

As Ears Closed,  
Pope Amplified  
Those Unheard

Lonely Moral Message  
in a Changing World

By JASON HOROWITZ  
VATICAN CITY — As the world Pope Francis consistently called for — one that cared for migrants, safeguarded the health of the planet and protected human rights — collapsed around him in recent years, Francis would react to the newest setback by going quiet.  
When Francis was “disappointed by certain political choices that governments are making,” Archbishop Paul Gallagher, the Vatican’s foreign minister and a close aide to Francis, said, “Silence comes upon him.”  
That silence is now permanent. The death of Pope Francis on Monday morning has now deprived the world of a persistent advocate for the downtrodden. As mass deportations become the norm, authoritarianism expands and the alliances that governed the post-World War II era are turned upside down, it is clear that Francis has left behind a world quite unlike the one he joined as pope in 2013.  
When he first stepped onto the balcony of St. Peter’s Basilica, Francis had joined a world stage packed with leaders, including President Barack Obama in the United States and Chancellor Angela Merkel in Germany, who broadly shared his views. Twelve years later, the pope’s funeral will be attended by a new crop of leaders whose politics align less closely with his own, including President Trump and President Javier Milei of Argentina.  
As progressive leaders successively left the world stage, Francis became an increasingly lonely voice in a world that has seemingly become ambivalent about many of his priorities. Now that he is gone, there is no obvious alternative to fill the void.  
“His voice is certainly missing,” said Archbishop Gallagher, who met with Vice President JD Vance in the Vatican on Saturday and stressed the Vatican’s concerns about migrants and refugees. “People are suddenly realizing that that voice was significant, and people were listening to it,” he said. It had been “one of the very few points of reference that people have in the world,” he said. “There’s a new world disorder being established.”  
Francis didn’t speak up only in support of those he considered vulnerable. He used his enormous platform as the spiritual leader of an estimated 1.3 billion Catholics to push back against world lead-

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CLIMATE Pope Francis framed the crisis as a dire spiritual issue and helped inspire activists. PAGE A4



BUENOS AIRES Parishioners in Pope Francis’ hometown lit candles on Monday after his death at 88.



VATICAN CITY Mourners at St. Peter’s Square, where the pope had appeared on Easter Sunday.



LOS ANGELES A gathering paid tribute to the leader of the world’s estimated 1.3 billion Catholics.

He Explored Space Travel’s Mysteries, and Left One of His Own



VIA SMITHSONIAN NATIONAL AIR & SPACE MUSEUM  
Willy Ley in 1950, with a model of a V-2 rocket on his desk.

By MAUREEN CAVANAGH

The basement of the prewar co-op on the Upper West Side was so cluttered and dark in one area that the staff called it “the Dungeon,” and last year, the building’s new superintendent resolved to clear it out.  
For weeks, he hauled the junk left behind by former tenants — old air-conditioners, cans of paint, ancient elevator parts and rolled-up carpets — through the winding hallway with its low ceilings to the dumpster out back.  
About halfway through the job, he spied an old tin can on a shelf

Ashes of Émigré Writer  
Turn Up in Basement  
of New York Co-op

next to a leaf blower. He read the label:  
“Remains of Willy Ley. Cremated June 26, 1969.”  
This was not the sort of thing you toss in a dumpster.  
The super brought his discovery to the co-op board president, Dawn Nadeau. She had plenty of co-op business to attend to — a

lobby renovation, a roof replacement — but the disposition of someone’s ashes was new to her.  
“We needed to handle the remains as respectfully as possible,” said Ms. Nadeau, a brand consultant. “So I set out trying to figure who this was and who it belonged to.”  
She scoured records and found no references to anyone named Ley ever having lived in the building, on 67th Street. Nor did calls to the crematory listed on the urn and the funeral home that had held Mr. Ley’s memorial service turn up any information.  
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Chaos Builds at Pentagon  
Under Hegseth’s Control

Ousted Advisers, Screaming Matches and  
Growing Mistrust of Senior Officers

By GREG JAFFE and HELENE COOPER

WASHINGTON — Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth arrived at the Pentagon in January with almost no government experience and huge ambitions to remake the way the military was being run.  
In just three months in office, Mr. Hegseth, a former Fox News host, has instead produced a run of chaos that is unmatched in the recent history of the Defense Department.  
Mr. Hegseth’s inner circle of close advisers — military veterans who, like him, had little experience running large, complex organizations — is in shambles. Three members of the team he brought with him into the Pentagon were accused last week of leaking unauthorized information and escorted from the building.  
A fourth recently departed member of Mr. Hegseth’s team, John Ulyot, who had been his top spokesman, accused Mr. Hegseth of disloyalty and incompetence in an opinion essay in Politico on Sunday. “The building is in disarray under Hegseth’s leadership,” Mr. Ulyot wrote.  
The discord, according to current and former defense officials, includes: screaming matches in his inner office among aides; a growing distrust of the thousands of military and civilian personnel who staff the building; and bureaucratic logjams that have slowed down progress on some of President Trump’s key priorities, such as an “Iron Dome for America” missile-defense shield. The officials spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss internal business.  
Adding to the dysfunction, Elon Musk’s Department of Government Efficiency has set a loose target of slashing as many as 200,000 jobs from the Pentagon’s

civilian work force of 750,000, a level of cuts Mr. Hegseth has warned would cripple some critical functions within the department, three current and former defense officials said.  
Meanwhile, recent media reports that Mr. Hegseth disclosed sensitive military information about upcoming strikes in Yemen in two private Signal group chats have led some in Congress to call



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES  
Pete Hegseth dismissed critics as unhappy former employees.

for him to resign.  
Sean Parnell, the Pentagon’s chief spokesman, blamed reports of dysfunction in Mr. Hegseth’s office on “disgruntled former DoD employees with an ax to grind.”  
The missteps so far haven’t seemed to shake Mr. Trump’s support for Mr. Hegseth, whom the Senate narrowly confirmed amid concerns about his lack of experience and his drinking.  
“This is what happens when the entire Pentagon is working against you and working against the monumental change you are trying to implement,” Karoline Leavitt, the White House press

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Companies Beg  
For Carve-Outs  
On Their Tariffs

By TONY ROMM

WASHINGTON — When President Trump’s steep tariffs threatened to send the price of iPhones soaring, Apple’s chief executive, Tim Cook, called the White House — and soon secured a reprieve for his company and the broader electronics industry.  
Almost immediately, top aides to Mr. Trump insisted they had not strayed from their promise to apply import taxes across the economy with minimal, if any, exceptions. But the carve-out still caught the attention of many businesses nationwide, igniting a fresh scramble for similar help in the throes of a global trade war.  
Top lobbying groups for the agriculture, construction, manufacturing, retail and technology industries have pleaded with the White House in recent days to relax more of its tariffs, with many arguing that there are some products they must import simply because they are too expensive or impractical to produce in the United States.  
On Monday, executives from retailers including Home Depot, Target and Walmart became the latest to raise their concerns directly with Mr. Trump, as the industry continues to brace for the possibility that steep taxes on imports could result in price in-

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Some Donors  
Want Harvard  
To Back Down

This article is by Rob Copeland, Maureen Farrell and Michael S. Schmidt.  
To much of academia, many on the left and some on the right, Harvard is a hero for standing up to the White House and rejecting its demands to reshape academic and student life.  
After weeks of major law firms and other prestigious institutions like Columbia University acquiescing to President Trump’s demands, Harvard, in the eyes of Mr. Trump’s critics, had become the backbone of the resistance.  
The Harvard Corporation, the secretive board that runs the school, said the list of changes the White House demanded in a letter on April 11 were so onerous — requiring faculty power to be reduced and government audits of university data — that the school would not agree to any of them and broke off talks with the administration.  
Since then Harvard has held firm. Last week, White House and administration officials made at least three overtures to a Harvard representative in an attempt to restart talks. The school’s leadership rebuffed them all, according to two people with knowledge of the outreach. Most, but not all, members of the Harvard Corporation, emboldened, in part, by the

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Ignoring a Vietnam Milestone  
The Trump administration has told its senior diplomats in the country to skip events commemorating the 50th anniversary of the end of the war. PAGE A9

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Clash Over L.G.B.T.Q. Books  
The Supreme Court’s conservative majority appeared poised to rule for parents with religious objections to stories with such characters. PAGE A19

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Palin Loses Libel Case Retrial  
After two hours of deliberation, a jury rejected the former governor’s claim that she had been defamed by The New York Times in a 2017 editorial. PAGE B3

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More Meat on the Table  
With support from the farm-to-table faithful on the left and self-described carnivores on the right, meat has inspired a bipartisan potluck. PAGE D1

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Casey Dreier PAGE A24

