

“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

THE WEATHER

Today, showers and clouds early, some sun late, high 83. **Tonight**, a clear sky, low 66. **Tomorrow**, sunshine through areas of high clouds, high 80. Weather map, Page 20.

VOL. CLXXV ... No. 60,656

© 2025 The New York Times Company

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 2025

Prices in Canada may be higher

\$6.00



ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Palisades Park in Santa Monica, Calif. More than 70,000 people in Los Angeles County are homeless, and most live not in shelters, but on park benches and in tents.

PEACE AND PROFIT BLUR IN MIDEAST

U.S. Envoy’s Son Sought Gulf State Investors

By DEBRA KAMIN and BRADLEY HOPE

As Steve Witkoff, President Trump’s envoy to the Middle East, conducted delicate cease-fire negotiations between Israel and Hamas this year, his son Alex was on another mission. He was quietly soliciting billions of dollars from some of the same governments whose representatives were involved in peace talks with his father.

Alex Witkoff pitched Qatar, a mediator in the Gaza talks and a key U.S. ally in the Middle East, on a planned investment fund focused on commercial real estate projects in the United States, according to a spokeswoman for Qatar’s sovereign wealth fund.

He later wooed prospective investors by telling them that he had already secured pledges of billions of dollars from government-affiliated funds in Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and Kuwait, according to people familiar with his pitches who were not authorized to speak publicly.

The real estate fund had the potential to yield hundreds of millions of dollars of revenue for the Witkoff Group, which Steve Witkoff founded in 1997. He remains a partial owner of the company, after selling a portion of his stake this year.

The contemplated investment fund, as well as Alex Witkoff’s fund-raising outreach to Gulf nations, represents another startling example of the Witkoff family apparently trying to profit off its patriarch’s proximity to the president. Steve Witkoff and his other son, Zach, already face accusations of pushing ethical bound-

Continued on Page 8



Steve Witkoff

One Man’s Plan to Get People Off the Streets: A One-Way Ticket

By ELI SASLOW

SANTA MONICA, Calif. — The A.I. chatbot had been trained to mimic empathy, and dozens of people called into the hotline each week with last-ditch appeals for rescue. A 64-year-old who lived on a Santa Monica sidewalk said he needed a wheelchair and a bus ticket to reunite with family in Philadelphia. A mother and her toddler were being kicked out of their motel with \$8 and hoped to go to Boston. Another woman said she had just run away from her

abuser and wanted help escaping to Virginia. “He’s hunting for me,” she said.

“I’m sorry about your situation,” the automated voice responded, again and again. “Would you like me to add you to the wait-list?”

The calls came 24 hours a day from all over Los Angeles County, where more than 70,000 people are homeless and most live not in shelters, but on public beaches, park benches and in tents lining the streets. By the time the A.I. transferred callers to a human, the wait-list was full of people with

Crusade in L.A. to Fix Epidemic Himself

the same hope: that someone, somewhere, might put them on a bus or plane and let them start again.

“How can we help you get off the streets?” John Alle asked, one afternoon, as he responded to a hotline call himself.

It was the problem he’d been trying to solve for years — first as a property manager watching en-

campments grow outside his buildings in Santa Monica, Calif., then as an activist trying to shame the city into action by filming a wave of overdoses and assaults on the downtown promenade, and now as the unlikely architect of a hotline promising free tickets home. The hotline was a two-man operation with no dedicated office space and minimal advertising on social media. Alle and his employee sifted through the wait-list and then packed down people’s tents, paid to wash their laundry and ferried them to the airport. In its first

Continued on Page 22

Remarks on Kirk’s Assassination Bring On Broad Wave of Firings

By NICHOLAS BOGEL-BURROUGHS and BERNARD MOKAM

Tara Marcelle says she doesn’t remember exactly what she said near the nurses’ station the day that the conservative activist Charlie Kirk was shot. She remembers making some dark jokes with her colleagues and, at some point, laughing. But she knows one thing for sure: It cost her her job.

Two days after the shooting, Ms. Marcelle was handed a letter of dismissal and told to pack up her things at the hospital in Phoenix where she had worked as a nurse for four years.

“Your behavior was described as disgraceful, morally unacceptable and abhorrent as you publicly expressed joy and laughter regarding the assassination of a

public figure,” her termination letter read.

Ms. Marcelle, a 43-year-old Air Force veteran, said she never said Mr. Kirk deserved to be killed, but she is now among scores of people across the country who have been fired, suspended, reassigned or pushed to resign in the past two weeks for things they said about Mr. Kirk or his assassination.

Though there is no way of determining exactly how many people have faced workplace consequences, The New York Times identified more than 145 such cases through news reports, public statements and interviews with several of those targeted. Those who have faced discipline

Continued on Page 21



CHANG W. LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Swept Up in a Georgia ICE Raid

Nate Cho is among 317 Korean workers arrested this month at a Hyundai factory who are still processing what happened. Page 17.

For Fox News Authors, the Road to the Best-Seller List Runs Through Fox News

By ALEXANDRA ALTER and ELIZABETH A. HARRIS

One of this fall’s breakout debut novelists isn’t a romance writer or a recent graduate from a prestigious M.F.A. program. It’s Trey Gowdy, a former Republican congressman and current Fox News host, whose crime novel, “The Col-

or of Death,” debuted at No. 2 on the New York Times best-seller list.

Gowdy says he can’t take too much credit for the book’s success, however. That’s the work of his publisher: Fox News Books.

Fox News Books has found tremendous success capitalizing on the popularity of Fox person-

alities and the loyalty of its viewers. Most of its books are not expressly political, but they align with the network’s conservative bent.

The subject matter is often dictated by market research into what appeals to Fox audiences, topics like faith, family, patriotism, criminal justice and military

service. Executives sometimes play matchmaker, pairing a particular subject with a Fox host or contributor. Then the books are launched into the world with a cascade of TV appearances — a publicity bonanza that is rare in today’s media climate.

When Gowdy’s book was published, he was a guest on “Fox &

Friends.” “The Five” and “Hannity.” Asked on “Fox & Friends” how he came up with the idea for the book, about an assistant district attorney in small-town South Carolina trying to solve a murder, Gowdy, a former prosecutor, said, “I lived it.”

“I could never get the exposure

Continued on Page 19

INTERNATIONAL 4-13

Passage Without a Ferryman

With the closing of a crossing between an Ontario island and a village in New York State, islanders face inconvenience — and the end of an era. PAGE 4

ARTS & LEISURE

Story Ideas From the Backyard

“The Lowdown,” Sterlin Harjo’s follow-up to the acclaimed “Reservation Dogs,” is a Tulsa noir that is steeped in corruption and myth. PAGE 8

METROPOLITAN

The Next School Shooter?

Dozens of agencies united to answer a single question: Is it possible to stop potential mass shooters before they commit a crime? PAGE 1

SUNDAY BUSINESS

If You Build It ...

For nearly four decades, the Iowa baseball field used as the set of the beloved Hollywood movie “Field of Dreams” has been trying to find its next act. PAGE 6

SUNDAY OPINION

Roy Richard Grinker

PAGE 6



TIFFANY & CO.