



Luis Martinez with Rooney, an 11-year-old star of his local soccer team, at their home in Mattawa, in central Washington State.

'It's Just Us': A Firefighter Risks Everything for His Son's Dream

By HANNAH DREIER

MATTAWA, Wash. — Luis Martinez was still trying to figure out how to tell his 11-year-old son that his cancer might be back when his phone rang. He squinted to make out the name of his son's soccer coach.

The coach wanted to know if Luis could drive his son, Rooney, to a tournament in Seattle, three hours away. A last-minute dropout meant their team suddenly had a chance to compete against the best players in the state.

Rooney was in the next room running his nightly footwork drills, the ball thudding against the wall. Luis figured he would want to go. He closed his eyes. He used to feel he knew exactly how

Tournament Trip Holds Dangers for Migrant Ill With Cancer

to keep his son safe, but lately he wasn't sure.

The coach had called instead of texting because Luis struggled to read messages.

His eyes had been damaged two years earlier, when he was 38 and had nearly died of a cancer linked to the job he'd done his whole adult life: fighting wildfires for the federal government.

The coach waited. To have a shot at winning, the team needed

Continued on Page A14



Luis's leukemia is likely tied to his lifelong job battling wildfires.

Estonia's Star-Spangled Courting of Capitol Hill

By ADAM SELLA

WASHINGTON — When Estonia's liaison to Congress meets lawmakers, his standard ice-breaker line is, "Estonians like to wear their love for America on their sleeve."

It is a fitting introduction for Karl-Gerhard Lille, because he regularly sports an American flag blazer and a matching bow tie as he walks the marbled corridors on Capitol Hill, buttonholing members of Congress and their aides.

CONGRESSIONAL MEMO

The flashy outfit is just one piece of his strategy to put Estonia on the map with people in a position to support his small Baltic country on Russia's border, as the Trump administration turns away from Europe. Armed with a pocketful of Estonian candy and endless fun facts about his nation's close ties to the United States, Mr. Lille spends his days on Capitol Hill trying to make new friends for

his country.

When Estonia regained full independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, "we made a specific decision that we're not going to be alone again," Mr. Lille said. "Meaning we can't have enough friends, and to me, that means in my line of work here that everybody's a potential friend of ours on Capitol Hill."

Mr. Lille's unique approach to diplomacy comes at a time when Europe has struggled to court the

Continued on Page A6

Adams's Legacy As City's Mayor: It's Complicated

By EMMA G. FITZSIMMONS

Four years ago, Eric Adams stood in front of Brooklyn Borough Hall, flush with victory and promise, after emerging as the winner of a heated Democratic primary for mayor of New York City.

In a flash of swagger, he boldly pronounced that his brand of leadership would not only benefit the city, but the rest of the nation.

"I am the face of the new Democratic Party," he told reporters, drawing cheers from civil servants as they headed to work. "I'm going to show America how to run a city."

New Yorkers were largely rooting for Mr. Adams, the city's second Black mayor and a charismatic cheerleader for the city after the dark days of the coronavirus pandemic. Even his progressive critics were hopeful that he would help working-class neighborhoods, like the one in Queens where he grew up.

Much of that good will has been squandered.

Mr. Adams, 65, will leave office at the end of this month after a single tumultuous term. He delivered on some campaign pledges, fell short on others and suffered the ignominy of becoming the first modern-era New York City mayor to be indicted.

There were achievements: the

Continued on Page A13



Karl-Gerhard Lille, an Estonian diplomat, said every member of Congress is "a potential friend."

Scholar's Brief Tipped Justices On Guard Use

Ruling May Reach Past Illinois Deployment

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court's refusal on Tuesday to let the Trump administration deploy National Guard troops in the Chicago area was in large part the result of a friend-of-the-court brief submitted by a Georgetown University law professor named Martin S. Lederman.

The argument Professor Lederman set out, and the court's embrace of it, could help shape future rulings on any further efforts by President Trump to use the military to carry out his orders inside the United States.

Professor Lederman's brief said that the government had misunderstood a key phrase in the law it had relied on, which allows deployment of the National Guard if "the president is unable with the regular forces to execute the laws of the United States."

The administration said "the regular forces" referred to civilian law enforcement, like Immigration and Customs Enforcement. Professor Lederman argued that the great weight of historical evidence was to the contrary.

The regular forces, he wrote, was the U.S. military. And, he added, "there is no basis for concluding that the president would be 'unable' to enforce such laws with the assistance of those forces if it were legal for him to direct such a deployment."

Professor Lederman wrote his brief over a weekend. "I hesitate to acknowledge that," he said on a podcast last month, "but it's really true that I didn't have like some great background knowledge in this statute."

A veteran of the Office of Legal Counsel, the elite Justice Department unit that advises the executive branch on the law, Professor Lederman identified what he called a glaring flaw in the administration's argument. "None of the parties were paying attention to it," he said.

But the justices were. A week after Professor Lederman filed his brief, the court ordered the parties to submit additional briefs on the issue he had spotted. They did, and almost two months passed.

In the end, the majority adopted the professor's argument, over the dissents of the three most conservative justices. It was the Trump administration's first major loss at the court in many months. During that time, the

Continued on Page A16

LETTERS ESCALATE A FEDERAL BATTLE AGAINST HARVARD

A SUDDEN RIFT IN TALKS

University Resists Trump Officials' Push for It to Pay \$200 Million

This article is by **Michael S. Schmidt, Alan Blinder and Michael C. Bender.**

The letter landed with a thud in the inbox of Harvard University's president, Alan M. Garber.

The message, from Linda McMahon, President Trump's education secretary, conveyed an understanding of an emerging deal between Harvard and the White House that flew in the face of the terms the university had been insisting on.

Dr. Garber felt he had made clear in recent negotiations that the university would not agree to pay the federal government to settle a monthslong battle with the Trump administration over anti-semitism on campus and other matters.

But Ms. McMahon's message last week said the opposite. In it, she thanked Dr. Garber for what she portrayed as his commitment to sending \$200 million to the government as part of a deal.

Dr. Garber wrote back to clarify Harvard's position. But, in response, the administration doubled down, introducing terms that were so far-reaching that university officials saw them as non-starters.

It was unclear whether Ms. McMahon's interpretation of Harvard's proposal resulted from a miscommunication or from a deliberate effort to force the university into a year-end deal after months of faltering negotiations.

Whatever the case, it was the latest twist in the long-running dispute between Harvard and the Trump administration, which has shaped up to be the marquee battle in the administration's effort to exert more influence over elite colleges and universities it views as too liberal.

The episode also underscored the emerging role played by people inside the administration who want to extract more concessions from Harvard. And it raised new questions about whether some of those voices were more interested in preserving the power of the government's threat against Harvard as a message to other universities than in reaching a settle-

Continued on Page A16



PHOTOGRAPHS BY AMIR HAMJA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

To Sniff and Protect

New Jersey has honored over two dozen dogs who rushed in to sweep polling places after a wave of bomb threats. Page A12.

INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Claim of Fraud in Honduras
Nasry Asfura, endorsed by President Trump, was declared the president-elect, but his rival protested. PAGE A8

Cease-Fire, but Still Deadly
Since the truce took effect, death can come for Gazans while on a family outing or sleeping in a tent. PAGE A10



NATIONAL A12-18

Lifeline for Coal Industry
The Energy Department ordered two plants scheduled to close to remain open, and the E.P.A. gave utilities more time to tackle toxic coal ash. PAGE A17

A Record-Setting Rainstorm
California officials warned that travel for holiday celebrations would be hazardous, with more than half an inch of rain still to fall in some places. PAGE A18

Democrats or Disrupters?
The party has cast itself as a defender of a political system many Americans believe is broken. Now it is trying a new approach. PAGE A17

WEEKEND ARTS C1-8

In a Genre All Its Own
Amanda Seyfried stars in "The Testament of Ann Lee," the director Mona Fastvold's singular musical about the founder of the Shakers. PAGE C1

Contemplating 'Sixties Surreal'
An exhibition of American art from Eisenhower to Nixon shows how unhinged, and how hard to summarize, that period was. PAGE C1

Bold Plans for New Year's Eve
What are you doing to greet 2026? Our suggestions include black-tie parties, dance-a-thons, double features and a pasta-making class. PAGE C2

BUSINESS B1-5

Investors Warn of 'Rot'
Buyout firms struggling to sell companies they own have found a workaround: Selling to themselves. PAGE B1

Education on Misinformation
New technologies are complicating efforts to teach the scrolling generation to think defensively online. PAGE B1



SPORTS B6-9

Restored Eligibility
An N.C.A.A. ruling will allow certain athletes who had played professionally in the G League to compete. PAGE B6

When a Save Isn't a Save
New technology is reducing the number of shots that the N.H.L. counts as on goal. Goaltenders aren't happy. PAGE B7

OPINION A20-21
Nicholas Kristof PAGE A20

