"All the News That's Fit to Print"

# The New York Times

**THE WEATHER** 

Today, hazy sunshine, high 85. Tonight, mostly clear, warm for this time of year, low 69. Tomorrow, more humid, sunshine and some clouds, which are the properties of the control of the c

VOL. CLXXIV .... No. 60,540

© 2025 The New York Times Company

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 4, 2025

Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00

Lee Jae-myung, center, South Korea's new president, at a post-election rally with his wife, Kim Hye-kyeong, in Seoul on Wednesday.

#### **NEWS ANALYSIS**

## Seoul's Leader Has Full Plate

Given Immense Power And Untold Problems

#### By CHOE SANG-HUN

SEOUL — If there is one characteristic that defines Lee Jaemyung, South Korea's new president, it's that he is a survivor. He has survived criminal charges, a near-fatal stabbing attack and the martial law enacted by his fiercest enemy, former President Yoon Suk Yeol. Now he is taking on what may be his toughest test yet: leading a deeply divided nation through daunting challenges both at home and abroad.

Mr. Lee, who won South Korea's presidential election after his opponent conceded early Wednesday, takes office as one of the most powerful presidents that South Korea has elected in recent decades. Much of South Korea's political power is concentrated in the presidency, and Mr. Lee will also wield considerable control over the National Assembly, where his Democratic Party holds a large majority of seats.

But long is the list of problems that Mr. Lee faces.

The political turmoil set off by Mr. Yoon's short-lived declaration of martial law and his subsequent impeachment and removal has exposed a country deeply fractured between the left and right, between generations and between genders. South Korea is facing mounting pressure from its sole military ally, the United States, even as the nuclear threat from North Korea grows. President Trump has not only slapped South Korea's export-driven economy with heavy tariffs but also demanded that it pay more to keep American troops on its

Mr. Lee warned that the second Trump administration was bringing "the law of the jungle" into international relations. But Mr. Lee, 61, who rose to become a charismatic leader of South Korea's biggest political party after working in a sweatshop in his teens, said he would also rise to this challenge, with "pragmatic diplomacy centered on the national interest."

"I will crawl between his legs if necessary, if that's what I have to do for my people," Mr. Lee said this week about Mr. Trump. "But I am not a pushover, either. South

Continued on Page A10

# Battle Over Supply Chain Is the New Trade War

By ANA SWANSON

WASHINGTON - The U.S.-China trade conflict is quickly morphing into a fight over global supply chains, as the two nations limit the sharing of critical technologies that could have lasting consequences for scores of indus-

The United States last week suspended some sales to China of components and software used in jet engines and semiconductors, a response to a clampdown by Beijing on the export of minerals used in large sectors of manufacturing. Both sides over the last few days have accused the other of operating in bad faith.

The supply chain warfare,

U.S. and China Facing the Painful Reality of Linked Economies

which comes on top of tariffs the two countries have inflicted on the other's imports, has alarmed companies that say they cannot make their products without components sourced from both. And it has made officials in Washington increasingly nervous about other choke points where China could squeeze the United States, including pharmaceuticals or shipping.

In recent weeks, the airplane industry has emerged as both a

weapon, and a victim, in this fight. The jet engine technology that powers airplanes, and the navigation systems that control them, largely come from the United States, developed by companies like General Electric. In China's quest to build a viable competitor to Boeing, for example, it has had to source engine technology from GE Aerospace.

But a jet engine also cannot be made without China. Minerals that are processed there are essential for special coatings and

Continued on Page A11

**DEPENDENT** The U.S. faces severe disruptions as China limits crucial rare earth supplies. PAGE B1



## An Airstrip on Protected Land

An Idaho billionaire long tussled with the Forest Service. Now he is the pick to lead it. Page A12.

## Israel Again Opens Fire on Gazans Near Aid Hub

This article is by Aaron Boxerman, Ameera Harouda, Patrick Kingsley and Iyad Abuheweila.

JERUSALEM - Israeli soldiers opened fire Tuesday morning near crowds of Palestinians walking toward a new food distribution site in southern Gaza, the Israeli military said. The Red Cross and Gaza health ministry said at least 27 people had been killed.

27 Dead as Chaos With New Program Persists

It was the second such shooting in three days near the same site in the city of Rafah, where thousands of hungry and desperate Palestinians have been coming early each day in hopes of securing food. Israeli soldiers opened

fire on Sunday near an approach to the distribution center.

The Palestine Red Crescent Society said at least 23 people were

The deadly incident on Tuesday was the latest chaos to tarnish the Gaza Humanitarian Foundation, a contentious new Israeli-backed aid system in Gaza that has been beset by problems since it began operations last week. The founda-

Continued on Page A5

# America Is Losing Its Pull For Best Minds in Science

## Toll of Budget Cuts and Strict Immigration

By KATE ZERNIKE

Ardem Patapoutian's story is not just the American dream, it is the dream of American science.

He arrived in Los Angeles in 1986 at age 18 after fleeing wartorn Lebanon. He spent a year writing for an Armenian newspaper and delivering Domino's at night to become eligible for the University of California, where he earned his undergraduate degree and a postdoctoral fellowship in neuroscience.

He started a lab at Scripps Research in San Diego with a grant from the National Institutes of Health, discovered the way humans sense touch, and in 2021 was awarded a Nobel Prize. But with the Trump administra-

tion slashing spending on science, Dr. Patapoutian's federal grant to develop new approaches to treating pain has been frozen. In late February, he posted on Bluesky that such cuts would damage biomedical research and prompt an exodus of talent from the United States. Within hours, he had an email from China, offering to move his lab to "any city, any university I want," he said, with a guarantee of funding for the next

Dr. Patapoutian declined because he loves his adopted country. Many scientists just setting out on their careers, however, fear there is no other option but to

Scientific leaders say that is risking the way American science has been done for years, and the pre-eminence of the United States in their fields.

China and Europe are on hiring sprees. An analysis by the journal Nature captured the reversal: Applications from China and Europe for graduate student or postdoctoral positions in the United States have dropped sharply or dried up since President Trump took office. The number of postdocs and graduate students in the United States applying for jobs abroad has spiked.

A university in France that created new positions for scientists with canceled federal grants capped applications after overwhelming interest. A scientific institute in Portugal said job inquiries from junior faculty members in the United States were up tenfold over the last two months.

"We are embarking on a major Continued on Page A16

#### **NEWS ANALYSIS**

# Denouncing Antisemitism, Trump Also Fans Its Flames

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — In the Oval Office one day last week, President Trump renewed his noholds-barred attack on the nation's oldest university. "They're totally antisemitic at Harvard," he declared.

Just 10 hours later, he posted an image of himself striding down a street with the caption, "He's on a mission from God and nothing can stop what is coming." Shown in the shadows, watching with approval, was a cartoon figure commonly seen as an antisemitic symbol. The appearance of the figure.

the alt-right mascot Pepe the Frog, was the latest example of Mr. Trump's extensive history of amplifying white supremacist figures and symbols, even as he

now presents himself as a champion for Jewish students oppressed by what he says is a wave of hatred on American college campuses.

As a younger man, Mr. Trump kept a book of Adolf Hitler's speeches in a cabinet by his bed. according to his first wife. During his first term as president, he expressed admiration for some aspects of the Nazi Führer's leadership, according to his chief White House aide at the time. In the past few years, he has dined at his Florida estate with a Holocaust denier while his New Jersey golf club has hosted events at which a Nazi sympathizer

Continued on Page A15

# Firing of Smithsonian Official Met With Doubt, and Silence

This article is by Robin Pogrebin, Graham Bowley and Zachary

Since President Trump announced he was dismissing the head of the National Portrait Gallery on Friday, the Smithsonian has weighed whether to challenge Mr. Trump on his legal authority to fire a museum director

employed by the institution. At an emergency meeting on Monday, the Smithsonian's board and Secretary Lonnie G. Bunch III discussed how to respond to the president's announcement he had fired Kim Sajet, the longtime director of the National Portrait Gallery, which is part of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington.

But as of Tuesday evening, the Smithsonian, which is not an executive branch agency, was silent on



Kim Sajet, the National Portrait Gallery director, was fired.

whether it would dispute a presidential announcement that is distinctly at odds with how the institution has long regarded its independence in hiring and firing pow-

Continued on Page A16

More on the White House

**STONEWALLING** The White House has used an array of methods to prevent judges from weighing possible transgressions. PAGE A17

**PRESSURE** As the president seeks Senate support for his sprawling bill, Elon Musk called it a "disgusting abomination." PAGE A15



NATIONAL A12-19

## A Generation's Struggle

Late baby boomers like Anthony Forrest, faced with high rents and faltering aid, see a rise in homelessness. PAGE A18

#### **Newark Outage Lasted Longer** Flight traffic data and the air traffic

control feed suggest communications issues lasted half an hour. PAGE A13 INTERNATIONAL A4-11

## She Valiantly Regained a Vulva

Shamsa Sharawe, who survived female genital cutting as a child, shared her reconstruction surgery and recovery on TikTok. The Global Profile. PAGE A6

## U.S. Offers Nuclear Proposal

Iran would be allowed to continue enriching uranium at low levels while a broader deal is worked out.

**BUSINESS B1-6** 

#### Chain Restaurant Nostalgia Establishments whose heydays had

passed are drawing younger customers charmed by their memories. PAGE B1



ARTS C1-6

## Another 'Impossible' Situation

Creating Tom Cruise's pivotal scene for "Final Reckoning" took grit, G-force training and some hypothermia. PAGE C1

## A Soundtrack to Remember

Fans of the score of the 2005 film "Pride & Prejudice" were able to hear it played live at a 20th-anniversary ball. PAGE C1

# SPORTS B7-10

#### N.H.L. Mastery Heads South A team from Florida has been to the

Stanley Cup finals for six straight years. Here is how the Tampa Bay Lightning and the defending champion Florida Panthers have done it.

## **Knicks Fire Their Coach**

Despite leading the team to the N.B.A. Eastern Conference finals for the first time in 25 years and receiving an endorsement from its star player, Tom Thibodeau was let go. PAGE B10

**OPINION A22-23** 

Peter Mehlman



FOOD D1-8

## Dreams Gone Up in Smoke

Dickey's, the world's largest barbecue chain, has a history of deception and broken promises, according to dozens of its franchise owners.

