cloudy, brisk, low 32. **Tomorrow**, sunshine and patchy clouds, chilly, high 48. Weather map is on Page B8.

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\$4.00 Prices in Canada may be higher

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

"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



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 cen-

tral 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 tun-

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, 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 farm-raised imported cheap, 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

dropped to as low as \$1.50 a pound for some sizes of shrimp along the Gulf Coast - while the costs of diesel fuel and running a business have climbed.

"I've left shrimp out there because I didn't want to give them away for \$1 a pound," Mr. Parker said of recent shrimping trips. He added: "I don't see it getting any

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

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The docks in Tampa, Fla. Farm-raised imported shrimp has flooded the U.S. market, but tariffs could quash that threat.

Nations Scramble to Sway Trump on Tariffs

This article is by Ana Swanson, Alexandra Stevenson, Damien Cave and **Jeanna Smialek**.

WASHINGTON - President Trump's plan to impose tariffs on most of America's trading partners has governments across the globe racing to schedule phone calls, send delegations to Washington and offer up proposals to lower their import taxes in order to escape the levies.

On Monday, European officials offered to drop tariffs to zero on cars and industrial goods imported from the United States, in return for the same treatment. Israel's prime minister was expected to personally petition Mr. Trump on Monday in meetings at the White House. Vietnam's top leader, in a phone call last week, offered to get rid of tariffs on American goods, while Indonesia prepared to send a high-level delegation to Washington to "directly negotiate with the U.S. govern-

Even Lesotho, the tiny landlocked country in Southern Africa, was assembling a delegation to send to Washington to protest the tariffs on its exports to the United States, which include denim for Calvin Klein and Levi's.

Mr. Trump and his advisers have given mixed signals on whether the United States is willing to negotiate. On Sunday, Mr. Trump said that the tariffs would remain in place until U.S. trade deficits disappeared, meaning the United States is no longer buying more from these countries than it sells to them. But the administration still appeared to be welcoming offers from foreign nations, which are desperate to try to forestall more levies that go into effect on Wednesday.

On Monday, as markets recoiled for a third day and Mr. Trump threatened even more punishing tariffs on China, the president said that "negotiations with other countries, which have also requested meetings, will begin taking place immediately.'

'Countries from all over the World are talking to us," the president wrote on Truth Social on Monday morning. "Tough but fair parameters are being set. Spoke to the Japanese Prime Minister this morning. He is sending a top team to negotiate!"

The turmoil in the stock markets since the president announced tariffs last Wednesday has prompted speculation that the president might be willing to strike some deals to roll tariffs

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TURMOIL In a brutal day for stocks worldwide, the S&P 500 neared a bear market, PAGE B1

MARKETPLACE Some shoppers rushed to beat rising prices. Others were patient. PAGE A13

Yards Away, Gazans Witness Israeli Attack That Kills 15 Medics



THE PALESTINE RED CRESCENT

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 disappear-

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, according 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 Na-Continued on Page A8

Trump Wants Sixfold Increase In Funds to Detain Immigrants

This article is by Allison McCann, Alexandra Berzon and Hamed

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 Se-Immigration 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 vears.

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

NATIONAL A11-19

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."

Going It Alone in Texas

In some of the state's poorest counties, defendants who are facing misdemeanor charges often have no choice but to represent themselves in court. PAGE A11 ARTS C1-6

An Adventurist Violinist

Patricia Kopatchinskaja, making her New York Philharmonic debut, is one of music's quirkiest stars.

Broadway's Betty Boop

The It girl with the spit curl, played by Jasmine Amy Rogers, below, is now starring in her own musical.



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

OBITUARIES A22

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.

SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

Mapping the Milky Way

After more than a decade of charting the cosmos, the European space telescope has shut down.

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



SPORTS B6-10

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.

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

OPINION A20-21

Matthew Schmitz



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