



SERGEY PONOMAREV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A memorial service at Kibbutz Nir Oz. Israelis gathered in many places on Monday to remember the deadliest day in their history.



MOHAMMED SALEM/REUTERS

A Palestinian boy in the rubble of a building in Khan Younis, in southern Gaza, where Israel clashed with Hamas militants.



TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Calls for peace, and protests of the fighting, have come from around the world, including in New York City on Monday.

## Trump Program Called Likelier To Balloon Debt

By ANDREW DUEHREN and ALAN RAPPEPORT

WASHINGTON — Former President Donald J. Trump’s economic proposals could inflame the nation’s debt burden while ultimately raising costs for a vast majority of Americans, according to a pair of new economic analyses that are among the most in-depth studies to date of the Republican nominee’s plans.

The Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, a nonpartisan group that seeks lower deficits, found that Mr. Trump’s various plans could add as much as \$15 trillion to the nation’s debt over a decade. That is nearly twice as much as the economic plans being proposed by Vice President Kamala Harris.

And an analysis from the Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy, a liberal think tank, found that Mr. Trump’s tax and tariff plans would, on average, amount to a tax increase for every income group except the top 5 percent of highest-earning Americans.

The two new studies differ in some respects. The budget group looked at the cost of both candidates’ tax and spending plans over 10 years, while the tax institute focused on what the impacts of Mr. Trump’s tax and tariff plans would be in 2026. But together they show that Mr. Trump’s agenda could be both costly and regressive by placing a greater burden on those making the least amount of money.

Over the course of his campaign, Mr. Trump has floated a flurry of potentially far-reaching

Continued on Page A16

## In Michigan, Some Arab Voters Spurning Harris

By KATIE GLUECK

DEARBORN, Mich. — One year after the deadliest day for Jews since the Holocaust, the relentless and escalating violence in the Middle East is threatening the Democratic coalition in the United States. Arab American voters show signs of abandoning the Democratic ticket, while some Jews worry about their future in a party their families embraced for generations.

Nowhere are those tensions more politically important than in Michigan, a crucial battleground

### War Leads to Fractures in a State Crucial for Democrats’ Hopes

state with a significant population of Arab American and Muslim voters.

Four years ago, President Biden won Michigan with strong backing from many of those Americans. But interviews this weekend with voters, activists and community leaders in the Detroit area suggested that support

for the Democratic ticket has not merely eroded among Arab Americans and Muslims.

In some neighborhoods, it has all but vanished.

“I personally don’t know anyone who would vote for Harris,” said Imam Hassan Qazwini, who founded the Islamic Institute of America in Dearborn Heights and said that he planned to vote third party this year after supporting Mr. Biden in 2020 in his personal capacity. Initially, he said, many Muslims hoped that Vice President Kamala Harris would “show some even-handedness and fair-

Continued on Page A15



BRENDAN HOFFMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

### In Ukraine, Comfort on Four Furry Legs

As the war drags on, life “feels easier and warmer together,” said one dog owner in Kyiv. Page A4.

## Sorrow ‘Beyond Bearing’ On a Bloody Anniversary

### Each Side in Mideast Conflict Is Entrenched in Idea That Only Its Trauma Is Valid

By ROGER COHEN

TEL AVIV — A year has passed in Israel and Gaza like some nightmare from which there is no awakening. Hatred is the only winner. It towers over the corpse of a two-state Israeli-Palestinian peace and threatens to spread across the Middle East.

“Bring them home now” say ubiquitous posters in Israel, alluding to the roughly 100 hostages, many dead, still held by Hamas. Gaza lies in ruins as Israel exacts a terrible price in Palestinian life for the Oct. 7 Hamas terrorist attack that killed more than 1,200 Israelis, and summoned in Jews every devouring specter of the Holocaust. War spreads to the Israeli-occupied West Bank, to Lebanon and to Iran, defying the futile peacemaking efforts of a rudderless world.

Israel’s Ben-Gurion Airport stands almost empty, symbol of a lonelier Jewish state that is exoriated in many places amid calls to “globalize the intifada.” Protesters in New York chant “the state of Israel has to go.” The health authorities in Gaza announce that Israel has killed 41,788 Palestinians in the past year. Numbers tend to numb, but they promise another cycle of retribution in due course. As after the Sept. 11 attacks two

decades ago, the world has changed, people have changed, language itself has changed, becoming more treacherous. The tribal has triumphed over reason in a sea of mutual incomprehension and recrimination. Once the David of Middle Eastern conflict, Israel is now the increasingly vilified Goliath, even as it sees itself in a struggle for survival that it did not initiate.

“We are a different society, a different country. Just look at the traumatized faces of people,” said Nirit Lavie Alon, an Israeli teacher at the Technion university in Haifa. “I gave up on peace, completely. Really, we are very desperate.”

Doaa Kaware, a mother of four in the Gazan city of Khan Younis, said: “This was a year that killed our hearts and souls before it destroyed the buildings, hospitals, schools and streets. In this war we feel someone pushed us down into a deep, dark and awful well.”

Israeli and Palestinian narratives have always seemed irrec-

Continued on Page A8

**ON FOUR FRONTS** Israel is fighting militants based in Gaza, Iran, Lebanon and Yemen. PAGE A10

## Gazans Are Trapped in a Prison That Was Decades in the Making

By MARK LANDLER

LONDON — Of all the grim distinctions of the yearlong war in Gaza that followed the savage Hamas attack on Israel last Oct. 7, one may stand out for its deadly singularity: Palestinian civilians there have nowhere to go. Barricaded by barbed-wire fences, tanks and soldiers, they have been effectively imprisoned for 12 months in a 141-square-mile strip of land between Egypt and Israel that has become a killing zone.

That irreducible fact, rare in even the most catastrophic wars, has magnified the death toll from Israel’s military campaign to root out Hamas militants.

It has challenged not just Israel’s avenging army, but also Arab neighbors, Western powers, aid and refugee groups and human rights defenders.

Lacking the familiar, if tragic, cycle seen in other armed struggles — civilians are violently displaced and flee across borders for

refuge — the world has watched the slaughter in Gaza with a kind of helpless horror.

More than 41,000 people have been killed, according to local health officials. While that number includes combatants, a majority were civilians, and the rate of casualties has at times outpaced even the deadliest moments in the U.S.-led attacks in Iraq, Afghanistan or Syria.

“It seems unbelievable that these people, who have already endured so much suffering, are unable to leave,” said Zeid Ra’ad al-Husseini, a Jordanian former diplomat who served as the United Nations high commissioner for human rights from 2014 to 2018. “The world is not a kind and generous place.”

Yet, as Mr. al-Husseini noted, it is not wholly without precedent.

From 1992 to 1995, Bosnian Serb

Continued on Page A7

## City Hall’s Ranks Get Thinner With 3 More Aides Departing

This article is by Dana Rubinstein, William K. Rashbaum and Michael Rothfeld.

Hours after Mayor Eric Adams announced the resignation of New York City’s deputy mayor for public safety on Monday, officials said two lower-level aides who have also figured prominently in federal investigations swirling around City Hall were departing.

The deputy mayor, Philip B. Banks III, was the sixth senior official to leave the Adams administration in the past month.

One of the lower-level staff members, the mayor’s director of Asian affairs, Winnie Greco, also resigned. The other, Rana Abbasova, a mayoral aide who cooperated in a federal investigation that led to the indictment of Mr. Adams last month, was fired.

A spokesman for City Hall declined to explain the firing. But an

administration official said it was not an act of retaliation because the mayor did not personally fire Ms. Abbasova; someone else in his administration did. Ms. Abbasova had previously been on unpaid leave for more than six months. Her attorney, Rachel Maimin, declined to comment.

Steven Brill, an attorney for Ms. Greco, whose two houses were searched in February by F.B.I. agents in a separate investigation overseen by federal prosecutors in Brooklyn, said she resigned of her own accord. “Winnie has been a tireless and dedicated public servant to the Asian community in New York for over 30 years,” Mr. Brill said in a statement.

The departures came amid an exceptional amount of turmoil at the highest levels of the Adams administration, as four separate federal investigations envelop the mayor and his inner circle. And

Continued on Page A17

#### NATIONAL A13-17

##### Scrutiny for ‘Ghost Gun’ Rules

The Supreme Court will hear a case that seeks to invalidate curbs on the sale of untraceable homemade guns. PAGE A17

##### Dire Warnings Ahead of Storm

Just two weeks after Hurricane Helene slammed into Florida, below, the state is bracing for another blow. PAGE A14



#### INTERNATIONAL A4-12

##### Challenging the ‘Manelists’

An activist in Myanmar says the pro-democracy movement’s frequent panels that exclude women from the discussion hurt the cause. PAGE A12

##### Testing Planetary Defense

Europe’s Hera spacecraft, which launched Monday, will visit an asteroid NASA tried to divert. PAGE A11

#### OBITUARIES A18-19

##### A Hall of Fame Golfer

Susie Maxwell Berning was known for her tenacity on the course and her grace off it. She was 83. PAGE A19

#### BUSINESS B1-7

##### On the Hunt for Uranium

U.S. companies are trying to meet a growing demand for emissions-free energy, though a failure to clean up old sites haunts the industry. PAGE B1

##### Trump’s Crypto Team

The entrepreneurs behind the former president’s new cryptocurrency project have left a trail of mischief. PAGE B1

#### SPORTS B8-11

##### Clock and Game Tick Away

Bills Coach Sean McDermott is under scrutiny for his time management in the final minute of a defeat. PAGE B9

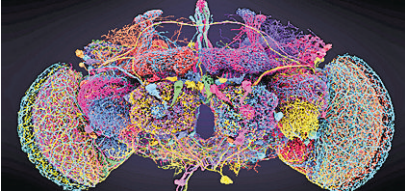
#### SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

##### Was He Red, or Pink?

The tangled Communist sympathies of J. Robert Oppenheimer are the topic of a renewed debate. PAGE D5

##### A Fly Brain in Stunning Detail

It’s the first complete map from any complex animal and could reveal principles that apply to humans. PAGE D8



#### ARTS C1-6

##### Hip-Hop’s Master Motivator

GloRilla’s self-empowerment rhymes put her on rap’s A-list. With her debut album, she aims to stay there. PAGE C1

##### Crafting Art From Reality

At the New York Film Festival, the most innovative work can be found in documentaries. PAGE C1

#### OPINION A20-21

##### Linda Greenhouse

PAGE A21

