windy, cooler, high 59. **Tonight,** mainly clear, breezy in the evening, low 51. **Tomorrow,** warmer, sunny,

\$6.00

VOL. CLXXIV ... No. 60,502

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SUNDAY, APRIL 27, 2025

Prices in Canada may be higher

Trump Is Pleasing Putin, Not Just on Ukraine

Rifts With Allies and Program Cuts

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — If President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia drafted a shopping list of what he wanted from Washington, it would be hard to beat what he

was offered in the first 100 days of ANALYSIS President Trump's

new term. Pressure on Ukraine to surrender territory to Russia? Check. The promise of sanctions re-

lief? Check. Absolution from invading

Ukraine? Check. Indeed, as Mr. Trump met with President Volodymyr Želensky of Ukraine on the sideline of the funeral of Pope Francis on Saturday, the president's vision for peace appeared notably onesided, letting Russia keep the regions it had taken by force in violation of international law while forbidding Ukraine to ever join NATO.

But that is not all that Mr. Putin has gotten out of Mr. Trump's return to power. Intentionally or not, many of the president's actions on other fronts also suit Moscow's interests, including the rifts he has opened with America's traditional allies and the changes he has made to the U.S. government itself.

Mr. Trump has been tearing down U.S. institutions that have long aggravated Moscow, such as Voice of America and the National Endowment for Democracy. He has been disarming the nation in its netherworld battle against Russia by temporarily halting cyberoffensive operations and curbing programs to combat Russian disinformation, election interference, sanctions violations and war crimes.

He spared Russia the tariffs he is imposing on imports from nearly every other nation, arguing that it was already under sanctions. Yet he still applied the tariff on Ukraine, the other party he is negotiating with. And in a reversal from his first term, Politico reported that Mr. Trump's team is reportedly discussing whether to lift sanctions

pipeline to Europe, a project he has repeatedly condemned.

'Trump has played right into Putin's hands," said Ivo Daalder, chief executive of the Chicago Council on Global Affairs and ambassador to NATO under President Barack Obama. "It's hard to see how Trump would have acted any differently if he were a Russian asset than how he has acted in the first 100 days

of his second term." Karoline Leavitt, the White House press secretary, rejected the notion that Mr. Trump's actions have been to Russia's advantage. "The president only acts in the interest of the United States," she said in an interview.

She added that there was no connection between Russia and the cuts to various organizations that have been orchestrated by Elon Musk's Department of Government Efficiency, or DOGE, or similar efforts to pare

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President Trump and President Vladimir V. Putin in 2018.

FINAL PUSH Russia said that it recaptured the last village Kyiv

held in the Kursk region. PAGE 8

TALKING The presidents of the U.S. and Ukraine met before Pope Francis' funeral, PAGE 12

on Russia's Nord Stream 2 gas Confusing Time | DOGE Savings To Own a Tesla In Blue Marin

By HEATHER KNIGHT

MILL VALLEY, Calif. — In the parking lots of Mill Valley, Calif., mysterious index cards have surfaced on the windshields of Tesla Model Xs and Model 3s.

"Stop Elon," they urge in teal script. "Dump your Tesla."

A few years ago, buying a Tesla in Mill Valley meant that you had money, but were not overly showy. It meant you were a progressive environmentalist who had style.

Ten miles north of the Golden Gate Bridge, tucked into the lush, green hills of Marin County, Mill Valley is an idyllic place to live for those who are wealthy and lib-

It meant you belonged.

And for years, Teslas were "the Ferrari for the Patagonia-wearing crowd," said Nathan Ballard, a political consultant who lives in Mill Valley and owns a black Tesla Model S.

But the sleek electric cars have come to mean something else entirely for Mill Valley residents since the presidential election.

Activists elsewhere have set fire to Tesla charging stations, scrawled swastikas into Tesla vehicles and sprayed graffiti on dealerships. The battle raging in Mill Valley is something quieter: an internal war within the minds and

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Could Be Offset By Firing Costs

By ELIZABETH WILLIAMSON

WASHINGTON - President Trump and Elon Musk promised taxpayers big savings, maybe even a "DOGE dividend" check in their mailboxes, when the Department of Government Efficiency was let loose on the federal government. Now, as he prepares to step back from his presidential assignment to cut bureaucratic fat, Mr. Musk has said without providing details that DOGE is likely to

save taxpayers only \$150 billion. That is about 15 percent of the \$1 trillion he pledged to save, less than 8 percent of the \$2 trillion in savings he had originally promised and a fraction of the nearly \$7 trillion the federal government spent in the 2024 fiscal year.

The errors and obfuscations underlying DOGE's claims of savings are well documented. Less known are the costs Mr. Musk incurred by taking what Mr. Trump called a "hatchet" to government and the resulting firings, agency lockouts and building seizures

that mostly wound up in court. The Partnership for Public Service, a nonprofit organization that studies the federal work force, has used budget figures to produce a rough estimate that firings, re-hirings, lost productivity and paid leave of thousands of

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Pope Francis' funeral procession passed the Colosseum in Rome on its way to the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore on Saturday.

HOW ISRAEL SENT A.I. INTO COMBAT

With Technology Came Fatal Consequences

> By SHEERA FRENKEL and NATAN ODENHEIMER

In late 2023, Israel was aiming to assassinate Ibrahim Biari, a top Hamas commander in the northern Gaza Strip who had helped plan the Oct. 7 massacres. But Israeli intelligence could not find Mr. Biari, who they believed was hidden in the network of tunnels underneath Gaza.

So Israeli officers turned to a new military technology infused with artificial intelligence, three Israeli and American officials briefed on the events said. The technology was developed a decade earlier but had not been used in battle. Finding Mr. Biari provided new incentive to improve the tool, so engineers in Israel's Unit 8200, the country's equivalent of the National Security Agency, soon integrated A.I. into it, the people said.

Shortly thereafter, Israel listened to Mr. Biari's calls and tested the A.I. audio tool, which gave an approximate location for where he was making his calls. Using that information, Israel ordered airstrikes to target the area on Oct. 31, 2023, killing Mr. Biari. More than 125 civilians also died in the attack, according to Airwars, a London-based conflict

monitor. The audio tool was just one example of how Israel has used the war in Gaza to rapidly test and deploy A.I.-backed military tech-Continued on Page 10

Last Act for Pope Who Saw a Church for All

By JASON HOROWITZ

VATICAN CITY — In a solemn and majestic funeral on the steps of St. Peter's Basilica, the Roman Catholic Church on Saturday laid to rest Pope Francis, the first South American pope, whose simple style, pastoral vision and outsize footprint on the world stage both reinvigorated and divided the institution that he led for a dozen years.

Heads of state, royals and religious leaders sat with an array of Catholic prelates in brilliant red robes around a closed cypress coffin holding the body of Francis, who died Monday at 88. Atop his coffin, the pages of an open book of the gospels fanned in the

Hundreds of thousands of faith-

Multitudes at Majestic Ceremony as Francis Is Laid to Rest

ful filled and spilled out of St. Peter's Square and streamed down the long avenue to the Tiber River. In the previous days, about 250,000 waited on long lines to say farewell to the pope, whose body was dressed in red vestments and scuffed black shoes, as he lay in state before the basilica's altar.

"The guiding thread of his mission was also the conviction that the church is a home for all, a home with its doors always open," said Cardinal Giovanni Battista Re, dean of the College of Cardi-

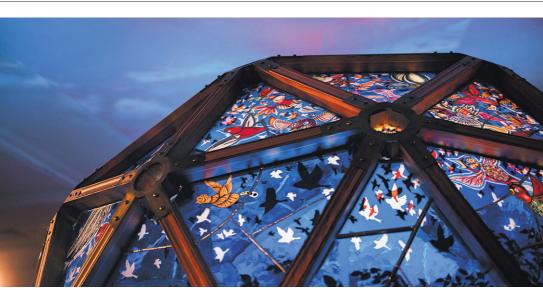
nals, in his homily during the Requiem Mass on Saturday.

the cardinals arrayed around him prepared to head into a conclave next month to choose Francis' successor, Cardinal Re avoided obvious political over-tones but highlighted Francis' pastoral and inclusive approach and his humble style as key to the esteem in which Francis was held inside and outside the church.

Francis had spread the faith with a sense of joy, a "great spontaneity and an informal way of addressing everyone," he said, and a spirit of "welcome and listening." But Francis also "truly shared the anxieties, sufferings and hopes of this time of globalization."

Francis, perhaps the world's loudest voice for the voiceless,

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Art Is Bolder Than Ever

As they adapt to shifting circumstances, artists and museums are challenging us to examine social justice, the environment and more. And there's still room for awe, wonder and joy. Special Section.

The Shift to a Paler Froot Loop Would Happen Slowly, if at All

By JULIE CRESWELL

Same cereal. Same sugary

taste. Different hues. A box of Froot Loops sold in the United States contains vivid rings of red, orange, green, purple, yellow and blue — neon colors derived from synthetic dyes, like Red No. 40, Yellow No. 5, Blue No. 1 and Yellow No. 6. In a box sold in Canada, the colored rings obtain paler shades from the juices of blueberries, watermelon and huito, an Amazonian fruit. And not a single one is blue. (Photos, Page

The manufacturer in both countries, WK Kellogg, formerly known as the Kellogg Company, can clearly make Froot Loops without synthetic dyes. The question is: Will it and other big food companies adopt the approach in the United States? And will consumers, raised on color-popping cereals, flame-colored nacho chips and neon blue sports drinks consume those foods if they are a

Challenges in Phasing Out Food Dyes

Robert F. Kennedy Jr., the secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services, wants them to. On Tuesday, Mr. Kennedy, who has long criticized artificial dyes used in Froot Loops and other processed foods as part of a larger food system that he says contributes to chronic dis-

ease and poor health, announced that he had reached "an understanding" with major food manufacturers to remove commonly used petroleum-based food colorings from their products by 2026.

The meaning of "an understanding" remains unclear. No food companies attended the news conference, and few have said they will remove synthetic colors, which the Food and Drug Administration currently allows.

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ARTS & LEISURE Theo Von Has Something to Say

The comedian and podcaster is one of the defining conversationalists of media's new MAGA-friendly mainstream. But he can be harder to pin down than his bro-cast peers.

'Gatsby' and Its Great Run

F. Scott Fitzgerald's classic novel turns 100 this year. What does its gilded protagonist tell us about how we see ourselves? Our critic A.O. Scott follows the book through the decades.

SUNDAY OPINION



SUNDAY STYLES

You Can Taste the Difference

A deep dive into hyperflavor, in vehicles like matcha-mango morning buns and miso and truffle deviled eggs.

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Turning Teams Into Influencers

The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill is aiming to remake its student-athletes into well-paid social media stars. Other colleges are following suit.

Harvard's \$53 Billion Question

The Trump administration's war on elite universities has forced the nation's oldest one to think about tapping its endowment, and to consider the causes all that money may serve.



Survivor of Epstein Scandal

Dominican Republic.

INTERNATIONAL 4-13

OBITUARIES 24-26

Nightclub Disaster Examined

Weight and vibrations may have contributed to the rooftop collapse in the

Virginia Giuffre, a victim of Jeffrey Epstein's sex-trafficking ring who sued Prince Andrew, was 41.

NATIONAL 14-23

From Table to Ocean

A team is rebuilding an oyster habitat using restaurants' old shells. PAGE 14

METROPOLITAN

Deported 'Home' a Stranger

After 21 years in New York, a man was

whisked back to Jamaica, where he was looked at "like a criminal."

A Strip of Queens Runs Wild

next must-see destination.

Nature has reclaimed an abandoned rail line, which may or may not become the

Krista Mahr

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