

"All the News
That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

VOL. CLXXIV No. 60,559

© 2025 The New York Times Company

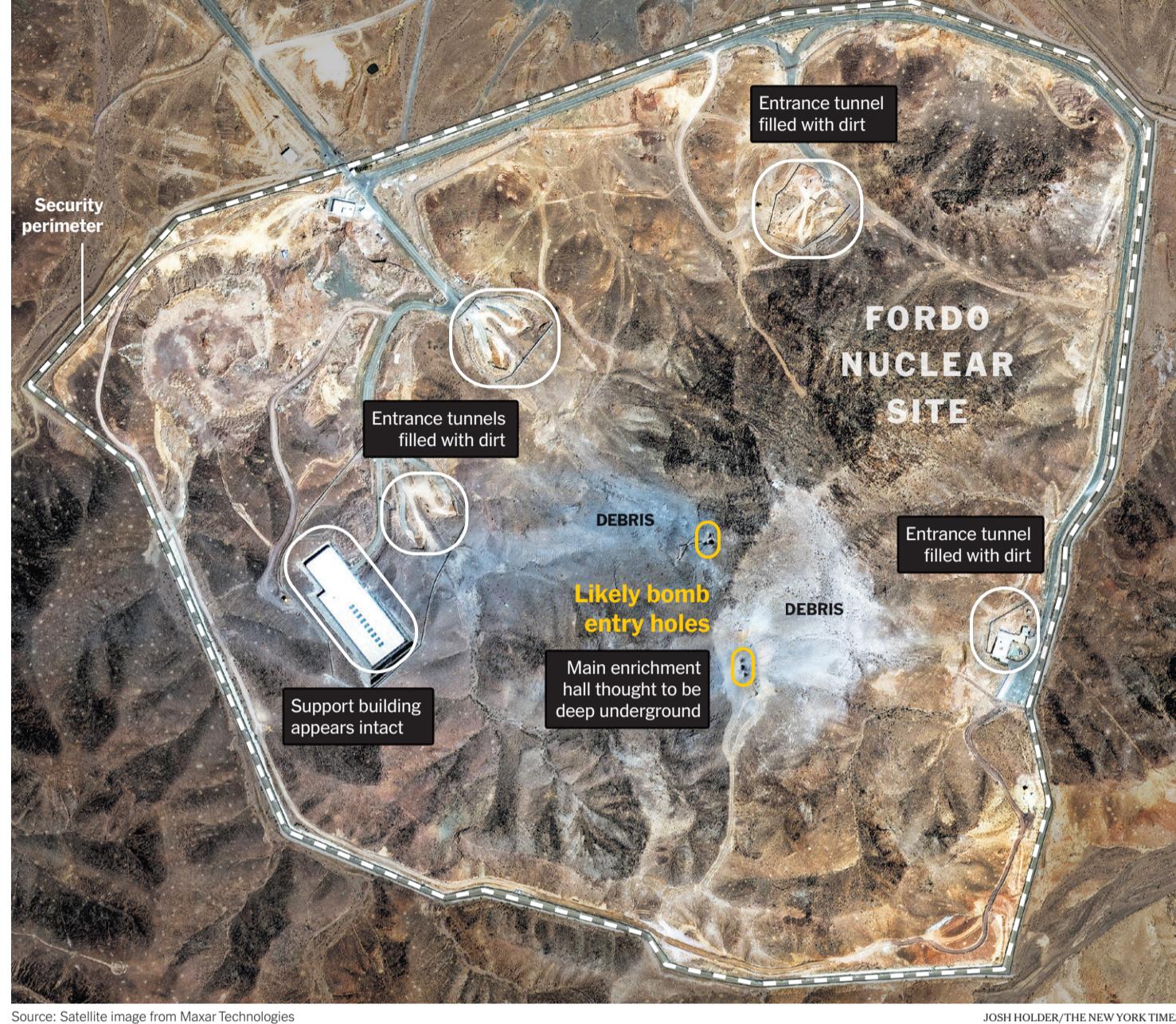
MONDAY, JUNE 23, 2025

Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00

U.S., CLAIMING 'SEVERE DAMAGE,' WARNS IRAN NOT TO STRIKE BACK

The Aftermath Imagery taken Sunday showed intact buildings at Iran's Fordo site, indicating the U.S. probably targeted underground infrastructure.



Source: Satellite image from Maxar Technologies

Tehran 'Reserves All Options' After Attack at Nuclear Sites

This article is by Helene Cooper, John Ismay, Eric Schmitt, Ronen Bergman and Christopher Maag.

The United States on Sunday warned Iran not to retaliate after a series of surgical strikes by American B-2 bombers and missiles caused what American officials described as "severe damage" to Iran's nuclear operations.

Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth said at a news conference on Sunday morning that any retaliation "will be met with force far greater than what was witnessed" the previous night.

Hours after the strikes, Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps threatened to retaliate, possibly by attacking the vast number of U.S. bases and forces in the Middle East, in a statement carried by the Iranian state news media. "Iran reserves all options to defend its sovereignty, interest, and people," Abbas Araghchi, the Iranian foreign minister, said on social media after the strikes.

Iran's appetite and capacity for a counterstrike are unknown. Especially now that its proxy forces, including Hamas in Gaza and Hezbollah in Lebanon, have been hobbled, its leaders do not want to show weakness. Yet Israeli airstrikes in the last week have destroyed at least half of Iran's missile launchers and an unknown number of missiles.

The lack of Iranian air defenses was evident Saturday night, as American bombers flew a 37-hour round-trip mission from Whiteman Air Force Base in Missouri. The attack, which required a squadron of the world's most advanced bombers, multiple midair refueling missions, and a dozen massive "bunker-buster" bombs, met no resistance from Iranian fighter jets or surface-to-air missiles.

The damage did not prevent Iran from launching a barrage of missiles at Israel on Sunday. The missiles wrecked buildings but caused few fatalities, Israeli au-

thorities said. Also on Sunday, Israeli Air Force jets carried out a "wide" operation against sites related to Iran's ballistic missile apparatus, Brig. Gen. Effie Defrin, the Israeli military's chief spokesman, said in a televised statement.

The attack included military facilities in Yazd, a central province in Iran, where seven members of Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps and two conscript soldiers were killed, according to a statement published by the state-affiliated Tasnim News Agency.

Also unknown is the extent to which the Iranian nuclear operations were damaged by the American bombing. President Trump immediately claimed success, adding that three nuclear facilities had been "completely and totally obliterated." Other leaders in the Trump administration, and in American and Israeli military intelligence, described the destruction in more measured terms.

In an interview on "Meet the Press" on Sunday, Vice President JD Vance said: "We destroyed the Iranian nuclear program." Then he appeared to hedge, stating that the program had been "substan-

Continued on Page A5



ARASH KHAMOOSHI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Crowds in Tehran on Sunday denounced the U.S. and Israel.

By Entering War, President Is Testing the Unity of His Coalition

By LUKE BROADWATER

WASHINGTON — For weeks, President Trump has been at the center of an ideological war between the isolationists in his MAGA base who have implored him to stay out of Israel's war with Iran and the pro-Israel hawks who have encouraged him to strike. On Saturday night, the president left no question about where he stood — at least for now.

"Iran's key nuclear enrichment facilities have been completely and totally obliterated," he told the world in a brief news conference from the White House. "Iran, the bully of the Middle East, must now make peace. If they do not, future attacks will be far greater and a lot easier."

It was a remarkable about-face for someone who as a candidate mercilessly criticized the Bush administration over the Iraq war, called for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Afghanistan and once pledged to end the "era of endless wars." But even as he announced the military operation, he appeared to be rapidly trying to get himself back to the

middle by insisting that the strike was a one-off and that he continues to seek peace.

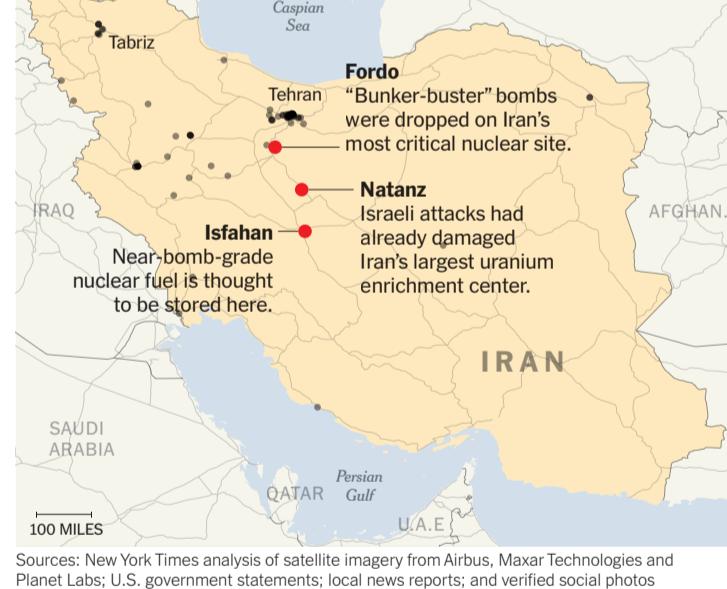
Mr. Trump described the bombing campaign as "massive" but also said it was limited, refer-

ring to the mission as "precision strikes."

Still, in attacking Iran, Mr. Trump runs the risk of miring the United States deeper in a foreign conflict, even as the

Where the U.S. Attacked Iran

● American strikes ● Israeli strikes since June 13



Sources: New York Times analysis of satellite imagery from Airbus, Maxar Technologies and Planet Labs; U.S. government statements; local news reports; and verified social photos and videos. | Note: Map shows confirmed locations of strikes as of 2 p.m. Eastern on Sunday and is not comprehensive.

president has said he does not want to use U.S. ground troops.

Mr. Trump's followers have supported him through thick and thin, and political reaction so far has been divided more along partisan than ideological lines.

Charlie Kirk, the influential conservative activist who was among those warning the president against pursuing a war to bring about a change of government, wrote: "Iran gave President Trump no choice. For a decade he has been adamant that Iran will never get a nuclear weapon. Iran decided to forego diplomacy in pursuit of a bomb."

But Trita Parsi, co-founder of the Quincy Institute, which advocates U.S. military restraint, said

Continued on Page A8

More on the Crisis

DIPLOMACY After the attack by the U.S. on Iran, prospects for negotiations to end the fighting with Israel look dim. PAGE A8

ISRAEL An overnight strike by the U.S. delivered a political win for Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. News Analysis. PAGE A9

By STEVEN ERLANGER

means clear that he will make the same choice.

At 86, with much of his life's work in ruins around him, he may prefer martyrdom to the surrender that President Trump and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel are demanding of him.

Iran's first response was defiant. "The Islamic Republic of Iran is resolved to defend Iran's territory, sovereignty, security and people by all force and means against the United States' criminal aggression," the foreign ministry said in a statement.

Continued on Page A7

The Race to Outdo Ozempic, and the Next Drug

By DANI BLUM

CHICAGO — Doctors call the new weight-loss drugs revolutionary. Game-changing. Unprecedented.

Soon, they may also call them obsolete.

Drugmakers are racing to develop the next wave of obesity and diabetes medications that they hope will be even more powerful than those now on the market.

Itching for Weight Loss in the Form of a Pill

"I think what we are going to see very quickly is that Wegovy has received a lot of the press attention, because it got there first," said Simon Cork, a senior lecturer at Anglia Ruskin University in England who has studied obesity.

"But it will be rapidly overtaken by much more potent medications."

On Saturday, researchers presented data at an annual meeting of the American Diabetes Association on perhaps the most anticipated of these medications: a daily pill. A late-stage study showed that the drug, called orlistat, appeared to be about as effective as a weekly Ozempic in-

Continued on Page A12

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Everybody Dance Now

A trip to the Mirano nightclub in Brussels was part of a program to fight loneliness among seniors.

PAGE A4

Battling Canada's Wildfires

Resourceful farmers in British Columbia became an ad hoc fire brigade to help one of their neighbors.

PAGE A10

NATIONAL A11-15

No Extra Sleep for These Teens

A law mandating later start times at schools in Florida was repealed before it took effect. Administrators called the change unworkable.

PAGE A11

A Dangerous Heat Wave

High temperatures are bringing health risks to the Midwest and Northeast, prompting officials to issue warnings and take emergency measures.

PAGE A13

Cuomo's Complicated Legacy

The former governor and mayoral front-runner has a long — and, critics say, mixed — record when it comes to key issues in New York City.

PAGE A15

BUSINESS B1-5

Chinese Dream Slipping Away

Promised a path to prosperity through hard work and education, the country's young people are disillusioned by immoveable barriers to growth.

PAGE B1

Tesla Debuts Robotaxi Service

The vehicles, which were rolled out on a limited basis, will have safety monitors and be more restricted than the promised fully autonomous vehicles.

PAGE B1

Social Safety Net Is Fraying

The Job Corps program has been the subject of debate and is now also a point of contention as the Trump administration closes centers.

PAGE B1

ARTS C1-6

Two-Stepping Onto the Playlist

Black Southern line dance culture helped popularize the song "Boots on the Ground" and its snappy moves.

PAGE C1

New Take on a Sanskrit Epic

The theater company Why Not strives to balance the old and new in its telling of the Mahabharata.

PAGE C1

SPORTS D1-8

The Rangers in Descent

A team that had the N.H.L.'s best record in 2023-24 did not even make the playoffs the next season. Why?

PAGE D1

A Guide to the N.B.A. Draft

Profiles — including strengths, weaknesses and outlook — for each of the top prospects.

PAGE D3

OPINION A18-19

Thomas L. Friedman

PAGE A18

0 354613 9