

TRUMP EMBRACES
TARIFFS AS A CURE
FOR WIDER NEEDS

CLAIMS ARE EXPANDING

Trade Experts Say Pitfalls
Outweigh the Benefits
to Most Americans

By ANA SWANSON
WASHINGTON — It has been more than five years since former President Donald J. Trump called himself a “tariff man,” and since then his enthusiasm for tariffs seems only to have grown.
Mr. Trump has long maintained that imposing tariffs on foreign products can protect American factories, narrow the gap between what the United States exports and what it imports, and bring uncooperative foreign governments to heel. While in office, Mr. Trump used the threat of tariffs to try to persuade Mexico to stop the flow of undocumented immigrants across the U.S. border, and to sway China to enter into a trade deal with the United States.

But in recent weeks, Mr. Trump has made even more expansive claims about the power of tariffs, including that they will help pay for child care, combat inflation, finance a U.S. sovereign wealth fund and help preserve the dollar’s pre-eminent role in the global economy.

Economists have been skeptical of many of these assertions. While tariffs generate some level of revenue, in many cases they could create only a small amount of the funding needed to pursue some of the goals that Mr. Trump has outlined.

In other cases, they say, tariffs could actually backfire on the U.S. economy, by inviting retaliation from foreign governments and raising costs for consumers. Economic research has indicated that the cost of tariffs tend to be borne by American businesses and households, rather than foreign companies.

“Trump seems drawn to trade tariffs as a bargaining tool with
Continued on Page A18



Coverage of Tuesday night’s presidential debate in Philadelphia between Donald J. Trump and Kamala Harris is at nytimes.com.

He Is an Anti-Trafficking Hero.
Women Share a Different Story.

By MIKE BAKER
SALT LAKE CITY — Tim Ballard had fashioned himself into a made-for-Hollywood hero.
For years, he led a nonprofit that proclaimed daring undercover missions to rescue children from the horrors of international sex trafficking. Politicians embraced his call for more barriers on the southern border to block smuggling. President Donald J. Trump brought him on as an adviser. Last year, the hit movie “Sound of Freedom” showcased his life and work, making more than \$250 million and becoming one of the most successful independent films of all time.
But while the world knew him as a champion of the vulnerable, many of the women he worked with now tell a much darker story: that Mr. Ballard himself was grooming, manipulating, harassing and sexually assaulting women. In lawsuits beginning last year, the women said that Mr. Ballard preyed on their desire to help trafficking victims, coercing or forcing them into sexual encounters as part of their undercover work in brothels, strip clubs and massage parlors.
A former Homeland Security agent, Mr. Ballard had built his nonprofit, Operation Underground Railroad, at a time when the issue of child sex trafficking was already on the rise. High-profile cases — some of them appallingly real, some of them inventions of conspiracy theorists — drove outrage about minors being forced into sexual servitude and exploited by U.S. elites.
Continued on Page A14

Health Threat
Found at Plant
Two Years Ago

Boar’s Head Site Tied
to Listeria Deaths

By CHRISTINA JEWETT
and TEDDY ROSENBLUTH
Two years before a deadly listeria outbreak, U.S. inspectors warned that conditions at a Boar’s Head plant posed an “imminent threat” to public health, citing extensive rust, deli meats exposed to wet ceilings, green mold and holes in the walls.
But the U.S. Agriculture Department did not impose strict measures on the plant, in Jarratt, Va., which could have ranged from a warning letter to a suspension of operations.
Since then, other inspections found that many of the problems persisted, but again, the plant continued to process tons of beef and pork products, including liverwurst.
Genome sequencing tests by public health officials in New York and Maryland tied a strain of listeria found in Boar’s Head liverwurst to the bacteria from people who died or fell ill, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.
The company recalled its liverwurst late in July. Days later, Boar’s Head expanded the recall to cover more than 3,500 tons of meat — including ham and other items made in the Jarratt facility, one of several it operates.
Production at the meat processing center in a rural part of the state has been temporarily stopped. Boar’s Head said it was disinfecting the plant and trying to determine the cause of the suspected contamination. Nine elderly people have died and dozens were hospitalized in the worst listeria outbreak in years.
Public health experts have expressed worry that those numbers could increase, because symptoms can emerge weeks later. They also noted that consumers might not be aware of the recall, and some of the products do not expire until October.
Like other meat processors, the plant is supposed to have U.S.D.A.-trained inspectors on site at all times that the facility is operating. After the outbreak became public, the U.S.D.A. initially released one year of the inspectors’ reports from Aug. 1, 2023, to Aug. 2, 2024.
The agency later released reports dating to January 2022, which showed that a federal food safety assessment took place in September and October of 2022. During that review, records show, inspectors were already finding rust, mold, garbage and insects on the plant floors and walls.
Several food safety experts
Continued on Page A21



The site of Israeli strikes on a camp for displaced Palestinians in Al-Mawasi, an area Israel itself had declared a humanitarian zone.

Guns Made at Home for Militias and the Masses

By LIZZIE DEARDEN
and THOMAS GIBBONS-NEFF
LONDON — After an attempted gang murder in the French city of Marseille last year, the police found what appeared to be a toy assault rifle, seemingly crafted from plastic and Lego.
“But the weapon was lethal,” Col. Hervé Pétry of the national gendarmerie recalled.
In the past three years, this model of homemade semiautomatic firearm, known as an FGC-9, has appeared in the hands of paramilitaries in Northern Ireland, rebels in Myanmar and neo-Nazis in Spain. In October, a British teenager will be sentenced right to bear arms, defend ourselves and rise up against tyranny,” the document says.
This American brand of libertarianism has historically been a tough sell in many other parts of the world. Even if some people believed it in theory, strict laws made buying a gun so difficult that the ideology was almost beside the point.
The FGC-9 is changing that.
“It’s not just a gun. It is also an ideology,” said Kristian Abrahamsson, an intelligence officer with the Swedish customs police. Dozens of FGC-9s have turned up in his country in recent years, he said.
Continued on Page A10

JAMES EARL JONES, 1931-2024

Voice That Resonated, From Stage to ‘Star Wars’

By ROBERT D. MCFADDEN
James Earl Jones, a stuttering farm child who became a voice of rolling thunder as one of America’s most versatile actors in a stage, film and television career that plumbed race relations, Shakespeare’s rhapsodic tragedies and the faceless menace of Darth Vader, died on Monday at his home in Dutchess County, N.Y. He was 93.
The office of his agent, Barry McPherson, confirmed the death in a statement.
From destitute days working in a diner and living in a \$19-a-month cold-water flat, Mr. Jones climbed to Broadway and Hollywood stardom with talent, drive and remarkable vocal cords. He was abandoned as a child by his parents, raised by a racist grandmother and mute for years in his stutterer’s shame, but he learned to speak again with a herculean will. All had much to do with his success.
So did plays by Howard Sackler and August Wilson that let a young actor explore racial hatred in the national experience; television soap operas that boldly cast a Black man as a doctor in the 1960s; and a decision by George Lucas, the creator of “Star Wars,” to put an anonymous, rumbling African American voice behind the grotesque mask of the galactic villain Vader.
The rest was accomplished by Mr. Jones himself: a prodigious body of work that encompassed scores of plays, nearly 90 television network dramas and episodic series, and some 120 movies. They included his voice work, much of it uncredited, in the original “Star Wars” trilogy, in the credited voice-over of Mufasa in “The Lion King,” Disney’s 1994 animated musical film, and in his reprise of the role in Jon Favreau’s computer-animated remake in 2019.
Mr. Jones was no matinee idol, like Cary Grant or Denzel Washington. But his bulky Everyman suited many characters, and his range of forcefulness and subtlety was often compared to Morgan Freeman’s. Nor was he a singer; *Continued on Page A22*



James Earl Jones in 2012, when he starred in “The Best Man.”

ISRAELI AIR RAIDS
HIT GAZA REFUGE

Officials Report 19 Killed
in Humanitarian Zone

This article is by Rawan Sheikh Ahmad, Ephrat Livni, Sanjana Varghese and Thomas Fuller.
Israeli airstrikes early on Tuesday slammed into a part of the Gaza Strip that Israel had declared a humanitarian zone, killing at least 19 people and wounding 60, according to Gazan officials, in an area where tens of thousands of Palestinians forced from their homes had sought refuge in tents and makeshift shelters.
The Israeli military said in a statement that the strikes in Al-Mawasi, a coastal area of southern Gaza that was sparsely populated before the war, had targeted three senior Hamas militants who had been involved in the Oct. 7 Hamas-led assault on Israel.
Gaza’s Health Ministry said that the death toll would probably rise as rescuers dug frantically through debris and sand for people who had been reported missing and ambulances struggled to reach the site. Health officials in Gaza do not distinguish between civilians and combatants when reporting casualties.
On a separate matter, Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken rebuked Israel over the fatal shooting last week of an American activist in the occupied West Bank, after the Israeli military acknowledged that one of its soldiers had probably killed her unintentionally. Israeli security forces “need to make some fundamental changes to the way they operate,” Mr. Blinken said.
Videos of the aftermath of the Al-Mawasi bombing, verified by The New York Times, show craters where satellite imagery from a week earlier showed several tents, with furniture, clothes and other belongings strewn across a wide area. People used their bare hands to dig through the sandy soil and move wreckage in search of victims in the predawn darkness, working by the lights of their phones, as emergency workers from the Palestine Red Crescent Society began digging with shovels.
Continued on Page A6
PUSHING BACK Many Gazans turn Hamas away from shelters to avoid becoming a target. *PAGE A7*



INTERNATIONAL A4-11
Slice of Refuge, and Resistance
For Ukrainians, a trip to get a pedicure can be an act of defiance, showing that war has not broken them. *PAGE A8*

Politicians Arrested in Pakistan
In an overnight raid on the Parliament, police officers detained at least 10 members of Imran Khan’s party. *PAGE A11*

BUSINESS B1-5
Exhibit A: A Food Desert
As regulators try to block Kroger’s merger with Albertsons, a suburb of Portland, Ore., shows what limited access to fresh items looks like. *PAGE B1*

An Increase in Poverty
More people faced hardship in the United States last year, the Census Bureau said. *PAGE B1*

SPORTS B6-10
And With Me as Always ...
For the friend of a top athlete, hosting a podcast can mean a little money, some fame and a ton of work. *PAGE B6*



NATIONAL A12-21
Expanded Fire Seasons
As blazes erupt in Southern California, what can we learn from the effects of the ever-changing climate? *PAGE A16*

A Spaceflight Milestone
Four nonprofessional astronauts have taken off on a privately-funded SpaceX mission that will set records. *PAGE A21*

FOOD D1-8
The Ever-Evolving Burger
In honor of what may be the cheeseburger’s 100th birthday, The Times spotlights 11 notable variations from across the country, including the Lucy Goosey and the laab burger. *PAGE D4*

A Seasonal Local Delicacy
Every year, in the last few weeks of summer, a certain melon from Weiser Family Farms becomes a sublime and inevitable extravagance at restaurants in Los Angeles. *PAGE D3*

OPINION A26-27
Glynnis MacNicol *PAGE A27*



ARTS C1-6
Look, but Don’t Smash
The artist Roberto Benavidez makes intricate piñatas that emulate birds and mythical creatures strangle out of medieval artworks and texts. *PAGE C5*

