"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

THE WEATHER

Today, hot but not that humid, sunshine and a few clouds, high 91. Tonight, clear, low 71. Tomorrow, hot with plenty of sunshine, high 92.

VOL. CLXXIV No. 60,608

© 2025 The New York Times Company

MONDAY, AUGUST 11, 2025

Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



MRIDULA AMIN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Painful Bond

Bite Club, a fraternity of shark bite victims, helps with physical and emotional recovery when very few others can relate. Page A10.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Justices Peel Away Election Guardrails

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — If Republicans succeed in pulling off an aggressively partisan gerrymander of congressional districts in Texas, they will owe the Supreme Court a debt of gratitude.

In the two decades Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. has led the Supreme Court, the justices have reshaped American elections not just by letting state lawmakers like those in Texas draw voting maps warped by politics, but also by gutting the

Remaining Pillar of the Voting Rights Act Could Be Next

Voting Rights Act of 1965 and amplifying the role of money in politics.

Developments in recent weeks signaled that some members of the court think there is more work to be done in removing legal guardrails governing elec-

tions. There are now signs that the court is considering striking down or severely constraining the remaining pillar of the Voting Rights Act, a towering achievement of the civil rights movement that has protected the rights of minority voters since it was enacted 60 years ago last

Continued on Page A14

CRUCIAL JUDGE James C. Ho is the "tip of the spear" of conservatism in the Trump era. PAGE A14



Braving Chaos for Hoops in Congo

A basketball academy that offers young people a lifeline persists despite years of war. Page A4.

C.D.C. Shooting Followed Years of Demonization

By APOORVA MANDAVILLI

The day after a lone gunman opened fire on the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, killing a police officer and shattering windows across the agency's campus, employees were reeling from shock, fear and rage.

"We're mad this has happened," Dr. Debra Houry, the C.D.C.'s chief medical officer, said in a large group call Saturday morning with Susan Monarez, the agency's

Staff Feels Betrayed as Fears Come True

newly confirmed director, who tried to reassure them. Another employee on the call, a recording of which was obtained by The New York Times, asked Dr. Monarez: "Are you able to speak to the misinformation, the disinformation that caused this issue?

And what your plan forward is to ensure this doesn't happen again?"

The investigation into the shooting and the gunman's potential motives is still in its early stages. But law enforcement officials said that the suspect identified in the shooting had become fixated with the coronavirus vaccine, believing that it was the cause of his physical ailments.

Inside the C.D.C. in Atlanta, the Continued on Page A15

More Children Being Poisoned From Cannabis

This article is by Danielle Ivory, Julie Tate and Megan Twohey.

Amy Enochs was texting with other parents, all wondering why their central Ohio elementary school had gone into lockdown, when the school called. Several fourth graders, including Ms. Enochs's daughter, had eaten marijuana gummies and were being taken to the hospital with racing pulses, nausea and hallucinations.

A classmate had found the gummies at home and mistaken them for Easter candy.

Ms. Enochs recalled hyperventilating that spring day three years ago. "I was scared to death," she said, her voice breaking. "It was shock and panic."

As legalization and commercialization of cannabis have spread across the United States, making marijuana edibles more readily available, the number of cannabis-related incidents reported to poison control centers sharply increased: from about 930 cases in 2009 to more than 22,000 last year, data from America's Poison Centers shows. Of those, more than 13,000 caused documented negative effects and were classified by the organization as nonlethal poisonings.

These numbers are almost certainly an undercount, public health officials say, because hospitals are not required to report such cases. More than 75 percent of the poisonings last year involved children or teenagers.

"I definitely have seen floridly psychotic 2-year-olds just waiting for the marijuana to leave their system because they got into

Continued on Page A15

Quiet Technocrat Enables Ruthless Agenda of Putin

A Kremlin Chameleon Has Staged Elections and Is Guiding Ukraine War Politics

By ANTON TROIANOVSKI

The Kremlin official boasted of his commitment to healthy living, opening a door in his office to show a visiting businessman what looked like a private gym. Then he described his latest project: stage-managing "referendums" in occupied Ukraine to make it look like those regions wanted to join

The Moscow businessman, who had come to see him about another matter, recalled that the official. Sergei V. Kiriyenko, had gone into great detail about the referendums, even listing the percentage breakdown of the results the Kremlin would declare.

He added that Mr. Kiriyenko left the impression of a calm, ambitious bureaucrat "solving a concrete, technical problem.'

Since that meeting three years ago, it has become more clear than ever that Mr. Kiriyenko is the man who turns President Vladimir V. Putin's ideas into action.

As the Russian leader wages war, Mr. Kiriyenko oversees wideranging government efforts to tighten Mr. Putin's grip on the country and on occupied Ukraine. He has also recently gained new power inside the Kremlin, taking over much of the portfolio of another Putin aide who disagreed with the invasion of Ukraine.

Despite his modest title of first deputy chief of staff to Mr. Putin, Mr. Kiriyenko represents an underappreciated aspect of how the Russian president power, forming part of a cadre of skilled, loyal and opportunistic managers who direct the sprawling apparatus of the Russian

For more than three years, Mr. Putin has leaned on Mr. Kiriyenko, 63, to manage the political aspects of the Ukraine war. Cracking down on domestic opposition. Expanding the Kremlin's control of the internet. Pushing Mr. Putin's

narrative into Russian schools and culture. Shaping propaganda and governance in occupied Ukraine. Attempting to legitimize Russia's land grab.

Just in the past few months, Mr. Kiriyenko's reach has extended to efforts to reintegrate veterans of the Ukraine war into civilian life and to push Russians onto a stateaffiliated messaging app instead of Western ones. If Mr. Putin makes a deal with President Trump at their planned summit in Alaska on Friday to end the fighting in Ukraine, it is likely to be Mr. Kiriyenko's job to sell any compromise to Russians as a victory.

In interviews, more than a dozen former colleagues and other Russians who know Mr. Kirivenko described him as a man whose proficiency in the minutiae of control and influence have greased the machinery of Mr. Putin's autocracy. Many of the people, including three close to the Kremlin, spoke to The New York Times on the condition of anonymity for fear of retribution.

The Kremlin declined to make Mr. Kiriyenko available for an interview and did not respond to a request for comment.

Continued on Page A5



Sergei V. Kiriyenko is seen as deft at the minutiae of control.

NEWS ANALYSIS

After Almost Losing Trump, Putin Gets His Ideal Summit

By PAUL SONNE

BERLIN — Late last month, President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia was facing a stark reality: He was on the verge of losing President Trump, the one Western leader possibly willing to help him get his way in Ukraine and achieve his long-held goal of rupturing the European security

After months of trying to get

Mr. Putin to end the war, Mr. Trump had grown tired of ineffectual phone calls and talks, and had begun issuing ultimatums. Even worse for Mr. Putin, Mr. Trump appeared to have patched up his relationship with President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine, despite an Oval Office blowup earlier this year that delighted Moscow.

It was not clear that Mr. Trump would be able or willing to follow through on the threats he had made to put punishing tariffs on nations buying Russian oil, or what real impact such moves would have on Moscow. But Mr. Trump's deadline for Mr. Putin to end the war was swiftly approaching, presaging some sort of further rift between the White House and the Kremlin.

So Mr. Putin shifted tack ever

so slightly. Despite previous refusals by Russian officials to negotiate over territory in the Russia-Ukraine war, the Russian leader, during a meeting at the Kremlin last week, left Mr. Trump's special envoy, Steve Witkoff, with

Continued on Page A6

Challenging ICE Raids Lifts L.A. Mayor's Image

By JILL COWAN

LOS ANGELES — Mayor Karen Bass had a choice to make.

She had been in a senior staff meeting, preparing for a news conference with California's governor, Gavin Newsom. They were planning to trumpet the progress of the recovery from the January wildfires that destroyed thousands of her constituents' homes.

But then she started getting messages that heavily armed

Bass's Job Was in Peril After the Wildfires

agents and soldiers were descending on MacArthur Park, a hub in one of the densest immigrant neighborhoods in Los Angeles. She had been regularly texting with a top federal official leading the immigration raids to coordinate a meeting but said she

had been given no warning on the show of force unfolding at the park on a Monday afternoon in July.

Ms. Bass told her staff to skip the governor's event and take her instead to the park. She was soon confronting federal agents, demanding to speak to whoever was in charge.

'My comment is, they need to leave," she told an agent, shouting over the thudding of helicopters overhead, visibly angry, as news

Continued on Page A13



ARTS C1-6

The Freewheeling MGK

Machine Gun Kelly discusses making Bob Dylan a fan, the abuse that shaped him, and his new album. PAGE C2

This Isn't 'Downton Abbey'

Elizabeth McGovern, a calm countess on the period drama, portrays the rambunctious Ava Gardner onstage.

INTERNATIONAL A4-11

U.S. Cartel Order Jolts Mexico

The decision prompts fears that America might return to a pattern of military interference in the region that dates to the Monroe Doctrine.

Europe's Leaders Address Gaza

Images of starving children spurred Britain, France and Germany to a tougher stance.

OBITUARIES A20, B6

Trusted Protégée of a Master

Linda Hodes, who studied with Martha Graham as a child and later led her dance company, was 94.

NATIONAL A12-17 **Unions Push Democrats**

Labor leaders want the party to pay more attention to the needs of bluecollar workers, some of whom shifted to Donald J. Trump in November. PAGE A12

Lawsuit Denounces ICE Cells

The holding facility in Lower Manhattan has been used to detain migrants for days. U.S. officials have denied that the conditions are poor. PAGE A13

The Health Insurance Cliff

Young adults without jobs that provide coverage find that their options are limited and expensive. The problem is



SPORTS D1-8

Free, and Eager, to Transfer

More than 60 percent of top prospects in the class of 2021, like Quinn Ewers, changed teams at least once.

Making the Off-Season Grade

An analysis of which N.B.A. teams helped or hurt themselves in the draft and in free agency.



Fight Over Higher Pay in L.A.

Businesses are urging the city to pause a measure to raise the minimum wage to \$30 for some workers.

India's Thirst for Russian Oil

A front in President Trump's trade war focuses on two giant refineries with extraordinary owners. PAGE B1

OPINION A18-19

Rebecca Patterson

PAGE A18