



Sheltering amid rubble after Russian bombing of Kostiantynivka, Ukraine, last week. The war recently passed its third anniversary. TYLER HICKS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Allies’ Blowup
Could Intensify
Putin’s Attacks

This article is by Anton Troianovski, Nataliya Vasilyeva and Paul Sonne.

BERLIN — President Trump says he wants a quick cease-fire in Ukraine. But President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia appears to be in no rush, and the blowup on Friday between Mr. Trump and Ukraine’s president may give Russia’s leader the kind of ammunition he needs to prolong the fight.

With the American alliance with Ukraine suffering a dramatic, public rupture, Mr. Putin now seems even more likely to hold out for a deal on his terms — and he could even be tempted to expand his push on the battlefield.

The extraordinary scene in Washington — in which Mr. Trump admonished President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine — was broadcast as the top story on state television in Russia on Saturday morning. It played into three years of Kremlin propaganda casting Mr. Zelensky as a foolhardy ruler who would sooner or later exhaust the patience of his Western backers.

For the Kremlin, perhaps the most important message came in later remarks by Mr. Trump, who suggested that if Ukraine did not agree to a “cease-fire now,” the war-torn country would have to “fight it out” without American help.

That could set up an outcome that Mr. Putin has long sought, at the cost of tens of thousands of Russian lives: a dominant position.

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Undoing Years of Climate Policy in a Few Weeks

This article is by David Gelles, Lisa Friedman and Brad Plumer.

In a few short weeks, President Trump has severely damaged the government’s ability to fight climate change, upending American environmental policy with moves that could have lasting implications for the country, and the planet.

With a flurry of actions that have stretched the limits of presidential power, Mr. Trump has gutted federal climate efforts, rolled back regulations aimed at limiting pollution and given a major boost to the fossil fuel industry.

He is abandoning efforts to reduce global warming, even as the

Trump’s Moves Strain
Limits of His Power

world has reached record levels of heat that scientists say is driven largely by the burning of fossil fuels. Every corner of the world is now experiencing the effects of these rising temperatures in the form of deadlier hurricanes, floods, wildfires and droughts, as well as species extinction.

To achieve such a wholesale overhaul of the country’s climate policies in such a short time, the Trump administration has reneged on federal grants, fired

workers en masse and attacked longstanding environmental regulations.

All new presidents have their own agendas, but the speed and scale of Mr. Trump’s efforts to uproot climate policy is unprecedented. “This is not the kind of stately tennis match of the usual switch-over in administrations,” said Abigail Dillen, president of Earthjustice, an environmental law firm. “This is full on ‘Fight Club.’”

The Trump administration’s moves have unfolded simultaneously across the sprawling government, affecting federal, state and local agencies and hitting gov-

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U-Turn in Migration

As Canada strives to stop migrants entering the U.S., more are fleeing the U.S. for Canada. Page 4.

An Oscar Nominee Rouses Brazil’s Junta Victims

By ANA IONOVA and JACK NICAS

RIO DE JANEIRO — “I’m Still Here,” the best-picture nominee about the murder of a Brazilian congressman by the country’s military dictatorship, concludes with a single sentence that delivers a gut punch of historical reality: The five soldiers charged in the killing were never punished because of laws granting them amnesty.

Now the film could help change that.

Last month, Brazil’s Supreme Court unanimously decided to review whether it should revoke the amnesty of the army officers accused of killing the congressman, Rubens Paiva, and two others. That followed a December decision by one justice to recommend the removal of amnesty protections in a separate dictatorship-era case. In his ruling, the justice explicitly cited “I’m Still Here.”

The sudden and extraordinary judicial reckoning the film has provoked could have sweeping legal implications: Will Brazil’s amnesty law, as it has for nearly a half-century, continue to shield those who committed atrocities during the dictatorship?

The fact that that question is being raised now shows how “I’m Still Here” — in addition to remarkable commercial and critical success — has had a major political impact.

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A Warhol, a Socialite and a Loan Gone Wrong

By JESSE MCKINLEY

It must have seemed, at the time, a fairly simple deal.

In late 2023, Libbie Mugarabi, a Manhattan socialite, wanted to take out a \$3 million loan.

She needed the money to buy a home in the south of France, she told The New York Post, though her lawyer would say later that she merely wanted “to get her finances in order.”

Ms. Mugarabi may have seemed

How Dinner Party Banter
Inspired Federal Takeover

After a Crash Course in Civics, Musk Built a
Team of Aggressive Young Enforcers

This article is by Jonathan Swan, Theodore Schleifer, Maggie Haberman, Ryan Mac, Kate Conger, Nicholas Nehamas and Madeleine Ngo.

On the last Friday of September 2023, Elon Musk dropped in about an hour late to a dinner party at the Silicon Valley mansion of the technology investor Chamath Palihapitiya.

Mr. Musk’s visit was meant to be discreet. Still skittish about getting involved publicly in politics, he told the guests he had to be careful about supporting anyone in the Republican nomination fight. And yet here he was — joined by Claire Boucher, the singer known as Grimes and the mother of three of his children — at a \$50,000-a-head dinner in honor of the presidential candidate Vivek Ramaswamy, who was running as an entrepreneur who would shake up the status quo.

As the night wore on, Mr. Musk held forth on the patio on a variety of topics, according to four people with knowledge of the conversation: his visit that week to the U.S.-Mexico border; the war in Ukraine; his frustrations with government regulations hindering his rocket company, SpaceX; and Mr. Ramaswamy’s highest priority, the dismantling of the federal bureaucracy.

Mr. Musk made clear that he saw the gutting of that bureaucracy as primarily a technology challenge. He told the party of around 20 that when he overhauled Twitter, the social media company that he bought in 2022 and later renamed X, the key was gaining access to the company’s servers.

Wouldn’t it be great, Mr. Musk offered, if he could have access to the computers of the federal government?

Just give him the passwords, he said jocularly, and he would make the government fit and trim.

What started as musings at a dinner party evolved into a radical

takeover of the federal bureaucracy. It was driven with a frenetic focus by Mr. Musk, who channeled his libertarian impulses and resentment of regulatory oversight of his vast business holdings into a singular position of influence.

Without ceding control of his companies, the richest man in the world has embedded his engineers and aides inside the government’s critical digital infrastructure. Already, his Department of Government Efficiency, or DOGE, has inserted itself into more than 20 agencies, The New York Times has found.

Mr. Musk’s strategy has been twofold. His team grabbed control of the government’s human resources agency, the Office of Personnel Management, commanding



The desk of Elon Musk in the Secretary of War Suite.

deering email systems to pressure civil servants to quit so he could cull the work force. And it burrowed into computer systems across the bureaucracy, tracing how money was flowing so the administration could choke it off. So far, Musk staff members have sought access to at least seven sensitive government databases, including internal systems of the Social Security Administration and the Internal Revenue Service.

Mr. Musk’s transformation of DOGE from a casual notion into a powerful weapon is something

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Baggage and All, Cuomo Jumps
Into a Crowded Race for Mayor

By NICHOLAS FANDOS and EMMA G. FITZSIMMONS

Former Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo announced on Saturday that he would run for mayor of New York City, upending the race to unseat Eric Adams and setting up an audacious comeback attempt three years after he resigned in disgrace.

With near-universal name recognition, deep-pocketed supporters and a decade as governor, Mr. Cuomo is expected to quickly assume front-runner status for the June Democratic primary, albeit with hefty baggage.

In a 17-minute video announcing his run, Mr. Cuomo, 67, attempted to reintroduce himself to New Yorkers on his preferred terms: as a tested manager, law-and-order moderate and forceful leader capable of rescuing a city

that he said “feels threatening, out of control, and in crisis.”

He blamed “failed Democratic leadership” but did not explicitly mention Mr. Adams, and said he



Andrew Cuomo

Mr. Cuomo said.

But his candidacy is also poised to push to the fore other, potentially divisive questions about the staying power of the #MeToo

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The New American Gun Store

Limited-edition accessories and lifestyle gear are driving profits for retailers more than rifles. PAGE 18

Lobbyist Becomes a Regulator

Lynn Dekleva, who is in a senior role at the E.P.A., once led an effort to block regulations on formaldehyde. PAGE 20

SPORTS 36-40

An Unlikely Draft Prospect

Thomas Perry, a lineman at a Division III school, put together a performance at the Shrine Bowl that commanded the attention of N.F.L. scouts. PAGE 36



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West Bank Militants Targeted

To prove it can handle security in Gaza, the Palestinian Authority is working in parallel to an Israeli campaign. PAGE 10

Global-Scam Industry Thrives

A China-led crackdown on online fraud rescued thousands from Myanmar, but the grift keeps growing. PAGE 16

SUNDAY BUSINESS

A Language of Online Culture

Elon Musk’s X feed reveals a menagerie of aging memes and lingo that may seem inscrutable to people not steeped in the internet. PAGE 6

SUNDAY STYLES

A New Era for Tom Ford

How the designer Haider Ackermann came to be the man for the brand, and what he has planned. PAGE 9

Preparing for Premieres

Before the celebrities strut on the red carpet, Steve Olive of Event Carpet Pros has his say. PAGE 1



ARTS & LEISURE

AScreening Room of One’s Own

In “The Last Showgirl” and other films, a new kind of woman has emerged. That’s thanks to more women being behind the camera. PAGE 7

SUNDAY OPINION

Noah Shachtman

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METROPOLITAN

Fearful in the Hamptons

For some Latino immigrants who are vital workers in the luxury enclave, the dread of deportation looms every minute of every day. PAGE 1

OBITUARIES 32-34

Frontman of the New York Dolls

David Johansen, a proto-punk pioneer who later refashioned himself as the pompadoured lounge lizard Buster Poindexter, was 75. PAGE 33

