.B.I. jackets were seen entering Mr. Bolton's house in the Maryland suburbs early Friday with empty document boxes. Other bureau officials were observed leaving his

office in downtown Washington.

The sight of federal agents entering the home of a prominent Trump critic raises fresh concerns about the degree to which Mr. Trump is deploying government agencies, and the machinery of criminal justice, to pursue perceived enemies.

But such a search cannot be undertaken at the whim of the president or F.B.I. director; it must be authorized by a federal magistrate judge. In this instance, the

Probe Into Ex-Trump
Aide's Handling of
Classified Files

search required approvals by two separate judges because it spanned two different federal districts.

Mr. Bolton has been under investigation for years, including during the Biden administration. The evidence used to justify Friday's searches may remain under seal for some time, unless a judge decides otherwise.

The investigation into Mr. Bolton seeks to determine whether he illegally shared or possessed classified information, according to people familiar with the case who requested anonymity to describe details of a continuing investigation. The key criminal statute involved in those potential crimes is part of the Espionage Act. Another potential

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Republicans Counter I.V.F. With 'Natural' Plan

By CAROLINE KITCHENER

WASHINGTON — Less than two weeks after an Alabama Supreme Court decision upended in vitro fertilization in the state and prompted a national backlash, over 100 conservative congressional staff members and I.V.F. skeptics crammed into a meeting room a few blocks from the U.S. Capitol. They lined the walls and spilled into the hallway, straining to hear the advice of the 25-year-old woman who would help them figure out how to respond.

Some in the room that day harbored deep moral and ethical reservations about a procedure that involved discarding human embryos. But I.V.F. was overwhelm-

Aiming to Sway Trump
With a Once-Fringe
Infertility Method

ingly popular, and many Republicans, including Donald J. Trump, were racing to denounce the Alabama ruling and embrace the procedure.

Emma Waters, then a senior research associate at the conservative Heritage Foundation, would offer another way.

“It's important that we reframe the conversation away from just being about I.V.F. to a broader conversation about infertility,” she

said at the February 2024 meeting, according to three people who were there. The key, she added, was not to oppose I.V.F. but to provide a different solution.

Over the next 18 months, Ms. Waters and other conservatives would work behind the scenes to chart a new path, building a coalition within Mr. Trump's base to push what they describe as a “natural” approach to combating infertility.

Called “restorative reproductive medicine,” the concept addresses what proponents describe as the “root causes” of infertility, while leaving I.V.F. as a last resort.

Today, an approach long confined to the medical fringe has uni-

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Five Dead in Crash
A bus traveling from Niagara Falls, N.Y., to New York City rolled east of Buffalo on Friday, ejecting some passengers. Page A18.

POWELL HINTS FED
PLANS RATE CUTS

He Says Economy Shows
Signs of Weakening

By COLBY SMITH

JACKSON, Wyo. — Jerome H. Powell, the chair of the Federal Reserve, on Friday sent his strongest signal yet that the central bank is preparing to soon restart interest rate cuts.

In a closely watched speech, Mr. Powell held back from explicitly endorsing a reduction in borrowing costs at the Fed's next meeting in September. But his emphasis on the prospects of a weakening economic backdrop made clear that a cut is likely next month.

Lower interest rates can stimulate the economy, and the labor market has shown signs of softening. The Fed has been wary of cutting rates for the past several months because such a move can contribute to inflation, but inflation risks have been contained despite President Trump's tariffs taking effect.

“The shifting balance of risks may warrant adjusting our policy stance,”

Mr. Powell said in his final speech as Fed chair at an annual conference hosted by the Reserve Bank of Kansas City in Jackson, Wyo.

Mr. Powell highlighted the recent slowdown in monthly jobs growth, but he questioned whether it was a function of a pullback in demand from companies or a reduction in the supply of workers resulting from Mr. Trump's immigration crackdown.

He said that left the labor market in a “curious kind of balance” that warranted caution, and he also noted that inflation was still too high for the Fed's liking.

Against this backdrop, he said, the Fed would need to “proceed carefully.”

That suggests that once the Fed starts cutting, it will not reduce interest rates quickly or by much if the economy evolves as expected. Mr. Powell reiterated on Friday

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You've just shattered the ceiling

That's the wisest possible move.

BOOM. That's it.

Brilliant!

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Analyzing a Chatbot's Spiral

Over 21 days of talking with ChatGPT, a man became convinced that he was a real-life superhero. PAGE B1

Intel to Grant U.S. 10% Stake

President Trump said the troubled chipmaker will give the government a portion valued at \$8.9 billion. PAGE B1

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Ukraine's Shifting Front Line

Russia's advances into Ukraine have ebbed and flowed since the invasion of Crimea in 2014. We map what Moscow has controlled since then. PAGE A7

Canada to Drop Some Tariffs

The country plans to abandon some retaliatory levies against the U.S. in an effort to rekindle trade talks. PAGE A8

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Heartland Shifts to Ireland

The country has hosted college football games before, but never a rivalry like Kansas State-Iowa State. PAGE B9

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Zach Cherry's Leap of Faith

Although the actor is more comfortable with improv, he picked up an Emmy nomination for “Severance.” PAGE C1

He Turned the Hype Down

The rapper Earl Sweatshirt, who broke out at 16 as a member of Odd Future, at 31 discusses cutting his own path around fame and into fatherhood. “I can't just be hollow, you know?” PAGE C1

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Noem's Rule Is Causing Delays

The requirement by the homeland security secretary that she personally approve any expense over \$100,000 has created a backlog of “mission critical” contracts, records show. PAGE A10

Erik Menendez Denied Parole

A panel in California cited several disciplinary violations in rejecting his plea. The decision suggests that his brother, Lyle, may face difficulty in his own efforts to win release. PAGE A18

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