

“All the News  
That’s Fit to Print”

# The New York Times

**THE WEATHER**  
Today, partly cloudy, warm, humid, high 87. **Tonight**, cloudy, humid, showers and a storm, low 75. **Tomorrow**, humid, afternoon storms, high 87. Weather map is on Page D8.

VOL. CLXXIV . . . . No. 60,566

© 2025 The New York Times Company

MONDAY, JUNE 30, 2025

Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00

## Senate Tax Bill Could Lift Debt By \$3.3 Trillion

### Price Tag May Alienate G.O.P. Fiscal Hawks

**By ANDREW DUEHREN**

WASHINGTON — The sprawling tax and health care bill that Senate Republicans are trying to pass would add at least \$3.3 trillion to the already-bulging national debt over a decade, the non-partisan Congressional Budget Office said on Sunday, putting a far higher price tag on the measure than some of the party’s fiscal hawks had indicated they could stomach.

The cost of the Senate bill, which Republicans rolled out overnight on Friday and were still shaping on Sunday, far exceeds the \$2.4 trillion cost of the version passed in the House, where lawmakers had insisted that the overall price of the bill not substantially change. But Senate Republicans still moved forward with a number of costly changes to the bill, including making prized tax breaks for business a permanent feature of the tax code.

With roughly \$29 trillion in debt currently held by the public, the budget office had already expected the government to borrow another \$21 trillion over the next decade, meaning the Republican bill would make an already-dire fiscal forecast worse. And the initial estimate of a cost of \$3.3 trillion for the Senate bill is an undercount, because it does not include additional borrowing costs that could push the bill’s overall addition to the debt closer to \$4 trillion.

That is the central complaint of hard-right Republicans who have resisted the measure and insisted on a lower cost. On Saturday night, a group of them demanding bigger cuts — including Senators Ron Johnson of Wisconsin, Mike Lee of Utah, Cynthia Lummis of Wyoming and Rick Scott of Florida — held out for four hours before agreeing to begin debate on the bill.

The main component driving the cost of the Republican legislative effort is the extension of a series of tax cuts from 2017. Many of those tax cuts are set to expire this year, and extending them into the future represents a roughly \$3.8 trillion hit to the budget. Republicans have also piled some additional tax cuts on top, including versions of President Trump’s promises to not tax tips and overtime, bringing the overall size of

Continued on Page A15

**TILLIS WON’T RUN** The North Carolina Republican’s move came after the president threatened to support a challenger. **PAGE A15**



VINCENT ALBAN/THE NEW YORK TIMES

### Pride, and Resistance

Cheering the New York City Pride March on Sunday. Millions packed the streets of Manhattan to celebrate amid the most hostile political climate for L.G.B.T.Q. Americans in decades. **PAGE A20.**

## On Border, Empty Farms and Terrified Workers

**By EDGAR SANDOVAL**

RIO GRANDE VALLEY, Texas — Alexandra, a 55-year-old undocumented immigrant, was on her way to work at a watermelon farm in the border city of Edinburg, Texas, recently when her oldest son stopped her before she stepped out of her aging trailer.

“Please don’t go. You are going to get deported,” he told Alexandra, who asked that her last name not be used because she did not want to attract attention from federal immigration agents. Her son then showed her graphic videos of federal agents chasing and handcuffing migrants seemingly all

### Some Wary of Planting if Harvesting Help Won’t Be There

over the Rio Grande Valley of Texas. “That could be you,” he said.

President Trump’s conflicting orders to exempt, then target, then again exempt farm workers from his aggressive immigration sweeps of work sites have caused havoc in agricultural industries across the country, where about 42 percent of farm workers are un-

documented, according to the Agriculture Department.

But perhaps nowhere is fear among farm workers more palpable than on the farms and ranches along the southwestern U.S.-Mexico border, where for centuries workers have considered the frontier as being more porous than prohibitive.

Administration officials have vowed to make good on a once-popular campaign promise from Mr. Trump to deport millions of undocumented workers, in what he has said will be the largest mass deportation in U.S. history.

As workplace raids have eroded

Continued on Page A14

## As Resources Dried Up, L.A. Found How to Be Less Thirsty

You’ve probably come across more stories about water woes in California than you can recall, so you may feel you’ve had enough for a while.

I understand. There’s no easy or permanent fix. The protagonists don’t divide neatly into good and evil. Water in the state often isn’t where the people are — or, as with the recent fires, isn’t there at all. After looking into the subject for years, I still can’t wrap my head around the endless ins and outs.

But there is one indisputable fact that keeps surfacing in the conversations I have about California water that feels like something of a beacon. The first time I heard it, it came as quite a surprise.

Over the last half century or

so, millions more people have moved to greater Los Angeles, settling in increasingly far-flung reaches of the desert and in the mountains, requiring more faucets, toilets and shower heads, producing more garbage and more gridlock on the 405 freeway, reinforcing all the clichés about excess and sprawl.

And during this same time, Angelenos have been consuming less water.

I don’t just mean per person, though that figure, according to state authorities, is down by a whopping 43 percent since 1990. I mean, residents and businesses in the Los Angeles area now consume less water in *total*. The population has grown, yet the city consumes less water.

In 1990, when its population was 3.4 million people, L.A.’s annual consumption was 680,000 acre-feet of water, according to



ADALI SCHELL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Los Angeles Aqueduct, a feat of engineering in the early 20th century, carries water hundreds of miles to millions in L.A.

the city’s water authority. (The industry metric, an acre-foot is about half an Olympic swimming pool.)

With a population of 3.9 million, the city today consumes 454,000 acre-feet per year.

The trend extends beyond Los

Angeles to cities across California. But it is most striking in the state’s megalopolis. “We still have a lot of work to do,” says Mark Gold, the director of water scarcity solutions for the Natural Resources Defense Council who

Continued on Page A18

## Suspense Builds in Iran As Theocracy Staggers

### Flicker of Hope for Freedoms After War

**By ROGER COHEN**

DUBAI, United Arab Emirates — Roxana Saberi felt like she was back behind bars in Tehran. As she watched Israel’s bombing of Evin prison, the notorious detention facility at the core of Iran’s political repression, she shuddered at memories of solitary confinement, relentless interrogation, fabricated espionage charges and a sham trial during her 100-day incarceration in 2009.

Like many Iranians in the diaspora and at home, Ms. Saberi wavered, torn between her dreams of a government collapse that would free the country’s immense potential and her concern for family and friends as the civilian death toll mounted. Longings for liberation and for a cease-fire vied with each other.

“For a moment, I imagined seeing Iran again in my lifetime,” said Ms. Saberi, 48, a dual Iranian and American citizen and author who has taken a break from her journalistic career. “I also thought how ridiculous it was that the Islamic Republic wasted decades accusing thousands of women’s rights advocates, dissidents and others of

being spies, when they couldn’t catch the real spies.”

Those spies, mainly from Israel’s Mossad foreign intelligence service, penetrated Iran’s highest political and military echelons. The question now is what a shaken Islamic Republic in dire economic straits will do with what President Masoud Pezeshkian, a moderate, has called “a golden opportunity for change.” That moment is also one of extreme, even existential, risk brought on by the 12-day Israeli-Iranian war that the United States briefly joined.

The military campaign flirted with dislodging the clerical autocracy that has made uranium enrichment the symbol of Iran’s national pride, but stopped short of killing Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, Iran’s 86-year-old supreme leader, even though Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel had said that the ayatollah’s death would “end the conflict.” The 46-year-old Islamic Republic limps on.

It does so despite the collapse of its “axis of resistance” that was formed through the funding,

Continued on Page A10

## Sheikh at Top of Soccer World Is Stealthily Arming Warlords

**By DECLAN WALSH and TARIQ PANJA**

NAIROBI, Kenya — Weeks before Sudan flamed into a calamitous civil war, one of the richest men in the Middle East, Sheikh Mansour bin Zayed al-Nahyan, welcomed an architect of the chaos to his sumptuous Persian Gulf palace.

The sheikh, a younger brother to the powerful ruler of the United Arab Emirates, is recognized in the West as a collector of superyachts and racehorses, and is perhaps best known as the owner of Manchester City, the hugely successful English soccer team. Last year, his team in New York won approval to build a \$780 million soccer stadium in Queens, the first in the city.

Yet there he was, in February 2023, openly entertaining a notorious commander from the deserts of western Sudan — someone who had seized power in a coup, built a fortune on illicit gold and was ac-



POOL PHOTO BY AHMAD AL-RUBAIE

Sheikh Mansour bin Zayed al-Nahyan of the U.A.E.

cused of widespread atrocities.

The two men knew each other well. Sheikh Mansour had hosted the Sudanese commander, Lt. Gen. Mohamed Hamdan, two years earlier at an arms fair in the Emirates, where they toured exhibits of rockets and drones.

And when Sudan’s conflict exploded, in April 2023, Sheikh Man-

Continued on Page A6

## The World’s Best in Squash? Some Call Him a Bold Cheat.

**By DAVID SEGAL**

Not long ago, an anonymous YouTuber known only as Quash Bad Squash reposted one of the strangest moments in the history of the sport.

It’s match ball in the finals of last year’s British Open tournament, with a check for \$26,600 on the line. The four-time world champion Ali Farag, an Egyptian with the physique of a pipe cleaner and the speed of Mercury, is about to lunge forward and hit a backhand. But as he tries to get past his opponent, a rising superstar and fellow countryman named Mostafa Asal, Mr. Farag does something baffling.

He stops playing.

Instead, he wheels around to look at Mr. Asal, as if he’s momentarily stunned.

“Oh, my goodness gracious me!” shouts one of the commentators broadcasting live on the web-



REUTERS

Mostafa Asal in 2023, when he was barred twice from play.

site SquashTV.

“What has he done?” shouts another.

The referee isn’t sure. So a second referee, whose job is to handle tough calls, looks at instant replay video footage to determine if Mr.

Continued on Page A9



INTERNATIONAL A4-11

### Beatboxing for the Flock

Two Brazilian nuns’ singing and dancing led to a viral smash that reaches out to young Roman Catholics. **PAGE A4**

### ‘Squid Game’ as a Mirror

The Netflix hit is a major cultural export, but it also exposed some unsettling aspects of Korean society. **PAGE A9**

NATIONAL A12-20

### Test for Basis of Deportations

A conservative appeals court will consider the president’s use of the Alien Enemies Act in a case likely to reach the Supreme Court. **PAGE A14**

### Running Afoul of the Hunters

They love shooting, fishing and conservatism. And they hate a plan to sell huge swaths of public lands. **PAGE A17**

OBITUARIES A21, 24

### Baseball’s Lethal ‘Cobra’

Dave Parker, named to the Hall of Fame last year, led the Pirates to a World Series title in 1979. He was 74. **PAGE A21**

BUSINESS B1-5

### A.I. Frenzy Is Escalating Again

Companies like OpenAI, Amazon and Meta have supersized their spending on artificial intelligence, with no signs of slowing down. **PAGE B1**

### Tariffs Jolt Pet Food Exporters

Thailand is the biggest overseas supplier of pet food in the United States. Volatility in trade policy has some companies looking elsewhere. **PAGE B1**

### Blinking Twice at Doctor’s Bill

A patient went for a routine eye checkup. Why was he charged for surgery after his doctor removed an eyelash with a tweezer? **PAGE B1**



SPORTS D1-7

### Building a New Jets Leader

The team is using high tech to track Justin Fields’s on-field actions, and he is trying to win over teammates. **PAGE D1**

### The All-Quarter-Century Team

The roster has been chosen for a squad of the best baseball players of the 2000s, and some special picks. **PAGE D4**

ARTS C1-6

### Inside Los Angeles Museum

LACMA, as the institution is known, welcomed the public for a preview of its new David Geffen Galleries. **PAGE C1**

### Band’s Goal: Conquer America

Despite some success in the U.S., members of the British band Oasis believe they still have some work to do. **PAGE C1**

OPINION A22-23

### Jessica Grose

PAGE A23

