"All the News That's Fit to Print"

# The New York Times

**THE WEATHER** 

Today, humid, partly cloudy, a heavy storm or two, high 84. Tonight, a storm, then partly cloudy, low 75. Tomorrow, showers and a storm, high 88. Weather map is on Page D8.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00

China and Russia

WASHINGTON — When Russia enlisted the aid of China, North Korea and Iran in its war against Ukraine, some American and British officials began talk-

It appeared that the four countries were united by anger, authoritarianism and animus against the United States and its

But Iran's sales of drones and ballistic missiles to Russia for its war and oil shipped to China did not pay off when it mattered, raising doubts about unity

None of the other three states rushed to aid Iran during its war with Israel or when U.S. forces bombed Iranian nuclear sites. China and Russia, by far the two most powerful countries among the four, issued pro forma denunciations of the American actions but did not lift a finger to materi-

The reality of this conflict

"Each of them is pretty selfish and doesn't want to get em-

The four nations all have autoity toward the United States, which traditionally has aimed to legitimacy. The countries also have some strategic ties and have undermined U.S.-led economic sanctions by doing commerce and sharing weapons

"Yes, there is probably a very

"But it's not particularly mean-

**NEWS ANALYSIS** 'Axis' Offers Steer Clear of War By EDWARD WONG ing about a new "axis.

among the nations.

ally help Iran.

turned out to be that Russia and China didn't run to Iran's rescue," said Alexander Gabuev, the director of the Carnegie Russia Eurasia Center. "That just exposes the limitations of the whole

broiled in the wars of others," he added. "These are very different wars and different sets of conflicts. The countries are not necessarily sharing the same structures and values and institutional links the same way the U.S. and its allies do."

modest amount of coordination among China, North Korea, Iran and Russia — in the sense that they talk with each other and have some of the same frustrations with the United States or with the West," said Michael Kimmage, a history professor at Catholic University of America and a former State Department official who has written a book

Gov. JB Pritzker, Democrat of technology with one another.

Another Democrat, Gov. Katie Hobbs of Arizona, has warned that even her state's \$1.6 billion emergency fund will be insufficient to weather what's coming, because "even if we cut every single thing in the state, we don't

Continued on Page A11

# Paltry Help To Iranians

cratic systems and harbor hostilweaken them and challenge their

on the war in Ukraine.

Continued on Page A8

# By DAVID W. CHEN and POOJA SALHOTRA The ink is not even dry on the

far-reaching domestic policy law that President Trump signed on Friday, and already state governments are bracing for impact as Washington shifts much of the burden for health care, food assistance and other programs onto

As Trump Law

Shifts Burden

Illinois, and legislative leaders might hold a special session to deal with the new law, even though the recently passed state budget already includes \$100 million to cover shortfalls in federal funding.

have the money to backfill all these cuts.'

# Jackson Strikes an Early Chord Of Vocal Dissent, and Warning

# By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON - Justice Ketanji Brown Jackson wrote just five majority opinions in the Supreme Court term that ended last month, the fewest of any member of the court. But her voice resonated nonetheless, in an unusually large number of concurring and dissenting opinions, more than 20 in all.

Several of them warned that the court was taking lawless shortcuts, placing a judicial thumb on the scale in favor of President Trump and putting American democracy in peril. She called the majority's opinion in the blockbuster case involving birthright citizenship, issued on the final day of the term, "an existential threat to the rule of law.'

Justice Jackson, 54, is the court's newest member, having



Justice Ketanji Brown Jackson was rebuked by a colleague.

just concluded her third term. Other justices have said it took them years to find their footing, but Justice Jackson, the first Black woman to serve on the court, quickly emerged as a force-

Continued on Page A15

### **Deadly Risk for Anything That Moves**

Soldiers in eastern Ukraine hiding their weapons to avoid detection by swarming Russian drones, which also endanger residents and humanitarian groups. Pages A6-7.

# Camp's Agony Is Felt Deeply Across Texas

By RUTH GRAHAM and EDGAR SANDOVAL

HUNT, Texas — In the leafy neighborhoods of Dallas, Houston and Austin, from where Camp Mystic in the Texas Hill Country draws many of its campers, parents have attended vigils at churches and refreshed Facebook pages and news sites looking for updates after the flood.

Group texts have flown with rumors about girls who were found and girls still missing. They exchanged phone numbers, stories and prayers.

And still, as of Sunday morning, more than two days after the Guadalupe River surged over its banks in the predawn darkness of July 4, 11 girls from Camp Mystic, a Christian camp in Central Texas, remained missing, along with one counselor from the camp. By Sunday evening, the death toll had climbed to at least 75 across

The wait has been agonizing for Camp Mystic's tight-knit community of parents and alumni, connected to a children's retreat where Texas Monthly said three generations of descendants of Lyndon Johnson had gone, and where Laura Bush once served as a counselor. One of the young girls who has been confirmed by her family to have died in the flooding is Janie Hunt, a scion of the Hunt

Early reports of the flooding sparked a frantic response on Friday, with very little information to

Parents whose daughters were at camp in the session that began last weekend raced toward Kerr County, with only a brief email from the camp. "We have sustained catastrophic level floods," it read. "If your daughter is not accounted for you have been notified. If you have not been personally contacted then your daughter is accounted for."

About 750 girls were at the camp this session, Lt. Gov. Dan Continued on Page A12

**CRUCIAL VACANCIES** As flooding hit Texas, local weather offices faced staffing shortages. PAGE A13

# For Democrats, Path on Immigration Is Perilous | States Bracing ing-class Latinos, whose support

This article is by Lisa Lerer, Jazmine Ulloa and Reid J. Epstein.

The Democrats onstage saw themselves as morally coura-geous. American voters, it turned out, saw a group of politicians hopelessly out of touch.

Standing side by side at a primary debate in June 2019, 10 of the party's candidates for president were asked to raise their hand if they wanted to decriminalize illegal border crossings. Only one of them held still.

Six years later, the party remains haunted by that tableau. It stands both as a vivid demonstration of a leftward policy shift on immigration that many prominent Democratic lawmakers and

### Haunted and Divided by a Leftward Shift on Their Policies

strategists now say they deeply regret, and as a marker of how sharply the country was moving in the other direction.

Last year, 55 percent of Americans told Gallup that they supported a decrease in immigration, nearly twice as many as in 2020, and the first time since 2005 that a majority had said so. The embrace of a more punitive approach to illegal immigration includes not only white voters but also workDemocrats had long courted with liberal border policies. "When you have the most Lati-

no district in the country outside of Puerto Rico vote for Trump, that should be a wake-up call for the Democratic Party," said Representative Vicente Gonzalez of Texas, who saw Mr. Trump win every county in his district along the border with Mexico. "This is a Democratic district that's been blue for over a century."

How the Democrats reached this point, and their continued struggles on immigration, is a decades-long story of political failures, missteps, misreadings and misplaced bets - and some

Continued on Page A14



**\$100-\$400** Musk melon imported from Japan to the Farm & Forage Market, a grocery store in Southampton, N.Y.



\$1.600/4 OUNCES A jar of Almas Osetra caviar at Farm & Forage, alongside a handful of Tasmanian winter truffles.



\$100/POUND The lobster salad at Loaves & Fishes Foodstore in nearby Sagaponack, which

debuted a few years ago.

# At Hamptons Groceries, if You Have to Ask ...

# By DIONNE SEARCEY

SOUTHAMPTON, N.Y. — It wasn't even 8:30 on a recent morning when a shopper emptied his basket of dinner ingredients onto the counter of the Farm & Forage Market in Southampton: two king crab legs, two bags of frozen dumplings, two packages of ramen noodles and a bag of dried sea kelp.

The cash register rang up an already eye-popping tally before the customer realized he had forgotten the caviar. He tossed a jar of it

# ... You Can't Afford the Prices Anyway

onto the counter. The grand total was \$1,860.

"I'll put that on your tab, right?" asked Jonathan Bernard, owner of the tiny, tidy store. The shopper, a private chef who works in a home nearby, nodded and noted he would be back later for truffles. In New York City, Zohran Mam-

dani just won the Democratic

ning on a platform that included city-run grocery stores to help struggling residents. Yet a \$1,195 helicopter ride away in the Hamptons, signs of extreme affluence have long been celebrated, at the Pilates studio where exercisers in designer athleisure compete for spots in \$50 classes, on the beach where \$20 smoothies can be delivered to sunbathers, on restaurant menus with \$100 salads - and now at the grocery store.

nomination for mayor after run-

This summer, an arms race among gourmet groceries has Continued on Page A18

SPORTS D1-8

# Timeless at the Helm

Pete Carroll, mastering the ability to connect with people of all ages, is back as an N.F.L. head coach at 73. PAGE D1

### The Path to Dugout iPads

As early as the 1940s, Babe Dahlgren was pioneering video analysis techniques on the Yankees' bench. PAGE D4 **NATIONAL A10-15, 18** 

# Verdict Was Rare RICO Misfire

Sean Combs was acquitted of the most serious charges. But the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act is an effective cudgel.

# ICE Arrests Rising in Virginia

Some lawyers say the state has become a hub for immigration enforcement for practical and political reasons. PAGE A15

**OBITUARIES B5-6** 

# He Helped Make Comics Cool

Jim Shooter, 73, brought order and profits to Marvel and helped the genre become a pop-culture tent pole. PAGE B6



# **INTERNATIONAL A4-9**

Swimming in the Seine France cleaned up the polluted river so that Olympians could swim there. Now locals can plunge in.

# Visiting Jonestown

Some have criticized the creation of a tour, but defenders say the massacre site in Guyana offers lessons. PAGE A4

# **BUSINESS B1-4**

# Tariff Deal Deadline Nears

President Trump is set to rekindle economic pressure on U.S. trading partners, as the administration begins notifying countries of the fees they'll face on exports.

# China's Price for Dominance

The country has cornered the rare earths market, but dust and groundwater are contaminated with heavy metals and radioactive chemicals pose PAGE B1 a health threat.

**OPINION A16-17** 

David French

PAGE A16



ARTS C1-6

# Hunt for 316-Year-Old Violin

Many thought that a Stradivarius plundered at the end of World War II had been lost or destroyed. Now experts believe it has resurfaced.

