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Turmoil Tests Trump’s Bond With Kennedy

Fraught Two Weeks for a Complex Alliance

By **SHERYL GAY STOLBERG** and **MAGGIE HABERMAN**

WASHINGTON — Health Secretary Robert F. Kennedy Jr. faced a tricky moment on Tuesday when he released a report outlining President Trump’s “Make America Healthy Again” strategy.

Asked by a reporter if he agreed with Mr. Trump’s comment that some vaccines work, “pure and simple,” Mr. Kennedy, a famous vaccine skeptic, at first ducked the question. “I agree with that,” Mr. Kennedy finally said. Mr. Trump’s top domestic policy adviser, who presided over the event, banged his gavel, bringing questions to a close.

The awkward scene capped a particularly fraught two weeks for the president and his celebrity health secretary. While there is no evidence that Mr. Trump is going to break with Mr. Kennedy, the secretary has lately caused consternation among some of the president’s aides, and the president himself, for a series of negative headlines about chaos inside the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, and about his views on vaccines.

The White House projected itself as unbothered when Mr. Kennedy pushed out Susan Monarez, the C.D.C. director, just one month after the Senate confirmed her. But two people briefed on what took place said Mr. Trump — who declared Dr. Monarez “an incredible mother and dedicated public servant” when he nominated her — was irritated by the situation and all the negative coverage.

Mr. Kennedy’s sharp criticism of Covid-19 vaccines has also been a sticking point. In recent days, White House officials — though not Mr. Trump directly — sent Mr. Kennedy a note.

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JORDAN GALE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Where Cuts to Public Radio Hurt

A reservation in Warm Springs, Ore., gets little signal besides KWSO, which is at risk. Page 14.

Bolsonaro Trial Embroids Brazil In Amnesty Talk

By **JACK NICAS**

BRASÍLIA — On live television for the past two weeks, Brazil has watched five Supreme Court justices convict former President Jair Bolsonaro of attempting a coup and sentence him to 27 years in prison. He could report to prison next month.

At the same time, in private meetings across a plaza from the trial, some members of Brazil’s Congress have been discussing how to free him.

The debate is over whether to grant Mr. Bolsonaro and his fellow defendants amnesty — absolving them of their crimes of trying to overturn the 2022 election — and it has been churning in Brazil for weeks, casting a shadow over a young democracy with a long history of coups.

Members of Congress have already been circulating legislation, television commentators have been speculating about the chances and dueling protesters on each side have been chanting for and against it. Activists have even projected “no amnesty” with the Brazilian flag on Tower Bridge in London.

Amnesty has quickly become so central to the national conversation in Brazil that, as Mr. Bolsonaro was being tried this past week, it was the elephant in the courtroom: Sure, the former president was about to be convicted — but for how long?

It is far from certain that Mr. Bolsonaro will be absolved, and the legislative and legal process is still in flux.

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Did Couple Kill Neighbor’s Trees for Better View?

By **ELIZABETH WILLIAMSON**

ROCKPORT, Maine — In 2017 Stephen Antonson, a Brooklyn home furnishings artisan, and his wife, Kathleen Hackett, an interior designer and writer who counts Martha Stewart among her clients, bought a summer house in Rockport, Maine, a coastal town of fine arts, lobster boats and stunning views of Penobscot Bay.

At \$320,000, the small, 19th-century clapboard house was among the lower-priced properties on Mechanic Street, known for its stately homes overlooking the town’s scenic working harbor.

The Antonson-Hackett home was a lot behind their house in sight of the harbor, it was thickly wooded and owned by Ruth Graham, the widow who lived next door.

Almost immediately, the couple asked Mrs. Graham about clearing her land of the trees that blocked their view. She refused. She was an avid gardener, and



SOPHIE PARK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Antonson-Hackett house sits to the left of the home Ruth Graham owned in Rockport, Maine.

Brooklynites in Maine Deny Harborside Arbicide

killing trees repelled her. Also, years before, she had been cited by the town because one of her two sons, unaware of strict rules protecting shore land forest, had cleared some scrub trees from her property.

Mr. Antonson and Ms. Hackett were not about to give up. They even enlisted their two children in their quest for a valuable view.

But Mrs. Graham, nearly 90 at the time, was, like her trees, immovable.

Although Mrs. Graham was legally blind, she refused to let that get in her way. She hosted neighborhood parties, walked her dog, and

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Fast Rulings By the Court Show a Split

Partisan Lines Visible in Emergency Docket

By **ADAM LIPTAK**

WASHINGTON — Justice Brett M. Kavanaugh says good judges are like good referees.

“Am I calling it the same way for labor and management, for the business and the environmental interests, for the Republican and the Democrat?” he asked at a judicial conference over the summer. “If you can’t look in the mirror and say, ‘I would do the exact same thing if the parties were flipped,’ then you’re not being a good judge, just like you wouldn’t be a good referee if you were favoring one team over the other.”

A look at the court’s record in emergency rulings does not appear to reflect Justice Kavanaugh’s goal.

This is apparent in the overall numbers, with the Trump administration prevailing much more often than its predecessor had — 84 percent of the time, compared with 53 percent for the Biden administration. That is perhaps unsurprising, given that the court is dominated by six Republican appointees.

Drilling down to individual justices’ votes rounds out the group portrait.

In the 17 cases in which the Biden administration sought emergency relief from the Supreme Court over four years, for instance, Justice Kavanaugh voted in its favor 41 percent of the time, according to an analysis prepared for The New York Times by Lee Epstein and Andrew D. Martin, both of Washington University in St. Louis, and Michael J. Nelson of Penn State.

By contrast, in the 19 cases in which the Trump administration sought emergency relief, Justice Kavanaugh voted in its favor 84 percent of the time.

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TRUMP AMPLIFIES ATTACKS ON FOES AFTER KIRK DEATH

VOWING A CRACKDOWN

Angry and Blaming Only the Left for Acts of Political Violence

By **TYLER PAGER** and **NICK CORASANITI**

WASHINGTON — President Trump and his top advisers are escalating their attacks on their opponents in the wake of Charlie Kirk’s killing, placing the blame for political violence on Democrats alone and signaling a broad crackdown on critics and left-leaning institutions.

Mr. Trump blamed the “radical left” almost immediately after Mr. Kirk was shot, before the authorities had identified a suspect. He promised to find those responsible for political violence, as well as the “organizations that fund it and support it.”

Mr. Trump has an expansive view of those he deems radical, applying that term to almost all of his political adversaries. In his second term, Mr. Trump has pushed the boundaries of his authority to exact retribution on political opponents and institutions.

The death of Mr. Kirk, a popular young conservative activist, has added fuel to Mr. Trump’s campaign against his opponents. He and his administration have promised to bring the killer to justice while using the moment to blame the left — and only the left — more broadly.

Critics of the administration worry that Mr. Kirk’s murder could be used as a pretext to move even more aggressively against those who speak out against Mr. Trump.

The authorities were still working to discern a motive in the killing.

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Beneath Classic Zinc Roofs, Parisians Are Unbearably Hot

By **CATHERINE PORTER**

PARIS — They are an essential part of Paris, like the Eiffel Tower and Notre-Dame.

The city’s blue-gray rooftops that gleam like a sun-battered ocean have inspired Impressionist painters, novelists, filmmakers and selfie-taking tourists.

The secret to their uniformity is zinc, which covers almost four-fifths of the city’s rooftops.

But during heat waves, increasingly common in Paris as the planet warms, those zinc roofs become sizzling frying pans, exceeding 158 degrees Fahrenheit (70 degrees Celsius). For people living directly under, they become suffocating heat blankets.

“All of these apartments, especially on the top floors, will become uninhabitable in the coming years,” said Dan Lert, deputy mayor in charge of the city’s ecological transition and its climate change plan.

He added, “We will have to accept that the Parisian landscape needs to change.”

The people charged with protecting Paris’s heritage do not agree, and they are in control. Overlapping heritage rules cover 97 percent of the city. Changes, even minor ones, need to be approved by a small but powerful office inside the Ministry of Culture called the Building Architects of France, whose decisions in many cases are binding.

Though there is no campaign to do away with the zinc roofs, there have been many requests to make them less heat-absorbing.

The office’s position is that the zinc roofs of Paris should not be replaced.



JAMES HILL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A roofer placed zinc on an apartment building in Paris in July. During heat waves, the roofs become heat blankets.

change in structure, form or use.

“When you’re on the roofs of Paris, there is this kind of gray sea that is absolutely sublime,” said Jean-François Hébert, who oversees the architects’ office as the ministry’s director of heritage and architecture. “It is obviously a very important and historical element for Paris.”

The problem, he said, is not the roofs but the decision to put apartments directly under them. But since people live there, any protection, like insulation to protect from the heat, should be installed from the inside of buildings, he said. The office is open to experimentation, but none that is visible to the public.

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Palestinians in Flight Again

Evacuating Gaza City, as Israel ordered and as about 200,000 people have done this month, can be both costly and dangerous. PAGE 10

Russia’s ‘Hybrid Warfare’

Drones in Poland and GPS jamming have intensified a debate over the West’s response. News Analysis. PAGE 8

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Reception on a Cellphone Ban

Students without phones in New York City’s public schools have reported drawbacks, but also benefits. PAGE 23

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Warning Signs for N.F.L. Teams

The Dolphins and the Giants are already teetering, but expect them to bounce back in Week 2. PAGE 27

The Valkyries’ Golden Touch

The playoff-bound W.N.B.A. expansion team is the most valuable franchise in women’s sports. PAGE 24



METROPOLITAN

How a Small Theater Survives

The Brick, which opened in a former auto repair shop, has kept the lights on by cobbling together support from donors, grants and ticket sales. PAGE 1

SUNDAY STYLES

Change Makers of Fashion

Meet the designers who will shape how you dress in the foreseeable future as they start to make their marks. PAGE 16

Bobbi Brown’s Comeback

The cosmetics mogul discusses her new book and how she started over after leaving Estée Lauder. PAGE 1

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Is ‘The Pitt’ an ‘ER’ Spinoff?

The estate of Michael Crichton, which has intellectual property rights to “ER,” and the creators of the new hit TV show are waging a legal battle over whether it is a stealth reboot. PAGE 6

Not a Slow Time This Year

Bad Bunny’s three-month concert series in San Juan spurred a fan-fueled, short-term surge in Puerto Rico’s economy at a time when tourism usually drops for hurricane season. PAGE 4

SUNDAY OPINION

David French PAGE 5



ARTS & LEISURE

The New Season

A look at what’s coming this fall on the cultural scene, including theater, film, dance, pop music and much more. Above, the artist Kara Walker.

