VOL. CLXXIV ... No. 60,523

© 2025 The New York Times Company

SUNDAY, MAY 18, 2025

Prices in Canada may be higher

Today, clouds mixed with some sun, breezy, high 71. **Tonight,** partly cloudy and breezy, low 55. **Tomor**row, partly sunny, windy, warmer, high 74. Weather map, Page 22.

\$6.00

The Quiet Journey From Father Bob to Pope Leo

A Worldly but Humble Favorite of Francis

This article is by Jason Horowitz, Julie Bosman, Elizabeth Dias, Ruth Graham, Simon Romero and Mitra

VATICAN CITY - Father Robert Prevost told the Peruvian soldiers to back off.

It was the mid-1990s, and the troops, armed to the teeth, had stopped and boarded a minibus carrying the American priest and a group of young Peruvian seminarians. The soldiers tried to forcibly recruit the men.

Citing a law that exempted clerics from military service, Father Prevost told the soldiers, "No, these young men are going to be priests, they cannot go to the barracks," said the Rev. Ramiro Castillo, one of the seminarians in the van. "When he had to speak, he spoke."

After years of internal violence, border tensions and political turmoil, Peru, under its authoritarian president, wanted more military muscle. In those days, Father Prevost and the seminarians traveled the country, re-enacting scenes, sometimes in costume as an insurgent or a soldier, to prompt conversations and help heal the country scarred by the bitter conflicts.

These were dramatizations of dramatic times that Father Prevost had lived through as a missionary who found his voice, in Peru. Now, as he takes over an often divided Roman Catholic Church and the most prominent pulpit on earth, his voice will be heard globally when authoritarianism is on the rise, technological leaps are disrupting society, and the most vulnerable are being threatened by conflicts, economic inequality and climate change.

A man with a foot in two continents and multiple languages, Pope Leo XIV brings to bear a résumé that got him the job, full of deep religious education, frontline pastoral work, global order management and top Vatican governance experience. He also had a powerful booster in Pope Francis. who, at the end of his life, urgently pushed the American's career for-

Throughout, Bob, as his Ameri-



CHICAGO BOYHOOD Robert Prevost, left, with his mother, Mildred, and brothers Louis, center, and John. A neighbor once predicted that Robert would become pope.

can friends still call him, or Roberto, as his Spanish and Italian ones do, has remained consistently low-key, a gray man in a world of outsized personalities cloaked in sumptuous scarlet cassocks, an earnest admin of the apostles. His spiritual training has taught him to step back and make more room for others, while putting the faith

above all else.

He has recognized that he will have to leave more of himself behind as he takes on the burden of leading the world's 1.4 billion

On Tuesday, Leo sneaked into the headquarters of his Augustinian order right off St. Peter's Square. Over carbonara pasta, he

listened as his friends, choked up, told him the church's gain had created a void in their chapel and dining hall.

'I see one has to give up many things," he said at the lunch, according to the Rev. Alejandro Moral Antón, an old friend in the room. After he finished, Leo, whose

Continued on Page 12

NEWS ANALYSIS

G.O.P. Revolt Reflects Split On Spending

Holding Up a Party's Legislative Priorities

By CARL HULSE

WASHINGTON — To a small but crucial group of hard-right House Republicans, the tax and spending cut package produced by their colleagues to deliver what President Trump calls the "big, beautiful bill" was nothing more than a homely cop-out.

The handful of lawmakers who blocked their own party's sprawling domestic policy measure from advancing out of a key committee on Friday acted out of a fundamentally different view of federal spending and debt than the rest of the G.O.P. They are single-mindedly focused on slashing deficits by restructuring the government to dramatically scale back social programs, whatever the political consequences.

With their party in control of the House, Senate and White House, they view their fellow Republicans as timid, squandering a golden opportunity to turn the government's finances around in a long overdue course correction. Instead, they see Republican leaders, catering to swing district members worried about their re-election, delivering a half-measure that, as far as the hard-liners are concerned, falls woefully short on cuts - and the ones it did make were gimmicky.

"I'm not going to sit here and say that everything is hunkydory," Representative Chip Roy, Republican of Texas and one of the leading evangelists of deep spending cuts, said on Friday as he tore into his own party's legislation. "This is the Budget Committee. We are supposed to do something to actually result in balanced budgets, but we're not

It remains to be seen whether the anti-deficit fundamentalists Continued on Page 17

ANALYST WAS TOLD TO REDO FINDINGS ON VENEZUELANS

TOOL FOR DEPORTATION

Report Undercut Trump's Claims Tying Gang to Government

This article is by Julian E. Barnes, Maggie Haberman and Charlie Savage.

WASHINGTON - A top adviser to the director of national intelligence ordered a senior analyst to redo an assessment of the relationship between Venezuela's government and a gang after intelligence findings undercut the White House's justification for deporting migrants, according to officials.

President Trump's use of a wartime law to send Venezuelan migrants to a brutal prison in El Salvador without due process relies on a claim that U.S. intelligence agencies think is wrong. But behind the scenes, a political appointee told a career official to rework the assessment, a direction that allies of the intelligence analyst said amounted to pressure to change the findings.

Mr. Trump on March 15 invoked the law, the Alien Enemies Act, to summarily remove people accused of being members of the gang, Tren de Aragua. The rarely used act appears to require a link to a foreign state, and he claimed that Venezuela's government had directed the gang to commit crimes inside the United States.

On March 20, The New York Times reported that an intelligence assessment in late February contradicted that claim. It detailed many reasons that the intelligence community as a whole concluded that the gang was not acting under the Venezuelan government's control. The F.B.I. partly dissented, maintaining that the gang had some links to Venezuela's government based on information all the other agencies

Continued on Page 21

Professors Face Student Rancor Over Use of A.I.

By KASHMIR HILL

In February, Ella Stapleton, then a senior at Northeastern University, was reviewing lecture notes from her organizational behavior class when she noticed something odd. Was that a query to ChatGPT from her professor?

Halfway through the document, which her business professor had made for a lesson on models of leadership, was an instruction to ChatGPT to "expand on all areas. Be more detailed and specific." It was followed by a list of positive and negative leadership traits, each with a prosaic definition and a bullet-pointed example.

Ms. Stapleton texted a friend in the class.

"Did you see the notes he put on Canvas?" she wrote, referring to the university's software platform for hosting course materials. "He made it with ChatGPT."

"OMG Stop," the classmate responded. "What the hell?"

Ms. Stapleton decided to do some digging. She reviewed her professor's slide presentations and discovered other telltale signs of A.I.: distorted text, photos of office workers with extraneous body parts and bad misspellings.

She was not happy. Given the school's cost and reputation, she expected a top-tier education. This course was required for her business minor; its syllabus for-Continued on Page 16

John McWhorter



Deadly Path of Tornadoes

Extreme storms tore through Kentucky and Missouri, leaving destruction in London, Ky. Page 28.

But Kept Their Belief in Tariffs

The Iron Miners Lost Their Jobs

By TALMON JOSEPH SMITH

HIBBING, Minn. — Until everything came to a halt in mid-March, Jon Bird worked 12-hour shifts, four days a week — shoveling rock, hosing mud and operating enormous iron ore crushers at a mine in northern Minnesota.

The mines in the state's Iron Range, where Mr. Bird was born and raised — and where his father, grandfather and great-grandfather worked in the pits before him sit atop a domestic supply funnel. The ore, extracted and crushed, is further processed, shipped, smelted in a blast furnace, transformed into steel, then taken to assembly lines, where it is shaped into appliances and automobiles

But demand for cars and other big-ticket, metal-filled items slumped in 2024, a rough year for the industry. The steel manufac-

Cleveland-Cliffs, which turer owns the mine where Mr. Bird works, reported a \$483 million loss for the first three months of 2025, which meant jobs were on the line, including his.

When Mr. Bird, 33, found out that he was being laid off, he did not hear it from "Cliffs." he said. Rather, he learned about it in a breaking news segment on the local television station, WDIO, while with his children on one of his days off. Some 1,200 Cleveland-Cliffs employees were affected, 600 them in Minnesota.

"It's a hell of a way to find out you're losing your job," he said. "It feels like a slap in the face, honestly, from corporate America."

Yet one thing currently uniting Cleveland-Cliffs and Mr. Bird, a Continued on Page 21

Corner Where 'I Can't Breathe' Ignited a Movement Confronts Its Own Struggle

By ERNESTO LONDOÑO

MINNEAPOLIS — The intersection of 38th Street East and Chicago Avenue in Minneapolis was forever altered the day a police officer knelt on George Floyd's neck five years ago, killing

The killing led to a national reckoning over police misconduct and racism, and here, it spawned a membrance that feels to some in this community like an open

Wooden sculptures in the shape of raised brown fists mark either end of the street. Arresting murals nearby have been defaced and touched up repeatedly.

Residents and city officials have debated for years what should be done with the site, and

site of protest, art, grief and re- how the man whose killing fueled the Black Lives Matter movement should be memorialized

> The space's unresolved state in many ways reflects how stuck the country remains on matters of race, justice and reparations.

On this there is little debate: George Floyd Square gave rise to a movement that changed the United States. But what will its legacy and future be?

The sidewalk where Mr. Floyd took his final breath after repeatedly protesting, "I can't breathe," has become a pilgrimage site with an ever-shifting memorial. It is packed with bleached stuffed animals, old T-shirts, photos, flowers, rosaries and other totems people dropping by to pay their respects have left behind over the years.

In the days after Mr. Floyd's murder, residents barricaded the streets leading to 38th and Chicago. Neighbors brought food to share. People provided first aid to those injured in demonstrations. And civilians set up checkpoints on the streets leading to the crossroads.

"You knew that something special was taking place," said Jeanelle Austin, a longtime resident who became a caretaker of

Continued on Page 25

NATIONAL 14-28

Solar Panels, Guided by Faith

A cluster of evangelical groups in Indiana is pushing for environmental action. Leaders say they're following the biblical mandate to care for God's cre-

Comey Interrogated Over Post

The Secret Service questioned James B. Comey, the former F.B.I. director, over a social media picture that administration officials interpreted as a call to assassinate President Trump.

SUNDAY OPINION



PAGE 6

Only 2 Legal Gun Stores Mexico has strict gun control laws, but

INTERNATIONAL 4-13

it also has a huge flow of illegal weapons from the United States.

Trump and Putin to Talk

The plans were announced hours after a Russian drone strike on a bus in Ukraine killed nine civilians.

SUNDAY STYLES

America's best-known sports-talker is teasing a 2028 run for president. But what he really wants is ubiquitous political influence. PAGE 10

Stephen A. Smith's Big Quest

Obsession With an Artist

In a show at the Cleveland Museum of Art, Takashi Murakami is "influenced by the spirit of the moment."

METROPOLITAN

Navigating Mental Illness

He ran a successful political campaign, sometimes from a psychiatric ward. He has found a way to thrive. PAGE 1



ARTS & LEISURE

Backstage on Broadway

We talk to actors before their shows go on, including Nicole Scherzinger of "Sunset Boulevard."

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Drivers' Long, Long Waits

Los Angeles International Airport, one of the world's busiest, was once a prime place for gig drivers to earn money. Now, the airport is typical of their increasing desperation.

Buy Local, Often

A grocery store that resembles a farmers' market in Ann Arbor, Mich., has found success with its local-first approach. But some wonder whether the model will catch on.



