

“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Today, breezy with sun and some afternoon clouds, high 52. **Tonight**, mostly cloudy, low 41. **Tomorrow**, cloudy with some rain late in the day, high 53. Weather map, Page D8.



Over Kyiv’s Independence Square as a Ukrainian flag was displayed on a big screen during a power outage on Thursday.

Can Zelensky Beat the Odds Once Again?

By CASSANDRA VINOGRAD and ANDREW E. KRAMER

KYIV, Ukraine — It is another make-or-break moment of wartime leadership for President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine. Late last week, the Trump administration delivered to Mr. Zelensky a 28-point peace plan that many Ukrainians and their Western allies have called a wish list for Russia, a reward for its aggression and a betrayal of Ukraine. The Ukrainian leader was given seven days to either accept it or potentially watch the United States walk away from any remaining support. President Trump appears to be doubling down on his statement earlier this year that Ukraine doesn’t “have the cards” to keep fighting, with Mr. Zelensky’s gov-



OZAN KOSE/A.F.P. — GETTY IMAGES
President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine on Wednesday.

ernment now under pressure from battlefield losses and a major corruption scandal. But through nearly four years of war, analysts say, Mr. Zelensky has often played weak hands wisely. While he has publicly acknowledged that the American proposal poses one of the gravest challenges ever to Ukraine, it has also inadvertently strengthened Mr. Zelensky at home, at least for the time being. The 28-point plan has shifted the focus away from a graft scandal that has reached his inner circle and threatened to paralyze his government, allowing Mr. Zelensky to reprise his most successful role: as rally-er in chief. “When Zelensky is cornered, he tends to go on the offensive,” said Viktor Shlinchak, the head of the Institute of World Policy, an analytical research group. Perhaps in his tightest corner yet, Mr. Zelensky must decide

Continued on Page A10

Focus on Patel In SWAT Use For Girlfriend

This article is by Alan Feuer, Adam Goldman and Glenn Thrush.

When Alexis Wilkins, an aspiring country singer dating the F.B.I. director, Kash Patel, sang “The Star-Spangled Banner” at the National Rifle Association’s annual convention in Atlanta in the spring, she arrived with a formidable protective posse — a SWAT team from the bureau’s local field office. The two agents, members of a specialized unit trained to storm barricaded buildings and rescue hostages, had been sent there on Mr. Patel’s orders. But seeing that the event at the Georgia World Congress Center had been secured, and that Ms. Wilkins was in no apparent danger, they left before the event was over, according to six people with knowledge of the incident. She noticed. So did her boyfriend.

Soon after, Mr. Patel ripped into the team’s commander, saying that his girlfriend had been left without taxpayer-funded defenders, and slamming what he saw as failure to communicate their movements up the chain of command during her time on the convention floor — where she sang and chatted with attendees, the people said. He was concerned that Ms. Wilkins, a high-profile conservative, might be attacked by people who had threatened her online. Mr. Patel’s heavy use of taxpayer-funded resources during his first nine months on the job has contributed to growing questions inside the administration about whether it exceeds the bounds of standard practice. This includes an intense use of security to protect himself and his girlfriend. He has also used a government jet for some of his recreational travel, such as a golf trip with buddies to a private resort in Scotland over the summer. Directors must fly on government aircraft for their travel because of required access to secure communications equipment. But using government jets for business trips, or to return home if they have left settled lives in other parts of the country to serve in Washington, requires planning and coordination. Government security protection for Ms. Wilkins to attend events or performances has

Continued on Page A14

A MAGA Gladiator’s Journey From the Arena Into Exile

NEWS ANALYSIS

By ROBERT DRAPER

WASHINGTON — Marjorie Taylor Greene arrived in Washington in January 2021 as a lusty warrior for the recently defeated Donald J. Trump. Less than five years later, she appears to have lost all appetite for fighting. On Friday, even her close associates were stunned after the three-term Georgia congresswoman posted a 10-minute video on X announcing that she would be vacating her office on Jan. 5, one year before her term expires. One associate said that she did not inform her inner circle until

Continued on Page A15

about 20 minutes before her video went up. In it, Ms. Greene insisted that her decision had everything to do with her disillusionment with the current sorry state of politics and was not a politically calculated “4-D chess game” on her part. Few believed her. The question, “What is going on with MTG?” has consumed Washington in recent weeks. The answer, according to interviews with friends and associ-

On Farms, Black and White South Africans Fight Crime Together

By JOHN ELIGON

BRITS, South Africa — The last straw for Michael Mogale and Peet Van Staden came on a brisk, clear morning in mid-April when they found themselves standing over a dead body. Splayed on the edge of a wheat pasture two hours north of Johannesburg, the victim had bloodstains on his face after being beaten to death with wooden sticks. His cheeks, eyes and lips were swollen to a pulp. Mr. Mogale, who is Black, and Mr. Van Staden, who is white and Afrikaner, arrived at this dreadful moment from different backgrounds, but found common ground in the need to stop the violence afflicting South Africa. With a murder rate about six times that of the United States, Africa’s largest economy has a serious crime problem; that is not in dispute. But in the months leading up to this murder in a rural community near the town of Brits, President Trump had been misrepresenting the violence to support his immigration policy. Mr. Trump has suggested that Afrikaners, who descend from European colonizers, are being targeted in “a genocide,” though police statistics show that to be untrue. He has used the claim to justify punishing South Africa with high tariffs, cutting aid to the country and making Afrikaners virtually the only group allowed to seek refugee status in the United States. He then boycotted the Group of 20 summit in Johannesburg this



Peet Van Staden on his farm at the edge of Brits, South Africa, where he discovered a dead body.

past weekend because of the Afrikaner issue. None of the politics mattered to the two men standing over the body. Mr. Van Staden, a third-generation farmer, owned the farm where the killing happened; the victim, a Black father from neighboring Malawi, worked there as a security guard. Mr. Mogale, a mining consultant, lived across the road in an all-Black settlement of mostly tin shacks, where the com-

Billions in ‘Dirty Money’ Flow Into Crypto Coffers

As Trump Champions Industry, Funds From Criminal Groups Hit Big Exchanges

This article is by David Yaffe-Bellany, Spencer Woodman and Sam Ellefson.

President Trump has started his own cryptocurrency business and vowed to make the United States the world’s “crypto capital.” Crypto companies have declared themselves safe and secure. And a procession of major industries, from Wall Street banks to online retailers, have experimented with digital coins. But even as the crypto industry gains mainstream acceptance, at least \$28 billion tied to illicit activity has flowed into crypto exchanges over the last two years, according to an examination by the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, The New York Times and 36 other news organizations around the world.

The money came from hackers, thieves and extortionists. It was traced to cybercriminals in North Korea and scammers whose schemes stretched from Minnesota to Myanmar. Over and over, the analysis showed, these groups have moved money onto the world’s largest exchanges, which are online marketplaces where people can convert U.S. dollars or euros into Bitcoin, Ether and other digital coins. Among the recipients of this “dirty money” was Binance, the world’s biggest crypto exchange, which participated in a \$2 billion business deal with Mr. Trump’s crypto firm in May. The money also flowed into at least eight other prominent exchanges, including OKX, a global platform with a growing footprint in the United States, according to the analysis.

“Law enforcement can’t cope with the overwhelming amount of illicit activity in the space,” said Julia Hardy, a co-founder of zeroShadow, a crypto investigations firm. “It can’t go on like this.” The early days of digital currencies were dominated by thieves

and drug dealers, who were attracted by the speed and anonymity of crypto, which make it a useful vehicle for money laundering. Bitcoin, the most popular virtual currency, underpinned dark-web markets where merchants sold narcotics and other outlawed substances, leading to overdose deaths and criminal charges. Since then, the crypto industry has grown exponentially and become professionalized, with billions of dollars a day in legitimate transactions. The largest exchanges have pledged to crack down on criminals who use crypto to move funds. Binance pleaded guilty to money-laundering vio-



JOE RAEDLE/GETTY IMAGES
Crypto A.T.M.s can convert cash into digital currency.

lations in 2023 and agreed to pay a \$4.3 billion penalty to the U.S. government after processing transactions for terrorist groups like Hamas and Al Qaeda. Last year, it declared that the crypto industry was “an extremely unwelcome place to bad actors.” At the same time, Mr. Trump has made crypto a cornerstone of his family business and ended a regulatory clampdown on the industry. Shortly before the 2024 election, he and his sons founded World Liberty Financial, a crypto start-up that is poised to generate tens of millions of dollars a year from the business deal involving

Continued on Page A12



NATIONAL A11-19

Bracing for a Crackdown

Planned U.S. Border Patrol operations are stoking fear in New Orleans’s immigrant work force. PAGE A11

Shifting Environmental Policy

The Trump administration last week moved to weaken two bedrock laws, among other moves. PAGE A14

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Bolsonaro’s Ankle Monitor

Shortly before he was expected to start serving a 27-year sentence, Brazil’s former president took a soldering iron to his tracking device. PAGE A8

COP30 Climate Summit Ends

The final agreement, with no direct mention of the fossil fuels dangerously heating Earth, was a victory for oil-producing countries. PAGE A9

Claiming a Legacy in Finland

Sanna Marin became prime minister at 34. Two years after leaving office, she is trying to turn a dancing video scandal into a battle cry. PAGE A4



BUSINESS B1-6

Tariffs That Can Cause Agita

Some Italian pasta makers, accused of dumping their product in the U.S., face duties of over 100 percent. PAGE B1

Chinese Influence in A.I. Race

Silicon Valley executives paint China as the enemy, but they rely on workers from there for U.S. research. PAGE B1

SPORTS D1-8

Bullish on His N.F.L. Team

The hedge fund titan David Tepper, who bought the Carolina Panthers in 2018 for a record-setting price and has been unpopular since, sees hope despite some rocky recent times. PAGE D1

A Winner With Baggage

Will Wade, a college basketball coach who was embroiled in scandal at Louisiana State, has received another chance at North Carolina State. “Let’s see if it works,” he told the school. PAGE D6

OPINION A20-21

Nicole Gelinas

PAGE A21



ARTS C1-6

Giving U.F.O.s a Closer Look

A handful of House members on Capitol Hill viewed a documentary about unidentified aerial phenomena, or U.A.P. (long known as U.F.O.s.) PAGE C1

