

“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Today, humid, partly cloudy, high 86. Tonight, humid, a thunderstorm in spots, low 73. Tomorrow, showers, a heavy thunderstorm, high 82. Weather map appears on Page B10.

VOL. CLXXIV No. 60,575 © 2025 The New York Times Company WEDNESDAY, JULY 9, 2025 Prices in Canada may be higher \$4.00

White House Botches Swap Of Detainees

Conflicting U.S. Efforts in Venezuela Talks

This article is by **Frances Robles, Julie Turkewitz and Zolan Kanno-Youngs.**

The Trump administration’s top diplomat, Secretary of State Marco Rubio, was overseeing a deal to free several Americans and dozens of political prisoners held in Venezuela in exchange for sending home about 250 Venezuelan migrants the United States had deported to El Salvador.

But the deal never happened. Part of the reason: President Trump’s envoy to Venezuela was working on his own deal, one with terms that Venezuela deemed more attractive. In exchange for American prisoners, he was offering to allow Chevron to continue its oil operations in Venezuela, a vital source of revenue for its authoritarian government.

The discussions, which included the release of about 80 Venezuelan political prisoners, and the two different deals were described by two U.S. officials and two other people who are familiar with the talks and sought anonymity because of the sensitive nature of the issue.

The State Department never sealed the deal. The top U.S. officials did not appear to be communicating with each other and ended up at cross purposes. The approximately 250 people expelled from the United States are still being held in a maximum-security prison in El Salvador. And it became clear that while Mr. Trump’s White House once said that it had no control over the detainees in El Salvador, it was willing to use them as bargaining chips.

Both U.S. tracks — one managed by Mr. Rubio and the other led by the envoy, Richard Grenell — involved speaking with the same Venezuelan representative, Jorge Rodríguez, the president of Venezuela’s National Assembly, one U.S. official and the two other people said.

The conflicting diplomatic efforts signaled a monthslong divide over how to approach Venezuela and resembled the chaos that permeated Mr. Trump’s first term, when competing officials vied for influence with the president. But the lack of coordination left Venezuelan officials unclear

Continued on Page A6

DEPORTATIONS A document undercut White House claims about Venezuelans that the U.S. has sent to El Salvador. PAGE A6



LOREN ELLIOTT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



CALLAGHAN O'HARE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



LOREN ELLIOTT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

5 Days Later, a Grim Task Continues
As at least 161 people remained missing in Central Texas, search and rescue workers, top, scoured an area near the Guadalupe River in search of survivors and victims from Friday’s flash flood. The death toll climbed to 111 people. Above, a donation center in hard-hit Kerr County. Page A18.

JUSTICES PAVE WAY FOR TRUMP TO FIRE FEDERAL WORKERS

Administration May Proceed for Now —
No Ruling on the Plan’s Legality

By **ABBIE VANSICKLE**

WASHINGTON — The Trump administration can move forward with plans to slash the federal work force and dismantle federal agencies, the Supreme Court announced on Tuesday. The decision could result in job losses for tens of thousands of employees at agencies including the Departments of Housing and Urban Development, State and Treasury.

The order, which lifted a lower court’s ruling that had blocked mass layoffs, was unsigned and did not include a vote count. That is typical in such emergency applications. Justice Ketanji Brown Jackson wrote a public dissent.

The case represents a key test of the extent of President Trump’s power to reorganize the government without input from Congress. The justices’ order is technically only temporary, guiding how the administration can proceed while the challenge to Mr. Trump’s plans continues. But in practice, it means he is free to pursue his restructuring plans, even if judges later determine that they exceed presidential power.

In a two-paragraph order, the justices wrote that they had concluded that “the government is likely to succeed on its argument” that Mr. Trump’s executive order announcing plans to downsize the government was legal. The justices added that they had not expressed a view on the legality of specific layoffs or reorganizations by the Trump administration.

It was the latest in a series of recent victories for the Trump administration before the Supreme Court on emergency requests related to the president’s efforts to rapidly reshape government.

The decision followed a major ruling on June 27, when the Supreme Court limited the ability of judges to block Mr. Trump’s policies nationwide.

Although the vote count was not listed, the order included a short public concurrence by Justice Sonia Sotomayor, one of the court’s three liberals, suggesting broad agreement among the justices on the outcome. Justice Sotomayor wrote that she agreed with the

Continued on Page A16

Criticizing Putin After Barrage, Trump Vows More Ukraine Aid

This article is by **Luke Broadwater, Maggie Haberman and Andrew E. Kramer.**

WASHINGTON — President Trump said that the United States would send more weapons to Ukraine to help it fend off Russia’s invasion, arguing that Moscow’s recent assault on Ukrainian cities left him with little choice.

Mr. Trump’s comments appeared to signal a reversal from the president after his administration paused some arms transfers to the country just last week, raising fears that the United States was retrenching its support. Instead, Mr. Trump said on Monday that he had grown unhappy with President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia, who has frustrated Mr. Trump’s hopes to broker a ceasefire.

“We’re going to send some more weapons,” Mr. Trump told reporters at the White House. “We have to. They have to be able to



DAVID GUTTENFELDER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The aftermath of drone strikes this week in Kharkiv, Ukraine.

defend themselves. “They’re getting hit very hard,” he continued. “So many people are dying in that mess.”

Those statements were a remarkable turnaround for Mr. Trump, who has often expressed skepticism of U.S. aid to Ukraine. Just months ago, he dressed down

Continued on Page A9

He Opposed Illegal Immigrants, But He Fell in Love With One

By **SABRINA TAVERNISE**

BENTONVILLE, Ark. — In the northwest corner of Arkansas, immigrants, mostly from Mexico, began arriving in the 1980s to work in the region’s thriving poultry industry.

For many here, this was ultimately a welcomed development. Immigrants, they say, are a big part of the region’s extraordinary economic success. Chris Allred, who has lived in this area all his life, doesn’t see it that way.

Mr. Allred, a recruiter at a trucking company, does not like people who enter the country illegally. He believes they are “an army of takers,” filling spots in emergency rooms and schools that American citizens have to pay for. He does not like President Trump, either, but he voted for him last year because it seemed as though he would actually take action on immigration.



CHASE CASTOR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Chris and Gely Allred had a difficult decision to make.

“We don’t have an industrial base anymore,” Mr. Allred told me over dinner at his apartment in Bentonville. “We have trillions in national debt. It’s impossible. We can’t take on millions more peo-

Continued on Page A14

Is Musk’s Push for Third Party Achievable or Flight of Fancy?

By **REID J. EPSTEIN and THEODORE SCHLEIFER**

WASHINGTON — Launching a new national political party in the United States may be harder than sending a man to Mars.

Elon Musk, the world’s richest man, who last year was the nation’s biggest known political donor, now says that he is trying to do both. But while the effort to achieve interplanetary travel has made slow progress for over 20 years, the past several decades of American politics are littered with abandoned attempts to disrupt the two-party system.

It remains to be seen how serious Mr. Musk is about the new political project, and whether it will evolve from musings on his social-media platform to a fact of real life. While he declared on Saturday that “Today, the America Party is formed,” so far he has yet to register it with the Federal Election Commission.

As with many of his tweet-length proclamations, Mr. Musk’s plans for the new party are opaque. His private conversations about it have been conceptual and not focused on the details of what it would take to bring it to fruition, according to two people briefed on those talks.

Some advisers to Mr. Musk who have also been involved in these early talks, however, appear more focused on those details and are soliciting more feedback from experts, according to one of the people.

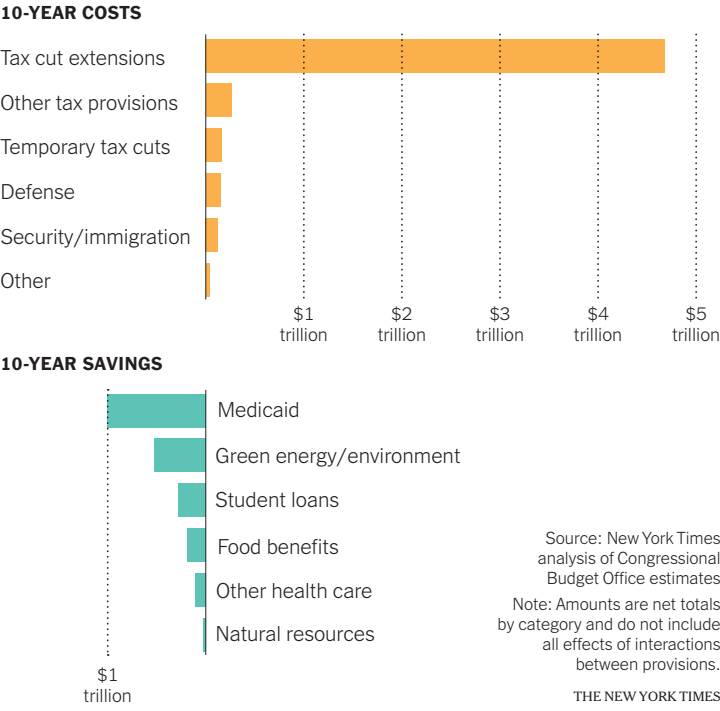
Mr. Musk’s advisers have indicated privately that they plan to use a super PAC to organize initial support for the new party before it is formally established, according to one of the people briefed.

Mr. Musk has said the America Party would be a new entity and

Continued on Page A17

What’s in the Bill

A look at how the federal budget will be affected over 10 years by all of the costs and cuts contained in the giant tax and domestic policy package signed last week by the president. Pages A12-13.



INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Threats and a Trade Tempest

As the White House renewed its “reciprocal” tariff plan, countries that tried to negotiate in good faith found that it made little difference. PAGE A7

BUSINESS B1-5

Whom Will A.I. Hurt Most?

Amid layoffs in tech, experts are debating whether the young or the experienced are most at risk. PAGE B1

It’s Trump’s Economy Now

With taxes and tariffs in place, the president has achieved much of his agenda for the nation. PAGE B1

SPORTS B6-9

Following a Mentor’s Path

David Wright, who will be inducted into the Mets Hall of Fame, formed a deep bond with Tom Seaver. PAGE B7

As Much Boxer as Puncher

Iga Swiatek has to win a battle between her two tennis selves to become a great grass-court player. PAGE B6



NATIONAL A11-19

Energy Dept. Hires Skeptics

Three scientists who reject mainstream climate science were hired after the Trump administration dismissed a bevy of experts, a review found. PAGE A16

A Different Combs Narrative

Lawsuits accusing Sean Combs of sex abuse led to a sense that his trial might examine celebrity debauchery. PAGE A19

OBITUARIES A22

A Pioneer in Biology

Franklin W. Stahl helped show how DNA replicates, proving a theory advanced by Nobel laureates. He was 95.

ARTS C1-8

Provocative Opera From Afar

Many of the offerings at the Aix-en-Provence Festival in France are broadcast or travel to other sites. PAGE C1

A Museum of Curiosities

A T. rex replica, a denim gorilla and a snake wreath are among the displays at the Art Zoo in Amsterdam. PAGE C1



FOOD D1-8

20 Summer Wines Under \$20

Not just whites and rosés, bottles of all colors can refresh, with hints of berries, flowers, citrus and a sea breeze. PAGE D1

Cucumbers’ Cool Factor

Their juicy crunch cuts through the smoky char of summer dishes, but they can shine in their own right. PAGE D5

OPINION A20-21

Lawrence H. Summers PAGE A20

