

“All the News  
That’s Fit to Print”

# The New York Times

**THE WEATHER**  
Today, partly sunny, breezy, warmer, high 81. **Tonight**, partly cloudy, humid, low 71. **Tomorrow**, sun followed by clouds, a heavy thunderstorm late, high 85. Weather map, Page B8.

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NEWS ANALYSIS

## Without Arrest or Trial, Killing Drug Suspects

### Trump Applies Wartime Rules

By CHARLIE SAVAGE

WASHINGTON — By ordering the U.S. military to summarily kill a group of people aboard what he said was a drug-smuggling boat, President Trump used the military in a way that had no clear legal precedent or basis, according to specialists in the laws of war and executive power.

Mr. Trump is claiming the power to shift maritime counter-drug efforts from law enforcement rules to wartime rules. The police arrest criminal suspects for prosecution and cannot instead simply gun suspects down, except in rare circumstances where they pose an imminent threat to someone.

By contrast, in armed conflicts, troops can lawfully kill enemy combatants on sight.

Because killing people is so extreme — and doing it without due process risks killing the wrong people by mistake — the question of which rules apply is not simply a matter of policy choice. Domestic and interna-

tional law both set standards constraining when presidents and nations can lawfully use wartime force.

After breaking new ground by labeling drug cartels as “terrorists,” the president is now redefining the peacetime criminal problem of drug trafficking as an armed conflict, and telling the U.S. military to treat even suspected low-level drug smugglers as combatants.

But the trafficking of an illegal consumer product is not a capital offense, and Congress has not authorized armed conflict against cartels.

A direct U.S. strike on Tuesday on a vessel in the Caribbean that killed 11 people the administration has said were terrorists departed from the decades-long approach of having the Coast Guard or the Navy intercept and board ships when there was a suspicion of drugs being smuggled in international waters.

That raises the question of whether Mr. Trump has legitimate authority to tell the military to summarily kill people it suspects are smuggling drugs — and whether the administration allowed career military lawyers to weigh in.

“It’s difficult to imagine how any lawyers inside the Pentagon could have arrived at a conclusion that this was legal rather than the very definition of murder under international law rules that the Defense Department has long accepted,” said Ryan Goodman, a New York University law professor who worked as a Pen-

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Secretary of State Marco Rubio defended attacking cartels.

## Facing Attacks, President Quits Northwestern

This article is by **Anemona Hartocollis, Michael S. Schmidt** and **Tyler Pager**.

The president of Northwestern University, Michael H. Schill, announced on Thursday that he would resign, ending a difficult tenure that included attacks on the school from Republicans in Congress and cuts in funding by the Trump administration that forced the university to lay off hundreds of employees.

Northwestern became a target of Trump administration officials this year after months of intense scrutiny from Republican lawmakers.

Mr. Schill faced withering questions during a congressional hearing last year, when Republicans accused the university of not doing enough to address antisemitism during campus protests over the war in Gaza. They have argued that the school was still not aggressive enough in protecting Jewish students from harassment.

Jewish groups including the Anti-Defamation League and the Brandeis Center have called for Mr. Schill to resign, faulting him for negotiating with the protesters.

In April, the federal government abruptly froze at least \$790 million in research funding that had been planned for Northwestern, a Big Ten school with campuses in Evanston, Ill., and downtown Chicago.

The attacks on Northwestern were part of a broader campaign by Republicans to take American universities to task, claiming that the schools mistreated Jewish students. Mr. Schill’s resignation is the latest in a series of high-profile

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## Newsom Races To Rich Donors To Redraw Map

This article is by **Theodore Schleifer, Shane Goldmacher** and **Laurel Rosenhall**.

WASHINGTON — Over the next two months, Democratic and Republican donors are expected to funnel as much as \$200 million into a California ballot fight that could heavily shape which party wins control of the U.S. House next year.

It is an enormous amount of cash to raise in such a brief amount of time, but one that befits the stakes of the race.

That was the message that Gavin Newsom, the state’s governor and the face of the ballot measure to gerrymander districts in California, delivered when he made a surprise appearance in an Aug. 18 briefing for advisers to the state’s billionaire donors.

Mr. Newsom had not been listed on the “campaign briefing” advertised to the donors, but after Jim DeBoo, his top campaign adviser, ran through the polling, Mr. Newsom hopped in the Zoom meeting to encourage the richest Californians to get into the fight.

Democrats, he told more than 20 donor advisers that Monday afternoon, could not unilaterally disarm as Republicans drew new maps to gerrymander Texas to their advantage, according to four people on the call. So he had to raise millions. Fast.

The surprise November election has jostled a sleepy political fund-raising class, particularly among Democrats, who are still recovering from the doldrums after a heartbreaking 2024 campaign.

In just over two months, each side could raise well over \$100 million, which is what Mr. Newsom’s

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## Grilled by Senate, Kennedy Defends Vaccine Moves



Robert F. Kennedy Jr., the health secretary, said during a hearing Thursday that he didn’t know how many had died in the pandemic.

## Chinese Data Theft May Affect Most Americans

By ADAM GOLDMAN

LONDON — China has hacked into American power grids and companies for decades, stealing sensitive files and intellectual property such as chip designs as it seeks to gain an edge over the United States.

But a sweeping cyberattack by a group known as Salt Typhoon is China’s most ambitious yet, experts and officials have concluded after a year of investigating it. It targeted more than 80 countries and may have stolen information from nearly every American, officials said. They see it as evidence

### A Cyberattack Targeted More Than 80 Countries

greater than originally understood, and security officials warned that the stolen data could allow Chinese intelligence services to exploit global communication networks to track targets, including politicians, spies and activists.

Hackers sponsored by the Chinese government “are targeting networks globally, including, but not limited to, telecommunications, government, transportation, lodging and military infrastructure networks,” the statement said.

British and American officials have described the attack as “un-

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## Several in G.O.P. Imply That He Broke Vow

By SHERYL GAY STOLBERG and MEGAN MINEIRO

WASHINGTON — Health Secretary Robert F. Kennedy Jr. faced a barrage of questions on Thursday during a fiery Senate hearing in which he defiantly defended his vaccine policy, blamed the nation’s public health agency for a rise in chronic disease and repeatedly clashed with Democrats, whom he accused of “making stuff up.”

The three-hour hearing before the Senate Finance Committee revealed that Mr. Kennedy was on uncertain ground even with some Republicans who voted to confirm him. When Mr. Kennedy courted their votes, he promised, repeatedly and in writing, to do nothing “that makes it difficult or discourages people from taking vaccines.”

On Thursday, he insisted that he had lived up to his word. “I’m not taking vaccines away from anyone,” he said.

But in the seven months since he was sworn in, Mr. Kennedy has delivered a lukewarm endorsement of the measles vaccine; dismantled a panel of experts who make vaccine recommendations to the government; taken steps that will effectively restrict access to Covid-19 vaccines; canceled \$500 million of grants and contracts for the development of mRNA vaccines; and, just last week, forced out the new director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention because she disagreed with him on vaccine policy.

President Trump memorably said he would let Mr. Kennedy “go wild on health.” On Thursday, Mr. Kennedy faced questions about whether he might have gone a little too wild.

Several Republicans — including Senators Bill Cassidy of Louisiana, John Barrasso of Wyoming and Thom Tillis of North Carolina — suggested pointedly that he had broken the promise he made when he was confirmed. Mr. Cassidy, a physician and a fierce proponent of vaccination, agonized publicly over whether to vote to confirm Mr. Kennedy and in the end decided to do so.

“Effectively, we’re denying people vaccine,” Mr. Cassidy said Thursday, noting that pharmacies may no longer offer Covid shots

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### GIORGIO ARMANI, 1934-2025



Giorgio Armani at a show in Paris in 2024. For a time, his suits were the default uniform of authority.

## He Revolutionized the Suit, and Power With It

By GUY TREBAY

Giorgio Armani, a designer who rewrote the rules of fashion not once but twice in his lifetime, died on Thursday at his home in Milan. He was 91.

His death was announced by his company, the Armani Group, which said he had been working “until his final days.”

A reluctant designer but an instinctive empire builder, Mr. Ar-

### Happenstance Led to a Fashion Empire

mani initially became a household name by adapting a custom from traditional Neapolitan tailors: softening the internal structure of a man’s suit to reveal the body inside. Simply by removing shoulder pads and canvas linings, Mr.

Armani devised what in the early 1980s became a new male uniform, the easy and almost louche sensuality of which soon enough found favor among a female clientele.

“All the women of my generation, including Hillary Clinton, were wearing jeans in the 1960s,” said Deborah Nadoolman Landis, a costume designer and historian and founding director and chair of

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INTERNATIONAL A4-8

**Devastation in North India**

With harvest time near, the floods that have killed hundreds and ruined crops only add to farmers’ woes.

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**Stranded in Afghan Rubble**

A prohibition on contact with unrelated women led many male rescuers to shun female quake victims.

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BUSINESS B1-6

**Trade-Offs in Avoiding Tariffs**

A German company that makes industrial slicers for Subway is pondering moving production to America, if it can overcome the challenges.

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**Backlash to Trump’s Fed Pick**

Stephen Miran, one of the president’s top economic advisers, struggled to ease concerns at a hearing.

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OBITUARIES A16-17, B12

**Well-Traveled Hemingway Son**

Patrick Hemingway, Ernest Hemingway’s last surviving child, spent much of his life in Africa. He was 97.

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NATIONAL A9-15, 20

**Vote for Road Across Tundra**

The House advanced a plan for a path over Alaskan land that would provide access to a copper deposit.

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**Gender Divide in Epstein Case**

Three female G.O.P. leaders are pushing the effort to demand greater transparency regarding case files.

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WEEKEND ARTS C1-10

**An Artistic Extravaganza**

Our critics offer suggestions on the most intriguing booths to visit at the Armory Show, held at the Javits Center. The event features more than 200 exhibitors from 35 countries.

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**The Director’s Best Friend**

Dogs starring in movies can be comic, lovable, heroic or tragic, our writer says, and can serve as vessels for getting across ideas like happiness, fear and aggression.

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OPINION A18-19

**David Brooks**

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SPORTS B7-11

**Grand Slam Proving Ground**

A small part of the U.S. Open tennis tournament is staged at the gleaming Cary Leeds Center for Tennis & Learning in the Bronx.

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