

“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Today, sunshine and patchy clouds, cooler, high 44. **Tonight**, cloudy, low 35. **Tomorrow**, a passing rain or snow shower, cloudy, brisk, cool, high 42. Weather map, Page A22.

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Second Term Could Unleash Darker Trump

Weaker Safeguards on Authoritarian Urges

This article is by **Charlie Savage, Jonathan Swan and Maggie Haberman.**

In the spring of 1989, the Chinese Communist Party used tanks and troops to crush a pro-democracy protest in Beijing’s Tiananmen Square. Most of the West, across traditional partisan lines, was aghast at the crackdown that killed at least hundreds of student activists. But one prominent American was impressed.

“When the students poured into Tiananmen Square, the Chinese government almost blew it,” Donald J. Trump said in an interview with Playboy magazine the year after the massacre. “Then they were vicious, they were horrible, but they put it down with strength. That shows you the power of strength. Our country is right now perceived as weak.”

It was a throwaway line in a wide-ranging interview, delivered to a journalist profiling a 43-year-old celebrity businessman who was not then a player in national politics or world affairs. But in light of what Mr. Trump has gone on to become, his exaltation of the ruthless crushing of democratic protesters is steeped in foreshadowing.

Mr. Trump’s violent and authoritarian rhetoric on the 2024 campaign trail has attracted growing alarm and comparisons to historical fascist dictators and contemporary populist strongmen. In recent weeks, he has dehumanized his adversaries as “vermin” who must be “rooted out,” declared that immigrants are “poisoning the blood of our country,” encouraged the shooting of shoplifters and suggested that the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Mark Milley, de-

Continued on Page A13



YUSEF MASOUD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Rescue efforts after airstrikes on Monday in Khan Younis, the largest city in southern Gaza. Israel again warned civilians to evacuate.

How a ‘Low Key’ A.I. Release Kicked Off a Stampede in Big Tech

This article is by **Karen Weise, Cade Metz, Nico Grant and Mike Isaac.**

At 1 p.m. on a Friday shortly before Christmas last year, Kent Walker, Google’s top lawyer, summoned four of his employees and ruined their weekend.

The group worked in SL1001, a bland building with a blue glass facade betraying no sign that dozens of lawyers inside were toiling to protect the interests of one of the world’s most influential companies. For weeks they had been

prepping for a meeting of powerful executives to discuss the safety of Google’s products. The deck was done. But that afternoon Mr. Walker told his team the agenda had changed, and they would have to spend the next few days preparing new slides and graphs.

In fact, the entire agenda of the company had changed — all in the course of nine days. Sundar Pichai, Google’s chief executive, had decided to ready a slate of products based on artificial intelligence — immediately. He turned to Mr. Walker, the same lawyer he

THE A.I. RACE 12 Months in Silicon Valley

was trusting to defend the company in a profit-threatening antitrust case in Washington, D.C. Mr. Walker knew he would need to persuade the Advanced Technology Review Council, as Google called the group of executives, to throw off their customary caution and do as they were told.

It was an edict, and edicts didn’t happen very often at Google. But Google was staring at a real crisis.

Its business model was potentially at risk.

What had set off Mr. Pichai and the rest of Silicon Valley was ChatGPT, the artificial intelligence program that had been released on Nov. 30, 2022, by an upstart called OpenAI. It had captured the imagination of millions of people who had thought A.I. was science fiction until they started playing with the thing. It was a sensation. It was also a problem.

At the Googleplex, famed for its free food, massages, fitness

Continued on Page A14

ISRAELI MILITARY NEAR MAJOR CITY IN SOUTHERN GAZA

RESIDENTS IN ANGUISH

Many in Khan Younis See No Way Out as Attack on Hamas Widens

This article is by **Hiba Yazbek, Christoph Koettl and Michael Levenson.**

Israel widened its military assault against Hamas in the southern part of the Gaza Strip on Monday, with armored vehicles rolling closer to its main city and strikes pummeling urban areas, where images showed smoke rising from flattened buildings and people carrying bodies swaddled in blankets.

Satellite imagery analyzed by The New York Times showed that the Israeli military had pushed into southern Gaza between Friday and Sunday, soon after the collapse of its weeklong truce with Hamas. As of Sunday, dozens of armored vehicles had moved into the area, according to the satellite images, which also showed tracks and clearings, likely from bulldozers.

The strikes came as the Israeli military again warned civilians to leave parts of Khan Younis, southern Gaza’s largest city, and to move to places farther south, including Rafah, on the Egyptian border. The evacuation order echoed similar directives that Israel gave before sending troops into northern Gaza in late October.

The Israeli military has not confirmed a ground invasion of the south, although it has been signaling one for days and warning civilians in several areas to evacuate. On Monday, the chief military spokesman, Rear Adm. Daniel Hagari, said that Israeli forces

Continued on Page A5



CHRISTINE STOCKUM

Two kiwi hatchlings recently found near New Zealand’s capital.

New Zealand Exults in Revival Of the Kiwi, a National Icon

By **PETE MCKENZIE**

WELLINGTON, New Zealand — At the foot of a towering fern, Pete Kirkman pushed his hand through a curtain of dead branches into a burrow. His fingers settled on a lump of feathers. Gently, he withdrew a fist-sized hatchling.

Baffled by the daylight, the chocolate-colored nocturnal bird shook its pencil-like beak from side to side. “You’re OK,” Mr. Kirkman, a conservationist, said soothingly, as he made the discovery last week. Then he heard a scratching from the burrow. He watched in delight as another

hatchling charged out, searching for its sibling, and fell into his arms.

The kiwi — a native bird so beloved by New Zealanders that its name has long been a shorthand for them — once roamed throughout the country. Starting in the 1800s, millions were slaughtered by nonnative predators like stoats, a mammal related to the weasel. Now only 70,000 or so kiwis remain, most in remote parks or islands. Accordingly, any hatchling is special. These two, however, were remarkable.

Continued on Page A11

U.S. Warns Aid For Ukrainians Is Running Out

By **KAROUN DEMIRJIAN and LARA JAKES**

WASHINGTON — The White House warned congressional leaders on Monday that the United States would run out of money to send weapons to Ukraine by year’s end, severely jeopardizing Kyiv’s ability to defend itself against Russia if lawmakers fail to approve emergency military aid soon.

The urgent warning from President Biden’s top budget official, delivered in a blunt letter, was the administration’s latest bid to pressure the Republicans resisting another infusion of aid to Ukraine to drop their opposition.

It came at a critical time in the war, as Ukraine struggles to push back Russian troops in a counter-offensive that has largely stalled. President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia has continued to send a steady stream of his forces into the conflict, willing to endure high casualties amid signs of flagging resolve from Kyiv’s Western allies.

“We are out of money — and nearly out of time,” Shalanda D. Young, the director of the White House Office of Management and Budget, wrote in the letter, which was sent to House and Senate leaders in both parties.

Continued on Page A9

Convicts Seek Freedom, or Redemption, in War

This article is by **Anatoly Kurmanaev, Ekaterina Bodyagina, Alina Lobzina, Oleg Matsnev and Gray Beltran.**

Aleksandr Mokin had lost the will to live.

Convicted of selling drugs and ostracized by his family, he endured abuse from guards and frequent spells in solitary confinement at a high-security Russian prison. He told a friend he felt alone and racked with guilt.

Then, in the summer of 2022, Mr. Mokin and other inmates in

From a Russian Prison to the Front Lines

Penal Colony No. 6 in the Chelyabinsk region started hearing rumors. One of Russia’s most powerful men was reportedly touring jails and offering pardons for prisoners who survived six months of fighting in Ukraine.

And by October of last year, there he was, Yevgeny V. Prigozhin, standing before them in his

military fatigues, himself an ex-con who now ran a private military company, Wagner. He offered freedom and money, even as he warned that the price for many would be death. Mr. Mokin and 196 other inmates enlisted the same day.

“I really wish to be there, knowing that this is likely to be a journey without return,” Mr. Mokin, then 35 and serving an 11-year sentence, told a friend in a text message that was viewed by The New York Times.

Continued on Page A8

Reinforcements for the Invasion of Ukraine

Nearly 200 inmates volunteered to fight. Many were killed or wounded.



‘He was a calm, good person. He ended up in prison out of stupidity, and decided to shorten his sentence.’

OLIA, a former colleague of Sergei Monastirshin



‘He had said that he was sentenced unjustly. Perhaps that affected his decision to go. He only had half a year to serve.’

OLEG, a friend of Andrei Mingalev



‘He was a good brave guy, only the drugs have poisoned his life. In short, he sought death.’

SERGEI, a friend of Aleksandr Mokin



‘He got tired of remaining behind those walls. He went to clear his name, and return home faster. It was a conscious decision.’

RADA, a sister of Artem Tomilov

INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Finding Cash for the Climate

Money is a very big sticking point at this year’s U.N. climate summit. Part of the problem is that American promises often go unkept.

PAGE A10

NATIONAL A12-18

U.S. Envoy Was Spy for Cuba

Officials said on Monday that a retired diplomat worked for decades as a secret agent, including for a short time at the White House.

PAGE A17

BUSINESS B1-7

Clean Energy, Buried Deep

In eastern France, and in other places around the world, deposits of natural hydrogen promise bountiful power. But questions remain.

PAGE B1

SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

Saving the Axolotl

Biologists in Mexico are working to reintroduce a treasured amphibian to the wild. But first they must revive an ancient method of farming.

PAGE D1

OPINION A20-21

Bill Gates

PAGE A20





**IN-SEASON
TOURNAMENT**

IT'S WIN OR GO HOME

KNOCKOUT ROUNDS TONIGHT ON TNT



KNICKS VS BUCKS 7:30PM ET



SUNS VS LAKERS 10PM ET