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That’s Fit to Print”

# The New York Times

## Local Outrage Propels Cities To Resist ICE

### In Minneapolis, Loose but Broad Network

By JULIE BOSMAN

CHICAGO — It began in Los Angeles, in Signal chats and strategy sessions on Zoom. Last year, as immigration raids proliferated throughout the city, Latino activists and neighbors began organizing a response, monitoring for Immigration and Customs Enforcement agents along sidewalks and in Home Depot parking lots, and texting their networks when they spotted an arrest underway.

By late summer, activists in Chicago were trained and ready. Before the Trump administration had announced a crackdown called Operation Midway Blitz, immigrant rights organizations had handed out orange whistles for volunteers to use as a public warning system, formed “rapid-response” groups and advised people to report sightings of ICE agents and memorize their own legal rights. Chicagoans, even many without formal ties to protest groups, showed defiance against ICE with “Hands Off Chicago” signs adorned with the city’s beloved starred-and-striped flag, placed prominently in windows of restaurants and bungalows.

And in recent weeks in Minneapolis, the latest focus for a Trump administration wave of immigration enforcement, a loose but growing network of neighborhood volunteers has shown up near reported arrests, yelling at agents and recording them on iPhone cameras. Some gathered near hotels where agents were believed to be staying, pounding drums and making noise.

President Trump’s sweeping effort to tamp down illegal immigration, using masked federal agents who film their interactions with cellphones and often question American citizens about their legal status, has set off a surge in confrontational activism fueled by both large liberal advocacy groups and hyperlocal neighborhood networks.

In Los Angeles, Chicago and Minneapolis, established groups representing labor and immigrant rights have provided funding and organized downtown rallies against the Trump administration. But fierce opposition to ICE and the Border Patrol has also sprung up through block clubs, neighborhood group chats, school

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ILLUSTRATION BY THE NEW YORK TIMES; TOP PHOTO: KEVIN LAMARQUE/REUTERS; ABOVE: THE WHITE HOUSE

## How Big Post-Election Donors Have Benefited in Second Term

Some Received Pardons, Others Jobs or Access to Trump

This article is by **Karen Yourish, Kenneth P. Vogel and Charlie Smart.**

Since President Trump was elected a second time, he and his allies have raised nearly \$2 billion for his favored political causes and passion projects. That total, which was confirmed by four people involved in the fund-raising, likely eclipses the amount raised to support his 2024 campaign.

The astounding haul hints at a level of transactionalism for which it is difficult to find obvious comparisons in modern American history. The identities of the donors behind much of the cash are not legally required to be, and have not been, publicly disclosed.

In some cases, Mr. Trump’s team has offered donors anonymity.

To shed light on what has been a largely opaque fund-raising apparatus, The New York Times conducted a comprehensive investigation. It relied on previously unreported documents and public campaign finance filings, as well as interviews with dozens of people who are familiar with the solicitations or are involved in the fund-raising. It traced a large portion of the funds raised — more than half a billion dollars’ worth — back to 346 donors who each gave at least \$250,000. It also found that more than

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## Greenlanders Shocked, Angry, Confused and, Most of All, Scared

By JEFFREY GETTLEMAN and MAYA TEKELI

NUUK, Greenland — Pipaluk Lyngé knows the history of how Indigenous people have been treated in the United States. And she’s well aware of the holes in the country’s health care system and its yawning economic inequality.

Ms. Lyngé, one of Greenland’s top officials and the leader of the Parliament’s foreign and security policy committee, chafes at President Trump’s offer to buy Greenland, an autonomous territory of Denmark, and his insistence that Greenlanders would be better off as Americans.

“We’re not going to sell our soul,” she said. “We’re not stupid.”

As President Trump seems to toy with Greenland’s fate, a kaleidoscope of feelings swirl in Greenland itself. People are shocked, angry, confused, humiliated, insulted and, most of all, scared.

For centuries, the world has mostly ignored this gigantic slab of ice and rock poking into the Arctic Circle and the Inuit people who learned to survive on it. It has been a distant part of the Danish Realm for more than 300 years, and now Greenlanders are trying

to insert themselves into the discussions about their future before it’s too late.

On Wednesday, Greenland’s foreign minister was part of a high-powered meeting in Washington, the first time this island has ever been directly involved in something of this magnitude. Secretary of State Marco Rubio and Vice President JD Vance met with Greenlandic and Danish officials

in the shadow of escalating threats from Mr. Trump, who recently vowed to “do something on Greenland, whether they like it or not.” [Page A10.]

Interviews in the past few days with Greenlanders from different parts of the territory and different walks of life reveal that people on the island don’t want to be recolonized by a new outside power, and that only a small minority has



EVGENIY MALOLETKA/ASSOCIATED PRESS

In Nuuk, Greenland. Interviews reveal that people on the huge slab of ice and rock don’t want to be recognized by a new power.

### ‘We’re Not Going to Sell Our Soul’ to Trump

even the faintest flicker of interest in joining the United States.

They like their Scandinavian welfare system, with its free health care, free education and strong safety net. They feel connected to Denmark even if there are still raw feelings about earlier eras of colonialism and abuse.

And they certainly don’t want to be bought by anyone, but acknowledge that economically they can’t stand on their own two feet.

“It’s not the time to be independent,” said Nielsine Lange, a special-education teacher in Ilulissat, a town on the west coast. “It would be too dangerous, and people wouldn’t be responsible enough. We need to pull ourselves together first — independence is a goal, but there’s a long way to go.”

Though Denmark has long ruled Greenland, the territory has steadily been gaining more confidence and autonomy. Under Dan

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## Journalist’s Home Is Searched By F.B.I. in Leak Investigation

This article is by **Benjamin Mullin, Devlin Barrett, Charlie Savage and Erik Wemple.**

F.B.I. agents searched the home of a Washington Post reporter on Wednesday as part of an investigation into a government contractor’s handling of classified material, a significant escalation in the Trump administration’s tactics in seeking information from the news media.

It is exceedingly rare, even in investigations of classified disclosures, for federal agents to search a reporter’s home. A 1980 law generally bars search warrants for reporters’ work materials, unless the reporters themselves are suspected of committing a crime related to the materials.

The Washington Post reporter, Hannah Natanson, had spent the past year covering the Trump administration’s effort to fire federal workers and redirect much of the work force toward enforcing his agenda. Many of those employees shared with her their anger, frustration and fear with the administration’s changes.

**THE WEATHER**  
Today, windy, occasional sun, a passing snow shower, high 41. **Tonight,** windy, partly cloudy, low 22. **Tomorrow,** partly sunny, colder, windy, high 33. Weather map, Page B12.

## CHINA ANNOUNCES RECORD SURPLUS DESPITE TARIFFS

\$1.19 TRILLION IN 2025

Beijing Floods the World  
With Exports, Aided  
by Weak Currency

By KEITH BRADSHER

BEIJING — China announced on Wednesday the world’s largest trade surplus ever, even adjusting for inflation, as a tsunami of exports flooded markets around the world last year.

China’s surplus, the value of goods and services it sold abroad versus its imports, reached \$1.19 trillion, an increase of 20 percent from 2024, according to data released by the country’s General Administration of Customs. The number had already exceeded \$1 trillion through November.

The country’s surplus is still widening: For December alone, China’s surplus reached \$114.14 billion, propelled by surging exports to the European Union, Africa, Latin America and Southeast Asia. It was the third-highest monthly surplus on record, trailing only January and June last year.

The enormous trade surplus for the full year came despite efforts by President Trump to use tariffs to contain China’s factories. The tariffs reduced China’s trade surplus with the United States by 22 percent last year. But Chinese factories increased sales to other regions, in many cases bypassing American tariffs by shipping goods to the United States through Southeast Asia and elsewhere.

Also driving up China’s surplus in trade was the country’s chronic weakness in imports, which were essentially unchanged last year. Beijing’s leaders have pursued an ambitious industrial policy to replace imports with domestic production. Their goal has been to build national self-reliance in many industrial sectors.

China reaffirmed its self-reliance goals in October when it unveiled an initial sketch of its five-year economic plan through 2030.

At the same time, the spending power of many Chinese families to buy imported cars, cosmetics and other products has withered, and their purchases of domestically produced goods have faltered as

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Congress is rejecting almost all of the deepest cuts to federal programs proposed by President Trump. PAGE A22

**Giving Luna a Precious Gift**  
After years of training, a doctor in New York made her debut as lead surgeon on an infant heart transplant. PAGE A12



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He Jiankui was imprisoned after creating gene-edited babies. Now he’s back at work, and upbeat about boundary pushing. PAGE A4

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The city’s homicide rate is lower than that of New York, Paris or Toronto, contradicting a narrative promoted by President Trump. PAGE A6

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The Justice Department wrote last month that President Trump could unilaterally dispatch troops to abduct the Venezuelan leader. PAGE A8

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The parent company of Saks, Neiman Marcus and Bergdorf Goodman had struggled with debt, designers and customers in recent years. PAGE B1

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Neel T. Kashkari, president of the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis, defended Jerome H. Powell. PAGE B1

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Tom Brady, Troy Aikman and Matt Ryan are leading a new wave of former greats who steer team decisions. PAGE B6

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Talk of Taylor Swift’s supposed cringiness hit a fever pitch this fall. The star does not seem worried about it. PAGE D1

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Come wintertime, it may actually be the coat that makes a man. We found some memorable ones on city streets. PAGE D5



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Giving her dragons a rest, the “Game of Thrones” actress Emilia Clarke plays a spy in a Cold War era drama. PAGE C1

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A stretch of big news showed some growing pains for Tony Dokoupil as he settles in at CBS Evening News. PAGE C1

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**Nicholas Kristof** PAGE A25

