"All the News That's Fit to Print"

# The New York Times

**THE WEATHER** 

Today, hazy sunshine, turning warmer, high 80. **Tonight**, mostly clear, low 62. **Tomorrow**, quite warm, a bit more humid, hazy sunshine, high 85. Weather map, Page B10.

**NEWS ANALYSIS** 

Kyiv's Drones

Both Strategic

And Symbolic

Attacks Inside Russia

Show Ability to Evolve

**BV MARC SANTORA** 

and DEVON LUM

KYIV, Ukraine — Ukraine's

drone attacks on airfields deep

inside Russia on Sunday were

strategic and symbolic blows

designed to slow Moscow's

cost of war for the Kremlin.

After more than a year of

planning, Ukraine was able to

plant drones on Russian soil, just

miles away from military bases.

Then in a coordinated operation

on Sunday, Ukrainian drones

attacked five regions in Russia.

Some were launched from con-

tainers attached to semis, their

flights captured on videos veri-

Plumes of smoke billowed above

Although the full extent of the

damage is unknown, the attack,

adapting and evolving in the face

of a larger military with deeper

has been able to push Russia out

of much of the Black Sea, limit its

gains on the front lines despite

Ukraine's own troop shortages,

and hamper Russia's ability to

amass large concentrations of

forces for major offensives.

resources. Using drones, Kyiv

known as Operation Spider's

Web, showed how Ukraine is

one base. At another, strategic

bombers were hit.

fied by The New York Times.

that military analysts said were

bombing campaign and demon-

strate that Kyiv can still raise the

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00

## MAN IS CHARGED WITH HATE CRIME IN FLAME ATTACK

#### AT MARCH IN COLORADO

Authorities Say Suspect Spent Year on Plan to 'Kill All' Zionists

This article is by Mark Walker, Michael Levenson and Thomas

BOULDER, Colo. — The man accused of an attack against demonstrators who were seeking to bring attention to hostages held in Gaza had been planning it for a year and told investigators that he wanted to "kill all Zionist people and wished they were all dead," federal prosecutors said on Mon-

The man, Mohammed Sabry Soliman, was federally charged on Monday with a hate crime in the attack on Sunday afternoon in Boulder, Colo. The Boulder County district attorney's office also announced charges on Monday of multiple state counts of attempted murder, assault and possession of incendiary devices.

Mr. Soliman appeared briefly in a Boulder court on Monday afternoon and remained in custody on



A Boulder resident put flowers at the attack site on Monday.

a \$10 million bond.

The authorities said that at some time before 1:30 p.m. on Sunday, Mr. Soliman, who hails from Egypt and whose American tourist visa nad expired, ignited two Molotov cocktails — glass bottles filled with flammable liquid and threw them toward the demonstrators. Twelve people were injured, two of them seriously.

The wounded, including one 88year-old victim, were participating in a weekly event called Run for Their Lives, which is held in cities around the world and is designed to call attention to the hostages taken by Hamas militants in the Oct. 7, 2023, terrorist attack on Israel that ignited a war.

Mr. Soliman yelled "Free Palestine" during the attack, according to an F.B.I. affidavit.

Continued on Page A14

### Economists See Trouble Ahead In G.O.P.'s Bill

#### Warning It's Bad Time to Increase Deficit

#### By BEN CASSELMAN and COLBY SMITH

There is a basic rule of thumb when it comes to the federal budget. The government should spend heavily during times of crisis recessions, wars, pandemics and then get its fiscal house in order when the crisis passes.

The tax and spending bill passed by the House of Representatives last month turns that rule on its head, adding trillions to the debt when unemployment is low and the economy is solid by most measures. That could make it much harder for the government to come to the rescue in the next downturn.

The Senate this week is expected to take up the bill, which would extend most of the tax cuts enacted during President Trump's first term, and would add billions of dollars in new tax breaks for tipped workers, business owners and other groups. It would cut spending, too, but not by nearly as much. In total, the bill would add trillions to the national debt over the next decade, according to congressional scorekeepers.

That comes on top of a sea of red ink that has swelled to nearrecord levels in recent decades. In 2000, after years of strong economic growth and spending cuts under President Bill Clinton, the federal debt load was about a third the size of annual economic output. Since then, after decades of tax cuts and spending increases, this measure of the debt burden has roughly tripled, to about 100 percent of gross domestic product, the highest level since World War II and at a rate of growth that experts across the political spectrum say is unsustainable.

"I'm extraordinarily concerned about the fiscal implications of this," said David H. Romer, an economist at the University of California, Berkeley, who has studied the impact of government deficits. "We're starting from high levels of debt, high levels of deficits, projected growing budgetary pressure from an aging population. And the investors are already jittery about this, so this is not just hypothetical."

The worry, long expressed by Continued on Page A15

#### More on the White House

FIERY BRIEF A coalition including figures on the right said the president's tariffs did violence to the constitutional structure. PAGE A13

**PRESSING ON** The president is set to raise tariffs on steel and aluminum even as courts are challenging other levies. PAGE B5

## In Factories Supplying Global Brands





This article is by David Pierson,

China's mass detention and sur-

veillance of ethnic Uyghurs

turned its far western region of

Xinjiang into a global symbol of

forced labor and human rights

abuses, prompting Congress to

ban imports from the area in 2021.

has found a way around the ban —

by moving Uyghurs to jobs in fac-

A joint investigation by The

tories outside Xinjiang.

But the Chinese government

Vivian Wang and Dan Murphy.

**AUTOMOBILES** 







The operation on Sunday, abuses and blocking the import of along with extensive bombardments on Ukrainian cities by Moscow, also complicates efforts for diplomacy. Delegations from both sides met Monday for peace sumers and businesses from fundtalks in Istanbul, with no breakthrough on a cease-fire an-

nounced.

calls for a swift response across Russian media, and Ukrainians braced for retaliation even as they celebrated an operation that gave their beleaguered nation a much needed morale boost.

After the attacks, there were

Both sides have put out as ments that were not immediately verifiable.

Ukraine said that 117 drones were used in the attacks and that 41 Russian aircraft were destroyed or damaged.

Russian military bloggers played down the damage; the Russian Ministry of Defense said that Ukraine had attacked airfields in the Murmansk, Irkutsk, Ivanovo, Ryazan and Amur regions, and that Moscow had thwarted attacks at three of the bases.

The New York Times verified videos that showed successful strikes at Olenya Air Base in the Murmansk region and Belaya Air Base in the Irkutsk region, and damage to at least five aircraft, four of them strategic bombers.

Even with limited information, military analysts said the operation ranks as a signature event on par with the sinking of the Russian flagship Moskva early in the war and the maritime drone assaults that forced the Russian Navy to largely abandon the home port of the Black Sea Fleet in Sevastopol, Crimea.

Continued on Page A6

## Far From Home: Uyghur Workers



We documented Uyghurs' presence at 75 factories across 11 Chinese provinces in at least five major industries:







New York Times, the Bureau of In-

vestigative Journalism and Der

Spiegel found that state-led pro-

grams to ship Uyghur workers out

of Xinjiang are much more exten-

factories across the country that

make a wide variety of goods used

in brand-name products around

the world, the investigation found.

And it has done so with little to no

visibility for supply-chain audi-

tors or border and customs offi-

cials charged with spotting labor

China has placed Uyghurs in

sive than previously known.





tainted goods. Both the United States and the European Union have adopted laws aimed at preventing con-

ing the persecution of Uyghurs in China. These state-run labor transfer programs pose a significant challenge. It may be possible to target imports from Xinjiang, but tracking the relocation and treatment of workers from Xinjiang to factories across China is a

Continued on Page A10

#### By NICHOLAS FANDOS

Into Super PAC Backing Cuomo

Business Interests Pouring Cash

A quarter-million dollars came from the head of Suffolk Construction, a Boston-based builder betting big on a New York City expansion.

Another \$150,000 arrived from the chairman of Vornado Realty Trust, who is searching for a way to revive a stalled Midtown Manhattan redevelopment so important that he once called it his "promised land."

DoorDash, the food delivery service lobbying City Hall on regulations that could disrupt its business model, chipped in a staggering \$1 million.

The donations make up just a fraction of the checks from New York business leaders, billionaires and special interest groups pouring into a super PAC boosting Andrew M. Cuomo, the favorite in the Democratic primary for mayor on June 24.

With \$10 million raised so far, the super PAC, Fix the City, is already the single largest outside spending force in New York City's political history, surpassing a record set in 2021. It has spent multiples more on ads than any campaign in the race, blanketing New Yorkers' screens in paeans to the former governor. The next biggest candidate su-

per PAC, set up to back Assemblyman Zohran Mamdani, a democratic socialist who is second in recent polls, has 1/50th of the funds.

Many of Fix the City's donors Continued on Page A16

The Waltz Goes Extraterrestrial

The Vienna Symphony Orchestra's rendition of the "Blue Danube" waltz was beamed into space on Saturday, correcting a decades-old cultural omission from early Voyager missions. Page C4.

### \$105 Million Package to Repair What Tulsa Massacre Destroyed

#### By AUDRA D. S. BURCH and BREENA KERR

The Tulsa Race Massacre of 1921, one of the most horrific episodes of racial violence in U.S. history, killed up to 300 Black residents and destroyed a neighborhood. More than a century later, the city's mayor announced a \$105

million reparations package on Sunday, the first large-scale plan committing funds to address the effect of the atrocity.

Monroe Nichols, the first Black mayor of Tulsa, unveiled the sweeping project, named Road to Repair. It is intended to chip away at enduring disparities caused by the massacre and its aftermath in

the Greenwood neighborhood and the wider North Tulsa community in Tulsa, Okla.

The centerpiece of the project is the creation of the Greenwood Trust, a private charitable trust, with the goal of securing \$105 million in assets — including private contributions, property transfers and possible public funding — by

next spring, the 105th anniversary of the attack.

The plan does not include direct cash payments to the two last known survivors of the massacre, who are 110 and 111. But such payments could be considered by the trust's Board of Trustees, according to Michelle Brooks, a city

Continued on Page A15



NATIONAL A11-17

Standing Up Against Trump Senator Lisa Murkowski, an Alaska Republican, could help decide the fate of the domestic policy bill.

#### Court Will Hear Ballot Case

The justices will hear a challenge to an Illinois law that allows mail-in votes to be counted after Election Day. PAGE A13 **INTERNATIONAL A4-10** 

#### Poland Reflects Global Divide

The country's government is centrist, with deep ties to Brussels. Its new leader is a Trump-backed nationalist, a symbol of a broader struggle. PAGE A8

#### South Korea Goes to the Polls

The next president will face daunting challenges to heal a polarized country and restore stability.

ARTS C1-6

#### Capping a Billionaire's Quest

Soichiro Fukutake, the businessman behind Japan's art islands, has added yet another jewel to his crown. PAGE C1



**SCIENCE TIMES D1-8** 

Race to Save Elephant Seals A colony of the animals in California faces serious threats, among them the possibility of bird flu outbreak. PAGE D8

#### Still Struggling With Anorexia Eating disorders, seen as striking

mostly teenage girls and young women, affect older age groups, too.

## **BUSINESS B1-5**

#### Testing a New Way to Search

Google's AI Mode, a tool similar to chatbots like ChatGPT and Google's Gemini, excels at tasks like product research for online shopping. But it falls short on basic web searches.

#### A Bonanza at the Box Office

The live-action "Lilo & Stitch" remake has collected \$610 million worldwide after just 10 days in theaters, a validation for Disney's renewed emphasis on theatrical releases. PAGE B1

**OPINION A18-19** 

Robinson Meyer



**SPORTS B6-9** 

#### A New York Sumo Outpost After three years of work, a club last

month held its first tournament, in Brooklyn, for amateur students of the ancient combat sport.

