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"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Today, some sun, breezy at times, high 49. **Tonight,** mainly clear, low 40. **Tomorrow,** mostly sunny, start of a dry stretch, light winds, high 53. Weather map appears on Page 25.

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ITAI RON/REUTERS

In 2025 in Tel Aviv, supporters of Israeli hostages held captive by Hamas held pictures of them and of the airman, Ron Arad.

The Troubled Hunt for an Israeli Airman Lost in 1986

Abductions, Deaths and Doubt Over the Role of Iran

This article is by ***Adam Goldman, Ronen Bergman, Farnaz Fassihi*** *and* ***Hwaida Saad****.*

Gen. Abdullah Saberi, an Iranian commander, stepped out for a jog early one morning in an upscale diplomatic quarter of Syria's capital. Israeli intelligence officers waited nearby. Posing as movers, they had slipped past the neighborhood's security checkpoints.

As he headed for a nearby park, General Saberi passed two men who carried an oversize refrigerator box. In a flash, the men restrained the general, drugged him, threw the box over his head, shoved him into a white van and left as if nothing had happened.

He was whisked to Israel for interrogation, according to numerous Middle Eastern officials, including senior Iranian officials close to General Saberi and a Syrian official who reviewed video of the September 2021 kidnapping.

As a veteran of Iran's powerful Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps, General Saberi knew many secrets. But his interrogators were interested in only one.

What did he know about Ron Arad?

Mr. Arad, an Israeli airman, vanished decades ago, and the Israeli military says he is the only service member classified as missing in action. The government's long search for him has captivated the public and has come to symbolize Israel's commitment, rooted in Jewish tradition, to bringing its soldiers home, dead or alive. Articles, books and documentaries have been produced about the hunt for Mr. Arad.

The Israeli government was so determined to find him that, even four decades after his disappearance, it took the risk of kidnapping General Saberi in the shadow of his own embassy.

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Lutnick Fought Off Calls For Tough Line on Nvidia

Approach to Company and Former C.E.O. Puts Commerce Chief in Spotlight

This article is by ***Ana Swanson, Tripp Mickle, Maggie Haberman*** *and* ***Jonathan Swan****.*

WASHINGTON — There is broad agreement among most senior Trump administration officials that the United States should more aggressively tighten controls on Nvidia's advanced chips to keep China from using them to catch up in the race to dominate artificial intelligence.

Then there is Howard Lutnick, who runs the Commerce Department.

Over the past year, Mr. Lutnick has frequently clashed with top officials over how to regulate sales of advanced technology, particularly Nvidia's chip sales to Asia. That has drawn accusations from others in the administration and in Congress that the Commerce Department has become too cozy with Nvidia and its co-founder Jensen Huang, and failed to adequately police the firm's chip sales to China, in particular.

The issue has exploded into public view in recent weeks with the revelations from The New York Times that Nvidia's chief executive, Mr. Huang, was in a relationship with a woman believed by U.S. intelligence agencies to be a Chinese spy. The woman, Alice Huang, was a top executive at a Singapore-based company, Megaspeed, that is suspected of smuggling Nvidia chips to China. On Thursday, Mr. Huang announced that he was stepping down from the company, sending the company's shares tumbling.

The astonishing developments have thrust Mr. Lutnick into an uncomfortable spotlight and raised questions about whether he went too far in protecting Nvidia's interests. And they have focused attention on whether the influence of Mr. Huang, an ally of President Trump's and among the most high-profile and successful of American business leaders, kept the United States from moving faster to clamp down on sales of Nvidia chips to companies like Megaspeed.

The stakes in the A.I. race between the United States and China are high. China hawks warn that allowing sales of advanced chips to that country is speeding its A.I. development and giving it an economic and military edge.



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Howard Lutnick, the secretary of commerce, in September.

Those who support the sales say they help U.S. technology maintain global leadership, while deterring China from developing rival products. As the head of a sprawling department that has control over enforcing restrictions on technology sales, Mr. Lutnick is best positioned to single-handedly shape whether China has access to American technology, including Nvidia's.

Within the Commerce Depart-

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Kyiv's Defense Employs Lima As a Disguise

By KIM BARKER and OLEKSANDRA MYKOLYSHYN

KYIV, Ukraine — The S.U.V. in front of us suddenly pulled over. The driver had been trying to lead us to antennas near Kyiv, the Ukrainian capital, that scramble the signals of Russian drones and missiles, but his GPS had gone haywire.

"Apologies. Some technical issues," texted Serhii, a spokesman for Cascade Systems, the Ukrainian defense company that made the system. He asked that only his first name be used, out of concern for his safety.

We should have known: The S.U.V.'s navigation system had decided that the vehicle was in Lima, Peru, 7,628 miles southwest of Kyiv.

This happens all the time to Ukrainians. When Cascade's antennas are switched on to misdirect Russian bombardments, the GPS in phones and cars is often misdirected, too — to that particular South American city.

This was now happening to a few of the very guys behind the mapping chaos. They had been hoisted on their own antennas, so to speak.

The system, called Lima for obvious reasons, blasts out electromagnetic interference meant to strip the eyes and ears from Moscow's missiles and drones, making them think they are somewhere else.

Sometimes, the weapons are so confused to be in Peru that they make severe turns and break apart midair. This has happened

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CLIFF OWEN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

This traveler at Washington's Dulles International Airport was among those still affected on Saturday by an four-hour systemwide ground stop of planes at United States airports on Friday.

Breakdown After Breakdown, Aging Air Traffic System Frays

By KAROUN DEMIRJIAN

WASHINGTON — The ground stop that brought air travel across the country to a halt on Friday night highlighted persistent weaknesses in the country's aging air traffic control infrastructure, which has had several disruptive failures in recent months.

Two months ago, a circuit failure and severed fiber optic cable caused crippling ground stops and delays at airports along the East Coast. Smaller outages unfolded in October at Raleigh-Durham International Airport in North Carolina and George Bush Intercontinental Airport in Houston, when contractors accidentally cut into fiber lines.

The Friday ground stop, which was only the third the Federal Aviation Administration has issued this century, eclipsed the fallout of previous air traffic communications equipment failures. Officials said it was prompted by efforts to replace an outdated router, which caused circuits in the national air traffic network to become overloaded and fail, interrupting communication lines between air traffic controllers and pilots.

It lasted four hours, and its effects were still being felt on Saturday as stranded travelers packed airports trying to find new flights.

More than 5,000 flights, or 22 percent of total departures scheduled for Saturday, were canceled, according to Cirium, an aviation data firm. The day before, more than 8,200 flights were canceled, though some international flights received permission to take off. The recovery will probably take days, as airlines rebook passengers and reposition planes.

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Study Hard, Pick a Career and Get Ahead? It's Not the Bargain It Used to Be.

By AMANDA TAUB

Protest movements have long relied on students as some of the most ardent foot soldiers. Young people have been on the front lines of protests against war, climate change and racial inequality. But in huge protests that have shaken India and France this fall, students have revolted against the failed promises of education itself.

In India, students took to the streets after the government abruptly canceled the results of a medical-school admissions exam because test questions had been leaked online. Aspiring doctors had to take the test again, after many spent years studying for up to 12 hours a day in hopes of winning one of the coveted spots — and the chance of upward mobility. Young people across the country saw the scandal as emblematic of a broken education system and were furious.

In France, students in poor suburbs outside Paris began protesting the decrepit physical condition of their schools, an opaque university admissions system and absent teachers. French education had long promised to serve as a "social elevator" enabling young people to advance in society, but had fallen into disrepair. Soon, demonstrations spread across the country, and more took place on Saturday. In some cities, they have spiraled into rioting.

NEWS ANALYSIS

In both countries, the anger of the students shows no signs of abating. And while in many ways France and India could hardly be more different, their unrest was spurred by a similar source of outrage: the breakdown of a foundational social contract that one could call the meritocratic bargain.

It is a promise that lies at the core of many countries' political compacts. Though specifics can vary, the central proposition usually goes something like this: A fair society rewards merit. Educational achievements are a good measure of merit because education is open to all and leads to valuable skills. Therefore, education should be a route to social and economic advancement.

The value of this system is not just that it selects for those with high ability, but also that it offers a justification for the resulting socioeconomic hierarchy — including who ends up at the bottom. "All selection mechanisms generate losers," said Nicholas Kuipers, a professor at Princeton University who studies the politics of meritocracy. "The question is, Who do you want to be a loser, and who do you want to be a winner?"

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Venezuela's Shifting Views
Long-held beliefs in the country about sovereign control over oil are fraying as the United States lays claim to its oil reserves. PAGE 4

The Italianization of Europe
Over more than a quarter-century, a reporter has watched the continent's politics become more like Italy's as the far right came in from the cold. PAGE 8

Spotlight on Gag Orders
The comedian Russell Brand and the TV personality David Walliams both persuaded courts to suppress misconduct allegations against them. PAGE 11



METROPOLITAN

One Step, Then Many More
Chantz Rivera, a Bronx native who had spent his whole life in the city, decided to walk across the United States. No big reasons were required. PAGE 8

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Campaign Leaves Bitter Taste
When a restaurant agreed to host G.O.P. candidates ahead of Election Day, longtime customers turned against it and Medina, Ohio, was left reeling. PAGE 18

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Anthropic's Driving Force
A look at the forces that shaped the thinking of the company's chief executive, Dario Amodei, about artificial intelligence. PAGE 6

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Boss Tweed and his cronies used New York as their personal piggy bank. Reporting in The Times helped to bring down their Tammany machine. PAGE 20

Looks Through the Decades
Aviator glasses, shoulder pads, cutoffs and other fashion trends, all captured in photos. SUNDAY STYLES, PAGE 12

ARTS & LEISURE

'Exhausting in a Sense of Joy'
Gustavo Dudamel and the New York Philharmonic have completed an extensive, ambitious tour with performances in six European cities — a way to show "what we have coming." PAGE 4

Embracing Emotion
Jordan Firstman, a comedian, TV writer and Instagram troublemaker, becomes a sentimental filmmaker with his debut feature, "Club Kid." PAGE 10

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