



ULET IFANSASTI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Growing Pains for East Timor

The country has been a stable democracy since its independence in 2002. But nearly half of its people live in poverty. Page A10.

TRUMP ADVANCES
HIS OWN BUSINESS

Unchecked by Congress
as Conflicts Abound

By ERIC LIPTON
and MAGGIE HABERMAN

WASHINGTON — The Oval Office meeting convened by President Trump brought together the most important leaders in the world of professional golf: Jay Monahan, the top executive at the PGA Tour, and, via telephone, Yasir Al-Rumayyan, the chairman of the Saudi Arabia-backed league known as LIV Golf.

The stated goal was to figure out a way to eliminate roadblocks preventing the planned merger between the rival two groups.

But the gathering earlier this month said something even more important about the Trump administration itself. Mr. Trump was not simply using the power of his office to forge an agreement — something that presidents have done for centuries. In this case, Mr. Trump was pushing a merger that relates to his own family’s financial interest.

The Trump family is a LIV Golf business partner. The family has repeatedly hosted LIV tournaments at its golf venues, including one planned in April at the Trump National Doral in Miami for the fourth year in a row.

In other words, according to half a dozen former Justice Department prosecutors and government ethics lawyers, Mr. Trump’s participation in this discussion was a brazen conflict of interest — one of a series that have played out over the past few weeks, with a frequency unlike any presidency in modern times, even in the first Trump term.

Mr. Trump has re-entered the White House with a massively expanded portfolio of business interests, some of which require government approval or regulation, others of which are publicly traded, and still others involving foreign deals.

Presidents are not subject to the conflict of interest laws that regulate the rest of the government, but the recent actions underscore how emboldened Mr. Trump feels in his second term. It demonstrates his confidence that the lines dividing various Trump interests, and his desire to reward friends and punish perceived ene-

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Detained by U.S., Migrants Are Flown to Panama

This article is by Julie Turkewitz, Hamed Aleaziz, Farnaz Fassihi and Annie Correal.

PANAMA CITY — They arrived at the United States border from around the world, hoping to seek asylum. Instead, they were detained, shackled and flown by the U.S. military to a faraway country, Panama.

They were stripped of their passports and most of their cellphones, they said, and then locked in a hotel, barred from seeing lawyers and told they would soon be sent to a makeshift camp near the Panamanian jungle.

At the hotel, at least one person tried to commit suicide, according

Hundreds From Africa,
Asia and Mideast
Locked in Hotel

to several migrants. Another broke his leg trying to escape. A third sent a plaintive missive from a hidden cellphone: “Only a miracle can save us.”

When President Trump took office in January, his plan for sweeping deportations faced a major challenge: what to do with migrants from countries like Afghanistan, Iran and China where the United States cannot easily

send deportees, because the other nations will not accept migrants or for other reasons.

Last week, the new administration found a solution: Export them to a country willing to take them in.

On Wednesday, U.S. officials began flying hundreds of people, including people from Asian, Middle Eastern and African countries, to Panama, which is under intense pressure to appease Mr. Trump, who has threatened to take over the Panama Canal.

Now it will be Panamanian officials who decide what happens to them. Because the deported migrants are no longer on U.S. soil,

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FEDERICO RIOS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Hoping to seek asylum in the United States, hundreds have been shipped to a hotel in Panama.

A Routine Landing Ends in Flames and Panic

This article is by Vjosa Isai, Ian Austen, Niraj Chokshi and Yan Zhuang.

TORONTO — A day after a jetliner flipped moments after landing in Toronto, what was left of the aircraft remained upside down on Tuesday, its right wing and tail sheared off and the wreckage blocking the two longest runways at Canada’s busiest airport.

Officials were still marveling that all 80 people on board Delta Flight 4819 escaped death or life-threatening injuries after the jet

‘Everything Happened’
After the Wheels Hit

made a rough landing and rolled over, grinding to a halt in a cloud of dense smoke, sparks and flame at Toronto Pearson International Airport.

“Every time you board a flight, you are greeted by flight attendants and by flight crew,” Deborah Flint, the president of the Greater Toronto Airports Authority, said

at a news conference on Tuesday. “But we saw the most important role that they play in action yesterday. The crew of Delta Flight 4819 heroically led passengers to safety.”

As investigators from safety boards in Canada and the United States, as well as the regional jet’s manufacturer, began combing over the wreckage, there was no official word on what caused the crash. They are expected to look into a range of factors, according to aviation safety experts.

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U.S. AND RUSSIA EYE
THAW IN RELATIONS
AS DIPLOMATS MEET

Talks in Saudi Arabia Include Commerce
and Unsettle Ukraine and Europe

By ANTON TROIANOVSKI and ISMAEEL NAAR

RIYADH, Saudi Arabia — The United States and Russia moved toward a head-spinning reset of their relationship on Tuesday, agreeing to work together on ending the Ukraine war, on financial investment and on re-establishing normal relations. The meeting between senior officials from both countries was a striking display of bonhomie after three years of American efforts to isolate Moscow for its 2022 invasion.

After more than four hours of talks, Secretary of State Marco Rubio said that both sides had agreed to work on a peace settlement for Ukraine as well as to explore “the incredible opportunities that exist to partner with the Russians,” both geopolitically and economically.

“We weren’t just listening to each other, but we heard each other,” Sergey V. Lavrov, Russia’s foreign minister, said. “I have reason to believe that the American side started to better understand our positions.”

The meeting, the most extensive negotiations in more than three years between the two global powers, was the latest swerve by the Trump administration in abandoning Western efforts to punish Russia for starting Europe’s most destructive war in generations. It signaled President Trump’s intention to roll back the Biden administration’s approach toward Moscow, which focused on sanctions, isolation and sending weapons to Ukraine that helped kill tens of thousands of Russian soldiers.

Speaking to reporters after the meeting, American officials did not dwell on Russia’s violation of international law in attacking Ukraine, its alleged war crimes or the three years of devastation that

Russian shelling and bombardment had wrought in parts of Ukraine. Instead, they repeatedly lauded Mr. Trump for trying to stop the fighting by talking to Russia in a way that his predecessor did not.

“For three years,” Mr. Rubio said, “no one else has been able to bring something together like



POOL PHOTO BY EVELYN HOCKSTEIN

Secretary of State Marco Rubio, center, at talks with Russia in Saudi Arabia on Tuesday.

what we saw today, because Donald Trump is the only leader in the world that can.”

The talks showed that rather than keeping the pressure on Moscow, Mr. Trump was eager to work with Russia to end the war — an approach that would most likely fulfill many of the demands of its president, Vladimir V. Putin — and that he was prepared to cast aside the worries of American allies in Europe.

The meeting came nearly a dec-

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NEW WORLD Europe is in an era where the U.S. acts like an adversary. News Analysis. PAGE A6

Hochul Weighs
Mayor’s Future
As He Digs In

This article is by Emma G. Fitzsimmons, Benjamin Oreskes and Jeffery C. Mays.

On the 39th floor of a Midtown Manhattan high-rise, Gov. Kathy Hochul on Tuesday presided over a series of meetings to discuss one of the most consequential decisions of her tenure: whether to remove Mayor Eric Adams from office.

She solicited opinions from Brad Lander, the city comptroller, and Adrienne Adams, the City Council speaker. She shared coffee and tea with the Rev. Al Sharpton and talked to others over the phone or video chat.

She gave no indication that she would come to a quick decision on the mayor, who, by chance, was only a dozen blocks away, declining to answer questions about his future. He brushed aside reporters as he brusquely explained his refusal.

“Cause you’re all liars,” he said. Mr. Adams has once again found himself in a state of crisis.

The Justice Department’s move to drop his five-count federal indictment probably eliminated the prospect of a trial while he seeks re-election, but it may have deepened the mayor’s political damage.

The prosecutor overseeing the mayor’s case accused Mr. Adams late last week of agreeing to a quid pro quo with Trump administra-

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EMILY KASK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Scrim captivated New Orleans.

An Inspiration
Shaking Loose
Of Life’s Leash

By RICK ROJAS

NEW ORLEANS — He evaded death at a shelter that needed to make room for more dogs. He was shot at — a veterinarian plucked pieces of ammunition from his flesh. He dodged a train, scampered across an interstate highway and survived on cat food left out for strays.

He is about 3 years old, weighs 17 pounds and has coarse, cloudy fur. And for several months, he had much of New Orleans looking for him. With each foiled capture or implausible escape, his fame grew and so did his reputation. He became an almost mythical figure, too savvy and swift to contain.

His saga has inspired tattoos, murals and Mardi Gras floats. Some have held him up as a renegade, choosing freedom over the

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INTERNATIONAL A4-12

U.S. Troops Exit Japan, Slowly

The American military on Okinawa has relocated 105 Marines. But a rising China is stalling further moves. PAGE A4

American Drones Over Mexico

A covert program, begun during the Biden era and stepped up by President Trump, hunts for fentanyl labs. PAGE A8

NATIONAL A13-17, 20

Musk Prevails, for Now, in Suit

A federal judge declined to bar Elon Musk and his team from ordering mass firings or having access to sensitive data at seven agencies. PAGE A14

Peltier Is Released From Prison

Leonard Peltier, a Native American rights activist, was convicted in the killing of two F.B.I. agents. PAGE A20

SPORTS B6-10

A Run-and-Gun Approach

The men’s basketball program at Grinnell College in Iowa boasts the game’s wildest offense. PAGE B6



ARTS C1-6

One Cat Film. Two Big Nods.

Gints Zilbalodis’s animated “Flow” is the first Latvian film to receive Academy Award nominations. PAGE C1

Art Adviser. Friend. Thief.

Lisa Schiff once brokered art deals for famous clients in V.I.P. settings. Then she stole millions from them. PAGE C1

BUSINESS B1-5

Waiting Game for I.P.O.s

Some tech companies are delaying or pulling their listing plans as the Trump administration’s tariff announcements and other changes cause market volatility and uncertainty. PAGE B1

A Lucrative Side of Comedy

Few improv comedians can make a living through comedy alone, but for some who get corporate gigs, Fortune 1000 companies can help make the funny business profitable. PAGE B1

OPINION A18-19

Bret Stephens

PAGE A19

FOOD D1-8

A Tasty Olive Faces a Farewell

For decades, olive lovers treasured the buttery flavor of Graber. But extreme weather and shaky finances imperiled the brand, and fans are asking, “Is this my last can?” PAGE D4

