



LUIS TATO/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Flash Floods Overwhelm Kenyan Towns
Heavy rains have been pounding the country for weeks; at least 45 were killed on Monday as water submerged a village. Page A10.

3 OFFICERS KILLED
SERVING WARRANT

5 More Are Injured in a
Shootout in Charlotte

This article is by **Sopan Deb, Livia Albeck-Ripka and Remy Tumin.**

Eight law officers were shot on Monday, three fatally, as a U.S. Marshals fugitive task force tried to serve a warrant in Charlotte, N.C., in one of the deadliest days for law enforcement in recent years, the police said.

Of the five law enforcement officers who were wounded, one was in critical condition Monday evening, the authorities said. The suspect they were seeking was also killed.

Around 1:30 p.m., members of the task force went to the 5000 block of Galway Drive to serve a warrant on a person for being a felon in possession of a firearm, Johnny Jennings, the chief of police of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department, said at a news conference Monday evening.

When they approached the person, the shooter fired at them. The officers returned fire and struck the person, who was later pronounced dead in the front yard of the residence. The police did not release the name of the shooter or any of the law enforcement officers.

As police approached the shooter, Chief Jennings told reporters, the officers were met with more gunfire from inside the home. Two people inside were taken to the station as “persons of interest.” One is a 17-year-old male and the other an adult woman, Chief Jennings said.

“Today is an absolute tragic day for the city of Charlotte and for the profession of law enforcement,” Chief Jennings said. “Today, we lost some heroes that are out simply trying to keep our community safe.”

In all, four members of the task force were shot, three of whom died. The U.S. Marshals Service confirmed that one of its deputy marshals was among those killed. Two of those killed were officers with the Department of Adult Correction, Gov. Roy Cooper of North Carolina said on social media. The task force is made up of officers from multiple agencies.

Four members of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department were also shot and injured. One of

Continued on Page A16

Students’ Gaza Protests Deepen Democratic Rifts

By KATIE GLUECK

Nearly seven months after the Israel-Hamas war began, the demonstrations convulsing college campuses nationwide are exposing fresh tensions within the Democratic Party over how to balance free speech protections and support for Gazans with concerns that some Jewish Americans are raising about antisemitism.

From New York and Los Angeles to Atlanta and Austin, a surge in student activism has manifested in protest encampments and other demonstrations, drawing significant police crackdowns and sometimes appearing to attract outside agitators. The protests also have emerged as the latest flashpoint in the internal Democratic

Turmoil Stirs Divisions
on the War and Holds
Election-Year Risks

ocratic debate over the war.

As scenes of campus turmoil play out across the country in the final days of the school year, the moment also carries political risk for a party that has harnessed promises of stability and normalcy to win critical recent elections, and faces a challenging battle for control of the government in the fall.

“The real question is, can the Democrats again portray themselves as the steady hand at the

helm?” said Dan Sena, a veteran Democratic strategist. “Things that create national chaos like this make that harder to do.”

Mr. Sena and other Democrats have argued that Americans have good reason to associate their opponents with chaos: Former President Donald J. Trump faces multiple criminal cases; the narrow, fractious House Republican majority has its own divisions concerning Israel and free speech; some Republicans have urged National Guard deployments to college campuses; and for years, Republicans have faced criticism over antisemitism in their own ranks.

But since the Hamas-led attack on Israel on Oct. 7, and the Israeli

Continued on Page A15



ELIANA APONTE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

La Carreta, a Havana restaurant abandoned by the state, reopened under private ownership.

Communist Cuba Grasps a Lifeline: Capitalists

By DAVID C. ADAMS

HAVANA — A modern grocery store whose shelves are packed with everything from pasta to wine fills a spot in central Havana once occupied by a drab state-owned flower shop, its ceilings and walls repaired and repainted.

A former state glass company in a Havana suburb now houses a showroom for a private business selling Cuban-made furniture.

Private Business Surges
Under Looser Rules

And at the Cuban capital’s port, forklifts carefully unload American eggs from a refrigerated container. The eggs are bound for an online private supermarket that, much like Amazon Fresh, provides home delivery.

These ventures are part of an explosion of thousands of private businesses that have opened in recent years across Cuba, a remarkable shift in a country where such enterprises have not been permitted and where Fidel Castro rose to power leading a communist revolution determined to eliminate capitalist notions like private ownership.

But today Cuba is confronting

Continued on Page A9

Planners Start
Mapping Out
Gaza’s Future

Reconstruction Project
Would Take Decades

By PETER S. GOODMAN

On a December morning in central London, more than two dozen people drawn from influential institutions across the Middle East, Europe and the United States gathered in a conference room to pursue an aspiration that, at that moment, verged on preposterous. They were there to plan for the reconstruction and long-term economic development of Gaza.

Gaza was under relentless bombardment by Israeli military forces in response to terrorist attacks launched by Hamas in October. Communities throughout the territory were being reduced to rubble, and tens of thousands of people had been killed. Families confronted the immediacy of hunger, fear and grief.

Yet at the meeting in London, members of the international establishment discussed how to eventually transform Gaza from a place defined by isolation and poverty into a Mediterranean commercial hub centered on trade, tourism and innovation, yielding a middle class.

The group included senior officials from American and European economic development agencies, executives from Middle Eastern finance and construction companies and two partners from the international consulting firm McKinsey & Company. Officially, they were attending only as individuals, not as representatives of their institutions.

The plan they produced is far removed from the dire reality confronting Gaza today. Turning it into reality would require the end of a war that has left the territory devastated, to say nothing of tens of billions of dollars in investment. It would also demand resolution to the monumental and entirely uncertain political question of who controls Gaza, and then the cooperation of that authority. All of that makes the plan well short of a blueprint for action.

Yet participants maintain that the mere exercise of mapping out a more prosperous future holds value because it can prepare the way for projects once conditions are suitable — a notion that has propelled such planning in conflict zones like Kuwait, after it was invaded by Iraq, and Ukraine.

“We are proposing to connect Gaza to the world over the long term,” said Chris Choa, founder and director of Outcomist, a London firm that designs urban development projects, and one of the initial conveners of the group, known as Palestine Emerging.

Among those involved are Hashim Shawa, chairman of the Bank of Palestine, a commercial

Continued on Page A6

AN ISRAELI OFFER
INCREASES HOPES
FOR TRUCE TALKS

SEEKS FEWER HOSTAGES

Negotiations May Restart
This Week if Hamas
Agrees to Attend

This article is by **Patrick Kingsley, Edward Wong, Adam Rasgon and Eric Nagourney.**

JERUSALEM — Israeli negotiators, offering a hint of hope for negotiations over a cease-fire in the Gaza Strip, have reduced the number of hostages they want Hamas to release during the first phase of a truce, three Israeli officials said on Monday.

For weeks, cease-fire talks have been at a standstill. With the new proposal in hand, a mid-ranking delegation from Israel was planning to fly to Cairo on Tuesday to resume them — but only if Hamas agrees to attend, according to two of the officials. They spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss the sensitive issue.

Hamas did not respond to a request for comment about whether it would send representatives to Cairo. A senior Hamas official said on social media on Monday that



MOHAMMED SABER/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

The aftermath of Israeli strikes in southern Gaza on Monday.

the group was studying a new Israeli proposal.

The American secretary of state, Antony J. Blinken, who was meeting in Saudi Arabia on Monday with Arab diplomats, said the onus was now on Hamas.

“Hamas has before it a proposal that is extraordinarily generous on the part of Israel,” Mr. Blinken said at an economic forum in Riyadh. “And at the moment, the only thing standing between the people of Gaza and a cease-fire is Hamas.”

Speaking at the same forum, the British foreign minister, David

Continued on Page A6

OPPORTUNITY The White House sees a narrow window to seal a deal to halt the war. PAGE A16

Trump’s Trial Opens a Window
Into the Golden Era of Tabloids

By MICHAEL ROTHFELD

Inside a staid Manhattan courtroom last week, flashes from a bygone era appeared, recollections of a celebrity-studded world of leveraged secrets and traded favors, and one in which publications sold at supermarket checkout counters wielded real cultural and political power.

It was a world that David Pecker, the first witness called in Donald J. Trump’s criminal trial and the former publisher of The National Enquirer, once presided over.

Mr. Trump, his old friend and associate, sat silently at the defense table as Mr. Pecker testified not only about their own dealings, but also about his brushes with other celebrities: Tiger Woods.

Arnold Schwarzenegger. Mark Wahlberg.

His testimony, over four days, evoked the sensational, transactional tactics of tabloid newspapers and magazines. But it was also particular to Mr. Pecker, who over two decades ran American Media Inc., the Enquirer’s parent company, commingling journalism and business interests to an extent that other executives had not in his slowly dying industry, according to people familiar with his career.

Once called the “tabloid king,” Mr. Pecker, 72, had been written about often in his decades-long career, but he had never spoken so publicly about how he operated

Continued on Page A13



BUSINESS B1-6
Golden Visa Programs Dim
Spain is the latest country to end the fund-raiser, which brought in billions but worsened its housing crisis. PAGE B1

Tesla Reaches Deals in China
Elon Musk secures regulatory nods and partners with a Chinese tech company to offer self-driving cars there. PAGE B1

NATIONAL A11-17
Abortion Ban to Take Effect
Florida, home to dozens of clinics that serve tens of thousands of women a year, has until now been a major access point in the Southeast. PAGE A11

Debating the Cause of Inflation
Economists are divided over whether growth in federal borrowing is fueling demand and driving up prices. PAGE A14

INTERNATIONAL A4-10
TikTok Star Is Killed in Iraq
The shooting of the influencer known as Um Fahad comes amid tightening laws and a conservative crackdown. PAGE A4

SCIENCE TIMES D1-8
Participant In Old Ballgame
A statue depicting a female ballplayer in an ancient ritual is making its public debut at an exhibition at the National Museum of Mexican Art in Chicago. PAGE D8

Deadly Rescue
An audacious plan to protect the spotted owl would mean the death of thousands of other owls. PAGE D1



SPORTS B7-11
Olympic Options Dwindling
As climate change and costs challenge the Winter Olympics, Salt Lake City says it is well equipped to handle the event in 2034 — and beyond. PAGE B7

OBITUARIES A20
Defender of Migrant Rights
Peter Schey, a tenacious lawyer, secured health care, school enrollment and other benefits for people illegally crossing into the U.S. He was 77.

OPINION A18-19
Serge Schmemmann PAGE A19



ARTS C1-6
Giving Voice to the Displaced
A new production uses the music of Sting, above left, with Kate Prince and Alex Lacamoire, to tell the story of a family fleeing conflict. PAGE C1



0 354613 9