VOL. CLXXIV No. 60,468

morning, high 54. **Tonight,** partly cloudy, low 42. **Tomorrow,** a mixture

of clouds and sunshine, breezy, high

MONDAY, MARCH 24, 2025 © 2025 The New York Times Company

Prices in Canada may be higher

55. Weather map is on Page D8.

\$4.00



Thanking the Faithful for Their Prayers

Pope Francis waved from a balcony at the Gemelli hospital in Rome before leaving Sunday. He was treated for five weeks. Page A4.

Starmer Takes Lead in a Darker Era for Security Migrants Sent

By MARK LANDLER

FIRTH OF CLYDE, Scotland -With a staccato burst, a horn sounded in the control room of the H.M.S. Vanguard, sending the crew of the nuclear-armed Royal Navy submarine to battle stations. The voice of the commanding officer crackled over the intercom. "Set condition 1SQ," he said, ordering its battery of ballistic missiles to be readied for launch.

It was just a drill, conducted last Monday for a visiting V.I.P., Prime Minister Keir Starmer. But Mr. Starmer had reason to pay close attention when he was shown

Unanticipated Role Has Him Juggling Putin, Trump and Europe

where the submarine's launch key is stored: The prime minister is the only person in the United Kingdom authorized to order a nu-

"You're looking for the ideal conditions?" Mr. Starmer asked softly, as the captain explained how the Vanguard must be maneuvered to the right depth to

launch its Trident missiles. Mr. Starmer leaned forward in the captain's chair, the blue glow from a bank of screens reflected in his

Later, after he had climbed a 32foot ladder to the submarine's deck, Mr. Starmer reflected on its nearly seven-month mission. Prowling silently in the depths of the Atlantic Ocean, it is designed to deter a nuclear conflict with Russia (at least one of the four Vanguard-class submarines is always on patrol). At a time when Europe's capacity to defend itself has come under criticism, not

Continued on Page A8





After the Fire, Trying to Save Treasures

The Eaton blaze in January left many homes in the Altadena area near Los Angeles with only fireplaces. Many of those have ornate tiles that date back more than a century. Page A10.

Into Panama Are Stranded

This article is by Genevieve Glatsky, Farnaz Fassihi and Julie

PANAMA CITY — When the first buses of newly freed migrants arrived this month in Panama City from a detention camp at the edge of a jungle, three people were visibly ill. One needed H.I.V. treatment, a lawyer said, another had run out of insulin and a third was suffering from seizures.

Confusion, chaos and fear reigned. "What am I going to do?" one migrant wondered aloud. "Where am I going to go?"

These are questions being asked by dozens of migrants deported to Panama last month by the Trump administration, part of the president's efforts to expel millions of people from the United

At first, Panamanian officials had locked the group of about 300 people in a hotel. Then, those who did not accept repatriation to their home countries were sent to a guarded camp at the edge of a jungle. Finally, after a lawsuit and an outcry from human rights groups, the Panamanian authorities released the deportees, busing them back to Panama City.

Now, the remaining migrants from Iran, Afghanistan, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Uzbekistan and elsewhere — are free but stranded in a country that doesn't want them, many sleeping in a school gymnasium made available by an aid group, with no real sense of what to do next.

Interviews with 25 of the deportees offered a revealing look at who is being pushed out of the United States by the Trump administration, and what happens once they arrive in Central Amer-

Continued on Page A6

A.I. Is Saving Lives by Finding Cures That Hide in Plain Sight

By KATE MORGAN

A little over a year ago, Joseph Coates was told there was only one thing left to decide. Did he want to die at home or in the hospi-

Coates, then 37 and living in Renton, Wash., was barely conscious. For months, he had been

battling a rare blood disorder called POEMS syndrome, which had left him with numb hands and feet, an enlarged heart and failing kidneys. Every few days, doctors needed to drain liters of fluid from his abdomen. He became too sick to receive a stem cell transplant one of the only treatments that could have put him into remission.

"I gave up," he said. "I just thought the end was inevitable."

But Coates's girlfriend, Tara Theobald, wasn't ready to quit. So she sent an email begging for help to a doctor in Philadelphia named David Fajgenbaum, whom the couple met a year earlier at a rare disease summit.

By the next morning, Dr. Faj-

genbaum had replied, suggesting an unconventional combination of chemotherapy, immunotherapy and steroids previously untested as a treatment for Coates's disorder.

Within a week, Coates was responding to treatment. In four months, he was healthy enough

Continued on Page A12

Trump Decree Is a Warning To Law Firms

Tries to Curb Litigation Against Government

By DEVLIN BARRETT

WASHINGTON - President Trump broadened his campaign of retaliation against lawyers he dislikes with a new memorandum that threatens to use government power to punish any law firms that, in his view, unfairly challenge his administration.

The memorandum directs the heads of the Justice and Homeland Security Departments to "seek sanctions against attorneys and law firms who engage in frivolous, unreasonable and vexatious litigation against the United States" or in matters that come before federal agencies.

Mr. Trump issued the order late Friday night, after a tumultuous week for the American legal community in which one of the country's premier firms, Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison, struck a deal with the White House to spare the company from a punitive decree recently issued by Mr. Trump.

Vanita Gupta, who as a civil rights lawyer and a former Justice Department official has both sued the government and defended it in court, said Mr. Trump's memo "attacks the very foundations of our legal system by threatening and intimidating litigants who aim to hold our government accountable to the law and the Constitution."

In response to criticism of the memo, a White House spokeswoman, Taylor Rogers, said: "President Trump is delivering on his promise to ensure the judicial system is no longer weaponized against the American people. President Trump's only retribution is success and historic achievements for the American people."

The president has long complained that Democratic-leaning lawyers and law firms have pursued what he calls "lawfare" in the form of investigations and lawsuits against him and his allies that he claims are motivated by politics. Since being sworn into office he has targeted three firms, but the new memo seems to threaten similar punishment for any lawyer or firm who raises his

After Mr. Trump issued an or-

V.A. WORKERS SEE **CHAOS IN SERVICES** FOR MENTAL CARE

TRUMP'S FAST CHANGES

A Fear of Little Privacy, Fewer Therapists and More Frustrations

This article is by Ellen Barry, Nicholas Nehamas and Roni Caryn Rabin.

Late in February, as the Trump administration ramped up its quest to transform the federal government, a psychiatrist who treats veterans was directed to her new workstation - and was

She was required, under a new return-to-office policy, to conduct virtual psychotherapy with her patients from one of 13 cubicles in a large open office space, the kind of setup used for call centers. Other staff might overhear the sessions, or appear on the patient's screen as they passed on their way to the bathroom and break room.

The psychiatrist was stunned. Her patients suffered from disorders like schizophrenia and bipolar disorder. Treating them from her home office, she had needed many months to earn their trust. This new arrangement, she said, violated a core ethical tenet of mental health care: the guarantee of privacy.

When the doctor asked how she was expected to safeguard patient privacy, a supervisor suggested she purchase privacy screens and a white noise machine. "I'm ready to walk away if it comes to it," she wrote to her manager, in a text message shared with The New York Times. "I get it," the manager replied. "Many of us are ready to walk away."

Scenes like this have been unfolding in Veterans Affairs facilities across the country in recent weeks, as therapy and other mental health services have been thrown into turmoil amid the drastic changes ordered by President Trump and pushed by Elon Musk's Department of Government Efficiency.

Among the most consequential orders is the requirement that thousands of mental health

MAX FRANKEL, 1930-2025

Top Times Editor Who Steered Paper Through Era of Change

By ROBERT D. McFADDEN

Max Frankel, who fled Nazi Germany as a boy and rose to pinnacles of American journalism as a Pulitzer Prize-winning correspondent for The New York Times and later as its executive editor during eight years of changing fortunes and technology, died on Sunday at his home in Manhattan. He was 94.

His wife, Joyce Purnick, a former reporter and editor at The Times, confirmed the death.

Mr. Frankel landed in New York in 1940 without a word of English, a refugee in knickerbockers with European sensibilities for opera, art, languages and mathematics. But he found his calling in journalism, and it led to global news assignments, associations with world leaders, the pantheon of Pulitzer honorees and the editorships, successively, of The Times's opinion pages and of its news coverage.

It thrust him, too, into the major events of his era - the Cuban missile crisis, the Cold War, the collapse of the Soviet Union — and into the Moscow of Nikita S. Khrushchev, the Havana of Fidel Cas-

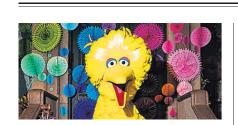


Max Frankel oversaw financial and technological changes.

tro, the Peking of Mao Zedong and the Washington of John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson and Richard M. Nixon.

Accompanying Nixon to China in 1972 on a historic mission to establish contacts after decades of estrangement, Mr. Frankel, then chief of The Times's Washington bureau, chronicled the president's

Continued on Page A16



BUSINESS B1-4

Brace Yourself, Big Bird

Sesame Workshop, the nonprofit behind "Sesame Street," is confronting a "perfect storm" of problems.

Bad Time to Be Cash Poor

China's tax revenue has fallen, leaving Beijing with less money to mitigate harms from U.S. tariffs. PAGE B1

INTERNATIONAL A4-9

Escaping Nazi Germany

About 10,000 Jewish children fled to Britain from Europe from December 1938 to September 1939. Newly found papers outline their journeys. PAGE A4

Snap Elections in Canada

Mark Carney, who has been prime minister for 10 days, called for a general vote to be held on April 28. PAGE A8

OBITUARIES A20, B5-6

Impresario of Luxe Bars

The lounges of Mark Grossich in Manhattan conjured a feeling of bygone elegance. He was 74. PAGE B6 NATIONAL A10-17

The Left Looks to 2028

With Bernie Sanders unlikely to run for president again, many progressive Democrats see an open lane. Can Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez fill it?

'Chaos and Confusion' at N.I.H.

Scientists fear that medical research on conditions like obesity and cancer will be undermined by policies put in place under President Trump.

Reveling in Columbia's Turmoil

Threatened with losing federal funding, the university agreed to overhaul some practices. Conservatives hope other colleges will follow suit. PAGE A14



An Embrace of Action

"Othello," with Jake Gyllenhaal and Denzel Washington, offers its share of blunt force, our critic says.

An Institutional Dilemma

The Brooklyn Academy of Music works to adjust to the uncertain future facing many cultural fixtures.

SPORTS D1-8

Star Among Los Angeles Stars

JuJu Watkins of U.S.C., beyond being a women's basketball standout, has become a cultural phenomenon. PAGE D2

Tiger Pitchers Reunited Detroit traded Jack Flaherty last year,

but brought him back to rejoin Tarik Skubal in a promising rotation. PAGE D5

OPINION A18-19

J. Michael Luttig



