"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

THE WEATHER

Today, windy, clouds and sunshine, high 52. **Tonight,** partly cloudy, not as windy, low 42. **Tomorrow,** sunshine to start, then becoming cloudy, dry, high 54. Weather map, Page 27.

VOL. CLXXIV ... No. 60,348

© 2024 The New York Times Company

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 2024

Prices in Canada may be higher

\$6.00



Msgr. Jamie J. Gigantiello and his financial deals are at the center of a fight that has reached the highest levels of the Brooklyn diocese.

The Priest, the Pop Star and the Mayor's Power Broker

By KATHERINE ROSMAN

Just a few days after Mayor Eric Adams was indicted on corruption charges, the pop star Sabrina Carpenter stood onstage at Madison Square Garden and said something startling into her glittery microphone: "Should we talk about how I got the mayor indicted?'

Ms. Carpenter's quip was both tantalizing and quite obviously false: The singer played no role in the investigation and prosecution

Hack by China:

Long Unknown,

Tough to Expel

This article is by **David E. Sanger**,

WASHINGTON - Leaders of

the top telecommunications com-

panies were summoned to the

White House on Friday to discuss

a security problem that has been

roiling the government: how to

expel Chinese hackers from the

deepest corners of the nation's

The meeting in the Situation

increasingly

Room came after weeks in which

alarmed by what they had uncov-

from a group called "Salt Ty-

phoon," closely linked to China's

Ministry of State Security, were

lurking undetected inside the net-

works of the biggest American

telecommunications firms for

They have learned that the Chinese hackers got a nearly complete list of phone numbers the

Justice Department monitors in its "lawful intercept" system, which places wiretaps on people

suspected of committing crimes

or spying, usually after a warrant

Officials do not believe the Chi-

nese listened to those calls, but the

hackers were probably able to

combine the phone numbers with

geolocation data to create a de-

tailed intelligence picture of who

Continued on Page 16

They now believe the hackers

communications networks.

grew

ered about the hack.

more than a year.

is issued

officials

Julian E. Barnes, Devlin Barrett

and Adam Goldman.

But her offhand remark in front of 20,000 fans in September did pull back the curtain, ever so slightly, on a bizarre side plot in the Adams affair — a story whose contours sound almost like the beginning of a joke: Did you hear the one about the pop star, the politician and the priest?

The priest is Msgr. Jamie J. Gigantiello, who has led three Brooklyn parishes over his 30year career and has known Mr. Adams, the former Brooklyn borough president, for decades. The

Brooklyn Church Brawl **Draws Prosecutors**

priest is also a close friend of Frank Carone, the mayor's former chief of staff.

Now the monsignor is at the center of an unholy brawl. The fight has reached the highest levels of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Brooklyn and the offices of federal prosecutors in the Eastern District of New York, who have

subpoenaed records from transactions worth nearly \$2 million between the monsignor's parish and businesses connected to Mr.

The nature of the federal investigation - or who its target might - is not publicly known. Nobody has been charged with a crime, and it is unclear whether the priest or Mr. Carone did anything improper or illegal.

Monsignor Gigantiello had already been demoted over his decision to allow Ms. Carpenter to film Continued on Page 18



A Daring Escape

Abducted by a Boko Haram offshoot years ago, two women made a bold flight to freedom. Page 8.

How Hegseth Changed Tune On War Crimes

Dysfunction in Military Embittered His View

By DAVE PHILIPPS and CAROL ROSENBERG

When Pete Hegseth was an earnest, young Army lieutenant in Iraq in 2005, he was cleareyed on how he viewed crimes committed by soldiers in war.

Soldiers in his own infantry company in Iraq in 2006 had shot civilians, executed prisoners and tried to cover up the crimes.

"Those are a no-brainer," he told an audience at the University of Virginia after his deployment. He called the acts of those soldiers, who served in a sister platoon in his company, "atrocities" and added: "Of course that's wrong. No one is here to defend that."

By the end of his Army career, though, he was repeatedly doing exactly that.

As a presenter on Fox News, he portrayed other troops charged with war crimes as "heroes." The military prosecuting them was, he said, "throwing warriors under the bus." The once circumspect officer glossed over crucial details, told his TV audience that troops were just "doing the job they were hired to do" and pushed relent-lessly for President Donald J. Trump to intervene.

It was a stark shift for the man Presidentelect Trump picked month to lead the Defense Department. Solwho served with Mr.



Hegseth say the change was driven in part by a string of military deployments - once to Guantánamo Bay, once to Iraq and once to Afghanistan — that each taught him a new lesson in military dysfunction. The experience transformed

him from a neoconservative believer in U.S. military might into an outsider so distrustful of the national security establishment that he repeatedly sided with convicted murderers over Pentagon "He's a product of these broken

wars, and pretty much our whole generation feels the same way," Mathew Golsteyn said in an interview with The New York Times. Mr. Golstevn, a former Army Green Beret, was charged with murdering a captive he believed was a Taliban bomb maker in Afghanistan, and appeared several times on Fox with Mr. Hegseth.

The military leadership "sent us repeatedly into a hornets' nest with no plan," Mr. Golsteyn added. "They gave us an impossible job, then blamed us when things went wrong."

Mr. Hegseth's confirmation is far from certain, as he faces questions over character. On Wednesday, the City of Monterey, Calif., released a redacted police file containing the accusation of an unnamed woman who said that Mr.

Continued on Page 26

FIRMS ELBOWING TO LOBBY TRUMP **OVER HIS TARIFFS**

FIGHT FOR EXEMPTIONS

A Record of Pardoning **Favored Companies** in His First Term

By ANA SWANSON

WASHINGTON — The sweeping tariffs that President-elect Donald J. Trump imposed in his first term on foreign metals, machinery, clothing and other products were intended to have maximum impact around the world. They sought to shutter foreign factories, rework international supply chains and force companies to make big investments in the United States.

But for many businesses, the most important consequences of the tariffs, enacted in 2018 and 2019, unfolded just a few blocks from the White House.

In the face of pushback from companies reliant on foreign products, the Trump administration set up a process that allowed them to apply for special exemptions. The stakes were high: An exemption could relieve a company of tariffs as high as 25 percent, potentially giving it a big advantage over competitors.

That ignited a swift and often successful lobbying effort, especially from Washington's highpriced K Street law firms, which ended up applying for hundreds of thousands of tariff exemptions. The Office of the United States Trade Representative, which handled exclusions for the China tariffs, fielded more than 50,000 requests, while the Commerce Department received nearly 500,000 exclusion requests for the tariffs on steel and aluminum.

As Mr. Trump dangles new and potentially more expensive tariffs, many companies are already angling to obtain relief. Lawyers and lobbyists in Washington say they are receiving an influx of requests from companies that want to hire their services, even before the full extent of the presidentelect's tariff plans becomes clear.

In his first term, Mr. Trump imposea tariiis oi as much as 25 pei cent on more than \$300 billion in Chinese goods, and 10 percent to 25 percent on steel and aluminum from a variety of countries, including Canada, Mexico and Japan.

This time, Mr. Trump has threatened to impose a 60 percent tariff or more on China, and tariffs of 10 percent to 20 percent on most other countries. He has also suggested targeting particular companies or industries.

It remains unclear which of these plans he intends to follow through on, and he has not clarified whether he would once again offer companies exclusions from the tariffs. On Friday, Mr. Trump announced that he had picked Scott Bessent, a billionaire hedge fund manager, as his Treasury secretary. Mr. Bessent has de-

Continued on Page 22

Bathing in Oil Might Seem Crude Near a Climate Summit, but Locals Swear by It

By ANTON TROIANOVSKI

NAFTALAN, Azerbaijan — I bathed in oil during the U.N. climate summit.

It was crude oil from a halfmile underground, pumped into a bathtub at a hotel in Azerbaijan. It crept into every crevice of my submerged body and every fold of my skin. It smothered the hair

on my limbs, making me look a little like an animal stuck in an oil spill.

Then came an attendant to scrape it all off.

Just a day earlier, I had been covering the United Nations' annual climate conference, COP29, which is being held this month in Baku, Azerbaijan, a place that helped give rise to the modern oil industry more than a

AZERBAIJAN DISPATCH

century ago, enabling and endangering our civilization. Much has been made of the incongruity of those fighting to reduce fossilfuel emissions gathering in a petrostate, but Azerbaijanis are proud of their oil, whatever conference attendees might think of it. For instance, it fueled the

Soviet defeat of the Nazis in World War II.

Another point of pride lies beneath the dusty, shrub-dotted hills of Naftalan, a city a fourhour drive from Baku. The chocolate-colored oil extracted there doesn't burn. Instead, the locals and Azerbaijani scientists say, it heals. If you bathe in it.

Continued on Page 12



People flock to oil health resorts in Naftalan, Azerbaijan.

INTERNATIONAL 4-16

was being surveilled.

Sorcery and Retribution

In a brutal cycle, tragedies in Papua New Guinea are often followed by accusations of sorcery and unspeakable acts of violence.

SUNDAY STYLES

A Jacked Up Tournament

Aron D'Souza, a venture capitalist, is hoping to start the Enhanced Games, a major athletic competition that would embrace doping. PAGE 12 SUNDAY BUSINESS

Olympian's Broken Promises

Michael Hyatt persuaded a string of women to open up their homes and wallets to him. He left them bitter. disillusioned and in debt

ARTS & LEISURE

The Giant of Late Night A new biography of Johnny Carson,

who hosted "The Tonight Show" for 30 years, prompts the critic Jason Zinoman to reassess his legacy.

SUNDAY OPINION

Jeneen Interlandi

PAGE 6

