

Experts Warn
Of Weaponry
Left in Syria

Over 100 Sites May Hold
Old Chemical Arms

By MEGHA RAJAGOPALAN

DAMASCUS, Syria — More than 100 chemical weapons sites are suspected to remain in Syria, left behind after the fall of the longtime president, Bashar al-Assad, according to the leading international organization that tracks these weapons.

That number is the first estimate of its kind as the group, the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, seeks to enter Syria to assess what remains of Mr. al-Assad’s notorious military program. The figure is far higher than any that Mr. al-Assad has ever acknowledged.

The sites are suspected to have been involved in the research, manufacturing and storage of chemical weapons. Mr. al-Assad used weapons like sarin and chlorine gas against rebel fighters and Syrian civilians during more than a decade of civil war.

The number of sites, and whether they are secured, has been a mystery since rebels toppled Mr. al-Assad last year. Now, the chemicals represent a major test for the caretaker government, which is led by the group Hayat Tahrir al-Sham. The group is designated as a terrorist organization by the United States, but it has renounced its links to Al Qaeda.

The weapons are deadly, particularly when used in densely populated areas. Sarin, a nerve agent, can kill within minutes. Chlorine and mustard gas, weapons made infamous in World War I, burn the eyes and skin and fill the lungs with fluid, seemingly drowning people on land.

Experts are concerned about the potential for militant groups to gain access to poorly secured chemical weapons facilities.

In a surprise visit in March to the global chemical weapons watchdog headquarters at The Hague, Syria’s foreign minister said that the government would “destroy any remains of the chemical weapons program developed under the Assad regime” and comply with international law.

Experts are cautiously optimistic about the government’s sincerity. It allowed a team from the watchdog to enter the country this year to begin work documenting the sites, according to people with knowledge of the trip.

But Syria remains in a precarious spot. Violence erupted in the coastal region in recent weeks between government forces and groups aligned with Mr. al-Assad. And despite promises, the new government has not yet appointed an ambassador to the watchdog — a key first step that is seen as a

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AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

China’s rise as a hypercompetitive trading power challenges the U.S. Above, a factory in Hangzhou.



SIMON MAINA/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Making textiles in Kenya. Low-income exporters of commodity goods are hit hard by trade wars.

After Meltdown, Wall St. Braces for More Chaos

This article is by Rob Copeland, Lauren Hirsch and Maureen Farrell.

There was little rest on Wall Street this weekend. There was plenty of anger, anxiety, frustration and fear.

Anger at President Trump for a brash and chaotic rollout of tariffs that erased trillions of dollars in value from the stock market in two days. Anxiety about the state of the private equity industry and other colossal funds with global investments. Frustration among Wall Street’s elite at their sudden inability to influence the president and his advisers.

Titans of Finance Who
Backed Trump Face
Tariff Fallout

And fear of what may come next.

Hedge funds tallied up their losses, and bragged if they only lost a little. Bankers and lawyers tore up already sparse calendars for deal making, reasoning that no chief executive would risk a big merger or public offering soon. Major banks played out emergency scenarios to guess whether

one client or another would fail in the cascading effects of an international trade war.

In conversations with The New York Times over the weekend, bankers, executives and traders said they felt flashbacks to the 2007-8 global financial crisis, one that took down a number of Wall Street giants. Leaving out the brutal but relatively short-lived market panic that erupted at the start of the coronavirus pandemic, the velocity of last week’s decline — stocks fell 10 percent over two days — was topped only by the waves of selling when Lehman Brothers collapsed in 2008.

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THE WEATHER
Today, mostly cloudy, occasional rain in the morning, high 46. Tonight, cloudy, cooler, low 37. Tomorrow, partly sunny, windy, chilly, high 46. Weather map is on Page D8.

Tariff Barrage
Likely to Push
U.S. to Margin

Endangering Status as
Driver of Global Trade

By MARK LANDLER

LONDON — President Trump’s self-proclaimed “liberation day,” in which he announced across-the-board tariffs on the United States’ trading partners, carries an echo of another moment when an advanced Western economy threw up walls around itself.

Like Brexit, Britain’s fateful vote nearly nine years ago to leave the European Union, Mr. Trump’s tariffs struck a hammer blow at the established order. Pulling the United States out of the global economy is not unlike Britain’s withdrawing from the Europe-wide trading bloc, and in the view of Brexiteers, a comparable act of liberation.

The shock of Mr. Trump’s move is reverberating even more widely, given the larger size of the American economy and its place at the fulcrum of global commerce. Yet as with Brexit, its ultimate impact is unsettled: Mr. Trump could yet reverse himself, chastened by plummeting markets or mollified by one-off deals.

More important, economists say, the rise of free trade may be irreversible, its benefits so powerful that the rest of the world finds a way to keep the system going, even without its central player. For all of the setbacks to trade liberalization, and the grievances expressed in Mr. Trump’s actions, the barriers have kept falling.

The European Union, optimists point out, did not unravel after Britain’s departure. These days, the political talk in London is about ways in which Britain can draw closer to its European neighbors. Still, that sense of possibility has come only after years of turbulence. Economists expect similar chaos to buffet the global trading system as a result of Mr. Trump’s theatrical exit.

“It will not be the end of free trade, but it is certainly a retreat from unfettered free trade, which is the way the world seemed to be going,” said Eswar S. Prasad, a professor of trade policy at Cornell University. “Logically, this would be a time when the rest of the world bands together to promote free trade among themselves,” he said. “The reality is, it’s going to be every country for itself.”

Such a world will be not only unruly, but also potentially more dangerous. While trade wars do not necessarily spiral into shooting wars, historians note that

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TRUMP ERODING
CYBERDEFENSES
AS PERIL GROWS

THREATS TO ELECTIONS

Waltz Says Priority Shifts
to Offense, but Critics
See Risky Tactics

By DAVID E. SANGER
and NICK CORASANITI

When President Trump abruptly fired the head of the National Security Agency and U.S. Cyber Command on Thursday, it was the latest in a series of moves that have torn away at the country’s cyberdefenses just as they are confronting the most sophisticated and sustained attacks in the nation’s history.

The commander, Gen. Timothy D. Haugh, had sat atop the enormous infrastructure of American cyberdefenses until his removal, apparently under pressure from the far-right Trump loyalist Laura Loomer. He had been among the American officials most deeply involved in pushing back on Russia, dating to his work countering Moscow’s interference in the 2016 election.

His dismissal came after weeks in which the Trump administration swept away nearly all of the government’s election-related cyberdefenses beyond the secure N.S.A. command centers at Fort Meade, Md. At the same time, the administration has shrunk much of the nation’s complex early-warning system for cyberattacks, a web through which tech firms work with the F.B.I. and intelligence agencies to protect the power grid, pipelines and telecommunications networks.

Cybersecurity experts, election officials and lawmakers — mostly Democrats but a few Republicans — have begun to raise alarms that the United States is knocking down a system that, while still full of holes, has taken a decade to build. It has pushed out some of its most experienced cyberdefenders and fired younger talent brought in to design defenses

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KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Gen. Timothy D. Haugh was fired as the head of the N.S.A.

In Boston, Land of Colleges, a Funding Attack Strikes at Its Core

By JENNA RUSSELL

BOSTON — For generations, students and researchers from around the world have flocked to Boston, drawn not just to a college or university but to a region where high-minded intellectual life was part of its brand. The Boston area has thrived from their presence, its many schools and top-ranked research hospitals keeping its economy strong and its living standard largely unmatched in the United States.

“It’s the densest concentration of academic talent in the world,” said Lawrence S. Bacow, who served as president of Harvard University from 2018 to 2023 and as president of Tufts University from 2001 to 2011. “Universities and teaching hospitals are to Boston what cars are to Detroit, what energy is to Houston or finance is to New York.”

Now, though, the city is seized

with anxiety. The Trump administration’s assault on funding for higher education poses a bigger threat to Boston and the surrounding region than perhaps anywhere else in the country. Harvard is facing a government review of \$9 billion in federal grants and contracts, several universities are freezing hiring and rescinding admissions offers, research labs are closing, and international students are being targeted for deportation.

And Boston is confronting a once-improbable question: Will its core identity survive?

“Boston is the target in this fight,” Mayor Michelle Wu said in her State of the City speech last month. “We were built on the values this federal administration seeks to tear down.”

There has rarely been cause to question that key component of the city’s identity, since John Har-

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SOPHIE PARK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Flowers marked the spot in Somerville, Mass., where Rumeysa Ozturk, a Tufts student, was detained by federal officials.

Trump’s Strength on Economy
May Turn Into G.O.P. Liability

The time after a presidential election can feel like a moment of clarity. The results, after all, are finally in.

But over the last two decades, the post-election period hasn’t offered any clarity at all about the future of American politics. The winning party repeatedly con-

vinces itself it has won a mandate, or even a generational advantage. The shellshocked losers retreat into internal debate. And then just a few months later, it becomes clear that the next phase of American politics will not be what the winners imagined.

Last week, the next two years of American politics began to come into focus, and it does not look like a MAGA or Republican

“golden age.” The special House elections in Florida and the Supreme Court election in Wisconsin confirmed that Democratic voters were not, in fact, stunned into submission by last November’s election. More important, President Trump’s sweeping tariffs — and the economic downturn that may follow — have created enormous political risks for Republicans.

In one key respect, the elections on Tuesday were not significant: They do not suggest that Democrats solved any of the problems that cost them the last election. Instead, they mostly reflect the party’s advantage among the most highly informed, educated and civically engaged voters. This advantage has allowed Democrats to excel in

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SPORTS D1-8

Payday for Student-Athletes

An N.C.A.A. settlement, if approved, would transform the amateurism model that’s long ruled college sports. PAGE D1

All by Himself at the Top

Alex Ovechkin of the Capitals became the N.H.L.’s career-leading goal scorer, surpassing Wayne Gretzky. PAGE D3



INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Unable to Escape Abuse

Kenyan maids said that after they reported being beaten and raped while working abroad, embassy officials responded by demanding sex. PAGE A4

Russia’s Increasing Reach

As America pulls away from some of its oldest allies, leaders in Europe are sensing an extraordinary moment of vulnerability. PAGE A10

Meeting of Kindred Spirits

President Trump and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel, set to get together on Monday, use similar playbooks as they face turmoil. PAGE A6

NATIONAL A12-19

Should a Killer-Author Profit?

Albert Jones’s 11 books describe life in prison. His victims’ relatives say his family should not benefit from a sale of his story. PAGE A13

Crisis Upon Crisis in L.A.

A dozen teachers in Pasadena, Calif., whose homes burned were told they would lose their jobs soon. PAGE A12

OBITUARIES A22, B8

Scientist Turned Golf Guru

After working at NASA, Dave Pelz became an expert on putting and shots close to the green. He was 85. PAGE A22

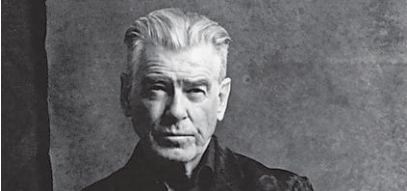
ARTS C1-6

An Off-Kilter Revival

Nick Jonas and Adrienne Warren star in a muddy production of Jason Robert Brown’s “The Last Five Years.” PAGE C1

Brosnan. Pierce Brosnan.

There’s always been more to this actor than meets the eye, but if James Bond is still all you see, he doesn’t mind. PAGE C1



BUSINESS B1-7

Forecasting an A.I. Takeover

Powerful systems will be smarter than humans in just a few years, one prediction says. Others aren’t so sure. PAGE B1

India Is on a Hiring Spree

Young professionals are luring American businesses to base their global operations in Indian cities. PAGE B1

OPINION A20-21

David French

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