breezy, warmer, high 80. Tonight, in-

partly sunny, breezy, less humid,

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TUESDAY, APRIL 29, 2025

Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00

Ukraine Pins Its War Hopes On Innovation

With U.S. Aid in Doubt, Drones Provide Cover

By ANDREW E. KRAMER

KUPIANSK, Ukraine - The Ukrainian soldiers rose in the predawn, stretching, rubbing their eyes and rolling up sleeping bags in a basement hide-out near the front line in the country's east. Their day would not take them far afield. Most stayed in the basement, working with keyboards and joysticks controlling drones.

At a precarious moment for Ukraine, as the country wobbles between hopes that President Trump's cease-fire talks will end the war and fears that the United States will withdraw military support, the soldiers were taking part in a Ukrainian Army initiative that Kyiv hopes will allow it to stay in the fight absent American weapons.

Should the peace talks fail, or the United States discontinue arms shipments, the Ukrainian drone initiative is likely to take on more importance. The program doubles down on unmanned systems that are assembled in Ukraine, mostly small exploding drones flown from basement shel-

On Monday, President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia added to the many uncertainties in the war by ordering a three-day cease-fire in Ukraine next month, though it is unclear if such a pause would hold, or even start. That announcement followed a week of unabated warfare in Ukraine, including the deadliest attack on Kyiv, the capital, in nearly a year, and of conflicting signals about what would come next from the Trump administration.

President Trump has been less critical of Ukraine's leadership in recent days, instead rebuking Mr. Putin for his continuing bombardment of Ukraine. But Mr. Trump

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Pre-Conclave, **Smart Strategy** Is Play It Cool

By JASON HOROWITZ and ELISABETTA POVOLEDO

ROME — In March 2013, Cardinal Jorge Mario Bergoglio of Argentina gave a roughly fourminute speech at one of the closed-door meetings in the Vatican before the conclave to elect the next pope. The short remarks, envisioning a church that got out of its insular comfort zones and self-referential habits, went over

When the cardinals voted in the Sistine Chapel days later, they picked him to lead the way forward, and he emerged as Pope

On Monday, after hundreds of thousands of faithful came to Francis' funeral and burial over the weekend, cardinals began a critical week of such meetings, where church leaders, including those considered papabili, or pope material, will give brief statements about the major issues facing the church. The meetings began the day after Francis died, but they will now pick up in intensity, becoming a short campaign trail leading to the conclave next

They give the cardinals - especially those under the age of 80, who can vote in the conclave — a chance to feel one another out and gauge priorities, agendas and charisma. The meetings, so-called general congregations, are also a forum for potential flameouts. The first rule of papal campaigning is that there is no papal campaign-Continued on Page A9

How the Trump White House Reshapes Media Coverage

By ASHLEY WU, REBECCA LIEBERMAN, MICHAEL M. GRYNBAUM and DOUG MILLS

The Trump administration has reconfigured the White House press briefing room to provide more time and space to a new group of openly pro-Trump attendees. Representatives of nontraditional outlets crowd the perimeter — a change from the Biden administration — and are often called on by the president's press secretary, Karoline Leavitt. A closer look at the room, Pages A18-19.



APRIL 8 Karoline Leavitt, press secretary for the Trump White House



JULY 2 Karine Jean-Pierre, press secretary for the Biden White House.

Few Repairs Seen for Smashed Economic Order

By PATRICIA COHEN

President Trump has made reigning global economic order. And in 100 days, he has made remarkable progress in accomplishing that goal.

ANALYSIS

Mr. Trump has provoked a trade war, scrapped

treaties and suggested that Washington might not defend Europe. He is also dismantling the governmental infrastructure that has provided the know-how

As Trump Erodes Trust, World Will Adjust

and experience.

The changes have been deep. But the world is still churning. Midterm elections in two years could erode the Republican majority in Congress. And Mr. Trump's reign is constitutionally mandated to end in four years. Could the next president come in and undo what the Trump administration has done?

As Cardinal Michael Czerny, a close aide to Pope Francis, said of the Catholic Church: "There is nothing that we have done over 2,000 years that couldn't be

rolled back." The same could be said of global geopolitics. Yet even at this early stage, historians and political scientists agree that on some crucial counts, the changes wrought by Mr. Trump may be

hard to reverse. Like the erosion of trust in the Continued on Page A10



Blackout Disrupts Portugal and Spain

People scrambled for buses at Madrid Atocha Station after a power failure hit critical infrastructure, halting many routine activities and shutting down trains, subways and flights. Page A10.

Changes Set Off Exodus At Civil Rights Division Of Justice Department

Lawyers Cite Less Focus on Marginalized

WASHINGTON — Hundreds of lawyers and other staff members are leaving the Justice Department's civil rights division, as veterans of the office say they have been driven out by Trump administration officials who want to drop its traditional work to aggressively pursue cases against the Ivy League, other schools and

The wave of departures has only accelerated in recent days, as the administration reopened its "deferred resignation program," which would allow employees to resign but continue to be paid for a period of time. The offer, for those who work in the division, was to expire on Monday. More than 100 lawyers are expected to take it, on top of a raft of earlier departures, in what would amount to a decimation of the ranks of a crucial part of the Justice Department.

"Now, over 100 attorneys decided that they'd rather not do what their job requires them to do, and I think that's fine," Harmeet K. Dhillon, the new head of the division, said in an interview with the conservative commentator Glenn Beck over the weekend, welcoming the turnover and making plain the division's priorities.

"We don't want people in the federal government who feel like it's their pet project to go persecute" police departments, she said. "The job here is to enforce the federal civil rights laws, not

woke ideology.' Traditionally the department has protected the constitutional rights of minority communities and marginalized people, often by monitoring police departments for civil rights violations, protecting the right to vote and fighting housing discrimination.

Now, more than a dozen current and former civil rights division lawyers say, the new administration appears intent on not simply modifying the direction of the work, as has been typical during changeovers from a Democratic administration to a Republican

The administration is instead determined, the lawyers said, to fundamentally end how the storied division has functioned since it was established during the Eisenhower administration, becoming an enforcement arm for President Trump's agenda against state and local officials, college administrators and student protesters, among others.

It is a remarkable shift from the start of the second Trump administration, when many lawyers in the division planned to stay on, confident that their work would be much like it was in the first Trump term, with shifting priorities but

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CONGRESSIONAL MEMO

Democrats Aim To Play Offense On Rivals' Cuts

By CARL HULSE

WASHINGTON - Out of power, disorganized and stung by their November election losses, Democrats have struggled to mount a coherent response to President Trump as he has unleashed a blitz of contentious nominations, explosive executive orders and an unforeseen rampage by Elon Musk and his acolytes through the executive

Now, with Congress back from its spring recess on Monday and Republicans under pressure to deliver on a legislative agenda, Democrats believe they have a prime opportunity for a reset. Republicans will be forced to begin providing politically charged specifics of their tax and spending program, handing the minority ample fodder for at-

House Republicans have so far been able to generalize about their spending plans in the budget outline that they barely squeezed through the House and Senate. But beginning this week in multiple House committees, lawmakers will have to explain in public how they would achieve \$1.5 trillion or more in savings to go with hundreds of billions of dollars in new spending on the military and border enforcement, and trillions in tax cuts.

"Up to this point, Republicans have been lying about their intentions," Representative Hakeem Jeffries of New York, the House Democratic leader, said in an interview. "As we move for-

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CALL TO ACTION In New Hampshire, Gov. JB Pritzker criticized his fellow Democrats for being "timid, not bold." PAGE A12



Senator Josh Hawley refused to vote for cuts to Medicaid.

G.O.P. Populist Finds His Lane Next to Trump

By ROBERT DRAPER

WASHINGTON — The lone Republican vote in the Senate last month to protect consumers from bank overdraft fees came from an unlikely Democratic ally: Senator Josh Hawley, the archconservative from Missouri best known for calling out "wokeness" in all sectors of society, and for raising his fist to offer solidarity with supporters of President Trump hours before the Jan. 6 assault on the Capitol.

And yet the overdraft vote was hardly the first time Mr. Hawley had stood apart from his Republican colleagues. In 2023 he introduced a bill to cap out-of-pocket insulin costs at \$25 per month, which died in committee for lack of Republican support. He has broken from his party by refusing to vote for cuts to Medicaid as part of the budget reconciliation process.

In March he joined a Democrat, Senator Cory Booker of New Jersey, to offer a bill that would speed up the contracting process for new unions. A G.O.P. senator, Bernie Moreno of Ohio, signed on as a cosponsor, but otherwise. Mr. Hawley said in a recent phone interview, "not a single Republican

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BUSINESS B1-5

An Opportunity for the Euro

European officials see the concern over the stability of U.S. financial assets as a chance to attract investors.

Stunned Into Paralysis

Hundreds of companies, most of them small businesses, say steep import taxes are forcing a reckoning. PAGE B1



ONLINE

Canadians Head to Polls The nation held its election on Monday in a battle between Liberals and Conservatives. Coverage at nytimes.com

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Distrust Runs Deep in Syria

A Kurdish-led force agreed to merge into a new national army, but some supporters remain wary. PAGE A6

SPORTS B6-10

He Just Can't Stay Away

Reds Manager Terry Francona can't resist the clubhouse's lure.

NATIONAL A11-19

Food Banks Fight for Scraps

In one of the country's poorest areas, aid cuts to anti-hunger groups have forced one charity to make do with thin soup and dried cranberries.

An Albuquerque Deployment

New Mexico's governor says the National Guard will help quell crime, but the deeply blue city is uneasy. PAGE A14

OBITUARIES A20-21

A Champion With the Knicks

Dick Barnett, whose trademark jump shot helped New York win two N.B.A. titles in the 1970s, was 88.

At 13, Already Writing Well

An anthology of Charlotte Brontë's very early poetry shows ambition and talent, even if the verse is not perfect. PAGE CI

Director Takes On 'Salome'

Claus Guth focuses on themes of trauma and abuse in Strauss's opera. Below, Michelle DeYoung.



SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

When Snow Turns Deadly

This season, more than 20 people died in avalanches throughout the United States. Can mountains be safer? PAGE D1

Diet Tips From Rodents

Studies in neuroscience may tell us what rats and mice seem to know about weight loss and hunger. PAGE D1

PAGE A22

OPINION A22-23

Noah Shachtman

