

Trump Pauses Many Tariffs for 90 Days, but Not on China



A small factory in Guangzhou, China. President Trump acknowledged Wednesday that his tariffs made investors “a little bit afraid.”

Social Security
Strains as Cuts
Take Their Toll

This article is by Jack Healy, Alexandra Berzon, Tara Siegel Bernard and Nicholas Nehamas.

GLENDALE, Ariz. — The line started forming outside the Social Security office in suburban Glendale, Ariz., not long after sunrise, dozens of retirees and people with disabilities, shuffling papers, some leaning on walkers, all anxious to know whether President Trump’s government overhaul had put their safety nets at risk.

When 9 a.m. came, an employee emerged from the building with fliers asking the crowd to come back — once they had scheduled an appointment.

“I’ve called for days!” one woman yelled.

“We came from a long ways away,” said another. Still another let everyone know they had been handed a load of bunk, though she used a more colorful term.

With the stock market in turmoil and the economy under threat, beneficiaries might see their monthly Social Security checks as predictable amid the chaos rippling out of Washington. After all, Mr. Trump has promised not to cut Social Security benefits for the 73 million Americans enrolled.

But that promise has not insulated the Depression-era program once deemed the third rail of American politics. Thousands of worried and frustrated recipients have thronged local field offices, asking why the phone lines are jammed, whether their local offices will be closed by Elon Musk’s team of software engineers and technology executives and

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Sheriff at Odds With State’s Immigration Law

By JAZMINE ULLOA

OTHELLO, Wash. — In his pocket of eastern Washington, where sweet corn and potato fields stretch for miles, Sheriff Dale Wagner of Adams County talks about immigration enforcement in solemn terms like oath and duty.

But precisely whom Sheriff Wagner has a duty to serve and obey is a question that has put him at odds with the state’s top law enforcement official and thrust the two of them into an escalating debate over what role local and state authorities should play in helping enforce immigration law.

Nick Brown, Washington’s at-

Clash Over Providing
Federal Agents With
Details on Inmates

torney general, has accused Sheriff Wagner in a lawsuit of sharing inmate information with federal immigration agents in defiance of a state law meant to limit collaboration between Washington’s law enforcement officers and federal immigration agencies.

In an interview in his office in the city of Othello, Sheriff Wagner defended providing inmate information to federal agents, saying he was within his authority and

that he was doing what he needed to do to protect his constituents.

“It goes back to my oath,” he said. “I protect the State of Washington’s Constitution as best I can, and the United States Constitution as best I can, and that’s all I can do.”

The lawsuit also alleges that deputies in his office have been holding people in jail based solely on immigration status, and that deputies have been allowing such prisoners to be interrogated by federal agents — allegations that Sheriff Wagner said were untrue.

With 21,000 residents, Adams County might have seemed an unlikely setting for a showdown on immigration policy, but the fight

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50 States,
50 Fixes

With environmental efforts facing new challenges, we’re highlighting one working solution in every state. Here are the first five. Special Report, Pages A13-16



NINA RIGGIO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Animal crossings in Colorado.



CASSANDRA KLOS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Composting in Massachusetts.



ALEX HECHT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Hot water for a city in Idaho.



REBECCA NOBLE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
A car-free community in Arizona.



MARIE ERIEL HOBBO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
A healing preserve in Hawaii.

In a Flash, a Vibrant Dominican Nightclub Became a Graveyard

By FRANCES ROBLES

Jet Set, an aging disco just a block from the sea in Santo Domingo, was the place to be on Monday nights.

And this Monday was no exception.

A collection of the country’s boldface names — from bankers to retired Major League Baseball players to politicians — were ea-

ger to kick up their heels and party, even on a school night, at a concert by Rubby Pérez, known as the “loudest voice in merengue.”

Hundreds of people paid \$32 for tickets to see the renowned Dominican entertainer who had recently celebrated his 69th birthday.

Live-music Mondays at Jet Set were something of a tradition in

Hope for More Survivors
Is Beginning to Fade

the Dominican capital, where a penchant for enjoying life and good music helped the nightclub thrive with locals and tourists alike.

“Jet Set was a symbol,” said

José Antonio Rodríguez, a singer and former Dominican minister of culture. “You have to understand: The Dominican is a partyer. They like to get together with friends — and Jet Set was a place for that.”

That decades-old Monday night ritual ended in catastrophe this week, when the building’s roof came crashing down in the middle of Mr. Pérez’s performance. Vid-

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In Game of Chicken,
U.S. Lifts Rate on
Beijing to 125%

By DAVID PIERSON
and BERRY WANG

HONG KONG — A whopping increase in tariffs, followed by a whopping retaliation. Nationalist Chinese bloggers comparing President Trump’s levies to a

NEWS ANALYSIS
declaration of war. China’s Foreign Ministry vowing that Beijing will “fight to the end.”

For years, the world’s two biggest powers have flirted with the idea of an economic decoupling as tensions between them have risen. The acceleration this week of their trade relationship’s deterioration has made the prospect of such a divorce seem closer than ever.

That was underscored on Wednesday when China announced an additional 50 percent tariff on U.S. goods, matching new American levies that had taken effect hours earlier. China also struck at American companies, imposing export controls on a dozen of them and adding six others to a list of “unreliable entities,” preventing them from doing business in China.

China’s new tariffs, which will take effect on Thursday, mean all American goods shipped to China will face an additional 84 percent import tax. On Wednesday afternoon, Mr. Trump retaliated, raising tariffs on Chinese exports to 125 percent. Both figures would have been unimaginable a few weeks ago.

With China’s top leader, Xi Jinping, and Mr. Trump locked in a game of chicken — each unwilling to risk looking weak by making a concession — the trade fight could spiral even further out of control, inflaming tensions over other areas of competition like technology and the fate of Taiwan, the self-governing island claimed by Beijing.

Mr. Trump’s bare-knuckle tactics make him a singular force in U.S. politics. But in Mr. Xi, he faces a hardened opponent who survived the turmoil of China’s late-20th-century political purges, and who views the United States’ competitive tactics as ultimately aimed at subverting the ruling Communist Party’s legitimacy.

“Trump has never gone into a back-alley brawl where the other side is willing to brawl and use the same kind of tactics as him,” said Scott Kennedy, a senior adviser at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, a

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Markets Surge After
Quick Reversal on
Reciprocal Fees

By ANA SWANSON
and TONY ROMM

WASHINGTON — President Trump on Wednesday abruptly reversed course on steep global tariffs that have roiled markets, upset members of his own party and raised fears of a recession. Just hours after he put punishing levies into place on nearly 60 countries, the president said he would pause them for 90 days.

But Mr. Trump did not extend that pause to China, opting instead to raise tariffs again on all Chinese imports, bringing those taxes to 125 percent. That decision came after Beijing raised its levies on American goods to 84 percent on Wednesday afternoon in an escalating tit-for-tat between the world’s largest economies.

In a post on Truth Social, the president said that he had authorized “a 90 day PAUSE” in which countries would face “a substantially lowered Reciprocal Tariff” of 10 percent. As a result, nearly every U.S. trading partner now faces a 10 percent blanket tariff, on top of 25 percent tariffs that Mr. Trump has imposed on cars, steel and aluminum.

Slumping markets quickly rallied after Mr. Trump’s post. The S&P 500 climbed several percentage points in a matter of minutes and closed with a rise of more than 9 percent, sharply reversing days of losses. Wednesday was the best day for the S&P 500 since the recovery from the 2008 financial crisis. [Page B1.]

Nearly every stock in the index rose. Airlines, some tech companies and Tesla were among those companies to soar over 20 percent. Shares of automakers rose sharply even though 25 percent tariffs on imported cars remain in place. Ford and General Motors both rose more than 7 percent.

Mr. Trump, who for days had insisted he was not concerned about the market rout, acknowledged on Wednesday that the downturn had fed into his decision.

“Over the last few days it looked pretty glum,” Mr. Trump said. “I thought that people were jumping a little bit out of line,” he said, in explaining his decision. “They were getting yippy. They were getting a little bit afraid.”

Mr. Trump’s change in course came amid a sharp sell-off in U.S. government bond markets and the dollar, which are typically seen as the safest corner for investors during times of turmoil. Investors large and small had watched trillions in stock market

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I.R.S. Audit Tally, Already Low,
Is Likely to Plunge Even Lower

By BEN BLATT

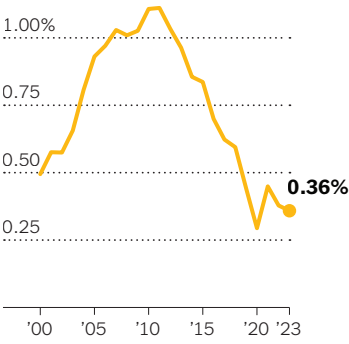
The Internal Revenue Service’s audit rate has been lower this decade than in most taxpayers’ lifetimes, a New York Times analysis shows, and if the Trump administration follows through with plans to cut the agency’s work force, audits will almost certainly become even rarer.

The most recent I.R.S. data shows the audit rate of individual taxpayers has decreased by about two-thirds since 2010.

Exact comparisons of audit rates are challenging because the I.R.S. has changed its definitions over time. But the Times analysis of historical I.R.S. data found that the effective audit rates between 2020 and 2023, all under 0.5 percent, were lower than any published audit rate since at least 1950.

In 1980, the agency’s published audit rate was over 2 percent, and in 1960 it was over 3 percent.

Audit rate of personal income tax returns



Source: I.R.S. Annual Data Book
Note: Percentage examination coverage calculated for recent years using the I.R.S. definition that existed until 2019.
THE NEW YORK TIMES

In the 2010s, audit rates plunged for all income levels. For most Americans, an audit might have been a one-in-100 event at the beginning of the decade. By the end of the decade, it was even less likely.

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Progressive Takes a Right Turn

Xavier DuRousseau, who once marched in Black Lives Matter protests, has become a conservative star. PAGE A12

In a Bind Over Medicaid

Three G.O.P.-led states may have to amend their constitutions if Congress goes through with steep cuts. PAGE A22

INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Trying to Out-Tough Obama

Nuclear talks between the United States and Iran are scheduled for Saturday. President Trump has set a high bar for success. PAGE A6

Where Children Once Played

A Russian missile strike near a playground in central Ukraine killed 19 people, including nine children. PAGE A8

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A Memoir Rises From Grief

Peter Godwin, who has seen death up close a few times, examines sorrow and belonging in “Exit Wounds.” PAGE C1



THURSDAY STYLES D1-6

‘Straight Girls’ Poetry Night

Riley Mac, left, and Montana James Thomas host an event that’s sincere and wry, starting with its name. PAGE D1

Expedition for Nature, and Art

Each spring, hundreds of thousands of cranes converge in Nebraska, drawing artists and naturalists alike. PAGE D4

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Bond Sell-Off Raises Concerns

As the fallout from President Trump’s global trade war continues to spread, investors are fleeing what has typically been considered to be the safest corner during times of turmoil. PAGE B1

China Seen as Safest Harbor

Expectations of heavy U.S. tariffs on other Asian nations made the country a more appealing option for companies leery of a hasty decision amid global trade upheaval. PAGE B1

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Nicholas Kristof

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SPORTS B7-10

Mr. Fix-It at the Masters

Scottie Scheffler, trying to become the event’s first back-to-back winner since 2002, knows how to assess problems and make the best use of his tools. PAGE B7

