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Voters in New York City on Tuesday headed to the polls, where the big race was the Democratic primary for mayor. Andrew M. Cuomo and Zohran Mamdani appeared to be the front-runners in a field of 11 candidates. Coverage is on Page A17 and at nytimes.com.

Blistering Heat Brings Bad Air, A Duo Climate Experts Dread

By CLAIRE BROWN and CHRISTINA KELSO

The heat dome that is scorching more than 90 million people across the United States this week also threatens to deliver polluted air, something that scientists say is a growing problem on a warming planet.

Researchers are increasingly worried about the twin health hazards of extreme heat and pollution, which can amplify each

other. As climate change drives up global temperatures past record levels, the frequency of days when it is both hot and polluted has also been increasing.

“We’re in the middle of a bad air quality summer in a lot of the country,” said Joseph Goffman, who led the Office of Air and Radiation at the Environmental Protection Agency during the Biden administration. “And now it’s more likely than not that we’ll see summers like this in the coming years.”

Several factors are converging to amplify health risks during sweltering days. Extreme heat can trap polluted air in place, so it does not dissipate. Climate change is making wildfires more frequent and intense, pumping smoke into the atmosphere and contributing to the reversal of a decades-long trend of air quality improvement in some parts of the United States.

And the Trump administration is moving to weaken limits on emissions from power plants and cars, which could increase carbon dioxide, sulfur dioxide, particulate matter and other pollutants. It is also encouraging more min-

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EVAA WOOLRIDGE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
SWELTERING SCENES The first heat wave of the summer has hit New York City. Page A16.

Harvard Debates Trump Deal That Isn’t Seen as Caving In

By MICHAEL S. SCHMIDT and ALAN BLINDER

Harvard University, battered by a devastating conflict with the Trump administration that has jeopardized its elite standing, is facing a problem as it weighs a possible truce with President Trump: how to strike a deal without compromising its values or appearing to have capitulated.

The conundrum has bedeviled law firms, tech and media companies and even one of the school’s Ivy League peers. According to three people familiar with the university’s deliberations, it is now shaping internal debates around the school’s freshly resurrected talks with the government. The

three people familiar with the matter spoke on the condition of anonymity because they did not want to be identified discussing negotiations that are supposed to be private.

Unlike many other powerful institutions that have struck bargains with Mr. Trump, Harvard, the nation’s oldest and richest university, spent much of this spring as the vanguard of resistance to the White House, credited by academic leaders, alumni and pro-democracy activists for fighting the administration and serving as a formidable barrier against au-

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‘Flying Padres’ Tend to Flocks Salvation Army ministers cross the Australian outback by air, dropping in on small communities. PAGE A10

Honoring Queen Elizabeth II A London park will install monuments and a tiara-inspired bridge for Britain’s longest-reigning monarch. PAGE A4

NATIONAL A11-17
Nassau County’s ICE Deal A lawsuit is challenging the Long Island county’s partnership with federal immigration officials to give its police power to conduct migrant arrests. PAGE A11

SPORTS B6-9
At Age 18, a Sure Thing Cooper Flagg, the presumed top pick Wednesday in the N.B.A. draft, is apt to make an impact from Day 1. PAGE B6

New Life for Fluttering Pitch There are no true knuckleballers pitching in the majors, but a Tigers prospect hopes to change that. PAGE B7



FOOD D1-8
Frenzy for Indian Mangoes Part-time importers in New Jersey relentlessly compete to get the fruit into the hands of an eager diaspora. PAGE D8

Trying to One-Up Taco Bell The chain’s Crunchwrap Supreme, introduced two decades ago, has become an unlikely muse for chefs. PAGE D2

BUSINESS B1-5
Walmart’s Makeover The retailing giant is betting billions to attract workers to a new headquarters and woo shoppers with drone delivery and a broader range of items like Louis Vuitton handbags. PAGE B1

Factories Struggle to Fill Jobs For every 20 positions, there’s one qualified candidate, one manufacturing chief executive says. Some of President Trump’s policies are likely to exacerbate the problem. PAGE B1

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Antony J. Blinken PAGE A18



ARTS C1-6
Vengeance on Their Minds Pusha T and Malice, the rap duo of brothers known as Clipse, is returning with “Let God Sort Em Out,” the group’s first studio album since 2009. PAGE C1



Justice Dept. Official Discussed Defying Court, Complaint Says

By DEVLIN BARRETT

WASHINGTON — A senior Justice Department official, Emil Bove III, told subordinates he was willing to ignore court orders to fulfill the president’s aggressive deportation campaign, according to a whistle-blower complaint by a department lawyer who has since been fired.

The account by the dismissed lawyer, Erez Reuveni, paints a disturbing portrait of his final three weeks on the front lines of the Trump administration’s legal efforts to ship immigrants overseas, often with little notice or recourse. In Mr. Reuveni’s telling, Mr. Bove discussed disregarding court or-

ders, adding an expletive for emphasis, and other top law enforcement officials showed themselves ready to stonewall judges or lie to them to get their way.

Mr. Reuveni’s account, which was obtained by The New York Times, was filed to lawmakers and the Justice Department inspector general on Tuesday, just one day before Mr. Bove is scheduled to testify before the Senate Judiciary Committee for a nomination to a federal appeals court.

Mr. Reuveni was a career lawyer at the department for nearly 15 years until April, when he ex-

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Some Israeli officials said they also believed that the Iranian government had maintained small covert enrichment facilities so it could continue its nuclear program in the event of an attack on the larger facilities.

Other officials noted that the report found that the three nuclear sites — Fordo, Natanz and Isfahan — had suffered moderate to severe damage, with the facility at Natanz damaged the most. It is not clear whether the Iranians will try to rebuild the programs.

Former officials said that if Iran tried to quickly develop a bomb, it would be a relatively small and crude device. A miniaturized warhead would be far more difficult to produce, and the extent of damage to that more advanced research is not clear.

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ISRAEL-IRAN TRUCE IN PLACE AS TRUMP SCOLDS THEM BOTH

Tehran Bomb Slowed by Merely Months, a Report Finds

Qatar Helps Talks — Netanyahu to Shift Focus to Gaza

This article is by Julian E. Barnes, Helene Cooper, Eric Schmitt, Ronen Bergman, Maggie Haberman and Jonathan Swan.

This article is by Isabel Kershner, Aaron Boxerman, Maggie Haberman and Michael Levenson.

WASHINGTON — A preliminary classified U.S. report says the American bombing of three nuclear sites in Iran set back the country’s nuclear program by only a few months, according to officials familiar with the findings.

The strikes sealed off the entrances to two of the facilities but did not collapse their underground buildings, the officials said the early findings concluded.

Before the attack, U.S. intelligence agencies said that if Iran tried to rush to making a bomb, it would take about three months. After the U.S. bombing run and days of attacks by the Israeli Air Force, the report by the Defense Intelligence Agency estimated that the program had been delayed, but by less than six months.

The report also said much of Iran’s stockpile of enriched uranium was moved before the strikes, which destroyed little of the nuclear material. Iran may have moved some of it to secret locations.

Some Israeli officials said they also believed that the Iranian government had maintained small covert enrichment facilities so it could continue its nuclear program in the event of an attack on the larger facilities.

Other officials noted that the report found that the three nuclear sites — Fordo, Natanz and Isfahan — had suffered moderate to severe damage, with the facility at Natanz damaged the most. It is not clear whether the Iranians will try to rebuild the programs.

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‘Starter Kit’ From U.S. Helped Give Rise to Iran Nuclear Program

By MICHAEL CROWLEY

WASHINGTON — When President Trump ordered a military strike on Iran’s nuclear program, he was confronting a crisis that the United States unwittingly set in motion decades ago by providing Tehran with the seeds of nuclear technology.

Tucked into Tehran’s northern suburbs is a small nuclear reactor used for peaceful scientific purposes, which has so far not been a target of Israel’s campaign to eliminate Iran’s nuclear weapons capability.

The Tehran Research Reactor’s real significance is symbolic: It was shipped to Iran by the United States in the 1960s, part of President Dwight D. Eisenhower’s “Atoms for Peace” program that shared nuclear technology with U.S. allies eager to modernize their economies and move closer to Washington in a world divided by the Cold War.

Today, the reactor does not contribute to Iran’s enrichment of uranium, the arduous process that purifies the raw ingredient of nuclear bombs into a state that can sustain a massive chain reaction. It runs on nuclear fuel far too weak to power a bomb.

Several other nations, including Pakistan, bear at least as much responsibility for Iran’s march to the threshold of nuclear weapons ca-



CORBIS, VIA GETTY IMAGES

The “Atoms for Peace” program, initiated in the 1950s, shared nuclear technology with U.S. allies.

pability, experts say.

But the Tehran reactor is also a monument to the way America introduced Iran — then governed by a secular, pro-Western monarch — to nuclear technology.

Iran’s nuclear program quickly

became an object of national pride, first as an engine of economic growth and later, to the West’s dismay, as a potential source of ultimate military power.

It is a legacy of a dramatically different world, one in which

America had yet to grasp how fast the nuclear secrets it unlocked at the end of World War II would pose a threat to the United States.

“We gave Iran its starter kit,” said Robert Einhorn, a former

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