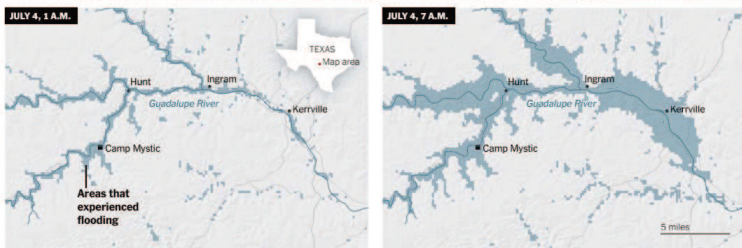




LOREN ELLIOTT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Guadalupe River caused the worst of the destruction and anguish, as its flooding killed dozens of people, many of them children.



Source: Flooding data via Floodbase | Note: Map shows areas with any level of estimated flooding. Localized flooding may be underrepresented.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Floodwaters Moved Faster Than Niagara Falls

The flow rate of the Guadalupe River quickly went from that of a small stream to a torrent of 120,000 cubic feet per second. Page A13.

In Texas Hill Country, Rivers Bring Magnetic Allure, and Danger

By RICK ROJAS
SAN MARCOS, Texas — Slightly downstream from where the San Marcos and Blanco rivers meet in Central Texas, Tom Goynes likes to show visitors to his campground the "symphony of birds," as he calls it, in the mornings — the woodpeckers, the cardinals. He routinely sees deer, bobcats and coyotes.

"You're surrounded by God and everything that he's created," said Mr. Goynes, 74, who has operated campgrounds on the San Marcos River since 1972. "It's a whole lot better than being in any cathedral."

In the region of Texas known as the Hill Country, the rivers that etch an otherwise semiarid terrain are a defining feature: They have long offered a cool respite

As Area Grows, Risks of Flooding Do, Too

from unforgiving heat, access to wildlife and a splendor that can resonate in a way that feels spiritual.

When some of those rivers quickly rose early on July 4, un-

leashing floodwaters that killed more than 100 people, with dozens of others still missing, the disaster served as an abrupt reminder of the danger that has always lurked in a place referred to as Flash Flood Alley.

But the substantial loss of life also reflected these watersheds' magnetic allure. The floodwaters crashed through beloved sleep-

Continued on Page A14

Musk's X Chief Announces Exit After Two Years

By MIKE ISAAC and KATE CONGER
SAN FRANCISCO — Linda Yaccarino, the chief executive of X and a top lieutenant to its owner, Elon Musk, said on Wednesday that she was leaving the company two years after joining the social media platform.

In a post on X, Ms. Yaccarino, 61, said: "When @elonmusk and I first spoke of his vision for X, I knew it would be the opportunity of a lifetime to carry out the extraordinary mission of this company. I'm immensely grateful to him for entrusting me."

She did not provide a reason for her departure.

Ms. Yaccarino's exit caps a tumultuous period at X, which was previously called Twitter and has been remade in Mr. Musk's image since he bought the platform for \$44 billion in 2022. Since then, Mr. Musk has shed three-quarters of the company's employees, loosened speech restrictions on the platform and wielded X as a political megaphone. Advertisers were at one point spooked by the changes, and the social media

Continued on Page A19

Right-Wing Bullhorn Has Only Ear That Matters

By KEN BENSINGER and ROBERT DRAPER
WASHINGTON — Through battles big and small since President Trump took office, one intense conflict stands out for the president's openness to oncering views and voices. It is the struggle by some of his aides to contain Laura Loomer.

Ms. Loomer, the right-wing agitator whose proud Islamophobia and self-styled role as an ideological purity enforcer have made her toxic to some members of Mr. Trump's inner circle, got the upper hand in late March. Her posts on X about several National Security Council aides she deemed insufficiently loyal to Mr. Trump got his attention. He asked her by phone to come to the Oval Office the following week.

On April 2, Ms. Loomer sat with a thick folder on her lap, facing the president at the Resolute Desk. She elaborated on her findings about the deputy national security adviser, Alex Wong, who she pointed out had worked on the 2012 presidential campaign of Mitt Romney, a critic of Mr. Trump, and whose wife had clerked for Justice Sonia Sotomayor and been involved in the prosecution of the Jan. 6 defendants. She criticized a dozen other aides in the presence of several



CHRIS BARN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Laura Loomer has a fan in the president, if few West Wing allies.

administration officials, including Michael Waltz, then the national security adviser, who had stepped in uninvited midway through the meeting.

After her presentation, Mr. Trump barked to Mr. Waltz, "I

want all of them fired." He dismissed the group and hugged Ms. Loomer on her way out. Mr. Waltz survived the day, but six employees in Ms. Loomer's folder were ousted.

Continued on Page A16

Trump Law Imperils Care For 1.5 Million in New York

Cuts to Health Insurance, Beyond Medicaid, Will Hit State Harder Than Most

By JOSEPH GOLDSTEIN
President Trump's domestic policy law, which extends federal tax cuts and slashes the social safety net, is expected to have a seismic effect on health insurance and health care in New York, with more than one million people in the state losing benefits, experts say.

In one key respect, the law's impact will be felt more keenly in New York than in any other state — and it has nothing to do with Medicaid.

Instead, it is the result of an obscure federal funding mechanism that sends billions of dollars a year to New York and nothing to most states. That money, which started flowing as a result of the Affordable Care Act, will be reduced drastically under the new law, beginning next year.

That change is expected to leave more than 200,000 people statewide without insurance over the next two years. But in the long run, it could be eclipsed by other provisions related to health care in the law, which Mr. Trump signed on Friday.

The law adds limits and reductions to Medicaid and other government health insurance programs. "The only thing we're cutting is waste, fraud and abuse," Mr. Trump has said. State estimates spread that the law could eventually strip health insurance from 1.5 million people enrolled in Medicaid and other health coverage plans in New York, about 7.5 percent of the state population.

Overall, the state could absorb a \$10 billion hit annually because of

Continued on Page A23

Measles Cases At High in U.S., Raising Alarm

By TEDDY ROSENBLUTH and JONATHAN CORIUM
There have now been more measles cases in 2025 than in any other year since the contagious virus was declared eliminated in the United States in 2000, according to new data released Wednesday by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

The grim milestone represents an alarming setback for the country's public health and heightens concerns that if vaccination rates do not improve, deadly outbreaks of measles — once considered a disease of the past — will become the new normal.

Experts fear that with no clear end to the spread in sight, the country is barreling toward another turning point: losing elimination status, a designation given to countries that have not had continuous spread of measles for more than a year.

"It's a huge red flag for the direction in which we're going," said Dr. William Moss, an epidemiologist at the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health who has studied measles for more than 25 years.

Most of the cases this year have been tied to the Southwest outbreak — the largest single outbreak since 2000 — which began in January in a Mennonite community in West Texas and has since jumped to New Mexico and Oklahoma.

But cases have also popped up in 38 states, which experts say represents a concerning vulnerability to diseases of the past. Because of the contagiousness of the virus, researchers often think of measles as the proverbial canary in a coal mine. It is often the first sign that other vaccine-prevent-

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MATT BETH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Youth sports generate about \$40 billion in annual revenue.

Private Equity Takes the Field In Youth Sports

By JOE DRAPE and KEN BELSON
Like many youth sports fathers, Jon Bash can summon his son's early baseball career on his phone. There are video clips of Jesse as a boy at summer camps and on a road trip to Cooperstown to play in a tournament in the shadow of the Hall of Fame. They show Jesse's towering home runs in high school, as well as his many hours in the batting cage.

One of Mr. Bash's most cherished clips is a video of Aaron Judge's swing coach extolling Jesse's work ethic to his own social media followers. His son has averaged 70 games a year over the past decade between school and travel teams. To keep playing, Jesse, 19, took a postgraduate year at a Florida sports academy.

The costs of all the training sessions, tournaments and equipment have added up for Mr. Bash, but he has no regrets spending money chasing his son's baseball dreams.

"He's my only child, and like most parents, you want to do any-

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INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Kenyan Protests Turn Deadly
Sinnering anger against the government has erupted in clashes between protesters and the police. PAGE A4

Putin Escalates Ukraine War
The Russian leader appears to value a military victory over détente with the U.S. under President Trump. PAGE A8

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Clean Energy Line Under Fire
The Grain Belt Express line, meant to carry electricity from wind farms across the Midwest, faces an inquiry from Missouri's attorney general. PAGE A12

When the Boxes Don't Fit
Zohran Mamdani's background doesn't slot into neat categories. Many Americans say theirs don't, either. PAGE A22

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Who's Catching Our Eye
Some wore vestments, others scrubs. Some wore on courts, others in court. All shape the look of 2025. PAGE D4



BUSINESS B1-6

Amazon's Biggest Data Center
On 1,200 acres in Indiana, the company is building one of the largest computers ever for work with A.I. PAGE B1

A Trade Deal, to Trump
The president is using the word "deal" to describe all kinds of arrangements, some very one-sided. PAGE B1

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'Till' Star Takes On Cannibals
Danielle Deadwyler plays a stoic mother raising her children to protect their land and one another in the grisly postapocalyptic world of R.T. Thorne's new horror indie, "40 Acres." PAGE C1

Tech in the Service of Dance
Jacob's Pillow in Massachusetts opens one of the most technologically advanced dance theaters in the world, a bold statement about experimentation in the financially stressed field. PAGE C1

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Molding the Next Manning
Arch Manning, the Texas starting quarterback with two famous uncles, learned vital lessons about the spotlight from two other relatives: his parents. PAGE B7



The Washington Post

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T-storms 84/73 • Tomorrow: T-storm 89/74 B20

Democracy Dies in Darkness

THURSDAY, JULY 10, 2025 • \$4

In Texas, locating the missing becomes an unceasing task

At least 173 people are unaccounted for after catastrophic flooding

BY JOSHUA PARTLOW, BRADY DENNIS, TIM CRAIG AND MARIE-ROSE SHEINERMAN

CENTER POINT, TEXAS — Jay Arredondo stood under the blazing Texas sun on Wednesday, taking in what little was left of Guadalupe Keys Resort, a once-tranquil RV park along the banks of the Guadalupe River.

Nearby, chain saws hummed as volunteers slowly sliced through downed trees, trying to clear the way to the overturned trailers that sat mangled beneath the mountains of debris.

"No telling what's in there," said Arredondo, 38, who owns an auto shop in San Antonio. He and his wife, Kristy, a disabled veteran, had spent years visiting this area with their three daughters and wanted to help the families who had lost people in any way they could.

Like others, they had been shaken by just how many people remained missing in the wake of

the catastrophic floods here. As of Wednesday morning, there were at least 161 in Kerr County alone, and 173 in the region overall.

"Unfathomable," Arredondo said, echoing a sentiment felt up and down the banks of the river, where the searching carried on unceasingly almost a week after floodwaters roared through.

For miles in every direction, the grim task unfolded once again Wednesday, as state and local authorities and bands of volunteers scoured the river. They moved on foot and horseback, in helicopters and in heavy machinery, overturning piles of debris by hand and peering into crumpled cars for any signs of those who had vanished.

Even NASA acknowledged that it had joined the effort, saying in an email that it had deployed two conduct aircraft surveys to assist state and local authorities in ongoing operations.

"We are just looking for bodies or parts," said Lee Pool, 53, the chief of the Hunt Volunteer Fire Department. "Anything that can give these families closure."

One question looming was how so many people could remain missing amid the constant,

SEE FLOODS ON A7

Days after the river ran over, a father's search is now for closure

BY ARELIS R. HERNÁNDEZ

INGRAM, TEXAS — It took two pieces of salvaged plywood to draw a crude map of the 10 miles of the Guadalupe River where volunteers should look for any signs of Aidan Heartfield.

The 22-year-old called his father early on the Fourth of July saying he, his girlfriend and two friends awoke in the black of night to four inches of water pooled on the floor of his family cabin. A minute later, his dad recalled his son saying the water was up to four feet. They went outside seeking higher ground, but a tree soon slammed into the house, swiping the structure off its slab and leaving them without anything to hold on to. The phone went dead. Aidan and the others were missing.

Three days later, Aidan's dad, Thad Heartfield, stood over the map that denoted in black marker the boat ramps, bends and

bridges orienting the search party of more than 100 friends and strangers to a watery debris field between Waltonia Bridge and Schumacher Crossing.

"This is an area of interest to us because it's the hardest to search and it has produced some results," Thad Heartfield said in a slow, steady voice as searchers encircled him.

Results mean bodies. It's a macabre specialty for the volunteers of Texas EquusSearch, a nonprofit search and recovery team that has worked on hundreds of cases for the sake of bringing families closure. Distinguished by their lemon-yellow shirts and Marlboro-smoking, joke-cracking, bent-backed leader, Tim Miller, the team holds fast to its operating principle that families of the lost should not search alone. They were called in specifically for the Heartfields.

SEE SEARCH ON A9

Red vs. blue: Trump pledges relief for Texas as California waits. A7

Camp Mystic: Facility had disaster plan, but questions remain. A8

NOAA: Nominee to lead agency says staffing is "a top priority." A8

Revelations about decades of adoption fraud in South Korea impel a dizzying quest for the truth

BY KELLY KASULIS CHO

For most of his life, Aaron Grzegorzczak believed that his birth name was Cho Yong-kee. He thought he was born on April 28, 1988, in a clinic in Anyang, South Korea, about 11 miles south of Seoul. He was told that his mother, a 19-year-old unwed woman, had abandoned him a day after giving birth to him. In an initial physical exam, he was recorded as "cute and alert."

Less than five months later, he arrived into the arms of his adoptive Polish American parents in Bay City, Michigan. He was their first child, sensitive and artistic, and his birth mother



A photo of Aaron Grzegorzczak, born Cho Yong-kee and adopted in Michigan. In some cases, the birth parents were lied to and told their child had died.

had surrendered him so that he could have, as his adoption papers put it, "an optimum future." Grzegorzczak never questioned this story until this past March. That's when his friend sent him an article detailing the South Korean government's admission to five decades of adoption fraud. "I was reading it and I was just like, jaw open," Grzegorzczak said. "I had absolutely no idea about any of this."

Immediately, he started digging into his past.

South Korea's adoption

'industry'

Earlier this year, a South Korean government-appointed, independent

SEE ADOPTION ON A13



FROM TOP: Members of Texas EquusSearch search the Guadalupe River in Texas, on Monday. Lloyd Thornton, left, and Jason Boswell comb the riverbank. A cleanup crew clears debris.

PHOTOS BY DESIRE RODS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Right-wing revolt in the West dooms GOP proposal to sell off public lands

BY KARIN BRULLIARD

To his surprise, Patrick Payne had ended up in a group text with Mike Lee.

Payne is a conservative Idaho outdoorsman who voted for President Donald Trump. Lee is a Republican senator from Utah. The group was organized by an acquaintance Payne made online, and the topic was home schooling.

But Payne saw an opportunity to directly challenge Lee on his proposal to sell up to 3.3 million acres of federal land in 11 Western states for the construction of affordable housing. He texted the senator that Washington was "better than BlackRock," the glob-

al investment firm. Lee's response — that he'd "trust anyone owning that land more than the U.S. government" — floored Payne. Several days later, he posted a screenshot of the exchange on X. "I thought it was important to let people know where he really stood," said Payne, who spends much of his free time camping and hunting on federal backcountry in Idaho.

That screenshot, posted by a self-described "regular citizen" with few online followers, racked up half a million views and became a flash point in a conservative revolt against Lee's proposal, one powered by hunters but also prominent podcasters and

SEE LAND ON A6

STYLE

The Nationals have been mired in a faltering rebuild. The Post took a hard look at the data to see how they got here. B7

SPORTS

The Nationals have been mired in a faltering rebuild. The Post took a hard look at the data to see how they got here. B7

LOCAL LIVING

The cleaning aisle at any big box retailer has an arsenal of supplies, but five basic products are all you really need.

Trump extends tariffs deadline

AUG. 1 IS NEW GOAL FOR TRADE DEALS

Reignites accusation he 'chickens out' on policies

BY CAT ZAKRZEWSKI

After President Donald Trump paused his "Liberation Day" tariffs in April, his trade adviser Peter Navarro promised that the administration would deliver "90 deals in 90 days."

But that deadline came and went Wednesday with the White House 88 trade deals short.

Trump has now given his administration 113 days to implement a worldwide tariff plan that he says will reverse decades of globalization and usher in a new era of domestic manufacturing. But CEOs, investors and foreign leaders appear skeptical that Trump will stick to that Aug. 1 deadline after watching him punt the issue again and again.

The episode has reanimated the TACO debate — the Wall Street accusation that "Trump Always Chickens Out." The term, coined by Financial Times columnist Robert Armstrong, describes a prevailing view in the financial sector that the president talks tough about tariffs and then ultimately backs down.

Trump has made clear he doesn't like the acronym. He falsely claimed that the deadline for tariff payments "has always been" Aug. 1 — after signing an executive order Monday that extended the deadline from July 9.

"I didn't make a change, a clarification, maybe?" Trump said during a wide-ranging Cabinet

SEE TRUMP ON A4

Brazil: Trump imposes 50% tariff over ex-president's prosecution. A5

'We are toast': Feds brace for more layoffs after ruling

BY HANNAH NATANSON AND MERYL KORNFIELD

Some federal workers cried. Some shook their heads and began updating their résumés. Others — including union leaders — vowed to fight, determined to hang on to the government jobs that many took because they wanted to serve the American public.

After the Supreme Court allowed President Donald Trump on Tuesday to resume firing government workers, federal employees rushed to Signal group chats and anxious phone calls, trying to figure out what it meant for them. The court lifted a lower-court order that had temporarily blocked the administration's plans to lay off thousands of federal workers, including at the State Department and the Social Security Administration, because the administration did not first consult with Congress. But few details were immediately available.

Litigation will continue as the layoffs proceed at 19 agencies, according to the ruling, which drew dissent from one liberal justice. It marks the latest upheaval in a chaotic half-year of Trump-driven downsize of federal depart-

SEE WORKERS ON A4

IN THE NEWS

Call for more transparency Dozens of people who lost family members on the passenger jet involved in a midair collision over the Potomac want answers from the Army. B13

'Certain death' With fuel stocks dwindling amid an Israeli blockade, Gaza's hospitals warn that they will need to halt services. A11

THE NATION

The Supreme Court blocked Florida from enforcing a state immigration law. A2

The U.S. is suing California over its refusal to ban trans athletes in women's sports. A3

THE WORLD

Canadian military members were among four people arrested in an alleged plot to seize part of Quebec. A12
Some foreign students see new U.S. visa rules as "dystopian." A13

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What's News

Business & Finance

◆ **Nvidia became the first** company to reach a market value of \$4 trillion, beating Apple and Microsoft to the milestone in trading on the Nasdaq exchange. **A1**

◆ **The tech-heavy index** itself advanced a record, advancing 0.9%, while the S&P 500 and Dow rose 0.6% and 0.5%, respectively. **B11**

◆ **A brewing debate** inside the Fed about how to address risks posed by Trump's tariffs has the potential to put officials at odds over whether new cost increases justify keeping interest rates high. **A2**

◆ **Linda Yaccarino said** she is stepping down as chief executive of X, capping a tumultuous run atop Elon Musk's social-media company. **A1**

◆ **Merck struck** a roughly \$10 billion deal to buy Verona Pharma, bolstering its lineup with the chronic obstructive pulmonary disease treatment Othuvayre as it braces for the 2028 loss of patent exclusivity for the cancer drug Keytruda. **B1**

◆ **The Justice Department** is investigating UnitedHealth's Medicare billing practices, including how the company deployed doctors and nurses to gather diagnoses that bolstered its payments. **B1**

◆ **The chief executive** of stadium developer Oak View Group was charged with conspiring with a rival to rig the process for constructing a new arena in Texas, authorities said. **B1**

◆ **WPP's U.S.-listed shares** plunged 18% after the advertising agency cut its guidance and said that it expects uncertainty to weigh on client spending and new business. **B4**

World-Wide

◆ **As Trump met** with the leaders of five West African countries, his administration was pushing them to agree to accept migrants deported by the U.S. whose home countries refuse or are slow to take them back. **A5**

◆ **France and the U.K. said** they would coordinate the use of their nuclear weapons and respond to any major threat to Europe together. **A16**

◆ **Torrential floods** hit southern New Mexico and killed at least three people, days after historic floods devastated Central Texas. **A6**

◆ **A local agency** that helps manage the Guadalupe River was in the process of setting up a software program to help Kerr County officials better assess flood threats three months before the deadly Texas floods. **A6**

◆ **The U.S. will charge** a 50% tariff on Brazilian goods starting Aug. 1, Trump said, citing legal action against Brazil's former President Jair Bolsonaro and U.S. tech firms. **A2**

◆ **The Trump administration** attacked Harvard's accreditation, saying the university has violated federal discrimination law and may no longer meet accreditation standards. **A3**

◆ **Weeks after Elon Musk** left his role at the Department of Government Efficiency, a small band of loyalists is fighting to preserve the legacy and power of the office. **A4**

◆ **Trump named** Transportation Secretary Sean Duffy to serve as interim administrator of NASA, after pushing out his original nominee to run the space agency. **A4**

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Nvidia Is First to \$4 Trillion

Chip maker is at heart of AI boom in gaming, data centers and crypto

Nvidia became the first company in history to reach a market value of \$4 trillion, beating rivals Apple and Microsoft to the milestone in trading on the Nasdaq exchange. **A1**

By Robbie Whelan, Asa Fitch and Muhammad Shumail

The milestone in Wednesday morning trading on the tech-heavy Nasdaq exchange. The AI chip giant has seen

its fortunes surge over the last three years because of the rise of generative artificial intelligence, an emerging technology that promises to revolutionize business and remake how humans interact with technology across the globe.

Nvidia, based in Santa Clara, Calif., designs the chips, known as graphics processing units, or GPUs, that power the AI industry. The rally in Nvidia's shares caps a remarkable run and comes barely two years after the company notched a \$1 trillion closing valuation for the first time. The AI chip maker, which closed at \$162.88 a

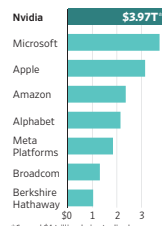
share and just shy of the \$4 trillion mark, is now worth as much as the 214 smallest companies in the S&P 500 combined, according to Dow Jones Market Data.

Apple and Microsoft have come close to the \$4 trillion mark. Apple closed with a market cap of \$3.915 trillion in late 2024, and Microsoft had a valuation of \$3.708 trillion last week.

Founded by Taiwanese-American engineer Jensen Huang in 1993, Nvidia initially

◆ **Nvidia fuels gains** in U.S. indexes..... **B11**

Companies with a market value over \$1 trillion



*Crossed \$4 trillion during trading hours
Source: FactSet



A view of a cell corridor in the Saydnya prison, near Damascus, Syria, where executions took place on a mass scale.

A Syrian Death Factory Gives Up Its Secrets; 'Symbol of Shame'

Under deposed dictator Assad, Saydnya prison became a mass-killing machine

By JARED MALSIN AND HAMZA BONDUK

SAYDNYA, Syria—Inside Bashar al-Assad's most-notorious death factory, the hangings had become routine.

Once a month, around midnight, the guards at Saydnya prison would call the names of the condemned, usually dozens at a time. They wrapped nooses around their necks, then dragged tables from beneath their feet with a scraping that echoed through the

building. Those in nearby cells heard a gagging sound as the men choked to death.

Then, in mid-March of 2023, the pace picked up dramatically, according to six witnesses.

"They gathered 600 people and killed them in three days, about 200 each night," said Abdel Moneim Al-Qaid, a 37-year-old former rebel soldier who was arrested after handing himself in for what he thought was an am-

nesty deal with the government.

The 2023 mass killing, previously unreported, came just as the Syrian president was poised to break out of his international isolation. After more than a decade of using bombing, torture and chemical attacks to crush an internal insurrection, Assad was deep in talks with regional players to rejoin the Arab League. Some Arab states and Western officials viewed the rebellion

Please turn to page A8

Two Kevins Are Vying To Head The Fed

By BRIAN SCHWARTZ AND NICK TIMBRAS

WASHINGTON—Two Republicans named Kevin are vying to be the next chairman of the Federal Reserve. One is rising to the top of the list of potential candidates, while the other is facing skepticism from President Trump's allies.

Kevin Hassett, one of Trump's closest economic advisers, is emerging as a serious contender to be the next Fed chair, according to people familiar with the matter. Hassett's rise threatens the other Kevin—former Fed governor Kevin Warsh—an early favorite for the job who has angled for the position ever since Trump passed him over for it eight years ago. Some people close to the president worry that Warsh, who isn't in Trump's inner circle, won't be a champion of lower rates.

What is unfolding is quintessential Trump: two ambitious men competing for his

INSIDE



U.S. NEWS
Measles cases in U.S. surge to highest level in 33 years as vaccination rates fall. **A3**



BUSINESS & FINANCE
Italian candy maker Ferrero nears \$3 billion deal to acquire Kellogg. **B1**

Matcha Lovers Turn Against Each Other Over Global Shortage

Dedicated tea drinkers are rationing, squabbling—and hating on hoarders

By KRYSTAL HUR

MatchaTok is green with envy these days. The online community for matcha lovers, which helped propel the bright green powdered tea's worldwide popularity, is usually a place where enthusiasts share their golden

matcha-to-milk ratio for concocting lattes at home, review different brands and detail their drink-making process.

But what's brewing on MatchaTok lately is trouble. "It's kind of gotten bad in places," said Kimi Jayasiri, a 27-year-old content creator.

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Israel's Agonizing Choice Over Hostages: 'It's Schindler's List'

By ANAT PELED

TEL AVIV—Only 20 of the hostages Hamas is holding in Gaza are believed to be alive. A cease-fire deal being negotiated is expected to bring an agonizing choice over who to free. Israel can only pick 10.

"It's Schindler's list," said Anat Angrest, mother of captive soldier Matan Angrest, 22 years old, who said her son was injured. "I don't understand how the state can choose who should stay in hell."

Israel and Hamas are now hammering out a deal that would see the release of 10 living hostages and the bodies of 18 others in exchange for a 60-day cease-fire and the release of Palestinian prisoners held in Israel. A deal appears to be closer than at any point in recent months.

In two previous cease-fires, the decisions, while painful, were easier to rationalize. Priority was given to civilian women, children and the elderly. Next in line were female soldiers or injured men.

Now, all of the living hostages are men, and they are all likely to be deteriorating mentally and physically. For the

Yaccarino Steps Down As CEO of Musk's X

Her departure from the social-media platform follows the merger of xAI and X

Linda Yaccarino said she is stepping down as chief executive of X, capping a tumultuous run atop Elon Musk's social-media company.

By Suzanne Vranica, Alexander Saeedy and Jessica Toonkel

Yaccarino's future at the company had been uncertain for months. Musk merged X with Grok chatbot maker xAI this spring, fusing two of his technology bets and making the social-media platform part of a broader AI-focused company.

The high-growth potential of artificial intelligence became more important to investors than the tighter-margin social-media business overseen by Yaccarino.

When X hired the former finance chief of Tubi, Reza Banki, as the social-media company's chief financial officer late last year, he and Yaccarino often butted heads, people familiar with their relationship said.

Banki was a hire supported by Musk and effectively replaced Yaccarino's previously appointed head of finance for the company. He pressured Yaccarino over costs, specifically over the money she was spending on content deals with celebrities for shows that appear on X, one of the people said.

Yaccarino told people close to her that the recent return of some advertisers and the merger, which made X a smaller revenue contributor, made it a good time to depart.

X is expected to see ad-revenue growth for the first time since the takeover this year, according to research firm eMarketer.

"When @elonmusk and I first spoke of his vision for X, I knew it would be the opportunity of a lifetime to carry out the extraordinary mission of this company. I'm im-

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◆ **Musk's allies** at DOGE fight on..... **A4**



Will Trump gain control of the Fed?

BIG READ, PAGE 21

Manchester rolls with Oasis frenzy

JENNIFER WILLIAMS, PAGE 22

X chief exits
Yaccarino to
leave top role

Linda Yaccarino, pictured in Las Vegas in January, has quit her role as chief executive of X, two years after Elon Musk hired her to run the social media platform that he took private.

In a post on X, Yaccarino said she was grateful to the billionaire entrepreneur for giving her "the opportunity of a lifetime to carry out the extraordinary mission of this company".

Her resignation comes a day after Grok, XAI's chatbot, repeatedly praised Adolf Hitler and shared antisemitic rhetoric, causing public outrage.

Yaccarino was tasked with luring back advertisers who had pulled their business after Musk relaxed moderation on the platform. But multiple agency executives have told the FT they remain cautious about running ads on X, citing high levels of hate speech and toxic content.

Report page 9



Steve Hancock/Reuters

US tech boom propels AI chipmaker
Nvidia to become first \$4tn company

◆ Group soars 40% since May ◆ Chief bullish on long-term sales ◆ Sector start-ups post strong revenues

TIM BRADSHAW — LONDON

Nvidia has become the first company to hit a \$4tn market capitalisation, on the back of a rapid rebound for Wall Street technology stocks in recent months.

Shares in the Silicon Valley based maker of artificial intelligence chips rose as much as 2.8 per cent yesterday to \$164.36. The group had already surpassed Apple's \$3.92tn record last December.

Nvidia stock has risen more than 40 per cent since early May, when US President Donald Trump first signalled a thaw in his trade war with China and Nvidia struck multibillion-dollar chip deals in the Middle East.

The group is the biggest beneficiary of a tech boom that has exceeded the head-

iest days of the dotcom era, thanks to its dominance of the chips that fuel AI services such as ChatGPT, the OpenAI chatbot that has become the fastest-growing app of all time.

Nvidia chief executive Jensen Huang has been bullish in his predictions that AI and robotics can drive trillions of dollars in sales for his company over the coming years, as upgrades to its processors and data centre infrastructure extend its lead over rivals. Advances in

"The more AI, the better bottom line. The absence of AI is [all] I worry about"

Jensen Huang, Nvidia chief

AI and new sources of demand were "kicking into turbocharge". Huang told investors in May as Nvidia reported a 70 per cent surge in quarterly revenues.

The AI chipmaker surpassed \$1tn in market value little more than two years ago, months after ChatGPT's launch triggered a dash for its processors among Big Techs and AI start-ups looking to train large language models. Nvidia's shares hit \$2tn in February 2024 and \$3tn in June last year. But the stock's momentum sputtered at the start of 2025, amid doubts about whether AI groups' demand for its chips would keep growing as well as concern about the impact of the Trump administration's tariffs and export restrictions to China.

Those fears were further fuelled when

Chinese upstart DeepSeek released a powerful model at the turn of the year that it claimed used a fraction of the computing resources consumed by the likes of OpenAI.

While significant limits on Nvidia's ability to sell its most powerful chips in China remain, investors hope that continued demand from Big Tech US customers, as well as so-called "sovereign AI" deals in Europe and the Middle East, will continue to propel its growth.

Nvidia's revenue is projected to reach almost \$200bn this year, up 55 per cent year on year. Net income this year is forecast to be \$105bn, according to analyst estimates collected by S&P Capital IQ, with gross margins of more than 70 per cent.

Confidence in the sustainability of the

AI boom has also been bolstered by strong revenue growth at leading start-ups such as OpenAI, which said last month that annual recurring revenue had almost doubled to \$10bn, and Anthropic, which has reportedly hit \$4bn in sales on the same metric.

"The more AI, the better bottom line," Huang told analysts last month. "The absence of AI is the only thing I worry about."

OpenAI recently struck a deal with Oracle to lease \$50bn worth of computing power every year, expanding its "Stargate" project with SoftBank and signalling that the boom in AI infrastructure spending is set to continue, despite fears of a pullback from some Big Tech cloud providers this year.

Briefing

► **Horner sacked as head of F1 team after 20-year stint**
Red Bull has sacked Christian Horner, the longest-serving team boss on the Formula 1 grid, ending a 20-year reign that brought multiple championships but also controversy. — [PAGE 9](#)
[APPLE BIDS FOR F1 RIGHTS, PAGE 10](#)

► **Thames firm on bonuses**
The utility, which is attempting to avoid renationalisation, has refused to claw back 21 bonuses worth £2.5m, ignoring threats to block payments that ministers say are "outrageous". — [PAGE 11](#)

► **PM leaves tax option open**
Sir Keir Starmer has refused to prolong the government's income tax thresholds for the rest of this parliament, amid a battle to fill a fiscal hole some experts say could be over £20bn. — [PAGE 12](#)

► **EU shifts on laundering**
EU lawmakers are to remove the UAE and Gibraltar from the bloc's "grey" list of countries with poor money laundering controls, a move that will ease talks towards an Abu Dhabi trade deal. — [PAGE 14](#)

► **Pressure on Harvard rises**
Donald Trump has stepped up pressure on Harvard by notifying the government's accreditation agency that the Ivy League institution has violated anti-discrimination laws. — [PAGE 15](#)

► **Far-right RN party raided**
Police raided the headquarters of France's far-right Rassemblement National in a probe into funding, prompting party complaints that it was being targeted for political reasons. — [PAGE 16](#)

► **Europe posts hottest June**
Western Europe experienced its hottest June on record, amid warnings from scientists that such an "exceptional heatwave" was likely to become more frequent and intense. — [PAGE 18](#)

► **China producer prices fall**
China's factory gate prices in June fell at the fastest pace in nearly two years, as Donald Trump's trade war and competition in the world's largest manufacturer hit producer prices. — [PAGE 19](#)

Trump bill creates winners
and losers in key industries

US President Donald Trump's 'big, beautiful bill' will deliver significant wins for private equity and fossil fuels but hurt the renewables industry and some of the top companies in Silicon Valley. The sweeping tax and spending legislation has been broadly embraced by American business, thanks to the corporate tax cuts, enacted in Trump's first term as president, which will be extended. But it also creates winners and losers in critical US industries.

Industries gauge impact ► [PAGE 11](#)EU says strikes and wildfires could lead
to worst ever airline delays this summerALICE HANCOCK — BRUSSELS
IAN JOHNSTON — PARIS

The EU has warned that airline delays could be at their worst ever this summer as understaffed air traffic controllers battle strikes, wildfires and high demand.

EU officials said yesterday that the air-traffic control system was operating at its limit because of a shortage of staff and the number of people flying reaching its highest after the pandemic. "Last year we had the worst summer ever in terms of delays and cancellations. This year will be very similar," a senior EU official said. About 37,000 flights fly in Europe on the busiest days — the limit of what air traffic controllers can manage, the official added.

Eurocontrol, the air traffic control

body, said in April that air traffic was already up 5 per cent this year compared with the same period in 2024. Overall air traffic flow management delays were also up 5 per cent, it said.

"Lack of air traffic control capacity to cope with traffic demand is expected to cause high delays" in nine countries including France, Germany, Greece and Spain — some of the region's most popular tourist hotspots.

Compounding the issue is industrial action. Two days of strikes by air traffic control staff at French airports last week forced 4,000 flights across the bloc to be disrupted, according to Eurocontrol.

Air France-KLM risked millions of euros of losses linked to the disruption, French transport minister Philippe Tabarot said. Apostolos Taitzikostas, the EU's transport commissioner, said that the bloc was operating with

reduced airspace because of the war in Ukraine, which would "threaten to strain our aviation network and frustrate passengers". With airports "busier than ever", Europe "cannot afford chaos in the skies".

Steve Heapy, chief executive of Jet2, yesterday said the strikes had caused "a lot of worried customers" although the airline had continued flying.

Wildfires were also a big problem. Europe is one of the regions most exposed to the effects of climate change, with fires forcing the temporary closure of Marseille airport on Tuesday. In Greece, tourist attractions have been closed as a result of the extreme heat.

The senior official said that the effects of climate change were "a big concern". For the future, we see a lot more extreme weather events."

Jet2 profits rise on high demand [page 12](#)

World Markets											
Stock Markets				Currencies				Government Bonds			
	Jul 9	Prev	%Chg		Jul 9	Prev	%Chg		Yield (%)	Jul 9	Prev
S&P 500	6241.63	6225.52	0.26	\$/£	1.172	1.169	0.003	US 2 yr	3.88	3.91	-0.04
Nasdaq Composite	20519.58	20418.46	0.56	\$/¥	1.369	1.354	0.78	US 10 yr	4.37	4.42	-0.05
Dow Jones Ind	43338.94	44240.76	0.15	€/£	0.862	0.863	-0.001	US 30 yr	4.90	4.96	-0.06
FTSE 100	2179.57	2163.16	0.76	\$/₹	146.456	146.510	-0.04	UK 2 yr	3.88	3.86	0.02
Euro Stoxx 50	5442.47	5371.95	1.31	\$/₹	199.039	198.982	0.03	UK 10 yr	4.70	4.72	-0.02
FTSE 100	8897.02	8854.18	0.48	\$/₹	0.931	0.933	-0.002	UK 30 yr	5.42	5.45	-0.03
FTSE All-Share	4621.19	4615.58	0.12	\$/₹	0.931	0.933	-0.002	JPN 2 yr	0.75	0.73	0.02
CAC 40	7678.46	7668.71	1.44	\$/₹	0.931	0.933	-0.002	JPN 10 yr	1.50	1.45	0.05
Xetra Dax	26485.56	26206.91	1.42	\$/₹	0.931	0.933	-0.002	JPN 30 yr	3.06	3.06	0.00
Nikkei	38621.28	38668.81	0.35	\$/₹	0.931	0.933	-0.002	GER 2 yr	1.85	1.87	-0.02
Hang Seng	79997.37	74148.07	7.95	\$/₹	0.931	0.933	-0.002	GER 10 yr	2.67	2.66	-0.01
MSCI World	4205.01	4205.12	-0.01	\$/₹	0.931	0.933	-0.002	GER 30 yr	3.16	3.16	0.00
MSCI EM	1231.54	1226.10	0.44	\$/₹	0.931	0.933	-0.002				
MSCI ACWI	519.31	519.93	-0.07	\$/₹	0.931	0.933	-0.002				
FT World 2500	8038.06	8012.12	0.05	\$/₹	0.931	0.933	-0.002				
FT World 5000	62236.90	62264.60	-0.04	\$/₹	0.931	0.933	-0.002				



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The Guardian

Anglo-French migration deal hangs in the balance

Kiran Stacey
Jon Henley Paris

Anglo-French talks over a migration deal were deadlocked last night, with negotiators haggling over how much Britain would pay towards the cost of policing small boat crossings.

Keir Starmer had hoped to announce a returns deal - under which Britain would send back some asylum seekers once they had crossed the Channel - as the key prize of a three-day state visit by the French president, Emmanuel Macron.

But just hours before the start of a bilateral summit today, aides on both sides said there remained several significant hurdles to a deal, including money, potential legal challenges in France and ongoing opposition from other European countries.

One British official said the talks were "complex" and "fluid", adding that they needed to be agreed not only with France but also in consultation with other EU countries.

A Downing Street spokesperson said the prime minister was hoping to make "concrete progress" on a range of issues, including

irregular migration at today's summit. A French source, meanwhile, said Paris's demands for more money to help with policing on its northern coast were "clearly very politically sensitive" for the UK.

Macron's visit continued yesterday with talks between the two leaders in Downing Street, followed by a visit by both men to the British Museum to formally announce the loan of the Bayeux tapestry to the UK.

The visit has been symbolically important to Starmer, who wants to show that his EU "reset" has helped restore good relations with the UK's major European partners.

But it is also fraught with complexity, not least on the issue of irregular migration, which has caused both leaders significant problems with their domestic electorates.

Macron and Starmer spent much of their time in Downing Street yesterday discussing illegal migration.

A No 10 spokesperson said afterwards: "The leaders agreed tackling the threat of irregular migration and small boat crossings is a shared priority that requires shared solutions."

Starmer has prioritised



Roaring back
Lionesses storm to 4-0
win over the Netherlands

News Page 9 →

▲ Georgia Stanway celebrates her goal during the Women's Euro 2025 match in Zurich PHOTOGRAPH: MATTHIAS HANGST/GETTY

Labour MPs call on PM to tackle cost of living crisis

Exclusive
Jessica Elgot
Deputy political editor

The government must refocus on more radical ideas to help people with everyday costs such as food, energy, childcare and housing, a

group of more than 100 Labour MPs has said in a letter to Keir Starmer.

The warning comes amid fears Labour could lose the next election and will bleed voters to both Reform and parties on the left unless there is a much faster pace of change that puts money directly back in people's pockets. The letter launches the new

Living Standards group of Labour MPs, which will be spearheaded by eight from the 2024 intake.

Speaking to the Guardian, MPs from the group said the government also had to change the way it related to voters, speaking less about growth in the G7 and more about the cost of food. It aims to submit a slew of ideas on driving down everyday costs to the government before the autumn, in an attempt to combat the threat to Labour from leftwing parties and Reform.

The letter is the latest sign of a more activist



Girl, 7, 'fought like hell' during Southport attack

Josh Halliday
North of England editor

The parents of a seven-year-old girl who was stabbed 33 times in the Southport atrocity have said she "fought like hell" to escape after shielding others from the attacker.

The girl suffered "catastrophic" injuries when she was set upon by Axel Rudakubana as she tried to protect another child at the Taylor Swift-themed dance class last year.

She managed to escape but was dragged back into the building by the 18-year-old, who stabbed her another 20-plus times



Incendies : la France sous la menace d'un été à haut risque

► Un spectaculaire incendie s'est déclaré, mardi, aux portes de Marseille, détruisant des maisons et entraînant des évacuations

► 7 000 hectares sont déjà partis en fumée dans le sud du pays, confronté à un niveau de risque élevé en raison de la sécheresse et du vent

► La plus grande fréquence des sinistres soulève la question du dimensionnement de la flotte aérienne anti-incendie et des moyens humains

PAGES 6-7

Dans le quartier de Verduron, à Marseille, le 8 juillet.

SÉBASTIEN ROSTANG/LE PICTORUM/MASSPFF



Etats-Unis La police de l'immigration dotée d'un budget record

Mise en lumière pour ses incessants raids anti-immigrants, l'Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) est l'une des principales bénéficiaires de la loi de finances adoptée le 4 juillet : son budget va être triplé, pour atteindre le chiffre historique de 170 milliards de dollars

PAGE 4

Opéra « Billy Budd » enthousiasme le Festival d'Aix-en-Provence

Première création de l'édition 2025, portée par une distribution jeune, « The Story of Billy Budd, Sailor », adaptation sous forme d'opéra de chambre de l'œuvre éponyme de Benjamin Britten, est une grande claque et un immense bonheur

PAGE 20

Budget 211 milliards d'aides aux entreprises

APRÈS SIX MOIS de travaux, la commission d'enquête sénatoriale sur l'utilité des aides publiques aux entreprises a remis son rapport, mardi 8 juillet. Premier enseignement : le chiffrage de ces aides est rendu difficile par les données discordantes et partielles des services de l'Etat. La com-

mission d'enquête propose donc sa propre évaluation, à au moins 211 milliards d'euros en 2023, en additionnant aides directes, allègements fiscaux et allègements de cotisations sociales.

Dans un contexte de crise des finances publiques et de concurrence exacerbée, le rapport ne

remet pas en cause le principe de ces soutiens, mais critique vivement leur manque de lisibilité. Et préconise, pour le résoudre, un triple « choc » : de « transparence », de « rationalisation » et de « responsabilisation des entreprises ».

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Patrimoine Le voyage contesté de la tapisserie de Bayeux



MUSEE DE LA TAPISSERIE DE BAYEUX

L'ÉLYSÉE a confirmé, mardi 8 juillet, la promesse faite par Emmanuel Macron en 2018 : la tapisserie de Bayeux, cette broderie millénaire relatant les exploits du Normand Guillaume I^{er} le Conquérant et son invasion réussie de l'Angleterre, sera prêtée et exposée à Londres, de septembre 2026 à juin 2027.

En Normandie, les élus locaux se félicitent de cette décision et espèrent des retombées, à deux ans de la célébration du millénaire de la naissance de Guillaume I^{er} le Conquérant. Mais la perspective de ce déplacement inquiète des défenseurs du patrimoine, en raison de la fragilité de l'œuvre.

PAGE 23

Agriculture La loi Duplomb adoptée après un parcours très chaotique

PAGE 8

Justice Affaire Leprince : le mystère du couteau jaune

PAGE 13

Entreprises L'impatience des créanciers du Groupe Casino

PAGE 15

Culture Face à l'IA, les photographes restent sans cadre

PAGE 17

Diplomatie Paris et Londres en quête d'accords

APRÈS UNE PREMIÈRE JOURNÉE très protocolaire, la visite d'Etat d'Emmanuel Macron au Royaume-Uni devait se concentrer, mercredi 9 et jeudi 10 juillet, sur les enjeux de défense et d'immigration. Si les deux pays sont désireux de réaffirmer leurs liens militaires, les options d'approfondissement de leur coopération sont aujourd'hui limitées, y compris sur l'aide à l'Ukraine. Des annonces sont toutefois attendues jeudi.

La politique migratoire est l'autre grand sujet de cette visite d'Etat, alors que plus de 20 000 personnes sont parvenues à rejoindre les côtes britanniques en *small boat* sur les six premiers mois de l'année. Londres espère un changement de doctrine de Paris sur les interceptions dans la Manche, un sujet qui inquiète les associations d'aide aux migrants.

PAGES 2-3, 10, 14

ET IDÉES PAGE 25

Nouvelle-Calédonie

Les négociations se poursuivent, sans compromis à ce stade

Depuis le 2 juillet, l'avenir institutionnel de l'archipel fait l'objet de tractations entre indépendantistes, non-indépendantistes et représentants de l'Etat

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M
ÉDITORIAL
CONFORTER
L'EXERCICE
DE LA DÉMOCRATIE
LOCALE
PAGE 28



En vente chez votre marchand de journaux

Mundial de Clubes El PSG arrasa al Real Madrid y lo elimina de la competición —P40 Y 41



Pedro Sánchez, ayer en la tribuna del Congreso durante el pleno sobre la corrupción. ÁLVARO GARCÍA

EL PLENO POR LA CORRUPCIÓN EN EL CONGRESO

Los socios dan oxígeno a Sánchez

- El Gobierno presenta 15 medidas contra la corrupción con una agencia especializada
- La mayoría de la Cámara avala al Ejecutivo pero avisa de que la crisis no debe escalar
- El presidente: "Me planteé dimitir, pero tirar la toalla no es una opción"

CARLOS E. CUÉ / JOSÉ MARCOS
JAVIER CASQUEIRO
Madrid

El pleno era decisivo para Pedro Sánchez. Tras el torbellino de los escándalos de corrupción, el presidente llegaba al Congreso para coser la mayoría de la Cámara. Bajo el brazo llevó un plan con 15

medidas anticorrupción, entre ellas una agencia independiente de control y jueces especializados. "Me planteé dimitir, pero tirar la toalla no es una opción",

La trampa de las pelotas de tenis

Álex Grijelmo —P17

aseguró el presidente. Recibió una dura batería de ataques del PP y Vox. Pero los socios le dieron un balón de oxígeno, aunque condicionado: ninguno pidió elección.

Por ahora. "Si esto escala, le vamos a obligar a que la gente decida", advirtió el diputado de ERC Gabriel Rufián. "Señor presidente, sé que usted es honrado", le dijo la vicepresidenta Yolanda Díaz. "Le pido que no hagan más regalos a las derechas". —P14 A 19

EDITORIAL P10

Feijóo lanza su mayor carga contra el presidente y su familia

ELSA GARCÍA DE BLAS
Madrid

Alberto Núñez Feijóo fue ayer con todo contra Pedro Sánchez. "Es un político destruido. Un fraude", le lanzó desde la tribuna. Atacó al presidente con dureza y, en el turno de réplica, cargó contra su familia como no había

hecho antes. "¿De qué prostíbulos ha vivido usted?", llegó a espetarle, en referencia a un negocio de saunas que tuvo su suegro, ya fallecido. Vox también arremetió contra Sánchez, pero reservó parte de sus ataques para el PP, al que echó en cara su propia corrupción. —P16 Y 17



La visita de Netanyahu a Trump enfría las expectativas de tregua en Gaza

Los mandatarios evitan asumir compromisos en sus reuniones

LUIS DE VEGA / IKER SEISDEDOS
Jerusalén / Washington

La visita del primer ministro israelí, Benjamín Netanyahu, al presidente de Estados Unidos, Donald Trump, ha enfriado las expectativas de avanzar hacia la paz en Gaza ante la falta de compromisos de ambos mandatarios. Mientras, en la Franja se suceden los ataques del ejército israelí que causan decenas de muertos diarios, más de un centenar ayer, según el Ministerio de Sanidad, en manos de Hamás. —P2

Nvidia, la primera cotizada de la historia que vale cuatro billones

JUAN PABLO QUINTERO
Madrid

Nvidia hizo ayer historia. Nunca antes una empresa había conquistado en Bolsa la cota de los cuatro billones de dólares. Ayer lo logró durante la sesión la compañía de microchips, aunque cerró la jornada en 3,97 billones. En una era marcada por la incertidumbre comercial y la irrupción de la inteligencia artificial, las acciones del gigante con sede en California se han revalorizado más del 20% este año. —P32

Fraude fiscal

El exentrenador del Real Madrid Carlo Ancelotti, condenado a un año de prisión —P32

Redes sociales

Dimite la consejera delegada de X, mano derecha de Elon Musk —P32



MYUNG J. CHUN/Los Angeles Times

PACIFIC COAST Highway in Malibu shows lingering scars of the Palisades fire in a drone photo Tuesday.

Six months after the fires, progress is painful and hard

Cleanup, investigations and lawsuits continue after the disaster

BY HANNAH FRY, TONY BRISCOE
AND RICHARD WINTON

The signs of change are there, if you look hard enough.

Hillside along the Pacific Ocean, burned beyond recognition, are showing tentative signs of rebirth. The occasional flower is blooming next to a lost home.

From the air, the grid of Altadena shows acres of neatly graded empty lots where the burned-out remains of homes and businesses stood. The fresh wood frame of a new home in Pacific

Palisades has become a beacon of hope for some.

But the six-month milestone of the worst firestorm in Los Angeles County history still feels hard to measure. The feelings of loss — 30 deaths, thousands of homes gone, long-term plans derailed, battles with insurance companies, mental anguish — are still too raw. And evidence of progress still feels too fleeting to take much comfort in, especially for the thousands of victims.

Modern Los Angeles has never experienced loss on this scale, so there are no easy road maps. There are the indi-

vidual challenges: Struggling with the death of loved ones, determining whether to rebuild, and assessing the financial losses. Then there are the collective ones: Will my neighborhood ever feel like my neighborhood again? Can I afford to still live here? Do I still want to live here?

For all the uncertainty, there have been some measurable changes since January. Thousands of lots have been cleared. Numerous lawsuits have been filed. Multiple investigations are underway and dozens of new building permits have been issued.

[See Fires, A14]

Will tax credits help soundstage owners?

BY ROGER VINCENT AND
SAMANTHA MASUNAGA

The announcement last month that Occidental Studios would be put up for sale marked a historic turning point in a studio that was once used by Mary Pickford and Douglas Fairbanks to

make silent films.

It also underscored how dramatically the market has shifted for the owners of soundstages across Los Angeles that have been buffeted by a confluence of forces — the pandemic, strikes in 2023 and the continued flight of production to other states and coun-

tries.

As film activity has fallen to historic levels in the L.A. region — film shoot days dropped 22% in the first quarter of 2025 — the places that host film and TV crews, along with prop houses and other businesses that service the industry, have been especially hard hit.

Between 2016 and 2022, Los Angeles' soundstages were nearly filled to capacity, boasting average occupancy rates of 90%, according to data from the nonprofit organization FilmLA, which tracks on-location shoot days in the Greater L.A. area.

[See Soundstages, A11]

Stephen Miller's L.A. revenge plot plays out

Renewed attention is being paid to White House deputy chief of staff's Santa Monica upbringing

BY JULIA WICK

On a palm tree-lined bluff overlooking the Pacific Ocean, thousands of people rallied against the Trump administration in one of many "No Kings Day" protests around the country last month.

Here in Santa Monica, the well-heeled and beachy protesters also had a localized message: America, we're sorry.

"Santa Monica apologizes for Stephen Miller," a bearded man in a straw hat proclaimed via hand-scrawled poster board.

[See Miller, A7]

raised you?" another protester inquired in purple puff paint. Others paired the White House deputy chief of staff's name with expletives.

Amid the false accusations and acrid clashes of President Trump's inner circle, few acolytes have survived longer than Miller. The 39-year-old has remained essential through Trump's second term, piloting an immigration platform that has sowed fear across wide swaths of the country — nowhere more so than Greater Los Angeles, where federal agents have mounted a relentless assault on immigrants, sweep-



CHIP SOMMERVILLE/Getty Images

STEPHEN MILLER, who attended Santa Monica High, has combated L.A.'s liberal scene for years.

White House sees raids as a 'grand success'

Moves against L.A. excite Trump's base. But polls, a legal case could spoil the party.

BY MICHAEL WILNER

WASHINGTON — National Guard troops and immigration agents on horseback, clad in green uniforms and tactical gear, trotted into MacArthur Park on Monday, surrounding the iconic square with armored vehicles in a show of force widely denounced as gratuitous. The enforcement operation produced few tangible results that day. But the purpose of the display was unmistakable.

The Trump administration's monthlong operation in Los Angeles, which began on June 6 with flash raids at worksites and culminated days later with President Trump's deployment of Marines and the Guard, continues to pay political dividends to a president who had been in search of the perfect foil on his signature issue since retaking office, officials close to the president told The Times.

At first, officials in the West Wing thought the operation might last only a week or two. But Trump's team now says the ongoing spec-

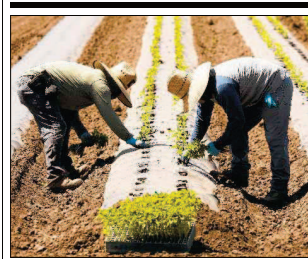
tacle has proved a resounding political success with few downsides. Thus far, the administration has managed to fend off initial court challenges, maintain arrests at a steady clip, and generate images of a ruthless crackdown in a liberal bastion that delight the president's supporters.

It may be premature for the president to declare political victory. Anger over the operation has swelled, prompting activism across California. And signs have emerged that the White House may be misreading Trump's election mandate and the political moment, with new polls showing public sentiment turning nationwide on the president's increasingly aggressive enforcement tactics.

The city has struggled to cope, hobbled by an unpopular mayor and a nationally divisive governor who have been unable to meaningfully respond to the unprecedented federal effort. But the raids have also provided California's Democratic governor, Gavin Newsom, with an opportunity to fill a leadership vacuum as his party grapples to find its footing in the resistance.

Lawsuits could still change the course of the operation. A crucial hearing set for Thursday in a case that could challenge the consti-

[See Immigration, A6]



AL SEIN FOR THE TIMES

IN CAMARILLO, workers plant jalapeños. Recent immigration raids are keeping many out of the fields.

For state's farmers, migrant laborers are 'irreplaceable'

Trump official insists Medicaid recipients and machines can do all the work instead.

BY ANDREA CASTILLO,
SUHAUNA HUSSAIN
AND JESSICA GARRISON

A top Trump administration official's claim that Medicaid recipients could replace farmworkers has met with pushback from California's agriculture industry, which faces the loss of its workforce amid the federal immigration crackdown.

"There will be no amnesty. The mass deporta-

tions continue, but in a strategic way," said Agriculture Secretary Brooke Rollins at a news conference in Washington, D.C., on Tuesday. "And we move the workforce towards automation and 100% American participation, which, again, with 34 million people, able-bodied adults on Medicaid, we should be able to do that fairly quickly."

Heleen McGrath, whose family farms citrus and avocados in Ventura County, said Rollins' comments were insulting.

"I can confidently say that most farmers in the country either laughed out loud or were just deflated by those comments," she said. "It just shows how unin-

[See Agriculture, A6]

Feral bees crowd out native species

California pollinators are being overwhelmed by an exploding population of European bees. **SCIENCE, A8**

State is sued over trans athletes

Trump administration's suit targets California's policy on high school sports. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

Weather
Mostly sunny.
L.A. Basin: 92/65, **B6**

Markets **A11**
Opinion Voices **A12**

CEO of Musk's X is stepping down

Linda Yaccarino led the social media company through a period of tumult. **BUSINESS, A9**

For the latest news, go to **latimes.com**.



A lawman on the surface, but El Diablo underneath

BY PATRICK J.
MCDONNELL

MEXICO CITY — By his own admission, the Mexican lawman known as El Diablo — the Devil — supervised a source of torture, murder, kidnappings, land grabs and other abuses while amassing a fortune in cartel bribes that bankrolled purchases of homes, cattle and a fleet of buses.

Edgar Veytia's transgres-

sions came while he was the top cop in Nayarit, a small Pacific Coast state that evolved from a sleepy backwater to one of Mexico's most violent cartel battlegrounds.

Veytia, who honed the public persona of a crusading, pistol-packing prosecutor, brazenly traveled between Mexico and the United States, confident that no one would see beyond his righteous, tough-on-crime facade.

"I didn't think I would be arrested," Veytia testified later.

His sense of invulnerability was shattered on March 27, 2017, when U.S. agents busted Veytia at a border crossing in San Diego. This was no low-level mule who ferried drugs on his person, but a state attorney general who had facilitated cartel smuggling for years. Veytia pleaded guilty in January 2019 to narcotics trafficking.

El Diablo, however, knew

where the bodies were buried — a knowledge he peddled tirelessly to his U.S. handlers. And when he testified against an even bigger Mexican narco-politician, he secured a get-out-of-jail card — before completing even half of his 20-year U.S. prison sentence.

Veytia, 55, was released from prison in February and is currently a free man, residing in the northeastern United States. But now he is

[See El Diablo, A4]



Sube la tensión entre Milei y los gobernadores: sesión clave en el Senado

El Presidente dijo que los mandatarios provinciales “quieren destruir al Gobierno”.

Con el apoyo de los gobernadores, la oposición en la Cámara alta buscará avanzar hoy en la media sanción de los proyectos que le otorgan más fondos a las provincias. El quórum estaría garantizado, al igual que la mayoría.

“La intención de ellos es romper todo”, lanzó Milei. El ministro Luis Caputo también agitó que “algunos están dispuestos a todo para poder robar”. Los mandatarios evitaron cruzar a la Casa Rosada, y apuestan al Senado. **P.3**

Un pago clave

El Gobierno canceló US\$ 4.300 millones. Se trata del mayor vencimiento del año con acreedores privados. **P.6**

Villarruel. No le molestó la neblina y festejó el 9 de Julio en Tucumán.

Alianzas en Provincia con el PJ unido y el PRO dentro de La Libertad Avanza

Después de muchas idas y vueltas, el peronismo conformó el frente “Fuerza Patria” que busca contener a los dirigentes de Axel Kicillof, Máximo Kirchner y Sergio Massa. La Alianza Libertad Avanza será para los libertarios que sumaron al macrismo. También avanzó una amplia coalición de sectores de la UCR, la Coalición Cívica, el GEN, peronistas no K y radicales disidentes. **P.8**

Escándalo cripto: revelan que Davis transfirió casi US\$ 2 millones tras reunirse con Milei

El creador de la malograda cripto \$LIBRA que promocionó el Presidente el 14 de febrero pasado, Hayden Davis, transfirió casi dos millones de dólares a través de dos plataformas digitales a inversores desconocidos en los minutos posteriores a la reunión con Javier Milei. También lo hizo en las horas previas al lanzamiento. **P.14**



FERNANDO DE LA ORDEN

Encallada. La ballena, en el canal costero. Un operativo la remolcó luego con una lancha.

Una ballena muerta, frente a la costa de Vicente López

La niebla del martes impidió que la vieran antes. Pero ayer un pescador la divisó y lo comunicó a Defensa Civil. La ballena llevaba dos días muerta y

apareció encallada a la altura de La Lucila, a pocos metros de tierra firme. Es poco frecuente que estos animales lleguen hasta el río. Los expertos consi-

deran que fue víctima de una bacteria, enfermó mar adentro y la marea la arrastró hacia el río. Se trataría de un ejemplar joven. **P.28**



Superstar. Dembélé sigue encendido.

El PSG es una máquina y ahora demolió al Real

El ganador de la Champions buscará ahora el título del Mundial de Clubes. Aprovechó graves fallas del Real Madrid en el arranque en Nueva Jersey, después desarrolló un juego perfecto y le ganó 4-0. Intensidad, precisión y velocidad. El domingo definirá ante el Chelsea, de Enzo Fernández. **P.36**

Trump sube al 50% los aranceles de los productos brasileños

En medio de su enfrentamiento con Lula, el presidente de EE.UU. dijo que la medida regirá desde agosto. El promedio de los aranceles a los países latinoamericanos es del 10%. Aunque dio algunas razones económicas, también denunció que Lula lleva adelante una supuesta “caza de brujas” contra

su antecesor Jair Bolsonaro, quien afronta un juicio por intento de golpe de Estado. En una carta a Lula, Trump exigió que eso “se termine”. La Cancillería de Brasil convocó al encargado de Negocios de la Embajada estadounidense para transmitirle su malestar por la defensa de Bolsonaro. **P.20**

LE FIGARO

« Sans la liberté de blâmer, il n'est point d'éloge flatteur » Beaumarchais



ÉTÉ
SUR LES PLAGES ET DANS LES CLUBS
DE SPORT, LE NATURISME
FAIT PEAU NEUVE **PAGE 26**

DÉLINQUANCE
LA POLICE CONFRONTÉE
À L'EXPLOSION
DES RODÉOS URBAINS **PAGE 8**



ÉTATS-UNIS

L'affaire Epstein revient comme un boomerang dans la figure de Trump **PAGE 4**

POLITIQUE

Perquisition au siège du RN : le fardeau judiciaire du parti s'alourdit à nouveau **PAGE 7**

CYCLISME

Tadej Pogacar assomme le Tour de France **PAGE 11**

IMMOBILIER

850 000 logements ne seront plus des passoires thermiques en 2026 **PAGE 21**

ROCK

Le retour fracassant des années 1990 **PAGE 28**

CHAMPS LIBRES

• Public vieillissant, pratiques d'un autre âge... Pour durer, le sumo s'exporte en dehors du Japon
• Un entretien avec Jean-Thomas Lesueur
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• L'analyse d'Agnès Leclair
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FIGARO OUI FIGARO NON

Réponses à la question de mercredi :
Souhaitez-vous que Donald Trump reçoive le prix Nobel de la paix ?

NON 75% OUI 25%

VOTANTS : 119 894

Pensez-vous qu'il n'y a pas d'islamo-gauchisme, comme le déclare le ministre de l'Enseignement supérieur ?



Téléchargez l'app du Figaro pour voter

SÉBASTIEN SORIANO/LE FIGARO - SYLVAIN ROBIN/CEANPROD - STOCK.AUDIENCE

Guerre commerciale : Trump maintient l'Europe sous pression

Le président américain menace les pays partenaires, dont ceux de l'UE, de nouveaux droits de douane à compter du 1^{er} août. De quoi peser sur les négociations en cours depuis avril.

C'est un répit en trompe-l'œil que Donald Trump a accordé aux principaux partenaires commerciaux des États-Unis. Le moratoire de 90 jours qu'il a décrété début avril sur ses « droits de douane réciproques » arrivait à expiration mercredi à minuit.

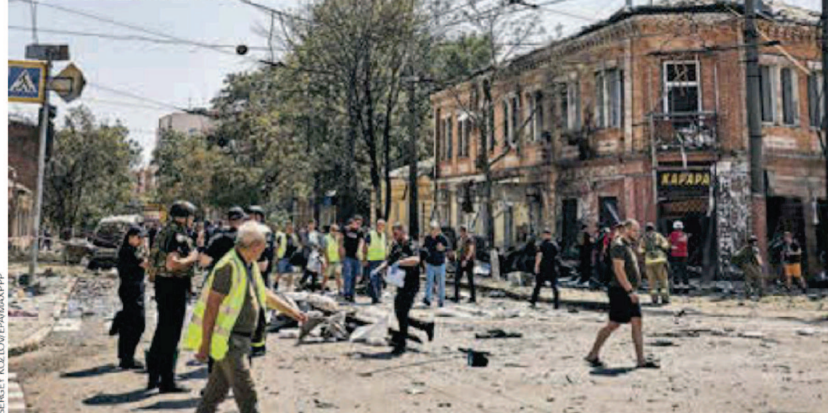
Faute d'avoir signé suffisamment d'accords bilatéraux à temps, le président américain a, in extremis, reculé au 1^{er} août l'instauration de nouveaux droits de douane punitifs, au montant inconnu. D'ici là, les négociations se poursuivent en coulisses, no-

tamment avec l'Union européenne. Mais Donald Trump n'est pas prêt à lâcher du lest. Pour faire pression sur ses partenaires, il leur envoie des lettres d'avertissement et brandit de nouvelles menaces sectorielles en vue de taxer les importations de produits

pharmaceutiques, cuivre et semi-conducteurs. Sous la pression de l'Allemagne et de l'Italie, Bruxelles semble sur le point de signer un deal plutôt docile avec Washington. La Commission européenne espère conclure dans les prochains jours.

→ **TRUMP BRANDIT DE NOUVELLES MENACES CONTRE L'EUROPE → FACE À WASHINGTON, LA CHINE AFFICHE SA RÉSILIENCE, MAIS DEMEURE SUR SES GARDES → LE TRANSPORT MARITIME RÉSISTE BIEN AUX DROITS DE DOUANE **PAGES 18 ET 19****

Kiev perd espoir sous un déluge de missiles et de drones russes



Alors que ses défenses antiaériennes sont vulnérables à cause du manque de munitions, l'Ukraine a essuyé dans la nuit de mardi à mercredi la plus importante attaque de drones et de missiles russes depuis le début de la guerre. **PAGES 2 ET 3**

ÉDITORIAL par Yves Thérard

L'islamo-déni

Pour le ministre de l'Enseignement supérieur, l'islamo-gauchisme est une « notion » qui n'existerait pas à l'université. De deux choses l'une : ou Philippe Baptiste est très mal informé, ou bien il veut cacher la vérité. Dans la première hypothèse, il serait urgent que ce chercheur de formation se cogne à la réalité, pour reprendre la formule de Jacques Lacan. Dans la seconde, il doit se rappeler que le film *Good Bye, Lenin!* n'était qu'une fiction destinée à faire sourire.

Interrogé ce lundi à la télévision sur ce sujet, le ministre de l'Enseignement supérieur avait au moins trois bonnes raisons de ne pas tomber dans l'islamo-déni. En 2020, fustigeant l'attitude de l'Unef, Jean-Michel Blanquer avait publiquement dénoncé les « ravages » de l'islamo-gauchisme dans les facultés. En 2021, la ministre Frédérique Vidal, celle dont Philippe Baptiste fut le directeur de cabinet, pointait avec inquiétude « un phénomène » qui « gangrène » toute la société. Depuis, la contamination s'est répandue à grande vitesse. Ne serait-ce qu'à Sciences Po Paris, où un « Hijab Day » fut instauré et où il est de bon ton de soutenir le Hamas. Au printemps dernier, le professeur Fabrice Balanche fut, quant

à lui, violemment interpellé par des militants islamistes. Au lieu de condamner ces derniers, la présidente de Lyon 2 s'en est prise à l'enseignant. Déjà ministre de tutelle à l'époque, Philippe Baptiste aurait-il oublié ce scandaleux épisode ?

Dans la même émission, le ministre a aussi estimé que l'antisémitisme n'avait pas « sa place » à l'université. Mais a-t-il conscience que, pour un jeune Juif, il est difficile d'étudier

L'islamisme a pris racine à l'université dès les années 1990

dans certaines universités sans raser les murs ? N'en déplaise à Jean-Luc Mélenchon, l'antisémitisme n'y est pas « résiduel ». Et pour cause, l'islamisme y a pris racine dès les années 1990 avec les Étudiants musulmans de France ! Un organisme noyauté par les Frères musulmans, proche de Tariq Ramadan, et dont les Insoumis sont aujourd'hui les fervents complices. Tout cela, Philippe Baptiste le savait. Alors que se tenait, ce lundi, un Conseil de défense sur l'entrisme des Frères musulmans présidé par Emmanuel Macron, comment a-t-il pu ? ■

Islamo-gauchisme : le ministre des universités relance la polémique

Le jour même où Emmanuel Macron convoquait un Conseil de défense consacré à l'entrisme islamiste, Philippe Baptiste, ministre de l'Enseignement supérieur et de la Recherche, déclarait que l'islamo-gauchisme « n'existe pas » dans les universités. Ces propos ont provoqué un tollé à droite, où l'on dénonce un déni de réalité. D'autant que l'ancienne ministre, Frédérique Vidal, avait promis une étude sur le sujet, qui n'a jamais vu le jour. **PAGE 14 ET L'EDITORIAL**



L'ABUS D'ALCOOL EST DANGEREUX POUR LA SANTÉ. À CONSOMMER AVEC MODÉRATION.