

Trump Meeting  
Is Glint of Hope  
For Ukrainians

Huddle With Zelensky  
Seen as Shift in Tone

By KIM BARKER

KYIV, Ukraine — President Trump’s standing among Ukrainians is practically on life support. But many cheered one statement he made on Saturday after meeting with President Volodymyr Zelensky, questioning why President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia would continue to pummel Ukraine as the United States is trying to broker peace talks.

“It makes me think that maybe he doesn’t want to stop the war, he’s just tapping me along,” Mr. Trump wrote on Truth Social after meeting with Mr. Zelensky on the sidelines of Pope Francis’ funeral, adding that Mr. Putin may need to be “dealt with differently” — with more sanctions.

The day’s events were a victory of sorts for Mr. Zelensky and Ukraine at a critical juncture in the war, which began with Russia’s full-scale invasion in February 2022. The United States has been pushing Ukraine to accept a peace plan that seems in part a gift to Moscow. The proposal would force Kyiv to abandon its aspirations of joining NATO, offer Ukraine only vague security guarantees, and see the United States officially recognizing Crimea as Russian. Ukraine has rejected that deal, which the Trump administration had described as its final offer.

But now, Ukrainians see a small glimmer of hope that Mr. Trump will not try to force Ukraine into a lopsided peace plan. It first emerged in the fallout from a massive Russian missile attack on Ukraine’s capital early Thursday that killed 12 people and injured almost 90. “Vladimir, STOP!” Mr. Trump posted on Truth Social, in a rare rebuke of Mr. Putin.

And then, the hope grew slightly on Saturday when Mr. Zelensky managed to wrangle about 15 minutes with Mr. Trump in Rome. Photos released by the Ukrainian government showed the two men sitting in chairs and leaning toward each other, talking like equals — a vastly different scene than a disastrous meeting in the Oval Office in late February

*Continued on Page A9*



TYLER HICKS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ukrainians fired a howitzer at a Russian target in the Donetsk region of eastern Ukraine on Friday.

He Chases a Seat in Canada. China Chases Him.

By NORIMITSU ONISHI

TORONTO — Joe Tay, an actor and journalist running in Monday’s federal election in Canada, has not ventured outside to knock on constituents’ doors. He has not buttonholed voters at the local strip mall. Nor has he been seen schmoozing at public gatherings.

Fearing for his safety, Mr. Tay — a critic of the Chinese government, which has placed a bounty on Mr. Tay and offered \$130,000 for information leading to his arrest, and who is running in a key electoral district in Toronto — has waged perhaps the quietest cam-

Online Attacks Target a  
Critic of Beijing Who  
Carries a Bounty

paign of any candidate competing in the election.

And days before the vote, Mr. Tay’s ability to campaign shrank even further as Canadian government officials revealed that he had been the subject of coordinated online attacks on Chinese-language sites linked to the Chinese government. For the past

four years, Mr. Tay has denounced China’s tightening grip on Hong Kong and the disappearance there of democratic freedoms.

The attacks sought to discredit Mr. Tay, a Conservative, portraying him as a criminal, and to suppress information about his candidacy, Canadian officials said at a news conference this past week.

“There is a narrative being amplified by the P.R.C. government,”

*Continued on Page A10*

**BIG STAKES** Housing prices and U.S. pressure are among leading issues in Monday’s vote. **PAGE A10**

In This Conclave, Finding ‘Unity’ Has Rarely Felt More Divisive

By JASON HOROWITZ

VATICAN CITY — Even before Pope Francis was entombed in a Rome basilica on Saturday, conservative cardinals who felt his pontificate was a divisive disaster that endangered the church’s traditions had begun politicking to sway the conclave electing the next pope.

They have a seductively simple slogan: unity.

It is hard to imagine a less offensive rallying cry, but in the ears of Francis’ most committed supporters, it rings as a code word for rolling back Francis’ more inclusive vision of the Roman Catholic Church.

The concerns are a clear sign of the maneuvering by ideological camps that is already taking place among the cardinals as their shared mourning gives way to the looming task of voting for Francis’ successor in the conclave, which is expected to begin the first week of May.

The discussions leading up to the election are likely to touch on whether a successor to Francis should push forward, or roll back, his openness to potentially ordaining women as deacons or making some married men clergy or offering communion to divorced and remarried Catholics, among other deeply contested issues.



JAMES HILL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Cardinals at Pope Francis’ funeral. Ideological maneuvering has begun in the hunt for a new pope.

Already, the cardinals have been gathering in daily meetings behind the Vatican walls. Kicking off the sandals he was wearing with black socks after one such meeting last week in his book-lined study, one conservative cardinal, Gerhard Ludwig Müller of Germany, said he had spent the morning making the unity case.

The cardinals need to “look for the unification of the church,” said Cardinal Müller, whom Francis ousted from the church’s top doctrinal position in 2017. It is “necessary to speak about the division of the church today,” he said.

Some progressives within the church worry that the dozens of new cardinals Francis chose

around the world will be less versed in the Vaticanese and may be taken in by the sweetness of the unity siren.

“It sounds really good,” said Cardinal Michael Czerny of Canada, who was one of Francis’ closest advisers, but “it means reversal.” For those who opposed Fran-

*Continued on Page A6*

Bracing for Trump Tariffs,  
Both at Home and Abroad

E.U. Pharmaceutical  
Industry Is Facing  
Painful Choices

This article is by **Jeanna Smialek, Liz Alderman and Melissa Eddy.**

BRUSSELS — Insulin, heart treatments and antibiotics have flowed freely across many borders for decades, exempt from tariffs in a bid to make medicine affordable. But that could soon change.

For months, President Trump has been promising to impose higher tariffs on pharmaceuticals as part of his plan to reorder the global trading system and bring key manufacturing industries back to the United States. This month, he said pharmaceutical tariffs could come in the “not too distant future.”

If they do, the move would have serious — and wildly uncertain — consequences for drugs made in the European Union.

Pharmaceutical products and chemicals are the bloc’s No. 1 export to America. Among them are the weight-loss blockbuster Ozempic, cancer treatments, cardiovascular drugs and flu vaccines. Most are name-brand drugs that yield a large profit in the American market, with its high prices and vast numbers of consumers.

“These are critical things that keep people alive,” said Léa Auffret, who heads international affairs for BEUC, the European Consumer Organization. “Putting them in the middle of a trade war is highly concerning.”

European companies could react to Mr. Trump’s tariffs in a range of ways. Some pharmaceutical companies trying to dodge the tariffs have already announced plans to increase production in the United States, which Mr. Trump wants. Others could decide to move production there later.

Other companies appear to be staying put, but could raise their prices to cover the tariffs, pushing up costs for patients. And higher prices could affect not only American consumers, but also patients in Europe. Some companies have begun to argue that Europe should create more favorable conditions for their businesses by dismantling some of the rules that keep drug prices down.

Or some middle ground could play out: Companies might shift their financial profits to the United States for accounting purposes to avoid import charges, even as they leave their factories overseas to avoid the expenses of moving and challenges of having to set up new supply chains.

*Continued on Page A8*

U.S. Businesses and  
States Sue, Testing  
Executive Power

By **TONY ROMM**

WASHINGTON — Somewhere along a roughly 7,500-mile journey that begins in Shenzhen, China, there are 19 shipments bound for Rick Woldenberg, the chief executive of Learning Resources, an educational toy company in Vernon Hills, Ill.

Eventually, the containers of puzzle cards, child binoculars and other products will reach a port in the United States, and Mr. Woldenberg will face a difficult and expensive decision. He can pay the sky-high tariffs that President Trump has imposed on most foreign goods, or forgo at least some of the much-needed inventory, perhaps imperiling his bottom line.

Mr. Woldenberg expects to do a bit of both. But he has also opted for a more aggressive course of action, joining a growing roster of opponents now legally challeng-



THE NEW YORK TIMES

Companies say they might need to turn down shipments.

ing Mr. Trump’s ability to issue some of the tariffs in the first place.

Nearly four weeks into a costly global trade war with no end in sight, Mr. Trump is facing a barrage of lawsuits from state officials, small businesses and even once-allied political groups, all contending that the president cannot sidestep Congress and tax virtually any import at levels to his liking.

The lawsuits carry great significance, not just because the tariffs have roiled financial markets and threatened to plunge the United States into a recession. The legal challenges also stand to test Mr. Trump’s claims of expansive presidential power, while illustrating the difficult calculation that his opponents face in deciding

*Continued on Page A8*

Sisterhood of Apes Keeps Males  
In Line. The Peace? Not Really.

By **ANNIE ROTH**

Male domination is the natural order of things, some people say. But bonobos, primates with whom we share nearly 99 percent of our DNA, beg to differ.

Bonobos are great apes that live in female-dominated societies, a relative rarity among mammals, especially in species where males are the larger sex. While females are smaller than their male counterparts, they reign supreme in bonobo societies.

Scientists have long wondered how female bonobos maintain their matriarchies. In a study, published Thursday in the journal *Communications Biology*, researchers who tracked six bonobo communities in the Democratic Republic of Congo over nearly 30 years provided the first evidence-based explanation for how female



MARTIN SURBECK/KOKOLOPORI BONOBO RESEARCH PROJECT

Female bonobos rule as allies.

bonobos gain and sustain dominance over the males within their communities. Females, they found, form coalitions against males to tip the balance of power in their favor.

When a male bonobo steps out of line, nearby females will band

*Continued on Page A11*



NATIONAL A13-17, 20

**L.A. Trees Felled by Chain Saw**  
Over a dozen trees in downtown Los Angeles were destroyed by a man during nighttime forays. **PAGE A20**

**In Albany, New View on Tesla**  
Democratic lawmakers, turning on Elon Musk, have reversed their support of the electric carmaker. **PAGE A16**

INTERNATIONAL A4-12

**Vancouver Driver Massacre**  
At least 11 people were killed and dozens injured after a man drove into a Filipino community festival in British Columbia, the police said. **PAGE A11**

**Explosion at Iranian Port**  
At least 40 people were killed and more than 800 were injured in a blast at the Shahid Rajaei port, which is the nation’s largest. **PAGE A12**

**Rising India-Pakistan Tensions**  
As world powers face multiple crises, the one set off by a terror attack in Kashmir is receiving scant attention or help in de-escalating. **PAGE A12**



SPORTS D1-8

**Secrets to Curry’s Leadership**  
Teammates and coaches share stories about a Golden State star whose joy seems as endless as his skill. **PAGE D1**

**A Marathon Mark Is Broken**  
Tigst Assefa of Ethiopia shattered the women’s-only-race world record by 26 seconds in London. **PAGE D8**

BUSINESS B1-4

**Downfall of a Health Care Site**  
Timberline Knolls, a mental health center in Illinois owned by Acadia Healthcare, skimped on staff. And then came a series of tragedies, including rape and suicides. **PAGE B1**

**Doubts About Dollar Loom**  
Although the U.S. Treasury secretary sought to allay fears, global economic leaders at a gathering last week reckoned with the prospect that the U.S. safe haven could lose its luster. **PAGE B1**

OPINION A18-19

**David French** **PAGE A19**



ARTS C1-6

**No Rush to the Cemetery**  
“Dead Outlaw,” about a corpse’s career, is a surprisingly feel-good musical. Above from left, Trent Saunders, Andrew Durand and Eddie Cooper. **PAGE C1**

