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Prices in Canada may be higher \$4.00

IRAN LAUNCHES MISSILES AT U.S. BASE IN QATAR



GLUM IN TEHRAN A burned ambulance on Monday after Israeli attacks. Iranian leaders were struggling to project normalcy. Page A8.

Advance Notice Led to Interception, Providing a Possible Off-Ramp

This article is by Farnaz Fassihi, Adam Ragon, Eric Schmitt and Michael Levson.

Iran fired a wave of missiles at a major United States military base in Qatar on Monday in retaliation for the American attack on three Iranian nuclear sites this past weekend.

But the strike came with an advance warning from Tehran and appeared to be limited in scale, raising hopes that the region could avoid a wider conflagration.

The Iranian attack came after the United States sent a squadron of B-2 stealth bombers to unleash 30,000-pound "bunker buster" bombs on Iran's heavily fortified nuclear site, Fordo, which is buried in the side of a mountain. The United States also used American submarines to launch 30 Tomahawk cruise missiles at the Natanz and Isfahan nuclear sites.

American officials said the attack severely damaged, but did not destroy, the Iranian nuclear sites.

Qatar and the United States said their forces shot down the Iranian missiles on Monday. A spokesman for the Qatari Foreign Ministry, Majed Al Ansari, called the strike a "flagrant violation" of Qatar's sovereignty and said the country reserved the right to respond.

The Pentagon said there were no reports of casualties after Al Udeid Air Base in Qatar was attacked by short-range and medium-range ballistic missiles. The base is the largest American military installation in the Middle East and the forward headquarters for the U.S. Central Command. It has 10,000 military and civilian personnel and is equipped with air defenses that had been on high alert in anticipation of the Iranian attack.

Three Iranian officials familiar with Tehran's plans said that Iran had given advance notice of the missile strike — as a way to minimize casualties. The officials said that Iran needed to strike back at the United States but also wanted to allow both sides a possible off-ramp. They described the strategy as similar to one Iran used in 2020 when it gave Iraq a heads up before firing ballistic missiles at two American bases in Iraq in the wake of the U.S. assassination of Iran's top military commander, Maj. Gen. Qassem Soleimani.

An Israeli official also said that Iran had given a warning before the attack, though the official did not say through which channel or which country. The Israeli and Iranian officials all spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss sensitive intelligence matters.

Even though Iranian officials described the strike as calibrated to limit casualties, it stoked fears that it could draw the United States further into a conflict that could ripple across the region.

No casualties were reported after the missiles were blocked.

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LONG HISTORY Iran's nuclear program is part of its identity, making it hard for any leader to give it up. News Analysis, PAGE A8

ECONOMIC FALLOUT? President Trump confronts the prospect that his strikes on Iran could send oil and gas prices soaring. PAGE B1

Over 8 Chaotic Days, Misdirection Paved the Way for U.S. Strikes

This article is by Mark Mazzetti, Jonathan Swan, Maggie Haberman, Eric Schmitt and Helene Cooper.

Standing at the lectern in the White House briefing room on Thursday afternoon, Karoline Leavitt, the White House press secretary, read a message she said came "directly from the president."

Because of the "substantial chance of negotiations" with Iran that could bring the United States back from the brink of jumping

into the war in the Middle East, President Trump's statement said, he would make a decision about whether to strike Iran "within the next two weeks."

Mr. Trump had been under pressure from the noninterventionist wing of his party to stay out of the conflict, and was having lunch that day with one of the most outspoken opponents of a bombing campaign, Stephen K. Bannon, fueling speculation that he might hold off.

It was almost entirely a deception, Mr. Trump had all but made up his mind to bomb Iran's nuclear

How Ruses and a Swirl of Viewpoints Veiled Trump's Intentions

facilities, and the military preparations were well underway for the complex attack.

Less than 30 hours after Ms. Leavitt relayed his statement, he would give the order for an assault that put the United States in the middle of the latest conflict to

break out in one of the world's most volatile regions.

Mr. Trump's "two weeks" statement was just one aspect of a broader effort at political and military misdirection that took place over eight chaotic days, from the first Israeli strikes against Iran to the moment when a fleet of B-2 stealth bombers took off from Missouri for the first American military strikes inside Iran since that country's theocratic revolution in 1979.

Interviews with administration officials, Trump allies and advisers

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NADIA SHIRA CORN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Settler Ambitions in Angola

Some Mennonites have left Mexico, hoping to attract more families from the Americas. Page A10.

Under Trump, Ex-MTV Star Pitches Big Families

By CAROLINE KITCHENER
WASHINGTON — Sean Duffy would like you to watch his family making pancakes.

They have cooked breakfast together twice on national television, once just last month — man, wife and children, gathered around a stovetop as a Fox News host prompts them to describe this most wholesome of Saturday morning pastimes.

"For us, it's not just eating the

From a Racy Past to a Key Cabinet Post

pancakes. It's actually making the pancakes," Mr. Duffy said in a 2017 segment, bouncing a baby on his hip as the rest of his kids smiled uncomfortably at the camera. "It becomes somewhat of a family affair."

The Duffys, who had eight chil-

dren at the time and would go on to have a ninth, were proud to highlight their unusually large family. Mr. Duffy's wife rattled off the kids' names before mixing the batter, noting that two were away at Catholic camp, praying the rosary. When it came time to fire up the burner, she stepped aside. In this all-American household, the roles were clear: Mom whisks and Dad mans the griddle.

As the camera panned out to

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Solar Canoes Make Inroads In the Amazon

By JOSÉ MARÍA LEÓN CARRERA

KUSUTKAO, Ecuador — On a sweltering Sunday morning, 20 Indigenous men in the Ecuadorian Amazon boarded a canoe in their community near the border with Peru. Their destination was a neighboring village 45 minutes away by river.

They were athletes, headed to an intervillage sports competition, a cherished tradition that strengthens community bonds.

But it is one that had not happened in years, and for many participants, it was a reunion of sorts.

"I hadn't visited Kusutkao since I was a kid," said Luciano Peas, 28, a member of the Achuar Indigenous group, referring to the village where they were headed.

The journey between the isolated villages was made possible thanks to their boat, a traditional river canoe aside from one distinctive feature on top: 24 solar panels that harness sunlight to power an engine.

The canoe is part of a growing fleet of electric-powered vessels providing a cheaper and greener alternative to diesel-powered boats that typically travel the Indigenous region's waterways.

The first solar-powered boat was launched in 2017, and today, such boats play critical roles in this remote corner of the Amazon, becoming a source of pride for the Achuar, who helped develop and expand the network of solar-powered canoes.

The vessels, which can accom-

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FRED SMITH, 1944-2025

FedEx Founder With a Vision That Revolutionized Shipping

By ALEX TRAUB

Frederick W. Smith, who bet everything he had on a plan to revolutionize freight transport, courting disaster early on but ultimately winning vindication in the form of power in Washington, billions in personal wealth and changes in how people all over the world send and receive goods, died on Saturday in Memphis. He was 80.

His death was announced by FedEx in a statement.

FedEx was conceived in a paper that Mr. Smith wrote as a Yale University undergraduate in 1965. He argued that an increasingly automated economy would depend on fast and dependable door-to-door shipping of small packages containing computer parts. He got a grade of C.



Fred Smith in 2005. FedEx created a new sector in the economy by delivering overnight.

Today, FedEx employs more than half a million people and operates the world's largest fleet of cargo aircraft. On an average day, the company ships more than 16 million packages in about 220 countries and territories.

Like Google, FedEx created a new service that came to be seen as so essential that the corporate name is now a widely recognizable verb.

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PHOTOGRAPHS BY TONY CENCIO/ALTA THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mayoral Candidates Sum Up

Ahead of the primary on Tuesday, The New York Times analyzed the closing speeches of the four leading Democrats. Page A14.

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Texas Hemp Bill Vetted

Gov. Greg Abbott blocked what would have been one of the nation's strictest bans on hemp intoxicants, telling legislators to revisit the topic. PAGE A18

Fixing New York's Prisons

Gov. Kathy Hochul's response to homicides behind bars and guard strikes have been too mild, activists say. PAGE A18

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Leading Mexico's Top Court

Hugo Aguilar Ortiz, an Indigenous lawyer, is the first person elected as the country's chief justice. PAGE A4

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Wild-card entries into Grand Slam tennis events are shaped by nationalism, politics and money. PAGE B11

A Steady Hand on the Title

In leading the Thunder to the N.B.A. crown, Shai Gilgeous-Alexander capped a transcendent season. PAGE B8



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Paying More for Cans

Tariffs on steel and aluminum may raise the cost of various containers. Food and beverage companies say they can't absorb the expense. PAGE B1

U.S. Battery Boom Is Stalling

Battery companies are slowing construction or investments because of tariff and tax credit risks. PAGE B1

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An Eye on the Storm

Gary England, who used high-tech tools to warn TV viewers of tornadoes in the central United States, was 85. PAGE A22

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On Guard Against Ticks

As temperatures rise, several kinds of the arachnids are flourishing in ways that threaten people's health. PAGE D7

Astronomical Improvements

The capabilities of a U.S.-financed observatory in Chile are expected to transform the study of space. PAGE D1



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A More Meaningful Jumble

The Venice Architecture Biennale's curator wants non-architects to enjoy a sometimes challenging event. PAGE C1

Bridging a Cultural Divide

With his Netflix sitcom, "Tires," Shane Gillis is trying to map the leap from edgeland to the mainstream. PAGE C1

OPINION A20-21

Karim Sadjadpour

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The Mennonites are willing to repurpose much of what falls in their hands, including a modern tent used for Sunday prayer, near right. Far right, presenting diamonds at an illegal diamond saleshouse in Dundo, Angola.



Mennonites Needed Land. Diamond Miners Had It.

By NADIA SHIRA COHEN
and ALAN YUHAS

LUNDA NORTE, Angola — Not long ago, the field where Charlotte Itala picks corn with her friends was a hunting ground where people in her small African village caught antelope, boar and forest buffalo.

Now that land has been plowed over by her new employers, a group of Old Colony Mennonites.

The Mennonites, adherents of a Christian sect founded in the 16th century, number nearly 60 people in all, most of whom set out from Mexico almost a year ago to establish a settlement in north-eastern Angola. As part of an agreement with a diamond mining company, they have cleared and cultivated nearly 2,000 acres, hoping to build a community that other Mennonites from the Americas can join.

The new families, who use shipping containers as makeshift homes, have impressed some Angolans but raised fears among others. In Ms. Itala's village, Cambanze, some worry that the Mennonites may be just the latest outsiders to move in with little regard for the people who live there.

"If they take our land, we won't be able to grow our cassava — and then what are we going to eat?" said Ms. Itala, who makes \$2.50 for seven hours of work in the Mennonites' field. The money does not make up for the loss of her village's hunting ground, she said. "We are worried for our future."

The Mennonites avoid using the word "colony" in their new home. It conjures visions of a brutal past for Angolans, whose country was for centuries exploited by Portuguese colonists trading in resources and human beings.

Calling their settlement the Fields of Hope, the Mennonites describe themselves as enthusiastic partners of the Angolans. They say they will set aside about 12 acres of land for each nearby village and teach people to farm like them.

"Angola needs cultivation, and we need land," said Jacob Froese, one of the Mennonites. "I see us as a pair."

Although Angola has immense oil and mineral wealth, the country has long struggled with widespread corruption, high rates of unemployment and poverty. Most of rural Angola has little access to electricity, and hundreds of villages like Cambanze rely on hunting, harvesting cassava and collecting butterfly larvae, which is sold as food.

Hoping to ease dependence on expensive food imports, the government has sought to promote agriculture in north-eastern Angola, a region dominated by diamond mining and once devastated by the country's long civil war.

Typically, mining companies are offered only five-year concessions to explore and excavate land, and they must be renewed with the Angolan authorities. But by investing in agriculture through a government program, a company can acquire much longer concessions.

The Mennonites and a mining company, Minas Gema Angola, made a partnership that appears to have the potential to secure longer land concessions, according to Mennonite leaders and Zeca Cassanguidi, a businessman and retired general.

"In our contract it's written that if we find a diamond we have to sit down and have a meeting with Minas Gema to discuss how to sell it," said Benjamin Kauenhofen, the leader of the Mennonite families. "The diamond miners need us. We are helping each other out."

Mr. Cassanguidi, who helped broker the arrangement, said that the Mennonites were not allowed to infringe on nearby villages' farming land, and that salaries for the Angolan workers would increase as crops turned into successful harvests.

"It's important to show that food is coming out of this place that was a place of war," he said.

The Minas Gema representative named on the contract, Marcos de Oliveira Bacurau, said that there was "enormous potential" for farming in northern Angola. "The diamond mines don't physically occupy a lot of land, so the area is a great place to introduce agriculture," he said.

Angola's state-run diamond authority, Endiama, did not respond to questions about Minas Gema's operations in the land farmed by the Mennonites. Mr. Cassanguidi said the company had not yet found diamonds in the area.

A wave of Old Colony Mennonites, who largely reject new technology, emigrated from Europe to the Americas about a century ago. They have established a string of colonies into the Amazon and farther south, some of which have prompted protests and investigations.

Merle Müller contributed research.



'We are worried for our future,' said a resident of Cambanze, Angola.

Opposition from environmentalists and beekeepers in Mexico, upset over deforestation and the Mennonites' use of Roundup, a weedkiller linked to cancer, helped push a group of Mennonites to Angola in search of land for their rapidly expanding families.

"There is a sentiment that there is no future in Mexico for us," Mr. Kauenhofen said. "They say trees create oxygen and cutting them down is changing the environment. If we must leave the trees, OK, but what are we going to eat? The world is growing."

The idea of moving to Angola came to the Mennonites after a group of them met an Angolan delegation at an agricultural event in Mexico City in 2019.

But their first attempt, in 2023, ended in anguish. The Mennonites arrived with only tourist visas, struggled to navigate Angola's bureaucracy and were left living in tents, losing what little money they had, in an area rife with malaria. One 8-year-old child, Lucy, died of the disease.



Most of rural Angola has little access to electricity and basic supplies. Villages must hunt and harvest.

But they decided to try again, in part because of the land concession deal but also because of their emotional ties. "I wanted to be close to Lucy," said Berta Harder, the girl's mother.

While the Mennonite families in Angola largely try to live apart from society, they are not as strict in rejecting modernization as other Old Colony settlements.

Like those groups, they speak Plautdietsch, the Low German dialect almost exclusively spoken by Mennonites. But English words pepper their sentences, and most of the men also know Spanish. Tortillas have become a staple of their meals, and they listen to mariachi music on Sundays. And now that they are in Angola, some are learning Portuguese.

Unlike more hard-line Mennonites, the group in Angola uses tractors and other mechanical equipment. But there are limits. "We can't open up to the internet," said Abraham Froese Zacharias. "The internet is evil."

The Mennonites and residents of Cambanze both draw water from the same small river, fetched each day in five-gallon jugs.

The Mennonite children play on the same hillside and fields where Ms. Itala and her friends did when they were younger. Some of the girls have learned to balance loads on their heads, as Angolan women do.

But the Mennonites do not see themselves converting Angolans or trying to integrate them into their community. Instead, they hope that other Mennonites from the Americas will join them.

"If the Bolivians don't come, we are going to cry," said Juan Harder, Mr. Harder's father, about another group. "The kids are going to grow up and who will they marry?"

Like the Mennonites, Ms. Itala's husband, Tiago Sumixi, is proud of his family's history. He comes from a long line of Chokwe hunters who fiercely resisted Portuguese colonial rule.

But between the farm and the diamond mine to come, he and others in Cambanze share a growing anxiety that they are being squeezed out. "We are paralyzed," he said. "We have nowhere to go."



Charlotte Itala, above at left, and other women from Cambanze harvesting the first corn from the Mennonite farm. Below, Joao Americo, also from Cambanze, roasting a monkey hunted in the area. The village stands to lose a substantial amount of hunting ground from the new agricultural land concession.





Far left, Monica Zacharias Harder balancing a jar on her head, a habit she picked up observing the Angolan women. The Mennonites are also learning Portuguese. Near left, children from Cambanze burning grass for a soccer field.



Villagers from Cambanze gathering tree stubs and roots in order to prepare for the planting season. Their wages amount to about \$2.50 for seven hours of work.

Photographs by
NADIA SHIRA COHEN

Maria Harder Froese with her children (from left, Corony, Lina and Nancy) in their container home. There are nearly 60 Mennonites in the settlement.