



DIEGO IBARRA SANCHEZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Israel Strikes Beirut as Blinken Visits Mideast

An area near Lebanon’s largest public hospital was targeted ahead of Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken’s tour on Tuesday. Page A6.

Swift Attacks Offer Hamas A Lethal Tool

By PATRICK KINGSLEY and AARON BOXERMAN

JERUSALEM — The top commanders of Hamas are mostly dead. The group’s rank and file has been decimated. Many of its hide-outs and stockpiles have been captured and destroyed. But Hamas’s killing of an Israeli colonel in northern Gaza on Sunday underscored how the group’s military wing, though unable to operate as a conventional army, is still a potent guerrilla force with enough fighters and munitions to enmesh the Israeli military in a slow, grinding and as yet unwinnable war.

Col. Ehsan Daksa, a member of Israel’s Arab Druse minority, was killed when a planted explosive blew up near his tank convoy. It was a surprise attack that exemplified how Hamas has held out for nearly a year since Israel invaded Gaza late last October, and will likely be able to even after the death of its leader, Yahya Sinwar, last week.

Hamas’s remaining fighters are hiding from view in ruined buildings and the group’s vast underground tunnel network, much of which remains intact despite Israel’s efforts to destroy it, according to military analysts and Israeli soldiers.

The fighters emerge briefly in small units to booby trap buildings, set roadside bombs, attach

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Abortions Rise, Even in States With Rigid Bans

By CLAIRE CAIN MILLER and MARGOT SANGER-KATZ

In nearly every state that has banned abortion, the number of women receiving abortions increased from 2020 to the end of 2023, according to the most comprehensive account of all abortions by state since the overturning of Roe v. Wade.

In the 13 states that enacted near-total abortion bans, the number of women receiving abortions increased in all but three, according to the study. Some women traveled to clinics in states where abortions were legal. Others ordered abortion pills from U.S. doctors online, after doctors in other states started writing prescrip-

Women Turn to Doctors Online and Pills by Mail, Study Finds

tions under shield laws that protect them when they provide mail-order pills to patients in states with bans.

The only states with bans where abortion fell during this period were Texas, where the decrease was small; Idaho, where it was larger; and Oklahoma, where the data showed an unusually large number of abortions in 2020.

Nationwide, the study also found that abortions have contin-

ued to rise. There were roughly 587,000 abortions in the first half of this year, an increase of more than 12 percent from the same period in 2023.

“It’s a surprise to everyone,” said David S. Cohen, co-author of the coming book “After Dobbs: How the Supreme Court Ended Roe but Not Abortion” and a law professor at Drexel University. “I think most people thought there would be creativity and determination that would still get a lot of people abortions once Roe v. Wade was overturned. But I don’t think anyone thought it would stay the same, let alone go up.”

Many state bans went into effect soon after June 2022, when the Supreme Court overturned

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Once a Pal of Jagger, and Now a Friend of Alito

By ABBIE VANSICKLE and PHILIP KALETA

REGENSBURG, Germany — The princess was late for Mass. Princess Gloria von Thurn und Taxis pulled a long dark coat over her silk scarf and necklace of pearls and hurried through the medieval monastery that is part of her 500-room palace. It was a chilly autumn night in Bavaria, with rain spitting outside, as she arrived at the chapel to pray.

The room glowed red, lit from a crypt below where her husband and other family members lay in their coffins. The princess knelt and soft bells sounded. Her dinner

Abortion Stance Unites Princess and Judge

guests, a British baroness and her husband, slipped in to join her as a priest led prayers.

Princess Gloria, 64, who burst onto the international scene in the 1980s in jeweled tiaras and a multicolored mohawk, has since evolved into a conservative Catholic with ties to the European far right. An anti-abortion and anti-immigration provocateur in her native Germany, she has welcomed a newcomer into her circle

as a hero: Justice Samuel A. Alito Jr., who was her guest at her annual music festival in the summer of 2023.

The visit opened up a world of European nobility to the justice, and helped the princess promote her causes and her festival. She sees it as a natural friendship.

“I met him as a Catholic, and I realized that he’s a judge who is pro-life,” she said in an interview at her palace in Regensburg, home to the music festival. “So for me, that was a great thing, because very few people I know are pro-life.”

The friendship came to light last

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HANS NELEMAN/HULTON ARCHIVE, VIA GETTY IMAGES

The F.A.A. ruled the “No Smoking” sign no longer needed an off switch, cutting the last link between cigarettes and aviation.

A Reminder You Can’t Light Up Will Now Stay Lit All the Time

By NIRAJ CHOKSHI

The days of airplane cabins hazy with cigarette smoke are long gone, but a reminder of that era is still visible inside commercial jets.

Smoking has been banned on commercial flights in the United States for decades, but the Federal Aviation Administration is only just updating an outdated rule to reflect that reality. As of Tuesday, the illuminated overhead “No Smoking” sign no longer requires an off switch.

That obsolete requirement had become “time-consuming and

burdensome” for airlines and airplane manufacturers to comply with, the F.A.A. said in a rule enacting the change.

In February, for example, United Airlines was briefly unable to use a handful of new Airbus planes because the “No Smoking” signs on board could not be shut off, causing the airline to delay a few flights. The issue was resolved after the F.A.A. granted United an exemption.

Dozens of such exemptions have allowed that requirement to

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A Scandal-Plagued Career Nears a Decisive Moment

Trump Has Been Accused of Wrongdoing at Scale Unseen at Presidential Level

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — When the history of the 2024 election is written, one of the iconic images illustrating it will surely be the mug shot taken of Donald J. Trump after one of his four indictments, staring into the camera with his signature glare. It is an image not of shame but of defiance, the image of a man who would be a convicted felon before Election Day and yet possibly president of the United States again afterward.

Sometimes lost amid all the shouting of a high-octane campaign heading into its final couple of weeks is that simple if mind-bending fact. America for the first time in its history may send a criminal to the Oval Office and entrust him with the nuclear codes. What would once have been automatically disqualifying barely seems to slow Mr. Trump down in his comeback march for a second term that he says will be devoted to “retribution.”

In all the different ways that Mr. Trump has upended the traditional rules of American politics, that may be one of the most striking. He has survived more scandals than any major-party presidential candidate, much less president, in the life of the republic.

Not only survived but thrived. He has turned them on their head, making allegations against him into an argument for him by casting himself as a serial victim rather than a serial violator.

His persecution defense, the notion that he gets in so much trouble only because everyone is out to get him, resonates at his rallies where he says “they’re not coming after me, they’re coming after you, and I’m just standing in the way.” But that of course belies a record of scandal stretching across his 78 years starting long before politics. Whether in his personal life or his public life, he has been accused of so many acts of wrongdoing, investigated by so many prosecutors and agencies, sued by so many plaintiffs and claimants that it requires a scorecard just to remember them all.

His businesses went bankrupt repeatedly and multiple others failed. He was taken to court for stiffing his vendors, stiffing his bankers and even stiffing his own family. He avoided the draft during the Vietnam War and avoided paying any income taxes for years. He was forced to shell out tens of millions of dollars to stu-

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Harris, Crime Fighter by Day, Courted High Society at Night

By TIM ARANGO and HEATHER KNIGHT

OAKLAND, Calif. — In August 1996, a jury in an Oakland, Calif., courtroom convicted a man of slicing off a portion of his girlfriend’s scalp. The prosecutor was Kamala Harris, and the gruesome case was one of the few that made news early in her career.

“It was a vicious crime,” Ms. Harris told The Oakland Tribune. She was in her seventh year as a rank-and-file prosecutor in Alameda County, doing battle with suspected drug lords and murderers in Oakland, which was still contending with the crack epidemic.

Weeks later, Ms. Harris was

back in the news, this time across the bay in San Francisco as a bold-face name in the society pages, among the young and fashionable who had gathered for a martini party at a Polo Ralph Lauren store ahead of the Fall Antiques Show. It was hosted by a group of art lovers who called themselves the Young Collectors, raising money for underserved children while collecting “antiques, art, knowledge — and parties,” Pat Steger, The San Francisco Chronicle’s society editor and columnist, wrote.

During these formative years, when Ms. Harris was in her 20s

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CAROLINE TOMPKINS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

An Unsilenced Voice

Yulia Navalnaya, the Russian dissident Aleksei Navalny’s widow, helped compile his memoir from prison diary entries. Page C1.

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New Risks for Global Economy

The International Monetary Fund warned that protectionism and new trade wars could slow growth. PAGE B1

Saving Japan’s Premium Rice

Scientists are mining DNA in an effort to make Koshihikari rice resistant to increasingly broiling summers. PAGE B1



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Steep Price of Dissent in India

A Muslim protest leader has become a symbol of a wide-ranging clampdown on opponents of Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s government. PAGE A4

Putin Welcomes Leaders

The Russian president opens a summit of nations bidding to rebalance a world order led by the United States. PAGE A5

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The Art of Agriculture

In Wisconsin, the Farm/Art DTour brings artists and farmers together, and each get a fresh perspective. PAGE C1

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Life Without Sickle Cell

A 12-year-old boy has become the first person to complete a gene therapy for sickle cell disease since its approval. It was an arduous treatment. PAGE A12

Where Electricity Comes From

America isn’t making it the way it did 20 years ago. We charted how its generation has changed in every state so far, from 2001 to 2023. PAGES A14-15

Giuliani Must Forfeit Assets

The onetime attorney to former President Donald J. Trump has seven days to turn over his valuables to pay two election workers he defamed. PAGE A22

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Subduing Restaurant Noise

Apple earbuds and others can help you hear dining companions. Pete Wells has some tips on how to use them. PAGE D1

New York’s Best Bagels

We’ve determined, with perhaps some margin of error, the top 17. Below, Pretty in Pink from Baz Bagels. PAGE D7



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Still Trying to ‘Land the Plane’

After a bumpy end to the season, Coach Doc Rivers is ready for a new start with the Milwaukee Bucks. PAGE B6

Booting It Farther and Better

N.F.L. place-kickers are making 50- and 60-plus-yard field-goal attempts seem routine. Is a 70-yarder next? PAGE B8

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