

“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Today, rain, areas of standing water, breezy, high 41. **Tonight**, rain, snow at times, breezy, low 33. **Tomorrow**, early morning snow, cloudy, high 41. Weather map appears on Page 18.

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AVISHAG SHAAR-YASHUV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

During a tour for journalists organized by the Israeli military this month, a soldier watched over munitions seized in the Gaza Strip.

A Tragic Fall or Murder? ‘Obituary Pirates’ Twist a Man’s Fate.

By **ANDREW KEH**
and **STUART A. THOMPSON**

It was the kind of tragic accident that reverberates through a community: a first-year college student, out late in New York City on New Year’s Eve, falls onto the subway tracks and is killed by an oncoming train.

Word of the 19-year-old’s death spread quickly among the people who knew the young man, Matthew Sachman, who went by Matteo, from his days at Collegiate High School in New York or Georgetown University.

As the circle of people learning

the news widened beyond Mr. Sachman’s immediate family, concern and curiosity about his shocking death led many of them to Google, where they typed his name and what little they knew into the search bar:

Matteo Sachman subway accident. Matteo Sachman obituary. Matteo Sachman death.

But instead of answers, anybody searching for information was confronted by a blizzard of poorly written news articles, shady-looking YouTube videos and inaccurate obituaries. Some said he was 29 years old (he was 19) and was from Nantucket (his family spent summers there, but

Exploiting Grief for a Spike in Web Traffic

he was from New York).

Others made an even more shocking claim: Mr. Sachman, they falsely reported, had been stabbed to death in a Bronx subway station. In fact, according to a statement from his family, Mr. Sachman and a friend were fooling around on a platform at the East Broadway stop in Manhattan, when he fell onto the tracks and was killed instantly by a train

entering the station.

“There were sites I’d never heard of, information that was completely wrong,” said Peter DeLuca, whose son, Matthew, went to high school with Mr. Sachman. “It didn’t make sense.”

And yet the information was spreading. Mr. DeLuca, the owner of several funeral homes in Manhattan, had come across other dubious obituaries recently and thus sensed something was amiss. But he and his wife were soon hearing from acquaintances who believed Mr. Sachman had been stabbed.

The young man’s friends were

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U.S. Overreach Becomes Thorn For FIFA Cases

By **REBECCA R. RUIZ**
and **TARIQ PANJA**

Nearly a decade after police officers marched world soccer officials out of a luxury hotel in Zurich at dawn, revealing a corruption scandal that shook the world’s most popular sport, the case is at risk of falling apart.

The dramatic turnaround comes over questions of whether American prosecutors overreached by applying U.S. law to a group of people, many of them foreign nationals, who defrauded foreign organizations as they carried out bribery schemes across the world.

The U.S. Supreme Court last year limited a law that was key to the case. Then in September, a federal judge, citing that, threw out the convictions of two defendants linked to soccer corruption. Now, several former soccer officials, including some who paid millions of dollars in penalties and served time in prison, are arguing that the bribery schemes for which they were convicted are no longer considered a crime in the United States.

Emboldened by the vacated convictions, they are asking that their records be wiped clean and their money returned.

Their hopes are linked to the September cases, in which the two defendants benefited from two recent Supreme Court rulings that had rejected federal prosecutors’ application of the law at play in the soccer cases and offered rare guidance on what is known as honest services fraud. The de-

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DMITRI LOVETSKY/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Signing petitions in St. Petersburg, Russia, to get Boris B. Nadezhdin on the presidential ballot.

The Unexpected Campaign of a Putin Opponent

This article is by **Paul Sonne**, **Alina Lobzina** and **Ivan Nechepurenko**.

BERLIN — His surname comes from the Russian word for hope — and for hundreds of thousands of antiwar Russians, that is, improbably enough, what he has become.

Boris B. Nadezhdin is the only candidate running on an antiwar platform with a chance of getting on the ballot to oppose President Vladimir V. Putin in Russia’s presidential election in March. Russians who are against the war have rushed to sign his official petition inside and outside the coun-

Antiwar Russians Dare to Sign His Petition

try, hoping to supply enough signatures by a Jan. 31 deadline for him to succeed in joining the race.

They have braved subzero temperatures in the Siberian city of Yakutsk. They have snaked down the block in Yekaterinburg. They have jumped in place to stay warm in St. Petersburg and flocked to outposts in Berlin, Istanbul and Tbilisi, Georgia.

They know that election offi-

cials might bar Mr. Nadezhdin from the ballot, and if he is allowed to run, they know he will never win. They don’t care.

“Boris Nadezhdin is our collective ‘No,’” said Lyosha Popov, a 25-year-old who has been collecting signatures for Mr. Nadezhdin in Yakutsk, about 300 miles from the Arctic Circle. “This is simply our protest, our form of protest, so we can somehow show we are against all this.”

The grass-roots mobilization in an authoritarian country, where national elections have long been a Potemkin affair, has injected en-

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Hamas Stocks Its Arsenal With Duds Fired by Israel

Group Harvests Explosives From Weapons Used to Enforce Blockade of Gaza

By **MARIA ABI-HABIB** and **SHEERA FRENKEL**

Israeli military and intelligence officials have concluded that a significant number of weapons used by Hamas in the Oct. 7 attacks and in the war in Gaza came from an unlikely source: the Israeli military itself.

For years, analysts have pointed to underground smuggling routes to explain how Hamas stayed so heavily armed despite an Israeli military blockade of the Gaza Strip. But recent intelligence has shown the extent to which Hamas has been able to build many of its rockets and antitank weaponry out of the thousands of munitions that failed to detonate when Israel lobbed them into Gaza, according to weapons experts and Israeli and Western intelligence officials. Hamas is also arming its fighters with weapons stolen from Israeli military bases.

Intelligence gathered during months of fighting revealed that, just as the Israeli authorities misjudged Hamas’s intentions before Oct. 7, they also underestimated its ability to obtain arms.

What is clear now is that the very weapons that Israeli forces have used to enforce a blockade of Gaza over the past 17 years are now being used against them. Israeli and American military explosives have enabled Hamas to shower Israel with rockets and, for the first time, penetrate Israeli towns from Gaza.

“Unexploded ordnance is a main source of explosives for Hamas,” said Michael Cardash, the former deputy head of the Israeli National Police Bomb Disposal Division and an Israeli police consultant. “They are cutting open bombs from Israel, artillery bombs from Israel, and a lot of them are being used, of course, and repurposed for their explo-

sives and rockets.”

Weapons experts say that roughly 10 percent of munitions typically fail to detonate, but in Israel’s case, the figure could be higher. Israel’s arsenal includes Vietnam-era missiles, long discontinued by the United States and other military powers. The failure rate on some of those missiles could be as high as 15 percent, said one Israeli intelligence officer who, like others interviewed for this article, spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss intelligence matters.

By either count, years of sporadic bombing and the recent bombardment of Gaza have littered the area with thousands of tons of unexploded ordnance just waiting to be reused. One 750-pound bomb that fails to detonate can become hundreds of missiles or rockets.

Hamas did not respond to messages seeking comment. The Israeli military said in a statement that it was committed to dismantling Hamas but did not answer specific questions about the group’s weapons.

Israeli officials knew before the October attacks that Hamas could salvage some Israeli-made weapons, but the scope has startled weapons experts and diplomats alike.

Israeli authorities also knew that their armories were vulnerable to theft. A military report from early last year noted that thousands of bullets and hundreds of guns and grenades had been stolen from poorly guarded bases.

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PAUSE IN FUNDING More nations suspended aid to a U.N. agency amid a widening scandal. PAGE 8

South Carolina Is Not Rushing To Help Haley

By **JONATHAN WEISMAN**
and **SHARON LaFRANIERE**

CHARLESTON, S.C. — The stories pile up one after another, of thanks not offered, allies antagonized, opponents not forgiven — a portrait of a politician who climbed the ladder with speed and skill but failed to ensure that the people who helped her would have her back if she needed them.

Now that politician, Nikki Haley, has returned to her home state of South Carolina in desperate need of support in high places to revive her flagging quest for the presidency.

She is finding little of it.

The man who had been her lieutenant governor, Henry McMaster, signed on with Donald J. Trump long ago. The backbench House member she plucked from a crowded field of South Carolina contenders to put into the United States Senate, Tim Scott, endorsed Mr. Trump just days before the crucial New Hampshire primary, and stood behind him Tuesday night as the former president mocked Ms. Haley’s dress.

The congresswoman whose career was rescued from a Trump-backed challenger in 2022 by a timely Haley endorsement, Nancy Mace, has also sided with Mr. Trump, a man she once said needed to be held to account for the riot of Jan. 6, 2021.

“She was good on economic development but not great on cultivating relationships,” Chip Felkel, a longtime Republican political consultant and Trump critic, said

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The Legal Mind Behind the Win Against Trump

By **MARIA CRAMER**
and **KATE CHRISTOBEK**

The meeting turned ugly fast.

In October 2022, Roberta Kaplan flew to Donald Trump’s estate, Mar-a-Lago, in Florida, to question him under oath in the defamation lawsuit that her client, the writer E. Jean Carroll, had filed against him after she accused him of sexually assaulting her.

“She’s not my type,” Mr. Trump said when he was asked if he raped Ms. Carroll in the mid-1990s in a dressing room at the Bergdorf Goodman department store in New York.

Then he shrugged, looked at Ms. Kaplan and pointed at her.

“You wouldn’t be a choice of mine either, to be honest with you,” he said, according to a transcript of the deposition. “I would not, under any circumstances, have any interest in you. I’m honest when I say it.”

She began another question, then paused and reminded him, “I’m an attorney.”

That early skirmish was part of a battle that began in 2019 when the lawsuit was filed; it culminated in a Manhattan courtroom on Friday, when a jury of seven men and two women decided that Mr. Trump should pay Ms. Carroll \$83.3 million for defaming her.

It was a clash of two New Yorkers, both of them formidable combatants and talkers, but in different ways and from different worlds.

Mr. Trump, 77, has a libertine

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INTERNATIONAL 4-10

Massages for Moms

Some mothers say postpartum care centers are the best part of childbirth in South Korea, where high costs deter people from having children. PAGE 4

Germans Rally for Democracy

Tens of thousands of people protested against the rise of a far-right party on Holocaust Memorial Day. PAGE 10

SPORTS 22-25

Repeat Winner in Melbourne

In 76 minutes, Aryna Sabalenka beat Zheng Qinwen to win her second straight Australian Open. PAGE 22



COOKING

Embracing the Breakfast Vibe

Here is a heaping serving of recipes that just might help you become a morning person. Special Section.

ARTS & LEISURE

Introspection With a Groove

Brittany Howard’s “What Now” feels like a breakup album, one tinged with self-examination rather than with bitterness for her exes. PAGE 12

METROPOLITAN

Born to Lead Fordham

Tania Tetlow may be the first woman and layperson to be president of the Jesuit university in its 182-year history, but it’s a familiar role for her. PAGE 1

SUNDAY OPINION

Maureen Dowd

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SUNDAY STYLES

Pop Star in the Stadium Suite

Cutaways to Taylor Swift during N.F.L. games get lots of attention, but are they happening as much as you think? PAGE 1

Crossed by Truman Capote

Calista Flockhart, the former star of “Ally McBeal,” plays a betrayed real-life society woman in a new series. PAGE 8

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Shaking Up a Musty Hobby

Powered by its connections with leagues and star athletes, the merchandising giant Fanatics has entered the sports trading card universe with deep pockets and sharp elbows. PAGE 4

Sharing Private Equity

The buyout giant KKR pioneered a model of granting ownership stakes to workers at portfolio companies. Now it wants the approach to spread. PAGE 1



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