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Newest Salvo Shows Limits Of U.S. Strikes

Pounded, Houthis Keep Menacing Ships

By ERIC SCHMITT
and SAEED AL-BATATI

WASHINGTON — The United States carried out a new military strike against Houthi ballistic missiles in Yemen on Tuesday, the U.S. military said, but the latest salvo against the Iran-backed group left the White House grappling with how to stop a battle-hardened foe from disrupting shipping lanes critical for global trade.

The strikes on Tuesday, the third overall against the group since a U.S.-led air and naval barrage hit dozens of targets last week, destroyed four missiles that the Pentagon's Central Command said had posed an imminent threat to merchant vessels and Navy ships traveling through the Red Sea and nearby waters.

But the pre-emptive American strike also came on the third day in a row that the Houthis had defied the Biden administration and its allies by firing missiles at passing ships, damaging a Greek-owned cargo vessel on Tuesday. The Houthis damaged a U.S.-owned commercial ship on Monday after trying to hit an American warship the day before.

"We're not looking for a war; we're not looking to expand this," John F. Kirby, the National Security Council spokesman, told reporters on Tuesday, adding, "We will continue to defend against them and counter them as appropriate."

That leaves the administration with difficult choices. President Biden could order another blitz of strikes against Houthi air defenses, weapons depots and facilities for launching and producing an array of missiles and drones, but analysts say that would risk widening the war even more. Or he could settle for more limited tit-for-tat exchanges, like Tuesday's strike, but that would not necessarily resolve the threat to commercial ships, analysts say.

Neither approach has fazed the Houthis so far. Vowing solidarity with Palestinians in Gaza, the group's leaders have said they will continue their attacks in what they say is a protest against Israel's military campaign in the territory.

Mr. Kirby defended the strikes last Thursday and Friday that American and British attack planes and warships carried out against more than 60 targets using some 150 precision-guided bombs and missiles.

"The strike was designed to degrade and disrupt their military activity, their ability to store, launch and guide these missiles for their targets, as well as the drones that they have launched," he said. "We believe that we had good effects."

A confidential Pentagon analysis of the first barrage suggests otherwise. While the U.S.-led

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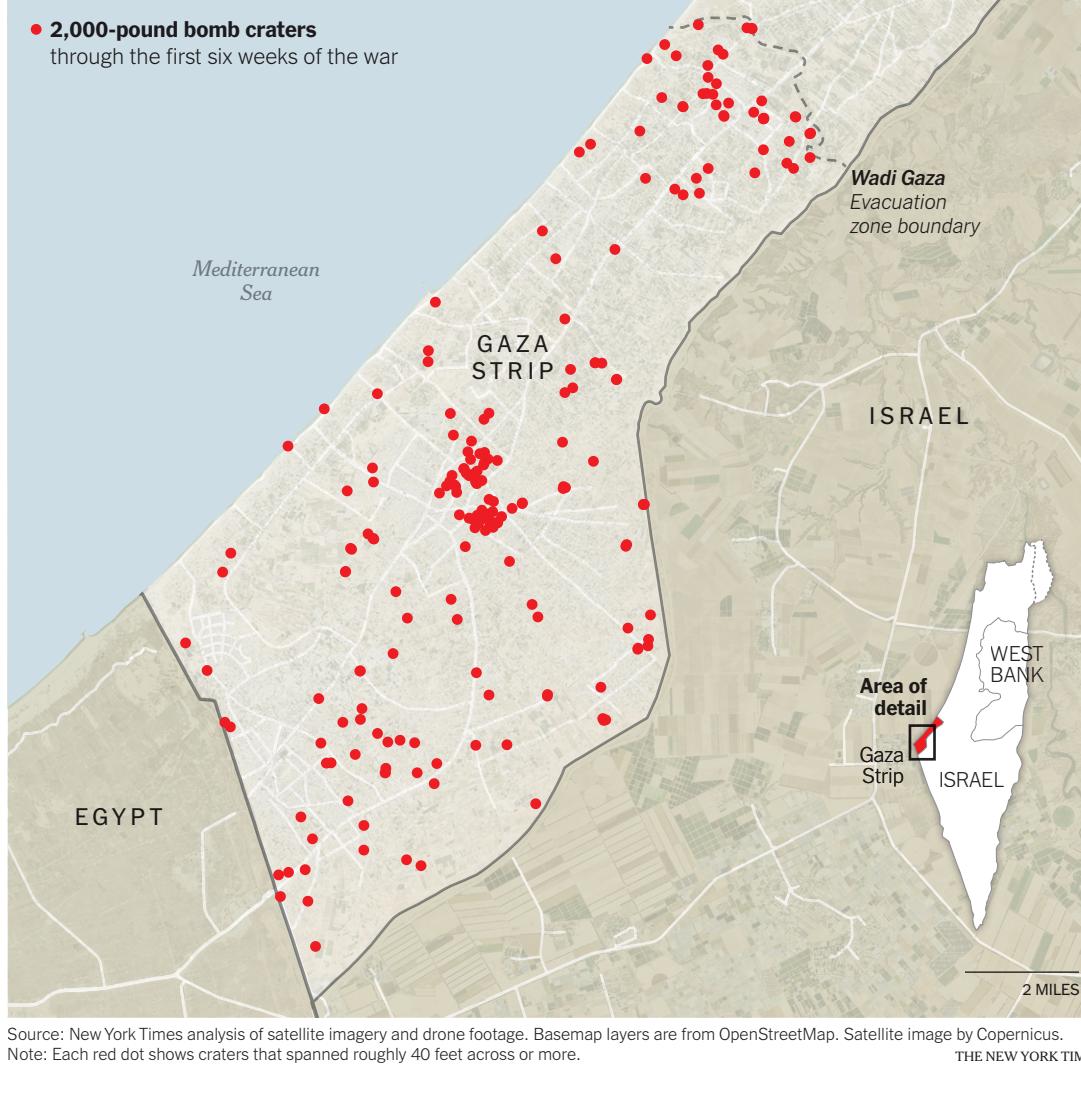
U.S. AID Senators tabled a measure threatening to freeze military support for Israel. PAGE A9

IRANIAN STRIKES Deadly attacks in Iraq and Pakistan only added to Mideast tensions. PAGE A9

Powerful Bombs Routinely Hit So-Called Safe Areas

Visual evidence shows 208 bomb craters in areas that Israel ordered Palestinians to move to for safety. Page A6.

• 2,000-pound bomb craters
through the first six weeks of the war



Source: New York Times analysis of satellite imagery and drone footage. Basemap layers are from OpenStreetMap. Satellite image by Copernicus.

Note: Each red dot shows craters that spanned roughly 40 feet across or more.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Scope and Quality of Gaza Tunnels Awe Israelis

This article is by Adam Goldman, Ronen Bergman, Patrick Kingsley and Gal Koplewitz.

A Network as Large as 450 Miles That Has Over 5,000 Shafts

threat to the Israeli military in Gaza even before the war started.

But Israeli officials and soldiers who have since been in the tunnels — as well as current and former American officials with experience in the region — say the scope, depth and quality of the tunnels built by Hamas have astonished them. Even some of the machinery that Hamas used to build the tunnels, observed in captured videos, has surprised the Is-

raeli military.

The Israeli military now believes there are far more tunnels under Gaza.

In December, the network was assessed to be an estimated 250 miles. Senior Israeli defense officials, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss intelligence matters, are currently estimating the network is between 350 and 450 miles — extraordinary figures for a territory that at its longest point is only 25 miles. Two of the officials also assessed there are close to 5,700 separate shafts leading down to the tunnels.

The numbers could not be independently verified, and there are

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POLITICAL MEMO

In Iowa, Trump Tightens Grip on National Psyche

Landslide Deepens His Detractors' Fears

By MATT FLEGENHEIMER and MAGGIE HABERMAN

DES MOINES — There was a time, not so long ago, when those wearied and horrified by the presidency of Donald J. Trump could almost convince themselves that the man was gone.

He was ostensibly a movement leader in exile, simmering in Florida, his flailing election lies confined to private monologues and modest platforms. He was no longer appearing on Fox News, the most powerful media organ of the right. His screeds on Truth Social did not land with the force of their tweeted predecessors.

Even as a declared presidential candidate for the past 14 months, Mr. Trump often ceded the campaign trail to his rivals (who mostly fought one another, instead of him), skipping debates and appearing only episodically at public engagements that were not matters of the courts.

But with his landslide victory in Iowa, codifying his double-fisted hold on wide swaths of the Republican electorate, two conclusions were inescapable by Tuesday morning.

Mr. Trump is back as the dominant figure in American political life — destined again to be ubiquitous, his entwined legal and electoral dramas set to shadow the nation's consequential year.

He also never actually left.

After a White House term that often consumed the national psyche hour by hour — stirring his supporters and panicking his critics with each wayward post and norm-busting impulse, culminating in the attack on the Capitol by a pro-Trump mob on Jan. 6, 2021 — some Trump-fatigued members of both parties and the political press seemed at times to be wishing him away, as if media oxygen alone had sustained him the last eight years.

Maybe he wouldn't really run again, some imagined. Maybe, like a boxer, he'd punch himself out. Maybe the Republican Party, punished at the polls in several

elections since his 2016 triumph, would find its way to someone else.

Instead, if Mr. Trump wins next week's New Hampshire primary, a march to the third nomination is all but certain. His detractors own no earplugs effective enough to block that out.

"Very few Democrats — apart from the deeply paranoid or intuitive — would have told you in the immediate aftermath of the Jan. 6 insurrection that Trump would be the Republican nominee again in 2024," said David Axelrod, who was a top adviser to President Barack Obama. "Once again, his fetal genius for shaping a story of victimhood and commanding his base was underestimated."

Mr. Trump, of course, did not have to speak much to keep his base with him. And as a candidate over the past year, the more he talked about the 91 criminal charges against him, the more Republicans returned to him.

Democrats are keenly aware that for all the attention paid to Mr. Trump's indictments and his voluntary visits to some of his civil trials, his plans for a new term and his incendiary statements are far less visible to the general public. Some in the news

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HAIYUN JIANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Donald J. Trump's 91 criminal charges haven't fazed his base.



SHAWN THREW/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

Snowballs in Session

Down the National Mall from the Capitol, the year's first snowfall inspired some friendly conflict.

Emmys Left Eerie Feeling That Peak TV Is Passing Prime Time

By JOHN KOBLIN

As "Succession" cast members marched up to the Emmy stage on Monday night to grab their statuettes for the show's final season, they used it as one last opportunity to say goodbye.

Kieran Culkin, after kissing his co-star Brian Cox on the lips, gave a tearful speech while accepting

the award for best actor in a drama. Matthew Macfadyen and Sarah Snook, who each won acting awards as well, gave loving tributes to fellow cast members.

And Jesse Armstrong, the creator of "Succession," capped off the night by accepting the best-drama award for the third and final time and noting: "We can now depart the stage."

It all punctuated an end-of-era

CEREMONY SPOTLIGHT

What were the best and worst moments from the Emmy Awards this year? Page C1.

feeling at the Emmy Awards on Monday night. "Succession" was one of many nominated shows that had farewell seasons, joined by a list that included "Ted Lasso,"

"Better Call Saul," "Barry," "Atlanta" and "The Marvelous Mrs. Maisel."

But that was not the only reason that there was an elegiac theme to Monday night. The ceremony felt in many ways like a bookend to the so-called Peak TV era itself.

Nearly every year from 2010 through 2023, the number of TV programs rose in the United

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Officer's Career May Be Undone By Ticket Taboo

By JONAH E. BROMWICH

A red Mazda sped past a police officer's unmarked car stationed at a tree-lined Staten Island intersection. The officer inside, Mathew Bianchi, clocked the Mazda at well over the limit and prepared to make a stop at a nearby streetlight. But the car blew through a red light. Officer Bianchi turned on his siren.

Behind the wheel was a woman in her late teens or early 20s. As Officer Bianchi began to explain why he had stopped her, she handed him a card.

The police unions distribute the wallet-size courtesy cards — sometimes referred to as "get out of jail free" cards — to members, who in turn pass them out to friends and family. Officer Bianchi had been instructed to let card carriers off without a ticket.

By the time he pulled over the Mazda in November 2018, drivers were handing him these cards six or seven times a day. But this woman's card was a little older, a little tattered. It was difficult to make out the contact information of the officer who had given it to her, which is usually written on the card's back. So Officer Bianchi did the wrong thing, which is to say, the right thing: He wrote the woman a ticket.

Though he didn't know it then, Continued on Page A17

Men Are Paying Diabetes's Price In Amputations

By EDGAR SANDOVAL

SAN ANTONIO — At a medical facility on the west side of San Antonio, the patients show up with disturbing regularity — most of them men. They have sores on their feet that won't go away. And they leave with the same devastating news: Their diabetes has progressed to the point that their leg must be amputated to save their lives.

Diabetes has been on the rise around the world, and Latino communities in the United States have been especially hard hit. A lethal combination of genetics, poor access to health care, diets high in processed foods and sedentary lifestyles has created a crisis in places like San Antonio, a majority Mexican American city in Southern Texas, that is costing a growing number of men their feet and legs — and eventually, for some, their lives.

Texas has one of the highest rates in the nation for people undergoing diabetes-related amputations, at about 52 per 100,000 hospital admissions. The problem in San Antonio is even worse than in the rest of Texas, especially for men, who are roughly three times more likely to lose a foot or leg to diabetes than women — possibly because of cultural stigmas that prevent many Latino men from getting treatment.

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SPORTS B6-9

Focusing on His Legacy

Draymond Green returns to Golden State after a suspension looking to end his career on a positive note. PAGE B6

The Eagles Have Thudded

Philadelphia, which began 10-1, ended its N.F.L. season with a resounding wild-card loss to Tampa Bay. PAGE B7

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