



Charity Hospital, which permanently closed after Hurricane Katrina, still sits vacant in the Central Business District of New Orleans.

## 20 Years After Katrina, Deflated by Dysfunction

**By EDUARDO MEDINA**

NEW ORLEANS — Erander Guss-Lee, a security guard, stood outside an auditorium in New Orleans one night this week, hearing fragments of a documentary about Hurricane Katrina that was being screened: Clips of news anchors in the days after the storm, straining to describe the destruction and human suffering. Tearful recollections. Saxophones sounding mournful but defiant notes.

Ms. Guss-Lee just wanted to go home. She was proud of her city — no question. But she was not eager to relive Katrina and all the misery that followed.

“We’re still here,” she said. “Believe that.”

New Orleans had survived, which was not necessarily a given in those early days and weeks after the devastating storm. The city looked as if it had been annexed by the Gulf of Mexico, thousands of people were languishing in a damaged Superdome that had become “a shelter of last resort,” and a sluggish and chaotic federal response stoked fears that they had been forgotten.

But as the city marks the 20th anniversary of Katrina this week, mere survival, for many residents, does not feel like enough.



Mattresses on the roof of Charity Hospital in 2005, where staff slept after the hurricane tore through the city’s infrastructure.

After the flood and the trauma, New Orleans was flush with financial resources, big ideas and hope that some of its worst and most pernicious problems might have washed away for good. The city might not only stagger back to life, but get better governance, better flood protection, better schools, better police. Two decades later, much of that hope has gone unrealized.

New Orleans has taken pride in its ability to endure; just in the past few years, it suffered a deadly terrorist attack on Bour-

bon Street, another hurricane that knocked out power and disrupted trash collection for weeks, and a pandemic experience that paralyzed the city’s economy and led to one of the nation’s worst surges in violence. But many residents want it to strive for a higher standard than simply hanging on.

“We can’t be complacent,” said Markethy McClellan, who runs an air-conditioning repair business in the city’s Seventh Ward. “All of us deserve better.”

The unpopular mayor, LaToya

*Continued on Page A14*

## U.S. SELLS EUROPE MISSILES FOR KYIV

### A Policy Shift for Trump Under NATO’s Deal

**By LARA JAKES**

Europe has begun buying American weapons for Ukraine in earnest, only weeks after President Trump struck a deal with NATO allies to do so.

The latest sale, announced by the State Department on Thursday, will send 3,500 extended-range cruise missiles and GPS navigation kits to Ukraine once Congress formally approves it, as expected. They cost \$825 million, paid for by Denmark, the Netherlands and Norway, with some unspecified financial assistance from the Pentagon.

The missiles can be fired from fighter jets, and have a similar range to the Storm Shadow and Scalp missiles that Ukraine has used to strike Crimea and into Russia.

The sale marks one of the first purchases by European countries on behalf of Ukraine since Mr. Trump and other NATO leaders reached the deal. It is a policy shift for the United States, which had provided about \$67 billion worth of weapons and other military aid directly to Ukraine during the Biden administration.

It will also offer a financial windfall for American weapons producers while shielding Mr. Trump — who has expressed skepticism of devoting U.S. military support to Ukraine — from accusations of direct involvement

*Continued on Page A5*

## She Broke Ground at the Fed. Now Its Future Is Tied to Hers.

**By COLBY SMITH and BEN CASSELMAN**

Ten days ago, Lisa D. Cook was one of seven members of the Federal Reserve’s board of governors, playing an important but hardly leading role in the central bank’s debate over the path of interest rates.

Today, the future of the Fed and whether it will continue to operate as an independent institution or become subject to the whims of the White House rests largely on her shoulders.

Ms. Cook finds herself in that position because of President Trump’s decision on Monday to seek her ouster, and her own decision on Thursday to file a lawsuit challenging her attempted dismissal. Those two actions set the stage for a landmark legal battle, one that is bound for the Supreme Court, over the president’s explicit attempts to take control of the central bank.

“Governor Cook has been thrust into a role she did not seek and doubtless would prefer to shed — suddenly being cast in a larger-than-life struggle to defend an institution that has helped foster the economic and financial



Lisa D. Cook has sued President Trump over her dismissal.

success of the U.S. over the post-World War II period,” said David Wilcox, who is a senior fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics and a former leader of the Fed’s research and statistics division.

On Friday, a federal judge in Washington ended the first hearing in Ms. Cook’s wrongful termination lawsuit without delivering a ruling on whether she could stay in her job during the legal fight.

Ms. Cook was not expected to be in this position. Mr. Trump has

*Continued on Page A9*



### Fragile Beauty, and Future

National parks are feeling the strain of cuts by the Trump administration, including lost revenue and reductions to emergency services, a path that one expert called dangerous. Pages A10-11.

## Appeals Court Rejects Many of President’s Tariffs

**By TONY ROMM**

WASHINGTON — A federal appeals court ruled on Friday that many of President Trump’s most punishing tariffs were illegal, delivering a major new setback that may severely undercut the administration’s primary power and source of leverage in an expanding global trade war.

The ruling, from the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit, affirmed a lower court’s initial finding that Mr. Trump did not possess unlimited authority to im-

### Duties to Stay in Place to Allow for Potential Review by Justices

pose taxes on nearly all U.S. imports. But the appellate judges delayed the enforcement of their order until mid-October, allowing the administration time to appeal the case to the Supreme Court.

While the tariffs remain in place, for now, the adverse ruling

still cast doubt over the centerpiece of Mr. Trump’s trade strategy and the many sweeping and sometimes withering tariffs that the president has imposed to raise revenue and broker favorable trade deals globally.

The president has warned that any erosion in his tariff powers could carry grave consequences. Mr. Trump, who has said his tariffs will make America “rich” through new sources of revenue, has even invoked the specter of the Great Depression if his ability to impose

*Continued on Page A5*

INTERNATIONAL A4-7

**How to Prosecute a President**

Jair Bolsonaro, Brazil’s former leader, is heading to trial. But there is concern that the judiciary has overstepped its bounds. News Analysis. PAGE A5

**U.S. Bars Palestinian Envoys**

The move will prevent officials from attending the U.N. General Assembly in New York next month. PAGE A6

TRAVEL C9-11

**‘Coolcations’ Draw Some Heat**

Tourists flocking to cooler climes cause celebration, and concern, in Norway and other Nordic countries. PAGE C9

ARTS C1-8

**The ‘Jaws’ Ripple Effect**

Fifty films that reflect how widely the 1975 film made an impact on the modern Hollywood blockbuster. PAGE C2

A **mysterious creature** stalks a **remote location** and attacks the **first victim**. Next, a **reluctant hero** challenges a **local authority** and enlists a **couple of experts**. Finally, a **major sacrifice** leads to the **final confrontation** and the **creature’s death**.

NATIONAL A8-16, 20

**International Enrollment Even**

Turmoil has not deterred new students from other countries at Columbia and Princeton, but the numbers of Black students are down. PAGE A13

**Pollution Could Cost Taxpayers**

A Trump appointee to the E.P.A., a former chemical industry insider, has proposed a rule change that would shift the cleanup bill from polluters. PAGE A8

**Tracing Outbreak in New York**

Health officials identified two city-owned sites, including Harlem Hospital, as the sources of a surge in cases of Legionnaires’ disease. PAGE A14



BUSINESS B1-6

**Buy a Newspaper, as a Treat**

For Gen Z, indulging in tiny luxuries — a sugar cookie here, an extra latte there — is worth breaking the bank. PAGE B1

SPORTS B7-10

**A Battle Over Death Valleys**

The college football debate boils down to history (Clemson) against extremes of human behavior (L.S.U.). PAGE B7

**When a Nicety Turns Nasty**

Tennis’s traditional postmatch handshakes are closely analyzed for signs of tension between players. PAGE B10

OPINION A18-19

**Jeneen Interlandi** PAGE A19

