"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

THE WEATHER

Today, dangerous heat, humid, high 98. **Tonight,** very warm, humid, low 81. **Tomorrow,** clouds and sunshine, hot, an afternoon thunderstorm,

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TUESDAY, JUNE 24, 2025

Prices in Canada may be higher \$4.00

ISRAEL AND IRAN SAID TO REACH CEASE-FIRE



GLOOM IN TEHRAN A burned ambulance on Monday after Israeli attacks. Iranian leaders were struggling to project normalcy. Page A8.

Over 8 Chaotic Days, Misdirection Paved the Way for U.S. Strikes

This article is by Mark Mazzetti, Jonathan Swan, Maggie Haberman, Eric Schmitt and Helene

Standing at the lectern in the White House briefing room on Thursday afternoon, Karoline Leavitt, the White House press secretary, read a message she said came "directly from the presi-

Because of the "substantial chance of negotiations" with Iran that could bring the United States back from the brink of jumping into the war in the Middle East, President Trump's statement said, he would make a decision about whether to strike Iran "within the next two weeks."

Mr. Trump had been under pressure from the noninterventionist wing of his party to stay out of the conflict, and was having lunch that day with one of the most outspoken opponents of a bombing campaign, Stephen K. Bannon, fueling speculation that he might hold off.

It was almost entirely a deception. Mr. Trump had all but made up his mind to bomb Iran's nuclear

How Ruses and a Swirl of Viewpoints Veiled Trump's Intentions

facilities, and the military preparations were well underway for the complex attack.

Less than 30 hours after Ms. Leavitt relayed his statement, he would give the order for an assault that put the United States in the middle of the latest conflict to

break out in one of the world's most volatile regions.

Mr. Trump's "two weeks" statement was just one aspect of a broader effort at political and military misdirection that took place over eight chaotic days, from the first Israeli strikes against Iran to the moment when a fleet of B-2 stealth bombers took off from Missouri for the first American military strikes inside Iran since that country's theocratic revolution in

Interviews with administration officials, Trump allies and advis-Continued on Page A7

Justices Allow

Deportations

By ADAM LIPTAK

the Trump administration to de-

port migrants to countries other

than their own, pausing a federal

judge's ruling that said they must

first be given a chance to show

that they would face the risk of

torture and clearing the way for

the administration to send men

held at an American military base

The order gave no reasons and

said the judge's ruling would re-

main paused while the govern-

ment pursues an appeal and, after

that, until the Supreme Court acts.

The court's three liberal members

The order was the latest in a se-

ries of rulings related to immigra-

tion decided by the justices in

summary fashion on what critics

in Djibouti to South Sudan.

issued a long dissent.

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court on Monday allowed

To 3rd Nations

Path to Deal Opened After Tehran's Restrained Strike on U.S. Base

Adam Rasgon, Eric Schmitt and Michael Levenson.

Qatar intervened on behalf of the Trump administration and persuaded Iran to agree to a cease-fire with Israel, according to three diplomats briefed on the matter, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss sensitive diplomacy. The truce came after Iran fired missiles on Monday at a U.S. Army base in Qatar in a limited attack.

There was no immediate confirmation from the Israeli or Iranian governments of a cease-fire, which President Trump said on social media Monday night was imminent, following more than a week of missile attacks between the two nations.

Two Iranian officials, speaking on condition of anonymity to discuss security matters, confirmed that Tehran had agreed to the American proposal. But an Israeli military spokesman declined to comment, and Israel was continuing to strike Iran with missiles in the early hours of Tuesday local time.

Earlier, the three diplomats said, the Trump administration shared a cease-fire proposal with Qatar, and President Trump told Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani, the emir of Qatar, that Israel had signed off on an American cease-fire proposal and that the president asked that Qatar help bring Iran on board.

Then the Qatari prime minister, Sheikh Mohammed bin Abdulrahman Al Thani, persuaded Iran to agree to the proposal in a call with the Iranian leadership, the diplomats said.

The exact details of what the diplomats said Israel and Iran agreed to remain unclear. Mr. Trump said on social media that the cease-fire would not take place until after the two countries "wound down" military missions

This article is by Farnaz Fassihi, in progress, a process he said would unfold in phases over a day.

Iran had launched 14 missiles at Al Udeid Air Base in Qatar on Monday, but they caused no casualties, 13 were intercepted, and one was allowed to land because, Mr. Trump said, it was headed in a "nonthreatening direction." The strike's limited scale raised hopes that the Middle East region could avoid a wider conflagration.

Mr. Trump, who had appeared



No casualties were reported

after the missiles were blocked. to be looking for an off-ramp from the conflict, described Iran's barrage in a series of social media

posts as "a very weak response" and said he hoped "they've gotten it all out of their 'system.' "I want to thank Iran for giving us early notice," he added, "which made it possible for no lives to be lost, and nobody to be injured.

Perhaps Iran can now proceed to Peace and Harmony in the Re-Continued on Page A6

LONG HISTORY Iran's nuclear program is part of its identity, making it hard for any leader to give it up. News Analysis. PAGE A8

ECONOMIC FALLOUT? President Trump confronts the prospect that his strikes on Iran could send oil and gas prices soaring. PAGE B1

FRED SMITH, 1944-2025

FedEx Founder With a Vision That Revolutionized Shipping

By ALEX TRAUB

Frederick W. Smith, who bet everything he had on a plan to revolutionize freight transport, courting disaster early on but ultimately winning vindication in the form of power in Washington, billions in personal wealth and changes in how people all over the world send and receive goods, died on Saturday in Memphis. He was 80.

His death was announced by FedEx in a statement.

FedEx was conceived in a paper that Mr. Smith wrote as a Yale Ûniversity undergraduate in 1965. He argued that an increasingly automated economy would depend on fast and dependable door-to-door shipping of small packages containing computer parts. He got a grade of C.



Fred Smith in 2005. FedEx created a new sector in the economy by delivering overnight.

than half a million people and operates the world's largest fleet of cargo aircraft. On an average day, the company ships more than 16 million packages in about 220 countries and territories. Like Google, FedEx created a

Today, FedEx employs more

new service that came to be seen as so essential that the corporate name is now a widely recognizable verb.

Continued on Page A19



By CAROLINE KITCHENER

Settler Ambitions in Angola

WASHINGTON — Sean Duffy would like you to watch his family making pancakes.

They have cooked breakfast together twice on national television, once just last month — man, wife and children, gathered around a stovetop as a Fox News host prompts them to describe this most wholesome of Saturday morning pastimes.

"For us, it's not just eating the

From a Racy Past to a **Key Cabinet Post**

pancakes. It's actually making the pancakes," Mr. Duffy said in a 2017 segment, bouncing a baby on his hip as the rest of his kids smiled uncomfortably at the camera. "It becomes somewhat of a family af-

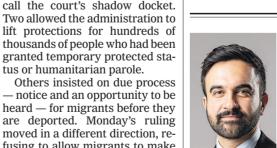
The Duffys, who had eight chil-

dren at the time and would go on to have a ninth, were proud to highlight their unusually large family. Mr. Duffy's wife rattled off the kids' names before mixing the batter, noting that two were away at Catholic camp, praying the rosary. When it came time to fire up the burner, she stepped aside. In this all-American household, the roles were clear: Mom whisks and Dad mans the griddle.

As the camera panned out to Continued on Page A16

tus or humanitarian parole. Others insisted on due process notice and an opportunity to be heard — for migrants before they are deported. Monday's ruling moved in a different direction, refusing to allow migrants to make the case that they would face torture if sent to places with which they have no connection.

BUSINESS B1-7



The absence of any reasoning made it impossible to understand the majority's thinking.

Continued on Page A17









Mayoral Candidates Sum Up

Ahead of the primary on Tuesday, The New York Times analyzed the closing speeches of the four leading Democrats. Page A14.

On Guard Against Ticks

SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

As temperatures rise, several kinds of the arachnids are flourishing in ways that threaten people's health. PAGE D7

Astronomical Improvements The capabilities of a U.S.-financed

observatory in Chile are expected to transform the study of space.



ARTS C1-6

A More Meaningful Jumble

The Venice Architecture Biennale's curator wants non-architects to enjoy a sometimes challenging event. PAGE C1

Bridging a Cultural Divide With his Netflix sitcom, "Tires," Shane

Gillis is trying to map the leap from edgelord to the mainstream.

PAGE A20

OPINION A20-21

Karim Sadjadpour



INTERNATIONAL A4-12

Canoes With a Solar Charge

A growing fleet of electric boats ferries Indigenous people through the heart of the Ecuadorean Amazon. PAGE A12

NATIONAL A13-18

Texas Hemp Bill Vetoed Gov. Greg Abbott blocked what would

have been one of the nation's strictest bans on hemp intoxicants, telling legislators to revisit the topic.

Fixing New York's Prisons

Gov. Kathy Hochul's response to homicides behind bars and guard strikes has been too mild, activists say.

SPORTS B8-11

Tarnished Golden Tickets

Wild-card entries into Grand Slam tennis events are shaped by nationalism, politics and money.

A Steady Hand on the Title

In leading the Thunder to the N.B.A. crown, Shai Gilgeous-Alexander capped a transcendent season. PAGE B8



Paying More for Cans

Tariffs on steel and aluminum may raise the cost of various containers. Food and beverage companies say they can't absorb the expense

U.S. Battery Boom Is Stalling

Battery companies are slowing construction or investments because of tariff and tax credit risks.

OBITUARIES A19, 22

An Eye on the Storm

Gary England, who used high-tech tools to warn TV viewers of tornadoes in the central United States, was 85. PAGE A22