

“All the News  
That’s Fit to Print”

# The New York Times

**THE WEATHER**  
Today, mostly sunny, warm, high 82.  
Tonight, partly cloudy, dry, low 64.  
Tomorrow, sunshine, some clouds,  
remaining dry, not quite as warm,  
high 78. Weather map, Page A20.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



PHOTOGRAPHS BY GONÇALO FONSECA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A memorial at the site where a funicular, a symbol of old Lisbon's charm, crashed this month, top. The 16 people who died were mostly foreigners. Visitors, above left and right, have been drawn by the Portuguese city's dramatic transformation in recent decades.

## ACCUSED GUNMAN CALLED A 'LEFTIST'

Governor: Kirk Suspect  
Became Radicalized

By JACK HEALY  
and ORLANDO MAYORQUÍN

ST. GEORGE, Utah — Gov. Spencer Cox of Utah on Sunday provided new information about the background and political leanings of the 22-year-old accused of killing Charlie Kirk, saying that the suspect had a “leftist ideology” and had also been in a romantic relationship with a partner who was transitioning from male to female.

Mr. Cox, speaking on NBC's “Meet the Press,” described the suspect, Tyler Robinson, as a “very normal young man” who appeared to have been “radicalized” some time after he dropped out of college and moved back to his hometown in southern Utah, where he had spent the past few years.

Mr. Cox did not go into specifics about Mr. Robinson's ideological views or offer details to substantiate his assessment of the suspect's views. Mr. Cox said Mr. Robinson had spent much of his time immersed in online gaming, message boards and parts of what the governor called the “deep, dark internet.”

Mr. Cox, a Republican, did not detail a motive for the shooting of Mr. Kirk, a prominent conservative activist. The suspect's motive has become the subject of fevered

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**NOT A UNITER** President Trump is rejecting the traditional notion of being for all Americans in times of crisis. News Analysis. PAGE A16

## Funicular Tragedy Rattles Lisbon’s Sense of Itself

By JASON HOROWITZ

LISBON — For more than a decade, Lisbon has been the place to be.

After economic near-death experiences in the early 2010s, Portugal used tax breaks, golden visas and inclusive social and immigration policies to attract foreign investors, digital nomads and surf-happy expatriates who formed a cosmopolitan class living it up on the low cost of living.

Luxury towers and hotels sprouted up over long-abandoned areas and graffitied streets often

An Influx of Foreigners  
Remade the City but  
Left Locals Behind

inhabited by poor immigrants who supplied cheap labor. The city's most handsome neighborhoods, with their tiled facades and parks filled with people drinking cocktails at cafes over the sounds of bossa nova and English, became a modern-day Casablanca for creative types. About 30 per-

cent of Lisbon's population is not Portuguese.

That dreamy image of Lisbon as an innovative city on a hill suffered a jarring disruption this month. An iconic funicular — beloved by tourists for its old Lisbon charm — sped out of control on a steep incline and crashed into a wall. The accident killed 16 people, mostly foreigners.

Now, in the political hothouse of an upcoming mayoral election, advocates of increasingly alienated and frustrated locals have seized on the accident to ask what

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## Russia’s Drone Production Surge Transforms War

By PAUL SONNE  
and KIM BARKER

BERLIN — When Russia introduced self-destructing drones from Iran into its war against Ukraine three years ago, Moscow made headlines around the world by launching 43 of them into Ukraine in a single strike.

This month, in just one night, Russia sent more than 800 exploding drones and decoys swarming across the border.

The drastic increase is a result of huge production jumps in Russia for one-way attack drones, which are prioritized by President Vladimir V. Putin and are now being assembled domestically at two main facilities. The Kremlin has also pressed through big manufacturing increases in the smaller tactical drones that Russia uses on the front line, enlisting Russian regional governments, factories and even high school students in the push.

Russia's supply surges, combined with new technology and tactics, have created a colossal



DAVID GUTTENFELDER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Ukrainian official kneeling by a downed Russian drone at a “graveyard” for war ordnance in the Kharkiv region of Ukraine.

challenge for Ukraine, which enjoyed an advantage in drone warfare early in the war that Moscow has eroded.

Russia is using the attack drones, together with missiles and decoys, to saturate air defenses and mount mass onslaughts on

Ukraine's weapons production facilities, energy infrastructure and cities. Kyiv has made big advances of its own in conducting drone strikes deep into Russia, and on Sunday struck a major oil refinery near St. Petersburg. But

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## In Oklahoma Institution, ‘Hell on Earth’ for Patients

Investigation Finds Assaults and Torture of  
Developmentally Disabled Victims

By DANNY HAKIM and RACHEL NOSTRANT

OKLAHOMA CITY — Two summers ago, Detective Frank Bruno was at the police station in Enid, Okla., when a woman walked in with a story to tell.

In Enid, a city of 50,000 people dotted by Depression-era grain terminals, Mr. Bruno typically worked on robberies and financial crimes. But in this case, the woman, Apera Tobiason, was a treatment specialist at the Robert M. Greer Center, an institution for people with developmental disabilities that sat on a sprawling campus on the main road into town.

She was upset. She told Mr. Bruno that she had started working at Greer the previous summer, writing treatment plans for residents who had the mental capacity of young children. At first, she had been excited. Her brother has a disability, so the work felt personal. But she quickly realized that Greer was no place she would want her brother to be.

In early 2023, she had encountered three residents who had black eyes or head injuries and grew suspicious when they were all explained away as accidental. The problem, she said, was that

many of her fellow staff members were barely trained and regarded residents as nuisances requiring discipline.

But her reports to her superiors, which she was soon filing weekly, if not daily, seemed to go nowhere. She told the police that little of what she saw was reported to the state, as required by law, and often only after injuries had healed.

After she raised her concerns, Ms. Tobiason said, a woman she worked with called her a snitch, and deliberately bumped her shoulder in a hallway. She said she was made to feel by her co-workers that her empathy for the residents was the problem.

“They absolutely hated that I was nice to them,” she said.

She had sought a meeting with Mr. Bruno after receiving an alarming phone call from another police officer two days earlier. He told her that fliers with her photo had been found all over town, advertising her for sex work. “Item for sale,” they said. “Want your Popsicle blown?” They included tear-off slips with her phone number. She went looking, and found

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## Pesticide Plan By G.O.P. Irks MAHA Moms

By MAXINE JOSELOW  
and HIROKO TABUCHI

For years, the pesticide manufacturer Bayer has battled thousands of lawsuits claiming that its weed killer Roundup causes cancer in people who use it frequently.

Now, the Republican-controlled Congress could deliver the company a crucial victory. A provision tucked into a government spending bill could shield Bayer and other pesticides makers from billions of dollars in payouts to plaintiffs.

The proposal follows intense lobbying by Bayer and other industry interests over the past year. But it has sparked outrage from a new force in Washington: followers of the “Make America Healthy Again” movement.

The controversy highlights tensions within President Trump's political base over the pesticides in the nation's food supply. Tensions flared this month after Health Secretary Robert F. Kennedy Jr. released a report on childhood health that disappointed many MAHA activists who felt it didn't go far enough to rein in pesticides. The divisions within the president's base could resurface ahead of the midterm elections next fall.

If Republican lawmakers vote for the spending bill in its current form, “they are going to face the wrath of MAHA in the midterm elections,” said Vani Hari, a MAHA influencer who is known as the Food Babe to her 2.3 million Instagram followers.

Among MAHA influencers, glyphosate, the key ingredient in certain formulations of Roundup, is so singularly spurned that the activist Kelly Ryerson goes by “the Glyphosate Girl” on social media. In recent weeks, Ms. Ryerson has urged her nearly 84,000 Instagram followers to call lawmakers about the proposal.

“Giving immunity to chemical manufacturers? That's insanity,” Ms. Ryerson said in an interview. “And I think that a lot of these Republican congresspeople don't really even understand what the language means because they're

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DAMIAN DOVARGANES/ASSOCIATED PRESS

President Trump noted in June that his immigration policy was hurting some farmers.

### NEWS ANALYSIS

## On the Border, Trump Favors Business First

By ZOLAN KANNO-YOUNGS  
and HAMED ALEAZIZ

WASHINGTON — President Trump entered the White House in January promising both the “largest deportation program in American history” and a “golden age” for American businesses.

But in recent weeks, the tension between those two promises has spilled out into the open, leading Mr. Trump to reverse or contradict some of his most significant anti-immigration policies when they threatened to disrupt the economy.

Mr. Trump has celebrated his success in driving down illegal border crossings and in cracking down on immigration more broadly. But he walks a careful line when his hard-line policies collide with his economic agenda — particularly when it comes to foreign workers, student visas and industries that rely on immigrant labor.

The changing positions have not only infuriated his far-right allies, but have also confused those aiming to carry out his deportation policies.

“His heart isn't in the nativist purge the way that the rest of his administration's heart is into it,” said David J. Bier, the director of immigration studies at the Cato Institute. “He's always been someone who likes to dabble in that type of rhetoric. But at the

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### Protecting a View of the Stars

A Chilean astronomer is fighting light pollution in what is considered the best place on Earth to study space. PAGE A4

### Extreme Heat Spurs New Laws

Governments around the world are barely keeping up with the risks as they try to protect workers. PAGE A5

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### A New Mission for Pelosi

The former speaker is playing a quiet role in backing Gov. Gavin Newsom's push for congressional redistricting in California. PAGE A11

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In New York State, some police officers evaded punishment for drunken drinking, an investigation found. PAGE A10

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The expeditions of Mark Norell helped him discover links between dinosaurs and birds. He was 68. PAGE B7



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### Indigenous Nuggets of Wisdom

On the Met's facade, a Native artist honors parkland animals and engages his widest audience yet. PAGE C1

### Giving Six Sisters a Makeover

A new graphic novel from Mimi Pond explores the lives of England's outrageous Mitford siblings. PAGE C1

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### An Online Game Tragedy

Ethan Dallas began playing Roblox at age 7. At 15, he killed himself after years of abuse by a man who authorities say posed as a child online. Ethan's mother is suing over her son's death. PAGE B1

### Rolling Back Passenger Rights

Biden-era policies calling for payment for disrupted flights, refunds for faulty Wi-Fi and protections for disabled passengers may be reversed by the Transportation Department. PAGE B1

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Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva PAGE A18



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### Records, Vault After Vault

The pole-vaulter Armand Duplantis is just 25, but his main competition is against himself in a quest to set the world mark again and again. PAGE D1

