

“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Today, quite warm, some sunshine through high clouds, high 81. **To-night**, partly cloudy, low 58. **Tomorrow**, mostly sunny, breezy, cooler, high 68. Weather map, Page A20.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Trump said that if Hamas refused the deal he and Benjamin Netanyahu reached, he would back Israel’s continued attacks.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Plan for Gaza, With a Threat

A Truce or Destruction, Trump Warns Hamas

By LUKE BROADWATER and SHAWN MCCREESH

WASHINGTON — President Trump on Monday cast his plan for a cease-fire in Gaza as a landmark deal to bring peace after two years of catastrophic violence. But in reality, it was more like an ultimatum to Hamas.

Standing alongside Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel, Mr. Trump unveiled a proposal to which both men had agreed. If Hamas refuses to do the same, Mr. Trump said, the United States will let Israel “do what you would have to do.”

“Israel would have my full backing to finish the job of destroying the threat of Hamas,” said Mr. Trump, who under the plan would become the temporary chairman of a board in charge of the redevelopment of Gaza.

The joint appearance by Mr. Trump and Mr. Netanyahu at the White House was a clear display of unity at a moment when Mr. Trump has shown signs of frustration with the Israeli prime minister, and when much of the world has grown horrified at Israel’s prosecution of the war against Hamas in Gaza, which has killed tens of thousands of Palestinians.

But it was far from assured that Hamas would agree to their demands.

The U.S. plan contains provisions that Hamas has said publicly it will not accept, such as its removal from power and disarmament, leaving the proposal’s future uncertain and increasing the possibility that Israel will intensify its military campaign in the enclave, with the full support of the United States.

“When it comes to this plan, no one contacted us, nor were we part of the negotiations around it,” Taher al-Nounou, a senior Hamas official, said in a televised interview.

The proposal calls for an immediate cease-fire, after which Hamas would have 72 hours to return all Israeli hostages, both the living and the dead. In re-

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Rubio Shapes a U.S. Strategy To Remove Venezuela’s Leader

This article is by Julian E. Barnes, Edward Wong, Julie Turkewitz and Charlie Savage.

WASHINGTON — The push by top aides to President Trump to remove Nicolás Maduro as the leader of Venezuela has intensified in recent days, with administration officials discussing a broad campaign that would escalate military pressure to try to force him out, U.S. officials say.

It is being led by Marco Rubio, the secretary of state and national security adviser. Mr. Rubio argues that Mr. Maduro is an illegitimate leader who oversees the export of drugs to the United States, which he says poses an “imminent threat.”

In recent weeks, the U.S. military has launched lethal attacks on civilian boats that the administration said were smuggling

drugs for Venezuelan gangs. But Mr. Rubio is shaping a more aggressive strategy, using intelligence provided by the C.I.A., the officials said. The Pentagon has built up a force of more than 6,500 troops in the region.

The C.I.A. director, John Ratcliffe, and Stephen Miller, Mr. Trump’s chief domestic policy adviser, both support Mr. Rubio’s approach, the officials added.

The U.S. military has been planning potential operations targeting drug trafficking suspects in Venezuela itself as a next phase, although the White House has not yet approved such a step, current and former officials say.

Those operations would be aimed at interfering with drug production and trafficking in Venezuela as well as tightening a vise on Mr. Maduro.

Because administration offi-

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MIKE BELLEME FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

After the Storm, Seeking Solace

A year after Hurricane Helene ravaged western North Carolina, some are trying to make sense of it through creative expression, an outlet that has flourished in the region for centuries. Page A18.

Trump Dragnet Is Sweeping Up Citizens of U.S.

This article is by Jazmine Ulloa, Allison McCann and Jennifer Medina.

U.S. citizens, many of them Latino men, have been stopped and in some cases taken into custody by law enforcement officers who are carrying out President Trump’s immigration crackdown and who suspect the men are living in the country illegally.

While many of those detained have immediately declared their U.S. citizenship to officers, they have routinely been ignored, according to interviews with the men, their lawyers and court documents. In some cases they have been handcuffed, kept in holding cells and immigration facilities overnight, and in at least two cases held without access to a lawyer or even a phone call.

How many U.S. citizens have been swept up in the Trump administration’s immigration sweeps is difficult to say. No comprehensive log of such encounters is available from the federal government, and immigration agents are not required to document stops of citizens.

A review by The New York Times of publicly reported cases and court records found that since January, at least 15 U.S. citizens have been arrested or detained and questioned about their citizenship by immigration agents or local law enforcement officers enlisted to work with the federal authorities.

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NEWS ANALYSIS

Reprisals Go Around, And May Come Around

Trump Precedent Could Haunt His Allies

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — The indictment of the former F.B.I. director James B. Comey demanded by President Trump sent a shiver of fear through others on the so-called enemies list of the current F.B.I. director Kash Patel. But one other person who might have reason for concern is Kash Patel himself.

There will, presumably, come a time when the Republican Party is no longer in control. A precedent has now been set for prosecuting a former F.B.I. director disfavored by the current administration for allegedly lying to Congress. Democrats already are accusing Mr. Patel of having lied to Congress in his confirmation hearings when he promised not to engage in political retaliation.

Mr. Trump’s campaign to imprison, fire or otherwise punish his political foes and use government power to crack down on free speech he does not like has broken norms that stood for generations. But it has also established new standards for what a president can do that even some conservatives worry may come back to bite them. Power claimed by one party is then eventually available to the other. Limits ignored by one administration may no longer seem

binding on the next.

If the precedent set by Mr. Trump takes hold, America may be entering a period when each new administration takes aim at the last one in a cycle of retaliation, a what-goes-around-comes-around pattern more familiar in authoritarian countries than in developed Western democracies. Even presidents more restrained than Mr. Trump may succumb to the temptation to follow at least some of his example.

“Conservatives should see this for what it is: shortsighted and dangerous,” said Sarah Matthews, a deputy White House press secretary in Mr. Trump’s first term who resigned in protest after the Jan. 6, 2021, attack on the Capitol.

“If a Democrat wins in 2028, what’s to stop them from turning the D.O.J. on Trump officials or unleashing the F.C.C. on Fox News?” she said. “Trump is setting a precedent that will come back to haunt the right, and they’ll have no leg to stand on if Democrats use the same playbook against them.”

Mr. Trump’s threat to investigate and prosecute left-wing groups after the assassination of the right-wing influencer Charlie

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Ticking Boxes on His Checklist To Make Trump All-Powerful

By CORAL DAVENPORT

WASHINGTON — Russell T. Vought, the White House budget director, was preparing the Trump administration’s 2026 budget proposal this spring when his staff got some surprising news: Elon Musk’s cost-cutting team was unilaterally axing items that Mr. Vought had intended to keep.

Mr. Vought, a numbers wonk who rarely raises his voice, could barely contain his frustration, telling colleagues that he felt sidelined and undermined by the haphazard chaos of the Musk-led Department of Government Efficiency, according to six people with knowledge of his comments who, like others interviewed for this article, spoke on the condition of anonymity for fear of retribution.

“We’re going to let DOGE break things, and we’ll pick up the pieces later,” Mr. Vought told his staff during one flash of irritation, according to three of those people. Mr. Vought’s spokeswoman, Rachel Cauley, denied that he made those comments, and that he felt frustrated by Mr. Musk.

This had not been Mr. Vought’s plan.

Mr. Vought, who also directed the White House Office of Management and Budget in President Trump’s first term, had spent four



TOM BRENNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Russell T. Vought spent years helping shape Project 2025.

years in exile from power. He worked through Joseph R. Biden Jr.’s presidency from an old rowhouse near the Capitol, where he complained of pigeons infesting his ceiling and coordinated with other Trump loyalists to draw up sweeping, detailed plans for a comeback.

He had carefully analyzed mistakes from the first term. And he had laid out steps to achieve the long-sought conservative goal of a president with dramatically expanded authority over the executive branch, including the power

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Swaggering and Scandalous, a Singular Mayor

By MATT FLEGENHEIMER

Eric Adams promised New Yorkers he would be unlike any mayor his city had ever seen. On that — and often so little else — his word was never in doubt.

It can be said that no other mayor had his eyebrows threaded in public, claimed to take bubble baths with roses, mused openly about carrying a handgun in church; that no other mayor was equally likely to spend his evenings out with old police friends, known felons, bemused celebrities, homeless subway riders; that no other mayor left so much

For Four Years, Adams Took New Yorkers on Tumultuous Ride

uncertainty about where he slept, what he ate, whether he really just said what he said, whose side he was on.

He was for law and order and reform and inertia and immigrants and crackdowns and swagger and nightlife and mornings and protesters and counter-protesters and possessive adjectives

ties (“my workers,” “my teachers,” “my bond rating”) and official city attire that said “MAYOR” on as many surfaces as possible.

He was for the old ways — the clubhouse, the unions, the people who knew people — and the new ways, with their viral influencers and crypto bros and Big Ideas Guys who always seemed to have a contact in Florida.

He had two maxims that resonate most in hindsight. “I’m perfectly imperfect,” Mr. Adams said often. True enough. “I am you,” he often told voters. That one was more complicated.

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Digital Spending in Brazil

PIX, a popular and homegrown payment system, is being targeted by the Trump administration. PAGE A5

Octopuses Fill England’s Coast

The highly intelligent creatures crowded fishing nets and gobbled up crustaceans in warmer waters this summer. PAGE A4



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A History of Mental Illness

The suspect in a North Carolina stabbing had long battled schizophrenia, but he was not deemed dangerous enough to be treated against his will. PAGE A10

Fired for Private Facebook Post

In dismissing an employee at a state university, Indiana has turbocharged the crackdown on anyone critical of Charlie Kirk after his death. PAGE A17

High Stakes in Spending Fight

The top four leaders on Capitol Hill are each facing political risks and competing incentives as the government barrels toward a shutdown. PAGE A16

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The Trump administration’s fees for H-1B visas and a system that favors higher-paid jobs are unlikely to alleviate the program’s problems. PAGE B1

The Biggest Buyout Ever

Jared Kushner’s firm and Saudi Arabia’s wealth fund may take Electronic Arts private, and set a record. PAGE B1

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A look at how a team that once had the best record in baseball collapsed and failed to make the postseason. PAGE B7

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Lionel Richie Looks Back

The star’s memoir is filled with memories of his Alabama childhood and music industry anecdotes. PAGE C1

Rescue of a Writer’s Piano

The instrument in William Faulkner’s Mississippi home has been restored in a bid to attract more visitors. PAGE C1



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Making Barcelona Add Up

A young mathematician is using the city’s stunning architecture to engage people in his favorite subject. PAGE D8

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