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THE WEATHER
Today, early clouds, turning breezy, high 47. Tonight, partly cloudy and windy, low 32. Tomorrow, mostly sunny, breezy in the morning, high 43. Weather map is on Page 27.

Prices in Canada may be higher

\$6.00

President Trump promised that he could bring peace to Ukraine in a single day. What followed was nearly a year of on-again, off-again negotiations, apportioning of territory, administration infighting and a war still without end. This is the story of how it unfolded.



TYLER HICKS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ukrainian forces in Donbas. As the United States sought a deal and Russia a victory, Washington factions bled Kyiv's war effort.

THE SEPARATION

Inside the Unraveling of the Partnership Between the U.S. and Ukraine

By ADAM ENTous

The train left the U.S. Army depot in the west of Germany and made for Poland and the Ukrainian border. These were the final 800 miles of a trans-Atlantic supply chain that had sustained Ukraine across more than three long years of war.

The freight on this last day in June was 155-millimeter artillery shells, 18,000 of them packed into crates, their fuses separated out to prevent detonation in transit. Their ultimate destination was the eastern front, where Vladimir V. Putin's generals were massing forces and firepower against the city of Pokrovsk. The battle was for territory and strategic advantage, but also for bragging rights: Mr. Putin wanted to show the American president, Donald J. Trump, that Russia was indeed winning.

Advertising their war plan, the Russians had told Mr. Trump's advisers. "We're going to slam them harder there. We have the munitions to do that." In Washington, the defense secretary, Pete Hegseth, had been talking about munitions, too, testifying to a Senate Appropriations subcommittee that those earmarked for Ukraine by former President Joseph R. Biden Jr. were "still flowing."

Three months earlier, in fact, Mr. Hegseth had, unannounced, decided to hold back one crucial class of munitions — American-made 155s. The U.S. military's stocks were running low, his advisers had warned; withholding them would force the Europeans to step up, to take greater responsibility for the war in their backyard.

Day after day, then, thousands upon

thousands of 155s earmarked for Ukraine had lain waiting on pallets at the ammunition depot. The American commander in Europe, Gen. Christopher G. Cavoli, had fired off email after email, pleading with the Pentagon to free them. The jam had been broken only after intervention from Jack Keane, a retired Army general and Fox News contributor who was friendly with the president.

But on July 2, as the train approached the Ukrainian border, a new order came in to the U.S. military's European Command: "Divert everything. Immediately."

Exactly why the liberated shells had been taken captive again was never explained. In the end, they waited for just 10

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Trump's 'Superstar' Judges Backed Him 133-12 in '25

On Appeals, Jurists Appointed by President Lean Toward Defending His Agenda

By MATTATHIAS SCHWARTZ and EMMA SCHARTZ

President Trump has found a powerful but obscure bulwark in the appeals court judges he appointed during his first term. They have voted overwhelmingly in his favor when his administration's actions have been challenged in court in his current term, a New York Times analysis of their 2025 records shows.

Time and again, appellate judges chosen by Mr. Trump, their rulings had some degree of alignment with the partisan positions of the president who appointed them. On the Supreme Court, for instance, where the behavior has been closely studied, justices have shown a decades-long tilt toward their appointing president, a 2016 study found.

When Mr. Trump criticized a ruling from a so-called "Obama judge" in 2018, Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. responded that "we do not have Obama judges or Trump judges, Bush judges or Clinton judges."

But the data suggests that in the 13 appellate courts, there is increasingly such a thing as a Trump judge. The president's appointees voted to allow his policies to take effect 133 times and voted against them only 12 times. Ninety-two percent of their total votes were in favor of the administration. That figure far outstrips support for Mr. Trump's agenda from appeals court judges appointed by other Republican presidents, and from Mr. Trump's appointees to the district courts.

The Times analyzed every judicial ruling on Mr. Trump's second-term agenda, from Jan. 20 to Dec. 31 of last year, or more than 500 orders issued across 900 cases. About half of rulings at the appellate level were in Mr. Trump's favor — better than his performance with the district courts, though worse than his record at the Supreme Court, where the rulings on his agenda have almost all been on a preliminary basis in response to emergency applications.

Experts who have studied the voting patterns of federal judges have found that, even before Mr. Trump, their rulings had some degree of alignment with the partisan positions of the president who appointed them. On the Supreme Court, for instance, where the behavior has been closely studied, justices have shown a decades-long tilt toward their appointing president, a 2016 study found.

The correlation between ideology and voting among judges in the Times analysis extended beyond those appointed by Mr. Trump. Appellate judges appointed by Democratic presidents voted against Mr. Trump's agenda 73 percent of the time, compared to 32 percent of the time by appellate judges appointed by Republicans.

But the impact of Mr. Trump's appeals judges on his own agenda has been hard to overstate, given the glut of litigation over the president's expansive executive actions and the pushback they have encountered from district court judges.

The uniformity of the judges' votes is "reason for serious concern," said Mark L. Wolf, a former federal judge nominated by President Ronald Reagan. Judge Wolf recently retired so he could speak more freely about what he has

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How Often Appeals Court Judges Voted In Support of Trump's Policies



Source: New York Times analysis of court rulings in 2025.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Early Comments Cast Doubts Over ICE Inquiry

By GLENN THRUSH

WASHINGTON — The Trump administration blocked Minnesota officials from investigating the death of the woman shot on Wednesday by a federal agent, then quietly offered this explanation:

Local investigators simply could not be trusted to conduct a fair inquiry.

The investigation into the killing of Renee Nicole Good, 37, federal officials said, would be the exclusive province of the F.B.I., which is overseen by a director, Kash Patel, who has described President Trump as an unerring boss, and even a king.

Mr. Trump had already declared the shooting justified. Vice President JD Vance has asserted that federal agents had "absolute immunity" from prosecution. The homeland security secretary, Kristi Noem, has spoken about the incident as if it were a closed case: Ms. Good had "weaponized" her S.U.V. to kill agents, she said, even though video analysis by The New York Times suggested it was more likely that she was turning her car away from officers.

The extraordinary volley of public statements stood in striking contrast to the far more restrained approach to high-profile incidents taken by other



PROTESTS Demonstrations continued in Minneapolis and in other cities after the killing of Renee Nicole Good. Page 23.

presidents, who have typically called for calm pending the results of investigations. The all-hands effort to define Ms. Good as the only person who did anything wrong has cast serious doubt on the F.B.I.'s willingness to scrutinize the actions of the agent who killed the unarmed activist, according to former law

enforcement officials who were once responsible for investigating comparable tragedies.

"It's hard to have any trust in the federal investigation given the White House's immediate public effort to drive an outcome," said Vanita Gupta, a former top Justice Department

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On Immigration, Trump Is Mixing His Messages

Calls the Issue 'a Very Ticklish Subject'

pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants, Mr. Trump said, "Possibly, possibly." He said so-called Dreamers, who were brought to the United States as children, should feel "safe" in the country and he would "love to be able to do something for them."

"I'd love to have a comprehensive immigration policy. Something that really worked. It's

about time for the country," Mr. Trump said, a remarkable statement for a president whose administration has spent the past year demonizing, threatening and rounding up immigrants in raids across the country.

Asked for details of any plan he might have, Mr. Trump seemed to acknowledge the messy politics surrounding an issue that has motivated a large number of his staunchest supporters: "I don't want to go into that because it's a very ticklish subject."

Many of Mr. Trump's assertions

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Dogs Can Develop Vocabularies Like Toddlers

By EMILY ANTHES

Basket the Border collie seems to have a way with words. The 7-year-old dog, who resides on the Upper West Side of Manhattan, knows the names of at least 150 toys — "frogs," "crayon box" and "Pop-Tart," among them — and can retrieve them on command.

Basket built her vocabulary thanks to the dedicated efforts of one of her owners, Elle Baumgartel-Austin. She began the language lessons when Basket was a puppy. "I would play with her, say

the name of the toy — say the name of the toy a lot of times," Ms. Baumgartel-Austin said. She started with 10 toys, adding more as Basket mastered them.

"There never seemed to be a limit," she said. "It's basically like, how many toys could I feasibly store in my tiny apartment?"

Now, in a new study, scientists have found that Basket, and other dogs that share her advanced word-learning ability, have a skill that puts them functionally on par with 18-month-old children: They can learn the names of new toys

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Basket, a Border collie, knows the names of at least 150 toys.

INTERNATIONAL 4-19

Ex-Revolutionary in Venezuela

Delcy Rodríguez, a guerrilla's daughter and a Maduro loyalist, revived a ravaged economy and is a key to President Trump's plans for her country. PAGE 8

Jurists as Pariahs

Trump administration sanctions against judges of the International Criminal Court have torturous effects. PAGE 6

METROPOLITAN

A Year of Congestion Pricing

With about 73,000 fewer vehicles entering Manhattan's central business district daily, the streets were quieter. PAGE 6

SUNDAY STYLES

Love, Silicon Valley Style

Some tech executives and other industry insiders are seeking to streamline the messy matters of the heart. PAGE 4



NATIONAL 20-28

Don't Fence Me In

GPS collars on cattle could allow ranchers in Wyoming and across the West to go without fences. That would be good for wildlife and for the land. PAGE 20

SPORTS 29-32

The Sun in Buffalo's Universe

The Western New York region shares a unique bond with the Bills' star quarterback, Josh Allen. PAGE 29

A Championship's Stakes

College football's title game will either return Miami to greatness or cap Indiana's astonishing turnaround. PAGE 31

ARTS & LEISURE

'KPop Demon Hunters'

Filmmakers, songwriters and actors tell how a "wackadoo" concept evolved for years into a global phenomenon. PAGE 6

Wagner Moura Is Outspoken

The Brazilian star of "The Secret Agent" is an Oscar contender and a critic of his government. PAGE 8



SUNDAY BUSINESS

Is He Apple's Next Chief?

John Ternus, a low-profile executive who is the head of hardware engineering, could be next in line. PAGE 4

He Runs a \$2.1 Trillion Fund

Nicolai Tangen hoped to raise the profile of Norway's oil fund, but have his efforts exposed it to scrutiny? PAGE 1

SUNDAY OPINION

Lydia Polgreen

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