

“All the News  
That’s Fit to Print”

# The New York Times

**THE WEATHER**  
Today, breezy, quite chilly, rain and drizzle at times, high 50. Tonight, remaining cloudy, low 44. Tomorrow, cloudy, a late-day shower, milder, high 56. Weather map is on Page B7.

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AHMED RAMAZAN/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

## Deadly Middle East Flooding

A year’s worth of rain in a day killed at least 19 in Oman and paralyzed cities in the United Arab Emirates, like Sharjah, above. Page A5.

## Senate Rejects Push for Trial Of Mayorkas

**By LUKE BROADWATER**

WASHINGTON — The Senate on Wednesday dismissed the impeachment case against Alejandro N. Mayorkas, the homeland security secretary, voting along party lines before his trial got underway to sweep aside two charges accusing him of failing to enforce immigration laws and breaching the public trust.

By a vote of 51 to 48, with one senator voting “present,” the Senate ruled that the first charge was unconstitutional because it failed to meet the constitutional bar of a high crime or misdemeanor. Republicans united in opposition except for Senator Lisa Murkowski of Alaska, the lone “present” vote, while Democrats were unanimous in favor.

Ms. Murkowski joined her party in voting against dismissal of the second count on the same grounds; it fell along party lines on a 51-to-49 vote.

Senator Chuck Schumer, Democrat of New York and the majority leader, moved to dismiss each charge, arguing that a cabinet member cannot be impeached and removed merely for carrying out the policies of the administration he serves.

“To validate this gross abuse by the House would be a grave mistake and could set a dangerous precedent for the future,” Mr. Schumer said.

It took only about three hours for the Senate to dispense with the matter.

Republicans, for their part, warned that the dangerous precedent was the one that Democrats set by moving to skip an impeachment trial altogether, which they

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## Late-Night Parties Where Campaign Funds Flow

*This article is by Blaze Lovell, Eric Sagara and Irene Casado Sanchez.*

HONOLULU — For the better part of a decade, some of Hawaii’s most powerful people huddled together at late-night parties in a cramped second-floor office where lobbyists and executives seeking government contracts lined up to drop cash and checks into a metal lockbox.

That was the entry fee for these extraordinary political fund-raisers. Inside the office, just a short walk from the State Capitol in downtown Honolulu, dozens of guests were served sushi prepared by professional chefs and unlimited beer and liquor.

## Law in Hawaii to End Pay-to-Play Included a Big Loophole

At the end of the night, Wesley Yonamine, the host and a high-ranking airport official, would, together with the politicians, pop open the box and dole out campaign contributions according to a list of pledges obtained before each event.

As described by attendees, a typical party could bring in thousands of dollars in donations, giving some elected officials almost

half their annual campaign haul in a single night.

It was not supposed to work this way. In 2005, in response to a series of scandals, Hawaii passed a law that barred government contractors from giving money to politicians. It was billed as one of the nation’s most ambitious efforts to end pay-to-play in contracting and designed to fundamentally change the political culture of a state steeped in corruption.

But legislators wrote a loophole into the law, effectively gutting it: The ban would apply only to donations from the actual corporate entities that got contracts, but not to their owners, employees or any

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TYLER HICKS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Coming From Afar for the Fight

The thousands of foreign fighters who signed up to help Ukraine tell a singular war story. Page A6.

## Colorado Extends Privacy Rights to What Goes On in Our Brains

**By JONATHAN MOENS**

Consumers have grown accustomed to the prospect that their personal data, such as email addresses, social contacts, browsing history and genetic ancestry, are being collected and often resold by the apps and the digital services they use.

With the advent of consumer neurotechnologies, the data being

collected is becoming ever more intimate. One headband serves as a personal meditation coach by monitoring the user’s brain activity. Another purports to help treat anxiety and symptoms of depression. Another reads and interprets brain signals while the user scrolls through dating apps, presumably to provide better matches. (“Listen to your heart” is not enough,” the manufacturer says on its website.)

## Protecting Neural Data From Being Sold

The companies behind such technologies have access to the records of the users’ brain activity — the electrical signals underlying our thoughts, feelings and intentions.

On Wednesday, Gov. Jared Polis of Colorado signed a bill that, for the first time in the United States, tries to ensure that such data remains truly private. The new law, which passed by a 61-to-1 vote in the Colorado House and a 34-to-0 vote in the Senate, expands the definition of “sensitive data” in the state’s current personal privacy law to include biological and “neural data” generated by the brain,

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## How Israel Miscalculation Poked at a Hornet’s Nest

### Failing to Anticipate Iran’s Response Over a Strike on Its Embassy in Damascus

*This article is by Ronen Bergman, Farnaz Fassihi, Eric Schmitt, Adam Entous and Richard Pérez-Peña.*

TEL AVIV — Israel was mere moments away from an airstrike on April 1 that killed several senior Iranian commanders at Iran’s embassy complex in Syria when it told the United States what was about to happen.

Israel’s closest ally had just been caught off guard.

Aides quickly alerted Jake Sullivan, President Biden’s national security adviser; Jon Finer, the deputy national security adviser; Brett McGurk, Mr. Biden’s Middle East coordinator; and others, who saw that the strike could have serious consequences, a U.S. official said. Publicly, U.S. officials voiced support for Israel, but privately, they expressed anger that it would take such aggressive action against Iran without consulting Washington.

The Israelis had badly miscalculated, thinking that Iran would not react strongly, according to multiple American officials who were involved in high-level discussions after the attack, a view shared by a senior Israeli official.

On Saturday, Iran launched a retaliatory barrage of more than 300 drones and missiles at Israel, an unexpectedly large-scale response, if one that did minimal damage.

The events made clear that the unwritten rules of engagement in the long-simmering conflict between Israel and Iran have changed drastically in recent months, making it harder than ever for each side to gauge the other’s intentions and reactions.

Since the Oct. 7 attack on Israel by Hamas, an Iranian ally, and Israel’s subsequent bombardment of the Gaza Strip, there has been escalation after escalation and miscalculation after miscalculation, raising fears of a retribution cycle that could potentially become an all-out war.

Even after it became clear that Iran would retaliate, U.S. and Israeli officials initially thought the scale of the response would be fairly limited, before scrambling to revise their assessment again and again. Now the focus is on what Israel will do next — and how Iran might respond.

“We are in a situation where basically everybody can claim victory,” said Ali Vaez, the Iran director of the International Crisis Group. “Iran can say that it took revenge, Israel can say it defeated the Iranian attack and the United States can say it successfully deterred Iran and defended Israel.”

But Mr. Vaez said: “If we get into another round of tit for tat, it can easily spiral out of control, not just for Iran and Israel, but for the rest of the region and the entire world.”

This account of these tense weeks is gleaned from interviews with U.S. officials, as well as officials from Israel, Iran and other Middle Eastern states. All of them spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss sensitive matters they were not authorized to reveal publicly.

Planning for the Israeli strike in Syria started two months earlier, two Israeli officials said. The target was Mohammad Reza Zahedi,

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WANA NEWS AGENCY, VIA REUTERS

Burying the seven Revolutionary Guards killed in the attack.

## Women Share Abortion Input Across TikTok

**By EMILY SCHMALL**

“Have an abortion with me,” a single mother from Brooklyn named Sunni says as she twirls around her kitchen to light jazzy piano, before walking TikTok viewers through the steps she took to end her pregnancy at home.

With states expanding restrictions on abortion and the issue likely to be at the forefront of the presidential election, women are creating videos on social media describing their own abortions and sharing practical information on how to obtain one.

Sunni explained to viewers that she was craving information when she was planning her abortion. “This is the video I was looking for,” she said.

The reaction to her video, which has been viewed more than 400,000 times and has drawn comments of both commiseration and condemnation, shows how deeply personal and divisive the issue remains in the run-up to the November elections.

One viewer, a campaigner with the group Protect Life Michigan, remixed the video on the group’s own TikTok account, criticizing Sunni for her lighthearted tone and for making the video at all.

“I just don’t understand how we are making a video, and we are laughing and joking about going through the abortion process,” the campaigner said.

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## Columbia Chief Vows Remedies To Antisemitism

*This article is by Nicholas Fandos, Stephanie Saul and Sharon Otterman.*

The president of Columbia said the university had suspended 15 students. She promised that one visiting professor “will never work at Columbia again.”

And when she was grilled over whether she would remove another professor from his leadership position, she appeared to make a decision right there on Capitol Hill: “I think I would, yes.”

The president, Nemat Shafik, disclosed the disciplinary details, which are usually confidential, as part of an all-out effort on Wednesday to persuade a House committee investigating Columbia that she was taking action to combat a wave of antisemitism following the Israel-Hamas war.

In nearly four hours of testimony before the Republican-led Committee on Education and the Workforce, Dr. Shafik conceded that Columbia had initially been overwhelmed by an outbreak of campus protests. But she said its leaders now agreed that some had used antisemitic language and that certain contested phrases — like “from the river to the sea” — might warrant discipline.

“I promise you, from the messages I’m hearing from students, they are getting the message that violations of our policies will have consequences,” Dr. Shafik said.

Testifying alongside her, Claire

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Since the Key Bridge collapse, work-arounds are occurring along the coast and straining the supply chain. PAGE B1

**Tesla’s Board Supports Musk**  
The company’s directors are asking shareholders to again approve the chief executive’s \$47 billion pay deal. PAGE B1

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Balloting in a land with nearly a billion voters is a six-week undertaking requiring millions of poll workers. PAGE A4

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A good cut is always important, but some hairstylists know it holds more weight for transgender clients. PAGE D2

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A laid-back shop in Los Angeles is a semi-secret spot frequented by celebrities and costume designers. PAGE D1

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The gun group agreed to a deal with the District of Columbia’s attorney general, who said it had used the foundation “as an unchecked piggy bank.” PAGE A17

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Jontay Porter of the Raptors also shared inside information, an investigation found. He received the league’s most severe punishment in decades. PAGE B9

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**Charles M. Blow** PAGE A21



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As Philip Johnson’s paired structures in Connecticut turn 75, the Brick House will reopen to visitors after 16 years and a \$1.8 million restoration. PAGE C1

