

‘GAME OF CHICKEN’
IN WHICH TRUMP
IS FIRST TO VEER

BUDGING ON ECONOMY

Hard Line Meets Reality
on Tariffs, China and
the Fed Chief

By DAVID E. SANGER

WASHINGTON — After weeks of bluster and escalation, President Trump blinked. Then he blinked again. And again.

He backed off his threat to fire the Federal Reserve chairman. His Treasury secretary, acutely aware that the S&P 500 was down 10 percent since Mr. Trump was inaugurated, signaled he was looking for an offramp to avoid an intensifying trade war with China.

And now Mr. Trump has acknowledged that the 145 percent tariffs on Chinese goods that he announced just two weeks ago are not sustainable. He was prompted in part by the warnings of senior executives from Target, Walmart and other large American retailers that consumers would see



HAIYUN JIANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Trump has mulled reducing tariffs on China.

price surges and empty shelves for some imported goods within a few weeks.

Mr. Trump’s encounter with reality amounted to a vivid case study in the political and economic costs of striking the hardest of hard lines. He entered this trade war imagining a simpler era in which imposing punishing tariffs would force companies around the world to build factories in the United States.

He ends the month discovering that the world of modern supply chains is much more complex than he bargained for, and that it is far from clear his “beautiful” tariffs will have the effects he predicted.

This is not, of course, the explanation of the events of the past few days that the White House is

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NEWS ANALYSIS
Brushing Off
Due Process
For Migrants

White House Erodes
a Bedrock Principle

By LUKE BROADWATER

WASHINGTON — While the Justice Department argues in court that it is working to comply with judges’ orders to provide migrants with due process before deporting them, President Trump and his top advisers are increasingly making a different argument altogether: Why should we?

In their rapid, maximalist campaign to apprehend and deport as many migrants as possible as quickly as possible, Mr. Trump and top members of his administration have abandoned any pretense of being bound by the constitutional limits that have constrained presidents of both parties in the past on immigration. Instead, they are asserting that when it comes to people who entered the United States illegally, the president has unchecked power to expel them without recourse, and that he has neither the time nor the obligation to do otherwise.

“We’re getting them out, and a judge can’t say, ‘No, you have to have a trial,’” Mr. Trump said on Tuesday in the Oval Office. “The trial is going to take two years. We’re going to have a very dangerous country if we’re not allowed to do what we’re entitled to do.”

He made similar remarks on social media on Monday, writing: “We cannot give everyone a trial, because to do so would take, without exaggeration, 200 years.”

Such statements are alarming to legal experts who note that in the United States civil rights are for everyone — not just citizens. “It’s enormously disturbing,” said Erwin Chemerinsky, the dean of the law school at the University of California, Berkeley. “It is so troubling to hear the president and top executive officials give so little regard to the Constitution. It’s important to emphasize that the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment says no person can be ‘deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law.’ It doesn’t say ‘citizen.’”

In recent days, Mr. Trump and his top advisers have railed

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‘SHATTERED’ An Indonesian man has a visa, an American wife and a deportation order. PAGE A13

Deadliest Russian Assault on Kyiv in Nearly a Year



BRENDAN HOFFMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A resident of a building that was damaged on Thursday. Russia’s missile and drone attack in Kyiv, Ukraine, killed at least 12 people.

Crimea Is Zelensky’s Red Line. It’s Ukraine’s, Too.

By ANDREW E. KRAMER and MARIA VARENKOVA

KYIV, Ukraine — When the Trump administration proposed a peace plan that would recognize Russian rule of the Crimean Peninsula, the response from Kyiv was a loud and unequivocal no.

Doing so would violate the nation’s Constitution, President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine told reporters. It would never happen, he declared, not even in exchange for the end of the bloody war raging mostly away from the disputed territory that has been in Russian hands

Recognition of Kremlin
Sovereignty Claim
Is Anathema

for more than a decade.

Mr. Zelensky’s red line has a hard political reality holding it in place.

Inside Ukraine, formal recognition of Russian control of Crimea would be widely viewed as a dangerous concession to a duplicitous rival and an abandonment of Ukrainians still living in the region. It would also dash hopes for reunification of the

families separated by the 2014 occupation — when many pro-Ukrainian residents fled while their elderly or pro-Russian relatives remained behind.

“There is not a single Ukrainian politician who would vote to legalize the occupation of Ukrainian territories,” said Kostyantyn Yeliseyev, a former presidential deputy chief of staff. “For members of Parliament, it would be worse than political suicide,” he said.

President Trump expressed bewilderment and frustration at Mr. Zelensky’s reaction on Wednesday, posting on social media that Crimea was “lost

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TRUMP, IN RARITY,
REBUKES MOSCOW

Ukraine’s Capital Shakes,
With Dozens Injured

By KIM BARKER and MARIA VARENKOVA

KYIV, Ukraine — Russia killed at least 12 people and injured 90 others in a huge attack on the Ukrainian capital early Thursday, prompting President Trump to issue a rare public criticism of Moscow just hours after he lashed out at President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine.

The assault was the deadliest on the capital, Kyiv, since last summer. Explosions shook buildings and sent more than 16,000 people into the subway system to take shelter; clouds of smoke rose over the city as the sun came up.

One missile hit a two-story building with 12 apartments where emergency workers hunted for survivors. A five-story building next door lost all its windows. People stood outside, staring at the damage and talking on their phones, telling loved ones that they were alive. No military target was visible nearby.

Mr. Zelensky said nearly 70 missiles, including ballistic ones, and about 150 attack drones had targeted cities across the country — although Kyiv was hit the hardest.

In a post on social media, he said later that Russia had also attacked 150 frontline positions using the “massive strike” as cover. He said the “situation was toughest” in the area of Pokrovsk, a key rail and road hub for Ukraine’s army.

On Thursday, Mr. Trump lashed out at President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia about the attack, showing how his administration’s positions can seem to flip-flop without warning.

“Vladimir, STOP!” Mr. Trump posted on Truth Social, saying that he was “not happy” with the Russian strikes. “Not necessary, and very bad timing,” the post said.

The attack came hours after Mr. Trump and his top aides demanded that Kyiv accept an American-designed plan that would seemingly grant Russia all the territory it has gained in the

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Musk Fades From Washington,
But His Mission There Lives On

This article is by Jonathan Swan, Maggie Haberman, Nicholas Neamas, Theodore Schleifer and David A. Fahrenthold.

WASHINGTON — As Elon Musk sought to reassure Wall Street analysts on Tuesday that he would soon scale back his work with the federal government, the strain of his situation was audible in his voice.

The world’s richest man said that he would continue arguing that the Trump administration should lower tariffs it has imposed on countries across the world. But he acknowledged in a subdued voice that whether President Trump “will listen to my advice is up to him.”

He was not quite chastened, but it was a different Mr. Musk than a couple of months ago, when the billionaire, at the peak of his power, brandished a chain saw on stage at a pro-Trump conference

to dramatize his role as a government slasher.

Back then, Mr. Musk was inarguably a force in Washington, driving radical change across the government. To the president, he was a genius; to Democrats, he was Mr. Trump’s “unelected copresident”; to several cabinet secretaries, he was a menace; and to G.O.P. lawmakers, he was the source of anguished calls from constituents whose services and jobs were threatened by cuts from his Department of Government Efficiency.

As Mr. Musk moves to spend less time in Washington, it is unclear whether his audacious plan to overhaul the federal bureaucracy will have lasting power. The endeavor has already left an immense imprint on the government, and Mr. Musk has told associates that he believes he has put in place the structure to make

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TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Construction on Central Park’s \$160 million Davis Center, opening Saturday on six remade acres.

A Park Project of Rejuvenation, and Reparation

For more than a century and a half, Central Park has been a leafy barometer of New York’s shifting fortunes. Projecting the city’s vast ambitions and ideals in the 19th century, it morphed into a Hooverville during the Depression, becoming a beehive of ball fields and “Be-Ins” during the 1960s.

A decade later it was a lawless

Harlem Pavilion Helps
Heal Old Wounds

dust bowl, the poster child for urban decline. “An unattended Frankenstein,” one city parks commissioner called it.

Restoring Central Park’s glory has been a labor of decades, its maintenance an endless task. But the \$160 million Davis Cen-

ter, opening to the public Saturday, is a culmination of sorts.

It’s a spectacular new swimming pool, skating rink and pavilion on six remade acres at the Harlem end of the park — the most dramatic change in years to Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux’s pastoral masterpiece of the 1850s.

This northern stretch of the park was shamefully neglected when the city was at its nadir

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SPORTS B6-10

Harvest of Homegrown Talent

The Yankees have developed an impressive group of young players, including Anthony Volpe, above. PAGE B6

Obstacle for N.C.A.A. Deal

The judge overseeing the \$2.8 billion settlement has asked for an adjustment regarding roster limits. PAGE B10

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

South Asia Crisis Deepens

The Pakistani government said it would consider it “an act of war” if India followed through on a threat to block the flow of crucial rivers. PAGE A10

New Israeli Medical Discipline

An updated guide covers what doctors have learned about helping ex-hostages’ transition to freedom. PAGE A5

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Greenmarket Groundbreaker

Barry Benephe brought farm produce to New York City streets, helping to revive neighborhoods. He was 96. PAGE A24

NATIONAL A11-20

Overstepping on Funding Cuts

A federal judge in New Hampshire said the Trump administration’s policy went beyond the executive branch’s legal authority over local schools. PAGE A12

Release From Prison Revoked

After Andre Brown’s 40-year sentence was overturned, he went free. The Bronx district attorney appealed, and he is set to return to prison. PAGE A19

Congestion Case Blunder

Speculating about sabotage, the Transportation Department sidelined lawyers after the release of a confidential memo questioning its strategy. PAGE A17



WEEKEND ARTS C1-12

The People’s Dance Studio

Some are using a space at New York’s Penn Station to rehearse. Above, Paula Naconecy and Rui Tavares. PAGE C1

Views of Reality, and Beyond

This year’s wide-ranging edition of the AIPAD photography fair is a bursting capsule history of the medium. PAGE C9

BUSINESS B1-5

College Savings Downturn

Market turmoil raises questions for parents who invest to stack up a college fund. We have answers. PAGE B1

Chinese Say, Buy Direct

TikTok videos at factories in China urge U.S. shoppers to buy goods directly, as tariff-inflated prices loom. PAGE B1

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Larry David

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