

# The New York Times

### THE WEATHER

Today, cloudy, humid, heavy afternoon storms, high 87. Tonight, a thunderstorm, cloudy, low 73. Tomorrow, partly sunny, less humid, high 87. Weather map, Page B8.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



SAHER ALGHORRA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Despair After Seaside Bombing in Gaza City

Mourning the dead Monday after an Israeli strike tore through the Baqaa Cafe and Restaurant, a popular meeting place. Page A10.

## Death Follows Nicaraguans To Costa Rica

By FRANCES ROBLES

Roberto Samcam Ruiz took security measures seriously.

A retired Nicaraguan Army major who had spoken out against the Sandinista government, he fled to neighboring Costa Rica after his name started popping up on wanted posters.

When out in public in San José, the Costa Rican capital, he changed shirts to throw off any would-be followers. He rode in Ubers — never buses — and constantly warned other Nicaraguan anti-government activists living in Costa Rica to watch their backs.

“At one point, he became totally paranoid,” said Claudia Vargas, his wife of 25 years.

Mr. Samcam’s precautions were not enough.

On June 19, two assassins who had apparently stalked him out for weeks stormed his condominium complex in San José and shot him eight times inside his home.

Mr. Samcam’s killing became at least the sixth time a Nicaraguan dissident was shot, abducted or killed in Costa Rica since hundreds of thousands of thousands of Nicaraguans fled their country after deadly protests there in 2018.

Activists, human rights advocates and dozens of former Latin American presidents said Mr. Samcam’s killing strongly suggested that the government of Nicaragua is running sophisticated intelligence operations on foreign soil against its enemies. There have been no arrests so far.

The killing has the potential to disrupt diplomatic relations between two friendly, neighboring Central American countries that rely on each other for trade.

But Costa Rica’s president, Rodrigo Chaves Robles, apparently unwilling to antagonize an important trade partner and an increasingly authoritarian government, has said nothing on the matter, alarming exiles who had hoped for a more robust response.

The Costa Rican Ministry of Security referred questions about the killing to the president’s office. The president’s spokesman referred questions back to the ministry.

With President Trump ending the refugee program that resettled Nicaraguans in the United States, seeking U.S. asylum is no longer an option.

Continued on Page A6

## Trump’s Deal With El Salvador Guts MS-13 Fight

This article is by Alan Feuer, Maria Abi-Habib, Zolan Kanno-Youngs, Annie Correal, William K. Rashbaum and Devlin Barrett.

Even among the brutal ranks of the transnational gang called MS-13, Vladimir Arévalo Chávez stands out as a highly effective manager of murder, prosecutors say.

Known as “Vampiro,” he has been accused of overseeing killings in at least three countries: of migrants in Mexico, rivals in El Salvador and his own compatriots in the United States.

His arrest in February 2023 was

## U.S. Returns Gangsters Despite Evidence of Pact With Bukele

a major triumph for American investigators, who only months earlier had accused him and 12 other gang leaders of terrorism, bloodshed and corruption in a wide-ranging federal indictment on Long Island.

But this April, the prosecutors who brought those charges suddenly — and quietly — asked a

federal judge to drop them. Citing “national security concerns,” they said they needed to return Mr. Arévalo to El Salvador, his homeland.

The surprising reversal came shortly after a deal the Trump administration struck this year with Nayib Bukele, El Salvador’s president, who agreed to accept more than 200 migrants expelled from the United States into a prison he built for terrorists.

In exchange for helping President Trump carry out his deportation agenda, the United States paid El Salvador millions of dol-

Continued on Page A16



NANNA HEITMANN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A photo shoot at a Chinese-themed park in Moscow. “China is our only friend now,” a Russian said.

## For Russians, the West Is Out and China Is In

By IVAN NECHEPURENKO

MOSCOW — Standing under a pagoda roof at the entrance to a sprawling Chinese-themed park in Moscow, Alyona Iyevskaya was doing homework for her university. Against a backdrop of ornate pavilions, arched bridges, a pond and a statue of Confucius, a friend filmed her on a camera phone gushing about the park — in Mandarin.

Ms. Iyevskaya, 19, said she chose to study the language at Moscow City University, where she is a first-year student, be-

## A Growing Mania for Culture and Goods

cause she believes China is on the rise and her prospects will be better if she speaks the language. Many Moscow universities now offer similar courses.

“Many young people want to go to China to study,” Ms. Iyevskaya said. “There are so many prospects in China,” she added. “It is so cool, and it is developing so fast.”

In a country that until recently worshipped everything Western, something surprising has happened: China has become desirable and trendy for Russians.

Chinese cars have become a common sight on Moscow streets. Members of the Russian elite are hiring Chinese nannies to encourage their children to learn Mandarin early. The capital’s museums and performance centers are clamoring to put on Chinese exhibitions and shows.

“The last three years let the Russians see the East in a totally

Continued on Page A7

## The Supreme Court’s Term Yields Triumphs for Trump

### Conservative Majority’s Emergency Rulings Fuel President’s Aggressive Agenda

This article is by Adam Liptak, Abbie VanSickle and Alicia Parlapiano.

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court term that ended on Friday included an extraordinary run of victories for President Trump, culminating in a 6-to-3 ruling largely eliminating the main tool that his opponents have used to thwart his aggressive agenda.

In that case and others, the justices used truncated procedures on their emergency docket to issue decisions that gave Mr. Trump some or all of what he had asked for in cases dealing with immigration, transgender troops and the independence of government agencies.

The emergency rulings in Mr. Trump’s favor were theoretically temporary and provisional. In practice, they allowed the president to pursue his policies indefinitely and sometimes irreversibly.

In the first 20 weeks of Mr. Trump’s second term, his administration filed 19 emergency applications asking the justices to pause lower court losses while lawsuits continued. That is the total number of such applications the Biden administration filed over four years, and far more than the eight applications filed over the 16 years of the George W. Bush and Barack Obama presidencies.

The spike was a result of chal-

lenges to the blitz of executive orders issued by the administration since Mr. Trump took office. The upshot was a winning streak delivered by a court he remade in his first term, appointing three of the six conservative justices.

Many of the emergency decisions were based on rushed and cursory briefs, and came after the court did without oral arguments. They were usually delivered in orders containing scant or no reasoning.

Friday’s decision, which limited the availability of nationwide injunctions — rulings that bind not only the parties to the case but also everyone else affected by the challenged executive order — was an exception. It followed a special oral argument held by the court in May and yielded more than 100 pages of opinions. But it was the also the most important case on the emergency docket this term, as it did more than pause rulings from lower courts finding Trump administration measures unlawful. It made it much harder for lower courts to thwart such measures at all.

Rulings on emergency applications are seldom signed. While public dissents are common, it is possible that not all dissenting votes are disclosed, adding to the procedure’s lack of transparency.

Continued on Page A13

## Schumer Pledges ‘Vote-a-Rama’ As Senate Plunges Into Vast Bill

By CATIE EDMONDSON and CARL HULSE

WASHINGTON — Senators on Monday began grinding through amendments as they headed toward climactic votes on a broad Republican-crafted economic and domestic policy bill, with President Trump’s first-year legislative agenda hanging in the balance.

After a weekend session marked by sharp partisan conflict, Senate Republicans hoped to approve the measure and send it to the House. The bill extends nearly \$4 trillion in tax cuts first passed in 2017 and partially pays for them by slashing spending on safety net programs.

Senator Chuck Schumer, the minority leader, said on Monday that Democrats would propose amendment after amendment in a “vote-a-rama” that would “shine a light on how bad this bill is.”

“Our side is going to give our Republican colleagues a chance to do the right thing in front of this chamber, and in front of this nation,” he said.

The legislation, which is being considered under special budgetary rules that protect it from a filibuster, also would make significant investments in border security and the military — top priorities of congressional Republicans and the White House.

“We’re going to put in place border security measures that keep it secure,” said Senator Lindsey Graham, the South Carolina Republican and Budget Committee chairman. “We are going to make the tax cuts permanent so your taxes do not go up in December.”

But the nearly \$1 trillion in cuts

Continued on Page A15

## Finding Natural Dye for Jell-O Is a Tricky Thing to Nail Down

By JULIE CRESWELL

Turning wobbly blobs of clear gelatin red or orange using natural ingredients takes beet juice and a touch of annatto from the seeds of a tropical tree.

But making gelatin green? That one is difficult for Simple Mixes, a company that makes naturally flavored and colored gelatin. Its founder, Malathy Nair, uses a blend of yellow turmeric extract with spirulina, an extract from algae that produces shades of green and blue.

But spirulina tends to form clumps (who wants floaties in gelatin?) and can have an off-putting taste that Dr. Nair describes as “seedy.” To overcome the unwelcome flavor, she has to use more natural lime flavor, making green the most expensive gelatin her company produces.

Even after all that, the gelatin isn’t a saturated, bright green. It’s dull. The color lands somewhere



KELSEY MCCLELLAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Kraft Heinz plans to remove all chemical dyes from its foods.

between moss and spinach. “I’m not that happy with how the green looks,” concedes Dr. Nair, who holds a Ph.D. in food science.

Turning Jell-O green using natural colorings is one of the many challenges Kraft Heinz is likely to face after recently announcing that it will remove artificial dyes

Continued on Page A12



INTERNATIONAL A4-10

### Europe Endures Heat Wave

The weather showed no signs of relenting, as countries suffered health alerts and record temperatures. PAGE A8

### Push for Democracy, at a Cost

Thousands in Hong Kong lost careers and friends after joining antigovernment protests six years ago. PAGE A7

NATIONAL A11-17, 20

### E.P.A. Workers’ Warning

In a public letter, agency employees accused the Trump administration of engaging in unlawful partisan activity and endangering public health. PAGE A15

### 2 Firefighters Slain in Ambush

The authorities identified the man suspected in a sniper attack on a mountain near Coeur d’Alene, Idaho. PAGE A20

OBITUARIES B11-12

### A Hall of Fame Trainer

D. Wayne Lukas, 89, earned purses of more than \$300 million, and his horses won 15 Triple Crown races. PAGE B12



BUSINESS B1-5

### Can America Make iPhones?

India is carving out space for manufacturers, just as President Trump demands U.S. firms do the same. PAGE B1

### Tariff Threats Slow Trade Talks

As America’s largest trading partners race toward deals, they worry about their critical industries. PAGE B1

SPORTS B6-10

### Under the Sun, but at Night

For more than a century, baseball teams in Fairbanks, Alaska, have played at midnight on the summer solstice. PAGE B6

ARTS C1-6

### Not Lady Gaga After All

Emma Webster was excited to find out that the pop star apparently wanted to buy one of her artworks. But it turned out to be an impostor at work. PAGE C1

OPINION A18-19

### Amy Odell

PAGE A19



SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

### All Caught Up in ‘Jaws’

The release of the Steven Spielberg film in 1975 haunted the reputation of sharks worldwide. But a generation of scientists helped to turn the tide. PAGE D1



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