of sunshine, high 62. Tonight, partly

cloudy, not as chilly, low 46. Tomorrow, a mix of clouds and sunshine,

\$4.00

THURSDAY, APRIL 17, 2025

high 63. Weather map, Page A20.

VOL. CLXXIV .... No. 60,492 © 2025 The New York Times Company Prices in Canada may be higher

# BEHIND THE RUSH TO DISCARD RULES AND RESHAPE LIFE

#### TRUMP'S NEXT BIG PLAN

A Target on Regulations for Food, Work Safety, Health and Travel

#### By CORAL DAVENPORT

At the Department of Health and Human Services, Trump administration officials want to reverse a regulation that has required nursing homes to have more medical staff on duty.

At the Mine Safety and Health Administration, powerful lobbying groups have asked the administration to eliminate a rule to protect miners from inhaling the dust of crystalline silica, a mineral that is used in concrete, smartphones and cat litter but that can be lethal in the lungs.

And at the Federal Communications Commission, which regulates radio and television broadcasting and satellite communications, President Trump's appointpublished a seemingly exuberant notice asking for suggestions on which rules to get rid of, titled "DELETE, DELETE,

Across the more than 400 federal agencies that regulate almost every aspect of American life, from flying in airplanes to processing poultry, Mr. Trump's appointees are working with the Department of Government Efficiency, the cost-cutting initiative headed by Elon Musk and also called DOGE, to begin a new phase in their quest to dismantle much of the federal government:

deregulation on a mass scale. Usually, the legal process of repealing federal regulations takes years — and rules erased by one administration can be restored by another. But after chafing at that system during his first term and watching President Joseph R. Biden Jr. enact scores of new rules pushed by the left, Mr. Trump has

Continued on Page A17



A rule protecting miners from potentially lethal crystalline silica dust could be repealed.

# Judge Warns White House On Contempt

#### A Threat to Investigate Deportation Flights

#### By ALAN FEUER

A federal judge in Washington threatened on Wednesday to open a high-stakes contempt investigation into whether the Trump administration violated an order he issued last month directing officials to stop planes of Venezuelan migrants from being sent to El

In a 46-page ruling, the judge, James E. Boasberg, said he would begin contempt proceedings against the administration unless the White House did what it has failed to do for more than a month: give scores of Venezuelan men deported to El Salvador under the expansive authority of a wartime law called the Alien Enemies Act a chance to challenge their removal.

"The court does not reach such conclusions lightly or hastily," wrote Judge Boasberg, who sits as the chief judge in Federal District Court in Washington. "Indeed, it has given defendants ample opportunity to explain their actions. None of their responses has been satisfactory."

Judge Boasberg's threat of contempt proceedings, coupled with another federal judge's move on Tuesday to open a similar inquiry in a separate deportation case, represented a remarkable attempt by jurists to hold the White House accountable for its apparent willingness to flout court or-

The twin decisions also showed that judges remain willing to push back against the administration's broader inclination to probe the traditional, but increasingly fragile, balance of power between the executive and judicial branches. Should administration officials slow-walk his efforts, Judge Boasberg warned that he could make a criminal referral to the Justice Department or even appoint an outside prosecutor.

Judge Boasberg's move came one day after Judge Paula Xinis said at a hearing in Federal District Court in Maryland that she would begin her own accelerated investigation into whether the White House had violated a ruling by the Supreme Court.

In that case, Judge Xinis ordered the administration within the next two weeks to answer questions - both in writing and in depositions - about why it had so far apparently failed to comply with directions from the Supreme Court to "facilitate" the release of a Maryland man, Kilmar Armando Abrego Garcia, from the same Salvadoran prison to which the Venezuelan migrants had been sent.

Shortly after Judge Boasberg's Continued on Page A8

Nathali Sánchez and her daughter, Nahiara, in Chile. The United States sent her husband, Arturo Suárez Trejo, to a Salvadoran prison.

# Labeled 'Alien Enemies' and Banished, With Little or No Evidence

This article is by Julie Turkewitz, Jazmine Ulloa, Isayen Herrera, Hamed Aleaziz and Zolan Kanno-Youngs

Nathali Sánchez last heard from her husband on March 14, when he called from a Texas detention center to say he was being deported back to Venezuela. Later that night, he texted her through a government messaging app for detainees.

"I love you," he wrote, "soon we will be together forever."

Her husband, Arturo Suárez Trejo, 33, a musician, had been in American custody for a month, calling every few days to assure his

family that he was OK, his relatives said. Now, the couple believed they would reunite and he would finally meet his daughter, Nahiara, who had been born during his brief stint as a migrant in the United States.

But less than a day later, Mr. Suárez was shackled, loaded onto a plane and sent to a maximum-security prison in El Salvador, according to an internal government list of detainees obtained by The New York Times. Around the time Mr. Suárez was texting his wife, the Trump administration was quietly invoking the Alien Enemies Act, a sweeping wartime power that allows the government to swiftly deport citizens of an invading nation.

Mr. Suárez and 237 others, the Trump ad-

ministration argued after the order became public, were all members of a Venezuelan gang called Tren de Aragua, which was "aligned with" the Venezuelan government and was "perpetrating" an invasion of the United

It was an extraordinary move: The act has

been invoked only three times in American history, experts say — most recently in World War II, when it was used to detain German, Italian and Japanese people. And in this case, the Venezuelan men were

declared "alien enemies" and shipped to a prison with little or no opportunity to contest the allegations against them, according to mi-

Continued on Page A6

A Cheaper Way

To Drop Pounds

By REBECCA ROBBINS

and DANI BLUM

Hundreds of thousands of

Americans stand to soon lose their

access to cheaper weight-loss

drugs, with a federal crackdown

on copycat versions threatening

to disrupt treatment and raise

The Food and Drug Administration has ordered producers and sellers of the less expensive products to wind down operations in

the coming weeks now that it has declared there are no longer shortages of the blockbuster

drugs Wegovy and Zepbound. Produced through a process of mixing drug ingredients known as compounding, the copycat medi-

cations had spawned a booming

multi-billion-dollar industry. Pa-

tients turned to compounding be-

cause their health insurance

would not pay for the brand-name

drugs and they could buy the com-

pounded versions for less than

Eli Lilly and Novo Nordisk now

\$200 a month in some cases.



The crowd at a "Fighting Oligarchy" rally in Folsom, Calif., this week, part of a tour across the West.

# From China to U.S. Doorsteps, That Thud Will Be New Tariffs

#### By SAPNA MAHESHWARI

Tamika Johnson, a 44-year-old in Chicago, posted videos to Tik-Tok this month about her orders from Shein, the Chinese e-commerce giant. She was nervous about potential delivery delays in the face of upcoming tariffs.

Her 213,000 followers chimed in as she shared status updates on her purchases of clothing and suitcases, detailing their own plans for last-minute orders and sharing concerns about their shipments.

"People are very worried," Ms. Johnson, who posts to TikTok under the handle @TammyThe-BlackPrepper, said in an interview. "I'm trying to stock up on clothes now and the things that I need."

Ms. Johnson is one of many American consumers who have

been posting anxiously to TikTok and Reddit about a coming Trump administration-induced change for the Chinese e-commerce companies Shein and Temu, which sell inexpensive items like \$8 dresses and \$14 wagons.

Starting on May 2, the Trump administration is poised to end a trade loophole that enabled the delivery of ultralow-cost goods from Chinese factories straight to Americans' doorsteps without being subject to duties. That will add steep new fees to packages from Shein and Temu.

At least some sellers on TikTok Shop, the popular app's growing marketplace, and AliExpress, another Chinese e-commerce site, will also take a hit.

Continued on Page A10

#### Tens of Thousands at **Anti-Trump Rallies**

Sanders and Ocasio-Cortez Electrify Democrats

out to cheer on a fiery anti-Trump, anti-billionaire message from Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont and Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York during their "Fighting Oligarchy" tour of Western states. Mr. Sanders even surprised attendees at the Coachella music festival near Los Angeles last week, popping

PAGE C1

onstage to introduce the singer Clairo and make an appeal to young people.

As Democrats search for a spark after being routed in November, the two progressives are providing the kindling, offering the party's beaten-down base the fighting spirit it has been missing ever since President Trump returned to office.

Even as some top Democrats tack to the center or try to find common ground with the emboldened Republican president, Mr. Continued on Page A15

offer the brand-name drugs for \$500 a month in most cases to patients who pay with their own money instead of going through insurance. Until recently, patients sometimes had to pay over \$1,300 a month.

The F.D.A. ordered compounding for versions of Eli Lilly's Zepbound to end last month. Small compounders have until April 22 to stop making and selling ver-

Continued on Page A18



**INTERNATIONAL 4-11** 

#### 'Now You're Dead'

Keith Siegel, 65, who spent 484 days as a hostage in Gaza, described the horrors he experienced.

#### The Great Moose Migration

Thousands of moose fans are following a slow but hypnotic livestream from Sweden's national broadcaster. PAGE A4 NATIONAL A12-21

# Trump's Plans for Big Law

Major law firms made benign-seeming deals to avoid trouble with the president. But now he wants more. PAGE A14

### Transplanting Frozen Organs

A technique could ease organ shortages in the future. To test it, a kidney held for 10 days was put in a pig.

SPORTS B7-10

#### When the Crowd Goes Mild

Tepid arenas have become typical in Toronto and other big hockey cities. What can traditional teams learn from newer markets like Las Vegas? PAGE B7



ARTS C1-6

By KELLEN BROWNING

political rallies anywhere in

America right now are being

headlined by an 83-year-old sena-

tor in the twilight of his career and

Roughly 36,000 people in Los

Angeles. More than 34,000 attend-

ees in Denver. And another 30,000

on Tuesday night near Sacra-

Those monster crowds — more

than 200,000 people in all, accord-

ing to organizers — have turned

his 35-year-old protégée.

FOLSOM, Calif. — The biggest

Comics and Musicians, Too Jordan Firstman, Mae Martin and Kyle Mooney, above, have joined a long list of

#### Sendak's Things Up for Bid

comedians who make music.

Much of the author Maurice Sendak's art collection, including a lot of Mickey Mouses, will be auctioned off. PAGE C1

#### **BUSINESS B1-6**

## Lessons of Past Divestitures

For the first time since a late-1990s Microsoft case, federal trials are weighing the practice of breaking up companies as an antitrust remedy, a tactic that harks back to Standard Oil.

#### Washington Targets DeepSeek

China's success in artificial intelligence has the Trump administration and lawmakers weighing rules and investigations to slow Beijing's progress in the industry. PAGE B1

OPINION A22-23

Michelle Goldberg

PAGE A23



### Surviving Very Nicely Now

The singer Gloria Gaynor was in the doldrums before she decided to take control of her life and career. At 81, she's reaping the rewards.

