

“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Today, sun mixing with clouds, breezy late, high 78. **Tonight**, cloudy, showers and a thunderstorm, low 67. **Tomorrow**, partly sunny, humid, high 82. Weather map, Page B10.

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THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 2025

Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



TINGSHU WANG/REUTERS

A Show of Power and Pomp
Soldiers in Beijing marched in a military parade on Wednesday to mark the 80th anniversary of the end of World War II. Page A6.

White House Calls In Reinforcements for Siege on Wind Energy

This article is by Maxine Joselow, Lisa Friedman and Brad Plumer.
WASHINGTON — The White House has taken the extraordinary step of instructing a half-dozen agencies to draft plans to thwart the country’s offshore wind industry as it intensifies its governmentwide attack on a source of renewable energy that President Trump has criticized as ugly, expensive and inefficient.
Susie Wiles, the White House chief of staff, and Stephen Miller, a senior White House adviser, are

leading the effort, according to two people briefed on the matter who spoke on the condition of anonymity because they were not authorized to comment publicly.
Agencies that typically have little to do with offshore wind power have been drawn into the effort, the two people said. At the Health and Human Services Department, for instance, officials are studying whether wind turbines are emitting electromagnetic fields that could harm human health. And the Defense Department is looking into whether the

Enlists Even Unrelated Agencies to Attack Offshore Farms

projects could pose risks to national security.
Last week Robert F. Kennedy Jr., the health and human services secretary, said he was working with Doug Burgum, the interior secretary; Howard Lutnick, the commerce secretary; Chris

Wright, the energy secretary; and Pete Hegseth, the defense secretary, as part of a “departmental coalition team” to investigate the risks from offshore wind farms.
“We’re all working together on this issue,” Mr. Kennedy said during a cabinet meeting.
Brigit Hirsch, a spokeswoman for Lee Zeldin, the Environmental Protection Agency administrator, said on Tuesday that he, too, is involved in discussions about offshore wind at “a high level.”
And Sean Duffy, the transporta-

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Met Opera Gets A Fiscal Lifeline In Saudi Arabia

By JAVIER C. HERNÁNDEZ
The Metropolitan Opera, one of the world’s most renowned performing arts companies, is turning to Saudi Arabia to help it solve some of the most severe financial problems in its 142-year history.
The company has reached a lucrative agreement with the kingdom that calls for it to perform there for three weeks each winter. While neither the Met nor the Saudis disclosed financial terms when they announced a memorandum of understanding on Wednesday, the deal is expected to bring the Met more than \$100 million.
The Met hopes the agreement will help it emerge from a period of acute financial woes. Since the coronavirus pandemic, the company has withdrawn more than a third of the money in its endowment fund to help it cover operating costs — about \$120 million overall, including \$50 million to help pay for the season that ended in June. The withdrawals have raised questions about the viability of staging live opera on a grand scale in the 21st century.

Peter Gelb, the Met’s general manager, said in an interview that the Saudi deal would cover a “substantial portion” of the Met’s financial needs through at least 2032 and that the company would no longer be forced to tap its endowment for emergency funds.
“It’s the right thing to do,” Mr. Gelb said of the agreement, “because it will make the Met stronger as an institution, both financially and artistically.”
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WOOHAE CHO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ahn Hak-sop, who fought for North Korea and was captured, spent more than 40 years in prison.

A Communist Warrior Stranded in South Korea

By CHOE SANG-HUN
GIMPO, South Korea — Ahn Hak-sop leaned on a cane and a dining table as he lowered himself at glacial speed to sit on the floor of his home. The husk of a man who once loved judo, he has been worn down by life in South Korea, an enemy nation that locked him up for more than four decades.
His speech was slow and slurred because of his dentures, but Mr. Ahn was eager to explain why he so hated the United States. From the words he used — “comrades,” “struggle,” “imperialism,”

At 95, Still Denouncing an ‘American Colony’

“colony” and “independence”— there was no mistaking the former North Korean soldier’s devotion to communism.
“I am still trying to figure out this thing called capitalism,” said Mr. Ahn, 95. Along the walls around him were papier-mâché figures mocking Uncle Sam and the Statue of Liberty as money-loving, machine gun-toting, blood-

thirsty warmongers. “People in South Korea don’t realize that they are slaves in a colony and their leaders can’t do anything without American approval.”
The Korean War ground to a cease-fire 72 years ago, after millions were killed. But it never ended for Mr. Ahn, who as a young man fought on the North Korean side. He was captured by the South during the conflict and then survived 42 years and four months in prison on espionage charges, mostly in solitary confinement. Released in the mid-1980s, he moved to South Korea.
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3 Blue States Form Alliance Over Vaccines

A Widening Schism in U.S. Health Policy

By EMILY BAUMGAERTNER NUNN

LOS ANGELES — Three Democratic-controlled West Coast states announced plans on Wednesday to form a “health alliance” that would review scientific data and make vaccine recommendations for their residents, saying that the federal agency responsible for issuing such guidance for the country had become “a political tool that increasingly peddles ideology instead of science.”
The move, which comes at a time of unparalleled turmoil at the agency, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, is an effort by California, Oregon and Washington to take scientific stewardship into their own hands after Health Secretary Robert F. Kennedy Jr., a vaccine skeptic, took control of the C.D.C.’s vaccine decisions. Other states, including several in the Northeast, are considering joining in a similar effort.

Hours after the Western states’ announcement, Florida announced it was going in a starkly different direction: Its surgeon general said the state would end all vaccine mandates, including for children to attend schools, claiming in a news conference that each mandate “drips with disdain and slavery.” Florida’s governor, Ron DeSantis, a Republican, endorsed the plan, though it was not immediately clear whether it would require legislative input. [Page A17.]
The differing state moves underscored the increasingly disjointed nature of vaccine policy across the country. States have always set their own vaccine policy and mandates for schoolchildren, but those rules were based on national recommendations put forth by the C.D.C. Now that all 17 experts on the agency’s advisory panel have been dismissed by Mr. Kennedy — several of them replaced by vaccine skeptics — the opaque federal landscape has led to a hodgepodge of state moves.
Dr. Paul Offit, the director of the Vaccine Education Center at Children’s Hospital of Philadelphia, who was recently blocked from participating in a vaccine advisory committee for the Food and Drug Administration, said that unless all states aligned their guidelines with respected medical organizations like the American Academy of Pediatrics and the American College of Obstetrics and Gynecology, the cacophony of advice could ultimately obscure scientific truth.
“If you can’t trust the Advisory Committee for Immunization Practices, and with Robert F. Kennedy Jr.,” he said.
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U.S. SAYS STRIKE ON BOAT SOUGHT TO STOP CARTELS

WAGING NEW CAMPAIGN

A Murky Legal Rationale for Using the Military to Combat Drugs

This article is by Eric Schmitt, Helen Cooper, Alan Feuer, Charlie Savage and Edward Wong.

The Trump administration declared the start of a new and potentially violent campaign against Venezuelan cartels on Wednesday, defending a deadly U.S. military strike on a boat that officials said was carrying drugs even as specialists in the law of war questioned the legality of the attack.
The U.S. Navy has long intercepted and boarded ships suspected of smuggling drugs in international waters, typically with a Coast Guard officer temporarily in charge to invoke law enforcement authority. Tuesday’s direct attack in the Caribbean was a marked departure from that decades-long approach.
The administration has said 11 people were aboard the vessel. It



HAIYUN JIANG/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth called the attack justified.

was unclear whether they were given a chance to surrender before the United States attacked.
The Trump administration has not offered any legal rationale. But Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth said in an appearance on “Fox & Friends” on Wednesday that administration officials “knew exactly who was in that boat” and “exactly what they were doing,” although he did not offer a legal rationale.
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More on the White House

ROILING CRIME G.O.P. governors have called up troops in blue-state cities while not inviting the same attention to their cities. PAGE A18
WRESTING POWER Hidden in the footnotes of budget logs are threats to block funding. PAGE A18

As Mamdani Picks Up Steam, He Tones Down His Stances

By ELIZA SHAPIRO

In the roughly five years since Zohran Mamdani first started campaigning for public office, he has argued that prostitution should be decriminalized. He has called to defund the police. He has said that billionaires should not exist, and that the admissions test for New York City’s elite public high schools should be abolished.
But before he began his long-shot bid to become the Democratic nominee for mayor last year, he abandoned some of his most provocative views. And during the course of the campaign, he has sought to downplay others.
In the past several days, as Mr. Mamdani has faced mounting pressure from some of his rivals in the four-way general election, he has also tried to distance himself

from the platform of the national Democratic Socialists of America, of which he is a member.
His changed positions — and shifting political strategy — come as Mr. Mamdani, 33, seeks to persuade New Yorkers that despite his relative inexperience, he is ready to lead the nation’s largest city.
His supporters and those who have met with him behind closed doors describe him as open-minded and eager to find common ground. Some in the business community, however, are wary.
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SHRINKING FIELD? The president’s aides are said to have discussed a job for Eric Adams if he quits New York’s race for mayor. PAGE A20



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Animal rights activists are targeting farms in a region of California known for its humane practices. PAGE A12

Court Victory for Harvard
A judge has ruled that the Trump administration illegally canceled the university’s research funding. PAGE A19

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It remains difficult to know what the U.S. strikes in June did to the underground Fordo facility, but ballistics and geology offer some clues. PAGE A11

Push to Annex the West Bank
Amid global calls for a Palestinian state, an Israeli official said his country should control most of the territory. PAGE A10

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Rinse Champagne. Repeat?
After their first Super Bowl title, the Eagles stumbled. This time, they feel more equipped for another run. PAGE B6



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Stop the Presses? Not Just Yet.
“The Paper” brings the mockumentary approach used in “The Office” to a struggling local newspaper. PAGE C1

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What a Google Ruling Means
The judge’s decision restrains the company in limited ways, ordering it to share some data, but also positions it to keep its search business running largely without interruption. PAGE B1

China Aims to Cool E.V. Frenzy
Beijing has run out of patience with the country’s electric car companies slashing prices and is urging restraint. But fierce competition is also producing a surge of innovation. PAGE B1

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Bernie Sanders PAGE A23



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Partying’s Death Exaggerated
Gen Z has been called “generation stay-at-home.” But our writer, after a week spent at bars and other hot spots, found much evidence to the contrary. PAGE D5

