64. Tonight, partly cloudy, rather

mild, low 44. **Tomorrow**, cooler, a mixture of clouds and sunshine, high 53. Weather map, Page B8.

EROSION OF I.R.S.

PUTS ITS MISSION

IN GREATER PERIL

INSIDE TRUMP'S MOVES

Audits Stall as President

Tries to Make Agency

More Political

By ANDREW DUEHREN

nal Revenue Service.

WASHINGTON — Beth Crowell was proud to work for the Inter-

She had spent much of her ca-

reer as an accountant for large

corporations, gaining intimate

knowledge about how they pay –

and sometimes don't pay - the

taxes they owe. Working for the

I.R.S. in Colorado, she hoped to

put her skills to a new use. She wanted to help collect more money for the federal govern-

Not long after joining last July, she had her chance. Ms. Crowell,

64, joined a team that had started

an audit of a company earning roughly \$3 billion a year. The

I.R.S. had never examined the

firm before, Ms. Crowell said, be-

cause the agency hadn't had

enough employees with the skills

"They're a large multinational

company, and it is not a normal

thing to not have been examined,"

she said, declining to name the

By hiring Ms. Crowell and thou-

sands of other experienced tax

professionals like her last year,

the I.R.S. was trying to fill those

gaps and rebuild its ability to en-

force tax laws after years of decay.

The effort was expected to help the United States recoup billions

Then the layoffs started. With

the Trump administration target-

ing recent hires across the gov-

ernment, the terminations hit par-

ticularly hard in Ms. Crowell's di-

vision, large business and interna-

tional. Many of the more than

7,000 people laid off from the I.R.S.

so far worked in her department.

As a result, the I.R.S. may strug-

gle even more with its basic mis-

sion of collecting taxes. Work-

intensive investigations into large

businesses and rich Americans

could decline, a drop in enforce-

ment that would add to the deficit

even as Elon Musk says his team

The audit Ms. Crowell was in

the middle of conducting is now

adrift. Five of the nine people

working on it, including Ms. Crow-

ell, were laid off. What she called a slam-dunk case for the I.R.S. may

"We were going to work

through these issues and have it

done in an effective, professional

and collaborative manner," she said. "All of the momentum we

had is gone. I'm not sure they're going to be positioned and have the support they need to restruc-

ture and reconvene to overcome

Firing probationary employees

like Ms. Crowell was just the be-

ginning of President Trump's far-

reaching agenda for the I.R.S. The

administration is preparing budg-

et cuts and further layoffs that

could ultimately force the I.R.S. to

shed as much as half of its 100,000-

person work force - a drastic re-

Continued on Page A17

is helping to narrow it.

not be finished.

all of this."

in additional tax revenue.

for such complex cases.

VOL. CLXXIV No. 60,455

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TUESDAY, MARCH 11, 2025

Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00

Russian Forces Appear Stalled And Exhausted

Ukraine and Analysts See Impasse in East

By MARC SANTORA

KYIV, Ukraine - Ukrainian forces have stalled the Russian offensive in the eastern Donetsk region in recent months and have started to win back small patches of land, according to Ukrainian soldiers and military analysts.

Russia still holds the initiative and conducts dozens of assaults across the eastern front every day, the soldiers and analysts say. But after more than 15 months on the offensive, Russian brigades have been depleted and Moscow is struggling to replace destroyed equipment, offering limited opportunities that Ukrainian forces are trying to exploit.

"The Russian offensive effort in Donetsk has stalled in recent months due to poor weather, exhaustion among Russian forces and effective Ukrainian adaptation to the way Russian troops have been fighting," said Michael Kofman, a senior fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington.

While it is too early to say the front has stabilized in Donetsk, he said, the situation has improved as Ukraine finds innovative ways to compensate for its shortage of

Ukrainian soldiers cautioned that they expected the Russians to regroup and intensify offensive efforts to take advantage of the sudden suspension of American military assistance and intelligence sharing, which threatens to undermine the Ukrainian war effort

The pause in intelligence is expected to be among the topics Ukrainian and American officials will discuss this week at their first high-level in-person meeting since a blowup between President Trump and President Volodymyr Zelensky at the White House on Feb. 28. Mr. Zelensky said the meeting would be held on Tuesday in Saudi Arabia, and the State Department said Secretary of State Marco Rubio would be part of those talks. (Mr. Zelensky met with Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, the de facto ruler of Saudi Arabia, in the seaside city of

Jeddah on Monday.) Western military analysts and U.S. officials believe that the order to hold back equipment is likely to take several months to have a significant impact on the front. But the loss of intelligence is already

Continued on Page A6



Ukrainian soldiers prepared for an assault in the Donetsk region last month. They are finding ways to compensate for a troop shortage.

Trump Run-In Wins Zelensky Points at Home

By KIM BARKER

KYIV, Ukraine - President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine was losing popularity at home for months, seen by many as a thinskinned leader who had concentrated power around him. Political opponents saw an opening to win a future election against him. His former top general in the war against Russia had a higher approval rating.

Enter President Trump. In recent weeks, he has echoed Moscow's talking points on the war and called Mr. Zelensky a "dictator without elections" who "has done a terrible job." Mr. Trump and his allies have demanded new presidential elections in Ukraine, despite the war, and humiliated Mr. Zelensky in a disastrous meeting at the White

But Mr. Trump's actions appear to have helped the Ukrainian leader at home.

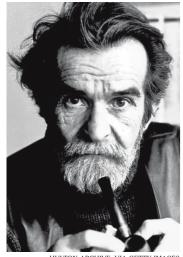
Mr. Zelensky's approval ratings have risen, according to two recent polls, and his political oppo-Continued on Page A6

ATHOL FUGARD, 1932-2025

Subverted Apartheid Onstage

By BRUCE WEBER

Athol Fugard, the South African playwright whose portrayals of intimate relationships burdened by oppressive racial separatism exposed the cruel psychological torment of apartheid to an inter-



Guilt played a powerful role in

the plays Athol Fugard wrote.

national audience, died on Saturday night at his home in Stellenbosch, a town near Cape Town. He was 92.

His wife, Paula Fourie, said he died after a cardiac event.

Over a long and productive career, Mr. Fugard (pronounced FEW-guard) was both repelled and fueled by the bond he felt with his homeland.

For decades he was considered subversive by the government; at times productions of his work, with their integrated casts, were considered illegal, and his coworkers in the theater were jailed. In 1967, after his early play "The Blood Knot" appeared on British television, his passport was revoked, so that for several years he could not leave the country.

He eventually spent many years abroad, including in the United States - he worked on productions of his plays at Yale and taught at the University of California, San Diego - yet he

Continued on Page A24

Keeping G.O.P. in Line With the Threat of Ruin

By ANNIE KARNI and JONATHAN SWAN

Ahead of the opening day of the Congress, Representative Chip Roy, who was refusing to commit to voting for Speaker Mike Johnson's re-election, took an intense phone call from President-elect Donald J. Trump.

Mr. Trump was blunt with Mr. Roy, the ultraconservative Texas Republican who had recently defied him and voted against his desired spending and debt deal: He would pull back on the abuse he had unspooled online, including a

accessible

activism

activists

advocacy

advocate

advocates

allyship

affirming care

all-inclusive

anti-racism

assigned at birth

assigned female at birth

assigned male at birth

antiracist

at risk

barrier

Trump Secures an Iron **Grip on Congress**

threat to recruit a primary opponent to unseat him, if Mr. Roy would fall in line behind Mr. Johnson — and generally get on board with the Trump agenda.

"I will if you're good to me," Mr. Trump told Mr. Roy, according to two people familiar with their conversation. "But you're not being very good to me."

Mr. Roy ultimately voted for Mr.

Johnson, sparing the party a bloody leadership fight just before Mr. Trump took office. And these days, Mr. Roy has been supporting Mr. Trump's agenda. In return, the president has, as promised, stopped savaging him in public.

vene a group of fiscal conservatives to meet with Mr. Trump last week at the White House to discuss the temporary spending bill that the president needs them to support to avoid a government shutdown after midnight on Friday. And it was Mr. Roy who made

Continued on Page A16

It was Mr. Roy who helped con-

culturally appropriate

DEI

black and latinx DEIJ

breastfeed + people

breastfeed + person

chestfeed + people

biases

BIPOC

biases towards

biologically female

biologically male

chestfeed + person

clean energy

climate crisis

climate science

commercial sex worker community diversity

community equity

culturally responsive

DEIA

DEIAB

disabilities

disability

discriminated

discrimination

discriminatory

disparity

diverse diverse backgrounds

diverse communities

diverse community

Purge of Not Just Policies, but Words to Describe Them

Federal agencies have issued guidance to employees on hundreds of terms to limit or avoid using. An analysis shows many of the same words being removed. Page A13.

A 'No Exceptions' Policy on Tariffs Might Have More Exceptions

By ANA SWANSON

As he prepares to introduce new tariffs on foreign metals this week, President Trump has vowed not to grant the types of exclusions and exemptions that were common during his first trade war.

But he has already undercut that tough position on other tariffs. After lobbying from automak-

ers, farmers and other industries, Mr. Trump quickly walked back the sweeping tariffs he had imposed on Tuesday on all imports from Canada and Mexico. By Thursday, he had suspended those tariffs indefinitely for all products that comply with the North American free trade deal, the U.S.-Mexico-Canada Agreement, or U.S.M.C.A. — about half of all imports from Mexico and

Deals Could Weaken the Levies' Power

nearly 40 percent of those from Canada. That has given industries and

foreign governments an opening to lobby the administration ahead of the metals tariffs, which go into effect at 12:01 a.m. Wednesday, as well as other levies planned for April 2.

Foreign officials have been pressing for exemptions for their steel and aluminum. In meetings in Washington on Monday, Japan's trade minister was also expected to seek an exemption from tariffs on automobiles, which Mr. Trump has said are coming in

Continued on Page A10

INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Syrians Fearing Abductions

When the new government took over, it dismissed the Assad regime's security forces, leaving a vacuum. Now, many are worried about their safety. PAGE A8

Greenland Voters Think Local

In Tuesday's parliamentary election,

residents of the island are focused more on everyday worries than President Trump's takeover threats.

A Jubilee, Minus the Pope

For the Catholics who have descended on Rome for an event that comes every 25 years, the absence of Francis has been especially deeply felt.

NATIONAL A12-21

Staff Cuts Disrupt the V.A.

Clinical trials have been delayed, contracts canceled and support staff fired. Some warn of risk to veterans. PAGE A14

Wary of Soil After L.A. Fires

Federal agencies aren't testing for contaminants, so scientists and residents are doing it themselves. PAGE A12



BUSINESS B1-5

Talk of Recession Sinks Stocks

Investors feared that tit-for-tat tariffs could raise prices, slow the economy and sow uncertainty among businesses after the president refused to rule out a downturn set off by his policies. PAGE B1

From Wasteland to Solar Farm

The Hanford Nuclear Reservation is set to become the country's largest solar generating station, so long as President Trump doesn't thwart it.

OPINION A22-23

Gail Collins & Bret Stephens

SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

Covid's Place in History

Five years after the pandemic started, experts see similarities and differences with other great illnesses.

Trying to Keep Cats Healthy

Many aspects of feline health remain a mystery. Our cat-owning reporter learned this the hard way.



SPORTS B6-9

A Pitcher's Leaps of Thanks

Jefry Yan, trying to make the Colorado Rockies, has multipart strikeout celebrations. They're not meant to offend, he said, but to honor his family, which has stuck with him.

Setting Up a Title Chase A look at how the top teams in the

country stack up as the N.C.A.A. women's basketball tournament draws near, from upset hopefuls to Final Four contenders.

