"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

THE WEATHER

Today, very warm, humid, high 89. **Tonight,** partly cloudy, warm, low 70. **Tomorrow,** warm, humid, some sun, a spotty thunderstorm, high 86. Weather map appears on Page A19.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00









The Saitex factory in Dong Nai, Vietnam. There aren't enough U.S. workers to fill manufacturing jobs, which have shifted overseas.

Trump Dreams of Factory Revival, but U.S. Is Short on Essentials

By ALEXANDRA STEVENSON

HO CHI MINH CITY, Vietnam President Trump ignited a global trade war on a gamble that taxing other countries' goods would bring jobs and factories States.

business leaders are Many skeptical. Some are incredulous. Sanjeev Bahl is optimistic.

From his factory in Los Angeles, Mr. Bahl oversees around 250

Lacking Tech, Training and Skilled Workers

people who sew, cut and distress Crew and Ralph Lauren. They stitch together 70,000 pairs of jeans a month. America, he insisted, can make stuff again.

But there is a catch. The operation works only because his com-

pany, Saitex, runs a much bigger factory and fabric mill in Vietnam where thousands of workers churn out 500,000 pairs a month.

Mr. Trump's tariffs have upended supply chains, walloped of corporate leaders on one guestion: Does America have what it takes to bring jobs back?

In many industries, the undertaking would take years, if not decades. The United States lacks nearly every part of the manufac-

turing ecosystem — the workers. the training, the technology and the government support.

"There are some harsh realities," said Matt Priest, chief executive of the Footwear Distributors businesses and focused the minds and Retailers of America, a trade

Continued on Page A14

TARIFFS U.S. levies on steel and aluminum imports doubled to 50 percent, rankling allies. PAGE B1

G.O.P.'s Bill Would Swell U.S. Debt by \$2.4 Trillion

Discredit Experts' Tax-Cut Warning

By TONY ROMM

WASHINGTON — Even before House Republicans learned the full price of their tax package on Wednesday, one of the bill's chief authors, Representative Jason Smith of Missouri, was sowing doubt about the accuracy of the estimate.

"I'm skeptical," Mr. Smith quipped at an event last month when asked about the coming analysis of the legislation's cost. "Unless I like the number, I'm against the number."

In the bitter war over the nation's fiscal future, President Trump and his Republican allies have united around a new foe: the economists and budget experts who have warned about the costs of the party's tax ambitions. Republican leaders have set about trying to discredit any hint of unfavorable accounting on their signature legislation as they race to enact it before the president's selfimposed July 4 deadline.

The latest estimate arrived on Wednesday, projecting that the sprawling bill endorsed by Mr. Trump could add about \$2.4 trillion to the federal debt over the next decade

By then, though, the package of tax, spending and welfare cuts had already ignited an intense wave of political attacks and recriminations. While Republicans scrambled to cast their proposal as fiscally responsible, Wall Street was getting the jitters about the nation's growing debt burden. The tech executive Elon Musk, having left behind his role seeking to slash government spending for Mr. Trump, savaged the bill again on social media on Wednesday, calling for new legislation to be drafted that "doesn't massively grow the deficit." Most economists — from non-

partisan government watchdogs as well as outside tax analysts across the political spectrum have concluded that the bill passed by House Republicans. which is now being considered by the Senate, could exacerbate the nation's fiscal imbalance while contributing less in economic growth than Mr. Trump forecasts.

Continued on Page A13

Republicans Work to | Budget Office's Tally Likely to Heat Up Debate in Senate

By ANDREW DUEHREN

WASHINGTON — The nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office said on Wednesday that the broad Republican bill to cut taxes and slash some federal programs would add \$2.4 trillion to the already soaring national debt over the next decade, in an analysis that was all but certain to inflame concerns that President Trump's domestic agenda would lead to excessive government borrowing.

The budget office's estimate focused on the version of the bill that passed the House late last month, but the tally could change as Republicans in the Senate begin to put their imprint on the legislation. G.O.P. lawmakers there want to deepen some of the bill's tax cuts, while others are pressing to pare back some of its cuts to Medicaid, the government health care program for the poor, and cleanenergy tax incentives.

Conservatives and Wall Street investors had already expressed grave concerns that the measure would swell federal deficits, and some Senate Republicans have said they cannot back the legislation in its current form for that reason. That could derail the bill's progress, given that the party can afford to lose no more than three votes in the Senate if all Democrats vote against it.

The United States government currently has roughly \$29 trillion in public debt, and the budget office had previously forecast that it would grow by roughly \$21 trillion over the next decade, reaching nearly \$50 trillion in 2034, as a growing share of Americans draw on government retirement support. With a roughly \$3.8 trillion tax cut at its core, the Republican bill had long been expected to significantly add to that debt and make a precarious situation

Hard-right lawmakers in the House demanded that the G.O.P. use its total control of Washington

Continued on Page A13

ENERGY A data center boom and cuts to tax breaks could spike American electric bills. PAGE A12

A Middle School Athlete's Next Goal: \$1 Million | Student's Query

By JOE DRAPE

WASHINGTON — Brittany Coleman's son Kaden had just turned 10 when youth football coaches started pressing envelopes with thousands of dollars into her hand. They wanted Kaden to play for their club teams in Maryland, in New Jersey and across the Mid-Atlantic.

Ms. Coleman always refused. Payments for top players, an open secret in youth sports, weren't allowed, and she didn't want to tarnish her son

But as Kaden has grown to become one of the best eighth-grade football players in the country, there is now a legal, and potentially far more lucrative, way for him to profit from his talent.

Just as college athletes can now be paid for their athletic talent through so-called name, image and likeness, or N.I.L., deals which compensate players for the use of their image in commercials and other promotional material so can students as young as middle school.

Last summer, Ms. Coleman allowed Kaden to sign sponsorship deals with a local fashion brand. Second N Six, and an athletic gear company. Kaden also has an agent

to help him with future deals. Ms. Coleman declined to say



Brittany Coleman and her son Kaden, a 14-year-old football star.

how much money her son had received so far, but she's clear about her aspirations for him. "I'll tell you what the goal is," said Ms. Coleman, a counselor in the District of Columbia's public school system. "The goal is for him to reach a million dollars his freshman year of high school."

Since the National Collegiate Athletic Association began allowing N.I.L. deals in 2021 after years of increasing legal and political pressure, money has poured into college athletics, turning star

Continued on Page A18

Echoed Musk's. Uproar Ensued.

By JEREMY W. PETERS

Thousands of administrative employees at Brown University woke up this spring to an email with pointed Elon Musk-like questions about their job responsibil-

Please describe your role, it asked. What tasks have you performed in the past week? How would Brown students be affected if your job didn't exist?

The March 18 email was from a sophomore, Alex Shieh, who explained that the responses would be included in a story for The Brown Spectator, a new, as yet unpublished conservative newspaper on campus.

His questions were undoubtedly sensitive for elite universities like Brown, where the cost of tuition, housing and other fees has risen to \$93,000. Critics, including President Trump, accuse the schools of padding their budgets with redundant layers of deans and associate deans, bloated diversity programs and niche academic divisions.

Many recipients of the email, in-Continued on Page A11

EDMUND WHITE, 1940-2025

Trailblazer of Gay Literature Who Bared Sex Life, and Soul

By FRED A. BERNSTEIN

Edmund White, who mined his own life story, including his vast and varied catalog of sexual experiences, in more than 30 books of fiction and nonfiction and hundreds of articles and essays, becoming a grandee of the New York literary world for more than half a century, died on Tuesday at his home in Manhattan. He was 85.

His death was confirmed by his husband, Michael Carroll, who said Mr. White had collapsed while weakened by "a vicious stomach bug." The precise cause of death is unknown. Mr. White had been H.I.V. positive since the 1980s and survived two major strokes in 2012 and a heart attack in 2014.

Mr. White's output was almost equally divided between fiction and nonfiction. Many of his books were critical successes, and several were best-sellers. The Chicago Tribune labeled him "the godfather of queer lit."

He was a star almost from the beginning. The New York Times called "Forgetting Elena" (1973), about the rituals of gay life on a fic-



Edmund White was also the author of three biographies.

tionalized Fire Island, "an astonishing first novel, obsessively fussy, and yet uncannily beautiful." His second novel, "Nocturnes for the King of Naples" (1978), took the form of letters from a young gay man to his deceased ex-lover.

"A Boy's Own Story" (1982), a tale of coming out set in the 1950s, Continued on Page A21

SPORTS B7-10

The Team That Never Tanked

With smart picks, bold trades, economical free agents and patience, the Pacers have risen to the cusp of a title. PAGE B7

A Fairy-Tale Run in France

Loïs Boisson is in the semifinals at Roland Garros, but her home tournament has not given her top billing.

INTERNATIONAL A4-9

Revenge of the Beer Run

A thrifty Canadian lost his court battle for the right to move suds across the provinces unimpeded. But now things are moving his way. PAGE A4

Putin Talks of Striking Back

President Trump says Russia's leader told him "very strongly" in a call of plans to retaliate against Ukraine.

OBITUARIES A20-21

Iron Man for the Vikings

Jim Marshall started 270 games in a row for Minnesota, and once scored in the wrong end zone. He was 87.

NATIONAL A10-18

An Accusation Falls Apart

The U.S. accused a Mexican immigrant of threatening President Trump, but another man has now been charged with framing him.

Incurable? Maybe Not.

One-third of patients in a multiple myeloma clinical trial have lived without detectable cancer for years.

BUSINESS B1-6

The Case for Breaking Up

What if Google just broke itself up? Some say it might be better for investors, customers and innovation. PAGE B1



THURSDAY STYLES D1-8 Shirley Manson's Wisdom

The singer of Garbage has become sort of a godmother of rock, offering advice to others entering the business.

Make-Believe No More

The film "Step Brothers" created a fictional Catalina Wine Mixer. A California community made it real. PAGE D4

ARTS C1-6

A Wide-Ranging Palette

The Oscar-winning actor Adrien Brody is also a skilled painter. He is displaying new work at a New York gallery. PAGE C1

Tweaking the Script

The playwright Branden Jacobs-Jenkins discusses how he and the "Purpose" cast juggled show revisions.

OPINION A22-23

W.J. Hennigan

PAGE A23

