

Rivals Racing
Neck and Neck
To Finish Line

Harris and Trump Both
Gain in a Final Poll

By ADAM NAGOURNEY
and RUTH IGIELNIK

Kamala Harris and Donald J. Trump are locked in a dead heat for the popular vote, 48 percent to 48 percent, the final national poll by The New York Times and Siena College has found, as Ms. Harris struggles for an edge over Mr. Trump with an electorate that seems impossibly and immovably divided.

The result, coming less than two weeks before Election Day, and as millions of Americans have already voted, is not encouraging for Ms. Harris. In recent elections, Democrats have had an edge in the popular vote even when they have lost the Electoral College and thus the White House. They have been looking to Ms. Harris to build a strong national lead as a sign that she would do well in such critical swing states as Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin.

Ms. Harris and Mr. Trump remain effectively tied even after three of the most tumultuous months in recent American political history. A high-profile debate, two attempts on Mr. Trump's life, dozens of rallies across seven battlefield states and hundreds of millions spent on advertisements have seemingly done little to change the trajectory of the race.

Ms. Harris's position, if anything, may have declined among likely voters since the last Times/Siena College poll, taken in early October. At the time, she had a slight lead over Mr. Trump, 49 percent to 46 percent. The change is within the margin of error, but The Times's national polling average has registered a tightening in polls over the past few weeks as well, suggesting at the very least that this contest has drawn even closer.

While this latest Times/Siena College poll offers a glimpse into national sentiment, the presidential election will be decided in the seven battleground states where Ms. Harris and Mr. Trump have

Continued on Page A14

If Donald J. Trump wins, he is ready to radically reshape American government from the moment he regains the White House.

He has said he intends to **expand presidential power** by bringing independent agencies under his direction, stripping employment protection from civil servants and purging officials from security agencies. He has said he would direct the Justice Department to **prosecute his political adversaries**, including President Biden and others he perceives as his enemies. ■ He **plans a drastic crackdown on immigration**, with mass deportations of undocumented migrants, the use of the National Guard and federal troops to apprehend them and the construction of new detention camps. He plans to suspend the nation's refugee program, end birthright citizenship and reinstate a ban on visitors from mostly Muslim countries. ■ Mr. Trump said he would re-evaluate NATO's purpose; use the U.S. military to fight drug cartels in Mexico in potential violation of international law; and **use federal troops on American soil**, including to quell protests he deems riots and to fight crime in Democratic-run cities. ■ He plans to upend trade and other economic policies by **imposing new tariffs** on most imported goods, which many economists say risks raising prices for consumers. He also said he would implement trade restrictions on China and impose rules to stop U.S. companies from making investments there. And he has pledged to **rein in regulatory agencies**. ■ To help achieve these and other goals, his advisers are vetting lawyers seen as more likely to **embrace aggressive legal theories about the scope of his power**.

A look at reporting by The Times over the past two years examining the implications of a second Trump presidency, Pages A10-13.

ISRAEL BOMBARDS
IRAN, RETALIATING
FOR OCT. 1 STRIKES

Reports of Explosions Across Tehran —
Fears of an All-Out War Escalate

This article is by **Patrick Kingsley, Ronen Bergman, Farnaz Fassihi and Thomas Fuller**.

JERUSALEM — Israel launched a series of airstrikes against Iran on Saturday, fulfilling its vow to retaliate for an earlier Iranian attack and raising fears that the intertwined conflicts in the Middle East could escalate into an all-out war between the region's two most powerful militaries.

The Israeli military said in a statement at 2:30 a.m. that it was “conducting precise strikes on military targets in Iran,” adding that it was acting in response to more than a year of attacks on Israel by Iran and its allies across the Middle East.

Israel did not immediately say where or how the strikes were being carried out. Residents of Tehran reported hearing multiple explosions in and around the Iranian capital.

Maryam Naraghi, an Iranian journalist, said she heard large explosions in the eastern part of Tehran, where she lives. “It was the sound of bombs and explosions,” she said. “It was very close to where I am.” The area includes military bases and the secretive military site Parchin.

Another Iranian journalist, Reza Rashidpour, said five massive explosions were heard in Tehran within about 10 seconds. He said Iranian air force jets had taken off in the western part of the country.

The attack early on Saturday was a response to several waves of ballistic missiles that Iran launched at Israel on Oct. 1, which forced millions of Israelis to take cover in bomb shelters but did minimal damage. “Iran made a big mistake tonight — and it will pay for it,” Benjamin Netanyahu, Israel's prime minister, said then.

Iran said it had fired the missiles at Israel in response to the killings by Israel of Hassan Nasrallah, the longtime leader of Hezbollah, and an Iranian Revolutionary Guards Corps commander who was with him at the time; and Ismail Haniyeh, the Hamas leader, whose assassination while in Tehran was particularly embarrassing to the regime there.

The recent exchanges between Israel and Iran have bucked both countries' longstanding practice of avoiding direct military clashes. For years, Israel and Iran have fought each other in a shadow war involving covert operations and armed groups backed by Iran, like Hamas and Hezbollah. But after the Oct. 7, 2023, assault on Israel by Hamas, the conflict between Israel and Iran came out into the open this year.

Before the attacks on Saturday, the Israeli government had told the Biden administration that it would avoid striking Iran's nuclear enrichment and oil production sites, two officials said earlier this month. The officials, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss sensitive diplomacy, said that Israel had agreed to focus its attack on military targets in Iran.

The White House believed that avoiding nuclear or oil infrastructure sites would reduce the likelihood of Washington being dragged into a bigger Middle East confrontation with the presidential election less than two weeks away.

Two classified U.S. intelligence documents that were leaked last week described satellite images of Israeli military preparations for a strike on Iran and offered insight into American concerns about those plans.

President Biden replied in the affirmative last week when asked whether he knew when Israel would strike, and what kind of targets it had chosen. He gave no details, but his response implied that

Continued on Page A6

Biden Apologizes for Mistreatment of Native American Children

By PETER BAKER
and AISHVARYA KAVI

GILA RIVER INDIAN COMMUNITY, Ariz. — President Biden ventured into Native American territory on Friday to offer a formal apology on behalf of the U.S. government for the mistreatment of generations of children who were taken away from their families in an effort to strip them of their culture, history and language.

During a visit to the Gila River Indian Community in Arizona, Mr. Biden decried what he called “a sin on our soul” and promised to do more to make up for the federal government's former policy of forcibly removing Native American children and putting them in boarding schools where they faced abuse and neglect that led in some cases to death.

“The federal government has never, never formally apologized for what happened — until today,” the president told a cheering crowd that included families afflicted by the policy. “I formally apologize as president of the United States of America for what we did. I formally apologize. It's long overdue.”

He added that “quite frankly, there's no excuse that this apology took 50 years to make” and acknowledged that it could only mean so much after so long. “I know no apology can or will make up for what was lost during the darkness of the federal boarding school policy,” Mr. Biden said.

“But today, we're finally moving forward into the light.”

Mr. Biden's visit culminated years of study and discussion by his administration led by Deb Haaland, the nation's first Native American interior secretary, whose own family was affected by a practice that lasted from the early 1800s to the late 1960s. An investigative report by her department in July found that at least 19,000 Native children were sent

Calls a Removal Policy
‘a Sin on Our Soul’

to federal boarding schools, and nearly 1,000 died while attending them.

In addition to an apology, the report called on the federal government to create a national memorial to commemorate the children's

deaths and educate the public; invest in research and help Native communities heal from intergenerational stress and trauma; and revitalize Native languages.

Mr. Biden has signed legislation to invest more than \$45 billion in tribal nations, focusing particularly on infrastructure and health systems on reservations. The Gila River Indian Community, located just outside Phoenix, has received

Continued on Page A17



President Biden during his visit to the Gila River Indian Community near Phoenix on Friday.

Chinese Hack
Targets Phone
Used by Trump

This article is by **Devlin Barrett, Jonathan Swan and Maggie Haberman**.

Chinese hackers targeted data from phones used by former President Donald J. Trump and his running mate, Senator JD Vance of Ohio, as part of what appears to be a wide-ranging intelligence-collection effort, people familiar with the matter said on Friday.

Investigators are working to determine what communications data, if any, was taken or observed by the sophisticated penetration of telecom systems, according to these people, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe an active and highly sensitive national security case.

The type of information on phones used by a presidential candidate and his or her running mate could be a gold mine for an intelligence agency: Who they called and texted, how often they communicated with certain people and how long they talked to those people could be highly valuable to an adversary like China. That sort of communications data could be even more useful if hackers could observe it in real time.

The Trump campaign team was made aware this week that Mr. Trump and Mr. Vance were among a number of people inside and out-

Continued on Page A15

Buried Treasure
Dug From Farm
Fetches Millions

By ALI WATKINS

LONDON — The group huddled together in the farmer's field, staring at the dozen or so medieval silver coins. They had found one, then two, and a third. Adam Staples knew, then, this was something special.

Mr. Staples had gathered with six friends that day in 2019 to try out a new metal detector, part of a hobby in which he had indulged for years. But everyone realized, looking down at the pieces of old metal: This find could change their lives.

Everyone, that is, except the farmer.

“I was jibbering on about the Battle of Hastings,” said Mr. Staples, of the entertaining exchange between him and the landowner. At the time, the farmer didn't believe the fragile metal pieces were even coins. Unconvinced, the man fetched an old bucket for the wide-eyed hunters. Crack on, he said.

Five years later, the hoard of coins — known as the Chew Valley hoard, for the region of Somerset, England, in which they were found — has been confirmed as the most valuable treasure ever discovered in Britain. It was acquired by the South West Heritage Trust, an independent charity, for 4.3 million British pounds,

Continued on Page A5

INTERNATIONAL A4-8

Fear Rattles Canada's Sikhs
The authorities say the Indian government was behind violent events against Sikh nationals for over a year. PAGE A4

Intolerance in Ivory Coast
Social media influencers have exhorted their followers to “hunt” gay men, leading to a string of assaults. PAGE A8



NATIONAL A9-19

Deep Into Abortion Battle
Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida has become the face of a campaign to defeat a referendum that would negate his strict, six-week ban. PAGE A16

Carbon Cap Law Is at Risk
A ballot initiative calls for the repeal of a Washington State measure that is a governor's legacy. Concern about energy prices is behind the effort. PAGE A17

Violence in Youth Facilities
The number of older teenagers in New York City juvenile centers has exploded, and workers have faced attacks, investigators said. PAGE A19

BUSINESS B1-6

No Presidential Endorsement
Will Lewis, the chief executive of The Washington Post, said that the paper was “returning to our roots” in not stating a preference. PAGE B1

Troubles for Abercrombie
Recent sex-trafficking charges against a former C.E.O., Michael Jeffries, could implicate the retailer, too, as it tries to close a tumultuous chapter. PAGE B1

OPINION A22-23
Betsey Stevenson, Justin Wolfers, Jay Clayton and Gary Cohn PAGES A22-A23

TRAVEL C7-8

A Trip Through Hanoi
Three days in the 1,000-year-old Vietnamese capital, with its captivating blend of influences. PAGE C8

Understanding the Mystical
In Sedona, Ariz., a new-age skeptic visits some of the area's supposed celestial portals. PAGE C7



ARTS C1-6

Anxious Creative Community
New laws, and a looming election, in the former Soviet republic of Georgia have artists reconsidering their livelihoods and whether they need to flee. PAGE C1

SPORTS B7-10
Rebound From an Unkind Cut
J. J. Smith was once let go by a youthful football team. Using that as fuel, he rose to the challenge and is now a star freshman at Ohio State. PAGE B7

