

“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Today, partly sunny, turning a bit more humid, high 83. **Tonight**, partly cloudy, low 70. **Tomorrow**, some sunshine, even more humid, high 89. Weather map appears on Page B8.

VOL. CLXXIV No. 60,589 © 2025 The New York Times Company WEDNESDAY, JULY 23, 2025 Prices in Canada may be higher \$4.00



JEHAD ALSHRAFI/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Aid Reaches the North; Airstrikes Hit Central Gaza
Receiving flour in Gaza City on Tuesday, when Israeli troops attacked World Health Organization sites in Deir al-Balah. Page A10.

Chinese Automakers in Brazil Eye Prize: All of Latin America

By SOMINI SENGUPTA
SÃO PAULO, Brazil — A two-hour drive beyond the traffic jams of São Paulo, past the vast valleys of sugar cane, one of the first Chinese battery-powered-car factories in the Americas is getting ready to open.
Its goal is to reinvent the way Brazil drives, and ultimately, the rest of Latin America, much as Chinese automakers have already done across much of Asia and want to do in Europe.
Until recently, this factory was run by Mercedes-Benz, the German giant of 20th-century automotive innovation that churned out gasoline-powered cars. Today, it's owned by Great Wall Motor, a company that decades ago made rugged pickup trucks for the Chinese countryside but is now one of China's leading exporters of stylish, affordable electric cars.
The change in hands reflects a

Churning Out Hybrids and E.V.s for a Huge New Market

profound disruption for one of the world's most vital industries. If American and European gas-guzzling cars once dominated global tastes and trends, that era appears to be fast turning to China's favor.
Today, not only does China make and export more cars of all types than any other country in the world, Chinese firms dominate the global manufacture of battery-powered vehicles of the future. They also control the supply chain for virtually everything that goes into those cars.
China's E.V.s are among the most advanced in the world. Some
Continued on Page A6

As Big Law Bows to Trump, ‘Little Guys’ Step Up to Fight

By ELIZABETH WILLIAMSON
WASHINGTON — President Trump's executive orders seeking to punish big law firms have led some of them to acquiesce to him and left others reluctant to take on pro bono cases that could put them at odds with the administration.
But as opponents of the White House's policies organized to fight Mr. Trump in court on a vast range of actions and policies, they quickly found that they did not need to rely on Big Law.
Instead, an army of solo practitioners, former government litigators and small law firms stepped up to volunteer their time to challenge the administration's agenda.
“I don't know if the administration knew how many little guys are out there,” said Michael H. Ansell, a solo practitioner in Morristown, N.J., who earlier this year

Filing Tsunami of Suits, With Major Firms Leery to Oppose

joined the Pro Bono Litigation Corps, newly started by Lawyers for Good Government, a legal nonprofit. He answered the nonprofit's plea for lawyers willing to give at least 20 hours a week to an upcoming case. More than 80 volunteered.
Earlier this year, Mr. Trump issued a flurry of executive orders and implicit threats targeting major law firms whose past work or clients he did not like. Though some of the firms chose to fight the orders and have so far prevailed in court, others hastened to settle, agreeing in the process to steer about \$1 billion in pro bono
Continued on Page A13

G.O.P. Pushes To Halt Inquiry Into Fund Cuts

Watchdog for Congress Becomes a Target

By TONY ROMM
WASHINGTON — A federal watchdog has opened dozens of investigations to determine if President Trump and his top aides have illegally withheld billions of dollars in congressionally approved funds.
Now, Republican lawmakers are working alongside the White House to stymie those inquiries and the officials conducting them, in a move that could help Mr. Trump seize more control over the nation's budget.
The attacks target the Government Accountability Office, a roughly century-old agency formed to help Congress keep track of federal spending. The legislative office primarily produces detailed reports on ways that Washington can save money, sometimes ranking administrations that are not so keen about its allegations of waste.
But oversight officials have recently found themselves in a direct and highly unusual confrontation with the White House over the power of the purse. The watchdog chiefly enforces a 1970s law that prohibits the president from defying congressional instructions on spending. Since taking office, Mr. Trump has sought to test that law, working swiftly to disband entire agencies and programs without lawmakers' approval.
The G.A.O. has twice determined in recent months that Mr. Trump's actions violated rules that prohibit him from unilaterally canceling funding, a move known as impoundment. The office has 46 open investigations into other allegations that Mr. Trump illegally withheld funds, the agency confirmed this week.
The inquiries concern the White House's handling of foreign aid, such as money for Ukraine, along with climate investments, including funds for wind energy and clean school buses, according to internal documents from June viewed by The New York Times. The administration's treatment of public-health and education grants, such as those for the National Institutes of Health and the child-care program known as
Continued on Page A12

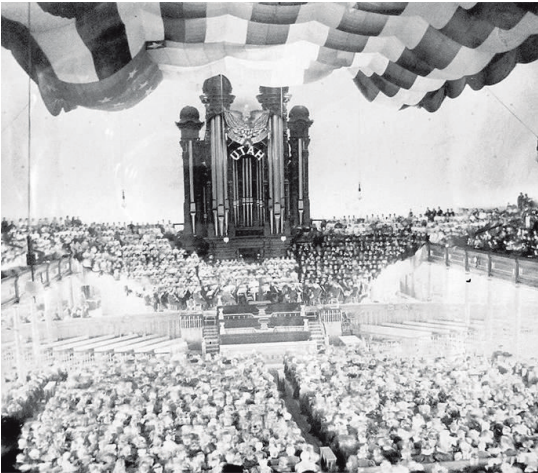
HOUSE ADJOURNS TO AVOID VOTING ON EPSTEIN FILES

SPEAKER CUTS SESSION

Move Reflects How the Issue Has the G.O.P. Deeply Divided

By ANNIE KARNI
and MICHAEL GOLD
WASHINGTON — Speaker Mike Johnson announced on Tuesday that he was cutting short the week's legislative business and sending the House home early for the summer on Wednesday to avoid having to hold votes on releasing files related to the accused sex trafficker Jeffrey Epstein.
Mr. Johnson's move will, for now, deny Democrats the chance to force procedural votes that would call on the Justice Department to make the information public. It reflected how deep divisions among Republicans on the matter have paralyzed the House, where G.O.P. lawmakers are trying to avoid another politically perilous vote on an issue that is confounding President Trump and roiling the MAGA base.
“We're done being lectured on transparency,” Mr. Johnson said at a news conference, where the typically unflappable speaker appeared frustrated.
As he wrapped up his final news conference before a summer recess that was to have begun on Friday and lasted until September, Mr. Johnson complained about “endless efforts to politicize the Epstein investigation.”
He insisted that Republicans “have been intellectually consistent the entire time,” and added that “we're not going to play political games with this.”
Mr. Johnson's decision to shut down the House early was the latest example of how the speaker has in many ways ceded the chamber's independence in order to please or avoid angering Mr. Trump. He has deferred to the president on matters large and
Continued on Page A14

LASHING OUT The president deflected Epstein file questions by attacking Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama. PAGE A14



THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS

“Music & the Spoken Word” started as a local broadcast by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and now is aired on more than 2,000 radio and television stations around the world.



LINDSAY D'ADDATO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

360 Singers, 5 Million Fans and 5,000 Concerts

By RUTH GRAHAM
“Music & the Spoken Word,” a show broadcast each week from Salt Lake City, not only has endured since 1929, but almost as remarkably, has barely changed. There's the announcer's gentle welcome, a three-minute inspirational message and a handful of hymns performed by the Tabernacle Choir at Temple Square, formerly and still better known as the Mormon Tabernacle Choir.

‘Jewel’ of the Mormon Church Since 1929

The program's nearly century-old, 30-minute “recipe,” as its organizers call it, seems to need no modifications to draw a crowd. On July 13, more than 11,000 people gathered in the cavernous conference center owned by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day

Saints to record the program's 5,000th episode.
The show “has always been a part of my life,” said Ron Christensen, 71, who sat near the front with his wife. “I used to take dates here.” His mother, Lela Christensen, 98, who sang in the choir from 1964 to 1987 (with some breaks for having children), was being honored as the choir's oldest living alumna.
The number “5,000” alone may
Continued on Page A15

OSZY OSBOURNE, 1948-2025

Wild Man of Rock and Mild Man of Reality TV

By GAVIN EDWARDS
Ozzy Osbourne, who achieved enormous success as a pioneer of two wildly popular entertainment genres, heavy metal music and reality television, died on Tuesday. He was 76.
His family announced the death in a statement, which did not say where he died or specify a cause. He had been treated in recent years for a variant of Parkinson's disease that he identified as Parkinsonism or Parkin 2, exacerbated by his chronic drug abuse.
Although Mr. Osbourne repeatedly announced his retirement over the years — he called a series of live dates in 1992 the “No More Tours” tour and a 2018 series “No More Tours II” — he gave his final concert this month, at a festival in his hometown, Birmingham, England, in his honor. Seated on a black throne, visibly moved by the enthusiasm of the crowd, he closed out his career by reuniting the original lineup of his heavy metal group Black Sabbath.
As the lead singer of Black Sabbath, Mr. Osbourne was one of the inventors of heavy metal. As a solo artist, he became a remarkably durable star, with 13 platinum albums and the nickname “Prince



KEVIN NIXON/METAL HAMMER MAGAZINE, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Ozzy Osbourne, heavy metal's “Prince of Darkness,” in 2010.

of Darkness.”
But he achieved even wider fame for his rock 'n' roll excess, including an onstage incident in which he bit the head off a bat.
The hit MTV reality show “The Osbournes” presented a comedic counterpoint to his infamy and his taste for satanic imagery; revealing himself as the befuddled patriarch of a chaotic but loving family, he became a TV star.
“All the stuff onstage, the crazy
Continued on Page A20

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Iran Turns to Nationalism
Tehran is repurposing folklore and patriotic anthems as it seeks to channel national outrage over Israeli attacks into raising support at home. PAGE A10

BUSINESS B1-5

Playing on Men's Resentment
A popular game in China, Revenge on Gold Diggers, sheds light on misogyny, inequality and male grievance. PAGE B1

What Podcasters Really Earn
Joe Budden, who oversees a robust network, gave a rare look into the finances of the industry. PAGE B1



OBITUARIES A20, B11-12

A Star on ‘The Cosby Show’
Malcolm-Jamal Warner, 54, played Theo Huxtable on the beloved 1980s sitcom and was later a poet. PAGE B12

Barrier-Breaking Legislator
William L. Clay, 94, was Missouri's first Black congressman and a founder of the Congressional Black Caucus. PAGE B11

NATIONAL A11-17

The Case With No End
Etan Patz's disappearance shaped childhoods for decades. An overturned conviction presents a new twist to the haunting story. PAGE A17

Lung Cancer's Evolution
Doctors are unclear why the disease is being seen more often in nonsmokers and in women of Asian descent. PAGE A11

SPORTS B6-10

Women's Clout in the N.F.L.
Teams are increasing their ranks of female coaches, often in the strength and conditioning departments. PAGE B6



ARTS C1-6

Call It the Labubu Effect
Adorable sidekicks, as cuddly as the plush toy monsters, have been popping up in newly released movies. PAGE C1

A Changing Landscape
Indigo De Souza began with indie rock in North Carolina. Now she is re-emerging as a California pop artist. PAGE C1

FOOD D1-8

Fine Dining Before Takeoff
To serve well-heeled fliers, elite lounges at airports are featuring caviar, sushi bars and big-name chefs. PAGE D7

Therapeutic Recipes
Some mental health professionals are meeting clients in the kitchen in hopes of finding deeper answers. PAGE D5

OPINION A18-19
James Carville PAGE A19



0 354613 9