

Trump Revives
Trade Threats
Toward China

Alleging Beijing Broke
a Fragile Agreement

This article is by **Alan Rappeport**, **Tony Romm** and **Ana Swanson**.

President Trump and his advisers on Friday leveled sharp attacks against China over trade, reviving an economic dispute that led to steep tariffs and a confrontation over critical next-generation technologies.

In a post on Truth Social, Mr. Trump accused Beijing of violating the terms of a fragile truce struck earlier this month between the two countries that included rolling back tariffs and other trade barriers. The agreement was intended to give both sides time to reach a larger deal that would avert an all-out trade war.

Mr. Trump’s accusations alluded to China’s promise to reduce export restrictions around rare earth minerals that are key components in many technology and military products. The president suggested that China had continued to limit access to those goods, as he appeared to adopt a more confrontational posture on trade.

“So much for being Mr. NICE GUY!” he proclaimed.

Speaking to reporters later in the day, Stephen Miller, the White House deputy chief of staff for policy, stressed that the president prefers cooperation. But, he warned, China’s behavior “opens up all manner of action for the United States.”

The standoff between the two nations has created significant concern for businesses and investors, and has raised fears of a global economic downturn in recent months. Stocks closed slightly lower on Friday.

The new dispute arrives at a

Continued on Page A10

Foot in Door?
Not With A.I.
Doing the Job.

SAN FRANCISCO — This month, millions of young people will graduate from college and look for work in industries that have little use for their skills,

KEVIN ROOSE
THE SHIFT

view them as expensive and expendable, and are rapidly phasing out their jobs in favor of artificial intelligence.

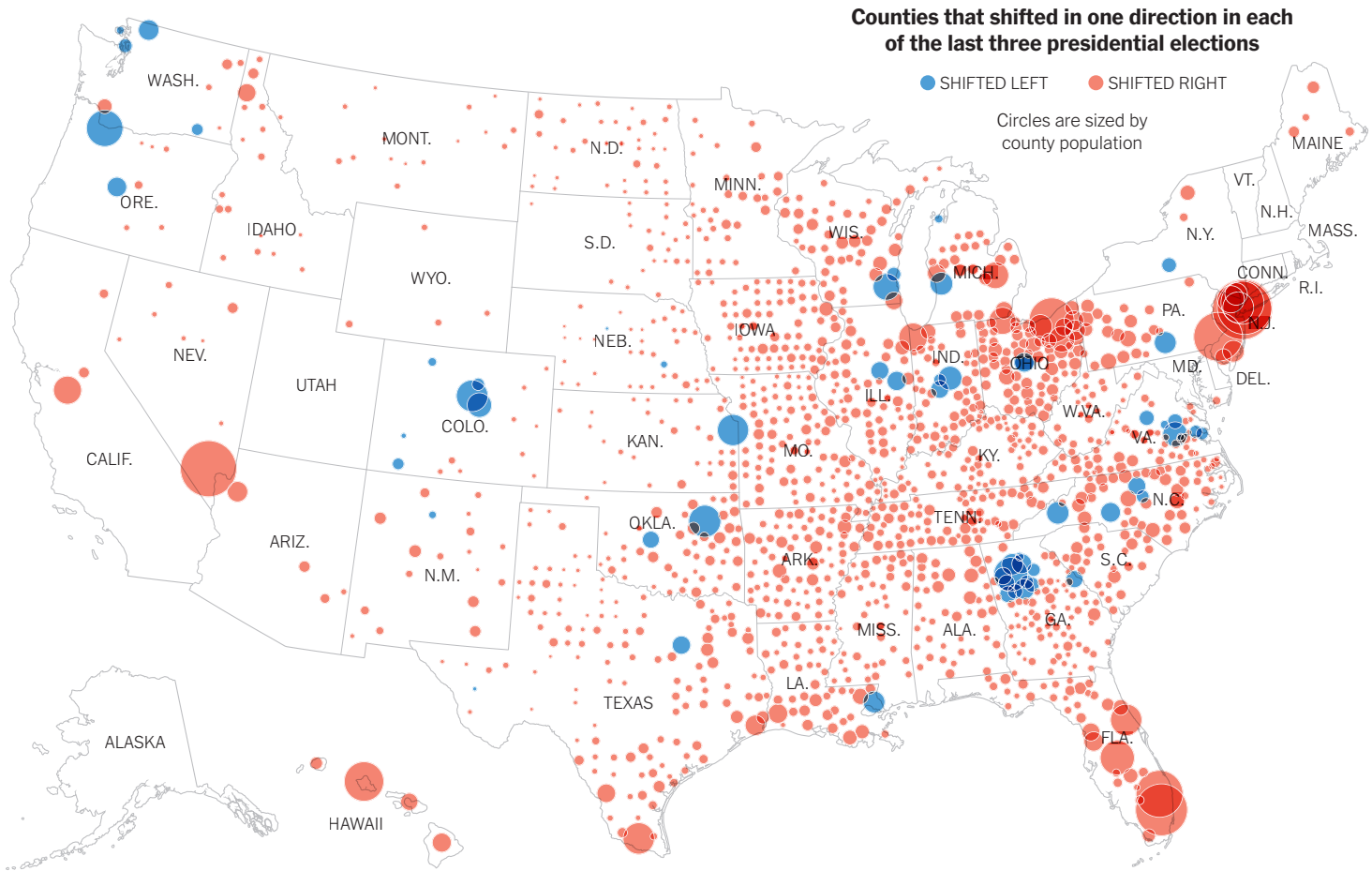
That is the troubling conclusion of my conversations over the past several months with economists, corporate executives and young job-seekers, many of whom pointed to an emerging crisis for entry-level workers that appears to be fueled, at least in part, by rapid advances in A.I. capabilities.

You can see hints of this in the economic data. Unemployment for recent college graduates has jumped to an unusually high 5.8 percent in recent months, and the Federal Reserve Bank of New York recently warned that the employment situation for these workers had “deteriorated noticeably,” Oxford Economics, a research firm that studies labor markets, found that unemployment for recent graduates was heavily concentrated in technical fields like finance and computer science, where A.I. has made faster gains.

“There are signs that entry-level positions are being displaced by artificial intelligence at higher rates,” the firm wrote in a recent report.

But I’m convinced that what’s showing up in the economic data

Continued on Page A20



JUNE KIM, CHRISTINE ZHANG AND GUILBERT GATES/THE NEW YORK TIMES

A 12-Year Slide to the Right in Nearly Every Corner of America

The New York Times reviewed the results in every county from the four most recent presidential elections — 2012, to provide a base line, and then the 2016, 2020 and 2024 campaigns, in which Donald J. Trump was the Republican nominee — and zoomed in on only those counties where the results grew steadily more Republican or steadily more Democratic.

These “triple-trending” counties reveal not just the ex-

tent of the nation’s transformation in the Trump era, but also the degree to which the United States now resembles two countries charging in opposite directions.

Taken together, the findings represent a blaring alarm for a Democratic Party that long saw itself as championing the working class and that staked its future on the belief that the nation would become steadily more diverse and better educated.

Article, Page A12.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Pardons Prop Up Crimes of a Certain Collar

By GLENN THRUSH

WASHINGTON — President Trump is employing the vast power of his office to redefine criminality to suit his needs — using pardons to inoculate criminals he happens to like, downplaying corruption and fraud as crimes, and seeking to stigmatize political opponents by labeling them criminals.

In the past few days, Mr. Trump has offered pardons or clemency to more than two dozen people embraced by his obstreperous right-wing base, or favored by people in his orbit. Most are political allies, some are former officeholders accused of

Softer Tone for Felonies
Familiar to Trump

abusing power for personal gain, and almost all were convicted of white-collar crimes like fraud, tax evasion and campaign finance violations — not far removed from accusations Mr. Trump himself has faced.

“No MAGA left behind,” crowed Ed Martin, the pardon attorney at the Justice Department who suggested that the department should investigate Mr. Trump’s adversaries to shame them if there was insuffi-

cient evidence to charge them.

Mr. Trump has used his pardon power, like nearly every other executive tool in his kit, to assert personal dominance over processes generally, if not always, governed by established ethical and institutional guardrails. He professes to abide by the rule of law, but has often shown a willingness to do so only when he defines the rules and the laws.

Mr. Trump has said the current wave of pardons is justified by President Joseph R. Biden Jr.’s last-minute reprieves for inmates on federal death row, and pardons he issued to his family — which Mr. Trump called “dis-

Continued on Page A17

More on the White House

VACCINES The C.D.C. has contradicted Health Secretary Robert F. Kennedy Jr.’s comment this week that the Covid shot would no longer appear on the childhood immunization schedule. **PAGE A16**

HEALTH A report on children’s well-being released by the Make America Healthy Again Commission referred to scientific papers that did not exist. **PAGE A20**

TARIFFS In a speech at a factory near Pittsburgh, President Trump pledged to double the levies that he had placed on foreign steel to 50 percent. **PAGE A18**

FAREWELL Elon Musk, leaving Washington behind, fell far short of his goal of cutting \$1 trillion from the federal budget. **PAGE A15**

BERNARD B. KERIK, 1955-2025

N.Y.P.D. Leader and 9/11 Hero
Who Was Jailed for Corruption

By SAM ROBERTS

Bernard B. Kerik, the New York City police commissioner who was hailed as a hero for overseeing the department’s response to the Sept. 11 attacks on the World Trade Center, only to fall from grace after he pleaded guilty to federal corruption and tax crimes, died on Thursday in Manhattan. He was 69.

His family said he died in a hospital, where he was being treated for heart disease. He had been hospitalized with skin cancer last year.

A cocksure high school dropout with a black belt in karate, shaved head and bulging biceps, Mr. Kerik vaulted to senior public posts as a disciple of Rudolph W. Giuliani after serving as Mr. Giuliani’s bodyguard during his successful 1993 mayoral campaign.

In 1997, after Mr. Kerik had risen through the ranks of the Police Department from a street cop in Times Square and narcotics investigator, Mr. Giuliani promoted him to correction commissioner. In that position, he curbed sick-time

abuse by prison guards and reduced violence by inmates.

Mr. Kerik’s appointment as police commissioner in August 2000 was not well received, in part because he had been so rapidly promoted despite his lack of a college degree, which uniformed police officers ordinarily needed for promotion to captain and above. His highest rank before becoming commissioner was detective third grade. He later went on to earn a degree in 2002.

During his 16-month tenure as police commissioner, crime continued the decline that had been largely achieved by two of his predecessors, Raymond W. Kelly and William J. Bratton. Morale among officers improved. So did relations between the department

Continued on Page A21



Bernard B. Kerik



SAHER ALGHORRA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Hunger Tightens Its Grip on Gaza

Aid began to trickle into the territory last week, almost all of it arriving at southern distribution centers. But there is never enough. Above, a girl, 6, in Gaza City, in the strip’s north. **PAGE A8.**

NATIONAL A11-20

Primary Fight Gets Personal

Senator John Cornyn of Texas said he’d focus on character in his run against his G.O.P. challenger, Ken Paxton, the state’s attorney general. **PAGE A13**

Certain Members Only

In a Washington torn by political differences, four private clubs reflect the sorting of the city’s establishment into separate corners. **PAGE A11**

Officers Cited in Crypto Case

Two New York detectives are under investigation in connection with a case in which a man was reported tortured for a Bitcoin password. **PAGE A20**

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Myanmar Rebels Cede Land

China’s influence prompted the sudden withdrawal from the hard-won territory in the country’s civil war. **PAGE A4**

Hindu Pilgrimage in Pakistan

In 113-degree heat, thousands make a trek that is an act of spiritual devotion in a Muslim-majority nation. **PAGE A6**



BUSINESS B1-6

A Judge’s Google Dilemma

The company was found to have illegally protected its internet search monopoly. Is an order to force it to share data the solution? **PAGE B1**

What U.S. Buys From China

Plastic spoons, umbrellas and violins are among the many things that Americans rely on to be imported. **PAGE B5**

OBITUARIES A21, B11

Grandson of the 10th President

Harrison Ruffin Tyler, the last of three generations spanning nearly all of U.S. history, was 96. **PAGE B11**

SPORTS B7-10

A Clash Out of Bounds

A high school wrestling star and his father risked the consequences when they fought taunting fans. **PAGE B7**

Fans Hope the Party Goes On

New Yorkers are flocking to indoor and outdoor venues to cheer the Knicks’ deepest playoff run in 25 years. **PAGE B8**



ARTS C1-6

‘Good Night, and Good Luck’

Our TV critic looks at George Clooney’s play about CBS News’s standing up to political pressure. **PAGE C1**

New Look for a Met Gallery

A work from Papua New Guinea has been reconfigured with the aid of artists for whom it holds meaning. **PAGE C1**

OPINION A22-23

Michelle Goldberg

PAGE A23



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