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Democracy Dies in Darkness

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ELECTION 2024

GOP pitches business tax cuts

Party's post-November plans also extend breaks for the wealthy

BY JACOB BOGAGE

Republicans in Congress are preparing to not just extend former president Donald Trump's 2017 tax cuts if they win control of Washington in November's elections, but also lower rates even more for corporations, laying the early groundwork for a ferocious debate over taxes and spending next year and beyond.

The Tax Cuts and Jobs Act (TCJA) lowered rates for individuals of nearly all income levels, though it cut taxes most for the highest earners, and slashed the maximum corporate tax rate from 35 percent to 21 percent. The individual portions of that law expire in 2025, but Republicans who wrote the law made the business tax cuts permanent.

Now GOP lawmakers and some of Trump's economic advisers are considering more corporate tax breaks — which could expand the national debt by roughly \$1 trillion over the next decade, according to researchers at Stanford University and MIT — arguing that they would improve the country's global competitiveness.

SEE TAXES ON A4

European Parliament projected to tilt right

Centrists, Green parties take hit; France's Macron calls for snap elections

BY EMILY RAUHALA, ANNABELLE TIMSIT, ANTHONY FAIOLA AND KATE BRADY

BRUSSELS — Early forecasts in the European Parliament elections on Sunday showed voters punishing ruling centrists and throwing support behind far-right parties, most notably in France, where disastrous results for French President Emmanuel Macron's coalition prompted him to dissolve the National Assembly and call snap elections.

Although a combination of centrist, pro-European parties was projected to maintain a majority in the European Union's law-making body, far-right parties claimed the largest share of seats from some of Europe's biggest countries, including France and Italy. Green parties across the E.U. took a particular hit.

"The center is holding," European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen said Sunday night. But the outcome, with gains for parties on the extremes, "comes with great responsibility for the parties in the center" to ensure "stability" and "a strong and effective Europe," she said.

SEE EUROPE ON A11



EYAD BABA/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Girls climb over debris in Gaza's Nuseirat refugee camp Sunday, a day after an Israeli military operation rescued four hostages there.

Israel's hostage rescue was months in making

Officials, eyewitnesses and videos provide window into operation

This article is by Steve Hendrix, Shira Rubin, Loveday Morris, Heba Farouk Mahfouz and Hajar Harb

JERUSALEM — It was a busy weekend morning in the market at the Nuseirat refugee camp, Osama Abu Asi recalled. Fighting could be heard in the distance, but it didn't keep away the shoppers, who perused the few

bags of flour and sugar he had spread on his blanket.

Abu Asi said he did not know that nearby, in an apartment one floor above the street, sat a young, dark-haired woman known around the world — last seen in a viral video clip being driven into Gaza on the back of motorcycle on Oct. 7, screaming, "Don't kill me!"

She was Noa Argamani, one of about 250 Israeli hostages taken captive by Hamas.

Her 245th day in captivity had started like most others until, shortly after 11 a.m., she heard a knock at the door, followed by yelling. Suddenly, the room was

SEE ISRAEL ON A12



AMIR LEVY/GETTY IMAGES

Benny Gantz, a member of Israel's wartime cabinet, on Sunday after announcing his resignation during a news conference.

Gantz quits war panel

NETANYAHU RIVAL CALLS FOR ELECTION

Israel's emergency government in turmoil

BY SHIRA RUBIN

TEL AVIV — Benny Gantz and Gadi Eisenkot, centrist members of Israel's war cabinet, announced Sunday night that they would resign from Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's emergency government, deepening the country's political turmoil as it struggles to manage global fallout from the war in Gaza and escalating hostilities along its border with Lebanon.

"Unfortunately, Netanyahu is preventing us from achieving real victory," Gantz said in a televised prime-time broadcast, making the case that new leadership was needed to steer Israel through its widening crises.

Netanyahu had made "empty promises" of "total victory," Gantz said, rather than crafting a day-after plan for the war in Gaza, acting decisively against Hezbollah in the north and working toward a cease-fire and hostage release deal with Hamas.

Netanyahu reacted before Gantz had even finished speaking, posting on X: "Israel is in an existential war on several fronts. Benny, this is not the time to abandon the war — this is the

SEE GANTZ ON A12



CLIVE BRUNSKILL/GETTY IMAGES

What a day on Parisian clay

Spain's Carlos Alcaraz rallied past Germany's Alexander Zverev to win the French Open men's singles championship in five sets for the third Grand Slam title of his career. **More in Sports, D1**

At Hunter Biden's trial, Beau still looms large

BY MATT VISER

WILMINGTON, DEL. — During jury selection on the first day of Hunter Biden's trial here on charges of lying on a gun purchase form, a potential juror recalled playing squash with Beau Biden, Hunter's older brother, and coaching Beau's children in youth sports.

On another day of the trial, prosecutors aiming to depict Hunter's descent into drug addiction displayed a photo of him in a bathtub with a woman, and the otherwise nude Hunter was wearing military dog tags that had belonged to Beau.

On yet another day, Beau's widow, Hallie Biden — who became romantically involved with Hunter after Beau died of cancer in May 2015 — walked steadily into the courtroom to testify about the turmoil that washed over the Biden family after the loss of Beau.

As Hunter Biden's trial unfolded over the past week in his childhood town of Wilmington, his late brother, Beau, was a constant shadow over the proceedings. In a family that cherishes tight relationships, respects fate and faithfully memorializes tragedies, the effect of Beau's promising life and his death at 46 was evident on many of those in the room.

Beyond that, the events that prompted the trial might not have occurred if he had lived. It was after Beau died that Hunter spiraled into what he describes as his worst battle with addiction. Prosecutors contend that it was during that stretch that Hunter, despite his ongoing addiction, falsely declared that he was not using illegal drugs when he filled out a form to buy a gun.

SEE TRIAL ON A6

Meet the family: The key relatives involved in Hunter Biden's trial. **A7**

Feeling ignored, patients increasingly turn to at-home testing

Angelika Sharma was desperate. An array of basic first foods — from bananas to sweet potatoes — caused her 6-month-old Annika to vomit uncontrollably, so many times in one night that she landed in the hospital for dehydration.

Half a dozen pediatric specialists largely dismissed her daughter's ailments, Sharma said, forcing her to leave her job as a hospitality executive, because "you can't just have any babysitter looking after a child" with such serious reactions to food.

A shadow medical ecosystem fueled by Silicon Valley start-ups booms amid warnings

BY ELIZABETH DWOSKIN, DANIEL GILBERT AND TATUM HUNTER

After a year and a half, an answer came finally in the form of a Facebook ad for Tiny Health, a Silicon Valley start-up that

could test her baby's gut microbiome. Using a bead of stool swabbed from a diaper, the company diagnosed the problem: Annika's gut was overcrowded with *P. vulgatus*, a common bacteria. A company nutritionist recommended a probiotic, sauerkraut and exposure to animal microbes through daily visits to the petting

zoo. Within months, Annika's food reactions were normal. More tests showed a gut transformed.

A new world of DIY testing is changing the relationship between physicians and patients, allowing people like Sharma to bypass the doctor's office and

SEE TESTING ON A9

IN THE NEWS

Trump rails against migrants At a rally in Nevada, the former president declared that an "invasion" of undocumented immigrants is "changing the fabric of our country." **A3**

Tornado Alley The hot spot for twisters has shifted markedly east, leaving researchers perplexed and putting more people at risk. **A8**

THE NATION Texas may pay school districts to use a curriculum that critics call overtly Christian. **A2**
Campaigning in Las Vegas, Trump floated eliminating taxes on tipped income. **A3**

THE WORLD President Biden paid his respects to fallen soldiers during a visit to a cemetery in France. **A10**
Narendra Modi was sworn in for a third five-year term as prime minister of India. **A11**

THE ECONOMY Shira Ovide recounts a 92-year-old woman's battle with her cable and internet provider. **A13**

THE REGION In Virginia's 7th Congressional District, the GOP front-runners have accused each other of lying amid an exchange of fiery campaign ads. **B1**

Statues and structures near the White House were vandalized during a protest calling for a Gaza cease-fire. **B1**
Since fleeing Afghanistan, a recent high school graduate in Virginia has lived out many dreams — and helped peers get closer to achieving theirs. **B1**

STYLE Proctologist Evan Goldstein has made a life — and a fancy lifestyle — as a "bottom whisperer," drawing ardent fans and curious skeptics. **C1**
Supreme Court justices are far from the only Americans embroiled in flag drama. **C1**

BUSINESS NEWS.....A13
COMICS.....C6
OBITUARIES.....B5
OPINION PAGES.....A14
TELEVISION.....C3
WORLD NEWS.....A10

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