

Minnesota Politician Dies;
Suspect Carried a Hit List

Representative and Husband Slain at Home
— State Senator and Wife Also Shot

By MITCH SMITH

A manhunt unfolded across Minnesota's Twin Cities region on Saturday after the assassination of one Democratic state legislator and the attempted assassination of another. Officials said the gunman, who escaped after a shoot-out with police, was impersonating a police officer and carrying a list of targets that included politicians and abortion providers.

State officials said the suspect, whom they identified as Vance Boelter, 57, was believed to still be in the Twin Cities area but might be trying to flee. They shared a photograph of him wearing a cowboy hat that they said was captured by a security camera in Minneapolis on Saturday, not long after the overnight attacks.

Officials said the gunman killed Representative Melissa Hortman and her husband, Mark, and wounded State Senator John A. Hoffman and his wife, Yvette, in separate attacks at the lawmakers' suburban homes.

The attacks shook political leaders from both parties, and many condemned the killing, which took place on a day of national protests of President Trump's policies.

"This was an act of targeted political violence," Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota said. "Peaceful discourse is the foundation of our democracy. We don't settle our differences with violence or at gunpoint."

Mr. Trump said he "been briefed on the terrible shooting that took place in Minnesota," adding that "such horrific violence will not be tolerated."

A list found by investigators in the suspect's car included about 70 potential targets, a federal law enforcement official said. The list included former and current politicians, doctors, community and business leaders, and locations for abortion providers. Lexi Byler, a spokeswoman for U.S. Senator Tina Smith, a Minnesota Democrat, said Ms. Smith was on the list. Some of the targets were in neighboring states.

Investigators from state and local departments and the F.B.I. flooded the region as they searched for the gunman. The F.B.I. offered a reward of up to \$50,000 for information leading to an arrest and conviction.

The Minnesota State Patrol urged people not to attend political protests on Saturday "out of an abundance of caution" after they found papers that said "No Kings," the title of the coordinated demonstrations, in the gunman's car. Some rallies in the state were called off as a result, but scores of people still gathered outside the State Capitol in St. Paul, many carrying American flags or holding signs that read "No Kings."

Speakers at that demonstration

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Iran Made Key Miscalculation,
Leading to High Toll of Strikes

By FARNAZ FASSIHI

Iran's senior leaders had been planning for more than a week for an Israeli attack should nuclear talks with the United States fail. But they made one enormous miscalculation.

They never expected Israel to strike before another round of talks that had been scheduled for today in Oman, officials close to Iran's leadership said on Friday. They dismissed reports that an attack was imminent as Israeli propaganda meant to pressure Iran to make concessions on its nuclear program in those talks.

Perhaps because of that complacency, precautions that had been planned were ignored, the officials said.

This account of how Iranian officials were preparing before Is-

rael conducted widespread attacks across their country on Friday, and how they reacted in the aftermath, is based on interviews with half a dozen senior Iranian officials and two members of the Revolutionary Guards. They all asked not to be named to discuss sensitive information.

Officials said that the night of Israel's attack, senior military commanders did not shelter in safe houses and instead stayed in their own homes, a fateful decision. Gen. Amir Ali Hajizadeh, the commander of the Revolutionary

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MISSILE ATTACKS Israel and Iran, defying calls for de-escalation, step up airstrikes. PAGE 8

MILITARY MIGHT, PROTEST POWER



VICTOR J. BLUE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

A protest in New York City, top, was among thousands planned nationwide on Saturday in response to President Trump's policies. Above, Mr. Trump at the military parade in Washington.

Strongman at Home Disdains Conflicts Abroad

By PETER BAKER

When President Trump first sought to stage a military parade in Washington, a four-star general argued against it, telling him that "it's what dictators do." Mr. Trump was unbothered by the comparison, and so on Saturday tanks were there to roll down the streets of the nation's capital for the first time in decades.

Nor was Mr. Trump evidently concerned about being accused

A President's Complex
Military Relations

of authoritarian excess for deploying troops to Los Angeles to quell protests against his immigration crackdown. If anything, he seemed to revel in the moment, vowing to "hit" anyone who so much as spit at a police officer and even threatening "very big force" against protesters in Washington.

Yet as a real war broke out last week in the Middle East, Mr. Trump seemed reluctant to get involved, declining to join Israel in its aerial blitz against Iran's nuclear facilities despite years of chest-thumping threats of "obliteration" against the Islamic regime. While he authorized U.S. forces to help defend Israel from Iran's subsequent retaliation, in keeping with past practice, Mr. Trump made clear that he would not target Iran himself, at least for now, and instead urged it to

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THE WEATHER
Today, cloudy, rain and drizzle, light winds, high 67. **Tonight**, remaining cloudy, light winds, low 60. **Tomorrow**, cloudy, some rain, warmer, high 71. Weather map is on Page 32.

Two Visions of U.S.
Take to the Streets

By DAVID E. SANGER

President Trump presided over a show of American military might in the nation's capital on Saturday evening, a celebration of the 250th anniversary of the United States Army that became a test of wills and competing imagery, with demonstrators around the country decrying his expansion of executive power.

Mr. Trump sat in a reviewing stand on Constitution Avenue as armored vehicles dating from two World Wars and overflights of 80-year old bombers and modern fighters shook downtown Washington. The city was locked down, divided by a wall of tall, black crowd-control fences designed to assure that the parade, the first of its kind since American troops returned from the Gulf War in 1991, was an uninterrupted demonstration of history and U.S. power.

Mr. Trump, sitting between his wife, Melania Trump, and Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth, was scheduled to speak at sundown. Yet even before he arrived, the day already encapsulated the sharpness of America's divide over immigration, free speech and Mr. Trump's determination to reshape the government, universities and cultural institutions to adopt his worldview.

By design, military parades are part national celebration and part international intimidation, and Mr. Trump has wanted one in Washington since he attended a Bastille Day parade in Paris in 2017. Formally, the parade celebrates the decision by the Second Continental Congress on June 14, 1775, to raise a unified, lightly armed force of colonialists after the shock of the battles with British forces at Lexington and Concord. That army, which George Washington took command of a month later, ultimately expelled the far larger, better armed colonial force.

But no celebration of history takes place in a political vacuum. And protesters in large cities and small towns from Seattle to Key West showed up in overwhelmingly peaceful demonstrations against how Mr. Trump was making use of the modern force. His decisions over the past week to federalize the National Guard and call the Marines into the streets of Los Angeles, in support of his immigration roundups, has super-

'Fighting for Our Future'

Protesters converged on plazas, streets and parks for 'No Kings' events that took place in all 50 states. PAGE 20

On an Island of Billionaires, the Rich's Filth Has to Go Somewhere

By MIKE BAKER

INDIAN CREEK VILLAGE, Fla. — On an artificial island north of Miami, the titans of various industries have found their refuge. Jeff Bezos, the Amazon founder, has collected a trio of properties along the same shoreline as the football legend Tom Brady, and President Trump's daughter Ivanka Trump and son-in-law Jared Kushner.

A community of only a few dozen homes, the latest of which sold for \$110 million as a vacant lot, Indian Creek Village has emerged as the nation's premier enclave for billionaires willing to pay any price to achieve the pinnacle of privacy, security and luxury. A gated bridge blocks the public from access, and a police force uses cameras and radar to monitor anyone who approaches.

But one amenity of modern life has remained surprisingly elusive. In a place where many of the estates have more than 10 toilets,



SCOTT MCINTYRE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Testing the water in Miami, where the septic systems along Biscayne Bay's shores have been a source of pollution for decades.

nobody has quite figured out how to dispose of what comes out of them.

Septic systems along the shores of Biscayne Bay have for decades been a source of pollution. In Indian Creek, known by locals as the Billionaire Bunker, leaders finally

came up with a plan to get rid of their septic tanks and export the island's waste through the sewer pipes of the neighboring town, Surfside. But to Indian Creek's surprise, Surfside wanted \$10 million for the privilege.

Officials there contended that

the fee was a contribution to the historical cost of a system that Surfside created and maintained. Indian Creek leaders called it extortion. Quietly, they went to the State Capitol to pursue a much cheaper solution.

In the battle between the island billionaires and the neighboring millionaires, Indian Creek is on the cusp of prevailing. Buried deep in a large transportation bill approved by the State Legislature is a new legal measure prohibiting municipalities from blocking or charging for the installation of certain sewer lines — like the one Indian Creek wants to build, for example.

The bill, which would force Surfside to accept its neighbor's sewage, is now headed to the state's Republican governor, Ron DeSantis. The governor's office did not respond to requests for comment, but Indian Creek leaders expect him to sign it.

Charles Burkett, the Surfside

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A Pause on Deportation Raids
For Farms, Hotels and Eateries

By HAMED ALEAZIZ and ZOLAN KANNO-YOUNGS

WASHINGTON — The Trump administration has abruptly shifted the focus of its mass deportation campaign, telling Immigration and Customs Enforcement officials to largely pause raids and arrests in the agricultural industry, hotels and restaurants, according to an internal email and three U.S. officials with knowledge of the guidance.

The decision suggested that the scale of President Trump's mass deportation campaign — an issue that is at the heart of his presidency — is hurting industries and constituencies that he does not want to lose.

The new guidance comes after protests in Los Angeles against the Trump administration's immigration raids, including at farms and businesses.

It also came as Mr. Trump made

a rare concession last week that his crackdown was hurting American farmers and hospitality businesses.

The guidance was sent on Thursday in an email by a senior ICE official, Tatum King, to regional leaders of the ICE department that generally carries out criminal investigations, including work site operations, known as Homeland Security Investigations.

"Effective today, please hold on all work site enforcement investigations/operations on agriculture (including aquaculture and meat packing plants), restaurants and operating hotels," he wrote in the message.

The email explained that investigations involving "human trafficking, money laundering, drug

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INTERNATIONAL 4-13

Testing a Friendship

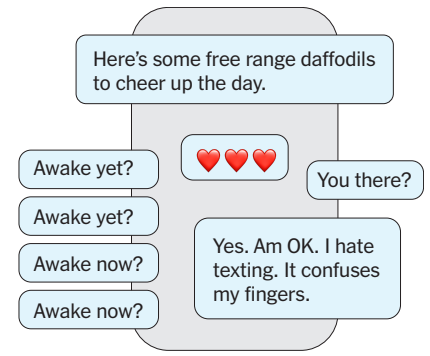
As relations between Germany and the United States cool, residents around American bases hope their ties are tight enough to withstand the strain. PAGE 4

Air India Black Box Recovered

It may be months before there is a definitive explanation for Thursday's crash, but Indian regulators have ordered inspections of their Boeing 787s. PAGE 12

Russia's Summer Offensive

As both sides have started using motorcycles and civilian cars for quick travel, Russia has gained ground and shifted the Ukraine war's rhythm. PAGE 13



NATIONAL 14-24

Dad Texts: An Appreciation

Indecipherable emojis. Terrible puns. Words of wisdom. General silliness. And all sent with love. PAGE 14

ARTS & LEISURE

Taking Off After TikTok

After setting out on a mission of refining her public image, Addison Rae has emerged as the most surprising rookie pop star of the year. PAGE 7

METROPOLITAN

Broken Ties Between Allies

Timothy Mucciante, a disbarred lawyer, helped exonerate Anthony Broadwater of rape in 2021. But soon after, their friendship fell apart. PAGE 1

SUNDAY OPINION

Ocean Vuong

PAGE 6



SUNDAY STYLES

Javier Bardem Is Driven

The actor stars alongside Brad Pitt in the summer blockbuster racing story "F1 The Movie." PAGE 8

Some Serious Relaxation

High-intensity camps? Nonstop activities? Nope. Some parents are opting for "kid rotting" this summer. PAGE 1

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Outrage, but at What Price?

Dominick McGee, a right-wing influencer on X, went from a "nobody" to a conspiratorial sensation with 1.5 million followers and billions of views. What he gets in return is less clear. PAGE 4

The Chatbot Made Them Do It

For some users, conversations with generative A.I. can deeply distort reality. Some say they were drawn into wild, mystical belief systems and conspiratorial rabbit holes. PAGE 1

