"All the News That's Fit to Print"

# The New York Times

**THE WEATHER** 

Today, hot, humid, partly cloudy, a late storm, high 94. **Tonight**, warm, humid, a storm, low 76. **Tomorrow**, humid, showers and a heavy storm, high 84. Weather map, Page A16.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00

## E.P.A. TO RETRACT BEDROCK FINDING ON CLIMATE CRISIS

SHIFT TO DENY DANGER

Agency Would Lose Its **Authority for Reining** In Emissions

> By MAXINE JOSELOW and LISA FRIEDMAN

WASHINGTON — Lee Zeldin, the administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, said on Tuesday that the Trump administration would revoke the scientific determination that underpins the government's legal authority to combat climate change.

Speaking at a truck dealership in Indianapolis, Mr. Zeldin said the E.P.A. planned to rescind the 2009 declaration, known as the endangerment finding, which concluded that planet-warming greenhouse gases pose a threat to public health. The Obama and Biden administrations used that determination to set strict limits on greenhouse gas emissions from cars, power plants and other industrial sources of pollution.

"The proposal would, if finalized, amount to the largest deregulatory action in the history of the United States," Mr. Zeldin said. He said the proposal would also erase limits on greenhouse gas emissions from cars and trucks on the nation's roads.

Without the endangerment finding, the E.P.A. would be left with no authority under the Clean Air Act to regulate the greenhouse gas emissions that are accumulating in the atmosphere from the burning of fossil fuels.

The proposal is President Trump's most consequential step yet to derail federal climate efforts. It marks a notable shift in the administration's position from one that had downplayed the threat of global warming to one that essentially flatly denies the overwhelming scientific evidence of climate change.

The plan not only would reverse Continued on Page A13

# Gunman Searched for N.F.L. Offices in Attack That Killed 4



Police investigators outside the site of Monday's mass shooting in a Midtown Manhattan tower that houses the N.F.L.'s headquarters.

## In Vengeful Screed, Talk of C.T.E. and a Plea to 'Study My Brain'

By KEN BELSON

The Midtown Manhattan shooting involving Shane Tamura, a former high school football player, recalled previous cases of violent behavior — including murder and suicide — by other former players who believed they were suffering from brain trauma sustained on the field

It also echoed a case that had nothing to do with football: The murder of Brian Thompson, the chief executive of United-Healthcare who was killed in Midtown Manhattan in December by

a gunman who said in a manifesto that he saw the killing as a direct challenge to the health care industry's "corruption."

After years of public relations crises over the sport's long-term cognitive and neurological toll on players, the N.F.L. seemed to largely move past the subject with a legal settlement that has paid out \$1.5 billion since 2017. But the subject of chronic traumatic encephalopathy, the degenerative brain disease known as C.T.E., arrived at the league's front door on Monday in a terrifying way. The building that houses the league's headquarters became the scene of An Issue Remains Years After Big Payouts and Added Safeguards

a shooting spree that left five people dead.

It is not clear whether the gunman's claims of cognitive issues were related to playing football, or whether he had any connection to the N.F.L.

Yet the police believe Mr. Tamura, a former high school football player, was seeking venge-

ance on the league. They cited a three-page note found in Mr. Tamura's wallet that referred to C.T.E., which has been associated with repeated hits to the head, and which can only be definitively diagnosed after death. The note, from which the police

released excerpts, also inveighed against the N.F.L., which has offices at 345 Park Avenue, where the shooting took place, saying it had concealed the danger of the sport in favor of profits.

The note made reference to Terry Long, a former N.F.L. player, and drinking "a gallon of an-

Continued on Page A11

#### Suicide Note Claims Football Caused Brain Disease

This article is by Chelsia Rose Marcius, Maria Cramer and Thom-

Shane Tamura drove more than 2,500 miles from his home in Las Vegas to reach a 44-story office tower on Park Avenue in Manhattan, a building big enough to have its own ZIP code.

Inside the tower was his apparent target, the headquarters of the most lucrative sports league in the world, the National Football

Mayor Eric Adams of New York said on Tuesday that Mr. Tamura, a former standout high school player with a history of mental illness that he attributed to football, had intended to go to the N.F.L. offices when he stormed into the tower at 345 Park Avenue on Monday with an assault-style rifle.

He killed three people in the lobby: a police officer, a security guard and a financial executive who worked in the building.

But his plan was thwarted after he entered an elevator bank that did not have access to the N.F.L.'s offices, Mr. Adams said. Mr. Tamura instead traveled higher in the building, to the offices of Rudin Management, the company that owns the building and many more in Manhattan.

There, on the 33rd floor, he killed a young Rudin associate and then shot himself fatally in the

It was the deadliest mass shooting in New York City in 25 years. The killings shook New York, and in particular the legions of office workers in Midtown Manhattan, a citadel of American finance and power. The violence came during the evening rush hour, when streams of commuters crowd toward subways and buses and walk down Park Avenue toward Grand Central Terminal.

The skyscrapers of Manhattan typically have heavy security, but some employees found themselves feeling under siege, stranded dozens of floors above the street as they sheltered in

Continued on Page A10

### Cash Stipends Did Not Benefit Needy Children

By JASON DePARLE

WASHINGTON — If the government wants poor children to thrive, it should give their parents money. That simple idea has propelled an avid movement to send low-income families regular payments with no strings attached.

Significant but indirect evidence has suggested that unconditional cash aid would help children flourish. But now a rigorous experiment, in a more direct test, found that years of monthly payments did nothing to boost children's well-being, a result that defied researchers' predictions and could weaken the case for income guarantees

After four years of payments, children whose parents received \$333 a month from the experiment fared no better than similar children without that help, the study found. They were no more likely to develop language skills, avoid behavioral problems or developmental delays, demonstrate executive function or exhibit brain activity associated with cognitive development.

"I was very surprised — we were all very surprised," said Greg J. Duncan, an economist at the University of California, Irvine and one of six researchers who led the study, called Baby's First Years. "The money did not

Continued on Page A15

#### A Battle Over Burial Grounds Rattles the Gates of Hilton Head Barring Truce, By CLYDE McGRADY HILTON HEAD ISLAND, S.C. When Galen Miller wants to

visit the South Carolina cemetery where much of his ancestry is buried, he must get permission to enter Hilton Head Plantation, a private, gated community on the north end of Hilton Head Island, where the wealthy jostle for tee times between trips to the beach and sips of gin and tonics. On a recent July morning, a

guard waved Mr. Miller through the gate. He meandered past multimillion-dollar homes and lush green fairways to the Talbird Cemetery, now squeezed between a scenic creek and a luxury condo-

"To be able to come here and visit my family from time to time, it really touches your heart," Mr. Miller said. "It also saddens you to see what's happening."

Mr. Miller is Gullah Geechee, a community descended from enslaved West Africans who were forced to work the cotton and rice plantations of the Carolina Lowcountry. The Gullah Geechee are now struggling to preserve sacred traditions as wealthy northerners swallow up valuable waterfront property.

A lawsuit filed this spring is accusing the mostly white newcomers, spilling out of gated golf havens in the original Hilton Head developments, of impeding access to burial grounds in a clash of tradition vs. economic development, with racial undertones that date back centuries.



A Gullah Geechee cemetery on Hilton Head Island, S.C., where private communities have swelled.

"Oh my God, we went through enough," said Arlene Covington, 67. a plaintiff in the lawsuit. "Now we can't even get to the cemetery. What else do you want?"

For decades, Mary Mack, 73, would visit the Big House Cemetery on St. Helena Island, S.C., home to one of the region's largest remaining Gullah populations. But in 2023, a newly arrived local resident, Theresa Aigner, placed a

gate on her property, blocking access to Everest Road, which leads to the cemetery. Ms. Aigner provided a gate access code to the Gullah and to funeral homes that needed to get to the Big House Cemetery.

But in May 2024, when several Gullah families arrived for the annual Mother's Day cleanup, the code had been changed, according to the lawsuit, filed by the Bailey

Law Firm and the Center for Constitutional Rights, on behalf of Ms. Mack and several other Gullah.

"It was kind of shocking," Ms. Mack said.

The Gullah tried, to no avail, to persuade Ms. Aigner to give them access. "So if I want to go see my mom back there I have to talk to you?" Ms. Covington asked rhetorically. "I'm not a child."

Continued on Page A14

# U.K. to Affirm Palestine State

By MARK LANDLER

LONDON — Prime Minister Keir Starmer announced on Tuesday that Britain would recognize the state of Palestine in September if Israel does not agree to a cease-fire with Hamas, pouring pressure on the Israeli government to halt a war that has put Gaza on the brink of famine.

Mr. Starmer's announcement, which came after an emergency meeting of his cabinet, is a sharp, if not wholly unexpected, shift in his position, reflecting the intense political pressure his government has faced as the public and lawmakers in his own Labour Party recoil from images of starving children in Gaza.

Mr. Starmer cast Palestinian recognition as part of a broader European effort to end the almost two-year conflict between Israel and Hamas. He reiterated that Hamas must release its remaining hostages, sign up to a cease-fire and accept that it will have no role

in governing Gaza. But Mr. Starmer's move was aimed squarely at Israel, and it dramatized how swiftly sentiment about the war has changed among Western countries. France announced last week that it would recognize a Palestinian state at the United Nations General Assembly in September.

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NATIONAL A9-15

U.S. Beef Industry on Alert

The screwworm, a parasitic fly that preys on warm-blooded animals, is creeping toward Texas.

#### Fear of ICE Jolts Beach Town

A police collaboration on migrant raids has fueled tension in Wells, Maine, which relies on foreign labor. PAGE A9 **INTERNATIONAL A4-8** 

#### Is Trump's Trade War a Win?

The president's vision for reshaping global trade is falling into place, but economists say his experiment could still produce damaging results. PAGE A8

#### Heavy Rain Racks China

Floods and landslides killed at least 38 and forced tens of thousands to flee in Beijing and Hebei Province.

SPORTS B7-10

#### Quarterback Double Reverse Nico Iamaleava left Tennessee for

U.C.L.A., prompting Joey Aguilar to leave U.C.L.A. for Tennessee. PAGE B7



**BUSINESS B1-6** 

#### An \$85 Billion Railroad Deal

The merger of Union Pacific and Norfolk Southern would create the first coast-to-coast U.S. network.

#### The Rise of 'Christmas in July'

People are starting their holiday shopping earlier this year, using summer sales to stem economic anxiety. PAGE B1

#### **OBITUARIES B11-12**

#### **Cubs Star and Hall of Famer**

Ryne Sandberg, a second baseman, was a skilled fielder and a fearsome power hitter who entered the spotlight with two home runs in a nationally televised 1984 game. He was 65.

#### A Ruin-Inspired Designer

John Saladino, 86, was renowned for creating instantly recognizable rooms using lush fabrics, oversize antiques and imperfectly plastered walls that conveyed a sense of age. PAGE B12

**OPINION A18-19** 

Thomas L. Friedman



FOOD D1-8

#### Our Favorite? It's a Toss-Up.

We present some great salad options, among them a seven-layer variety, above; a great wedge salad; and gadogado, a dish from Indonesia.

