

NEWS ANALYSIS

## Trump’s Shift On Ukraine: You All Fix It

### U.S. Backs Off Putin, Splitting With Allies

This article is by **David E. Sanger, Jonathan Swan, Maggie Haberman and Michael Schwartz.**

PRAIANO, Italy — For months, President Trump has been threatening to simply walk away from the frustrating negotiations for a cease-fire between Russia and Ukraine.

After a phone call on Monday between Mr. Trump and President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia, that appears to be exactly what the American president is doing. The deeper question now is whether he is also abandoning America’s three-year-long project to support Ukraine, a nascent democracy that he has frequently blamed for being illegally invaded.

Mr. Trump told President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine and other European leaders after his call with Mr. Putin that Russia and Ukraine would have to find a solution to the war themselves, just days after saying that only he and Mr. Putin had the power to broker a deal. And he backed away from his own threats to join a European pres-



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Ukraine’s military has still been receiving U.S. intelligence.

sure campaign that would include new sanctions on Russia, according to six officials who were familiar with the discussion. They spoke on condition of anonymity to describe a private conversation.

Their account sheds light on Mr. Trump’s decision to throw up his hands when it comes to a peace process that he had previously promised to resolve in just 24 hours.

And, unless he again reverses course, Monday’s developments left Mr. Putin with exactly what he wanted: not only an end to American pressure, but the creation of a deep fissure inside the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, between the Americans and their traditional European allies, who say they are going ahead with sanctions anyway.

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## F.D.A. Will Sharpen Scrutiny On Who May Need Covid Shot

By **CHRISTINA JEWETT and APOORVA MANDAVILLI**

The Food and Drug Administration will permit use of Covid vaccines by adults over 65 and those with certain medical conditions in the fall, but may require additional studies before approving the shots for healthy Americans younger than 65, agency officials said on Tuesday.

At this point, the additional doses offer “uncertain” benefits to many young and middle-aged people who have already been vaccinated or have had Covid, Dr. Vinay Prasad, the F.D.A.’s vaccine division chief, and Dr. Martin Makary, the agency’s commissioner, wrote in The New England

## U.S. Embraces Climate Denial In Science Cuts

### Policies Throttle Ability to Respond to Crisis

By **DAVID GELLES**

When the Trump administration declared this month that it would largely disregard the economic cost of climate change as it sets policies and regulations, it was just the latest step in a multi-pronged effort to erase global warming from the American agenda.

But President Trump is doing more than just turning a blind eye to the fact that the planet is growing hotter. He is weakening the country’s capacity to understand global warming and to prepare for its consequences.

The administration has dismantled climate research, firing some of the nation’s top scientists, and gutted efforts to chart how fast greenhouse gases are building up in the atmosphere and what that means for the economy, employment, agriculture, health and other aspects of American society. The government will no longer track major sources of greenhouse gases, data that has been used to measure the scale and identify sources of the problem for the past 15 years.

“We’re not doing that climate change, you know, crud, anymore,” Agriculture Secretary Brooke Rollins told Fox Business on May 8.

By getting rid of data, the administration is trying to halt the national discussion about how to deal with global warming, said Daniel Swain, a climate scientist at the University of California, Los Angeles. “The notion of there being any shared factual reality just seems to be completely out the window,” he said.

At the same time, through cuts to the National Weather Service and by denying disaster relief through the Federal Emergency Management Agency, the administration has weakened the country’s ability to prepare for and recover from hurricanes, wildfires, droughts and other extreme weather that is being made worse by climate change.

The president is also moving to loosen restrictions on air pollution, which experts say will lead to more planet-warming emissions, and to overturn the government’s legal authority to regulate those gases.

Taken together, these moves are poised to leave the world’s biggest economy less informed, less prepared and, over time, more polluted.

Mr. Trump dismisses the threats posed by climate change, suggesting that rising seas would create more “oceanfront property.” He blames “climate lunatics” for environmental regulations that he says have been a drag on the American economy.

On his first day in office, Mr.

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### An Enormous Gift ...

The plane would be one of the biggest foreign gifts ever received by the U.S. government, with no plans to seek congressional approval. Mr. Trump insisted that it was not a gift to him, but to the Defense Department, and it would then go to his presidential library.

### ... But Is It a Gift?

Qatari officials had a different version of events, according to a person familiar with their timeline. They were willing to send the jet to Florida for Mr. Trump to take a tour. But the expectation — among Qatari and U.S. officials — was that the plane would be sold.

### A Long, Expensive Road

Even if the plane is donated, the cost to retrofit it would be enormous: at least \$1 billion. Getting 747 parts will only become more difficult, because the planes are no longer manufactured. And one expert said it would be beyond 2027 before the Qatari plane could be ready.

## Weeks of Secret Coordination Between Washington and Doha for Plane

This article is by **Eric Lipton, Maggie Haberman, Adam Rasgon and Eric Schmitt.**

WASHINGTON — President Trump wanted a quick solution to his Air Force One problem.

The United States signed a \$3.9 billion contract with Boeing in 2018 for two jets to be used as Air Force One, but a series of delays had slowed the work far past the 2024 delivery deadline, possibly beyond Mr. Trump’s second term.

Now Mr. Trump had to fly around in the same old planes that transported President George H.W. Bush 35 years ago. It was not just a vanity project. Those



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### Standing Up to a Backlash

A 12-foot Times Square statue has become a lightning rod in a fraught debate on race, representation and diversity. Page A16.

and Doha. The Pentagon and the White House’s military office swung into action, and Mr. Trump’s Middle East envoy, Steven Witkoff, played a key role.

Soon after Mr. Trump took office, military officials started to discuss how the United States could buy a temporary plane for Mr. Trump to use while Boeing’s work creaked along, an investigation by The New York Times found. But by May 11, when the president announced on social media that Qatar would be providing the plane to the United States, he characterized it as “a GIFT, FREE OF CHARGE.”

There are lingering questions

## Tensions Climb as Israel’s Allies Condemn Its Escalation in Gaza

By **AARON BOXERMAN and STEPHEN CASTLE**

JERUSALEM — Israel’s threats to drastically escalate the war in Gaza and its blockade of humanitarian aid to a Palestinian population at risk of famine have drawn the sharpest condemnation yet from some powerful Western allies since the conflict began 19 months ago.

On Tuesday, Britain said it was suspending talks with Israel on expanding a free-trade agreement. The day before, Britain, France and Canada had issued a rare public reprimand of Israel, demanding it cease the renewed military offensive.

“We have always supported Israel’s right to defend Israelis against terrorism,” a joint statement by the three countries said. “But this escalation is wholly disproportionate.”

The message made clear that Israel’s conduct of the war in Gaza, the high Palestinian death toll and the abysmal humanitarian conditions in Gaza were pushing some of the country’s most powerful international supporters to the limits of what they would tolerate.

Israel is threatening to take full control of Gaza in the next stage of the war and hem Gazans into even more limited zones. Israel has also been blocking humanitarian aid



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### Waiting for water in Gaza, where Israel has blocked aid.

from Gaza for more than two months, even as the United Nations warns that the population is under threat of famine.

Last weekend, Israel said it would begin allowing some humanitarian aid to flow into Gaza. But the authorities let only five trucks in on Monday.

A senior U.N. humanitarian official, Tom Fletcher, told the BBC on Tuesday that 14,000 babies in Gaza could die in the next 48 hours unless truckloads of aid could enter. He said thousands of trucks, some containing baby food, were ready to move in.

Britain, France and Canada called the expanded Israeli campaign

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### A Life Savings, Gone

A thief stole 401(k) checks out of the mail. But why send paper checks? The debut of How Did This Happen? PAGE B1

Trump Berates Retailers

The president said companies should “eat” the costs of his tariffs rather than pass them on to customers. PAGE B1

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### Aid Cuts Imperil Africa Trade

President Trump’s slashing of foreign assistance threatens road and energy projects that diplomats and experts say align with U.S. priorities. PAGE A4

### \$7 Home on the Emerald Isle

Imelda Collins is raffling her house and land near an Irish coastal town rather than sell it on the conventional market. Anyone in the world can enter. PAGE A7

### A Downsized U.K. Economy

The prime minister’s government made some politically fraught concessions to eke out trade deals with the E.U. and the U.S. News Analysis. PAGE A7

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### Waiting in the Dark

The Trump administration is trying to claw back climate grants, including \$147 million to help Puerto Rico mitigate frequent power failures. PAGE A9

### Tax With Ramifications

A G.O.P. plan aimed at wealthy Ivy League institutions might also be costly for smaller, private colleges. PAGE A13

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### So Much for the Naysayers

Some say Coach Tom Thibodeau uses his starters too much, or is stubborn. But the Knicks are still playing. PAGE B7

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### Medieval Marvels on Display

At the Morgan Library, 15th-century illuminated atlases embody an enduring appetite for wonder and myth. PAGE C1

### An Album Lost and Found

Grace Potter (of Nocturnals fame) discusses making an LP 16 years ago that is finally being released. PAGE C1

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### Time for a Real Gut Check

Worried about a job involving so much restaurant food, our critic tried out a gastrointestinal testing service. PAGE D1

### The Versatility of Sotol

This traditional spirit from Northern Mexico is often sipped neat but can also be a cocktail ingredient. PAGE D7

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### Patti Davis

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