

NEWS ANALYSIS
**Trump Uses
Many Paths
For Payback**
*His Campaign Blurs
Personal and Political*

By MICHAEL S. SCHMIDT
When President Trump returned to office, his rivals and law enforcement officials feared he would follow through on his pledges to use the Justice Department and F.B.I. to investigate and even imprison his perceived enemies.
But since winning re-election, Mr. Trump’s retribution campaign has turned out to be far more expansive, efficient and creative than anticipated. It has also been less reliant on the justice system.
Not only has he found new ways to use his power to target those he has demonized, but his actions — or just the prospect of them — have led some of those he has gone after to change their behavior and fall into line.
Mr. Trump has employed tactics including lawsuits, executive orders, regulations, dismissals from government jobs, withdrawal of security details and public intimidation to take on a wide range of individuals and institutions he views as having unfairly pursued him or sought to block his agenda.

In the process, he has blurred the personal and the political, making it difficult in some instances, like his targeting of academic and cultural institutions, to distinguish between his grievances and policy goals.
In many cases he is relying on, or asserting, unilateral power rather than turning to the courts or federal agencies to carry out his demands. Many of his targets are those who prosecuted or challenged him politically, or are institutions and groups he sees as ideological impediments, like elite universities.
Threatening criminal investigation is still very much part of his playbook. He suggested again last month that former President Joseph R. Biden Jr. should “go to jail,” and his choice to run the U.S. Attorney’s office in Washington has repeatedly taken steps to scrutinize Democrats and purge people who investigated the Jan. 6, 2021, Capitol attacks.
But the president’s targets are often giving way under other types of pressure.
Most recently, a number of major law firms chose to buckle in the face of punitive executive orders that could cripple their ability to do business, accepting his terms rather than fight in court.
“They’re all bending and saying, ‘Sir, thank you very much,’” Mr. Trump said last month.
He added: “Law firms are just saying, ‘Where do I sign? Where do I sign?’”
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Trade War Cascades From Europe to Asia to the Gulf Coast



QILAI SHEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
A factory in Ningbo, China, for the electric carmaker Zeekr. China’s investments in manufacturing are producing a swarm of exports.

**China’s Exports
Gaining Steam
Like ‘Tsunami’**

By KEITH BRADSHER
BEIJING — For decades, the world’s largest car factory was Volkswagen’s complex in Wolfsburg, Germany. But BYD, the Chinese electric carmaker, is building two factories in China, each capable of producing twice as many cars as Wolfsburg.
Recent data from China’s central bank shows that state-controlled banks lent an extra \$1.9 trillion to industrial borrowers over the past four years. On the fringes of cities all over China, new factories are being built day and night, and existing factories are being upgraded with robots and automation.
China’s investments and advances in manufacturing are producing a wave of exports that threatens to cause factory closings and layoffs not just in the United States but also around the globe.
“The tsunami is coming for everyone,” said Katherine Tai, who was the United States trade representative for former President Joseph R. Biden Jr.
President Trump’s steep tariffs announced on Wednesday, which have caused stocks in Asia and elsewhere to plunge, were the most drastic response yet to China’s export push. From Brazil and Indonesia to Thailand and the Eu-

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Struggling Shrimpers See the ‘Sun Coming Out’

By EMILY COCHRANE
FORT MYERS BEACH, Fla. — In December, Frank Parker upgraded to a bigger shrimp boat.
For Mr. Parker, a Mississippi shrimper, it was a good trade with an older fisherman who was looking to scale back. But the driving force behind acquiring a boat that would allow Mr. Parker to stay in deeper waters for two weeks at a time was President Trump’s return to the White House, and his promise to tax nearly all imports.
When Mr. Trump followed through on that promise and levied tariffs across the world last week, Mr. Parker, 52, said it felt “like the sun coming out of the tunnel.”

It had been years since he had felt even a sliver of optimism about the shrimping industry, which his family has been in since his ancestors moved to Biloxi, Miss., in 1842. Gulf Coast shrimpers have been pummeled in recent years by natural and man-made disasters, as well as rising fuel costs.
But Mr. Trump’s tariffs, Mr. Parker and several other shrimpers said, could go a long way toward quashing perhaps their biggest financial threat: the cheap, farm-raised imported shrimp flooding the American market. Now, the biggest exporters of shrimp, like Vietnam, Indonesia and India, face some of the largest tariffs.
In recent years, the average price of headless shrimp has

Pummeled by Cheaper Imports, Disasters and Fuel Costs

worse. We’re at the bottom of the barrel now.”
Not everyone in the seafood industry is as enthusiastic.
After the East Coast Shellfish Growers Association formally endorsed tariffs in a recent letter to the administration, the reaction from its members was “mixed,” Robert Rheault, the group’s executive director, wrote in an industry newsletter this month. There were concerns, he noted, that if tariffs led to higher prices for consumers, fewer restaurant patrons would order oysters and other shellfish.
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ZACK WITTMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
The docks in Tampa, Fla. Farm-raised imported shrimp has flooded the U.S. market, but tariffs could quash that threat.

Yards Away, Gazans Witness Israeli Attack That Kills 15 Medics



THE PALESTINE RED CRESCENT
One of the rescuers killed on March 23 filmed the lead-up to the attack. Witness accounts match the video’s sequence of events.

By VIVIAN YEE and BILAL SHBAIR
CAIRO — It was still dark out when a group of ambulances and a fire truck dispatched by Palestinian emergency response services slowed to a halt in Rafah, the southernmost city in Gaza, early on March 23. They had been sent to find their paramedic colleagues who had headed out in an ambulance on a rescue mission earlier that morning before disappearing.
Now the convoy stopped next to the missing ambulance, which stood by the side of the road near some United Nations warehouses. When paramedics got out to look, Israeli soldiers about 50 yards away opened fire on them, accord-

ing to two men who said they had witnessed the shootings.
The two men saw what happened, they said, because they were being held by the same Israeli troops.
One of the two, Munther Abed, 27, a volunteer paramedic, said he had been detained after surviving an earlier attack on the missing ambulance that killed two other crew members. The other man, Dr. Saeed al-Bardawil, 55, a physician, said he had been detained alongside Mr. Abed when he and his son were stopped by Israeli troops on their way to go fishing about 4:45 a.m.
The New York Times interviewed the two men separately in Gaza days after the United Nations

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Trump Wants Sixfold Increase In Funds to Detain Immigrants

This article is by Allison McCann, Alexandra Berzon and Hamed Aleaziz.
The Trump administration is seeking to spend tens of billions of dollars to set up the machinery to expand immigrant detention on a scale never before seen in the United States, according to a request for proposals posted online by the administration last week.
The request, which comes from the Department of Homeland Security’s Immigration and Customs Enforcement, calls for contractors to submit proposals to provide new detention facilities, transportation, security guards,

medical support and other administrative services worth as much as \$45 billion over the next two years.
ICE does not yet have that much money itself. But if funded, the maximum value would represent more than a sixfold increase in spending to detain immigrants. It is the latest indication that President Trump and his administration are laying the groundwork to rapidly follow through on his
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BLOCKED The chief justice stayed an order to return a mistakenly deported migrant. PAGE 14

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Troubling Talk of Third Term
President Trump can serve only two terms. His refusal to accept that underscores his disregard for constitutional norms. News analysis. PAGE A17

Anger in Indian Country
Health Secretary Robert F. Kennedy Jr. has vowed to improve the Indian Health Service. One Native leader called his recent actions “shameful.” PAGE A12

Going It Alone in Texas
In some of the state’s poorest counties, defendants who are facing misdemeanor or charges often have no choice but to represent themselves in court. PAGE A11

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An Adventurist Violinist
Patricia Kopatchinskaja, making her New York Philharmonic debut, is one of music’s quirkiest stars. PAGE C1

Broadway’s Betty Boop
The It girl with the spit curl, played by Jasmine Amy Rogers, below, is now starring in her own musical. PAGE C1



INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Press Freedom in Cambodia
The country’s authoritarian dynasty had silenced most of its independent media. What’s left may fold because of a Trump executive order. PAGE A4

Weighing a Black Sea Truce
Ukrainians pondered what Kyiv could gain from a cease-fire now that commercial shipping has resumed. PAGE A10

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First-Time Tony Nominee at 77
Denis Arndt, after more than 40 years as a stage and television actor, broke through in “Heisenberg.” He was 86.

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Mapping the Milky Way
After more than a decade of charting the cosmos, the European space telescope has shut down. PAGE D2

The Microplastics Inside
Scientists found a surprising amount of plastic in human brains. An old G.I. Joe, below, figures into the research. PAGE D1



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Legend Is Now a Champion
In leading UConn to the N.C.A.A. women’s basketball title, Paige Bueckers had a weight lifted from her. PAGE B6

Soto as a Minor Leaguer
The Mets star keeps in touch with a family that hosted him while he was playing with a low-level team. PAGE B9

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Matthew Schmitz PAGE A20

