

“All the News  
That’s Fit to Print”

# The New York Times

**THE WEATHER**  
Today, partly to mostly sunny, winds increasing to 10 to 20 m.p.h., high 66. Tonight, clear, cooler, low 46. Tomorrow, sunny, breezy, cool, high 58. Weather map appears on Page B12.

VOL. CLXXV . . . . No. 60,673

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WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 15, 2025

Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



MARTA GIACONE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



JOHN STEMBER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



DANIEL BRENNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

## A ‘Quintessential Good’ Needs Help

Four years after a global pledge to end deforestation, the amount of money going toward conserving forests is not enough, a U.N. analysis found. From left, near Tondheim, Norway; after a wildfire in Montana; aspen trees in Summit County, Colo. Page A11.

## Roe Defeated, Activists Shift Battle to U.K.

**By JANE BRADLEY and ELIZABETH DIAS**

LONDON — For nearly three hours, Nigel Farage, the leader of Britain’s once-fringe populist Reform U.K. Party, commanded an audience in Congress on Sept. 3 as he testified against his own country’s free-speech rules.

The presence of Mr. Farage, a longtime Trump ally, as the Republicans’ star witness in Washington was not merely a symbol of his growing political clout or the power of conservative populism.

Rather, it was the result of a discreet, monthslong campaign by one of America’s most influential conservative Christian groups, famous for being an architect of the effort that helped overturn Roe v. Wade and end the constitutional right to an abortion.

The group, Alliance Defending Freedom, has taken its playbook to Britain and has rapidly established itself as a power broker between the country’s rising populist movement and President Trump’s Washington. They are catalyzing Reform U.K., Britain’s fastest growing political party that is seeking to upend the Conservative Party with an agenda centered on anti-establishment and anti-immigration sentiments. The A.D.F. is guiding its leadership even further to the right, on a conservative Christian agenda similar to the one that is sweeping through the United States.

The A.D.F.’s British arm orchestrated Mr. Farage’s appearance in Congress, reaching out to ask if he would like to give evidence on censorship and passing on his interest to the House Judiciary Committee, which formally invited him, according to both a Reform U.K. and a Republican official. An A.D.F. lawyer testified alongside Mr. Farage in the hearing, together building a case against what they saw as growing government censorship in Europe. A.D.F. officials have also quietly arranged briefings in Britain with visiting congressional leaders. They brokered a secret meeting between Mr. Farage and top State Department officials in London. And in private briefings, they have supplied the Trump administration with attack lines that cast the British government as hostile to free speech.

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## A New Pulse for Factory Towns In the Weaponry of the Future

**By SHEERA FRENKEL**

AUBURN HILLS, Mich. — The factory in Auburn Hills had stood vacant for months, surrounded by unoccupied warehouses that had once been used by car companies in the heartland of America’s auto industry.

Last year, a start-up called Swarm Defense Technologies moved into an 8,000-square-foot section of the building to begin making drones for defense. By this summer, demand for its drones had grown so rapidly that the company took over the entire 14,000-square-foot factory.

Today, 47 Swarm employees work in the cavernous space pumping out thousands of drones each month for the U.S. military and other clients. The drones, a little over 10 inches long and less than two pounds, can be used to test anti-drone systems and to simulate attacks. That has made

Swarm’s factory a hive of activity in an area where dozens of “For lease” signs are visible.

“There was a huge demand for drones like ours to provide targets for anti-drone systems or to train drones on,” said Kyle Dorosz, 33, a co-founder of Swarm. He added that “everything about making drones in this place feels right,” since it was “in the DNA of this place.”

Swarm is one of hundreds of defense technology companies that are reviving manufacturing in once-vibrant industrial cities across the Midwest and Northeast. Drawn by local talent, cheap labor and state cash incentives, they are building the weapons of the future in old factories or are constructing state-of-the-art sites in Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Delaware.

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KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

A worker inspecting a Swarm Defense Technologies drone at a factory in Auburn Hills, Mich., that had sat vacant for months.

## Governor Aims To Beat Collins And Flip a Seat

**By SHANE GOLDMACHER and JENNA RUSSELL**

Janet Mills, the two-term Democratic governor of Maine, announced on Tuesday that she was running for Senate, aiming to unseat Senator Susan Collins, who is widely seen as the country’s most vulnerable Senate Republican incumbent on the ballot in 2026.

Ms. Mills, who is term-limited, had been heavily recruited for months by Senator Chuck Schumer of New York, the Democratic leader, who was eager to find a proven winner to take on Ms. Collins. Ms. Collins, 72, is a rare Republican to survive in recent years in a Democratic-leaning state and is seeking her sixth term.

The Maine Senate race begins as the Democratic Party’s top pickup opportunity in 2026, with Ms. Collins the lone Republican up for re-election in a state that Donald J. Trump lost in 2024.

Typically, a Democrat of Ms. Mills’s stature would be warmly welcomed into such a contest, with other Democrats deferring to her. But Ms. Mills, 77, will find herself navigating a crowded primary, including against a 41-year-old oyster farmer and veteran named Graham Platner. Despite having never previously run for office,

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## How U.S. and Arab World Teamed Up on Gaza Deal

### Pressure on Both Israel and Hamas Yielded Compromise on Troop Withdrawal

This article is by Adam Rasgon, David M. Halbfinger, Natan Odenheimer, Ronen Bergman and Luke Broadwater.

JERUSALEM — The Egyptian intelligence chief was briefing a roomful of negotiators on the state of play in the Gaza cease-fire talks when the prime minister of Qatar quietly slipped a handwritten note to Jared Kushner and Steve Witkoff.

The note urged the two Americans to push the Israelis to compromise.

It was the morning of Wednesday, Oct. 8. Mr. Kushner, President Trump’s son-in-law, and Mr. Witkoff, the U.S. special envoy to the Middle East, had just arrived on a private plane in Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt, for what they hoped would be a breakthrough, at last, in the negotiations to bring an end to Israel’s two-year war with Hamas in the Gaza Strip.

They had reason to be optimistic. For the first time, Hamas had signaled its readiness to release all the Israeli hostages without a complete withdrawal of Israeli forces, as long as it received assurances Israel would not return to war. Giving up the hostages could deprive Israel of a reason to carry on the war. And Israel was ready to free thousands of Palestinians from its prisons, including 250 serving life sentences.

But the talks were jammed. Negotiators who had been meeting for two days at the resort town’s international convention center had shied away from pressing Israel and Hamas on a thorny question: how much territory in Gaza the Israeli military would leave before the hostage and prisoner exchanges. They feared that getting into the details of the map could derail the talks altogether.

This account is based on interviews with 15 officials from the United States, Israel and Arab governments involved in or briefed on the negotiations, all of whom insisted on anonymity to discuss private conversations and sensitive diplomacy.

Both Israel and Hamas had taken maximalist positions. Hamas wanted Israel to pull out of Gaza entirely except for a narrow buffer zone along its border. Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu wanted Israeli troops to stay entrenched in some cities in Gaza to show his public and his hard-line ministers that he was making few concessions.

Bridging that gap last Wednesday required steady American pressure on the lead Israeli negotiator, Ron Dermer, officials said, as the Qatari premier’s note had urged. It also took three calls to the mediators from Mr. Trump himself, U.S. officials said.

Mr. Dermer’s office declined to comment. Hamas did not respond to a request for comment.

Ultimately, the two sides more or less split the difference, Arab officials said. Israel would hold onto much more territory than Hamas wanted it to, but it would pull out of many built-up areas.

Hamas grudgingly accepted the compromise, Arab and Israeli

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## Joy, Doubt and Complex Quiet In U.S. City Torn Over Mideast

**By KURT STREETER**

DETROIT — The question Rabbi Michael Moskowitz expected didn’t come right away.

At Temple Shir Shalom in suburban Detroit on Friday night, roughly 60 congregants had gathered in the sanctuary for Sukkot, the festival of thanksgiving that commemorates the Israelites’ desert wandering. A vaulted ceiling and blond wood framed the space, which held the cantor’s voice in an aching reverberation.

The cease-fire between Israel and Hamas had been announced just days earlier, setting the stage for the first wave of hostages to return and offering a tentative pause after 24 months of brutal conflict. The war, ignited by the killing of about 1,200 people in Israel, had claimed more than 67,000 people in Gaza, according to local health officials. (Their tolls do not distinguish between combatants and civilians.)

For metropolitan Detroit — home to one of the largest Arab American populations in the United States and a vibrant, deeply rooted Jewish community — the cease-fire landed less as a celebration than as a shared, complicated quiet. Relief and joy mixed with mistrust. Hope was tempered by fatigue and worry.

“Our tradition is one based on gratitude,” Rabbi Moskowitz told his congregation. “A year ago in Israel, Sukkot didn’t really take place. People were in such pain, so exhausted.” Now, he said, they could for a moment simply breathe.

At the end of the service, the rabbi opened the floor for questions. No one asked about the peace deal, the returned hostages or the future. The congregants filed out without articulating what everyone was surely thinking.

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D’ANGELO, 1974-2025

## Silky R&B Titan Whose Seclusion Fed Mystique

**By BEN SISARIO**

D’Angelo, the acclaimed neo-soul singer who found fame in the 1990s and early 2000s with an innovative and sensuous take on 1970s R&B, as well as with a risqué music video that briefly made him a pop culture phenomenon but helped drive him into nearly a decade of seclusion, died on Tuesday. He was 51.

His death was confirmed in a statement by his family, which did not say where he died but gave the cause as cancer.

During the first phase of his career, leading up to his triumph with the 2000 album “Voodoo,”



MARK GUTHRIE/CAMERA PRESS, VIA REDUX

D’Angelo said he went beyond neo-soul: “I make Black music.”

D’Angelo was a leading light of a revolution in soul music, melding the seductive melodies of classic singers like Al Green and Marvin Gaye with the beats and urgency of hip-hop.

His biggest songs, like “Lady,” “Brown Sugar” and “Untitled (How Does It Feel),” were hailed as supreme examples of the trend, which sought not a revival of Black pop traditions but a transformation of them. Each of those tracks became a Top 10 hit on Billboard’s R&B chart, D’Angelo went into heavy rotation on Black radio stations and “Lady” went to No. 10 on Billboard’s all-genre Hot 100 chart.

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Allegations by a New Jersey Democrat against a firm once owned by her Republican rival roil the campaign. PAGE A20

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Seaquarium, a Miami landmark for 70 years and also a target of animal rights complaints, closed on Sunday. PAGE A12



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Drug traffickers are finding different ways to move illicit goods including by air, dropping bales at sea, to evade U.S. warships in the Caribbean. PAGE A10

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As Russia rebuffs peace efforts, President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine plans to head again to the White House, this time seeking missiles. PAGE A4

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A New York Times investigation reveals new details that cast doubt on the idea that a coordinated campaign of destruction was entirely spontaneous. PAGE A11

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Once used mainly in tea ceremonies, the tea is now mixed into fruity lattes and afflicted by counterfeits. PAGE D8



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Kevin Federline, her ex-husband, says in a new memoir, “It’s become impossible to pretend everything’s OK.” PAGE C1

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### Michelle Goldberg

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