



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES
Palestinians pushing a cart carrying bodies after people seeking food came under fire near an aid distribution center in Rafah, Gaza.

OVER 20 KILLED
AT GAZA AID SITE

Crowds in Need of Food
Come Under Fire

By AARON BOXERMAN and AMEERA HAROUDA
JERUSALEM — More than 20 people were killed on Sunday and more than 100 wounded when Palestinians who had gathered overnight in the hope of obtaining food from an aid distribution center in Gaza came under fire, according to local health officials.

The incident was the latest episode to ensnarl the Israeli-backed initiative to establish aid distribution sites run by American security contractors in the enclave. The Israeli military initially said it was unaware of any injuries from Israeli fire at the site, but a military official later briefed reporters that troops had fired warning shots toward “suspects” who approached them about a kilometer away.

Palestinian paramedics evacuated the bodies of at least 23 people from the vicinity of the distribution center in the southern Gaza city of Rafah, according to the Palestine Red Crescent Society. The International Committee of the Red Cross said its field hospital in Rafah had received 179 cases, the majority with gunshot or shrapnel wounds, and said 21 people had been declared dead on arrival. Gaza’s health ministry said 31 had been killed.

“All patients said they had been trying to reach an aid distribution site. This is the highest number of weapon-wounded in a single incident since the establishment of the field hospital over a year ago,” the Red Cross said in a statement.

Speaking on condition of anonymity to comply with military protocol, the military official said soldiers had acted to prevent several people from approaching the troops when the aid point was not operating, including with “warning shots.”

Israeli officials had said the new system of four sites in southern Gaza would prevent Hamas from seizing the food, fuel and other goods, but aid agencies have criticized the initiative.

Huge crowds of Gazans have headed for the new aid sites, to try to obtain a box of food since the program started last week. While some days have gone relatively smoothly, there have also been chaotic scenes, including one in

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New ICE Playbook: Arrests at Immigration Court

This article is by Hamed Aleaziz, Luis Ferré-Sadurní and Miriam Jordan.

WASHINGTON — A hearing on Tuesday at immigration court in Van Nuys, Calif., was supposed to be routine for a young family from Colombia, the first step in what they hoped would be a successful bid for asylum.

To their surprise, the judge informed the father, Andres Roballo, that the government wished to dismiss his deportation case. Taken aback, Mr. Roballo hesitated, then responded: “As long as I stay with my family.”

Moments later, as they exited the courtroom into a waiting area, Mr. Roballo was encircled by plainclothes federal agents who

Government’s Lawyers
Help Effort to Ramp
Up Deportations

ushered him into a side room. Other agents guided his shaken wife, Luisa Bernal, and their toddler toward the elevator.

Outside the courthouse, Ms. Bernal collapsed on a bench. “They have him, they have him,” she wailed. “We didn’t understand this would happen.”

Mr. Roballo’s arrest was part of an aggressive new initiative by Immigration and Customs Enforcement to detain migrants at immigration courts, the latest es-

calation by the Trump administration in its all-out effort to ramp up deportations.

Agents have begun arresting migrants immediately after their hearings if they have been ordered deported or their cases have been dismissed, a move that enables their swift removal, according to immigration lawyers and internal documents obtained by The New York Times.

The operations, which have taken place across the country in the past two weeks, have required a high level of coordination between

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ON THE LIST Even Trump-leaning locales find themselves being scolded on immigration. PAGE A13



CAITLIN O'HARA/REUTERS

Federal officers detained two men after immigration court hearings in Phoenix last month.

Retail ‘Piece of Canada’ Shuttters After 355 Years

By IAN AUSTEN

OTTAWA — Beye Escobar was both delighted and disappointed as she emerged from the sprawling Hudson’s Bay Company store in downtown Ottawa with two new bikinis.

While she was pleased that her swimwear had been discounted by 70 percent, she was not happy about the reason. On Sunday, a month after it marked the 355th anniversary of its founding, the Bay, as it is commonly known, permanently closed its 80 depart-

Hudson’s Bay Leaves a
Complex Legacy

ment stores throughout Canada.

The company was much more than just a retailer and the last traditional, full-line department store chain in Canada. In 1670, Britain, which claimed part of present-day Canada, set up the company as a fur trader and granted it a vast stretch of territory equal to what is about a third

of Canada, without asking the Indigenous people whose land it was.

“I honestly don’t know why it’s closing, but I think it’s very unfortunate because they had very good stuff,” Ms. Escobar said while waiting for her husband to emerge last Wednesday from the store, where once-stylish display windows were plastered with black, yellow and red “Entire Store On Sale!” signs.

“I don’t know where I’ll go now,” she added.

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Disdain of E. U.
Rises as Theme
For U.S. Right

Stance Risks Hindering
Talks on Trade Deal

By JEANNA SMIALEK

BRUSSELS — The United States’ populist right has its calling cards. “Make America Great Again” hats. A distaste for immigration. A love of tax cuts.

But a more subtle unifying thread has been creeping into Republican discourse for years — one that has exploded onto the global stage, with the potential to reshape the contours of alliances and redirect the flows of global trade.

MAGA deeply dislikes the European Union.

And the pronounced skepticism could have real consequences as Mr. Trump wages a trade war on the bloc — especially in the coming weeks, after American and European officials vowed to “fast-track” their negotiations toward closing a deal.

It is not just President Trump, who has said that the European Union was formed to take advantage of America. Or only Vice President JD Vance, who warned that Europe was retreating from its “fundamental values” during a speech in Munich this year. Or Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth, who in a leaked Signal chat called America’s European allies “pathetic.”

The ethos is also a mainstay of right-leaning television in the United States. “Europeans for the most part do not share our values,” Laura Ingraham, the conservative TV host, said this year, citing European climate policies that might drive society into “economic ruin,” differences in views of free speech, and the right to bear arms — sacrosanct in America, but something not fundamental and subject to restrictions in Europe.

It crops up in conservative commentary. European negotiators “move slower than a French escargot,” a recent Fox News opinion article about trade negotiations quipped, before predicting that Europeans will spend trade talks waltzing “us through their organic, manicured gardens again with no result.”

And it surfaces during podcasts from right-wing technologists, like the wildly popular “All-In” podcast co-hosted by David Sacks, now Mr. Trump’s cryptocurrency and A.I. czar. Europe has been described as “dysfunc-

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FEAR WITHIN F.B.I.
DEEPENS AS PATEL
EXPELS OFFICIALS

TRUMP LOYALISTS RISE

Polygraph Tests Intensify
Worries — Some See
Loss of Experience

By ADAM GOLDMAN

WASHINGTON — Before being confirmed as the director of the F.B.I., Kash Patel made clear his intent to remake it in his own image, reflecting a larger desire by the White House to bend the agency to its will.

“The F.B.I. has become so thoroughly compromised that it will remain a threat to the people unless drastic measures are taken,” he wrote in his book “Government Gangsters,” asserting that the top ranks of the bureau should be eliminated.

Behind the scenes, his vision of an F.B.I. under President Trump is quietly taking shape. Agents have been forced out. Others have been demoted or put on leave with no explanation. And in an effort to hunt down the sources of news leaks, Mr. Patel is forcing employees to take polygraph tests.

Taken together, the moves are causing worrisome upheaval at the F.B.I., eliciting fear and uncertainty as Mr. Patel and his deputy, Dan Bongino, quickly restock senior ranks with agents and turn the agency’s attention to immigration. Their persistent claims that the bureau was politicized under previous directors, in addition to their swift actions against colleagues, have left employees to wonder whether they, too, will be ousted because they either worked on an investigation vilified by Trump supporters or had ties to the previous administration.

The actions have obliterated decades of experience in national security and criminal matters at the F.B.I. and raised questions about whether the agents taking over such critical posts have the institutional knowledge to pursue cornerstones of its work.

“The director and I will have most of our incoming reform teams in place by next week,” Mr. Bongino wrote on social media last week. “The hiring process can take a little bit of time, but we are approaching that finish line. This will help us both in doubling down on our reform agenda.”

He added that the agency would

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Untethered From a Campaign,
Walz Hits the Road to Atonement

By REID J. EPSTEIN and KATIE GLUECK

COLUMBIA, S.C. — Nearly seven months since his ticket lost the 2024 presidential election, Tim Walz is trying all at once to make amends for everything he thinks went wrong.

He is going to Republican areas where Democrats lost ground. He is sitting for countless interviews after former Vice President Kamala Harris’s campaign limited his media exposure. And as his party engages in collective finger-pointing, he is among the few Democrats admitting that they themselves made mistakes.

“I know my job and I didn’t get it done,” Mr. Walz, the governor of Minnesota, said last week on a podcast hosted by former Senator Jon Tester, the Montana Democrat.

The Tim Walz atonement-and-explanation tour had its biggest audiences to date on Saturday, when he delivered speeches to Democratic Party conventions in South Carolina and California.



SEAN RAYFORD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota in South Carolina on Saturday.

“This dude’s the last guy I want to tell us about ‘we lost our way.’ You’re the guy who lost,” Mr. Walz said to the crowd in Columbia, S.C., on Saturday morning, imagining what listeners might be thinking. But, he added, “none of us can afford to shy away right now from asking the hard questions and doing the things we need to do to fix it so that we win elections.”

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NATIONAL A9-15

A Gem of a Mining Town

A vast deposit of quartz in Spruce Pine, N.C., has made it an engine of the tech world. Across the Country. PAGE A9

Hostage Supporters Attacked

An incendiary device injured walkers at an event in Boulder, Colo., for Israeli hostages held in Gaza. PAGE A15

INTERNATIONAL A4-8

Ukraine Targets Enemy Bases

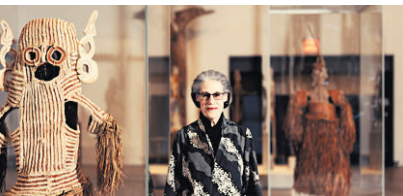
Kyiv launched one of its broadest assaults of the war against air facilities inside Russia. The coordinated attack left several aircraft in flames. PAGE A8

Experiment in Democracy

In Mexico, an election that will replace appointed judges with ones picked by voters is a major change to the balance of power. The Interpreter. PAGE A7

Wildfires Raging in Canada

Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota are already facing deteriorating air quality because of smoke from the blazes in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. PAGE A4



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Honoring a Brother’s Legacy

A new wing at the Met has helped Mary Rockefeller Morgan celebrate the memory of her twin, Michael. PAGE C1

Transformative Park Project

A \$335 million renovation at Lincoln Center may help heal a civic wound and reshape a neighborhood. PAGE C1

BUSINESS B1-5

Trump Policy on Student Visas

Protecting the borders from espionage is essential. It’s something else to deny permission to study in the U.S. because someone is from China and hopes to pursue a STEM degree. PAGE B1

Tariff Ruling Is Just a Respite

Companies welcomed a court decision striking down the Trump administration’s levies, but the continued uncertainty has few of them going back to business as usual. PAGE B1

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Ibram X. Kendi

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SPORTS D1-8

A Pillar of Strength Training

Jan Todd spent decades shattering records and turning her passion into a field of study. As a 73-year-old professor, she’s still sharing wisdom. PAGE D1



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