

“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Today, morning showers, mostly cloudy, windy, high 50. **Tonight**, clear to partly cloudy, dry, low 37. **Tomorrow**, mostly sunny, high 48. Weather map appears on Page B12.

VOL. CLXXIII . . . No. 60,029 © 2024 The New York Times Company WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 10, 2024 Prices in Canada may be higher \$4.00



The ruins of a Palestinian family’s home in the central Gaza Strip, photographed during a media tour of the area led by Israeli forces.

Arab Countries Pushing Israel For 2-State Fix

By EDWARD WONG
TEL AVIV — Antony J. Blinken, the U.S. secretary of state, and a Saudi ambassador asserted on Tuesday the possibility of diplomatic recognition of Israel by Saudi Arabia if the Israeli government alleviates the suffering of residents of Gaza and puts Palestinians on a path toward statehood.

During meetings in Tel Aviv, Mr. Blinken said Israel had “real opportunities” to strengthen ties with Arab countries, as he sought to find a political endgame to the Israel-Hamas war in Gaza and calm regional violence arising from the conflict.

Mr. Blinken’s comments were a reference to his declaration on Monday night, after talks at a Saudi royal camp in the desert, that Saudi Arabia and other countries remained interested in eventually building normal diplomatic relations with Israel despite the destruction in Gaza. But Arab leaders insist Israel must end the Gaza war first and work toward a Palestinian state, Mr. Blinken said — a position at odds with the Israeli government.

A senior Saudi official made similar points on Tuesday, in the strongest signal since the Oct. 7 Hamas attacks and the start of the war that Riyadh remains open to talks of normalization, as long as Israel takes concrete steps that would benefit Palestinians.

In an interview with the BBC, Prince Khalid bin Bandar bin Sultan, Saudi Arabia’s ambassador to Britain, said that the kingdom’s talks with the United States about normalization had revolved around an endpoint that “included nothing less than an independent state of Palestine.”

“While we still — going forward even after Oct. 7 — believe in normalization, it does not come at the cost of the Palestinian people,” Prince Khalid said.

On Tuesday night, after meetings with a range of Israeli officials, including Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel and the Israeli war cabinet, Mr. Blinken said at a news conference that Israel’s integration into the region was not a substitute for a “political horizon for Palestinians and ultimately a Palestinian state.”

“On the contrary, that piece has to be a part of any integration efforts, any normalization efforts,”

Continued on Page A8

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

TV Station Attack in Ecuador

Gunmen raided the station, taking anchors hostage and exchanging fire with the police as cameras rolled. PAGE A9

France’s New Prime Minister

Gabriel Attal, 34, replacing Élisabeth Borne, is the youngest and the first openly gay man in the role. PAGE A4



NATIONAL A11-21

Asylum Gained, Then Lost

The immigration system has been overwhelmed by a backlog of cases. For a Venezuelan family, a mix-up has created confusion. PAGE A11

Delays for Moon Missions

NASA cited a slew of technical issues in pushing back a trip around the moon by Artemis II and a subsequent landing by Artemis III. PAGE A11

Hochul’s State of the State

The New York governor trumpeted her achievements while highlighting stubborn problems like crime and the mental health infrastructure. PAGE A13

GAZA DISPATCH

A Glimpse Inside a Wasteland Wrought by War

By PATRICK KINGSLEY

BUREIJ, Gaza Strip — For a few fleeting moments, the two-story house on the edge of Bureij, a ruined town in central Gaza, still felt like a Palestinian home.

Bottles of nail polish, perfume and hair gel stood untouched on a shelf. A collection of fridge magnets decorated the frame of a mirror. Through a window, one could see laundry, hanging from a neighbor’s washing line, swaying in the gentle breeze.

But despite the trappings of home, the house now has a new function — as a makeshift Israeli military barracks.

Since Israeli ground forces recently fought their way into

In Two Hollowed-Out Towns, Devastating Scenes of Loss

this part of central Gaza, a unit from the military’s 188th Brigade has taken over the building, using it as a dormitory, store-room and lookout point.

On Monday, some soldiers were awaiting orders in the ground-floor living room, or standing watch on the terrace above. One bedroom was crowded with the soldiers’ backpacks and equipment.

The house’s walls were marred with Hebrew graffiti. “The peo-

ple of Israel,” read one message, written in black spray paint.

The people of Gaza were nowhere in sight.

The house was emblematic of the ruined wasteland that two journalists for The New York Times witnessed on a three-hour journey with Israeli soldiers through Gaza on Monday morning.

Since Hamas and other armed Palestinian groups attacked Israel on Oct. 7, killing about 1,200 people, according to officials, Israel has pummeled Gaza from the air and captured large parts of it on the ground, leading to widespread death and destruction.

About 23,000 Gazans have

Continued on Page A6



ELI DURST FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Tiny-home villages like one near Austin, Texas, are a popular approach to reducing homelessness.

HEADWAY

200-Square-Foot Houses Built on Lofty Goals

By LUCY TOMPKINS

AUSTIN, Texas — On the outskirts of Austin, Texas, what began as a fringe experiment has quickly become central to the city’s efforts to reduce homelessness. To Justin Tyler Jr., it is home.

Mr. Tyler, 41, lives in Community First! Village, which aims to be a model of permanent affordable housing for people who are

A Village Is Intended to Curb Homelessness

chronically homeless. In the fall of 2022, he joined nearly 400 residents of the village, moving into one of its typical digs: a 200-square-foot, one-room tiny house furnished with a kitchenette, a bed and a recliner.

Mr. Tyler chose a home with a cobalt-blue door and a small patio in the oldest part of the village, where residents’ cactus and rock gardens created a “funky, hippie vibe” that appealed to him. He arrived in rough shape, struggling with alcoholism, his feet inflamed by gout, with severe back pain from nearly 10 years of sleeping in public parks, in vehicles and on

Continued on Page A18

Trump’s Plight Puts Stand-Ins In the Spotlight

Notable Allies in G.O.P. Hit Campaign Trail

**By MICHAEL GOLD
and KELLEN BROWNING**

Less than a week before Iowans decide whether to slingshot Donald J. Trump toward another presidential nomination, his schedule looks like this: Go to Washington for an appeals court hearing on Tuesday. Pop into Iowa for a Fox News town-hall event on Wednesday — and then make an expected return to court on Thursday, this time in New York.

He is not scheduled to hold another rally in Iowa until Saturday, two days before the caucuses.

As Mr. Trump flits between the presidential trail and the courtroom, his campaign has deployed a web of high-profile conservative allies to help fill the gaps and make his case across the state, a strategy that the former president may be more likely to turn to this year as his legal issues keep him occupied.

Over the last months, Mr. Trump’s campaign has set up smaller rallies with Republican luminaries who, among the president’s right-wing base, have achieved a kind of political celebrity.

To start its efforts in January, the campaign last week held events with Gov. Kristi Noem of South Dakota, Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene of Georgia and Eric Trump, one of Mr. Trump’s sons. This week, Ben Carson, Mr. Trump’s former secretary of housing and urban development, is scheduled for two appearances in eastern Iowa.

Before a winter storm hit Iowa and disrupted travel, the campaign had also planned to hold events on Monday and Tuesday with Roseanne Barr, the actress and outspoken Trump supporter; Gov. Sarah Huckabee Sanders of Arkansas, Mr. Trump’s former press secretary; and Mike Huckabee, the former Arkansas governor who won the Iowa caucuses in 2008.

Mr. Trump’s use of campaign surrogates is a notable example of an old campaign tactic. Political candidates have long leaned on prominent allies to help them, given the logistical challenges of making pitches to voters in early-voting states that hold closely scheduled contests.

“It’s a way to draw interest from caucusgoers and give them the opportunity to hear from other people,” said Jimmy Centers, a Re-

Continued on Page A15

IMMUNITY CLAIM BY TRUMP MEETS DOUBTS IN COURT

CASE ON 2020 ELECTION

But Appeals Panel Seems Wary of Making Too Broad a Ruling

This article is by Alan Feuer, Charlie Savage, Eileen Sullivan and Glenn Thrush.

A federal appeals court expressed deep skepticism on Tuesday about former President Donald J. Trump’s claim that he is immune from charges of plotting to subvert the 2020 election, suggesting that it is unlikely to rule in his favor on a central element of his defense.

As Mr. Trump looked on, a three-judge panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit peppered his lawyer D. John Sauer with tough questions about his assertion that his client could not be prosecuted for actions he took while in the White House. The judges seemed incredulous when Mr. Sauer said a president could use the military to assassinate a political rival and be shielded from prosecution unless the Senate first convicted him at an impeachment proceeding.

At another point, Judge Karen L. Henderson, the panel’s sole Republican appointee, seemed to reject a central part of Mr. Trump’s argument: that his efforts to overturn his loss to Joseph R. Biden Jr. cannot be subject to prosecution because presidents have a constitutional duty to ensure that election laws are upheld.

“I think it’s paradoxical to say that his constitutional duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed allows him to violate the criminal law,” Judge Henderson said.

Still, the panel seemed torn at times about how broadly it might rule, with Judge Henderson suggesting that a sweeping decision to deny immunity to former presidents could result in a flood of partisan prosecutions. She also raised the prospect of sending the issue back to the trial judge, Tanya S. Chutkan, for additional scrutiny on issues like whether Mr. Trump’s actions should be thought of as official or private. Such a move would play into the former president’s desire to delay a trial on the election charges.

Regardless of how the panel ultimately rules, the issue of immu-

Continued on Page A14

The Mystery of Flag No. 98 And a Famous Explorer’s Son

By MICHAEL WILSON

It arrived without fanfare or explanation, marked Lot No. 313 at the J. James Auction House in Plymouth, Mass. A simple flag, bearing an “E” and a “C” alongside a compass star, against a red, white and blue background.

Few would see it and care. But in New York City, alerts sounded on phones and computer screens. Could it be?

Some flags mark a place and a moment: I was here. See me. This flag had served that purpose once, more than 70 years ago at the bottom of the world, where it had been carried by one of the most famous men alive.

To anyone in America in the 1930s and the decades that followed, Adm. Richard E. Byrd’s name was attached to the extreme limits of human exploration in the uncharted Antarctic. His exploits to the so-called White Continent played out in breathless newspaper coverage in real time: “Byrd, in Isolation, Reports Blizzard.”



SASHA MASLOV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A missing Explorers Club flag surfaced on an auction site.

New York City threw him not one, not two, but three ticker-tape parades.

He was a prominent fixture at the Explorers Club, a New York City institution dating back to the early 1900s. Its members have visited the earth’s poles and peaks, from the summit of Mount Everest to the ocean’s deepest points, in the Mariana Trench. And they carried with them the club’s cherished flags, with the E

Continued on Page A12

FOOD D1-8

Old Acquaintances Not Forgotten

After New Year’s Day, Pete Wells likes to find a nice old restaurant, drink a beer and dwell on the past. PAGE D7

Scrumptious Looks

The art of arranging food, known as plating, has entered a new phase. Below, an elegant artichoke. PAGE D4



BUSINESS B1-5

A Worldwide Slowdown

In a new report, the World Bank warns that the global economy is at risk of a “wasted” decade and the weakest stretch of growth in 30 years. PAGE B3

Diversity Rule Reverberates

The N.F.L.’s successes and struggles are playing out in places that have emulated the league’s Rooney Rule. PAGE B1

OBITUARIES B10-11

Magnetic German Soccer Star

Franz Beckenbauer, known as “Der Kaiser,” won the World Cup as a player and a coach. He was 78. PAGE B10

ARTS C1-6

A Fading Celebrity

In Congress, the George Santos show seemed entertaining for a time. But now it’s a different story. PAGE C1

Incomplete, but Still Playable

Video game studios are using early access periods to sell unfinished products to highly engaged gamers. PAGE C3

OPINION A22-23

Michelle Cottle

PAGE A22

