



A billboard in Tehran threatening Israel. Iranian institutions projected a sense of normalcy after an early-morning Israeli attack.

Harris Keeps Equity Efforts Under Radar

By SHARON LaFRANIERE
and JULIAN E. BARNES

Paging through intelligence reports just weeks after she was sworn in as vice president, Kamala Harris was struck by the way two female foreign leaders were described. The reports used adjectives that, in her view, were rarely used to describe male leaders.

Ms. Harris, the first woman to hold her office, ordered up a review that scrutinized multiple years of briefing reports from various intelligence agencies, looking for possible gender bias.

The study found some questionable word choices but no widespread pattern, according to a senior intelligence official, one of five who requested anonymity to discuss the review. (None would disclose the words flagged by Ms. Harris because the reports were classified.)

Still, the exercise had an impact: Intelligence officials added a new training class for analysts on how to judge and assess female foreign leaders, according to another official.

The episode proved to be a preview of Ms. Harris's priorities. The vice president put questions about gender and race at the center of many of the policy discussions in her office, aides and former administration officials said. Throughout her career, she pushed for policies aimed at systemic disparities and often used her bully pulpit to speak about what she saw as injustices.

While Ms. Harris's allies describe this as a defining feature of her vice presidency — one that separates her from her predecessors, including Democrats — she is not running on this part of her record.

As she appeals to moderate voters and tries to defy Donald J. Trump's claims that she represents “the radical left,” Ms. Harris is emphasizing her broadest policies — abortion rights, entrepreneurship, help for home buyers and tax relief for families with children. She rarely talks explicitly about how she would use government to address racism and sexism — and only sparingly mentions her own status as potentially the first woman, first Asian

Continued on Page 20

Ballot Power of Abortion Will Be Tested

By ELIZABETH DIAS
and LISA LERER

With Election Day closing in, there are signs that a small but crucial segment of voters may back both abortion rights and Republican candidates, a dynamic that could hurt Vice President Kamala Harris in swing states and other Democratic candidates in pivotal races.

Ten states have abortion rights measures on the ballot this year, and Democratic activists express confidence that most will pass, just as every similar state measure has won approval since Roe v. Wade was overturned in 2022.

They remain less certain about how many of these newly engaged abortion rights voters will then support Democratic candidates.

Support for Measures Doesn’t Ensure Votes for Democrats

“The central question is, how much does abortion persuade people to vote for Democrats?” said Angela Kuefler, a Democratic strategist working on several abortion rights measures. “The issue itself is still of utmost importance to people. It is still a big driver when it comes to their vote decision. The question is just the ceiling.”

In Arizona and Nevada, the presidential race is tight, but measures enshrining abortion rights in state constitutions are expected to cruise to victory. In

Montana, Democrats are struggling to hold a Senate seat but expect to pass a similar abortion rights referendum. And in Missouri, voters appear ready to back an abortion rights measure while also re-electing Senator Josh Hawley, one of the strongest opponents of abortion rights in Congress.

The result could be a strange split screen: Voters act to protect abortion rights in their states but also elect senators who have vocally supported restrictions, as well as former President Donald J. Trump, who has taken credit for overturning Roe.

There's also the possibility that one or more of the measures could fail, an outcome that would be a first in the post-Roe environment.

The Supreme Court's decision
Continued on Page 25



VALAURIAN WALLER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



ARDEN WRAY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

How Art Changes Minds

At museums, galleries and auction houses across the country, the art world is stretching boundaries with new audiences, new technology and new perspectives. Offerings include an exhibition about dining in the Islamic world, left, and a solo show by the artist Chase Hall. Special Section.

Ohtani’s Ruthian Feats Can’t Coax Japanese Yankees Fans to Turn Dodger Blue

By DAVID WALDSTEIN

Masa Kawai wore his faded Yankees cap on Wednesday as he served customers at the Japanese doughnut shop he owns in Edgewater, N.J. It was two days before Game 1 of a World Series that would feature his Yankees against the Los Angeles Dodgers, and Mr.

Kawai, who emigrated from Japan 20 years ago, left no doubt about his allegiance.

As happy as he is to see Shohei Ohtani, the incomparable slugger from Japan, reach the World Series, Mr. Kawai and his Japanese employees are not abandoning the Yankees, not with so much at stake.

“No, no, never,” Mr. Kawai said

with a laugh. “I like Ohtani a lot. He is an amazing player and he is Japanese, like me. But I want the Yankees to win.”

Japanese baseball fans are like sports fans everywhere. Some are fanatical about one team. Some are more casual and switch allegiances depending on a team's fortunes. Some root solely for a particular athlete, whether it is

Israel’s ‘Shadow War’ Enters New Era of Strife

First Acknowledged Forays Into Iran — Tehran’s Muted Reply Eases Some Fears

By PATRICK KINGSLEY

JERUSALEM — Israel's retaliatory attack on Iran on Saturday morning marked the start of a new and more dangerous phase in the two countries' yearslong conflict, but it appeared, at least for now, to have stopped short of prompting an all-out war, analysts said.

The attack was the first time that Israel has publicly acknowledged conducting a military operation inside Iran, after years of maintaining a strategic silence about its assassinations and acts of sabotage on Iranian soil. It was also one of only a handful of attacks by a foreign air force in Iran since its war with Iraq in the 1980s.

Although it was a significant moment, Iran did not immediately set a time frame for a retaliation. The Iranian foreign ministry said that while Iran was “obliged to defend itself,” it was aware of its “responsibilities for regional peace and security,” avoiding the kind of bombastic language that characterized Iran's initial responses to previous Israeli attacks.

That eased fears that an uncontrollable conflict was about to break out, even if the prospect of such a clash has edged ever closer.

“The years of shadow war have fully entered open conflict — albeit a managed conflict, for now,” said Ellie Geranmayeh, an Iran expert at the European Council on Foreign Relations, a Berlin-based research group. “Tehran can swallow these strikes against military facilities, without retaliating in a way that invites further Israeli action,” she added.

After weeks of pressure from the United States to reduce the scope of its attack, Israel avoided

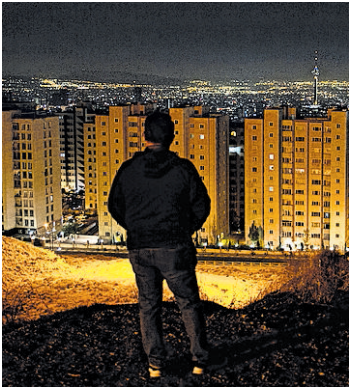
striking sensitive nuclear enrichment sites and oil production facilities in retaliation for the large barrage of ballistic missiles that Iran fired at Israel early this month.

On Saturday, Israel's fighter jets focused instead on roughly 20 military installations, including air defense batteries, radar stations and missile production sites, according to Israeli officials. Iran said the attacks also killed four of its soldiers.

The comparatively contained focus of those attacks allowed Iranian institutions to project a sense of normalcy on Saturday morning. The aviation authority reopened Iran's airspace, and the state-run news agencies broadcast images and footage of life returning to normal — all signs, analysts said, that Iran's leadership was trying to play down the significance of Israel's attack and reduce domestic expectations of a major Iranian response.

“This is the beginning of a new phase, a dangerous one, with many more sensitivities,” said Yoel Guzansky, an Israeli expert on Iran at the Institute for Na-

Continued on Page 12



ARASH KHAMOOSHI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Watching Tehran after explosions were heard Saturday.

The World’s Fountains of Youth Spout Some Questionable Data

By DANA G. SMITH

The concept is simple and alluring: There are special regions around the world — called blue zones — where people regularly remain vibrant and active into their 90s and 100s, thanks to a simple set of behaviors that anyone can follow.

It's sensible enough to sound convincing, and ambiguous enough to support a health and longevity empire. In the 20 years since blue zones were first introduced, the Blue Zones brand (now trademarked) has spawned eight books, a Netflix series, product partnerships (Langers Blue Zones iced tea, Bush's Blue Zones canned bean soups) and a multi-million dollar program for other cities to become “Blue Zones certified” — all in the name of helping people attain their longevity goals, ostensibly by mimicking the lifestyle habits of the individuals living in each region.

But not everyone is buying into

it. Some experts — one in particular — are questioning whether the blue zones themselves, those bastions of health, might be too good to be true.

The term “blue zone” was first used in 2004 in an article published in the academic journal Experimental Gerontology, about centenarians in Sardinia, Italy. In the paper, the researchers used the color blue to shade portions of a map of the island denoting where people had exceptional longevity. They speculated that this may be attributed to nutrition and lifestyle, or it could be thanks to “the high rate of inbreeding” in the isolated regions, which conceivably led to protective genetic characteristics becoming more prevalent in the population.

The idea gained momentum the following year, when a National Geographic reporter, Dan Buettner, used the phrase in a feature

Continued on Page 14

INTERNATIONAL 4-16

Years of Warnings About Dam
Government neglect and incompetence in Nigeria preceded a dam collapse that led to as many as 1,000 deaths. PAGE 4

OBITUARIES 29-31

Grateful Dead Bassist
Phil Lesh, a charter member of the band whose instrument regularly took a lead role, was 84. PAGE 29

SPORTS 32-35

Bills’ Star and Class Clown
Dion Dawkins' big personality helped him overcome challenges. PAGE 32



SUNDAY STYLES

Lessons for Influencers
Valeria Lipovetsky, who earns millions as an online personality, is running a school for content creators. PAGE 1

Creating Clothes, Building Buzz
The designer Daniel Roseberry understands fashion, and keeps an eye on the attention economy. PAGE 10

METROPOLITAN

A Wordsmith’s Nightmare
Last winter, Alison Stewart, the host of “All of It” on WNYC, feared that a mass on her brain would end her thriving radio career. Now she's back. PAGE 1

ARTS & LEISURE

Nice Guy? Not So Fast.
Seth Meyers has built up a friendly persona, but a new stand-up special on HBO finds the comedian showing off a more caustic side. PAGE 14

SUNDAY OPINION

Maureen Dowd PAGE 2



NATIONAL 17-28

At 75, Still Toiling in the Sun
After two heat strokes and damaged kidneys, José Delgado remains stunned Florida banned counties from enacting protections for outdoor workers. PAGE 17

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Inmate Labor’s Moral Issues
A work-release program for prisoners in Alabama is providing labor for corporations and income for the state. But lawsuits are challenging the constitutionality of the arrangement. PAGE 6

Fox News’s Sharpest Foil
Jessica Tarlov, a Democrat and a panelist on “The Five,” the conservative cable network's top show, may have the hardest job on television. PAGE 1

