

“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Today, variable cloudiness, warmer, humid, a thunderstorm, high 80. **Tonight**, humid, an evening thunderstorm, low 71. **Tomorrow**, humid, high 89. Weather map, Page A23.

VOL. CLXXIV No. 60,554

© 2025 The New York Times Company

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 18, 2025

Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



SAHER ALGHORRA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Risking Death to Stave Off Hunger
Palestinians heading to an aid site northwest of Gaza City. Scores of people have been killed while trying to collect food. Page A6.

Chinese Goods Flooding Globe As Tariffs Bite

By ALEXANDRA STEVENSON
Two decades ago, China shocked the United States with its ability to make and ship things fast and inexpensively on a scale never before seen. The resulting surge of exports reshaped America’s economy and its politics.

Today, a new China shock is cascading across the globe, from Indonesia to Germany to Brazil. As President Trump’s tariffs start to shut China out of the United States, its biggest market, Chinese factories are sending their toys, cars and shoes to other countries at a pace that is reshaping economies and geopolitics. This year so far, China’s trade surplus with the world is nearly \$500 billion — a more than 40 percent increase from the same period last year. As the world’s two superpowers duke it out over trade, the rest of the world is now bracing for an even bigger China shock. “China has loads of things that it needs to export, and whether or not the U.S. puts tariffs on China, it’s pretty much impossible to stop the shifts in flows,” said Leah Fahy, a China economist at Capital Economics. The flood of exports from China is the consequence of government policy and a slowing domestic economy. To soften the blow of a real estate crisis that reduced the wealth of millions of households, Beijing has for several years been shoveling money into its manufacturing sectors, which are making many more things than there is demand for at home.

China’s global market share for all categories of goods has risen sharply, according to an analysis by Ms. Fahy. This will continue despite the tariffs because Beijing is unlikely to change the course of its export-oriented policies. By diverting the flow of its stuff to Southeast Asia, Latin America and Europe, China has already eased the economic effect of a plunge in demand from the United States. But it puts China in potential conflict with trading partners that are also facing pressure from Washington. Mr. Trump is threatening steep tariffs for the same countries that are being inundated with more Chinese goods, like Vietnam, Cambodia and Indonesia. Those tariffs have, for now, been put on pause for negotiations. Some

Continued on Page A12

The Army Major Cast Out by Trump’s Trans Ban

By GREG JAFFE
FORT DRUM, N.Y. — Maj. Erica Vandal had just finished briefing 200 soldiers on her brigade’s plan to employ artillery fire in a big combat training exercise. She exited the cavernous warehouse where the troops had gathered and was headed to the bathroom between sessions when her phone reconnected to the network and

Fought for Her People, Then for Herself

began pinging. Dozens of new messages flashed across her screen. One was from her mother. “Just heard about the Supreme Court ruling,” it read. “That totally stinks! How are you doing?” The other texts confirmed what

she already assumed. The justices had ruled that President Trump could immediately begin expelling transgender troops from the military. Major Vandal, 36, and thousands of others would be forced out.

It didn’t seem real. She found it hard to conceive of a life outside the Army. The daughter of a three-star general, she had grown up on bases around the world and thought of them collectively as home. She had been a West Point cadet, an artillery officer and a Bronze Star recipient for her service in Afghanistan.

In combat, she had taken cover in concrete bunkers from incoming Taliban rockets and, alongside her troops, fired back at the enemy. She had pushed herself to exhaustion during training exercises, then grabbed a few hours of sleep in a dusty Humvee. She had found meaning and purpose in placing her soldiers’ needs ahead of her own.

“Supreme Court just ruled,” she texted her wife. “I’m out.” Hulking Chinook helicopters thrummed overhead. Major Vandal could smell diesel fuel and dust in the air. She knew she could not lead the next planning session without falling apart, so she pulled her soldiers together and told them the news, then handed off her briefing notes and retreated to her pickup truck to call one of her lawyers.

The Supreme Court’s ruling meant that the ban could remain in place while court challenges moved forward. Major Vandal’s legal team, which was representing more than a dozen plaintiffs challenging the transgender ban in court, would keep fighting. But her lawyer told her that she did not want to give her false hope. The chances of a reversal in the next year or so were small.

Major Vandal began driving to

Continued on Page A14



HAIYUN JIANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Maj. Erica Vandal faced an impossible choice between supporting her family and her future, and standing up for her principles.

Maker of Fake Grass Sues to Hush Up Concerns

By HIROKO TABUCHI and KEN BELSON

The seminar seemed straightforward enough. Four experts planned to talk about whether artificial grass, which is used on playgrounds and sports fields nationwide, has health risks for children.

But January’s seminar never happened, after the four speakers were sued for defamation by Polyloom, an artificial-turf maker,

Blocking Experts’ Talk About Health Risks

based on promotional material for the seminar. “This was before we even said a word,” said Kyla Bennett, an ecologist formerly with the Environmental Protection Agency who is one of the four defendants. Polyloom and the artificial-turf

industry is responding to a growing body of scientific research showing the presence of harmful chemicals in synthetic turf, and potential environmental and health implications. All this is happening as demand for artificial turf, which is made from plastic and mimics the look and feel of natural grass, is booming globally.

Once mainly used in places like professional football or baseball stadiums, today, artificial grass is

Continued on Page A22

Trump Seeks Surrender By Iran as He Considers Attack on Nuclear Site

Issuing a Threat to the Supreme Leader

By DAVID E. SANGER and JONATHAN SWAN

WASHINGTON — President Trump declared on Tuesday that “we now have complete and total control of the skies over Iran” and called for Iran’s “unconditional surrender” amid mounting evidence that the United States was considering joining Israel’s bombing campaign against the country.

Mr. Trump’s comments, in social media posts, came as Israel has been pressing the White House to intervene militarily in the conflict with Iran to put an end to that country’s nuclear program.

Mr. Trump cut short his attendance at the Group of 7 summit in Alberta, Canada, to return to Washington to deal with the situation in the Middle East. He met with his national security team in the Situation Room on Tuesday.

His immediate decision is whether to deploy America’s largest conventional weapon — a 30,000-pound “bunker buster” — to attack Iran’s deepest nuclear enrichment site. Israel does not have such a weapon.

While Mr. Trump suggested that the United States had control of Iran’s skies, the only visible combatant so far has been Israel, which has been using American-

made fighter jets. Israeli officials have said that they have been able to destroy much of Iran’s air defenses, especially around Tehran.

But it was not clear what kind of defenses Israel and the U.S. might encounter if Mr. Trump gives the go-ahead to attack the Fordo nuclear enrichment plant, one of the country’s most heavily defended sites. It is situated under a mountain, within the perimeter of an Islamic Revolutionary Guard base.

In one of his messages Tuesday, Mr. Trump threatened Iran’s supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, saying “we know exactly where” he is. But he added that “we are not going to take him out (kill!), at least not for now.” Killing foreign leaders violates executive orders signed by a series of presidents back to Gerald Ford, and the currently operative one states: “No person employed by or acting on behalf of the United States government shall engage in, or conspire to engage in, assassination.”

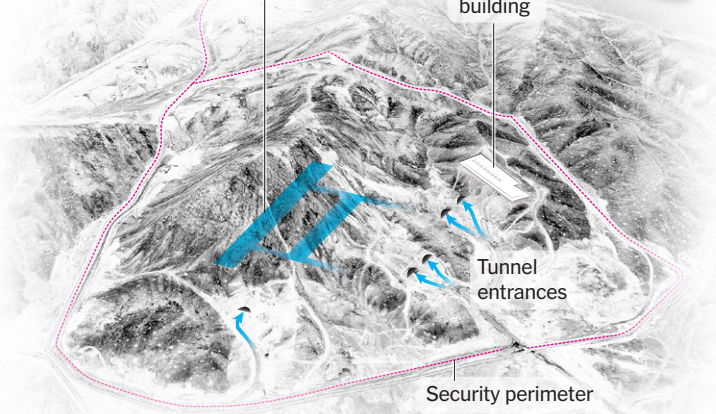
Mr. Trump added, “Our patience is growing thin.”

In his own social media post, Vice President JD Vance also

Continued on Page A8

Fordo Nuclear Site

Deep inside a mountain, Fordo is said to contain close to 3,000 sophisticated centrifuges in two enrichment halls.



Sources: Nuclear Threat Initiative; Google Earth (terrain)

THE NEW YORK TIMES

How Columbia Limited Fallout Of Trump’s Fury

By SHARON OTTERMAN

It was a turning point in the Trump administration’s efforts to bring elite academia to heel. The White House had made an example of Columbia University by axing \$400 million in federal grants, and now it was saying that the Ivy League school would have to acquiesce to a bill of demands if it were to have any hope of recouping the money.

One of the dictates handed down in March involved the university’s Middle Eastern, South Asian and African Studies Department. The White House, which said Columbia had failed to protect Jewish students from antisemitic harassment, wanted the school to strip the department of its autonomy, a rare administrative step that was viewed as a serious blow to academic freedom. The university, which was the first high-profile target in the administration’s war on higher education, had a different idea.

Quietly, university officials were trying to navigate a narrower path, appeasing President Trump by cracking down on protests and making changes to student discipline. But the measures

Continued on Page A20

Podcasts Offer Lane to Authors Leaning Right

By ALEXANDRA ALTER

In his new book, “The Disenlightenment,” the playwright David Mamet calls President Trump “a hero” who saved America from lawlessness and corruption, slams liberals as “the enemy of Constitutional democracy” and argues that free speech is under assault from the left.

These positions put Mamet — a self-described former “brain-dead liberal” — at odds with most of his peers in the left-leaning entertainment world, where he’s celebrated for acclaimed plays like “Glengarry Glen Ross” and “Speed-the-Plow.”

But Mamet has found a receptive audience for his hard right polemics on podcasts, where he has been energetically plugging his book.

To promote “The Disenlightenment,” which was released this month by the conservative imprint Broadside, Mamet made appearances on a constellation of podcasts — among them popular shows hosted by the military historian and conservative commentator Victor Davis Hanson, the comedian Adam Carolla, the TV host Mike Rowe and the

Continued on Page A16



NATIONAL A13-22
ICE Arrests City Comptroller
Brad Lander, who is running for mayor, was trying to escort a migrant past officers to exit a courthouse. PAGE A20

Power Play for the Purse
The president’s aides are considering a rarely used tactic to work around Congress to cancel enacted funds. PAGE A17

BUSINESS B1-5

Trump’s Debut: Bitcoin Mining
The launch of American Bitcoin, a firm backed by Eric Trump and Donald Trump Jr., heightens ethical concerns around the Trump presidency. PAGE B1

Streaming Is Now King of TV
In May, more Americans watched TV on services like YouTube than on cable and network TV combined. PAGE B1

INTERNATIONAL A4-12

Trump Defends Putin at G7
The president scolded the group of industrialized nations for ousting Russia after its 2014 attack on Ukraine. PAGE A11



SPORTS B6-9
Boxing Out Dr. Naismith
Taking aim at basketball’s origin story, a Herkimer, N.Y., man says his hometown is the sport’s true birthplace. PAGE B6

In Favor of Human Error
A survey found that a majority of M.L.B. players were against robo-umps calling balls and strikes. PAGE B7

FOOD D1-8

Making Summer Delicious
Our writer put together a collection of some of the easiest recipes worth your consideration during the hottest, and often busiest, time of the year. PAGE D4

OBITUARIES A24-25

Pianist Who Took a Rare Path
With little formal training but an abundance of ideas, Alfred Brendel created fresh interpretations of the core classical composers. He was 94. PAGE A25

OPINION A26-27

Ioan Grillo PAGE A27



ARTS C1-6
History, Repeated Again
Students interested in the past gathered in Maryland. Above, North Carolina seventh graders portrayed the “Radium Girls” of a century ago. PAGE C1



0 354613 9