



A DEVASTATED ENVIRONMENT Damage from war munitions can be seen in the, clockwise from top left, cracked dirt of a reservoir, pollution during a training exercise, dolphin skeletons on the shore and trenches dug into a nature preserve. Ukraine is trying to seek justice for ecological harm in national and international courts.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY BRENDAN HOFFMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

THE WEATHER

Today, cloudy, a couple of showers, high 57. Tonight, cloudy, periodic rain and drizzle, low 41. Tomorrow, rain in the morning, cloudy, cooler, high 47. Weather map is on Page 32.

NEWS ANALYSIS

U.S. Primacy Under Threat In Trade War

Discarding a Financial Order Built With Trust

By PATRICIA COHEN

LONDON — The global economic system that the United States has shaped and steered for more than three-quarters of a century was animated by a powerful guiding vision: that trade and finance would be based on cooperation and consent rather than coercion.

That system, for all its faults, entrenched the United States as the world’s richest nation and its sole financial superpower. The rule of law and the stability and trust that this approach generated helped make the dollar the world’s go-to currency for transactions and America a center of global investment.

By provoking a worldwide trade war, President Trump risks abandoning that vision of shared interests and replacing it with one that assumes sharp economic conflicts are unavoidable.

Gone are appeals to a larger purpose, mutual agreements or shared values. In this new order, the strongest nations determine the rules and enforce them through intimidation and bare-knuckled power.

“This is a completely different vision,” said Greg Grandin, a historian at Yale, “one in which the first principle is that nations don’t have shared interests; they have inherent conflicts of interests.”

That view is behind the president’s decision to slap sweeping tariffs on Wednesday including a 10 percent tax on nearly every import to the United States. Mr. Trump’s trade policies after a little over two months in office have prompted a sharp drop in the stock market and in business and consumer confidence. Wall Street analysts have been projecting higher inflation rates and slower growth in the United States and around the world.

But quarterly gains and losses are trivial, many economists and political leaders said, compared with the potential long-term damage to the unique power and privileges that the United States has built up in the postwar global order. At stake are the country’s unmatched influence over the world’s financial system, the advantages its businesses enjoy and a reputation that attracts investors and innovators.

Mr. Trump’s turn away from Continued on Page 16



HESHAM ELSHERIF/GETTY IMAGES

Finished steel at a mill in Duisburg, Germany, last month.

Video Counters Israel’s Version Of Aid Killings

By FARNAZ FASSIHI and CHRISTOPH KOETTL

A video, discovered on the cellphone of a paramedic who was found along with 14 other aid workers in a mass grave in Gaza in late March, shows that the ambulances and fire truck they were traveling in were clearly marked and had their emergency signal lights on when Israeli troops barged them with gunfire.

An Israeli military spokesman, Lt. Col. Nadav Shoshani, had said last week that Israeli forces did not “randomly attack” an ambulance, but that several vehicles “were identified advancing suspiciously” without headlights or emergency signals toward Israeli troops, prompting them to shoot.

On Saturday, after the video surfaced appearing to contradict that account, the Israeli military acknowledged that the initial account had been partially “mistaken.”

An Israeli military official said in a briefing with reporters on Saturday that a group of Israeli reservists had earlier in the evening killed two people he described as Hamas personnel, and detained a third. When the rescue workers arrived and left their vehicles, the official said, the reserve forces believed that more Hamas operatives had arrived, and they opened fire on the occupants of the vehicles from afar.

The military official said that Israel believes that at least six of the 15 were Hamas operatives, but did not immediately provide any evidence, citing the classified nature of the intelligence work involved in the identification process. In recent days, the military had repeatedly asserted that nine of those killed had been militants belonging to Hamas and Islamic Jihad.

Officials from the Palestine Red Crescent Society said in a news Continued on Page 9

RISKING REPRISALS Hundreds of Palestinians in Gaza pressed Hamas to end the war. PAGE 9

In Ukraine, War Takes Poisonous Toll on Soil, Air and Water

By BRENDAN HOFFMAN and EVELINA RIABENKO

The human costs of Russia’s war in Ukraine are enormous, measured in mass graves, nightly missile attacks, traumatized children and hundreds of thousands of soldiers dead or wounded.

But Ukraine’s environment is also being devastated. The war may end, but damage from artil-

lery shells, mines, drones and missiles will endure for decades, experts say, degrading industries like farming and mining, introducing health risks and eroding natural beauty.

Fields are pocked with shell craters, their soil contaminated with the residue of explosives. Burning fuel tanks spew pollution into the air and wildfires burn unchecked in combat zones. Water

Ecological Effects Will Linger for Decades

from reservoirs has poured through destroyed dams, causing droughts upstream and damaging floods below.

As the war enters its fourth year, Ukrainian authorities are

collecting evidence of a new type of war crime known as ecocide.

As genocide is to people, ecocide is to the environment. Ukraine is mounting an extensive legal effort to seek justice for ecological harm, in Ukrainian courts and the International Criminal Court. Prosecutors are pursuing 247 cases of environmental war crimes against Russia.

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EVELYN HOCKSTEIN/REUTERS

A Day of Protest

People gathered around the country, including in Asheville, N.C., to voice opposition to Trump administration policies. Page 18.

Tagging Teslas With Swastikas: Hate Crime or Attack on Musk?

By LIAM STACK

Two people approached a Tesla parked on the Lower East Side of Manhattan one night last month and spray-painted a bright red swastika on it. A few weeks later, another pair walked up to a Tesla parked in Brooklyn and carved a swastika on its door, along with the word “Nazis.”

The Police Department is searching for the vandals, whose actions it is investigating as hate crimes. But whom exactly do they purportedly hate?

Many people would find it hard to imagine a more clear-cut example of a hate crime than vandalizing someone else’s property with a swastika, which has for almost a century been a terrifying and widely recognized symbol used to threaten Jews and other minorities.

But given the rash of protests targeting the electric car com-

pany that have taken place nationwide, it appears clear that the vandals in New York City were using the swastikas to attack Elon Musk, the Tesla founder and a top adviser to President Trump — not to broadcast their own support of Nazism.

Mr. Musk, who has been widely criticized for making two arm gestures that many saw as Nazi salutes at a Trump rally on Inauguration Day, has said he sees the vandalism, which has occurred in New York and elsewhere, as a definite hate crime.

“Anyone who scrawls a swastika on a Tesla has obviously committed a hate crime,” Mr. Musk wrote on social media last week.

The use of swastikas by critics of Mr. Musk — who is not Jewish or a member of any other minority Continued on Page 23

From No-Frills Opera to Antisemitism, a Storied Cultural Haven Is Riven by Rage

By CHRISTOPHER MAAG

CHAUTAUQUA, N.Y. — The rebel leader believed success was in hand: An autocrat deposed, tyranny on the run, one of America’s oldest cultural institutions rescued from disaster.

“We used classic guerrilla tactics,” said Twig Branch, the rebel leader, savoring his victory. He

and a small band of allies had successfully ousted the president of Chautauqua Institution, a 151-year-old resort and cultural center that every summer attracts authors, musicians, playwrights and public intellectuals to its 750-acre lakeside campus in western New York. “We established a sophisticated spy network. We carefully designed a cellular network of provocateurs.”

It is an institution that could never be created today. Imagine a tent revival crossed with a TED Talk, but it started in 1874, and it’s also a gated community of Victorian cottages, Doric-columned churches, a 36-hole golf course, ballet studios and an amphitheater, all of it crowded onto a gently sloping hillside by a 17-mile-long lake.

This year the institution ex-

pects to attract about 100,000 visitors seeking cultural enrichment. People who attend the entire summer session will pay an entrance fee of \$3,077 to spend nine weeks immersed in lectures, ballet, opera and symphony performances, plus pleasant lake breezes and streetscapes reminiscent of a Norman Rockwell painting. (Housing, food and all other expenses are not included.)

But underneath this genteel surface are bitter divisions that erupted just as the institution struggled to recover from the worst event ever to happen on its campus, when Salman Rushdie was nearly killed onstage by a knife-wielding jihadist in August 2022.

One splinter group, led by Mr. Branch — a retired insurance Continued on Page 24

INTERNATIONAL 4-14

Political Comeback From Jail?

Rodrigo Duterte, the former Philippine president who is detained in The Hague, is running for mayor in a race analysts say he could win. PAGE 4

Resiliency in South Korea

The rise and fall of Yoon Suk Yeol exposed a vulnerability in democracy, but the country’s people were always ready to fight for it. News Analysis. PAGE 6

Mixed on U.S. Minerals Deal

In a major mining region of Ukraine, many residents are hopeful, yet wary, of President Trump’s proposal to collect profits from mineral wealth. PAGE 10



NATIONAL 15-25, 32

Revisiting Pain in El Paso

As a man faces sentencing for killing 23 people in 2019, his lawyer said the president’s words were a factor. PAGE 15

Storm Pounds the Central U.S.

Severe flooding in four states has left at least 15 people dead, including a 9-year-old boy in Kentucky. PAGE 25

METROPOLITAN

1 Punch, 2 Wrecked Lives

In a moment of random violence in 2017, one man hit another. And the repercussions are still being felt. PAGE 1

ARTS & LEISURE

A Celebrity-Stuffed Satire

In their Apple TV+ series, “The Studio,” Seth Rogen and Evan Goldberg poke fun at Hollywood. PAGE 8

OBITUARIES 26-28

A Defrocked Cardinal

Theodore McCarrick, who was accused of sexual abuse, was 94. PAGE 26



SUNDAY BUSINESS

You Really Look Familiar

Dozens of companies are now building robots that appear human. PAGE 1

SUNDAY OPINION

Tara Zahra

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SUNDAY STYLES

A Push for Natural Physiques

The fitness influencer Kenny Boulet, who asks gymgoers and bodybuilders on videos whether they are “natty or not,” wants people to be more honest about their steroid use. PAGE 11

Rock Stardom Becomes Him

Cameron Winter seems on the verge of success behind his acclaimed debut solo album, “Heavy Metal.” But is the young musician from Brooklyn ready to step into the spotlight? PAGE 1



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