rain showers, high 39. Tonight, some

snow, little accumulation, low 31. Tomorrow, windy, some snow showers, high 34. Weather map is on Page B8.

HOUSE KILLS PLAN

SOUGHT BY TRUMP

ON SPENDING BILL

SHUTDOWN IS LOOMING

Speaker Back to Drawing

Board, Facing Friday

\$4.00

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The main bazaar in Bakwa, in Afghanistan's southwest. There are few customers for piping once used to irrigate opium poppy fields.

Poppy Boom in Afghan Desert Has Gone Bust

Taliban Funded War by

Taxing Drug Trade,

Then Choked It

viding money for the war and a

sanctuary for the men fighting it.

iban boom is rapidly going bust.

All that has changed. The Tal-

The same insurgents who em-

braced opium to help finance their

war have put an end to it, ordering

a ban that has all but cleared Af-

ghanistan of poppy and illicit

allies failed to do in two decades of

war, the Taliban has managed in

two years of peace. In an area

where poppy once dominated the

landscape, barely a stalk remains.

process heroin and methamphet-

amines have been closed or de-

Hundreds of labs set up to

What the United States and its

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 20, 2024

Prices in Canada may be higher

Musk Wields Maggie Haberman.

dered up by President-elect Donald J. Trump to keep funding flowing. Dozens of Republicans defied his demand to pair the spending with a two-year suspension of the federal debt limit.

The vote sent Speaker Mike Johnson back to the drawing board ahead of a Friday night deadline with no clear path to keeping the government open. Right-wing lawmakers balked at increasing the government's borrowing limit, something many of them have long pledged not to do without spending cuts to keep the

They were joined by Democrats who savaged the G.O.P. for bowing to Mr. Trump and reneging on a spending compromise Mr. Johnson had reached with them only

The vote was 174 to 235, with



The blowup is terrible timing

It was an epic meltdown that reflected the deep divisions among rraught dynamic between them and Mr. Trump that portends a difficult road ahead in January, when the G.O.P. will hold full control of Congress and he will be back in the White House. In particular, it suggested that the presidentelect's ambitious fiscal plans, including a large tax cut, could face

with his own party in charge. Even before the spending measure hit the House floor on

Continued on Page A16

Night Deadline By CATIE EDMONDSON WASHINGTON — The government lurched toward a shutdown after the House on Thursday rejected a hastily produced plan or-

debt from ballooning further.

days earlier.

one member voting "present."



for Speaker Mike Johnson.

Thirty-eight Republicans joined almost every Democrat in voting

Republicans in Congress and a a rocky path on Capitol Hill even

Continued on Page A17

Political Might At Fiscal Deal

Opposing a Bill Using Threats and Falsities

This article is by Michael D. Shear, Annie Karni, Ryan Mac and

WASHINGTON - When President-elect Donald J. Trump picked "the Great Elon Musk," the world's richest man, to slash government spending and waste, he mused that the effort might be "the Manhattan Project of our time.'

By Thursday, that prediction looked spot on. Wielding the social media platform he bought for \$44 billion in 2022, Mr. Musk detonated a rhetorical nuclear bomb in the middle of government shutdown negotiations on Capitol Hill.

In more than 150 separate posts on X, starting before dawn on Wednesday, Mr. Musk demanded that Republicans back away from a bipartisan spending deal that was meant to avoid a government shutdown over Christmas. He retribution vowed political against anyone voting for the sprawling bill backed by Speaker Mike Johnson, who called Mr. Musk on Wednesday to ask that he stop posting about the bill.

Mr. Musk also shared misinformation about the bill, including false claims that it contained new aid for Ukraine or \$3 billion in funds for a new stadium in Washington. By the end of Wednesday, Mr. Trump issued a statement of his own, calling the bill "a betrayal of our country."

It was a remarkable moment for Mr. Musk, who has never been elected to public office but now appears to be the largest megaphone for the man about to retake the Oval Office. Larger, in fact, than Mr. Trump himself, whose own vaunted social media presence is dwarfed by that of Mr. Musk. The president-elect has 96.2 million followers on X, while Mr. Musk has 207.9 million. (Mr. Musk is also far richer than Mr. Trump. According to the Bloomberg Billionaires Index, he is worth \$458 billion, while the president-elect is worth a mere \$6.61 billion.)

This week also marked the first time Mr. Musk has been able to use his website as a digital whip, driving lawmakers to support his desired outcome.

His actions had prompted a backlash from some lawmakers who recoiled at his interference in the legislative process. Some even accused him of acting more like the president or vice president than a billionaire executive.

"Democrats and Republicans spent months negotiating a bipartisan agreement to fund our government," Senator Bernie Sanders, an independent from Vermont who has long criticized the power of wealthy business execu-

3 French Hens, 2 Turtle Doves and 20,000 Crows

stroyed. The drug bazaar that

powered this part of southern Af-

ghanistan has been all but emp-

tied. And the nation, already reel-

ing without international aid, has

lost a sizable piece of its economy

On top of that, the Taliban gov-

ernment has stiffened its taxes,

leaving residents bitter and angry.

Many have moved away, except those too poor or invested to

"This is all coming to an end," he

said, waving his hand toward the

There was almost nothing in

this district, Bakwa, when he ar-

rived 25 years ago, just an empty

desert plain. He built an empire

out of sand, selling the pumps and

solar panels that provided water

for the opium boom, helping turn

Bakwa into a frontier outpost for

smugglers, traders and farmers.

Continued on Page A11

Now his story, like Bakwa's, has

leave, like Abdul Khaliq.

emptying villages.



51 MEN CONVICTED

OF RAPE AT TRIAL

Ex-Husband Sentenced

in France to 20 Years

By CATHERINE PORTER

and SÉGOLÈNE LE STRADIC

packed courtroom on Thursday in

Avignon, France, the head judge

asked each of the dozens of men

accused of raping Gisèle Pelicot -

while she was near-comatose and

at the invitation of her husband of

50 years — to stand briefly. Then

he pronounced their convictions

swiftly, one after the other: all

When it was over, every one of

the 51 accused men had been con-

victed, most of them for raping

Ms. Pelicot in her own bedroom.

Her ex-husband, Dominique Peli-

cot, 72, who had admitted to drug-

ging her over nearly a decade to

abuse her, was the only one to get

AVIGNON, France - In a

Gisèle Pelicot talking to the news media after the verdict.

The rest were given sentences mostly ranging from six to nine years.

And with that, the trial that had both horrified and captivated France for almost four months ended with a victory for the woman at its center, Ms. Pelicot. She became a feminist icon for her bravery in allowing the case to be tried publicly, to more fully expose the horrors of rape in a country where #MeToo hardly gained traction.

After it was over, she stepped into a swarm of French and international reporters and hundreds of supporters eagerly awaiting her, who held up signs of appreciation and cheered when she emerged. There were so many of

Continued on Page A10

By AZAM AHMED

stan - An oasis stretched far into

the desert, a vast sea of emerald

stalks and scarlet poppy flowers

The Taliban operated openly,

running a social experiment un-

like anything in the country. Tens

of people flocked here to escape

the war and grow poppy, fleeing the American efforts to wipe out

The Taliban opened a trauma

hospital to treat their wounded

and earned a fortune, not just

from opium but also from meth-

amphetamines and taxes on

goods moving in and out of Af-

ghanistan, bringing them millions

upon millions of dollars every

During the war, the remote dis-

trict of Bakwa became a laborato-

ry for a future Taliban state, pro-

- then hundreds — of thousands

that grew to the horizon.

BAKWA DISTRICT, Afghani-

By DAVID ANDREATTA ROCHESTER, N.Y. — In Rochester, N.Y., there are telltale signs that the holiday season is under-

Santa's workshop opens at the outdoor ice rink downtown. There is the lighting of the pyramid of kegs at the local brewery. Productions of "A Christmas Carol" and "The Nutcracker" begin.

Then there are the tens of thousands of crows that descend on the city every day at dusk in early December, and the fireworks and lasers that are deployed to drive them away.

City officials and wildlife experts estimate upward of 20,000 crows roost downtown nightly.

"It's like you're in 'The Birds,'" said Rachel Kudiba, referring to Alfred Hitchcock's classic film about birds on a murderous rampage. Ms. Kudiba was one of four U.S. Department of Agriculture Wildlife Services specialists hired by the city to chase and haze the massive groups of crows.

An outbreak of West Nile virus decimated the American crow

population in the early 2000s. But no one would know it by the sight of the cawing, swirling cloud of jet-black crows over the waterfalls of the Genesee River. They come from miles around, wildlife experts say, seeking warmth in the city's concrete grid and ambi-

ent light after foraging in fields. The phenomenon plays out in



A cawing cloud of jet-black birds descends on Rochester, N.Y., every year around the holidays. Getting rid of them is murder.

urban centers, with reports of large roosts wintering in upstate New York cities like Albany, Auburn and Poughkeepsie; in Danville, Ill., in the Midwest; and in Portland, Ore., and Sunnyvale, Calif., in the West.

Many cities have employed scare tactics to ward them off. But few seem as consistent in their regimen as Rochester, where the annual Yuletide ritual of shooing

crows began in 2012.

For two or three nights during the season, wildlife specialists comb the city. They have been conducting annual hazing raids in Rochester long enough to have an idea of where the birds gather, and they get help from residents who, in response to city media campaigns, call the city's 311 hotline.

When they locate a cluster, Continued on Page A20

Court Disqualifies Georgia D.A. In Election Case Against Trump

By DANNY HAKIM and RICHARD FAUSSET

Georgia's Court of Appeals on Thursday disqualified the Atlanta prosecutor who brought an election interference case against President-elect Donald J. Trump and his allies, a surprise move that threw the entire case into dis-

In a 2-1 decision, a three-judge panel reversed the decision of the trial judge, who in March allowed Fani T. Willis, the district attorney of Fulton County, Ga., to keep the case, despite revelations about a romantic relationship she had with the lawyer whom she hired to manage the prosecution.

All three of the appeals judges were appointed by Republicans. Ms. Willis's office swiftly filed court papers indicating that it would appeal the decision to the Georgia Supreme Court, which is also dominated by Republican-appointed judges.

If the lower court's decision stands, it could doom the case, which is the last active criminal prosecution involving charges against Mr. Trump. The Department of Justice recently moved to dismiss two criminal cases against the president-elect since it has a policy against prosecuting sitting presidents, and sentencing has been delayed in another.

In the Georgia case, Mr. Trump and 14 of his allies are charged with conspiring to overturn his 2020 election loss.

Continued on Page A21

INTERNATIONAL A4-13

Destruction in the Islands After a cyclone flattened much of May-

otte, France's poorest territory, residents point to years of neglect. PAGE A8

Signs of Joy in Syrian Rubble

Returning exiles are shocked at the damage to Homs but ecstatic that the Assad regime is gone.

NATIONAL A15-21

Veto Threat on Judges Bill

A proposal had bipartisan support until Donald J. Trump won the election and the right to choose first. PAGE A17

A Jaw-Dropping Discovery Two remarkably well-preserved mast-

odon teeth were discovered recently in a yard near Scotchtown, N.Y. PAGE A20

OBITUARIES B11

Trailblazing Drag Star

Long before the term "drag queen" was widely used, Sir Lady Java's act was barred by law in Los Angeles but popular in the Black entertainment world.



BUSINESS B1-5

Amazon Drivers Strike

Some workers at seven facilities walked out, but the e-commerce giant said it expected normal operations. PAGE B1

Warning on Gas Exports

The energy secretary said the continued pace of shipments was "neither sustainable nor advisable."

SPORTS B6-10

Comeback of the Irish

Notre Dame's season could have unraveled after a home defeat to lowly Northern Illinois, but its path to the College Football Playoff shows just how much its third-year coach has grown. PAGE B6

An M.L.B. Epidemic

Injury rates among pitchers have "sky-

Jessica Grose

rocketed" over the past several decades, Major League Baseball concluded in a report. But curbing the problem has few easy solutions. PAGE B10

OPINION A22-23



PAGE A23



Let Her Entertain You

In the new, stripped-down Broadway

revival of the musical "Gypsy," Audra McDonald steps into the role of Rose. Jesse Green has the review.

