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Democracy Dies in Darkness

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## FBI will remain in D.C., upending suburban shift

Abrupt new plan to use Reagan building outrages leaders in Md., Va.

BY MEAGAN FLYNN, ERIN COX, PERRY STEIN AND LAURA VOZZELLA

The Trump administration announced Tuesday to move the FBI headquarters from the crumbling J. Edgar Hoover Building to the sprawling Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center three blocks west in D.C., reversing decades of planning to relocate the agency to the suburbs and leaving some regional leaders infuriated.

The plan would headquarter the FBI inside a building that was home to the now-shuttered U.S. Agency for International Development and currently houses the U.S. Customs and Border Protection headquarters, private tenants, a publicly accessible food court and an event space that hosts weddings.

The timing of the relocation, how the building would be secured for sensitive FBI work and

what would be displaced in the move was not immediately clear, according to people briefed on the plan who spoke on the condition of anonymity because they were not authorized to discuss the pending move. One of those people said some agency workers could be transferred as soon as Labor Day.

The decision heightens regional acrimony over how federal assets are divided among the city, Northern Virginia and Maryland, with D.C. leaders celebrating the FBI staying put and suburban leaders incredulous that President Donald Trump snatched away a long-sought economic development prize.

It also could further the FBI's goal to shrink its footprint in the D.C. region and shuffle personnel elsewhere.

In a news release, the General Services Administration characterized the move as an efficient way to avoid \$300 million in delayed maintenance costs to the decrepit Hoover building and "billions" in constructing a new campus in Maryland's Prince George's County, as was previously planned.

"FBI's existing headquarters at  
SEE FBI ON A4

## Senate passes Trump's tax bill



Reps. Ralph Norman (R-South Carolina) and Chip Roy (R-Texas) confer Tuesday as the House Rules Committee discusses the bill.

## At least 17 million Americans would lose health insurance

BY YASMEEN ABUTALEB

The Senate version of President Donald Trump's massive tax and immigration spending plan would wipe out many of the strides made by the Affordable Care Act in reducing the number of uninsured Americans, resulting in at least 17 million people losing their health coverage, according to nonpartisan estimates and experts.

The bill, which narrowly passed the Senate on Tuesday and now heads back to the House, would effectively accomplish what Republicans have long failed to do: unwind many of the key components of the ACA, President Barack Obama's signature domestic achievement, which dramatically in-

creased the number of Americans with access to health insurance.

To start, the Congressional Budget Office estimated that the Senate version of the bill would result in 11.8 million more uninsured in 2034, mostly because of Medicaid cuts, compared with 10.9 million if the House version became law.

In addition, both versions of the bill would allow pandemic-era enhanced subsidies for health insurance through ACA marketplaces to expire at the end of the year, sharply raising out-of-pocket costs for millions of Americans. The CBO estimates that 4.2 million people would lose insurance as a result. An additional 1 million are  
SEE UNINSURED ON A14

## GOP centerpiece goes to House, faces tough sell to fiscal hawks

BY JACOB BOGAGE, THEODORIC MEYER, LIZ GOODWIN AND MARIANNA SOTOMAYOR

The Senate on Tuesday narrowly approved massive tax and immigration legislation that Republicans hope will become the centerpiece of President Donald Trump's second term, cutting taxes while axing funding for social safety net programs and undoing much of President Joe Biden's climate law.

Vice President JD Vance cast the tiebreaking vote for the measure, which would extend trillions of dollars in tax cuts from Trump's first term and implement new campaign promises — such as eliminating income taxes on tips and overtime wages —

while spending hundreds of billions of dollars on immigration enforcement and defense.

To offset the cost, the legislation would cut about \$1 trillion from Medicaid, the federal health insurance program for low-income individuals and people with disabilities, and other health care programs. It would also make reductions to SNAP, the anti-hunger Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, formerly known as food stamps. Nearly 12 million people will lose health care coverage as a result of the Medicaid cuts if the bill becomes law, according to the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office. Millions more would lose coverage because of rising out-of-pocket costs under the Affordable Care  
SEE SENATE ON A9

## Headwinds for Harvard in its battle with Trump

Considerable resources of the nation's wealthiest college can only go so far

BY DANIELLE DOUGLAS-GABRIEL AND SUSAN SVRLUGA

The Trump administration's escalating battle with Harvard University, including renewing a threat this week to pull all of its federal funding, poses an unprecedented challenge to the financial footing of America's wealthiest college.

Harvard is in a better financial position than any of its peers to resist President Donald Trump's efforts to force higher education to align with his political ideology.

But its costs have risen in recent years and a significant portion of its endowment is locked up in long-term investments. Harvard's massive \$53 billion endowment is often seen as a financial shield, but most of those funds have restrictions on how they are spent.

In a sign of the university's limited ability to tap its existing

financial reserves, administrators tapped the bond market in March to raise \$450 million in debt and an additional \$750 million in April. While Harvard periodically issues bonds, the pace picked up this year.

"With its resources and an AAA bond rating, Harvard has financial freedom and flexibility. Still, these headwinds, and there are a lot of them, are piling up all at once," said Howard Bunsis, an accounting professor at Eastern Michigan University.

Harvard and the Trump administration have been in a tense standoff for months. On Monday, the administration threatened to withdraw all of Harvard's federal funding, saying a federal investigation found the school violated civil rights law by failing to protect Jewish students on campus from discrimination. In court documents, the university responded that in a rush to inflict punishment, the government had not documented any meaningful investigation into antisemitism at Harvard.

Before that, the Trump administration had frozen billions of dollars in federal funding to Harvard  
SEE HARVARD ON A4

Enrollment: Law could affect how people sign up for Medicaid, ACA. A14

Opposed 50



Republicans who voted no were Sens. Rand Paul (Kentucky), Thom Tillis (North Carolina) and Susan Collins (Maine).

Opposed includes two Independents who caucus with Democrats.

Supported 51



Vice President JD Vance cast the tie-breaking vote.

NICK MOURTOUPALAS/THE WASHINGTON POST

JIMMY SWAGGART 1935-2025

## Polarizing televangelist was felled by sex scandal

BY PAUL VITELLO

Jimmy Swaggart, an itinerant Louisiana preacher who became one of the most popular and polarizing Christian televangelists of his generation before a sex scandal — etched in public memory by his tear-streaked televised confession — consigned him to relative obscurity, died July 1 at a hospital in Baton Rouge. He was 90.

His death was announced in a statement by Jimmy Swaggart Ministries. Mr. Swaggart had been hospitalized after going into cardiac arrest June 15.

Mr. Swaggart was one of a handful of televangelists who rose to global prominence in the second half of the 20th century, among them Oral Roberts, Pat Robertson, Jim and Tammy Faye Bakker, and Jerry Falwell.

At his peak, in the late 1980s, Mr. Swaggart reached millions of viewers in the United States and more than 100 other countries. His broadcasts generated revenue of \$140 million a year with a signature combination of fire and brimstone, musical performances, and the relentless marketing of Swaggart-branded items, including Bible study manuals, T-shirts, records, tapes, mugs, plates, Roman coins and copies of Jesus' crown of thorns. At its height, his Baton Rouge-based ministry operated the largest mail-order business in Louisiana.

Mr. Swaggart was perhaps the most divisive of the broadcast preachers. He attacked Catholicism as a "false cult" and suggested that Jews, by rejecting Jesus as the Messiah, brought the Holocaust upon themselves. Alone  
SEE SWAGGART ON A12



Preacher Jimmy Swaggart, pictured in 1987, at his peak reached millions of viewers in the U.S. and more than 100 other countries.

## Hiring pros for the hard part of the job: Quitting

BY MICHELLE YE HEE LEE AND CHIE TANAKA

TOKYO — Shota Shimizu slid on his headset and dialed the human resources department at his client's employer, a nursing care company. The client wanted to quit her job, and Shimizu was doing it for her.

"There was a mismatch between her expectations and the reality of the job," Shimizu told the HR representative. "She still has her uniform and locker key, and will return them by mail. Can we confirm your mailing address?"

Shimizu works for Momuri, a Tokyo-based "resignation company" whose agents quit jobs on behalf of clients who want to avoid the uncomfortable conversation.

Momuri — which means "I can't take it anymore" in Japanese

Japan's strict hierarchy, work culture can make it difficult to leave positions

— is among a niche but increasingly popular industry offering "proxy quitters" in Japan, stepping in for workers who struggle to cut ties with their boss, for up to about \$350 (50,000 yen).

This service has grown since the pandemic, which disrupted Japan's rigid work culture and challenged the traditional notion of a "salaryman," an archetypal white-collar worker who enters a company after graduating from college and stays there until retirement. The strict hierarchy in  
SEE JAPAN ON A7

## IN THE NEWS

**A pivotal day** An excerpt from a forthcoming book offers an insider's account of July 13, 2024, when Donald Trump was wounded at a rally and Joe Biden made a last stand. A10

**Addressing safety concerns** The D.C. Council passed a stricter summer youth curfew and extended a pretrial detention policy. B13

**THE NATION** U.S. visas for a British band that chanted "Death, death to the IDF" were revoked. A2  
**Trump visited** a new Florida migrant detention center, sending a message of toughness. A3

**THE WORLD** Iranian authorities have arrested hundreds of people and executed half a dozen in the wake of the war with Israel, raising fears that a new wave of repression is coming. A6

**THE ECONOMY** A titanic feud is intensifying between a billionaire bitcoin hype man and a skeptical Wall Street legend. A8  
**The athleisure brand** Lululemon sued Costco, accusing the warehouse club operator of copying its patented clothing designs. A8

**STYLE** Can pizza orders predict U.S. military action? One man is keeping track. B1

**SPORTS** Coco Gauff, the American star seeded No. 2 at Wimbledon, was ousted by Ukraine's Dayana Yastremska in the opening round. B7

**THE REGION** One of five suspects in the shooting of a former NFL player and celebrity chef has been arrested, police said. B13

**FOOD** Learn the particulars of cobblers, crumbles, slumps and grunts with this guide to baked fruit desserts. E1

BUSINESS NEWS.....A8  
COMICS.....B4  
OBITUARIES.....B16  
OPINION PAGES.....A15  
TELEVISION.....B6  
WORLD NEWS.....A6

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