



LINH PHAM FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Swimmers near a ferry dock in Vietnam’s Hung Yen province, an area expected to be cleared for a Trump family development.

Vietnam’s Rushto Rip Up Land for a Trump Golf Complex

By DAMIEN CAVE
HUNG YEN PROVINCE, Viet-
nam — When officials in the home
province of Vietnam’s top leader
went door to door recently, press-
ing residents to sign letters agree-
ing to the Trump Organization’s
plans for a new golf community,
Le Van Truong wanted to refuse.
Planning documents promised
a “new benchmark in luxury, re-
creation and business.” Mr. Truong,
54, pictured something else: the
uprooting of a cemetery with five
generations of his ancestors and
the loss of rich farmland that has

sustained local families for cen-
turies.
Yet he signed anyway, because,
as he put it, “there’s nothing I can
do.”
“Trump says it’s separate — the
presidency and his business,” Mr.
Truong said. “But he has the power
to do whatever he wants.”
This \$1.5 billion golf complex
outside the capital, Hanoi, as well
as plans for a Trump skyscraper
in Ho Chi Minh City, are the Trump
family’s first projects in Vietnam
— part of a global moneymaking
enterprise that no family of a sit-
ting American president has ever

Skirting Its Own Laws, in Light of Levies

attempted on this scale. And as
that blitz makes the Trumps
richer, it is distorting how coun-
tries interact with the United
States.
To fast-track the Trump devel-
opment, Vietnam has ignored its
own laws, legal experts said,
granting concessions more gener-
ous than what even the most con-
nected locals receive. Vietnamese

officials, in a letter obtained by
The New York Times, explicitly
stated that the project required
special support from the top ranks
of the Vietnamese government
because it was “receiving special
attention from the Trump admin-
istration and President Donald
Trump personally.”
And Vietnamese officials have
waved the development along in
a moment of high-stakes diplomacy.
They face intense pressure to
strike a trade deal that would head
off President Trump’s threat of
steep tariffs, which would hit
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5 Years Later, Right Reframes Killing of Floyd

By SHAILA DEWAN
When the world saw the video
of George Floyd taking his last
breath under the knee of a police
officer while onlookers pleaded
for his life, the outrage was uni-
versal.
Republicans and Democrats
agreed it was horrific, as did po-
lice chiefs and rank-and-file offi-
cers, and protesters of every race
in towns large and small.
“It is important to recognize
that everyone should be on the
same side of this,” Ben Shapiro,
the prominent conservative com-
mentator, said back then, adding,
“It’s police brutality, obviously.” In
a televised trial, the officer, Derek
Chauvin, was convicted of murder
and sentenced to 22.5 years in
prison.
Five years later, that consensus
has disintegrated. The right-wing
reshaping of the narrative of that
day is in full swing, to the point
where Mr. Shapiro is calling on
President Trump to pardon Mr.
Chauvin.
In the right’s retelling, Mr.
Floyd did not die from being de-
prived of air, and Mr. Chauvin was
railroaded by a country that flew
into a panic over race and did not
consider the facts soberly. To build
this case, conservatives have
packaged misleading details from
court documents, images of burn-
ing and looting during the pro-
tests, Mr. Floyd’s criminal record
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JOHNNY MILLER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Beach and Barbecue Bites

It’s the unofficial start of summer, and you’re going to want to eat outdoors. We’ve got you covered with 24 highly portable recipes from snacks to sweets for wherever you’re headed. Special Section.

Lifestyle to Reverse Alzheimer’s Carries High Costs and, Many Say, False Hope

By LINDSAY GELLMAN
Kerry Briggs had trouble keep-
ing track of the supplements. To
help, her husband, John Briggs,
created a spreadsheet with rows
for ashwagandha, Omega-3 and
curcumin extract. There was gin-
seng, lion’s mane mushroom and
the antioxidant liposomal gluta-
thione, too.

Ms. Briggs, 64, had started tak-
ing the supplements last July, a
daily regimen that grew to include
34 capsules and tablets along with
two scoops of powder. When it be-
came too much, Mr. Briggs began
blending them into a shake, to
which he added brown food col-
oring so it looked less like its natu-
ral “sickly” olive shade.
Ms. Briggs was taking them all

because a doctor had told her that
with enough supplements and
lifestyle modifications, her
Alzheimer’s symptoms could not
only be slowed, but be reversed.
It is an idea that has become the
focus of television specials, popu-
lar podcasts and conferences; the
sell behind mushroom supple-
ments and self-help books.
But the suggestion that

Alzheimer’s can be reversed
through lifestyle adjustments has
outraged doctors and scientists in
the medical establishment, who
have repeatedly said that there is
little to no proof for such a claim,
and expressed concern that the
idea could harm a large group of
vulnerable Americans.
Mr. Briggs had come across the
idea after learning about Dale

Bredesen, who had been perform-
ing a series of small and uncon-
ventional studies through which
he claimed to have designed a set
of guidelines to reverse
Alzheimer’s symptoms.
“Very, very few people should
ever get this,” Mr. Bredesen told
an audience in July, referring to
cognitive decline. His company
Continued on Page 18

How Russia’s Spy Factory Assembled Moles in Brazil

Operatives Spent Years Creating Identities, Then Infiltrated Other Countries

By MICHAEL SCHWIRTZ and JANE BRADLEY
RIO DE JANEIRO — Artem
Shmyrev had everyone fooled.
The Russian intelligence officer
seemed to have built the perfect
cover identity. He ran a successful
3-D printing business and shared
an upscale apartment in Rio de Ja-
neiro with his Brazilian girlfriend
and a fluffy orange-and-white
Maine coon cat.
But most important, he had an
authentic birth certificate and
passport that cemented his alias
as Gerhard Daniel Campos Wit-
tich, a 34-year-old Brazilian citi-
zen.
After six years lying low, he was
impatient to begin real spy work.
“No one wants to feel loser,” he
wrote in a 2021 text message to his
Russian wife, who was also an in-
telligence officer, using imperfect
English. “That is why I continue
working and hoping.”
He was not alone. For years, a
New York Times investigation
found, Russia used Brazil as a
launchpad for its most elite intelli-
gence officers, known as illegals.
In an audacious and far-reaching
operation, the spies shed their
Russian pasts. They started busi-
nesses, made friends and had love
affairs — events that, over many
years, became the building blocks
of entirely new identities.
Major Russian spy operations
have been uncovered in the past,
including in the United States in
2010. This was different. The goal
was not to spy on Brazil, but to be-
come Brazilian. Once cloaked in
credible back stories, they would
set off for the United States, Eu-
rope or the Middle East and begin
working in earnest.
The Russians essentially
turned Brazil into an assembly
line for deep-cover operatives like
Mr. Shmyrev.
One started a jewelry business.
Another was a blond, blue-eyed
model. A third was admitted into
an American university. There
was a Brazilian researcher who
landed work in Norway, and a
married couple who eventually
went to Portugal.
Then it all came crashing down.
For the past three years, Brazil-
ian counterintelligence agents
have quietly and methodically
hunted these spies. Through
painstaking police work, these
agents discovered a pattern that
allowed them to identify the spies,
one by one.
Agents have uncovered at least
nine Russian officers operating
under Brazilian cover identities,
according to documents and inter-
views. Six have not been publicly
identified until now. The investi-
gation has already spanned at
least eight countries, officials
said, with intelligence coming
from the United States, Israel, the
Netherlands, Uruguay and other
Western security services.
Using hundreds of investigative
documents and interviews with
dozens of police and intelligence
officials across three continents,
The Times pieced together details
of the Russian spy operation in
Brazil and the secretive effort to
take it out.
Dismantling the Kremlin’s spy
factory was more than just a rou-
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SPY GAME A review of birth cer-
tificates used by operatives offers
a tantalizing possibility. PAGE 9

Pivoting From Tax Cuts to Tariffs, Trump Ignores the Warning Signs

By TONY ROMM and COLBY SMITH
WASHINGTON — One day af-
ter House Republicans approved
an expensive package of tax cuts
that rattled financial markets,
President Trump pivoted back to
his other signature policy priority,
unveiling a battery of tariff
threats that further spooked in-
vestors and raised the prospects
of higher prices on American con-
sumers.
For a president who has fash-
ioned himself as a shrewd steward
of the economy, the decision to es-
calate his global trade war on Fri-
day appeared curious and costly.
It capped off a week that saw Mr.
Trump ignore repeated warnings
that his agenda could worsen the
nation’s debt, harm many of his
own voters, hurt the finances of
low-income families and contrib-
ute far less in growth than the
White House contends.
The tepid market response to
the president’s economic policy
approach did little to sway Mr.
Trump, who chose on Friday to re-
vive the uncertainty that has kept
businesses and consumers on
edge. The president threatened 50
percent tariffs on the European
Union, and a 25 percent tariff on
Apple. Other tech companies, he
said, could face the same rate.
Since taking office, Mr. Trump
has raced to enact his economic
vision, aiming to pair generous
tax cuts with sweeping deregula-
tion that he says will expand
America’s economy. He has fash-
ioned his steep, worldwide tariffs
as a political cudgel that will raise
money, encourage more domestic
manufacturing and improve U.S.
trade relationships.
But for many of his signature
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More on the White House

NO BARGAINS The U.S. uses tariff
talks to pressure rivals. But the
E.U. thought it was dealing with
an ally. News Analysis. PAGE 4

TARGETS Top universities like
Harvard and foreign companies
would have higher taxes under a
House-passed bill. PAGE 20

INTERNATIONAL 4-13

Attacks Amid Prisoner Swap

The drone strikes, carried out by both
Russia and Ukraine, were a reminder
that any diplomatic resolution to the
conflict remains far off. PAGE 13

Blouse as ‘Ideological Weapon’

The colorfully embroidered Romanian
blouse traditionally worn by villagers
has been adopted by nationalists as a
political symbol. PAGE 6

An Ancient Practice Is Fading

Hong Kong’s bamboo scaffolding, a
distinctive latticework seen on towers
under construction across the city, has
begun to give way to metal. PAGE 7



ARTS & LEISURE

Founding Fathers at Odds

A Monticello tour focuses on Thomas
Jefferson and John Adams, and what
we can learn about U.S. politics. PAGE 6

NATIONAL 14-24

Town Covets Church’s Land

A church in New Jersey wants to build
a homeless shelter. The mayor is think-
ing pickleball courts. PAGE 14

Investor Is Accused of Torture

The police said the victim was held for
weeks in a Manhattan townhouse in a
bid to get his Bitcoin password. PAGE 24

METROPOLITAN

Powerful Men, Dark Mysteries

An F.B.I. investigation and allegations
by a woman who said her brother had
abused and controlled her for 45 years
have shocked a small town. PAGE 1



SUNDAY BUSINESS

How A.I. Is Already at Work

Artificial intelligence has begun to
change our jobs and the way we do
them. The future can seem both scary
and inspiring. PAGE 1

SUNDAY OPINION

Steven Pinker

PAGE 6

SUNDAY STYLES

Local News From Local Teens

The Ditch Weekly, a free paper staffed
by middle school and high school stu-
dents on Long Island, is covering the
Hamptons from a new angle. PAGE 4

The Last Lucille Roberts

A forgotten fitness pioneer built an
empire on the idea of creating a space
for everyday women. Her devotees are
still sweating through workouts at a
faded gym in Queens. PAGE 1

