"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

THE WEATHER

Today, sunshine mixing with some clouds, high 51. **Tonight,** becoming cloudy, rain arriving very late, low 43. **Tomorrow,** rain, some heavy,

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



Political Violence in Pakistan

The country's army was deployed on Tuesday with orders to shoot supporters of ex-Prime Minister Imran Khan if needed. Page A6.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Tariff Threats Or Promises?

Trump's Plans Quickly Get World's Attention

By ANA SWANSON

WASHINGTON - Presidentelect Donald J. Trump's threats to impose damaging tariffs on Canada, Mexico and China may ultimately be an opening wager to try to use the power of the American market to persuade other countries to stem a flow of drugs and migrants across U.S.

But even if the threat to impose vast tariffs on some of the world's largest economies is a negotiating tactic, it is also a gambit that has immediate realworld consequences.

Before Mr. Trump even sets foot in the Oval Office, his threat to put tariffs on America's three largest trading partners on his first day in office was reverberating around the world, shocking international businesses, rocking diplomatic relationships and calling into question two big trade deals that Mr. Trump negotiated during his first term.

Mr. Trump's pronouncement late Monday that he would impose a 25 percent tariff on all goods from Canada and Mexico and a 10 percent tariff on products from China was immediately denounced by business groups, who said such a move would cause economic harm. Foreign officials rushed to reassure the incoming Trump administration that they had been working to stop drugs and migrants from coming into the United States — while warning that they were also ready to turn around and impose their own tariffs on American exports.

Mr. Trump's threats may have been intended to silence investors and economists who have recently questioned whether the president-elect would go through with imposing the big levies he promised while campaigning. In the run-up to the election, Mr. Trump pledged to put a 60 percent tariff on goods from China and a tax of at least 10 percent on all other imports. Such a move could ignite a global trade war, slowing economies around the world.

Whether Mr. Trump's threats Continued on Page A11

Trump Adviser Accused of Pay-for-Sway Scheme

By MAGGIE HABERMAN and JONATHAN SWAN

WASHINGTON - Presidentelect Donald J. Trump's legal team found evidence that a top adviser asked for retainer fees from potential appointees in order to promote them for jobs in the new administration, five people briefed on the matter said on Monday.

Mr. Trump directed his team to carry out the review of the adviser, Boris Epshteyn, who coordinated the legal defenses in Mr. Trump's criminal cases and is a powerful figure in the transition. Several people whom Mr. Trump trusts had alerted him that Mr. Epshteyn was seeking money from people looking for appointInquiry Into Overtures by a Top Strategist to Possible Appointees

ments, three of the people briefed on the matter said.

David Warrington, who was effectively the Trump campaign's general counsel, conducted the review in recent days, the results of which were described to The New York Times. The review claimed that Mr. Epshteyn had sought payment from two people, including Scott Bessent, whom Mr. Trump recently picked as his nominee for Treasury secretary.

According to the review, Mr. Epshteyn met with Mr. Bessent in February, at a time when it was widely known that he was interested in the Treasury post, and proposed \$30,000 to \$40,000 a month to "promote" Mr. Bessent around Mar-a-Lago, Mr. Trump's estate in Florida.

Mr. Bessent declined. He also did not partake in another effort by Mr. Epshteyn, described in the report, to get him to invest in a three-on-three basketball league, but played along with him to avoid offending such a seemingly powerful figure in Mr. Trump's world.

Mr. Bessent then called Mr. Epshteyn on Nov. 14 to see whether he was criticizing Mr. Continued on Page A14

ISRAELI MINISTERS APPROVE A TRUCE **WITH HEZBOLLAH**

Deal Is for a 60-Day Halt to Lebanon's **Deadliest Conflict in Decades**

This article is by Aaron Boxerman, Adam Rasgon, Euan Ward and Michael Levenson.

JERUSALEM — The Israeli security cabinet on Tuesday night approved a deal for a cease-fire with Hezbollah in Lebanon, signaling that more than a year of conflict would soon be suspended, and raising hopes around the region that Lebanon's deadliest war in decades could be over.

The cease-fire would take effect at 4 a.m. local time on Wednesday, President Biden said at the White The 10-to-1 vote by Israeli min-

isters came after Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel publicly embraced the proposal in a televised speech to the nation.

Just hours earlier, Israeli forces had pounded the heart of Beirut and Hezbollah-dominated neighborhoods south of the city with some of the heaviest airstrikes of the war, sending residents fleeing in a panic.

Mr. Biden said that he had spoken with Mr. Netanyahu and with Prime Minister Najib Mikati of Lebanon and that "I'm pleased to announce their governments have accepted the United States proposal to end the conflict between Israel and Hezbollah."

Mr. Biden said that the agreedon cease-fire is for 60 days but that "this is designed to be a permanent cessation of hostilities." But Mr. Netanyahu said in his

televised address, "The length of the cease-fire will depend on what happens in Lebanon."

'With the full understanding of the United States, we are preserving full military freedom of action - if Hezbollah breaks the agreement and seeks to arm itself, we will attack," he said.

Mr. Netanyahu said there were three main reasons for a ceasefire: It would allow Israel to focus on Iran, which backs Hezbollah and Hamas; it would give the military an opportunity to rest and rebuild its stockpiles; and it would isolate Hamas, the group Israel has been fighting in the Gaza Strip since it led the attacks of Oct. 7,

Mr. Netanyahu did not reveal the terms of the cease-fire or when it might take effect, and it is not yet certain that Israel's understanding of the truce matches Hezbollah's.

The proposed deal, mediated by American and French diplomats, had called for Israeli troops to



Benjamin Netanyahu said one goal was to isolate Hamas.

withdraw from Lebanon and Hezbollah's fighters to move north of the Litani River, allowing the Lebanese Army — which is not a party to the conflict — and a U.N. peacekeeping force to fill the vacuum. The cease-fire would be overseen by several countries, including the United States and France, as well as by the United Nations.

"It is imperative that this ceasefire be respected and that it be lasting, in order to restore the security of the Lebanese and Israeli people," President Emmanuel

Continued on Page A7

Trans Activists **Question Tack** Amid Backlash

By JEREMY W. PETERS To get on the wrong side of

transgender activists is often to endure their unsparing criticism. After a Democratic congressman defended parents who expressed concern about transgender athletes competing against their young daughters, a local

party official and ally compared

him to a Nazi "cooperator" and a

group called Neighbors Against Hate organized a protest outside his office. When J. K. Rowling said that denying any relationship between sex and biology was "deeply misogynistic and regressive," a prominent L.G.B.T.Q. group accused her of betraying "real femi-

nism." A few angry critics posted

videos of themselves burning her

When the Biden administration convened a call with L.G.B.T.Q. allies last year to discuss new limits on the participation of transgender student athletes, one activist fumed on the call that the administration would be complicit in "genocide" of transgender youth, according to two people with

knowledge of the incident. Now, some activists say it is time to rethink and recalibrate their confrontational ways, and are pushing back against the more all-or-nothing voices in their coali-

Continued on Page A16



Gustavo Zapata, a chef in Colombia, preparing an array of arepas. Venezuela also lays avid claim.

Who Owns the Arepa? Countries Clash Over It.

By JAMES WAGNER MEDELLÍN, Colombia - A

heated and longstanding rivalry simmers between neighbors Colombia and Venezuela — not over politics, migration or even soccer, but over the humble arepa.

The round cornbread delight, a staple of both South American countries, appears everywhere from breakfast plates to late-night snacks, woven deeply into the fabric of each nation. Ingrained into

Cornbread Staple With a Disputed Origin

everyday slang and popular culture, the arepa is much more than

But ask a Colombian or a Venezuelan who does it best - or

where it originated — and vou'll find yourself caught in a culinary clash that transcends borders.

"Everyone defends their territory," said Gustavo Zapata, 39, a chef at the Sancho Paisa restaurant chain, which is known for its traditional Colombian arepas in Medellín, the country's second largest city.

The arepa debate mirrors other food fights around the world. Peruvians and Ecuadoreans argue over ceviche. Israelis and Lehanese have wrestled over hummus. Multiple Northern African coun-

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Stiffened Rules Quiet Protests At Universities

By ISABELLE TAFT

Colleges and universities have tightened rules around protests, locked campus gates and handed down stricter punishments after the disruptions of pro-Palestinian demonstrations and encampments last spring.

The efforts seem to be working.

Universities have seen just under 950 protest events this semester so far, compared with 3,000 last semester, according to a log at the Nonviolent Action Lab at Harvard University's Ash Center. About 50 people have been arrested so far this school year at protests on higher-education campuses, according to numbers gathered by The New York Times, compared with over 3,000 last semester.

The protests stemmed from Israel's response to the Hamas-led assault in Israel on Oct. 7, 2023, in which 1,200 people were killed and about 250 were taken hostage, the Israeli authorities say. Israel's subsequent war in Gaza has killed tens of thousands of Palestinians, according to health officials in Gaza.

When students have protested this fall, administrators have often enforced — to the letter — new rules created in response to last spring's unrest. The latest moves have created scenes that would have been hard to imagine previ-

Continued on Page A16



INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Few Flood Warnings in Spain

The deluge that killed over 200 people started inland. It took officials hours to warn those downstream. PAGE A9

Staying on the Run in Ukraine

Volodymyr Nikulin, a wartime police officer, works while evading Russian troops. The Global Profile. PAGE A10 NATIONAL A12-17

A Conduit to the Oval Office

Natalie Harp, a devoted 33-year-old aide to the president-elect, is poised to become the gatekeeper for much of the information that he receives. PAGE A12

Scrutiny for Pro-Adams P.A.C.

Prosecutors and the F.B.I. are said to be examining an organization founded by the Rev. Alfred Cockfield II.

OBITUARIES B10

'The Girl Who Saved Paris'

Madeleine Riffaud, who killed a German soldier, survived weeks of torture and captured a supply train, was 100.



SPORTS B6-9, 11

The Catch, 10 Years Later

Odell Beckham Jr. has made hundreds of N.F.L. receptions, but the unforgettable one came in his rookie year. PAGE B6

Anti-Doping Agency Funds

The U.S. is holding up its annual payment after the global agency failed to suspend Chinese swimmers. PAGE B7 **BUSINESS B1-5**

Walmart Pulls Back on D.E.I.

Once eager to promote diversity, the retailer will block some L.G.B.T. products and defund the Center for Racial Equity, among other things.

ARTS C1-6

Rockers Return to Stage

The acclaimed band TV on the Radio, which emerged during the 2000s indie boom, is performing a series of live shows in Manhattan. PAGE C1

OPINION A18-19

Thomas L. Friedman



FOOD D1-12

Thankful for Cranberries

Maybe it's time for you to think beyond those canned rounds and add the fruit to a dipping sauce — and also to a creamy ricotta cheesecake.

