showers, high 66. Tonight, partly

cloudy, breezy, cooler, low 44. Tomorrow, clouds and sun, windy, cool, high 53. Weather map is on Page B8.

VOL. CLXXIV No. 60,490 © 2025 The New York Times Company TUESDAY, APRIL 15, 2025

Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



President Nayib Bukele of El Salvador, left, in the Oval Office, said of returning a Maryland man, "Of course I'm not going to do it."

Tracking Data Makes Migrants 'Easy Pickings'

This article is by Paul Mozur, Adam Satariano and Aaron Krolik.

After a Honduran immigrant arrived in the United States in 2022, officials ordered him to use a government-issued app as part of an immigration surveillance pro-

At least once a week, the immigrant, a former police officer in Honduras who was living in Louisiana, would take a selfie through facial-recognition-powered app to confirm his identity and location. By trading some of his privacy, he avoided being put in a detention center and obtained a work permit.

In February, he received a message: report to an immigration of-

U.S. Contractor's Tech Has Led to Arrests, Aid Groups Say

fice so the tracking technology could be updated. When he arrived, federal agents were waiting. They handcuffed him and put him on a vehicle bound for a detention center, where he has been ever since, according to an account from his wife and Jacinta González, the head of programs for the advocacy group MediaJustice who is working with the detained immigrant. He and his wife

harming his legal proceedings.

The maker of the app he had used was Geo Group, the largest private prison operator in the United States. Over the past decade, the company has also built a lucrative side business of digital tools — including ankle monitors, smartwatches and tracking apps to surveil immigrants on behalf of the federal government.

Those products are now aiding President Trump's deportation efforts by providing the whereabouts of unauthorized immi-

Continued on Page A13

CHILDREN IN FEAR Anxiety for parents vulnerable to deportation as enforcement rises. PAGE A12

MARIO VARGAS LLOSA, 1936-2025

declined to be named for fear of

Literary Voice That Thundered Beyond Borders

By SIMON ROMERO

Mario Vargas Llosa, the Peruvian novelist who combined gritty realism with playful erotica and depictions of the struggle for individual liberty in Latin America, while also writing essays that made him one of the most influential political commentators in the Spanish-speaking world, died on Sunday in Lima. He was 89.

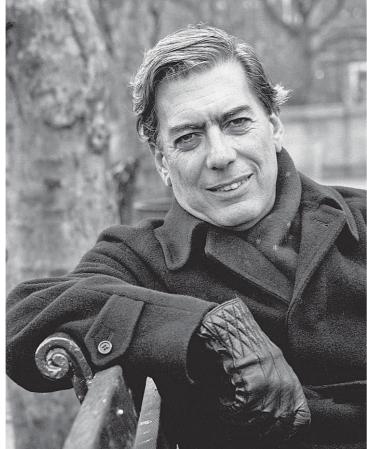
His death was announced in a social media statement by his chil-

Mr. Vargas Llosa, who won the Nobel Prize in Literature in 2010, gained renown as a young writer with slangy, blistering visions of the corruption, moral compromises and cruelty festering in Peru. He joined a cohort of writers like Gabriel García Márquez of Colombia and Julio Cortázar of Argentina, who became famous in the 1960s as members of Latin America's literary "boom genera-

His distaste for the norms of polite society in Peru gave him abundant inspiration. After he was enrolled at the age of 14 in the Leoncio Prado Military Academy in Lima, Mr. Vargas Llosa turned that experience into his first novel, "The Time of the Hero," a critical account of military life published in 1963.

The book was denounced by several generals, including one who claimed it had been financed by Ecuador to undermine Peru's military - all of which helped make it an immediate success.

Mr. Vargas Llosa was never fully enamored, however, by his



JACK MANNING/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mario Vargas Llosa, the Peruvian novelist, in New York in 1986.

contemporaries' magical realism. And he was disillusioned with Fidel Castro's persecution of dissidents in Cuba, breaking from the leftist ideology that held sway for decades over many writers in Lat-

He charted his own path as a conservative, often divisive political thinker and as a novelist who transformed episodes from his personal life into books that reverberated far beyond the borders of

Continued on Page A21

Man Deported

By ZOLAN KANNO-YOUNGS

Office meeting with President Trump on Monday, President Nayib Bukele of El Salvador said that he would not return a Maryland man who was wrongly deported from the United States and sent to a notorious Salvadoran

himself as a key ally to Mr. Trump, in part by opening his country's prisons to deportees, sat next to the president and a group of cabinet officials who struck a combative tone over the case, which has reached the Supreme Court. "Of course I'm not going to do

The message from the meeting was clear: Neither Mr. Trump nor Mr. Bukele had any intention of returning Mr. Abrego Garcia, even though the Supreme Court has ruled that he should come back to

Continued on Page A14

In Error Stays, 2 Leaders Vow

WASHINGTON - In an Oval

Mr. Bukele, who has positioned

it." Mr. Bukele said when reporters asked if he was willing to help return the man, Kilmar Armando Abrego Garcia, a 29-year-old father of three who was deported last month. The Trump administration has acknowledged that his deportation was the result of an "administrative error."

Harvard Says It Won't Obey U.S. Demands

Hiring and Admissions Targeted by Trump

By VIMAL PATEL

Harvard University said on Monday that it had rejected policy changes requested by the Trump administration, becoming the first university to directly refuse to comply with its administration's demands and setting up a showdown between the federal government and the nation's wealthiest university.

Other universities have pushed back against the administration's interference in higher education. But Harvard's response, which called the Trump administration's demands illegal, marked a major shift in tone for the nation's most influential school, which has been criticized in recent weeks for capitulating to Trump administration pressure.

A letter the Trump administration sent to Harvard on Friday demanded that the university reduce the power of students and faculty members over the universitv's affairs; report foreign students who commit conduct violations immediately to federal authorities; and bring in an outside party to ensure that each academic department is "viewpoint diverse," among other steps. The administration did not define what it meant by viewpoint diversity, but it has generally referred to seeking a range of political views, including conservative perspec-

"No government — regardless of which party is in power should dictate what private universities can teach, whom they can admit and hire, and which areas of study and inquiry they can pursue," said Alan Garber, Harvard's president, in a statement to the university on Monday.

Since taking office in January, the Trump administration has aggressively targeted universities, saying it is investigating dozens of schools as it moves to eradicate diversity efforts and what it says is rampant antisemitism on campus. Officials have suspended hundreds of millions of dollars in federal funds for research at universities across the country.

The administration has taken a particular interest in a short list of the nation's most prominent schools. Officials have discussed toppling a high-profile university as part of their campaign to remake higher education. They took aim first at Columbia University, then at other members of the Ivy League, including Harvard.

Harvard, for its part, has been under intense pressure from its own students and faculty to be Continued on Page A15

BEIJING SUSPENDS EXPORTING GOODS WORLD RELIES ON

RARE EARTH PRODUCTS

Escalation Hits Tech and Auto Industries and the Military

By KEITH BRADSHER

GANZHOU, China — China has suspended exports of a wide range of critical minerals and magnets, threatening to choke off supplies of components central to automakers, aerospace manufacturers, semiconductor companies and military contractors around

Shipments of the magnets, essential for assembling everything from cars and drones to robots and missiles, have been halted at many Chinese ports while the Chinese government drafts a new regulatory system. Once in place, the new system could permanently prevent supplies from reaching certain companies, including American military con-



Soil with rare earth elements at a Chinese port in 2010.

The official crackdown is part of China's retaliation for President Trump's sharp increase in tariffs that started on April 2.

On April 4, the Chinese government ordered restrictions on the export of six heavy rare earth metals, which are refined entirely in China, as well as rare earth magnets, 90 percent of which are produced in China. The metals, and special magnets made with them, can now be shipped out of China only with special export licenses

But China has barely started setting up a system for issuing the licenses. That has caused consternation among industry executives

Continued on Page A9

STRUGGLING Small factories with tiny profit margins that fueled China's rise face disaster. PAGE B1

Syrian Town Tries to Patch Its Religious Mosaic

By BEN HUBBARD and HWAIDA SAAD

MAALOULA, Syria - Inside a centuries-old monastery atop a mountain in western Syria, a priest swung an incense holder on a chain, led his flock in me-

MAALOULA DISPATCH

lodic chants and delivered a timeless sermon on the importance of

loving one's neighbor. But when members of the congregation gathered for coffee after the service, their current worries surfaced, about how

peaceful Syria's future would be.

Would the Islamist rebels who ousted the strongman Bashar al-Assad in December ban pork and alcohol, impose modest dress on women or limit Christian worship? Would the new security forces protect Christians from attacks by Muslim extre-

mists? "Nothing has happened that



Years of civil war divided the residents of ancient Maaloula.

makes you feel that things are better," said Mirna Haddad, one of the churchgoers. Elsewhere in the historic town

of Maaloula, its Muslim minority had different concerns. Like their

Christian neighbors, they had fled their homes here early in Svria's 13-vear civil war. But unlike the Christians, they had been barred from returning by Continued on Page A7



INTERNATIONAL A4-11

A 3D-Printed Train Station

As Japan's population shrinks, maintaining rail service in remote small towns is becoming a challenge. PAGE A8

Targeting Cuba's Medical Corps

The U.S. is pulling the visas of foreign officials in countries that pay Havana for doctors and nurses. PAGE A6 NATIONAL A12-20

G.O.P. Dilemma: Tax the Rich

The idea of raising taxes on wealthy Americans has caught the Republican Party between its populist ambitions and low-tax instincts.

NPR and PBS Brace for Cuts

Administration officials want legislators to rescind \$1.1 billion for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. PAGE A17

OBITUARIES B12

A Subversive Illustrator

Brad Holland's stark work for Playboy, The Times and underground papers heralded a new era. He was 81.



SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

The Cephalopods' Long Odds

A family in Oklahoma bought one pet octopus, but soon had the challenge of caring for dozens of them. PAGE D1

Not Rendering Unto Caesar A papyrus discovered in the Judean

desert contains trial notes on an intricate tax-evasion scheme. PAGE D1 **BUSINESS B1-6**

U.S. Case Against Meta Begins

The tech giant went to court on Monday in an antitrust trial focused on its acquisitions of Instagram and WhatsApp. The case could reshape its future.

ARTS C1-6

Michelle Cottle

High-Level Influencers

The mission of the Blue Origin spacecraft's passengers was to feel weightlessness, view Earth from above and livestream it, our writer says.

OPINION A22-23

PAGE A22



A Green Jacket at Last Rory McIlroy got his long-predicted

Masters triumph, putting him in a rare group of those who have won all four golf majors in their career.

