

“All the News  
That’s Fit to Print”

# The New York Times

**THE WEATHER**  
Today, humid, partly cloudy, a spotty afternoon storm, high 86. **Tonight**, some clouds, humid, low 75. **Tomorrow**, partly sunny, humid, a storm or two, high 88. Weather map, Page B8.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



Palestinians at the beach in Gaza City. Last week, the Israeli military issued a statement prohibiting swimming or fishing there.

## ISRAELI PROPOSAL THREATENS TALKS

### Plan to Push Palestinians Into Corner of Gaza

By **PATRICK KINGSLEY**  
and **AARON BOXERMAN**

JERUSALEM — Israel’s Defense Ministry has promoted a plan to force much of Gaza’s population into a small and largely devastated zone in the territory’s south, a proposal that threatens to derail the latest efforts to forge a truce between Israel and Hamas.

In recent weeks, Israeli officials have briefed journalists and foreign counterparts on a loose plan to force hundreds of thousands of Palestinian civilians into an area controlled by Israel’s military close to the Gaza-Egypt border. Legal experts have warned that the plan would violate international law because the civilians would be barred indefinitely from returning to their homes in other parts of Gaza, a restriction that would constitute a form of ethnic cleansing.

While the Israeli government has yet to formally announce the plan or comment on it, the idea of a new encampment in southern Gaza was first proposed last week by Israel Katz, the Israeli defense minister. He discussed it at a briefing with Israeli correspondents who focus on military affairs, and The New York Times reviewed readouts of the briefing written by its attendees. Several attendees also wrote articles that attracted widespread attention among both Israelis and Palestinians.

A spokesman for Mr. Katz declined to comment on the reports, as did the office of Benjamin Netanyahu, Israel’s prime minister.

Now, Hamas has cited Mr. Katz’s proposal as one of the latest obstacles to a new truce. During a cease-fire, in exchange for releasing roughly 25 hostages, Hamas wants Israeli troops to withdraw from much of Gaza. The new Israeli plan makes such an outcome far less likely, since it would ensure that Israeli troops remained in charge of a large area over which Hamas seeks to re-establish control.

Husam Badran, a senior member of Hamas, described the establishment of the encampment as a “deliberately obstructive demand” that would complicate the difficult negotiations.

“This would be an isolated city that resembles a ghetto,” Mr. Bad-

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## Biden Says Autopen Clemencies Were All His

By **CHARLIE SAVAGE**  
and **TYLER PAGER**

WASHINGTON — Former President Joseph R. Biden Jr. is escalating his battle against Republican claims that he might not have been in control of high-profile clemency decisions issued under his name at the end of his term and, more generally, that his cognitive state impaired his functioning in office.

In an interview with The New York Times, Mr. Biden said that he had orally granted all the pardons and commutations issued at the end of his term, calling President Trump and other Republicans “liars” for claiming his aides had

### Rebutting Claims From G.O.P. That He Didn’t Control Decisions

used an autopen to do so without his authorization.

“I made every decision,” Mr. Biden said in a phone interview on Thursday, asserting that he had his staff use an autopen replicating his signature on the clemency warrants because “we’re talking about a whole lot of people.”

The interview was Mr. Biden’s first about the parallel investiga-

tions begun by the Trump White House, the Justice Department and Congress into a series of clemency decisions made by Mr. Biden in his final weeks in office and his mental acuity during his term.

Republicans in Congress have demanded sworn interviews with former Biden aides, prompting them to hire their own lawyers. Some lawyers are said to have warned their clients not to talk publicly and about the dangers of testifying because the Justice Department under Mr. Trump might be eager to bring perjury charges over any inconsistency, no matter how minor.

Mr. Biden’s former White

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MATTHEW ABBOTT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

### Like Fido, but With Bigger Teeth

Don’t tell residents of Australia’s Northern Territory that they can’t have a pet crocodile. Page A10.

## Ever Hotter, Southern Europe Dreams of Fjords

By **JASON HOROWITZ**

BARCELONA, Spain — Not so long ago, families coming to the shore in Montgat, Spain, just outside Barcelona, built sand castles, played paddle games and lounged around on the broad band of sand that was the picture of the European summer vacation. But now in some places, there is hardly enough room to put down a towel.

“From here to there,” said Sofia Mella, 19, as she pointed far out to

### Climate Change Steals the Joy of Vacation

sea, “it was all sand.”

Climate change is changing Europe into a summer paradise lost. Across Spain, Italy, Greece, France and beyond, sand-devouring storms, rising seas, asphyxiating temperatures, deadly floods and horrific wildfires have

year after year turned some of the continent’s most desired getaways into miserable locales to get away from.

As southern Europeans dream of fjords, the traditional hot spots and fixtures of travel agency package deals no longer seem so desirable. This past week, even though temperatures broke across much of the continent, experts and officials warned that the next heat wave would come soon,

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## Trump Vows to Aid Europe In Hastening Arms to Kyiv

### He Warns of ‘Very Severe Tariffs’ for Russia if Peace Deal Isn’t Done in 50 Days

By **ERICA L. GREEN**

WASHINGTON — President Trump said on Monday that he would help Europe speed more weapons to Ukraine and warned Russia that if it did not agree to a peace deal within 50 days, he would impose a new round of punishing sanctions.

The announcement comes as Mr. Trump carries out a remarkable shift in tone — if not in practice — on the war in Ukraine from his first months in office, when he looked to leverage his personal relationship with President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia to end the war.

“He’s fooled a lot of people,” Mr. Trump said of Mr. Putin, who launched an unprovoked full invasion on Ukraine in 2022 and escalated attacks amid peace negotiations this year, even as Mr. Trump tried to bring an end to the fighting.

“He fooled Clinton, Bush, Obama, Biden — he didn’t fool me,” Mr. Trump said, seemingly sensitive to the perception that he was changing his tune on the Russian president.

Speaking from the Oval Office, where he met with the secretary general of NATO, Mark Rutte, Mr. Trump said that a range of artillery would be “quickly distributed to the battlefield,” in a deal brokered by Mr. Rutte and European leaders. Under the deal, the United States would sell Patriot air defense missiles to NATO members, which would then supply them to Ukraine.

“We’ll send them a lot of weapons of all kinds,” Mr. Trump said. “And they’re going to deliver those weapons immediately to the site, to the site of the war, different sites of the war, and they’re going to pay for 100 percent of them.”

As much as Mr. Trump appeared to want credit for helping to end the war, he was also clear that he did not want to be blamed for the outcome.

“I do want to make one statement again,” he said. “I said it before. This is not Trump’s war.”

Mr. Trump also threatened to impose “secondary tariffs,” which he said could be as high as 100 percent, and secondary sanctions, which are penalties imposed on other countries or parties that trade with nations under sanctions.

“We’re very, very unhappy with

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DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mark Rutte, secretary general of NATO, visited the president.

## Bluffing Aside, U.S. Tariffs Bite Real Economy

By **ANA SWANSON**

WASHINGTON — President Trump’s on-again, off-again tariffs have prompted investors to bet that he will “always chicken out” and given businesses and foreign leaders hope that the leader of the world’s largest economy will ultimately back down from his threats if they prove too economically disruptive.

Events of the past week have cast serious doubt on that bet. As Mr. Trump renews trade threats against more than two dozen trading partners, he is once again proving his fondness for tariffs, and embracing import taxes in a way that no other president has since the Great Depression.

A self-described “tariff man,” Mr. Trump has continually extolled the virtues of heavily taxing imports as a way to raise revenue and cajole factories to relocate to the United States. While the president may give way on some of his most recent threats, he has still steadily and drastically raised tariffs to levels not seen in a century.

Over the past week, Mr. Trump has threatened 25 trading partners with punishing levies on Aug. 1 unless they sign trade deals that Mr. Trump finds acceptable. The list of countries and blocs he plans to raise tariffs on include some of America’s biggest sources of imports, including the European Union, Japan, Mexico, Brazil, South Korea and Thailand. Those had been in active talks with the United States about resolving Mr. Trump’s concerns in an effort to avoid tariffs.

Several may still reach deals to

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**FROZEN** Amid the uncertainty over import taxes, businesses in Europe have been unable to develop long-term plans. PAGE B1

## Education Dept. Can Be Guttled, Justices Decide

By **ABBIE VANSICKLE**

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court agreed on Monday that the Trump administration can proceed with dismantling the Education Department by firing more than a thousand workers.

The order is a significant victory for the administration and could ease President Trump’s efforts to sharply curtail the federal government’s role in the nation’s schools.

The Trump administration has announced plans to fire more than 1,300 workers, a move that would effectively gut the department, which manages federal loans for college, tracks student achievement and enforces civil rights laws in schools.

The Education Department began the year with more than 4,000 employees. The administration also fired some probationary workers and offered employees the ability to resign. Altogether, after the terminations, the Education Department will have a work force of about half the size it did before Mr. Trump returned to office.

The move by the justices represents an expansion of presidential power, allowing Mr. Trump to dismantle the inner workings of a government department created by Congress without legislators’ input. The firings will hobble much of the department’s work, supporters argued in court filings. Particularly hard hit was the department’s Office for Civil Rights, which had seven of its 12 offices shuttered.

It comes after a decision by the justices last week that cleared the way for the Trump administration to move forward with cutting thousands of jobs across a number of federal agencies, including the Departments of Housing and Ur-

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Fifty years ago, the Apollo-Soyuz Test Project brought NASA astronauts and Soviet cosmonauts together. PAGE D1

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The continent is a place for research and peace, but funding cuts and other actions could change that. PAGE D1

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Zackie Achmat, once at the center of South Africa’s push for H.I.V. treatment, has come out of retirement as U.S. funding cuts revive old fears. PAGE A4

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Netflix and YouTube have far different strategies, but the same goal: controlling your TV set. PAGE B1

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Shoppers are taking advantage of a \$42 billion government trade-in program aimed at increasing spending. PAGE B1



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The creators of the Apple TV+ series discuss the challenges of being a decent human being — or a cyborg. PAGE C2

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The writers Hannah Pittard and Andrew Ewell fell in love, married and divorced. So who gets to tell the story? PAGE C1

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Facing painful cuts, the Department of Veterans Affairs claimed credit for canceling contracts that had not been canceled, and tallied savings unrelated to the cost-cutting efforts. PAGE A16

### Cuomo Has Not Given Up

The former governor is expected to announce a third-party run against Assemblyman Zohran Mamdani, who defeated him in the Democratic primary for New York mayor. PAGE A17

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### Serge Schmemmann

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### Strongman Head of Nigeria

Muhammadu Buhari, once a feared military leader, won elections in 2015 and 2019 but couldn’t slow corruption and terrorism. He was 82. PAGE B11

