"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

THE WEATHER

Today, cloudy, drizzle, high 69. Tonight, mostly cloudy, drizzle, low 62. Tomorrow, clouds perhaps breaking for some sun, a possible shower, high 71. Weather map is on Page D8.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00

Violent Action Tied to Politics Is New Reality

Partisan Divide in U.S. Drives Rise in Threats

By LISA LERER

The statements of shock and condolences streamed in eerily one after another on Saturday after the assassination of a Minnesota lawmaker and her husband, and the attempted murder of another lawmaker and his wife.

"Horrible news," said Representative Steve Scalise, who was shot at a baseball game in 2017. "Paul and I are heartbroken," said former House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, whose husband was bludgeoned with a hammer in 2022. "My family and I know the horror of a targeted shooting all too well," former Representative Gabby Giffords, who was shot in the head in 2011.

Still more came from Gov. Josh Shapiro of Pennsylvania (arson, 2025), Gov. Gretchen Whitmer of Michigan (kidnapping plot, 2020) and President Trump (two assassination attempts, 2024).

"Such horrific violence will not be tolerated in the United States of America," the president said.

And yet the expanding club of survivors of political violence seemed to stand as evidence to the contrary

In the past three months alone, a man set fire to the Pennsylvania governor's residence while Mr. Shapiro and his family were asleep inside; another man gunned down a pair of workers from the Israeli Embassy outside an event in Washington; protesters calling for the release of Israeli hostages in Boulder, Colo., were set on fire; and the Republican Party headquarters in New Mexico and a Tesla dealership near Albuquerque were firebombed.

And those were just the incidents that resulted in death or destruction.

Against that backdrop, it might have been shocking, but it was not really so surprising, when on Sat-Continued on Page A17

ISRAEL AND IRAN TRADE BLASTS AS TOLL RISES



Smoke rising from explosions in Tehran on Sunday after Israeli strikes. "I never imagined witnessing such a scene in my city during my lifetime," one resident said.



An Iranian attack on Bat Yam, Israel, killed at least six people. Paramedics were trying to save three trapped under the debris.

Path to Diplomacy Shrinks, and Civilians Seek Shelter

This article is by Natan Odenheimer, Farnaz Fassihi, Aaron Boxerman and Eric Nagourney.

Israel and Iran exchanged more missile attacks on population centers on Sunday, brushing aside international calls to halt what has quickly become the fiercest clash in decades between the two sworn

The path to diplomacy appeared to narrow after officials called off talks that had been set for Sunday between Tehran and Washington on the future of Iran's nuclear program.

In unleashing a series of powerful strikes starting on Friday, Israel said its goal was to disable

Iran's nuclear infrastructure. It appeared unlikely that this has been accomplished, experts say, and with each side vowing to pursue attacks, civilians in both countries were seeking shelter where they could.

A semiofficial Iranian news agency, ISNA, released photos of what it said was the aftermath of an Israeli strike Sunday that hit a residential neighborhood in central Tehran.

The photos showed some people fleeing, carrying young children. Two men could be seen lying on the pavement bleeding as people tried to tend to their injuries. And a woman stood crying as she held an infant whose clothes and feet were covered in blood.

The skies of Tehran, the Iranian capital, were aglow with flames from burning fuel reservoirs overnight after Israeli fighter jets bombarded the country's vital oil and gas industries.

"I never imagined witnessing such a scene in my city during my lifetime," said Behzed, a 40-yearold copyright expert who asked to be identified only by his first

In Israel, orange-vested emergency workers were clambering over rubble on Sunday morning in the central coastal city of Bat Yam in the wake of an Iranian missile strike that killed at least six peo-

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Why Trump Lets Some Sectors Keep Migrants Justice Barrett Is Confounding

This article is by Tyler Pager, Miriam Jordan, Hamed Aleaziz and Zolan Kanno-Youngs.

WASHINGTON — On Wednesday morning, President Trump took a call from Brooke Rollins, his secretary of agriculture, who relayed a growing sense of alarm from the heartland

Farmers and agriculture groups, she said, were increasingly uneasy about his immigration crackdown. Federal agents had begun to aggressively target work sites in recent weeks, with the goal of sharply bolstering the

By PAM BELLUCK

bled over the phone. Sitting in her

car in Alabama, where abortion is

almost totally banned, the 26-

year-old mother of two was grap-

pling with an unintended preg-

"I'm like 'How in the world?"

she said, stifling a sob. "I already

have two children, and I cannot. I

can't. I just can't go through with

She wanted an abortion, she

said, but was afraid of getting

caught and didn't know what to

expect from the process. "Grow-

ing up, I never really thought

about actually doing something

On the other end of the line, at

home on a quiet residential street

like this," she said.

nancy.

The young woman's voice trem-

Reversal Shows Divide in the White House

number of arrests and deportations of undocumented immi-

Farmers rely on immigrants to work long hours, Ms. Rollins said. She told the president that farm groups had been warning her that their employees would stop showing up to work out of fear, potentially crippling the agricultural in-

She wasn't the first person to try to get this message through to the president, nor was it the first time she had spoken to him about it. But the president was per-

The next morning, he posted a message on his social media platform, Truth Social, that took an uncharacteristically softer tone toward the very immigrants he has spent much of his political career demonizing. Immigrants in the farming and hospitality industries are "very good, long time workers," he said. "Changes are

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Court Observers on Both Sides

By JODI KANTOR

As President Trump was leaning toward appointing Amy Coney Barrett to the Supreme Court five years ago, some advisers shared doubts about whether she was conservative enough. But he waved them away, according to someone familiar with the discussions. He wanted a nominee religious conservatives would applaud, and with an election approaching, he was up against the

Soon after Justice Barrett arrived at the court she began surprising her colleagues. Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. assigned her to write a majority opinion among her first — allowing the seizure of state property in a pipeline case, according to several people aware of the process. But she then changed her mind and took the opposite stance, a bold move that risked irritating the

chief justice. In another early case, as Justice Samuel A. Alito Jr. tried to further his decades-long quest to expand the role of religion in public life, she preferred a more restrained route, setting off a clash in their approaches that continues. And in a key internal vote, she opposed even taking up the case that overturned Roe v. Wade and the federal right to abortion, though she ultimately joined the ruling.

Now Mr. Trump is attacking the judiciary and testing the Constitution, and Justice Barrett, appointed to clinch a 50-year conser-



Justice Amy Coney Barrett has not voted on cases predictably.

vative legal revolution, is showing signs of leftward drift.

She has become the Republican-appointed justice most likely to be in the majority in decisions that reach a liberal outcome, according to a new analysis of her record prepared for The New York Times. Her influence — measured by how often she is on the winning side — is rising. Along with the chief justice, a frequent voting partner, Justice Barrett could be one of the few people in the country to check the actions of the president.

Overall, her assumption of the seat once held by Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg has moved the court's outcomes dramatically to

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2 Indian Pilots, A Mayday Call And Mourning

BV HARI KUMAR and MUJIB MASHAL

AHMEDABAD, India — Capt. Sumeet Sabharwal, 55, had been considering early retirement to care for his octogenarian father. His co-pilot for the day, Clive Kunder, 32, had just started to build momentum in his career.

Together, they brought nearly 10,000 hours of flight experience to the cockpit. But now it is the final moments of their last flight, the ill-fated Air India Flight 171, that investigators will be studying for months to come. The flight, which took off on Thursday from the city of Ahmedabad bound for London, lasted less than a minute in the air before crashing into the campus of a medical college, leaving at least 270 people dead.

The impact ignited a fireball so intense that the bodies of most of the victims were damaged beyond recognition, officials have said. By Sunday morning, three days after the crash, the remains of only 35 onboard the Boeing 787 had been identified through DNA tests and released to the families.

Investigators have sealed the crash site and the residential buildings of the medical college that were hit. They have recovered the aircraft's flight data recorder and continue searching for the cockpit voice recorder. They hope the conversation between Captain Sabharwal and First Offi-

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INTERNATIONAL A4-8

Playing Rough to Keep Young Through their water polo team, some Singaporean seniors are embracing fitness and camaraderie. PAGE A4

Consolidation of Control

Mexico's shift from appointing judges to electing them resulted in more power for one party. News Analysis. PAGE A5



Calm Voice on Phone, and Abortion Pills by Mail

Debra Lynch operates the service Her Safe Harbor.

in Delaware, Debra Lynch, a nurse practitioner who runs a service prescribing abortion pills, spoke calmly.

"It's completely valid to be scared," she said from her desk in

BUSINESS B1-4

model for other deals.

OBITUARIES B5-6

Steel Merger Has a Catch

Financing the Groceries

bling sign of financial stress.

A Pioneering President

American country, was 95.

Nippon granted President Trump un-

usual influence over how it operates to

Increased use of "buy now, pay later"

loans may signal new habits, or a trou-

Violeta Barrios de Chamorro of Nicar-

agua, the first woman to lead a Central

win its takeover of U.S. Steel. It could be

that's why we want you to call us, even if you're calling just to say: 'I'm scared. I need to hear somebody tell me that what's going on right now is normal, and it's OK.'" During the 25-minute conversa-

a home office filled with plants

and shelves of medication. "And

tion, Ms. Lynch asked the woman about her health history and pregnancy and assessed that she was medically eligible for abortion medications that can be taken in the first 12 weeks of pregnancy: mifepristone, which blocks a hormone necessary for pregnancy development, and misoprostol, taken 24 to 48 hours later, which causes contractions so pregnancy

tissue can be expelled. She carefully explained how to take them and mentioned that after the second medication, there

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NATIONAL A9-17

Power Bills Anger Georgians Members of a state utility board that raised rates six times in two years will face the verdict of voters. PAGE A9

Profiting From 'Trump Inc.'

Companies and groups paid the president's supporters before they took White House jobs, filings show. PAGE A13

SPORTS D1-8

No Ordinary Team-City Link

The Thunder and Oklahoma City have reinforced each other through shared rebuilds and flourished. The team is tied, 2-2, with the Pacers in the N.B.A. finals, which resume Monday. PAGE D1

New Power Players on Campus

The evolving job of general manager at college football programs is in increasingly high demand. A look at four types of people who are filling the ever more influential role. PAGE D6

OPINION A18-19

Barbara McQuade



ARTS C1-6

Dancer Finds Her Own Way

Lexee Smith, who works closely with the singer Addison Rae, is an outlier: a commercial dance artist who takes an experimental approach.

