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WEDNESDAY, APRIL 30, 2025

Prices in Canada may be higher

clouds and sunshine, high 68.

\$4.00

# There have never been 100 days like this.

Imperialism

Foreign Policy

Mr. Trump's fascination with acquiring Greenland,

official U.S. policy. He has raised the idea of taking

president has also mused about retaking the Pana-

ma Canal and annexing Canada as the 51st state.

the autonomous Danish territory by force. The

above, has shifted from campaign rhetoric to

## A Fusillade of Actions That Have Upended American Life

By JONATHAN SWAN and MAGGIE HABERMAN

Donald J. Trump was sworn in for a second term in January intent on transforming America and its place in the world. From his first hours in office, he has driven domestic, economic and foreign policy in risky new directions; taken a chainsaw to the federal work force; challenged the authority of the courts; and sought to purge liberal influence from government, education and culture.

The result has been a blur of new initiatives; judicial, political and economic backlash; and neck-snapping reversals. It has tested the nation's ability to process disruption — and of American democracy's resilience in the face of a president whose views of his power have prompted warnings of creeping authoritarianism.

The conflicts of one day regularly give way to wholly new ones with stunning rapidity: pardoning Jan. 6 rioters; stripping out-of-favor officials and former advisers of security details; proposing to turn Gaza into a resort town and Canada into a 51st state; blaming a plane crash on diversity initiatives; installing his personal lawyers to run the Justice Department; firing inspectors general; closing down U.S.A.I.D.; igniting trade wars; berating Ukraine's president in the Oval Office; deporting migrants without due process; and edging toward a constitutional crisis by defying judges.

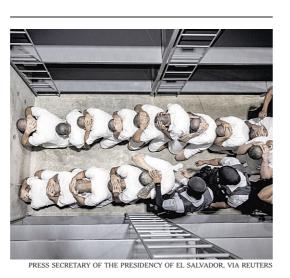
If the 100-day mark is an opportunity to reflect on what this presidency has meant so far — and what it could mean in its remaining 1,361 days — it offers one clear lesson. This time around, Mr. Trump is intent on using every hour to pursue an agenda shaped by a shifting mix of grievance, short-term political calculation, long-held belief and the experience of his first term.

A look at how Mr. Trump has already made his mark, Pages A16-20.



#### Retribution

The president's campaign to exact revenge has included signing executive orders singling out law firms that employed or represented people he considers opponents. His subordinates have fired career prosecutors at the Justice Department who played a role in investigating him or his allies.



**Immigration** 

Mr. Trump has invoked the Alien Enemies Act of 1798 to remove migrants without due process. Some have been sent to an El Salvador prison, above, including at least one by mistake. Mr. Trump has targeted student visa holders and legal permanent residents who protested the war in Gaza.



ERIC LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

#### Government

Elon Musk's team took drastic action to cut or shut down parts of the federal bureaucracy, but it is not expected to come close to meeting his promise to reduce a trillion dollars of waste. He has angered some Trump officials, but the president's relationship with Mr. Musk has proved durable.



The president has promoted his long-held view

that the world is divided into two kinds of coun-

tries: those that "have the cards" and those that

negotiating a plan that sharply favors Russia.

don't. Mr. Trump has applied this perspective to the

war in Ukraine, above, which he is trying to end by

nesses say that the uncertainty is making it difficult for them to plan ahead, and some economists worry that it could be enough to cause a recession.



#### By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — At the entrance of the Oval Office, where the president and his visitors can see it every day, hangs the mug shot taken of a glowering Donald J. Trump after he was arrested and charged with racketeering to

overthrow an election.

**NEWS** 

**ANALYSIS** A couple of hundred feet away, in the grand foyer of the White House state floor where the official portraits of past presidents in solemn poses are on display, hangs a painting of a defiant Mr. Trump, blood splattered on his face by would-be assassin's bullet, angrily pumping his fist and shouting, "Fight! Fight!"

These icons of Mr. Trump's journey back to power loom large as he completes the first 100 days of his second presidency. There is a reason he has placed these images in positions of prominence. They reflect the crucibles of a man who escaped threats of prison and death in his quest for vindication and vengeance. They fuel his selfauthored narrative as a man of destiny, saved by God to save America.

In the opening chapter of this new term, Mr. Trump has acted like a man on a mission, moving with almost messianic fervor to transform America from top to bottom and exact retribution against enemies at the same time. He appears intent on demolishing the old order no matter the collateral damage, putting his personal imprint not just on government and foreign affairs but on almost every aspect of national life, including business, culture, sports, academia, the legal world and the media.

Through sheer force of will and brazen assertions of presidential power, Mr. Trump has done more to change the trajectory of the country in three months than any president since Franklin D. Roosevelt introduced the notion of a first-100-days presidential yardstick. But where Roosevelt used his early weeks to build a new edifice, Mr. Trump has used his to tear it down. In effect, he is trying to repeal the liberal social compact and international system that Roosevelt constructed, "un-

winding neoliberalism," as one aide put it. Nearly every day brings a fresh breach of what were once thought to be the rules, moves that have thrilled his insurgent supporters and petrified his nervous opponents. In his own telling, Mr. Trump is putting America on the path to the "golden age" that he promised in his inaugural address, while his adversaries fear that it is instead the path to a new dark age of autocracy, repression and upheaval.

These first 100 days have been far more ambi tious than the first 100 days eight years ago when Mr. Trump came into office a governing novice who, by his own later account, did not know how to be president. That was before the re-election defeat, before the indictments and trials, before the shooters. Now the scar tissue is deep, the guardrails are gone and the sense of righteous mandate is palpable.

"He is very laser focused on what he wants to accomplish," said Robert Jeffress, the Dallas evangelical pastor, who joined the president at an Easter dinner at the White House this month. The trials and tribulations of the past few years, in-

Continued on Page A16

#### The Start of a Second Term

POWER PLAY President Trump's assertion of executive authority is unlike anything the nation has experienced. The challenge is testing the strength of the checks and balances system. News Analysis. PAGE A18

**CHRONICLING HISTORY** The New York Times kept

track of the Trump administration's actions and significant statements for the first 100 days of his term.

SPECIAL SECTION



**FACT CHECK** The president's dizzying efforts to reconfigure the global trading system, reshape the federal government and restrict immigration have been undergirded by a nonstop distortion of basic facts. PAGE A13



Tariffs and Trade

Mr. Trump's April 2 announcement of his plans to remake the global trading system set off panic among foreign officials and investors. Just hours after his tariffs went into effect, Mr. Trump paused them for 90 days. But his actions tipped the United States into a full-blown trade war with China



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

#### Culture

The president moved to install himself as chairman of the Kennedy Center and fired board members who had been appointed by Democrats, declaring that the center's programming had become too "wokey." Mr. Trump has also targeted federal grants for arts and humanities programs.



#### Diversity and Equity

Mr. Trump signed an executive order that required the elimination of all D.E.I. programs, personnel and practices. The move unleashed an avalanche of activity throughout the federal government and in virtually every sector of American life. He has equated diversity with incompetence.

**INTERNATIONAL A4-12** 

#### Carney to Lead Canada

The election was dominated by President Trump's combative policies. Pierre Poilievre, the opposition leader, lost the seat he had held for 20 years. PAGE A9

#### Wrecked Community in Kyiv

Russian strikes killed 13 and hurt dozens. "It feels like I lost my whole extended family," a survivor said. PAGE A6

NATIONAL A13-25

# **Justices Hear Disability Case**

In a closely watched case, the Supreme Court seemed skeptical of a Minnesota school district's argument. PAGE A24

### How Photography From the Vietnam War Changed America



The images altered how the world saw Vietnam, but especially how Americans saw their country, soldiers and the war itself, which ended 50 years ago Wednesday when North Vietnam declared victory and seized control of Saigon. Left, U.S. Marines in the field in 1966. PAGE A10

#### ARTS C1-6

#### An Enduring Ensemble

With only one original member remaining in the Takacs Quartet, the group is still going strong.



Rising Above It All

On her new tour's opening night, Beyoncé wowed the crowd by, among other things, soaring in a horseshoe. PAGE C1 **BUSINESS B1-6** 

#### Rebuilding a Grim Hospital

Pulling off a plan to redevelop the former Hospital for the Negro Insane of Maryland won't be easy.

#### A Key Tariff Loophole Closes

Starting Friday, goods from China worth up to \$800 will also be subject to fees under new Trump rules. PAGE B1

**OPINION A26-27** 

Steven Rattner



PAGE A26

