

NEWS ANALYSIS

A 30-Second Descent,  
A 10-Year Roller Coaster

The Trump Era Enters Its Second Decade

By PETER BAKER

The trip down that escalator took less than 30 seconds, but it opened a much longer journey for the man and his country.

It has been 10 years now, as of Monday, since Donald J. Trump descended to the lobby of his namesake tower to announce his campaign for president. Ten years of jaw-dropping, woke-busting, scandal-defying, status-quo-smashing politics that have transformed America for good or ill in profoundly fundamental ways.

In those 10 years, Mr. Trump has come to define his age in a way rarely seen in America, more so than any president of the past century other than Franklin D. Roosevelt and Ronald Reagan, even though he has never had anywhere near their broad public support. Somehow the most unpopular president in the history of polling has translated the backing of a minority of Americans into the most consequential political force of modern times, rewriting all of the rules along the way.

In a sense, it does not matter that Mr. Trump has actually occupied the White House for less than half of that 10 years. He has shaped and influenced the national discourse since June 16, 2015, whether in office or not.

Every issue, every dispute, every conversation on the national level in that time, it seems, has revolved around him.

Even voter repudiation and criminal conviction did not slow him down or diminish his hold on the national imagination on the way to his comeback last November. The presidency of Joseph R. Biden Jr. turned out to be just an interregnum between Mr. Trump's stints in power.

And power has become his leitmotif. Since his often-stumbling first term, when he was the only president never to have served in public office or the military and by his own admission did not really know what he was doing, Mr. Trump has learned how to wield power to great effect. He has claimed more of it than any of his predecessors ever did — and more of

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More on the White House

**VACCINES** Critics fear the new advisers chosen by Robert F. Kennedy Jr. will roll back guidance. News Analysis. PAGE A11

**ABSENCES SOAR** After immigration raids, California parents kept children from school. PAGE A8

Suspect Charged in Minnesota  
After Shootings of Lawmakers

This article is by Troy Closson, Devin Barrett, Jay Senter and Michael Levenson.

A Minnesota man was charged by federal prosecutors with murder on Monday after they say he assassinated a Democratic state lawmaker and her husband and shot and injured another Democratic lawmaker and his wife.

Minnesota's acting U.S. attorney, Joseph H. Thompson, said he could seek the death penalty for the man, Vance Boelter, 57, but added that no decision had been made yet. Mr. Boelter was captured on Sunday after what officials described as the largest manhunt in state history.

During a brief appearance in federal court in St. Paul on Monday, Mr. Boelter, wearing a stern expression, did not enter a plea to charges that included stalking and murder with a firearm. A judge appointed him a public defender because he said he could not afford his own lawyer. He is due back in court on June 27.

Mr. Boelter is also facing charges of second-degree murder in state court, although Hennepin County prosecutors said they planned to seek an indictment charging him with first-degree murder, which is punishable by life in prison without parole. In Minnesota, first-degree murder charges require an indictment by a grand jury.

Mr. Thompson described the shootings as "the stuff of nightmares."

"Political assassinations are rare," he said at a news conference on Monday. "They strike at the very core of our democracy, but the details of Boelter's crimes are

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Gas, Barbecue and Cowhide Rugs: A Texas-Size Pit Stop Spreads

By RICK ROJAS

PASS CHRISTIAN, Miss. — On practically any other day, the acres of pavement would have had more than enough room for anyone needing a parking spot. Not on this one.

Hundreds of vehicles pulling off Interstate 10 on Monday morning last week circled the giant lot. Television crews had come from hours away. Some people had even camped out overnight, aiming to be the first customers when the doors were unlocked and the gas pumps went online at 6 a.m.

This wasn't just any gas station and convenience store. A Buc-ee's was opening in Mississippi.

"We fell in love!" said Diane S. Carter, who was celebrating her 35th wedding anniversary but was referring to her and her husband's passion for Buc-ee's, so strong that they had driven nearly three hours and secured a hotel room in Biloxi to be there for the opening.

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With goods, food and fuel in jumbo portions, a Buc-ee's opened in Pass Christian, Miss., last week.

ISRAEL EXPANDS IRAN STRIKE TARGETS



Sheltering from Iran's counterattacks in an underground station in Ramat Gan, Israel, late Sunday.



A closed bazaar in Tehran, Iran's capital, on Monday. Highways leading out of the city were jammed.

Inside DOGE's Chaotic Social Security Takeover

This article is by Alexandra Berzon, Nicholas Nehamas and Tara Siegel Bernard.

WASHINGTON — Elon Musk stood before a giant American flag at a Wisconsin political rally in March and rolled out an eye-popping allegation of rampant fraud at the Social Security Administration. Scammers, he said, were making 40 percent of all calls to the agency's customer service line.

Social Security employees knew the billionaire's claim had no

Misinformation About Widespread Fraud

basis in fact. After journalists followed up, staff members began drafting a response correcting the record.

That's when Leland Duke — plucked from a midlevel job only six weeks earlier to run Social Security because of his willingness to cooperate with Mr. Musk's Department of Government Efficiency — got an angry call from the White House, according to several people familiar with the exchange.

"The number is 40 percent," insisted Katie Miller, a top administration aide who was working closely with Mr. Musk, according to one of the people familiar with the April 1 call. President Trump believed Mr. Musk, she said. "Do not contradict the president."

Throughout the early months of this Trump presidency, Mr. Musk and his allies systematically built

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Israel's expansion of its strikes — from nuclear and military targets to energy infrastructure and the government broadcaster — showed that this offensive is different from Israel's more narrowly targeted attacks against Iran in recent years.

Israel appears to be taking an opportunity to pounce on an Iran weakened by nearly two years of blows against its military might, including assassinations of top Iranian commanders, bombings of air defenses and the decimation of the militant groups who were its strongest allies across the Middle East.

Asked in an interview with ABC News on Monday about a possible attack targeting Iran's supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, and how that could escalate hostilities, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel said: "It's not going to escalate the conflict. It's

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**ANALYSIS** Israel and Iran have little incentive to stop fighting and no clear route to victory. PAGE A5

LEONARD A. LAUDER, 1933-2025

Builder of a Cosmetics Empire  
Pursued Art and Philanthropy

By ROBERT D. McFADDEN

Leonard A. Lauder, the art patron and philanthropist who with his mother, Estée Lauder, built a family cosmetics business into a worldwide juggernaut that supplied generations of women with the creams, colors and scents of eternal youth, died on Saturday at his home on the Upper East Side of Manhattan. He was 92.

The death was announced by the Estée Lauder Companies.

While best known for his business enterprises, Mr. Lauder was also one of America's most influential philanthropists and art patrons. He gave hundreds of millions to museums, medical institutions and breast cancer and Alzheimer's research, as well as to other cultural, scientific and social causes. His art collections ranged from postcards to Picassos.



Leonard A. Lauder in 2014.

In 2013, he pledged the most significant gift in the history of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, a trove of nearly 80 Cubist paintings, drawings and sculptures by Picasso, Braque, Léger and Gris. Scholars put the value of the gift at

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Senate Republicans unveiled changes to the House-passed domestic policy bill that could complicate passage. PAGE A13

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Beijing has long struggled to improve its image, especially in the West. The global craze over Labubu may help it score some victories. PAGE A7

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The future of a mall in Lanesborough, Mass., is hindered by disputes. It's a familiar tune across America. PAGE B1

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The potentially lucrative move to advertise in Meta's messaging app is raising questions about privacy. PAGE B1

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The Detroit Tigers, with a mix of old school and fresh savvy, are focused on surpassing last season's run to the American League playoffs. PAGE B6

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The Florida Panthers, on the verge of the Stanley Cup, have taken on the tenacious nature of Paul Maurice. PAGE B9

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Paul Marantz used neon, searchlights or even shadows to shape the look of prominent spaces. He was 87. PAGE B12

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The offbeat American Modern Opera Company arrives at Lincoln Center for a five-week residency. PAGE C1

**Big Day for a City Bird**

The High Line hosted a Pigeon Fest, inspired by a sculpture and a fondness for the oft-maligned creatures. PAGE C1



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**Michelle Goldberg** PAGE A19

