



Imad Shalayel, whose family had been displaced to Gaza City, set up a tent this week on top of his destroyed home in Jabaliya, Gaza.

Swift Mandate
In Justice Dept.
To Fall in Line

By GLENN THRUSH
and ADAM GOLDMAN

WASHINGTON — The new leadership of the Justice Department moved swiftly on multiple fronts Wednesday to assert control over the F.B.I. and marshal the power of federal law enforcement to investigate those who had investigated President Trump.

Pam Bondi, who was sworn in as attorney general in an Oval Office ceremony, signed a memo creating a working group to review the “weaponization” of the criminal justice system by officials who had brought criminal charges or civil suits against Mr. Trump. It was one of 14 directives that shuttered department task forces, restored the federal death penalty and, above all else, mandated obedience to Mr. Trump’s agenda.

Ms. Bondi, the former attorney general of Florida, arrived at headquarters, known as Main Justice, at a moment of profound and disruptive conflict between the department and its historically independent and powerful investigative arm, the F.B.I.

Hours earlier, the department’s No. 2 official, Emil Bove, escalated his conflict with the acting director of the F.B.I., Brian Driscoll, and his deputy, Robert C. Kissane. He accused them of “insubordination” after they resisted his efforts to identify agents who had investigated the Jan. 6, 2021, riot at the Capitol.

Ms. Bondi’s first day on the job appeared to have been modeled on Mr. Trump’s, an intense blizzard of policy pronouncements intended to reverse Biden-era policies in a single swoop, coupled with accusations about the weaponization of the department under Democratic control.

Buried in the pile of memos were three significant national security actions, which could weaken efforts to combat foreign influence in U.S. elections, the economy and infrastructure: the disbanding of a foreign influence task force, new limitations on prosecutions under the Foreign Agent Registration Act and the shutdown of a foreign corporate enforcement unit.

The attorney general, who had promised at her confirmation hearing last month that “politics will not play a part” in her investigative decisions, said she planned to scrutinize the Manhattan district attorney, Alvin L.

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Trump Bans Transgender Students From Sports

By ZACH MONTAGUE

WASHINGTON — President Trump signed an executive order on Wednesday aimed at prohibiting transgender women and girls from competing in women’s sports, directing agencies to withdraw federal funding for any schools that refused to comply.

“From now on, women’s sports will be only for women,” he said in the East Room of the White House before signing the order.

The order, titled “Keeping Men Out of Women’s Sports” and signed on National Girls and Women in Sports Day, sought to deliver on an issue that Mr. Trump made a key theme of his campaign, which frequently denounced transgender athletes.

Directive on Women’s
Athletics Is Tied to
Federal Funding

Mr. Trump is relying on the Education Department to achieve the directive’s end through a revised interpretation of federal civil rights laws. Schools that do not follow these laws can lose federal funding.

The order also directed the State Department to push the International Olympic Committee to make similar changes at the international level by making eligibility “determined according to sex and not gender identity or testosterone reduction.”

The Trump administration is using the Education Department to carry out the policy by changing its interpretation of Title IX, the 1972 law prohibiting sex discrimination in programs that receive federal funding. The Biden administration had put forth a rule last year that made discrimination or harassment based on sexual orientation or gender identity a violation of federal civil rights law, but last month a federal judge vacated that regulation, providing Trump officials a path back to using the Title IX standards set in Mr. Trump’s first term.

In a statement after the order, the Education Department’s deputy general counsel, Candice

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THE AGA KHAN IV, 1936-2025



Prince Karim Al-Hussaini, the Aga Khan IV, in 2014. His fortune was put at \$1 billion to \$13 billion.

Imam With Long Lineage and Immense Wealth

By ALAN COWELL

The Aga Khan IV, who as the leader of the world’s Ismaili Muslims fused entrepreneurship and philanthropy in becoming one of the world’s wealthiest hereditary rulers, died on Tuesday at his home in Lisbon. He was 88.

His death was confirmed by Fayyaz Nurmohamed, the director of communications at the Aga Khan Development Network. No

Cultured Entrepreneur
and Philanthropist

cause was given.

Urbane, cosmopolitan and often media-averse, the Aga Khan — born Prince Karim Al-Hussaini — rejected the notion that expanding his personal fortune would conflict with his charitable ven-

tures. He said his ability to prosper complemented his duty to enhance the lives of Ismaili Muslims, a branch of the Shiite tradition of Islam with a following of 15 million people in 35 countries.

An imam, or leader of his faith, was “not expected to withdraw from everyday life,” he once said after becoming the Aga Khan. “On the contrary, he’s expected to protect his community and contrib-

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Trump’s Proposal for Gaza
Is Rattling the Middle East

A Plan Put Forward
Without Details or
Consultation

By JONATHAN SWAN
and MAGGIE HABERMAN

When President Trump announced his proposal for the United States to take ownership of Gaza on Tuesday, he shocked even senior members of his own White House and government.

While his announcement looked formal and thought-out — he read the plan from a sheet of paper — his administration had not done even the most basic planning to examine the feasibility of the idea, according to four people with knowledge of the discussions, who were not authorized to speak publicly.

It wasn’t only the Americans who were scrambling; the announcement came as just as much of a surprise to Mr. Trump’s Israeli visitors. Soon before they walked out for their joint news conference on Tuesday, Mr. Trump surprised Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel by telling him he planned to announce the Gaza ownership idea, according to two people briefed on their interactions.

Inside the U.S. government, there had been no meetings with the State Department or Pentagon, as would normally occur for any serious foreign policy proposal, let alone one of such magnitude. There had been no working groups. The Defense Department had produced no estimates of the troop numbers required, or cost estimates, or even an outline of how it might work.

There was little beyond an idea inside the president’s head.

Unlike major foreign policy announcements with past presidents, including Mr. Trump, the notion of the United States controlling Gaza had never been part of a public discussion before Tuesday.

But privately, Mr. Trump had been talking about U.S. ownership of the enclave for weeks. And his thinking had accelerated, according to two administration officials, after his Middle East envoy, Steve Witkoff, returned from Gaza last week and described the horrific conditions there.

But nobody — not in the White House, not the Israelis — expected Mr. Trump to roll out the idea on Tuesday until shortly before he did so. The idea was met with immediate opposition from the Arab world, including from Saudi Arabia, a key U.S. ally. And in comments to reporters on Wednesday, White House press secretary Karoline Leavitt tried to soften some of Mr. Trump’s statements.

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Experts Ask if He Is
Serious or Bluffing

By PATRICK KINGSLEY

JERUSALEM — President Trump’s plan to place Gaza under American occupation and transfer its two million Palestinian residents has delighted the Israeli right, horrified Palestinians, shocked America’s Arab allies and confounded regional analysts who saw it as unworkable.

For some experts, the idea felt so unlikely — would Mr. Trump really risk American troops in another intractable battle against militant Islamists in the Middle East? — that they wondered if it was simply the opening bid in a new round of negotiations over Gaza’s future.

To the Israeli right, Mr. Trump’s plan unraveled decades of unwelcome orthodoxy on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, raising the possibility of negating the militant threat in Gaza without the need to create a Palestinian state. In particular, settler leaders hailed it as a route by which they might ultimately resettle Gaza with Jewish civilians — a long-held desire.

To Palestinians, the proposal would constitute ethnic cleansing on a more terrifying scale than any other displacement they have experienced since 1948, when roughly 800,000 Arabs were expelled or fled during the wars surrounding the creation of the Jewish state.

“Outrageous,” said Prof. Mkhaimar Abusada, a Palestinian political analyst from Gaza who was displaced from his home during the war. “Palestinians would rather live in tents next to their destroyed homes rather than relocate to another place.”

“Very important,” wrote Itamar Ben-Gvir, a far-right Israeli lawmaker and settler leader, in a social media post. “The only solution to Gaza is to encourage the migration of Gazans.”

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Benjamin Netanyahu and President Trump on Tuesday.

Rebuilding Czars Swarm L.A.
As Scramble for Power Begins

By ADAM NAGOURNEY and SHAWN HUBLER

LOS ANGELES — Los Angeles was still burning two weeks ago when Mayor Karen Bass turned to one of this city’s most prominent developers and asked him to serve as her rebuilding czar after vast parts of the region were leveled by wildfires.

Steve Soboroff, a longtime civic leader and onetime resident of the Pacific Palisades, the coastal enclave that was particularly hard hit, would unite residents of the affluent community and the sprawling Los Angeles metropolis behind a common and urgent purpose, the mayor said. In a news conference, he was anointed the “chief recovery officer.”

But since his appointment, it has become clear that Mr. Soboroff, 76, will not be the only chief in the Los Angeles recovery effort. The latest sign came this week as Rick Caruso, a billionaire developer, announced his own commission of civic leaders to help spur the rebuilding.

“I hope that, like many crises do, this will bring people together to work together,” said Mr. Caruso, who ran against Ms. Bass for mayor in 2022 and has told associates he is considering a challenge to her again in 2026.

With Mr. Caruso’s entry onto the field, there are now four separate independent rebuilding committees and one mayoral rebuilding czar claiming leadership roles in what will be one of the costliest

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INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Ban on Smoking Outdoors

Milan is the first major Italian city to place strong restrictions on where people can smoke outside. PAGE A4

Mourning at a Swedish School

One day after a massacre left at least 11 dead, some gathered to lay flowers and come to grips with the violence. PAGE A10

NATIONAL A11-21

A Path for Healing in Tulsa

A plan would restore a district razed in the 1921 massacre and compensate survivors and descendants. PAGE A13

Helene’s Deadly Lessons

A close look at the fatalities from Hurricane Helene shows how deadly effects of major storms can linger. PAGE A12

SPORTS B7-10

Reid Has Earned His Spot

Kansas City’s coach shares traits with legends of the game in Bill Belichick, Don Shula, Bill Walsh, Mike Holmgren and John Madden. PAGE B7



THURSDAY STYLES D1-8

Baby Steps Into Dystopia

Models on a Marc Jacobs runway looked like little dolls wearing bigger dolls’ clothes, our critic says. PAGE D3

Calvin Klein’s New ‘Sextitude’

As the brand returns to New York Fashion Week, we take a look at what its new designer has planned. PAGE D6

BUSINESS B1-6

Post Office Reverses Course

The Postal Service will continue to accept parcels from Hong Kong and China despite a new executive order that will require greater inspection of packages. PAGE B1

Are Waymo and Uber Foes?

The rapid expansion of the robot taxi company Waymo is growing competition for the ride-hailing service Uber in some markets. But the two companies are also partners. PAGE B1

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Lina M. Khan PAGE A23



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Echoes of Dance History

Alexei Ratmansky’s “Paquita” brings Marius Petipa’s 19th-century style to City Ballet through two lenses: his own and George Balanchine’s. PAGE C1

