"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

THE WEATHER

Today, plenty of sunshine, low humidity, high 73. **Tonight,** clear to partly cloudy, low 57. **Tomorrow,** sunny to partly cloudy, low humidity cloudy, low humidity cloudy. ity, high 74. Weather map, Page B6.

\$4.00

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Prices in Canada may be higher

As Congress Lies Down, Trump Walks All Over It

NEWS ANALYSIS

He Seizes Power on Spending, Oversight and National Security While Republicans Shrug

By JULIAN E. BARNES and CATIE EDMONDSON

WASHINGTON — The Pentagon barred the senior Democrat on the Senate Intelligence Committee from making an oversight visit to a military spy agency.

Armed forces off the coast of Venezuela began a military campaign against alleged members of a drug cartel without any authorization from Congress, and without notifying key members.

The White House informed Congress it planned to use a rare maneuver to skirt a vote and cancel nearly \$5 billion in foreign aid funding that lawmakers had already approved, the latest escalation of its campaign to undercut the legislative branch's spending powers.

And Robert F. Kennedy Jr., the health secretary, ousted the director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention just a month after senators had confirmed her. He also put forward changes that would effectively restrict access to Covid-19 vaccines, after pledging to senators during his own confirmation hearings that he would not make it more difficult.

The Trump administration continues to erode the power of Congress, trampling on its constitutional prerogatives in ways large and small. Through it all, Republicans in charge have mostly shrugged — and in some cases, outright applauded — as their powers, once jealously guarded, diminish in ways that will be difficult to reverse.

In recent weeks, Republican leaders have looked on passively as the president has fired a litany of agency leaders whom senators worked for weeks to confirm, from the C.D.C. to the Internal Revenue Service to the

Federal Reserve.

And they have shown little appetite for challenging the administration, even as a few have expressed occasional displeasure about the consequences of their decisions earlier this year to swallow their reservations about some of his nominees and confirm them.

"We have confirmed a vaccine denier," Senator Peter Welch, Democrat of Vermont, lamented during a hearing last week featuring Mr. Kennedy. "On tariffs, we've given up our constitutional responsibility. On appropriations, we're bending the knee to an administration that is rescinding and deciding what to spend and what not to spend, despite the way our law, in a bipartisan way, was passed."

"We cannot cede power," Mr. Welch added. "There are conse-

For nearly a century, Democratic and Republican presidents alike have sought to amass more power, particularly to conduct foreign policy and military operations, and with a few exceptions, succeeded in chipping away at congressional influence. What is different now is the degree of disdain Mr. Trump has shown for Congress — and the willingness of G.O.P. leaders to defer to him even when it means undercutting their coequal branch of government.

"That is the big story here not that a president is trying to push the bounds of their authority, because our system was designed with that in mind," Representative Jason Crow. Democrat of Colorado and a member of the House Armed

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ICE Raid Sends Mixed Message To South Korea

U.S. Seeks Investment but Arrests Workers

This article is by Jim Lynn, Lydia DePillis, Rick Rojas, Farah Stockman and Sean Keenan.

ELLABELL, Ga. - A stretch of rural southeast Georgia, just outside Savannah, has been transforming rapidly in recent years, as a plan to create a massive manufacturing hub capable of producing nearly half a million vehicles per year has come to fruition.

The complex has embodied the ambitions of South Korean automakers wanting to compete in the U.S. market. It has also been a crowning achievement in a long campaign by Georgia officials to draw Korean investment. Until recently, crews had been busy building the latest piece of that effort, a plant making batteries for electric But that vision has become

clouded by uncertainty after fedimmigration authorities raided the plant on Thursday, halting construction. Nearly 500 workers — many of them South Korean citizens — were arrested. The raids, described by govern-

ment officials as the largest Homeland Security enforcement operation at a single site, have exposed growing strain that reaches from Seoul to Washington and even a small, unincorporated community like Ellabell, Ga., where the plant is being built.

South Korea, an enthusiastic trading partner, expressed frustration with the United States. Within the Trump administration, the arrests have revealed competing interests, as a push by the president to expand U.S. manufacturing has collided with his aggressive crackdown on immigration. And in Ellabel and the surrounding area, the raids have revealed conflicting emotions about Continued on Page A16

U.S. Volunteers See 2nd Chance In Ukraine War

By ANDREW E. KRAMER

KHARKIV REGION, Ukraine In the open bed of a pickup truck, half a dozen soldiers were bouncing along a country road in eastern Ukraine when one of them yelled, "Drone!" They all opened fire with their rifles, yet hitting the tiny, swerving speck carrying death was all but impossible.

Buzzing in fast, within seconds it was only about a yard away. In that moment, captured on a helmet camera on a crystalline spring day, the soldiers seemed doomed. In a desperate act of selfdefense, one of them, an American, Pvt. Zachary Miller, hurled his empty rifle at the drone — and missed, he said in an interview.

They may never know why, but at the last moment, it veered away, sparing them. "Yes! Yes! Yes!" the soldiers shouted, in English, in the video, which was later posted online by the Ukraine military.

The flow of American volunteers like Private Miller serving in the Ukrainian military dwindled but never stopped after the initial wave that followed the Russian invasion in 2022. Independent estimates of the number of Americans volunteering since 2022 have varied widely, from more than 1,000 to several thousand. The Ukrainian military does not release figures.

But over time, the makeup of American volunteers has shifted, with higher proportions of people who have no military background, are older or are U.S. veterans seeking to restart military careers closed off to them at home be-

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Roaring Back to No. 1

Carlos Alcaraz won the U.S. Open on Sunday, using a superior serve to overcome Jannik Sinner. Alcaraz's second Open crown put him atop the world rankings. Coverage at nytimes.com/athletic.

By Age 25, Fighting Cancer Instead of Wildfires

By HANNAH DREIER

Joel Eisiminger was racing to save homes in Northern California from a fast-spreading wildfire when a crewmate noticed that one side of his face was suddenly drooping so much that his mouth hung open.

In his six years fighting fires, Joel had tumbled down burning hills, endured full-body rashes from poison oak and inhaled plumes of smoke that left him

Left Without Insurance or Illness Benefits

gasping for weeks. But he had never felt as bad as he did on this morning in July 2024. He didn't want to let down his crew, so he kept working deep in the forest until a medic told him to get to a hospital. He might have had a stroke.

As the doctors ran tests, Joel grew sicker. Within days, he was too exhausted to walk. On the eve of his 25th birthday, he received a diagnosis: acute myeloid leukemia, an aggressive, often fatal blood cancer that usually strikes people more than twice his age. Joel told the doctors he was not a regular smoker and had no family history of blood cancers. But he did have one risk factor: his job.

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Trump's Name Is on Projects He Opposed

By RICHARD FAUSSET

In southern Connecticut, the federal government is replacing a 118-year-old bridge along America's busiest rail corridor. The \$1.3 billion project was largely funded by the 2021 infrastructure law that was championed by then-President Joseph R. Biden Jr. — and strenuously opposed by Donald J. Trump.

These days, however, motorists cruising by the construction site might be forgiven for thinking that a certain famous New York developer was responsible for it

"PRESIDENT DONALD J. TRUMP" a sign by the road declares. "REBUILDING AMERI-

CA'S INFRASTRUCTURE. In recent months, a number of similar signs have popped up in front of major infrastructure projects financed by the bipartisan 2021 legislation, a \$1.2 trillion package that Mr. Trump, who left office in January of that year, had passionately railed against. He called the bill "a loser for the U.S.A.," and warned that Republican lawmakers who signed on could be thrown out of office by angry primary voters. "Patriots will never forget!" he wrote.

The signs bearing Mr. Trump's name now adorn bridge projects in Connecticut and Maryland; rail-yard improvement projects in Seattle, Boston and Philadelphia: and the replacement of a tunnel on Amtrak's route between Baltimore and Washington, according to W. Kyle Anderson, a spokesman

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A Banksy-like banner showing a sandwich-wielding protester.

The New Front Of Resistance: **Grand Juries**

By ALAN FEUER

In the three weeks since President Trump flooded the streets of Washington with hundreds of troops and federal agents, there have been only a few scattered protests and scarcely a word from Congress, which has quietly gone along with the deployment.

But one show of resistance has come from an extraordinary source: federal grand jurors.

In what could be read as a citizens' revolt, ordinary people serving on grand juries have repeatedly refused in recent days to indict their fellow residents who became entangled in either the president's immigration crackdown or his more recent show of force. It has happened in at least seven cases - including three times for the same defendant.

Given the secretive nature of grand juries, it is all but impossi-

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INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Saint for the Modern Age

Nicknamed God's influencer, Carlo Acutis, who died at age 15, used technology to express his faith.

Signs of Tyranny Linger

In Syria, those now in control say they are ending rule by fear. But concerns over sectarianism remain.

NATIONAL A12-19

A Police Officer's Descent

The cause of troubling behavorial changes became clear only after his brain was examined by a C.T.E. research center after death.

Central Park's Eek Factor

Rat sightings are declining citywide, but such statistics belie reports of invasions in several playgrounds. PAGE A17

OBITUARIES A20-21

Managed Mets to Title in 1986

Davey Johnson had a long playing career and was seen as one of baseball's brainier characters. He was 82. PAGE A20



SPORTS D1-7

Bears Quarterback's New Start Caleb Williams can't forget his heartbreaking last season, but he can learn

from it under a new coach. Stepping Up Under Pressure Aryna Sabalenka won her second

season filled with near misses. PAGE D6

straight U.S. Open singles title after a

BUSINESS B1-5

Less Yearning Until Earning Money can't buy love, but it can help. A

pair of linked studies found that, at higher incomes, people were more prepared, and more likely, to end up in a relationship.

Betting on Big-Box Stores

Executives at Krispy Kreme, the struggling doughnut maker, are racing to boost revenues, and to stay true to its brand of serving fresh products, as sales slump and shares tumble. PAGE B1

OPINION A22-23

David French



ARTS C1-6

Dancing's What She Loves

Tate McRae won fame as a dancer before she began her music career, and the Miss Possessive tour shows that she has certainly not lost a step.

