

“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Today, periodic rain, breezy early, wet roads and lower visibility, high 62. **Tonight**, partly cloudy, low 58. **Tomorrow**, mostly cloudy, warmer, high 70. Weather map is on Page D8.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



ULET IFANSASTI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Battling a Microplastics Epidemic in Indonesia
Tiny fragments of plastic are abundant in the air, land and water in the country, where the burning of trash is common. Page A10.

U.A.W.’s Rise Jolts Politics In New York

By SALLY GOLDENBERG

As voters headed toward a polling site in New York City in early summer, a campaign volunteer made a last-minute pitch.

Claire Valdez, a state assemblywoman running for an open congressional seat, was a rank-and-file union member, the volunteer offered. A prospective voter was intrigued, and asked which union.

Ms. Valdez belonged to the United Auto Workers. And no, the volunteer acknowledged, she was not actually an auto worker.

The U.A.W., a large international union headquartered in Detroit, has done what many labor groups have found impossible. After a steep decline in membership, it has expanded its ranks even as its core industry has shrunk, finding new life by using organizing efforts in New York City to enroll white-collar workers in private universities, museums and public-interest law practices.

In doing so, the U.A.W. has managed to upend the political establishment in New York City, gaining clout by buoying insurgent power.

The union’s regional branch, which includes the city, was an early endorser of Zohran Mamdani’s long-shot bid for mayor over former Gov. Andrew Cuomo, who had the support of virtually every other union in New York. It backed Ms. Valdez, who won her congressional primary in Brooklyn and Queens against Antonio Reynoso, the Brooklyn borough president supported by most of the city’s unions.

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Vague Data Mars Vance’s Federal Fraud Claims

By LINDA QIU

WASHINGTON — Since the White House formed a task force in March intended to combat fraud, top administration officials have repeatedly heralded its work, pointing to huge amounts in recovered payments and graft stopped in its tracks.

“We found \$250 billion of fraud just since the president made me the fraud czar,” Vice President JD Vance, who leads the task force, said in a speech this month at the Republican midterm convention.

\$250 Billion Is Listed Without Caveats

Yet some of the numbers Mr. Vance and his task force have promoted are overstated or lack specificity and rely on temporary pauses in funding as well as cases and actions that long predated President Trump’s second term, according to a New York Times analysis of documents released by the administration. The task force

also appears to be relying on claims of fraud that could not be verified or leaning on allegations of fraud that are being prematurely included.

In August, the White House published a so-called fraud ledger chronicling its work. It singled out three categories of fraud identified and eliminated since January 2025 — not, as Mr. Vance said, since this March, when the task force was established. As of Wednesday afternoon, the task force asserted it had found, or “un-

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LUIS ANTONIO ROJAS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Mexican Celebration of Melons
In the eastern city of Xalapa, what started as a joke among friends over two decades ago has become a vibrant annual tradition that highlights creativity and absurdity with round fruits. Page A9.

Carney Looks Past U.S. for Partners, but His Options Have Limits

By MATINA STEVIS-GRIDNEFF

Prime Minister Mark Carney of Canada is on a mission to break his country’s dependence on the United States and build deeper trade, defense and cultural ties with European and Asian powers.

In a wide-ranging interview with New York Times journalists, he spoke in detail about the opportunities and limits of the major partnerships he is pursuing.

A close review of his answers about Canada’s relationship with the European Union, China and India highlights that, despite credible plans to strengthen those partnerships, none is likely to offer a one-for-one replacement for the unique, vast economic relationship between Canada and the United States.

For example, he acknowledged that the European Union’s economy was barely growing, but

E.U., China and India vs. Deep U.S. Ties

identified it as the top priority for Canada, saying the two were complementary in key ways; he laid out the limits of Canada’s re-energized relationship with China; and he admitted he could not guarantee an end to all India-

linked crime in Canada, despite the pursuit of a closer relationship with Delhi.

During a visit to the European Parliament in Strasbourg, France, this month, Mr. Carney set his country on a path toward becoming an “associate member” of the bloc, a status that does not yet formally exist but could bring closer ties in several areas.

Despite the bloc’s sluggish

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ICE’s Summer Crackdown Quietly Set High in Arrests

Photos and Filings Reveal a Decentralized Dragnet and Little Public Backlash

This article is by **Jazmine Ulloa, Miriam Jordan, Luis Ferré-Sadurni and David Ovalle.**

The most effective escalation of President Trump’s mass deportation campaign happened quietly.

Unlike earlier high-profile raids that drew thousands of protesters into the streets of Chicago, Los Angeles and Minneapolis, the surge in arrests in June, July and August was captured mostly by grainy security camera footage, through cracked blinds and from behind closed doors.

Arrests by Immigration and Customs Enforcement this summer soared to record highs since the start of this Trump administration — with 43,000 in June, more than 49,000 in July and nearly 51,000 in August — as officials cut or narrowed the pathways to legal residency in the United States and expanded the pool of people eligible for deportation.

Federal agents appeared in nearly every corner of daily life, carrying out operations at hospitals and airports, outside suburban schools and along rural construction sites and truck stops. They fanned out from coastal cities in Maine to desert towns in Arizona, across the open plains of Wyoming and down through the southern borderlands.

In Republican-led states like Texas and Florida, where the swell was strongest, they amplified their reach through partnerships with sheriffs and state highway patrol officers. In Democratic strongholds, they intensified their activities despite laws meant to restrict them.

David Bier, director of immigration studies at the Cato Institute, a libertarian think tank, said the local partnerships, an infusion of federal dollars and new technology had made the dragnet so decentralized that it had attracted less attention.

“This gradual rise everywhere all at once, through a lot of means, is enabling the operation to fly under the radar,” he said.

The spike in arrests, to little public backlash, reflects a turning point in the Trump administration’s efforts to carry out large-scale expulsions of noncitizens. Those arrested were accused of violating civil immigration laws, but most had not been charged

with or convicted of a crime. In a statement, ICE defended the expansion of immigration enforcement.

“This is promises made and promises kept in action,” the statement read. “The results speak for themselves.”

To understand how the operations have unfolded around the country, The New York Times reviewed arrest videos, photographs and court records from more than 50 incidents. What follows is a sampling of those interactions.

Federal agents appeared as people carried out their everyday routines. People were detained en route to a soccer match. Leaving Sunday Mass. Having a drink at a nightclub. At national forests and outside polling locations.

Roger Hansen, 83, owner of the Little Big Load Laundromat in Madison, Wis., said federal immi-



Agents tried to detain accident victims in a Florida hospital.

gration agents took five people from two of his locations in June. Statewide sweeps the same day resulted in the arrests of roughly 40 people, many of whom Department of Homeland Security officials said had criminal charges for sexual assault, driving while intoxicated and other crimes.

Security footage from one of Mr. Hansen’s laundromats shows two agents slamming a young customer to the ground near a soap dispenser. All the while, people continue to do laundry.

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High Gas and Mortgage Rates Are Tailing Trump to Midterms

By TONY ROMM

WASHINGTON — Gas prices climbed, mortgage costs soared and investors on Wall Street grew jittery last week, intensifying a political maelstrom surrounding President Trump with just over a month until voters cast their ballots in the 2026 midterm election.

For Americans stung by years of persistently high prices, the end of September brought little obvious relief, as a long unresolved war with Iran continued to ripple across the U.S. economy in ways that made the nation’s battle with inflation all the more vexing.

Oil prices whipsawed around \$100 per barrel while costs at the pump remained high, with a gallon of gasoline reaching an average of nearly \$4.50 nationally by Friday, according to AAA. The more concerning spike occurred in diesel, which topped \$6.50 per gallon, raising the possibility that high transportation and shipping costs could make groceries and other goods more expensive soon, too.

The energy shock fanned fears of worsening inflation, which consequently sent yields on some

Diesel topped \$6.50 per gallon last week, a strain for shippers.



PATRICK T. FALLON/A.P. — GETTY IMAGES

government bonds to the highest level in more than two decades. That made federal borrowing more expensive, but the problem was not confined to Washington, as the sharp turn in yields also sent rates on 30-year mortgages surging above 7 percent by the week’s end.

The headwinds left many in-

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Draining Palestinians’ Land
Israeli lawmakers have promoted visits to a reservoir in the West Bank that has been refilled with water diverted from Palestinian-owned farms. PAGE A4

5 Arrested in Air Base Threat
Authorities foiled what appears to have been an attack aimed at a British installation with a U.S. presence. PAGE A6

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‘Friday the 13th’ Screenwriter
Despite the success of his slasher film, Victor Miller turned to soap operas like “All My Children.” He was 86. PAGE B6



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Where Self-Governing Thrives
Dignity Village in Portland, Ore., has been a place for people without housing for more than 25 years. PAGE A12

Nor’easter Inundates Region
The storm, which brought high winds, power outages and flooding to the Mid-Atlantic, is weakening. PAGE A14

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A Swedish entrepreneur wants to use decentralized networks modeled on the internet to transform how electricity is distributed. PAGE B1

An A.I. ‘Warning Shot’
Shocking the A.I. world, an OpenAI system tried to use another A.I. model to dodge bot detectors, a report by a Bay Area start-up found. PAGE B1

Trump-Press Tiff Takes a Turn
A decree, a network boycott, a legal intervention and an uneasy détente: This was no typical battle between a president and his press corps. PAGE B1



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Living in a Punster’s Paradise
At Weird Al Yankovic’s concerts, sons and fathers bond over the accordion-wielding pop parodist. PAGE C2

The Artisanal Touch
The British artist Es Devlin discusses the Homo Faber Biennial, which she is presenting on a Venetian island. PAGE C1

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A look at league salaries, rebuilding efforts and which teams have a good chance at skating into June. PAGES D2-5

Suspects in a Subpar Season
Paul Skenes seemed mortal this season, and he said the W.B.C. was one reason why. For others, it’s less clear. PAGE D7

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Cal Newport PAGE A20

