"All the News That's Fit to Print"

# The New York Times

**THE WEATHER** 

**Today,** partly cloudy, low humidity, high 80. **Tonight,** mainly clear, low 62. **Tomorrow,** partly sunny, a bit cooler, continued low humidity, high 75. Weather map is on Page B10.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



Kilmar Armando Abrego Garcia, center, arriving at an Immigration and Customs Enforcement office in Baltimore on Monday.

## Israel Strikes Hospital Twice, Killing 5 Journalists ABREGO GARCIA

This article is by **Isabel Kershner**, Aaron Boxerman and Ameera Harouda.

JERUSALEM — Shortly after 10 a.m. on Monday, when an Israeli military strike hit the facade of a hospital building in southern Gaza, emergency responders who were already nearby rushed to the scene. So did journalists.

But just minutes later, according to witnesses, hospital officials and video footage that captured the immediate aftermath of that first blast, a second strike hit the same part of the hospital, enveloping it in a thick cloud of smoke and dust.

Once the air cleared, the full extent of the horror at Nasser Hospital was revealed.

Four Palestinian journalists

#### 20 Reported Dead in All — Netanyahu Issues a Rare Apology

had been killed on the spot, and a fifth would later die of his wounds. At least 15 more people were killed, including members of the medical staff, rescue workers and patients, according to the Gazan health ministry. Dozens more were injured, it said.

 $The\ Is raeli\ military\ provided\ no$ immediate explanation for the attack, one of the deadliest for members of the news media, who have already died in unusually high numbers covering the war. The five journalists had worked for

outlets that included Reuters, The Associated Press and Al Jazeera, according to their employers.

The military acknowledged carrying out a strike in the area of Nasser Hospital, without saying what the target was. In a statement, it said that it regretted "any harm to uninvolved individuals" and that its chief of staff had ordered an immediate inquiry.

The office of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who generally casts civilian deaths in Gaza as a regrettable but unavoidable part of war, suggested that those on Monday were the result of a military blunder.

"Israel deeply regrets the tragic mishap that occurred today at the Nasser Hospital," the office said in Continued on Page A5



Recovering the body of Hussam al-Masri on Monday at Nasser Hospital in southern Gaza. He had been in an exterior staircase where journalists frequently stationed themselves with their cameras.

## **DETAINED AGAIN**

#### Free for Days, Now Facing a New Deportation

This article is by Alan Feuer, Jazmine Ulloa and Chris Cameron.

Kilmar Armando Abrego Garcia, the immigrant who was wrongfully expelled to El Salvador in March and then brought back to face criminal charges, was detained again on Monday after the administration indicated that it planned to re-deport him to Uganda.

The detention unfolded after Mr. Abrego Garcia arrived at an Immigration and Customs Enforcement office in Baltimore and came only three days after he was freed from custody in the criminal case that was filed against him in Federal District Court in Nash-

The administration has insisted that Mr. Abrego Garcia would 'never go free on American soil," and his lawyers said over the weekend that Trump officials had threatened to deport him to Uganda after he was released from jail in Tennessee. Outside the ICE office on Mon-

day, a lawyer for Mr. Abrego Garcia, Simon Sandoval-Moshenberg, said that the stated intention of the meeting was for an interview. 'Clearly, that was false," he said, adding that the immigration authorities did not say why Mr. Abrego Garcia was being detained or even where he would be

The crowd of supporters descended into chants of "boos" and "shame" to the news, and immi-

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## With Subtle Hand, Beijing Steers New York Elections

#### City's Heritage Clubs Help Upend Careers of Candidates Opposed to China

This article is by **Michael** Forsythe, Jay Root, Bianca Pallaro and David A. Fahrenthold.

In New York City, social clubs backed by China undermined a congressional candidate who once challenged the regime on Chinese television.

They helped unseat a state senator for attending a banquet with the president of Taiwan.

And they condemned a City Council candidate on social media for supporting Hong Kong democ-

In the past few years, these organizations have quietly foiled the careers of politicians who opposed China's authoritarian government while backing others who supported policies of the country's ruling Communist Party. The groups, many of them tax-exempt nonprofits, have allowed America's most formidable adversary to influence elections in the country's largest city, The New York Times found.

The groups are mostly "hometown associations" of people hailing from the same town or province in China. Some have been around for more than a century, while dozens of others have sprung up over the past decade. Like other heritage clubs in a city of immigrants, they welcome newcomers, organize parades and

foster social connections.

But many hometown associations have become useful tools of China's consulate in Midtown Manhattan, according to dozens of group members, politicians and former prosecutors. Some group leaders have family or business in China and fear the consequences of bucking its authority. Consulate officials have enlisted them to intimidate politicians who support Taiwan or cross Beijing's other red lines. In one case, a Chinese intelligence agent and several hometown leaders targeted the

same candidate. This meddling may seem modest, involving politicians who are unlikely to affect international policy. But China is determined to quash dissent in its diaspora before it spreads back home, said Audrye Wong, a fellow at the American Enterprise Institute who studies Chinese influence.

Beijing is also making a longer bet, she said: "You never know which politician might eventually run for Congress at the national level, or become a presidential candidate."

Many countries, including the United States, have interfered in politics abroad. In New York City, federal prosecutors said that a Turkish government official gave

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Some of New York's hometown associations, for people tied to

## Crackdown in D.C. Transforms Minor Arrests to Federal Cases

#### By DEVLIN BARRETT

WASHINGTON — As President Trump posed triumphantly for photos with police officers, government agents and members of the National Guard in Southeast Washington last week, lawyers across town in federal court grappled with his new brand of

The stream of defendants who shuffled through a federal courtroom on Thursday afternoon illustrated the new ways in which laws are being enforced in the nation's capital after the president's takeover of the city's police. They were appearing before a magistrate

judge on charges that would typically be handled at the local court level, if they were filed at all. One man had been arrested

over an open container of alcohol.

Another had been charged with threatening the president after delivering a drunken outburst after his arrest on vandalism charges. And one defendant's gun case so alarmed prosecutors that they intend to drop it.

Mr. Trump has cast his crackdown on crime as a success, and suggested on Friday that it was a blueprint he would seek to apply

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### A Big Promise About New York's Littlest Citizens | FEMA Staff Says Trump Is Gutting Disaster Aid

#### By ELIZA SHAPIRO

Jessica Mendoza and her husband always knew they wanted to start a family in Brooklyn, where they were each born and raised.

But once they started researching what it would cost to have a young child in New York City, they began to worry.

Even with her salary as a city employee and her husband's as an accountant, "we realized we might not be able to afford that baby. But we really wanted a baby," said Ms. Mendoza, 37.

#### Mamdani Faces Puzzle on Free Child Care

After their daughter was born, the couple concluded that the only way they could afford to stav in New York was to move in with Ms. Mendoza's parents in Bushwick and pay her mother to watch the baby while they worked.

Zohran Mamdani, the Democratic nominee for mayor, has aimed his campaign squarely at

voters like Ms. Mendoza, pledging to enact a system of free child care for all New York families, regardless of income. Doing so would involve navigating a logistical and financial maze to harness an unwieldy system of public and private providers, create new day care space, hire scores of new teachers and retool the city's roughly \$116 billion budget. If he is elected in November, Mr. Mamdani will face enormous pressure to deliver. Mr. Mamdani won the nomina-

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NATIONAL A8-15

#### By MAXINE JOSELOW

WASHINGTON — Employees at the Federal Emergency Management Agency wrote to Congress on Monday warning that the Trump administration had reversed much of the progress made in disaster response and recovery since Hurricane Katrina pummeled the Gulf Coast two decades

The letter to Congress, titled the 'Katrina Declaration," rebuked President Trump's plan to drastically scale down FEMA and shift

#### A Warning of Progress Lost After Katrina

more responsibility for disaster response — and more costs — to the states. It came days before the 20th anniversary of Hurricane Katrina, one of the deadliest and costliest storms to ever strike the United States.

"Our shared commitment to our country, our oaths of office, and our mission of helping people be-

fore, during, and after disasters compel us to warn Congress and the American people of the cascading effects of decisions made by the current administration." the FEMA employees wrote in the

They said that they hoped their warnings would "come in time to prevent not only another national catastrophe like Hurricane Katrina, but the effective dissolution of FEMA itself and the abandonment of the American people such an event would represent."

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#### **INTERNATIONAL A4-7**

Pig-to-Human Lung Transplant In the first procedure of its kind, scientists transplanted a lung from a genetically modified pig into a brain-dead man, with mixed results. PAGE A6

#### North Korea's New Gloss

Videos provide a rare glimpse of how the isolated country is mimicking the outside world's consumerism.

**OBITUARIES A16-17** 

#### Bringing the Inanimate to Life

The artist Chris Dovle created multimedia worlds inhabited by anthropomorphic machines. He was 66. PAGE A16



ARTS C1-6

## What Progress Looks Like

Two parks fortifying the city's coastline survived a bureaucratic gantlet that helps champion the status quo. PAGE C1

#### His Big Break Took Time

Jeff Hiller's part in the dramatic HBO comedy "Somebody Somewhere" was, more or less, his first major role. PAGE C1

#### Harvard Is Making Changes

The university has sued to fight the Trump administration's demands. But Harvard has also enacted items on the White House wish list.

#### Hard Stop for the Menendezes

Two years of momentum for their release was dashed by parole commissioners in just two days.

SPORTS B6-10

#### U.S. Women Rising to the Top

Today's tennis stars advanced in a culture that has been willing to fund the dreams of athletic girls.

SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

#### Taking Aim at Chronic Pain

A guitarist in a death metal band was among patients who found that deep brain stimulation eased their pain and let them reduce medication.

#### Origami's Newest Angles

Bloom patterns could be useful, as engineers build folding structures to send into outer space. They are also very beautiful. PAGE D2 **BUSINESS B1-5** 

#### Breaking A.I.'s Glass Ceiling

A rare all-female hacker house set out to create a supportive community in which to incubate start-ups.

#### China's Real Estate Slowdown

The government's move to discourage speculation is lowering property values and affecting the economy.

**OPINION A18-19** 

**Barton Gellman** 

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