

“All the News  
That’s Fit to Print”

# The New York Times

**THE WEATHER**  
Today, sunny, low humidity, high 80. Tonight, clear to partly cloudy, low 67. Tomorrow, sunshine, a few clouds, slightly warmer, not too humid, high 83. Weather map, Page B8.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



**ESCALATING ATTACKS** People sought shelter in a metro station on Monday in Kyiv, Ukraine, during another Russian barrage. Page A7.

**NEWS ANALYSIS**

## Aid Disarray Rends Gaza

Critics Say Israel Left a Vacuum in Power

**By PATRICK KINGSLEY**  
JERUSALEM — For a year and a half, experts have warned that Israel's failure to plan for a power transition in Gaza would lead to anarchy, make it harder to deliver aid and stymie efforts to defeat Hamas. A sequence of shootings in Gaza over the weekend — one near Gaza's southern border, another at its northern edge — have highlighted the accuracy of those predictions.

On Saturday, Israeli soldiers opened fire on civilians near a food distribution site run by Israeli-backed private contractors. On Sunday, Israeli soldiers opened fire on civilians as crowds gathered near a convoy of food trucks sent by the United Nations toward areas controlled by Hamas. The Israeli military said its soldiers had fired “warning shots” to deter people who posed a “threat.” Supporters of the Israeli-backed system used the episode on Sunday to highlight the failures of the U.N.-led system. Those favoring the U.N. system said the killings on Saturday illustrated the failures of Israel's approach.

Israel says it is necessary to put food distribution sites in areas beyond Hamas's control in order to make it harder for both fighters from the militant group and civilian looters to steal supplies. Critics of that approach say it forces hungry civilians to cross Israeli military lines, putting them at greater risk.

But these critiques skirt around a broader problem. Both aid systems are piecemeal responses to a failure by Israel to make detailed plans for a transition of power in Gaza, according to analysts and experts on aid distribution.

Israel has devastated much of the territory, destroyed much of its infrastructure, decimated Hamas's leadership and hindered its ability to provide social services and law enforcement in most of the territory.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel has also repeatedly decided against creat-

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## Ukraine, Needing Arms, Moves to Make Its Own

But That Self-Reliance Still Requires Money From Its Allies

**By CONSTANT MÉHEUT**  
CENTRAL UKRAINE — The clang of hammers and the whine of drills echo through a factory in central Ukraine, as workers assemble hulking armored personnel carriers that troops will soon ride into combat — a cacophony that captures this moment in the war with Russia. Ukraine has been ramping up domestic arms production significantly, unable to rely as heavily as it once did on an increasingly uncertain supply of weapons from its allies. Last year, Ukrainian Armor, a private company that runs the armored vehicle factory, produced double the number of vehicles it did the year before, ac-

ing of the United States, Kyiv's biggest arms supplier. The Trump administration recently paused some arms transfers but then reversed course, agreeing to sell weapons to European allies, which will then give them to Ukraine. But even with greater certainty about the flow of Western weapons, it still does not match what Ukraine needs to fend off the Russian invasion. That reality has produced a fundamental shift in Ukraine's appeals to its Western allies. Rather than pleading primarily for arms, as it did early in the war, Ukraine is increasingly asking for the money to build its own weapons.

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**Fires Worsen as Climate Changes** An increase in severe weather is largely responsible for the global rise of forest fires. Page A13.

**NEWS ANALYSIS**

## In Japan, Far Right Attracts the Youth Vote

**By MARTIN FACKLER**  
TOKYO — The surging popularity of new right-wing political parties that handed Japan's long-governing Liberal Democratic Party a humiliating election defeat is a sign of a growing generational gap, as younger voters embrace calls for lower taxes, restrictions on immigra-

tion and a break with the political status quo. The defeat, which rendered the Liberal Democrats a minority in both houses of the Diet, the country's Parliament, could herald the end of an era for the broad-tent conservative group that has been the country's dominant political force for 70 years. But while the party has faced would-be usurp-

ers before, this time was different, because the challengers came from the nationalist right, which the Liberal Democrats had long controlled. The biggest winners on Sunday were two far-right parties that did not exist five years ago. While Japan in the past has seen its share of flash-in-the-pan,

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**NEWS ANALYSIS**

## Trump’s Deflections Ease Base’s Fury Over Epstein

Other Grievances Reunify Allies for Now

**By ERICA L. GREEN**  
WASHINGTON — In the week after the Justice Department walked back its promise to release the full collection of files about the disgraced financier and convicted sex offender Jeffrey Epstein, it seemed there was nothing President Trump could do to quell the fury of some of his supporters. He tried to coax them as he defended his attorney general against their wrath, asking “What’s going on with my ‘boys’ and, in some cases, ‘gals?’” He said he did not understand their interest in the case, downplaying it as “boring.” He even castigated them as “weaklings” and disavowed them as “PAST supporters.” Still, the backlash kept building. But when The Wall Street Journal published a story detailing a decades-old letter with a lewd drawing that Mr. Trump allegedly sent Mr. Epstein for his birthday, Mr. Trump got a respite from the revolt, as some of his core supporters rushed to his defense.

Mr. Trump turned one of the most fractious moments for his base into one of the most unifying by tapping into other MAGA grievances: the deep mistrust of mainstream media, the disdain for Rupert Murdoch and the

belief that the president had been unfairly persecuted by his political foes. Almost immediately, many of those who had been critical of the administration's handling of the Epstein case cheered the president on as he vehemently denied the claims, sued The Journal and ordered his attorney general to seek the release of more information. Mr. Trump's allies in the hard-right “Make America Great Again” movement — known as MAGA — said that the discontent that had divided the base had dissipated, but had not been eliminated, at least for now. Stephen K. Bannon, a former White House adviser to Mr. Trump and influential leader of the MAGA base, said that the dynamics were shifting in part

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### More on the White House

**HEARING** A federal judge appeared skeptical of the administration's efforts to strip Harvard of billions in funding. PAGE A12  
**DISSENT** A public letter from current and former NASA employees objected to the administration's proposed cuts. PAGE A11

## A Common Antagonist, Trump Is Binding Europeans Together

**By JEANNA SMIALEK**  
AARHUS, Denmark — President Trump's pledge to “Make America Great Again” appears to be having an unexpected side effect: He is bringing Europeans together again. The European Union was in bad shape around the time Mr. Trump was first elected to office. Public trust in the bloc was at a historic low, Britain had just voted to leave, and the European economy was struggling to recover from the global financial crisis, which had set off a series of debt-related meltdowns across the continent. But things slowly started to improve from around 2016. In recent months, sentiment around the European Union has picked up further. Trust ratings are approaching a two-decade high. E.U. leaders are striking trade deals with fast-growing economies like Indonesia, standing up a defense plan that has garnered partnerships with nations including Canada, and even Britain recently struck a



E.U. members find a motivation to rally around their flag.

deal to reset relations. The bloc still has very real problems. Its population is aging, and economic growth remains slow. Populist detractors who criticize it loudly have been gaining momentum, and it is grasping for ways to revitalize competitiveness. Ursula von der Leyen, the president of the European Commission, the European Union's executive arm, has come under fierce criticism as

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## Medicare Pay Rule Would Favor Primary Care Over Specialists

**By REED ABELSON and MARGOT SANGER-KATZ**  
For decades, the prices Medicare pays doctors for different medical services have been largely decided not by Medicare itself, but by a powerful industry group, the American Medical Association. An A.M.A. committee meets in secret to determine the difficulty and time demands of each type of medical visit, test and procedure, and then recommends to Medicare how much doctors should be paid for performing them. And for decades, critics have complained that this process unfairly rewards surgeons and other specialists, at the expense of primary care physicians and other generalists. Medicare officials have been

loath to change it because it has spared them from needing their own staff and budget to make such pricing decisions, along with the unpleasant politics of adjudicating conflicts between competing groups of physicians. But a change buried inside a 1,803-page proposed regulation published last week suggests the Trump administration would like to move away from this longstanding system. If finalized, it could begin overturning a process that has entrenched pay advantages for certain kinds of doctors. “We’re modernizing Medicare by correcting outdated assumptions in how physician services are valued,” said Chris Klomp, a

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**SPORTS B6-10**  
**Learning to Be a Star** Tadej Pogacar, nurtured to work hard and to lose well, is on his way to a Tour de France title repeat. PAGE B6

**Life After 40 Under Center** Will Aaron Rodgers, 41, succeed with the Steelers? N.F.L. history suggests that he faces a challenge. PAGE B9

**NATIONAL A10-13, 16**  
**New Turn in Patz Case** A federal appeals court overturned the conviction of Pedro Hernandez, who had confessed to the 1979 killing of a 6-year-old boy in SoHo. PAGE A13

**Taylor Case Sentence: 3 Years** The ruling was a rebuke to the Trump administration, which had requested an officer serve only one day. PAGE A16

**INTERNATIONAL A4-9**  
**Venezuela Targets Economists** As inflation surges, officials are lashing out at analysts who explain the country's worsening finances. PAGE A4



**ARTS C1-6**  
**Deep in Parton Territory** For fans of the Tennessee-born singer, it was fitting to see the debut of her biographical musical in Nashville. PAGE C1

**Silver Linings for Colbert** Ending “The Late Show” is bad news for late-night TV. But its host will find ample opportunities elsewhere. PAGE C1

**BUSINESS B1-5**  
**An Aim to ‘Reindustrialize’** A summit in Michigan hosted Trump cabinet officials, tech investors and manufacturers to spur ideas on how to supercharge U.S. factories. PAGE B1

**OBITUARIES B11-12**  
**A Maestro of Opera Sets** John Conklin created scenery that was highly conceptual yet playful for the Glimmerglass Festival and other companies. He was 88. PAGE B12

**OPINION A14-15**  
**Frank Bruni** PAGE A15



**SCIENCE TIMES D1-8**  
**Trying to Safeguard Bees** Should the parasitic Tropilaelaps mite arrive in the United States, it could threaten honeybees and ravage a big part of the nation's food supply. PAGE D1

