



DANIEL BEREHULAK/THE NEW YORK TIMES

LEGACY OF ATROCITY Syrians searched a morgue in Damascus for the bodies of loved ones held at the Sednaya prison. Page A10.

ISRAEL DECIMATES SYRIA’S DEFENSES

Seizing Chaotic Moment to Strike an Arsenal

By JACK NICAS

JERUSALEM — As soon as it became clear on Sunday that there would be regime change in neighboring Syria, Israel began a sweeping aerial campaign. By Tuesday, at least 350 airstrikes had leveled military assets across Syria, taking out the navy, fighter jets, drones, tanks, air-defense systems, weapons plants and a wide array of missiles and rockets, according to the Israeli military.

Israeli officials said they were destroying weapons and military facilities to keep them out of the hands of Islamist extremists. The rebel group that led the toppling of the president, Bashar al-Assad, was formerly linked to Al Qaeda and is still designated a terrorist group by the United States and the United Nations.

“We have no intention to meddle in Syria’s internal affairs, but we certainly intend to do whatever is needed to guarantee our security,” Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel said on Tuesday.

The Israeli campaign has been exceptional in force and scope, trying to ensure that whoever ends up in power in Syria will be significantly disarmed.

It followed months of intensified Israeli airstrikes on Syria, including on weapons depots belonging to Iran and Hezbollah. But the large-scale bombings this week have been far more comprehensive and devastating to Syria’s military capabilities, analysts said.

The assault delivered a blow to the infrastructure in Syria that Iran used to transport weapons to Hezbollah in Lebanon. And Mr. Netanyahu warned Syria’s future leaders to prevent Iran from using Syrian territory again for its own military purposes.

The Israeli defense minister, Israel Katz, congratulated his country’s missile ships on Tuesday for completing “the destruction of the Syrian Navy” the night before.

But the intense air assault on

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NETANYAHU TESTIFIES The Israeli prime minister took the stand in his corruption trial. PAGE A6

Realtors’ Nonprofit Funds Conservative Groups

By DEBRA KAMIN

The National Association of Realtors — the largest trade organization in the United States — wields substantial influence over the American housing industry. To help hold on to that power, it also runs one of the biggest political action committees, routinely outspending even major companies like Amazon.

The PAC supports candidates who are in line with N.A.R.’s positions, regardless of party, and its spending is scrupulously bipartisan: Half goes to Democrats, and the other half to Republicans. Political neutrality is the backbone of the N.A.R. brand.

But about five years ago, N.A.R.

Quiet Spending Tilted to the Right, With Few Housing Ties

quietly created an affiliate nonprofit called the American Property Owners Alliance, and its spending tells a different story. While the PAC plays it down the middle, the American Property Owners Alliance appears to have taken a side.

In an examination of the American Property Owners Alliance’s tax records, The New York Times found that the nonprofit — which is solely funded by N.A.R. — distributed \$12.8 million in grants in

its first four years. Nearly \$10 million went to groups with conservative agendas, many of them aligned with Republican super PACs.

Only one grant recipient — the Republican-aligned Americans for Tax Reform, which received \$25,000 — lists housing or property rights among its goals.

The pattern of giving, three nonprofit lawyers said, appears politically motivated and out of step with the American Property Owners Alliance’s stated mission as a nonpartisan nonprofit and an “advocate for the rights of all property owners.” It’s the kind of giving that could put its tax-exempt status under the scrutiny of the Internal Revenue Service, the

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MARIO TAMA/GETTY IMAGES

Firefighters worked to save homes in Malibu, Calif., on Tuesday.

Thousands Flee Malibu Wildfire As Panic Spreads at Pepperdine

By CORINA KNOLL and ISABELLE TAFT

LOS ANGELES — The residence halls had lost power, and cell service was not working. Embers had sparked tiny flare-ups on the school grounds, setting palm trees ablaze. Helicopters were descending to extract water from a campus pond.

And so the students gathered, many in their pajamas, in the library and in the campus center where the windows framed a distressing sight: flames ravaging the mountains in the not so far distance and smoke spiraling in the dark sky.

They called their parents. They prayed.

So went early Tuesday morning for nearly 3,000 students, faculty

and staff at Pepperdine University, a Christian school in Malibu known for its bucolic setting of rolling hills and ocean views.

Around them, the Franklin fire, fueled by fierce winds, ravaged the Santa Monica Mountains and forced thousands of people to evacuate from Malibu — the famed affluent coastal enclave that boasts picturesque beaches and celebrity homeowners. Schools were closed, and residents were ordered to stay away.

The blaze also shut down a portion of the Pacific Coast Highway, a key artery in and out of the city, as flames leaped across it and threatened the Malibu Pier, a pop-

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Democrats See Room to Yield On the Border

This article is by Nick Corasaniti, Katie Glueck and Reid J. Epstein.

BEVERLY HILLS, Calif. — As President-elect Donald J. Trump promises to deport millions of undocumented immigrants, Democratic governors are bracing themselves to be on the front lines of an emotional and politically explosive battle against his administration.

Yet unlike eight years ago, when Democrats often vowed to protect immigrants in “sanctuary cities” and resistance to Mr. Trump was a driving political force, the party’s governors are now charting a more careful course.

In interviews, 11 Democratic governors, governors-elect and candidates for the office often expressed defiance toward Mr. Trump’s expected immigration crackdown — but were also strikingly willing to highlight areas of potential cooperation.

Several balanced messages of compassion for struggling migrants with a tough-on-crime tone. They said that they were willing to work with the Trump administration to deport people who had been convicted of serious crimes and that they wanted stricter border control, even as they vowed to defend migrant families and those fleeing violence in their home countries, as well as businesses that rely on immigrant labor.

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Suspect in C.E.O.’s Killing Veered Off Privileged Path

Ivy Leaguer Raised by a Prominent Family Grew Isolated and Lived With Pain

This article is by Corey Kilgannon, Mike Baker, Luke Broadwater and Shawn Hubler.

Luigi Mangione, the online version of him, was an Ivy League tech enthusiast who flaunted his tanned, chiseled looks in beach photos and party pictures with blue-blazered frat buddies.

He was the valedictorian of a prestigious Baltimore prep school who earned bachelor’s and master’s degrees at the University of Pennsylvania and served as a head counselor at a pre-college program at Stanford University.

With his credentials and connections, he could have ended up one day as an entrepreneur or the chief executive of one of his family’s thriving businesses. Instead, investigators suspect, he took a different path.

The police now believe that Mr. Mangione, 26, is the masked gunman who calmly took out a pistol equipped with a suppressor on a Midtown Manhattan street last week and assassinated Brian Thompson, the chief executive of UnitedHealthcare. He was arrested in Altoona, Pa., on Monday after an employee at a McDonald’s recognized him and called the police. Officers said they found him with fake identification, a weapon similar to the one seen in video of the killing and a manifesto decrying the health care industry.

He was later charged with murder, along with additional counts of forgery and illegal weapons possession.

Before an extradition hearing in Pennsylvania on Tuesday, Mr. Mangione struggled with officers as they led him toward a courthouse entrance and shouted at reporters. “That’s completely out of touch, and an insult to the intelligence of the American people,” he said, though it was not clear what he was referring to.

His lawyer told the court that Mr. Mangione would contest his

extradition to New York to face trial on the murder charge.

In the hours after his apprehension, his baffling journey from star student to murder suspect began to come into focus.

Mr. Mangione was in regular contact with friends and family until about six months ago when he suddenly and inexplicably stopped communicating with them. He had been suffering from a painful back injury, friends said, and then went dark, prompting anxious inquiries from relatives to his friends: Had anyone heard from him?

In July, one man tagged a social



JEFF SWENSEN/GETTY IMAGES

Luigi Mangione heading to his extradition hearing in Hollidaysburg, Pa., on Tuesday.

media account that appeared to belong to Mr. Mangione and said that he hadn’t heard from him in months. “You made commitments to me for my wedding and if you can’t honor them I need to know so I can plan accordingly,” the man wrote in a now-deleted post.

Those six months will most likely become a focus for investigators as they try to gather more evidence about Mr. Mangione’s connection to the killing, and what he was doing in the time that no one could find him.

Mr. Mangione left behind post-

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MEYER LIEBOWITZ/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ms. Giovanni sold out Philharmonic Hall in New York in 1973.

NIKKI GIOVANNI, 1943-2024

Poet With a Fire in Her Bones Tackled Race, Love and Truths

By PENELOPE GREEN

Nikki Giovanni, the charismatic and iconoclastic poet, activist, children’s book author and professor who wrote, irresistibly and sensuously, about race, politics, gender, sex and love, died on Monday in Blacksburg, Va. She was 81.

Her death, in a hospital, was caused by complications of lung cancer, said Virginia C. Fowler, her wife.

Ms. Giovanni was a prolific star of the Black Arts Movement, the wave of Black nationalism that

erupted during the civil rights era, propelled by her, the novelist John Oliver Killens, the playwright and poet LeRoi Jones (later known as Amiri Baraka) and the poets Audre Lorde, Ntozake Shange and Sonia Sanchez, among others. Like many women in the movement, Ms. Giovanni was con-founded by the machismo that dominated it.

Yet she was also independent of the movement as a celebrity poet

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Kennedy’s War on Corn Syrup

A brewing battle raises the prospect of a fight between Mr. Trump’s health chief and his own voters. PAGE A11

Case on Environmental Studies

The Supreme Court seemed poised to issue a ruling that would limit the scope of environmental reviews. PAGE A15

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Political Duel in France

After helping to oust the prime minister, the far-right leader Marine Le Pen has made clear her next target is President Emmanuel Macron. PAGE A4

Anger Over Killings of Women

After almost 100 deaths in three months in Kenya, rights groups want femicide declared a national crisis. PAGE A5

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From China to the N.H.L.

It has been a long journey for Haoxi Simon Wang, who could become China’s highest-drafted N.H.L. player. PAGE B6



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Design for Met Wing Unveiled

Frida Escobedo drew on her Mexican heritage to reimagine the galleries for Modern and contemporary art. PAGE C1

Actress Lands Her Dream Gig

Sarah Jessica Parker will be one of the judges who will decide the 2025 winner of a top British book award. PAGE C1

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Mogul Fails to Change His Trust

A Nevada commissioner ruled resoundingly against Rupert Murdoch, who was trying to give full control of his empire to his son Lachlan and lock in Fox News’s right-wing slant. PAGE B1

China Toughens Its Embargo

Beijing ordered companies around the world not to allow critical minerals mined in the country to reach the U.S., while deepening its efforts to replace imports with domestic choices. PAGE B1

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Bret Stephens

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FOOD D1-12

Our Favorite New York Dishes

We’ve found much to savor in city restaurants, including a messy patty melt, a great cake and, above, the passion fruit pie at Kellogg’s Diner. PAGE D8



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