"All the News That's Fit to Print"

# The New York Times

**THE WEATHER** 

**Today**, sunny, low humidity, high 83. **Tonight**, mainly clear, light wind, low 67. **Tomorrow**, a good deal of sunshine, warmer, not too humid,

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



Dropping fire retardant on a blaze in Piru, Calif., on Thursday. Perimeter Solutions is the sole supplier of the product in the U.S.

#### **NEWS ANALYSIS**

# Israel Risks Landing in a Familiar Deadlock

#### By PATRICK KINGSLEY

JERUSALEM — Throughout the war in Gaza, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel has repeatedly said that he just needs one more military maneuver to finally defeat Hamas.

In April last year, Mr. Netanyahu said that Israel was merely "a step from victory" — as long as it captured Rafah, a city in southern Gaza. This March, with Rafah long decimated and Hamas still refusing to surrender, Mr. Netanyahu started a campaign that he promised would finally give Israel victory. When it did not, he launched an even broader operation in May that, three months later, has failed to

#### Netanyahu's Gaza Plan Echoes Past Failures and Lofty Goals

dislodge Hamas's battered remnants, while leaving many Palestinian civilians on the brink of

Now, Mr. Netanyahu is planning another major push after his cabinet voted on Friday to prepare to capture Gaza City, the main city in the enclave. That followed his announcement on Thursday that Israel would finally defeat Hamas by occupying all of Gaza and then handing it to

"Arab forces that will govern it properly without threatening us."

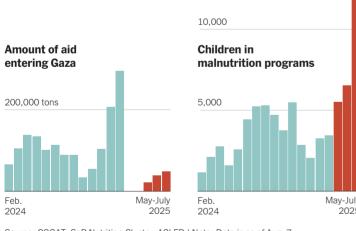
This latest endeavor, which may take weeks to begin, risks ending the same way as all his previous efforts: in a strategic dead-end, with Hamas still holding on by its fingertips, Israeli hostages still in Hamas's grip, and Palestinian civilians trapped in a dystopian nightmare. Israel captured much of Gaza City in the first months of war, seizing some areas more than once, before relinquishing it all on the false assumption that Hamas had been defeated.

Mr. Netanyahu's decision to expand the campaign yet again, despite intense international

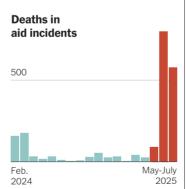
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## Struggle to Bring Aid to Gaza As Deaths From Hunger Rise

Israel says it is working to let in more aid, but less is coming in than earlier in the war, and many have been killed trying to get it. Page A10.



Source: COGAT, SoP Nutrition Cluster, ACLED I Note: Data is as of Aug. 7.



THE NEW YORK TIMES

# A CRUCIAL TOOL WITH 1 SUPPLIER

#### Locking Up a Monopoly on Fire Retardant

#### **By CHRIS HAMBY**

Fire retardant, the reddish liquid dropped from planes to slow spreading flames, has become an indispensable tool for saving lives and property from more frequent and intense wildfires. But the entire supply of the product in the United States is controlled by a single company.

That company, Perimeter Solutions, has deployed an extensive lobbying and public-relations campaign to undercut would-be rivals, even as government officials have voiced concerns about the risks of relying on one source for such an essential product, a New York Times investigation found.

Perimeter has used its dominance to increase profits at the expense of federal and state government agencies — its biggest customers.

The retardant that California's firefighting agency dropped to protect Los Angeles in January cost 20 to 30 percent more than it did four years ago, substantially outpacing inflation, according to state contracts obtained through a public records request. The U.S. government's spending on the substance roughly doubled to more than \$250 million over the same period, federal data shows.

The rising prices have helped fuel a windfall for Perimeter and the investors who orchestrated a deal to buy the company in 2021 and take it public. Since then, Perimeter's profits have roughly

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# Trump Directs Military To Combat Drug Cartels Based in Latin America

## Using Pentagon in Role of Law Enforcer

This article is by **Helene Cooper**, Maggie Haberman, Charlie Savage

WASHINGTON - President Trump has secretly signed a directive to the Pentagon to begin using military force against certain Latin American drug cartels that his administration has deemed terrorist organizations, according to people familiar with the matter.

The decision to bring the American military into the fight is the most aggressive step so far in the administration's escalating campaign against the cartels. It signals Mr. Trump's continued willingness to use military forces to carry out what has primarily been considered a law enforcement responsibility to curb the flow of fentanyl and other illegal drugs.

The order provides an official basis for the possibility of direct military operations at sea and on foreign soil against cartels.

U.S. military officials have started drawing up options for how the military could go after the groups, the people familiar with the conversations said, speaking on the condition of anonymity to discuss the sensitive internal deliberations

But directing the military to crack down on the illicit trade also raises legal issues, including whether it would count as "murder" if U.S. forces acting outside of a congressionally authorized armed conflict were to kill civilians — even criminal suspects who pose no imminent threat.

It is unclear what White House, Pentagon and State Department lawyers have said about the new directive or whether the Justice Department's Office of Legal Counsel has produced an authoritative opinion assessing the legal Already this year, Mr. Trump

has deployed National Guard and active duty troops to the southwest border to choke off the flow of drugs as well as immigrants, and has increased surveillance and drug interdiction efforts.

When he returned to office in January, Mr. Trump signed an order directing the State Department to start labeling drug cartels as foreign terrorist organizations. In February, the State Depart-

ment designated Tren de Aragua, Mara Salvatrucha (known as MS-13) and several other groups as foreign terrorist organizations, saying that they constituted "a national-security threat beyond that posed by traditional organized

Two weeks ago, the Trump administration added the Venezuelan Cartel de los Soles, or Cartel of the Suns, to a list of specially designated global terrorist groups, asserting that it is headed by President Nicolás Maduro of Venezuela and other high-ranking officials in his administration.

On Thursday, the Justice and State Departments announced that the United States government is doubling a reward — to \$50 million — for information leading to the arrest of Mr. Maduro, who has been indicted on drug trafficking charges. The administration again described him as a cartel head, and Attorney General Pam Bondi said he "will not escape justice, and he will be held accountable for his despicable

Asked about Mr. Trump's authorization for military force against the cartels, Anna Kelly, a White House spokeswoman, said in an email that "President Trump's top priority is protecting the homeland, which is why he took the bold step to designate several cartels and gangs as foreign terrorist organizations."

The Defense Department declined to comment on the new di-

Unilateral military assaults on cartels would be a marked escalation in the long drive to curb drug trafficking, putting U.S. forces in a

Continued on Page A5

# Wind and Solar Energy Projects Grind to a Crawl Under Trump

#### By BRAD PLUMER and LISA FRIEDMAN

WASHINGTON — The Trump administration has sharply escalated its attacks on wind and solar power in recent days, issuing a barrage of policies that could halt the construction of renewable energy projects on public and private lands across the country.

The Interior Department is now requiring dozens of formerly routine consultations and approvals for wind and solar projects to undergo new layers of political review by the interior secretary's office, a policy that is causing significant permitting delays. The agency is also opening investigations into bird deaths caused by wind farms and withdrawing millions of acres of federal waters

#### Even Some Republicans Register Objections

previously available for leasing by offshore wind companies.

The Interior Department also signaled that it would review wind projects that have already been approved by the federal government but are being sued by opponents, and consider rescinding their permits, a step that could halt projects already under construction.

On Wednesday, the agency said it was reversing a Biden administration decision to approve the Lava Ridge Wind Project, a giant wind farm planned for southern

Continued on Page A13

JAMES A. LOVELL JR., 1928-2025





Aid officials say nothing less than a cease-fire will allow the necessary aid to flow safely into Gaza.

# Commander of Apollo 13 Immortalized in Film

## By RICHARD GOLDSTEIN

James A. Lovell Jr., the commander of the three-man Apollo 13 spacecraft that survived a near catastrophic explosion as it approached the moon in April 1970, before safely returning to Earth in an extraordinary rescue operation, died on Thursday in Lake Forest, Ill. He was 97.

His family confirmed his death in a statement to NASA. He lived in Lake Forest.

Captain Lovell, a former Navy test pilot, flew for some 715 hours in space, the most of any astronaut in the pioneering Mercury, Gemini and Apollo programs forged by the United States as it vied with the Soviet Union to put a man on the moon by the end of the

He took part in two Gemini missions that orbited Earth and was one of the three astronauts aboard Apollo 8, the first spaceflight to orbit the moon, before he was chosen by NASA for Apollo 13.

The purpose of the mission was to land Captain Lovell and Fred W. Haise Jr. on the moon while the

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## **INTERNATIONAL A4-11**

#### Trump's Tariffs on Each Nation The president is set to raise taxes on

imports arriving from many countries, including Canada and Mexico. PAGE A7

## Argentina's Ocean Floor

A livestream of an undersea project has gone viral as President Javier Milei guts the science budget.



NATIONAL A12-19

## Civil Cases vs. Polluters Fall

In its first six months, the Trump administration has filed 11 civil cases against polluters compared with the Biden administration's 30.

#### **Debate on Measuring Merit**

The president's most recent executive order wades into a debate over how elite colleges should weigh grades and test scores in admissions. PAGE A14

## Mamdani and Schools

A New York mayoral candidate hasn't released a detailed education plan, but his main proposal centers on empowering teachers and parents.

**BUSINESS B1-5** 

## Nation of Savers and Debtors

As Beijing pushes consumer lending to stimulate the economy, millions of China's borrowers, especially the young, are falling into debt spirals.

## **New Duties Mystify Importers**

The Trump administration's hefty tariffs on goods that are "transshipped" have not been fully explained. PAGE B1

TRAVEL C7-9

## Riding Through Epic Universe

A roller coaster fan tested the rides at the new Universal theme park in Orlando, Fla., and ranked them.

## ARTS C1-6

## **Ex-Teen Heartthrob Reflects**

Chad Michael Murray revisits a formative role in "Freakier Friday," but a lot has changed in 22 years.

## **Beloved Chicano Sounds**

In Southern California, a soft-touch style of soul gets a fresh spin. Below, Adriana Flores of the Altons.



SPORTS B6-8

## **Jets Prepare for Smash-Mouth**

New coaches are designing the offense, with a deep line and skilled backs, around running the ball.

## One Who Didn't Get Away

The Red Sox lock down Roman Anthony, hoping the star rookie will block out their Mookie Betts mishap.

**OPINION A22-23** 

Jamieson Greer

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