



An air-raided shelter in Tel Aviv. A barrage of Iranian missiles targeted Haifa, after overnight strikes hit an industrial complex in Iran.

Inside the D.N.C., Chaos and a Shortage of Cash

By SHANE GOLDMACHER
and REID J. EPSTEIN

Just months into the tenure of a new party leader, Ken Martin, the Democratic National Committee's financial situation has grown so bleak that top officials have discussed whether they might need to borrow money this year to keep paying the bills.

Fund-raising from major donors — some of whom Mr. Martin has still not spoken with — has slowed sharply. At the same time, he has expanded the party's financial commitments to every state, and even to far-flung territories like Guam.

A New Chairman Faces Closed Wallets and Open Feuding

Fellow Democrats are grumbling that Mr. Martin, who quietly accepted a raise after taking the post, has been badly distracted by internal battles. So far, they say, he has been unable to help unite his party against Republicans, who control the federal government.

A protracted and public fight with David Hogg, the 25-year-old activist turned D.N.C. vice chair

who blindsided party officials with a plan to challenge incumbent Democrats, made things worse. The clash included the leak of embarrassing audio of Mr. Martin questioning his own role and ended in Mr. Hogg's unceremonious exit this month.

That was soon followed by the news that two of the country's most influential labor leaders, who represent a combined 3.2 million workers, were also leaving the D.N.C. Both questioned the party's direction under Mr. Martin.

Rufus Gifford, who served as the finance chairman of Kamala Harris's 2024 campaign and main-

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CAMPUS ACTIVIST IS GRANTED BAIL

Defiant U.S. Says Court Lacks Jurisdiction

By JONAH E. BROMWICH

A federal judge on Friday ordered that Mahmoud Khalil be released on bail, a ruling that could end the monthslong imprisonment of the first pro-Palestinian campus protester detained by the Trump administration.

Mr. Khalil, a Columbia University graduate and legal permanent U.S. resident, has spent 104 days in detention, watching as other students targeted by the administration won favorable rulings and were released on bail. He was denied the opportunity to be present when his wife gave birth to their son in April and he missed his graduation from Columbia.

But his lawyers slowly chipped away at the government's case, and on Friday they convinced the judge, Michael E. Farbiarz of Federal District Court in Newark, that there was reason to believe Mr. Khalil's detention represented unlawful retaliation for his role in demonstrations on Columbia's Manhattan campus.

Toward the end of a two-hour hearing, Judge Farbiarz said there was "at least something" to the argument that there had been "an effort to use the immigration charge here to punish Mr. Khalil."

"And, of course, that would be unconstitutional," he added, before ordering the release.

There was no guarantee that Mr. Khalil, whom the government still seeks to deport, would go free on Friday. A spokeswoman for the Homeland Security Department, Tricia McLaughlin, said in a statement that Judge Farbiarz could not order Mr. Khalil's release.

"An immigration judge, not a district judge, has the authority to decide if Mr. Khalil should be released or detained," she said.

The claim has been contradicted repeatedly in recent weeks as district judges ordered the release of other noncitizens detained amid immigration proceedings.

But Ms. McLaughlin cited a decision on Friday by the Louisiana judge in Mr. Khalil's immigration case, Jamee Comans. In the decision, Judge Comans denied Mr. Khalil asylum and ruled that he could be deported based on an

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Black Lung Plagues a New Generation of Miners

By KATE MORGAN

BLEDSON, Ky. — Denver Brock and his son Aundra used to spend early mornings hunting rabbits in the wooded highlands of Harlan County, Ky. But they don't get out there much these days. They both get too breathless trying to follow the baying hounds.

Instead, they tend a large garden alongside Denver Brock's home. Even that can prove difficult, requiring them to work slowly and take frequent breaks.

"You get so dizzy," Denver Brock said, "you can't hardly stand up."

The Brocks followed a long family tradition when they became Appalachian coal miners. For it, they both now have coal workers' pneumoconiosis, a debilitating disease characterized by masses and scarred tissue in the chest, and better known by its colloquial name: black lung.

Mr. Brock, 73, wasn't all that surprised when he was diagnosed in his mid-60s. In coal mining communities, black lung has long been considered an "old man's disease," one to be almost expected after enough years underground.

But his son was diagnosed much younger, at just 41. Like his father, he has progressive massive fibrosis, the most severe form of the disease. And today, at 48, he's even sicker.

When he followed his father into mining, he thought he was entering a safer industry than the one prior generations had worked in. By the 1990s, safety standards and miner protections had nearly consigned the disease to history.



JARED HAMILTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Anthony Dotson, 60, has one of the worst cases of black lung that Dr. Drew Harris, a pulmonologist, said he had ever seen.

But now, black lung is back. Modern miners are contracting it at younger ages and at rates not seen since the 1970s. For 20th-century miners, it could take decades to develop severe black lung. For men of Aundra Brock's generation, just a few years can be

enough. Nationwide, one in 10 working miners is now estimated to have black lung. In the heart of the central Appalachian coal fields, it's one in five. Often, their disease is more severe, the progression faster. Doctors are seeing

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Europe Meets With Iran, Hoping to Defuse Conflict

Trump Dismisses Talks as Waste of Time — 8th Straight Day of Missile Strikes

By MARK LANDLER

LONDON — As missiles flew between Israel and Iran, diplomats from Europe convened on Friday across a table from Iran's foreign minister, Abbas Araghchi, in Switzerland to try to find an off-ramp for a rapidly accelerating regional conflict.

But there were no signs of a breakthrough in the three hours of talks, with a defiant Mr. Araghchi saying afterward that Iran would consider a resumption of diplomacy only "once the aggressor was held accountable for the crimes committed." He did say Iran was willing to speak to the Europeans again.

The foreign ministers of Britain, France and Germany were left to talk in generalities about the need for continued dialogue, which they hope will forestall a decision by President Trump to thrust the United States into the hostilities.

"We are keen to continue ongoing discussions and negotiations with Iran, and we urge Iran to continue their talks with the United States," Britain's foreign secretary, David Lammy, said to reporters. "This is a perilous moment, and it is hugely important that we don't see regional escalation of this conflict."

France's foreign minister, Jean-Noel Barrot, was similarly vague, declaring it was important to pursue a dialogue with Iran because "we believe there is no definitive military solution to the Iranian nuclear problem."

Mr. Trump said, in effect, that the European officials were wasting their time. "Iran didn't want to speak to Europe," he said on Friday afternoon. "They want to speak to us. Europe is not going to be able to help."

With Mr. Trump having set a new deadline of two weeks before he decides whether to join Israel's aerial campaign against military and nuclear sites in Iran, the diplomats delivered an urgent message to Mr. Araghchi that his government must make significant concessions in its nuclear program.

Mr. Trump said on Friday that sending ground troops to Iran would be the "last thing you'd want to do." He added, "I'm giving them a period of time, and I would say two weeks would be the maximum."

Expectations for the meeting were modest, given the wide gaps between Iran and the United States in their now-suspended negotiations. Yet Mr. Trump's reprieve, after a week in which he seemed to be marching inexorably toward war, buoyed hopes somewhat, suggesting that there was still time to act.

The diplomacy, however, came

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CHINA A U.S. attack on Iran would show the limits of Beijing's power. News Analysis. PAGE A8



ARASH KHAMOUSHI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Friday Prayer in Tehran, where numerous protests broke out.

Colleges in U.S. Weigh Job Cuts And Rising Fees

By ALAN BLINDER

Public universities in the Midwest are raising prices for out-of-state students, as Florida schools consider making the same move for the first time since 2012.

Cornell and Duke are among the colleges weighing layoffs. The University of Minnesota is cutting hundreds of jobs, even as undergraduate tuition soars as much as 7.5 percent.

Just as America's colleges are preparing to welcome what could be the largest freshman class in the nation's history, political and economic forces are unleashing havoc on higher education budgets. Schools are grappling with meager upticks in state support and topsy-turvy economic forecasts, and Republicans in Washington are pursuing federal budget cuts and threatening tax hikes.

Students and employees from coast to coast are poised to feel the squeeze. Although the exact consequences will vary by school, administrators are warning that many students may have to pay more, professors may lose their jobs, programs could vanish and

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Gabbard Loses Trump's Favor At a Bad Time

This article is by Julian E. Barnes, Maggie Haberman and Jonathan Swan.

WASHINGTON — President Trump was angry.

Earlier this month, Tulsi Gabbard, his director of national intelligence, had posted a three-and-half-minute video to social media describing her visit to Hiroshima, Japan, and outlining the horrors caused by the detonation of a nuclear weapon there 80 years ago.

Speaking directly to the camera, Ms. Gabbard warned that the threat of nuclear war remained. "As we stand here today, closer to the brink of nuclear annihilation than ever before," she said, "political elites and warmongers are carelessly fomenting fear and tension between nuclear powers."

Mr. Trump berated Ms. Gabbard for the video, according to two people briefed on the conversation. He said that her discussion of nuclear annihilation would scare people and that officials should not talk about it.

Mr. Trump's displeasure with the video laid bare months of his skepticism of Ms. Gabbard and

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Dangers Ring India's Airports

Homes and shops crowd runways in Mumbai, Delhi and Ahmedabad, leaving little room for error. PAGE A4

Key City in Russia's Sights

Vladimir V. Putin, showing no signs of a reprieve, said his forces may soon overtake Sumy in Ukraine. PAGE A6

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Weaning Off Russian Gas

Germany, like other European countries, is building more sites to handle an increase in imports of liquefied natural gas, much of it from the U.S. PAGE B1

Fearing Trump's Grip on Tech

European policymakers are wary after Microsoft helped suspend a criminal prosecutor's email account. PAGE B1

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Resetting a Coaching Career

Chris Petersen, a football legend, didn't know Sean McVay but reached out to help the young coach. PAGE B7



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Jazz and Joy on Juneteenth

Music and dancing filled the streets as residents turned out for a love letter to the Harlem Renaissance. PAGE A14

A Cry for Medicaid

Children with disabilities who rely on the program took to Capitol Hill to warn against proposed cuts. PAGE A11

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Barbra Streisand's Duets

With a new album due Friday that pairs her with Paul McCartney, Bob Dylan, Laufey, Sam Smith and others, the singer looks back at her decades' worth of fruitful collaborations. PAGE C1

Adapting James Baldwin

His works have been slow to come to stage and screen, but a new production of the writer's 1958 novel "Giovanni's Room" shows how rewarding it can be when done the right way. PAGE C1

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Alex Padilla

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TRAVEL C7-9

An Area Transformed

East London has undergone a cultural makeover in the years since the 2012 Olympics, and summertime is an ideal time to explore what it offers. PAGE C9

