

NEWS ANALYSIS

Trump's Whims Replace Rules of Global Trade

Chaos Undercuts Efforts to Make Deals

By JEANNA SMIALEK and ANA SWANSON

BRUSSELS — Six months into his new administration, President Trump's assault on global trade has lost any semblance of organization or structure. He has changed deadlines suddenly. He has blown up negotiations at the 11th hour, often raising unexpected issues. He has tied his tariffs to complaints that have nothing to do with trade, like Brazil's treatment of its former president, Jair Bolsonaro, or the flow of fentanyl from Canada.

Talks with the United States were like "going through a labyrinth" and arriving "back to Square 1," said Airlangga Hartarto, the Indonesian minister for economic affairs, who met with U.S. officials in Washington on Wednesday.

The resulting uncertainty is preventing companies and countries from making plans as the rules of global commerce give way to a state of chaos.

"We're still far away from making real deals," said Carsten Brzeski, global head of macroeconomics at the bank ING in Germany. He called the uncertainty "poison" for the global economy.

Gone is the idea that the White House would strike 90 deals in 90 days after a period of rapid-fire negotiation, as Mr. Trump pledged in April. Instead, Washington has signed bare-bones agreements with big trading partners, including China, while sending many other countries blunt and mostly standardized letters announcing hefty tariffs to start on Aug. 1.

Policymakers in Indonesia, Japan and elsewhere learned about letters setting tariff rates only when Mr. Trump posted them on social media. Mr. Airlangga said he was "amazed and surprised" to find that his country would face a 32 percent tariff, unchanged from what was announced in April. Negotiations had been going well, he thought.

Trading partners who have received such letters are now frantically pushing to reduce the country-specific rates, which range from 20 percent to 50 percent, though Mr. Trump has at some points suggested that room to negotiate may be limited.

For those who have not yet received a letter — Mr. Trump

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Fuel to Doomed Air India Plane Was Switched Off, Report Says

By MUJIB MASHAL and SUHASINI RAJ

NEW DELHI — Seconds after takeoff and moments before an Air India flight crashed last month, the fuel was cut off to both engines of the plane, investigators said early on Saturday, in a preliminary assessment of information from the aircraft's voice and data recorder.

The narrowed focus on the fuel switches on Air India Flight 171 raised questions about the pilots' actions and appeared to rule out mechanical failure or design flaws. The report said "there are no recommended actions" to the aircraft and engine manufacturers, Boeing and General Electric.

"In the cockpit voice recording, one of the pilots is heard asking

Pilots' Actions Shortly Before Deadly Crash Raise Questions

the other why did he cut off" the fuel, said the report, by India's Aircraft Accident Investigation Bureau. "The other pilot responded that he did not do so."

The London-bound Boeing 787 Dreamliner went down on June 12, about 30 seconds after takeoff from Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel International Airport in the western Indian city of Ahmedabad. All but one of the 242 people aboard were killed.

The plane rammed into the din-

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ESSAY

30 Years On, Still Haunted by Corpses of Bosnian Massacre

By ROGER COHEN

I first went to Bosnia in 1992 to cover Europe's worst war since Hitler's war. Like many others I came away scarred at the war's end in 1995. The scars, in my own case, were not physical but they were deep, composed not only of the horror itself, but of living with the failures of Western states and the United Nations that led to the Srebrenica massacre.

Srebrenica was a disaster foretold. The slaughter by Serb soldiers of about 8,000 Bosnian Muslim men and boys, beginning on July 11, 1995, took place more than three years into the war. It unfolded in a United Nations "safe area" that proved to be anything but that, in a country patrolled to no discernible effect by NATO jets, and in a context of endless evasion by Western governments reluctant to intervene.

The slaughter at Srebrenica was proof, if any were needed, that good intentions alone do not save lives.

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Living on Srebrenica's streets in the 1990s, after the Serbian Army tightened its grip on the city.

At Flooded Camp in Texas, Cabins Stood in Known Hazard Zone

This article is by Mike Baker, Malika Khurana, Harry Stevens and Marco Hernandez.

For decades, girls have flocked to Camp Mystic to spend their summer days canoeing and fishing the Guadalupe River before retreating to bunk beds in rustic cabins just steps from the glimmering water.

Many of those cabins were built in designated flood zones, records show, and some were so close to the river's edge that they were considered part of the river's "floodway" — a corridor of such extreme hazard that many states and counties ban or severely restrict construction there. Texas' Kerr County, where Camp Mystic is located, adopted its own stringent floodway rules, which required that construction in such areas be limited in order to better

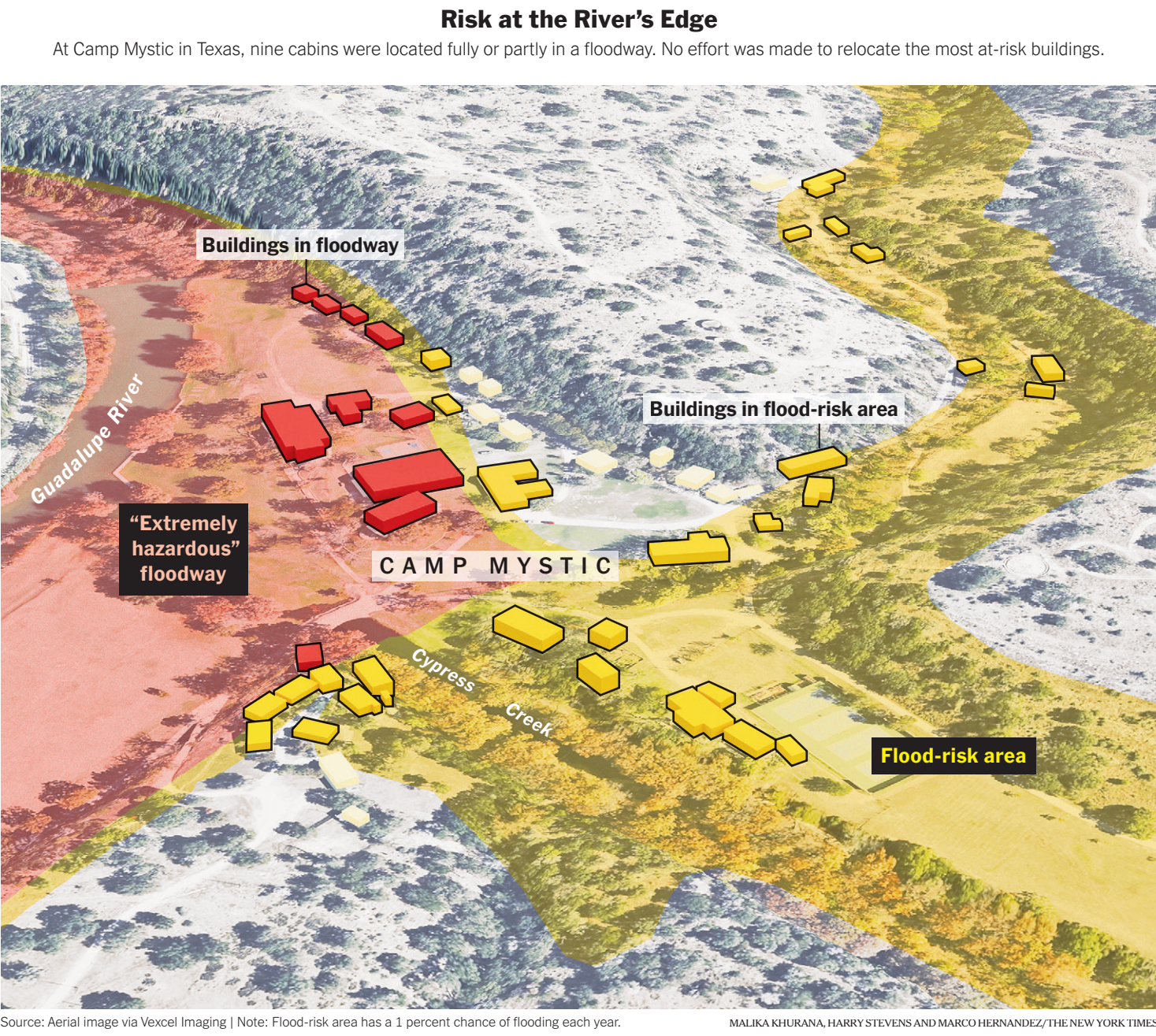
"protect human life."

But six years ago, when Camp Mystic pursued a \$5 million construction project to overhaul and expand its private, for-profit Christian camp, no effort was made to relocate the most at-risk cabins away from the river. Instead, local officials authorized the construction of new cabins in another part of the camp — including some that also lie in a designated flood-risk area. The older ones along the river remained in use.

Around the country, construction is highly discouraged in river floodways, where deep and fast-moving waters are expected to travel during flood events, said Anna Serra-Llobet, a researcher at the University of California, Berkeley, who specializes in flood risk management.

She said it was particularly

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Source: Aerial image via Vexcel Imaging | Note: Flood-risk area has a 1 percent chance of flooding each year. MALIKA KHURANA, HARRY STEVENS AND MARCO HERNANDEZ/THE NEW YORK TIMES



MORE ON THE TEXAS FLOODS

The Legacies of Lives Lost
The waters swept through summer camps and riverside homes, at times claiming multiple generations from the same families. PAGE A12

RESCUE HUB Most summers, Kerrville draws crowds for its July 4 celebration. This year, it's emergency responders. PAGE A11

IN THE DARK As the flash floods surged through the night, local officials seemed unaware of the unfolding catastrophe. PAGE A14

It's a Bird! It's a Plane! It's a . . . Polarizing Political Metaphor?

By MATT STEVENS

LOS ANGELES — He may be faster than a speeding bullet, more powerful than a locomotive and able to leap tall buildings in a single bound. But can he transcend our polarized politics?

This, it turns out, may be too big a job even for Superman.

The reboot of "Superman" that was released in theaters on Friday is already sparking intense discussions — and a fair bit of criticism — from right-leaning media figures, even before many have had a chance to see the film.

Much of the commentary has centered on an interview that the movie's director, James Gunn, gave to The Times of London in which he spoke about the hero's journey from Krypton to Kansas to Metropolis.

"I mean, Superman is the story of America," Gunn said. "An immigrant that came from other places and populated the country, but for me it is mostly a story that says basic human kindness is a value and is something we have lost."



He has superspeed, a cape and a passport from another planet.

America? Great. Kindness? Awesome. Those are points on which fans of the world's most recognizable superhero seem to agree.

But an immigrant? That characterization — of a guy who, yes, was born on another planet and then traveled to Earth — has entangled the new "Superman" in the very Earthbound culture wars of 2025, amid the Trump administration's immigration crackdown.

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Iran Still Has Some Uranium
Experts are trying to determine how long it would take Tehran to recover after U.S. and Israeli strikes. PAGE A8

Rodeo Meets Political Theater
The Calgary Stampede, an event that is over 100 years old, is a reflection of Western Canada's culture. PAGE A4



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ICE Arrests on the Rise
Nearly 3,000 people have been detained in Los Angeles since June, more than three times the number in previous months this year. PAGE A17

Food Stamp Fallout
An estimated 300,000 New Yorkers could lose access to SNAP benefits after President Trump cut the safety net and added work requirements. PAGE A19

9/11 Plea Deal Overturned
A federal appeals court invalidated a deal with the men accused of plotting the attacks that would have averted a capital trial. PAGE A21

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Battle of Contrasts for Title
Iga Swiatek rolled into the Wimbledon women's singles final. She'll meet Amanda Anisimova of the U.S., who shocked the No. 1 seed. PAGE B8

A Famous Son's Growth
Bronny James entered his second N.B.A. Summer League season as a more confident, evolved player. PAGE B7

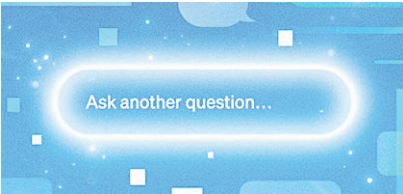
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East End of Long Island
For New Yorkers seeking wholesome summer activities, the area has long been a welcome escape. PAGE C9

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Trump Media Bets on Crypto
The pivot highlights a reality for the president: Truth Social doesn't generate much revenue. PAGE B1

Is A.I. the Future of Browsing?
A test of the app Dia illustrates a possible path to making artificial intelligence more natural to use. PAGE B1



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K-Swing Takes a Whirl
Swing and Lindy Hop, dances created by Black Americans in the 1920s and '30s, hit the South Korean scene. PAGE C1

'The Gospel at Colonus'
In this musical revival at Little Island, a story of shame, exile and grace. And, for one star, redemption. PAGE C1

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