

“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Today, afternoon clouds, high 32. **Tonight**, cloudy, snow and flurries, slippery travel, low 19. **Tomorrow**, very windy, frigid, morning snow, high 20. Weather map, Page B12.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



A homeless camp in Flushing Meadows Corona Park in Queens. Seventeen people have died after exposure to the cold since Jan. 24.

Some Question Mamdani Plan In Deadly Cold

This article is by **Dana Rubinstein, Mihir Zaveri and Andy Newman**.

As 8.5 million New Yorkers huddled in the comfort of their homes during the unusually long cold snap that has gripped New York City, 17 of their neighbors died after exposure to the brutal conditions — on street corners, in parks and outside hospitals.

In the annals of New York City weather events, it is a large enough death toll to prompt questions about what the city could have done differently. More New Yorkers have died during this cold spell, according to the city-compiled death toll, than the 14 who died in the aftermath of Hurricane Ida in 2021.

The death toll poses a problem, both practically and politically, for Mayor Zohran Mamdani, who took office on Jan. 1 with almost no management experience at 34 years old and who is now grappling with his first major test as chief executive.

His Jan. 5 decision to pause the clearance of homeless encampments on city streets is under particular scrutiny, even as the mayor says that the city has, thus far, been unable to trace any deaths to encampments. He has also pointed to data showing that the encampment sweeps under his predecessor, Eric Adams, were ineffective at connecting New Yorkers to housing.

The Mamdani administration has rolled out several initiatives to shield more people from the cold, which was accompanied by about a foot of snow. The city has deployed warming buses, set up warming centers and offered overtime to outreach workers to canvass more.

The city has opened 150 beds in specialized shelters that offer more privacy. And it has made

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Arms Control Era Ends, and a New Race Begins

By **DAVID E. SANGER** and **WILLIAM J. BROAD**

The deadline has been looming over Washington and Moscow for years.

On Thursday, the last nuclear arms control treaty between the United States and Russia expired. For the first time since 1972, it leaves both superpowers with no limits on the size or structure of their arsenals, at the very moment both are planning new generations of nuclear weapons and newly evasive means of delivering the deadly warheads.

Despite a new era of superpow-

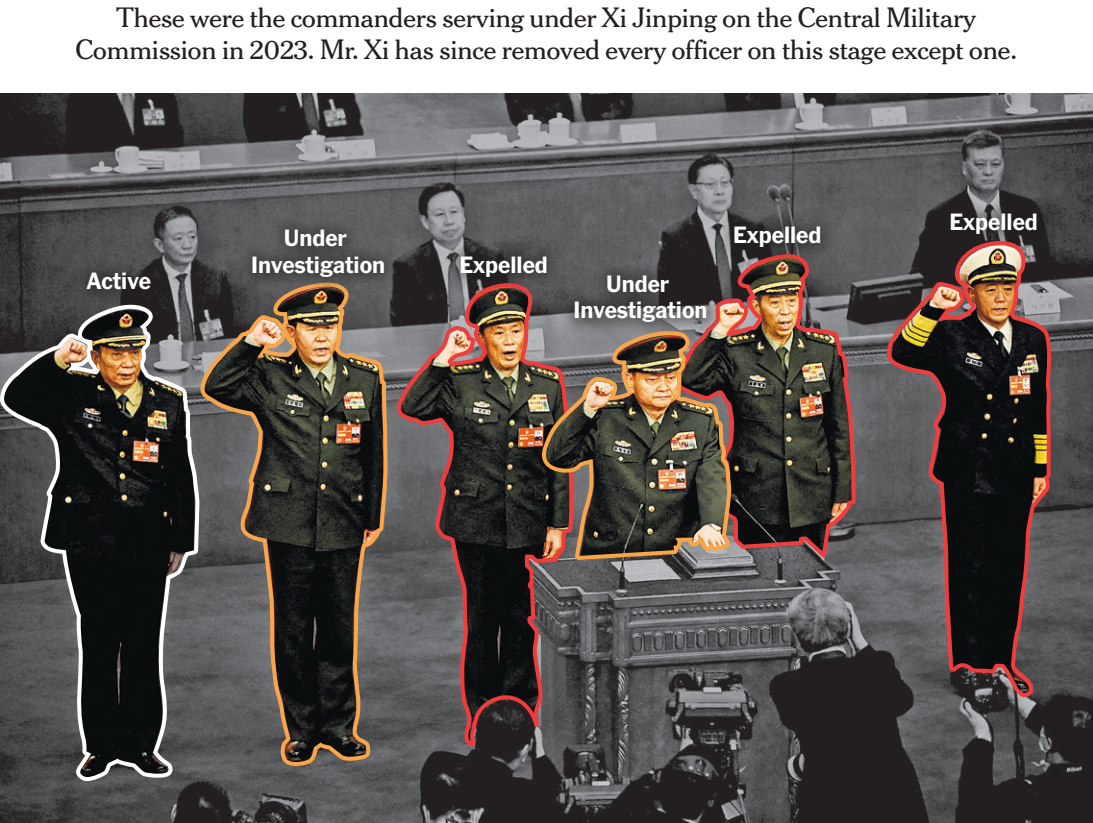
U.S., Russia and China Are Upgrading Their Nuclear Arsenals

er confrontation, talks over a new treaty — or even an informal extension of the current one — never got off the ground, frozen by the war in Ukraine. When President Trump was asked in January why he had not taken up President Vladimir V. Putin's offer for a one-year informal extension, he shrugged.

“If it expires, it expires,” he told The New York Times in an interview. “We’ll do a better agreement” after the expiration, he insisted, adding that China, which has the world’s fastest-growing nuclear arsenal, and “other parties” should be part of any future accord. The Chinese have made clear they are not interested.

On Thursday afternoon, after the New START treaty’s expiration, Mr. Trump reiterated his call for a new accord, denouncing the previous one as “a badly negotiated deal” and declaring on social media that “we should have our

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These were the commanders serving under Xi Jinping on the Central Military Commission in 2023. Mr. Xi has since removed every officer on this stage except one.

China’s Disappearing Generals

Xi Jinping’s extraordinary purges over three years have left a void at the top of the world’s second-most powerful military. Not even loyalists have been spared.

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Coming Together for the Olympics as the World Is Splitting Apart

By **MOTOKO RICH**

ROME — The first time Cortina d’Ampezzo, a ski resort town in northern Italy, was scheduled to host the Winter Olympics, it was 1944. Because of World War II, the Games were canceled.

Now, eight decades later, the

Winter Games are returning to several locations in Italy, including Cortina, during one of the greatest periods of geopolitical turmoil since the last world war.

This time around, there is no risk of an Olympic cancellation. Yet the Games feel discordant with these times — the rousing promise of sportsmanly adherence to rules and peaceful com-

petition among nations set against the fraying of diplomatic norms and decades-old alliances.

The Milan-Cortina Games are “happening in the most fractious political moment in the recent history of the Olympics,” said Jules Boykoff, an expert in sports

politics at Pacific University in Oregon.

When athletes from more than 90 delegations parade in the opening ceremonies across northern Italy on Friday, they will represent a contradiction of the global chaos outside the stadium walls.

In recent weeks, President

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Legal System Is Buckling As Migrant Cases Pile Up

Remarks by Prosecutor in Minnesota Court Show Mission’s Demoralizing Effect

This article is by **Alan Feuer, Matthias Schwartz and Zach Montague**.

When it all became too much — the crippling case load, the lack of training and, most of all, the immigrants themselves who had been languishing in jail — Julie T. Le let loose in front of the judge.

Ms. Le, a prosecutor for the U.S. attorney’s office in Minnesota, knew that he was angry. She understood that she and her colleagues had violated his orders to release people illegally detained in the state last month. But she had already tried to quit her job, and no one would replace her, so what else could she do?

“The system sucks. This job sucks,” Ms. Le exclaimed.

While she wanted to improve things, she was just one person, she explained, working around the clock to grapple with the onslaught of cases stemming from the Trump administration’s immigration crackdown.

“Fixing a system, a broken system, I don’t have a magic button to do it,” she said. “I don’t have the power or the voice to do it. I only can do it within the ability and the capacity that I have.”

Ms. Le’s outburst on Tuesday at a hearing in Federal District Court in St. Paul was an extraordinary expression of personal frustration from a lawyer on the front lines of the White House’s aggressive immigration sweeps.

The remarks cost her her job at the Justice Department, where she had been working on a temporary basis to help handle habeas corpus petitions, or court filings that compel the government to justify holding someone in custody.

But they also opened a window onto a broader problem: how the courts in Minnesota are buckling beneath the weight of a deluge of cases arising from the statewide campaign that the administration has called Operation Metro Surge.

The turmoil in the courts has demoralized prosecutors, outraged judges, exhausted defense lawyers — and left many immigrants languishing in detention in violation of court orders.

“The individuals affected are people,” said Jerry W. Blackwell, the federal judge who convened Tuesday’s hearing.

“They live in their communi-

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More on the White House

STRIPPED A new administration policy will eliminate job protections for up to 50,000 federal employees. **PAGE A18**

BLOCKED As federal agencies delay hundreds of renewable energy projects, demand for electricity is soaring. **PAGE A12**

Tech Founders Offered Epstein Access to Deals

This article is by **Ryan Mac, Erin Griffith and Matthew Goldstein**.

LOS ANGELES — In 2014, Coinbase was a two-year-old start-up offering people the ability to buy and sell Bitcoin. It needed investment to grow and turned to an unlikely source: Jeffrey Epstein.

“Would be nice to meet him if convenient,” Fred Ehrsam, one of Coinbase’s founders, wrote to associates about Mr. Epstein in December 2014 as the financier prepared to make a \$3 million investment.

By then, Mr. Epstein was already a convicted sex offender, having pleaded guilty to charges of soliciting prostitution from a minor in 2008, but Coinbase took his money all the same. As the company developed over the years into one of the world’s dominant cryptocurrency exchanges, Mr. Epstein’s \$3 million investment would net him multimillion-dollar returns, according to newly released documents from the Justice Department detailing the disgraced financier’s life before he was jailed in 2019 on federal sex-trafficking charges.

The documents illustrate not only Mr. Epstein’s deep relationships in Silicon Valley but also his ability to gain access to hot deals and buzzy start-ups, some of which would become pillars of today’s tech industry. Along the way, Mr. Epstein was aided by venture capitalists, entrepreneurs and communications professionals, despite growing scrutiny of his abuse of teenage girls and young women.

The billionaire Peter Thiel advised Mr. Epstein on potential in-

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ROYAL TIES Emails, texts, photos and videos show how Jeffrey Epstein burnished his links to several royal families. **PAGE A9**



Tracking so-called swarms around San Ramon, Calif.

Why on Earth Won’t This City Stop Shaking?

By **AMY GRAFF**

SAN RAMON, Calif. — The ground has been restless in this California community 35 miles east of San Francisco. Since late last year, dozens of earthquakes have rumbled through San Ramon and its tidy neighborhoods and cul-de-sacs, disrupting the suburban calm.

They have been mostly quick, and relatively weak, rumbles occurring here and there, with a few hefty thumps in between. Until this week, they were all a magnitude of 4 or below — not powerful enough to cause any real damage, but frequent enough to make even longtime residents of this earthquake-prone region puzzle over what’s going on.

Monday brought the biggest jolt yet, and the most active day since the quakes began in November, when an earthquake with a 4.2 magnitude rattled nerves and windows. It was felt as far away as San Francisco.

“Everyone is really on edge here,” said Seema Sophia Aggarwal, who has lived in San Ramon for two and a half years. “The ground was bouncing and jerking

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INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Secret Air Base Powers Drones

The Egypt site shows Sudan’s civil war is morphing into a theater for high-tech warfare, with foreign interests. **PAGE A7**

Shakespeare in Shanghai

A recent production of “Othello” in an increasingly authoritarian China proves the state’s reach isn’t absolute. **PAGE A4**

NATIONAL A12-24

How Routine Bust Went Awry

In a Bronx courtroom, detectives and witnesses describe an undercover drug operation that turned fatal. **PAGE A21**

Minors and Gender Care

Two major medical groups have backed limitations on gender-related surgery for minors in the United States. **PAGE A22**

OBITUARIES A25-28

M.V.P. Who Saved Detroit

The pitcher Mickey Lolich notched three complete-game victories for the Tigers to beat the Cardinals in the 1968 World Series. He was 85. **PAGE A25**



BUSINESS B1-6

Food Stamp Rules Confusion

A dizzying array of rules govern what can be bought with SNAP dollars, baffling stores and consumers. **PAGE B1**

A Trans-Atlantic Showdown

The French inquiry into X illustrates a divide between European and American regulators of social media. **PAGE B1**

SPORTS B7-11

Seattle’s Recipe for Success

When it comes to building an N.F.L. roster, John Schneider, the general manager of the Seahawks, has vision. The team is in the Super Bowl for the third time in his tenure. **PAGE B10**

Forever Rebuilding

The Wizards made big trades to acquire Trae Young and Anthony Davis, but the team really needs its own, homegrown superstar to develop around. It’s all about the ping-pong balls. **PAGE B11**

OPINION A26-27

Mary Beth Sheridan **PAGE A26**



WEEKEND C1-12

Amid the Blossoms, a Mystery

Mr. Flower Fantastic, a guest designer for the New York Botanical Garden’s Orchid Show, never shows his face, letting his art speak for itself. **PAGE C1**

