

"All the News
That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

VOL. CLXXIV No. 60,597

© 2025 The New York Times Company

THURSDAY, JULY 31, 2025

Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00

Altimeter Error Possible Factor In D.C. Crash

Instruments May Have Misled Copter Pilots

This article is by Karoun Demirjian, Kate Kelly and David A. Fahrenthold.

WASHINGTON — The Army pilots whose Black Hawk helicopter crashed into a passenger jet over the Potomac River on Jan. 29 may have been misled by their instruments, causing them to believe they were at a safer, lower altitude when they were actually headed straight into the jet's path, according to evidence that federal investigators unveiled on Wednesday.

That revelation came as the National Transportation Safety Board began three days of public hearings on the midair collision, which killed 67 people and was the first fatal crash involving a major American airline in 15 years.

The hearings examined a series of malfunctions and fateful decisions that night that heightened the dangers of the already crowded airspace over the river near Washington's Ronald Reagan National Airport, crisscrossed by passenger jets and helicopters flown by the military and local police.

Inside the helicopter, for instance, investigators said that the Black Hawk's instruments might have shown the pilots were flying below their actual position. The area in which the helicopter was flying did not have much room for error. Helicopters there were expected to fly in a narrow band between 100 and 200 feet above the Potomac.

"Altitude callouts showed a possible lower than actual altitude understanding by the crew," Marie Moler, a mechanical engineer who provided technical expertise for the agency, said during the hearing.

Inside the airport's control tower, investigators found, a single controller was handling both

Continued on Page A19

Harris Forgoes Governor Race In California

This article is by Laurel Rosenhall, Shawn Hubler and Reid J. Epstein.

Former Vice President Kamala Harris will not run for governor of California next year, she announced on Wednesday, forgoing another campaign after her defeat in last year's presidential election and ending months of speculation about whether she would enter the race.

"For now, my leadership — and public service — will not be in elected office," Ms. Harris said in a statement.

"I look forward to getting back out and listening to the American people, helping elect Democrats across the nation who will fight fearlessly, and sharing more details in the months ahead about my own plans."

Ms. Harris, a former U.S. senator and attorney general of California, had been exploring a run for the state's top office since she returned home to Los Angeles in January. But she had done little to express enthusiasm for the job. She skipped large political events in the state, and never reached out to the leaders of major labor unions, which deliver valuable endorsements.

Ms. Harris had told friends and donors in recent months that she was weighing her options for the future — a run for governor next year, another run for president in 2028 or a career outside of elective office.

Continued on Page A19

INTERNATIONAL A4-11

India Facing Tariff Threats

Imports from India could be subject to a 25 percent tax as trade talks with the U.S. hit a stumbling block.

PAGE A11

Brazil's President Defies Trump

Faced with tariffs and demands, President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva said he wouldn't take orders.

PAGE A19



NATIONAL A12-19, 24

Disparity in Break for Farmers

A \$60 billion increase to subsidies could be a lifeline, but not all farms are poised to reap the same benefits.

PAGE A12

Term Extensions Skirt Senate

The Trump administration has changed federal prosecutors' titles in two states from "interim" to "acting."

PAGE A14

SPORTS B7-10

Minds Behind M.L.B. Trades

The executives running each team have wildly different ways of doing business — and this time of year, that governs which deals get done.

PAGE B7

BUSINESS B1-6

The Big Food Brands Fight

Packaged food companies are struggling to adjust — and profit — as tastes, waistlines and wallets of American consumers change.

PAGE B1

U.S. Growth Data Skewed

The economy softened in the first half of 2025 as tariffs and uncertainty upended business plans and scrambled consumers' spending decisions.

PAGE B1

Money Talk on a Date?

Couples tend to dance around discussing finances early in a relationship. Experts agree that talking about money sooner is better than later.

PAGE B1

THURSDAY STYLES D1-6

In the Mainstream Spotlight

Having a presence at Fashion Week was once unthinkable for Kartik Kumra, now a designer in demand.

PAGE D1

A Multitude of Moomins

The central branch of the Brooklyn Public Library is being overrun by the Finnish cartoon characters.

PAGE D4



ARTS C1-6

Swerving Back to Form

After an indulgent detour and some recent controversy, Ethel Cain has a new album coming out.

PAGE C1

Farewell to a Rock Star

Fans in Birmingham, England, gave a royal send-off for Ozzy Osbourne ahead of a private family funeral.

PAGE C6

OPINION A22-23

The Editorial Board

PAGE A22

THE WEATHER

Today, cloudy, humid, showers and a thunderstorm, high 82. Tonight, rain and a heavy thunderstorm, low 66. Tomorrow, cooler, rain ending, high 70. Weather map is on Page A24.



Source: Satellite image by Planet Labs

ARIC TOLER AND SAMUEL GRANADOS/THE NEW YORK TIMES



IBRAHIM AL-SALLOUT

Gazans' Desperate Quest for Food

A satellite captured an image of hundreds of people converging on a convoy of about a dozen aid trucks threading through rubble in Gaza on Saturday. The image was released Monday by the Earth-imaging company Planet Labs. A video taken on the ground about the same time shows large crowds of men jostling one another. Dozens scaled the sides of the trucks to get at the cargo.

Texas G.O.P. Redraws Maps To Suit Trump

Gerrymander Hopes to Flip 5 House Seats

This article is by J. David Goodman, Nick Corasaniti and Shane Goldmacher.

HOUSTON — The Republican-dominated Legislature in Texas on Wednesday unveiled an aggressively redrawn map for the state's U.S. House districts, proposing to carve up five Democratic seats so that Republicans would now be likely to win them in 2026.

The redrawn map was condemned by Democrats as a baldly partisan attempt at a rare mid-decade redistricting that has been pushed for months by President Trump and accepted by Gov. Greg Abbott and the Republican leaders of Texas.

It fulfilled the president's central demand: five additional Republican seats in Congress that could help the party keep control of the U.S. House after the midterm elections next year. Mr. Trump is pressing Republican legislatures in Missouri, Indiana and elsewhere to follow Texas' lead.

Beyond possible litigation, Texas Democrats may be powerless to stop the Republicans from moving ahead with redrawing districts to flip Democratic seats in deeply blue Dallas, Houston and Austin, and to win control of two highly competitive areas of the Rio Grande Valley along the U.S.-Mexican border.

And the map did not appear to seriously weaken Republican incumbents, which Democrats had hoped could be an inadvertent result of any aggressive effort to grab more seats in the state.

"When they know they can't win, they cheat!" declared Representative Vicente Gonzalez, a Democrat who narrowly won reelection last year in a border district that is redrawn in the proposed map to favor Republicans.

He called the map "outrageously gerrymandered" to create a "Trump rigged district."

The new map would push Democrats together into one seat around Austin, forcing a veteran liberal Democrat, Representative Lloyd Doggett, to face off against a rising star on the party's progressive left, Representative Greg Casar, over the remaining district in the heavily blue state capital.

"Merging the 35th and the 37th districts is illegal voter suppression of Black and Latino Central Texans," Mr. Casar said in a statement, warning that if the map stands, Mr. Trump's efforts to push redistricting "will spread like wildfire across the country."

Mr. Abbott has defended the redistricting effort, citing a letter from the Justice Department this month that argued that several

Continued on Page A19

Continued on Page A19

FED, UNDER SIEGE BY TRUMP, KEEPS ITS RATES STEADY

DEFIES HIS PUSH TO CUT

Reduction Urged by 2 on Board, First Double Dissent Since '93

By COLBY SMITH

WASHINGTON — The Federal Reserve held interest rates steady on Wednesday for a fifth meeting in a row, despite officials' splintering over the right time to restart cuts and in the face of relentless attacks from President Trump.

In standing pat, the central bank kept interest rates at a range of 4.25 percent to 4.5 percent, a level reached in December after a series of reductions at the end of last year. It was one of the most contentious policy votes in decades, with two members of the powerful Board of Governors dissenting.

Christopher J. Waller, a governor, and Michelle W. Bowman, vice chair for supervision — both appointed by Mr. Trump — supported the Fed lowering interest rates by a quarter of a percentage point. The last time two board members opposed a decision related to monetary policy was in 1993, when Alan Greenspan was chair.

The July meeting came at a turbulent moment for the central bank and its chair, Jerome H. Powell, who have been the targets of an intense pressure campaign by the White House.

The president has called for borrowing costs to be three percentage points lower, arguing that the Fed is both holding back an economic boom and making the country's debt payments more expensive by keeping interest rates at current levels.

As the Fed prepared to release its policy decision on Wednesday, Mr. Trump resumed his attacks on Mr. Powell, once again demanding lower borrowing costs.

Mr. Trump also swatted away concerns that such a move, if done prematurely, could actually ex-

Continued on Page A15



CAROLINE GUTMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Jerome H. Powell, the Fed chair, is a Trump target.

Violence Against the Powerful Pierces the Heart of New York

By ANDREW KEH

Midtown Manhattan contains multitudes. It is a thrumming center of global commerce, proudly avoided by many locals. It is the mecca of American tourism, a maze of world-famous landmarks routinely swarmed by visitors.

And now, for some, it may be earning an unsettling new distinction: a spot-lit setting for brazen acts of premeditated violence.

On Monday afternoon, a gunman who had driven from Nevada parked his car outside a Park Avenue office tower and took the lives of four people inside. Officials said he was targeting the headquarters of the National Football League, apparently aggrieved by the organization's handling of brain injuries in the sport.

The shooting carried echoes, for instance, of last December, when a prominent health care executive was murdered on West

Continued on Page A17

THE VICTIMS A police officer. A security guard. An executive. An associate. Remembered. PAGE A17

India Facing Tariff Threats

Imports from India could be subject to a 25 percent tax as trade talks with the U.S. hit a stumbling block.

PAGE A11

Brazil's President Defies Trump

Faced with tariffs and demands, President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva said he wouldn't take orders.

PAGE A19



Disparity in Break for Farmers

A \$60 billion increase to subsidies could be a lifeline, but not all farms are poised to reap the same benefits.

PAGE A12

Term Extensions Skirt Senate

The Trump administration has changed federal prosecutors' titles in two states from "interim" to "acting."

PAGE A14

Term Extensions Skirt Senate

The Trump administration has changed federal prosecutors' titles in two states from "interim" to "acting."

PAGE A14

Term Extensions Skirt Senate

The Trump administration has changed federal prosecutors' titles in two states from "interim" to "acting."

PAGE A14

Term Extensions Skirt Senate

The Trump administration has changed federal prosecutors' titles in two states from "interim" to "acting."

PAGE A14

Term Extensions Skirt Senate

The Trump administration has changed federal prosecutors' titles in two states from "interim" to "acting."

PAGE A14