



JARED HAMILTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Muck and Misery in Kentucky

Flooding brought painful reminders of a string of devastating storms. In Hazard, Ky., Billy Hamilton’s new diner was hit. Page A14.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Tax Cut Math
Peeves G.O.P.

Limit of \$4.5 Trillion
Forces Hard Choices

By ANDREW DUEHREN
WASHINGTON — Since their party swept to power, Republicans have entertained visions of an all-inclusive tax cut — one that could permanently lower rates for individuals, shower corporations with new incentives and deliver President Trump’s sprawling suite of campaign promises.

If only it were so easy. House Republicans are preparing to adopt a budget plan that puts a \$4.5 trillion upper limit on the size of the tax cut. Even such a huge sum is not nearly enough for all of their ideas, and so lawmakers must now decide which policy commitments are essential and which ones they can live without.

For a sense of the Republican predicament, take a look at the 2017 tax cuts. Many of the measures in that law, including a larger standard deduction and more generous child tax credit, expire at the end of the year. The overriding goal of this year’s bill is to extend the expiring provisions, which provide their largest benefits to the rich, before they end.

But accomplishing just that would cost roughly \$4 trillion over the next 10 years. Then there’s a coveted business tax break for research and development — which, in an example of the zigzag of tax policy in Washington, Republicans wound down in 2017 and now want to revive. That would be another \$150 billion. Allowing companies to once again deduct more of the interest on their debt is another \$50 billion.

Those changes are the table stakes. They essentially amount to preserving the status quo. And together they would eat up all but \$300 billion of the \$4.5 trillion Republicans are giving themselves to cut taxes. That’s not very much money, considering the ambitions Mr. Trump and

Continued on Page A10

DOGE AT I.R.S. Elon Musk’s team is expected to be given access to sensitive taxpayer data. PAGE A10

Trump Casts Wide Net in Pursuit of Retribution

By LUKE BROADWATER
WASHINGTON — The lawyer Mark Zaid has represented a wide array of whistle-blowers, both Republicans and Democrats, during multiple administrations. But it was his involvement with the whistle-blower at the center of the first impeachment case against President Trump that drew the president’s ire.

While at a wedding last weekend, Mr. Zaid learned through an interview Mr. Trump gave to The New York Post that his security clearance would be revoked, a move that could jeopardize his ability to represent officials who work on classified matters. He

Delivering on Promises
Against Growing List
of Perceived Foes

still has received no formal notification or explanation. “I’m doing the same thing I have done since the day I set foot in Washington, D.C., 32 years ago,” Mr. Zaid said. “All I do is hold the administration — whoever that is, Republican or Democrat — accountable for unlawful and ethical lapses.” “It is more than obvious that Trump is fulfilling the promises

that he made and campaigned on, that he would retaliate against those who did him wrong,” he added.

Mr. Zaid is on what has become an ever-growing list of President Trump’s perceived enemies. Through the first month of his administration, Mr. Trump and his allies have carried out a campaign of revenge and retribution that has little analogue in American history.

He has pulled protective details from former colleagues facing death threats from Iran. He has revoked or threatened to revoke the security clearances of former President Joe Biden, members of

Continued on Page A11



IAN WILLMS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Plane Crashes, Flipping Upside Down

At least 18 people were hurt on the flight, which was arriving in Toronto from Minneapolis. Page A7.

As Firms Chase Profits, Firefighting Pays Price

This article is by Mike Baker, Maureen Farrell and Serge F. Kovaleski.

Desperate to gain control of flames that were raging through Pacific Palisades last month, the Los Angeles Fire Department issued an urgent call for any available personnel to report for possible deployment.

But there was a problem: Dozens of the rigs that would have carried extra crews that day were out of service. The city mainte-

Replacing Aging Rigs
Can Take Years

nance yard was filled with aging fire engines and ladder trucks, many of which were beyond their expected service life. Chuong Ho, a firefighter and union leader who was among those who reported for work on Jan. 7, said many of the firefighters who were available to help

that day could not be sent to the front lines.

“We didn’t have a spot for them,” Mr. Ho said.

That breakdown, records show, was in part a result of the city’s failure to hire enough mechanics to keep the rigs in service. But there was also a deeper problem: For years, the fire truck industry had been ratcheting up prices on new rigs and failing to meet delivery dates of those that were ordered. Some departments have

Continued on Page A13

Four New York Officials
Quitting Over Alliance
Of Adams and Trump

Concerns Over a Mayor’s Ability to Lead

This article is by William K. Rashbaum, Dana Rubinstein and Emma G. Fitzsimmons.

Four top New York City officials said they would resign after the Justice Department moved to dismiss Mayor Eric Adams’s corruption case in apparent exchange for his help with President Trump’s deportation agenda.

The four officials — Maria Torres-Springer, the first deputy mayor, and Meera Joshi, Anne Williams-Isom and Chauncey Parker, all also deputy mayors — oversee much of New York City government, and their departure is poised to blow a devastating hole in Mr. Adams’s already wounded administration.

Increasingly, the deputy mayors felt that they were not merely working for an indicted mayor, but for someone whose personal interests risked outweighing the interests of New Yorkers, according to one person briefed on the matter. They found this untenable, the person said.

Three of the deputies told their staff members of their decisions in emails on Monday. They are expected to leave in the coming weeks.

Mr. Adams, a Democrat, is forcefully resisting growing calls to resign. Gov. Kathy Hochul is also under increasing pressure to remove him from office.

The four officials who are leaving office are all respected government veterans. Ms. Torres-Springer was elevated to the second most powerful job at City Hall in October in an effort to stabilize city government and restore confidence in the Adams administration following the mayor’s federal indictment in September on five counts, including bribery and fraud.

The departing deputy mayors met with Mr. Adams on Friday and told him that they had grave

concerns about his predicament as a leader, according to two city officials. At that meeting, they told him they were planning to resign, one of the officials said. The meeting was first reported by Politico.

On Sunday evening, the four deputy mayors met with Mr. Adams on Zoom, and he tried to persuade them to postpone the announcement of the resignations, one of the city officials said. The exact timing of their departures has yet to be determined. The Sunday meeting was first reported by WNBC.

“I am disappointed to see them go, but given the current challenges, I understand their decision and wish them nothing but success in the future,” said Mr. Adams, in a statement issued after news of the resignations emerged. “But let me be crystal clear: New York City will keep moving forward, just as it does every day. All deputy mayors will remain in their roles for the time being to en-

Continued on Page A12



Four deputy mayors, clockwise from top left, Maria Torres-Springer, Meera Joshi, Anne Williams-Isom and Chauncey Parker, are said to be quitting.

In West Bank,
Israel’s Tactics
Cause Exodus

By FATIMA ABDULKARIM and PATRICK KINGSLEY

RAMALLAH, West Bank — A weekslong Israeli military operation across several West Bank cities has displaced roughly 40,000 Palestinians from their homes, in what historians and researchers say is the biggest displacement of civilians in the territory since the Arab-Israeli war of 1967.

Israeli campaigns against armed Palestinian groups in three parts of the northern West Bank have forced thousands of residents to shelter with friends and relatives, or camp in wedding halls, schools, mosques, municipal buildings and even a farm shed.

The Israeli military says the operation is solely an attempt to stifle rising militancy in Jenin, Tulkarem and near Tubas, targeting gunmen who they say have carried out or are planning terrorist attacks on Israeli civilians. Palestinians fear it is a veiled attempt to permanently displace Palestinians from their homes and exert greater control over areas administered by the Palestinian Authority, a semiautonomous body that has also battled the militants in recent months.

Many of the displaced are the descendants of refugees who were expelled or fled from their homes during the wars surrounding the creation of the state of Is-

Continued on Page A6

European Talks
Aim to Preserve
Role in Ukraine

By CATHERINE PORTER and STEVEN ERLANGER

PARIS — The leaders of many of Europe’s biggest countries came to Paris on Monday in an effort to forge a strategy for their own security, as President Trump’s envoys prepared for talks with Russia over ending the war in Ukraine without them.

The meeting in Paris was pulled together hastily after the first visit to Europe last week by Vice President JD Vance and Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth, which left European leaders alarmed by the tone and message of the new Trump administration and what they might hold for the continent.

European leaders were shocked by the hostility of Mr. Vance’s scathing speech in Munich criticizing Europe’s exclusion of far-right groups from power and the sudden American plans to begin peace talks with Russia in Saudi Arabia, starting on Tuesday, without the presence of Ukrainian or European leaders.

Mr. Trump’s phone call last week to President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia broke ranks with most European allies who have tried to isolate the man who ordered the invasion of sovereign

Continued on Page A5

RUBIO IN RIYADH The secretary of state discussed Gaza and Ukraine with Saudi Arabia’s leader. PAGE A5



BUSINESS B1-5

Japan’s Lesson on Currency

The nation’s economy barely grew in 2024 as a depreciated yen fueled inflation and strained households. PAGE B1

The New ‘Doxxing’: Reporting

Elon Musk and others are criticizing journalists who publish public information about his DOGE team. PAGE B1

INTERNATIONAL A4-7

Trump’s War on Foreign Aid

A meeting between a Hungarian official and Pete Marocco, the top Trump appointee in charge of foreign aid, signals a new future. PAGE A7

SPORTS B6-9

Tennis Star’s Evolution

Former No. 1 player Iga Swiatek, after a tumultuous year, tries to improve her game, on and off the court. PAGE B6

Ho-Hum All-Star Game

Money is the lifeblood of the N.B.A., and there are costs to having so much of it flowing through the system. PAGE B9



ARTS C1-6

Back in the Spotlight

A role in the film “Conclave” brought Isabella Rossellini an Oscar nomination, and, with it, some tears of joy. PAGE C1

When Pleas Go Unanswered

A book tells the stories of Jews under Nazi rule who unsuccessfully tried to seek refuge in the Netherlands. PAGE C1

NATIONAL A8-14, 18

Is Government’s Word Good?

As the administration withholds billions in binding grants, concerns are growing that the U.S. government could skip out on its legal commitments. PAGE A8

OBITUARIES B10

Maker of Comfortable Chairs

Yrjo Kukkapuro designed furnishings but was best known for his seating — which, his company said, “almost every Finn has sat on.” He was 91. PAGE B10

OPINION A16-17

The Editorial Board

PAGE A16



SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

Looking Out for Gila Monsters

After years working for Merck, the pharmaceutical chemist Tim Cernak pivoted to help save the species that made Ozempic possible. PAGE D1

