"All the News That's Fit to Print"

# The New York Times

**THE WEATHER** 

Today, cloudy, morning showers and a thunderstorm, high 75. Tonight, turning mainly clear, low 65. Tomorrow, warmer, less humid, some sun,

VOL. CLXXIV .... No. 60,546

© 2025 The New York Times Company

TUESDAY, JUNE 10, 2025

Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00

#### Democrats See Some Positives In Trump's Bill

#### They Like Tax-Exempt Tips and Overtime

By ANDREW DUEHREN

WASHINGTON — Democrats have no shortage of criticism for the sprawling Republican policy bill winding its way through Congress carrying President Trump's agenda. It would cost too much, they contend, rip health coverage and food assistance away from too many people and strip vital support from clean energy compa-

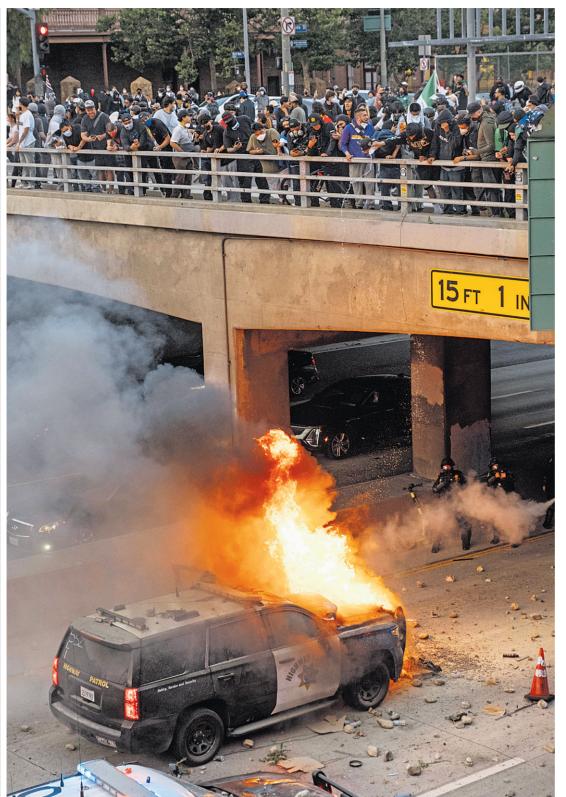
When it comes to some of the tax cuts in the bill, however, Democrats have been less resistant Some of them concede that they would support many of those provisions if they were not rolled into the larger piece of legislation. In recent weeks, they have taken pains to demonstrate that sup-

Last month, Senator Jacky Rosen, Democrat of Nevada, successfully moved to have the Senate unanimously approve a version of Mr. Trump's "no tax on tips" proposal. While the effort was almost entirely symbolic under the Constitution, the House must originate tax measures — it was still an opportunity for Democrats to go on the record backing a campaign promise of Mr. Trump's that is broadly popular with the public.

"I am not afraid to embrace a good idea, wherever it comes from," Ms. Rosen said on the Senate floor at the time.

The undercurrent of Democratic support for elements of the Republican tax agenda reflects the political potency of some of Mr. Trump's campaign promises, even those that have been derided by tax policy experts. It also suggests that temporary provisions in the Republican bill, like exempting tips and overtime pay

Continued on Page A12



#### Protesters burned a Highway Patrol vehicle on Sunday after immigration raids in Los Angeles.

#### **NEWS ANALYSIS**

## Trump Leaps at Chance For Clash in California

#### Driving His Agenda and Defying a Rival

#### By TYLER PAGER

WASHINGTON — It is the fight President Trump had been waiting for, a showdown with a top political rival in a deep blue state over an issue core to his political agenda.

In bypassing the authority of Gov. Gavin Newsom of California, a Democrat, to call in the National Guard and mobilizing a Marine battalion to quell protests in the Los Angeles area over his administration's efforts to deport more migrants, Mr. Trump is now pushing the boundaries of presidential authority and stoking criticism that he is inflaming the situation for political gain [Page A10].

Local and state authorities had not sought help in dealing with the scattered protests that erupted after an immigration raid on Friday in the garment district. But Mr. Trump and his top aides leaned into the confrontation with California leaders on Sunday, portraying the demonstrations as an existential threat to the country — setting in motion an aggressive federal response that in turn sparked new protests across the city.

As more demonstrators took to the streets, the president wrote on social media that Los Angeles was being "invaded and occupied" by "violent, insurrectionist mobs," and directed three of his top cabinet officials to take any actions necessary to "liberate Los Angeles from the Migrant Invasion."

"Nobody's going to spit on our police officers. Nobody's going to spit on our military," Mr. Trump told reporters as he headed to Camp David on Sunday, although it was unclear whether any such

incidents had occurred. "That happens, they get hit very hard."

The president declined to say whether he planned to invoke the 1807 Insurrection Act, which allows for the use of federal troops on domestic soil to quell a rebellion. But either way, he added, "we're going to have troops everywhere.

Stephen Miller, the White House deputy chief of staff, posted on social media that "this is a fight to save civilization."

Mr. Trump's decision to deploy at least 2,000 members of the California National Guard is the latest example of his willingness and, at times, an eagerness to shatter norms to pursue his political goals and bypass limits on presidential power. The last president to send in the National Guard for a domestic operation without a request from the state's governor, Lyndon B. Johnson, did so in 1965, to protect civil rights demonstrators in Alabama.

But aides and allies of the president say the events unfolding in Los Angeles provide an almost perfect distillation of why Mr. Trump was elected in November.

"It could not be clearer," said Newt Gingrich, the former Republican House speaker and ally of the president who noted that Mr. Trump had been focused on immigration enforcement since 2015. "One side is for enforcing the law and protecting Americans, and the other side is for defending illegals and being on the side of the people who break

Sporadic protests have oc-Continued on Page A10

#### Limits on Loans Could Intensify Doctor Shortfall

By RONI CARYN RABIN

President Trump's policy agenda would make deep cuts in government health plans and medical research, and, critics say, could also make finding a doctor more difficult. The Republicans' major domestic policy bill restricts loans that students rely on to pursue professional graduate degrees, making the path to becoming a physician harder even as doctor shortages loom and the American population is graying. The bill, which passed in the

House last month and carries the president's support, would cap direct federal unsubsidized loans at 150,000 — far less than the cost of obtaining a medical education and phase out the Grad PLUS loans that help many students make up the difference.

Medicine, dentistry and osteopathic medicine are among the most expensive graduate programs.

Four years of medical education costs \$286,454 at a public school, on average, and \$390,848 at a private one, according to the Association of American Medical Colleges. Medical school graduates leave with an average debt of \$212,341, the association found.

The price of a four-year program in osteopathic medicine is \$297,881 at a public school, on average, and \$371,403 at a private school, according to the American Association of Colleges of Osteopathic Medicine. The average indebtedness of their graduates is \$259,196.

The proposed loan caps, which Continued on Page A13

# On Tariffs, Swagger in Public and Pleas in Court | *Life in Crimea*:

By TONY ROMM

WASHINGTON - Shortly after a federal trade court declared many of President Trump's tariffs to be illegal, Howard Lutnick, the commerce secretary, took to television to brush aside the setback.

"It cost us a week, maybe," Mr. Lutnick said this month on Fox News, adding that other countries remained eager to strike new deals despite tariffs being in legal jeopardy.

Everybody came right back to the table," he added. With the fate of the president's Trump Aides Projecting **Dueling Narratives** on Trade Policy

tariffs hanging in the balance, the Trump administration has tried to project dueling narratives on trade. Top aides have insisted publicly that their negotiations remain unharmed, even as some of those same officials have pleaded with the court to spare Mr. Trump from reputational damage on the Their strategy faced two crucial

tests on Monday. Mr. Lutnick and other top advisers huddled with their Chinese counterparts in London in the hopes of hammering out a new trade truce. Hours later, lawyers for the Trump administration urged a federal appeals court to al-

low the president's tariffs to re-Continued on Page A12

TARIFF TALKS U.S. and Chinese officials are attempting to resolve their trade differences, PAGE B1

## Sunny Beaches And Raid Sirens

This article is by Neil MacFarauhar, Milana Mazaeva and Anna Lukinova.

Every month, Ukraine unleashes three or four attacks on the Crimea bridge. The latest one, last week, used underwater explosives to try to damage the support structure, Ukraine said.

Each salvo forces the bridge to close, disrupting the main artery between the Russian mainland and the Black Sea peninsula for up to seven hours. While official information is scarce, a channel on the Telegram app warns motorists to avoid crossing, as it did during another recent attack, because a "hail of shrapnel" peppers the bridge when Russia's considerable air defenses blast Ukrainian drones.

Ever since Russia seized Crimea in 2014 in a preview of its full-scale invasion of Ukraine eight years later, the peninsula has been a focal point of the conflict between the countries.

Moscow says its conquest righted a historical wrong, and it demanded in cease-fire negotiations in Istanbul last week that any settlement include international recognition of Russian control. Ukraine vows to never abandon its claim.

President Trump, amid his intermittent attempts to end the war in Ukraine, has also waded into the argument, suggesting that any peace settlement might include Washington's recognizing Russian sovereignty over Crimea.

Overall, the war has solidified changes to life in Crimea that be-

Continued on Page A7

### Russia Is Wary Of Xi's China, Spy File Shows

This article is by Jacob Judah, Paul Sonne and Anton Trojanovski.

In public, President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia says his country's growing friendship with China is unshakable — a strategic military and economic collaboration that has entered a golden era.

But in the corridors Lubyanka, the headquarters of Russia's domestic security agency, known as the F.S.B., a secretive intelligence unit refers to the Chinese as "the enemy."

This unit, which has not previously been disclosed, has warned that China is a serious threat to Russian security. Its officers say that Beijing is increasingly trying to recruit Russian spies and get its hands on sensitive military technology, at times by luring disaffected Russian scientists.

The intelligence officers say that China is spying on the Russian military's operations in Ukraine to learn about Western weapons and warfare. They fear that Chinese academics are laying the groundwork to make claims on Russian territory. And they have warned that Chinese intelligence agents are carrying out espionage in the Arctic using mining firms and university research centers as cover.

The threats are laid out in an eight-page internal F.S.B. planning document, obtained by The New York Times, that sets priorities for fending off Chinese espionage. The document is undated, raising the possibility that it is a draft, though it appears from context to have been written in late

Continued on Page A6

SPORTS B8-12

#### One Owner, but Not One Team

The trend in men's soccer of a group of investors holding several clubs has spread to the women's game. PAGE B10

#### Being the Intimidator's Son

Dale Earnhardt Jr. helped to make a film about his often-distant father, left, who was a NASCAR legend. PAGE B8



**INTERNATIONAL A4-8** 

Shadowing a Winner

#### Violence Plagues Gaza Aid

A new aid system was mired in chaos, as Hamas was accused of threatening foundation workers and many Gazans remained desperately needy.

#### NATO Chief Urges Spending

"Learn to speak Russian," Mark Rutte warned nations avoiding unpopular decisions on military budgets. PAGE A7

ARTS C1-8

#### A Barrier-Breaking Career

Misty Copeland, the first Black female principal at American Ballet Theater, has announced she's retiring. PAGE C1 NATIONAL A9-16

Nicole Scherzinger, from "Sunset Boulevard," sparkled during and after the Tony Awards. Page C1.

#### Rise in Child Gun Deaths

States that loosened ownership restrictions in the wake of a 2010 Supreme Court ruling saw increases, while others stayed steady or fell.

#### Patients Dodge Organ Removal

An inquiry found that a Kentucky nonprofit pushed hospitals toward surgery despite signs of revival.

**OBITUARIES A17, 20** 

#### A Computer Pioneer

Bill Atkinson, a designer for Apple who created software that enabled a simulated "desktop," was 74.

SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

#### **Benefits of That Morning Cup**

A new study adds to the body of evidence that links coffee to longer lives and various health advantages. PAGE D6

#### A Threat, Long Overlooked

The tiny nation of Suriname is taking steps to restrict access to pesticides, a leading means of suicide.



**BUSINESS B1-7** 

#### China's Grip on a Mineral

The nation produces the world's supply of samarium, a rare earth metal Western militaries need desperately. PAGE B1

#### A Chip Maker as a Chess Piece ASML, which makes multimillion-dollar tools for advanced semiconductors, is

**OPINION A18-19** 

The Editorial Board

grappling with a trade war.

