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The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Today, cloudy, a couple of showers and thunderstorms, high 78. **To-night**, partly cloudy, low 65. **Tomorrow**, mostly cloudy, late showers, high 75. Weather map, Page A24.

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HAIYUN JIANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Trump is in a showdown with Elon Musk, the world's richest man and not the kind of adversary Mr. Trump is used to.

NEWS ANALYSIS

President Finds a Rival Who Can Punch Back

Clash of Titans Reveals Vulnerabilities

By LUKE BROADWATER

WASHINGTON — Since taking office in January, President Trump has faced almost no meaningful opposition. Congress has been acquiescent and conspicuously uninterested in oversight. He has bulldozed past the courts to impose his will on immigration policy and exact retribution on law firms and universities. Conservative media outlets have backed him and his agenda, and some mainstream news organizations have been cowed.

But now Mr. Trump is not just confronting a powerful adversary for the first time this year — he is going toe to toe with an angry rival in Elon Musk, who has the capacity to sustain a fight and shares the president's go-for-the-jugular instincts and willingness to scorch the earth to achieve even short-term advantage.

It is a new challenge for Mr. Trump, who has always had a knack for cowing and humiliating rivals and using social media and the soft and hard powers of the presidency to steamroll any opposition.

age each other, there is much substance at stake.

Their battle comes at a moment when Mr. Trump is engaged in a delicate dance on Capitol Hill to get his signature policy legislation, the so-called One Big Beautiful Bill, passed through Congress. At the same time, he is trying to negotiate the end to foreign conflicts that are proving much more intractable than he predicted.

It is not clear how long their feud will continue, at least at the level of intensity on display on Thursday. And Mr. Musk, the owner of SpaceX and Tesla, has much to lose from a protracted fight against Mr. Trump, whose hold over the Republican Party has been unshakable and whose powers to harm Mr. Musk's interests are extensive.

But their rift has for the first time brought into the open vulnerabilities for Mr. Trump that had largely been papered over.

The president's big-spending

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Eight Deported Convicts Wait In East Africa, Far From Home

This article is by **Mattathias Schwartz, Abbie VanSickle, Hamed Aleaziz and Eric Schmitt.**

Somewhere inside Camp Lemonnier, an American military base in the East African nation of Djibouti, eight men, all convicted of serious crimes in the United States, are under the guard of officers from the Homeland Security Department.

The Trump administration had planned to send the men, who had come to the United States years ago as immigrants from across the world, on to the war-torn country of South Sudan, an extraordinary gambit and part of President Trump's broader plan for mass deportations. Then an order from a federal judge, on the other side of the planet in Boston, put a halt to the plan, at least for now.

And so for the past 16 days, the men have been in limbo, living and sleeping inside a modular, air-conditioned container that the military usually uses as a conference room. Immigration and Customs Enforcement officers

Chaotic Move to Make Example of the ‘Worst of the Worst’

have the detainees under “constant surveillance,” accompanying them on their trips to the bathroom and then searching them for contraband when they return, a D.H.S. spokeswoman said.

The detainees’ fate has emerged as a key test in the constitutional battle over the scope of due process. The White House is making a bold claim, arguing that handing immigrants a one-page document is sufficient to deport them to a dangerous country to which they have no previous connection.

A reconstruction of the men's surreal journey from South Texas to Camp Lemonnier reveals a chaotic effort by the Trump administration to make an example of a

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Man Expelled in Error Returns, And Now He’ll Be Prosecuted

This article is by **Devlin Barrett, Alan Feuer and Glenn Thrush.**

WASHINGTON — Kilmar Armando Abrego Garcia, the man at the center of a political and legal maelstrom after he was mistakenly deported to El Salvador, was flown back to the United States on Friday to face charges of transporting undocumented migrants.

The stunning move by the Trump administration, after months of fighting any effort to return him, could end the most high-profile court battle over President Trump's authority to rapidly seize and deport immigrants.

The decision to pull Mr. Abrego Garcia out of El Salvador and instead put him on trial in an American courtroom could provide an offramp for the Trump administration, which had bitterly opposed court orders requiring the government to take steps to return him after his wrongful removal in March.

The 10-page indictment — filed in Federal District Court in Nashville in May and unsealed Friday

Trump Administration Says That He Helped Smuggle Migrants

— might also be an effort to save face: Bringing Mr. Abrego Garcia back to face criminal charges allows the White House to avoid a legal confrontation, while pressing claims he is a criminal who poses a threat to American citizens.

“Abrego Garcia has landed in the United States to face justice,” Attorney General Pam Bondi said at a news conference in Washington. “He was a smuggler of humans and children and women.”

She added, “This is what American justice looks like.”

Two people familiar with the investigation said it made a significant leap forward when an imprisoned man recently came forward offering information about Mr. Abrego Garcia, but there was con-

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HAIYUN JIANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Trump said he planned to sell his red Tesla.

Justices Grant DOGE Access To Private Data

By **ADAM LIPTAK**
and **ABBIE VANSICKLE**

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court on Friday let members of the Department of Government Efficiency, formed by Elon Musk, have access to sensitive records of many millions of Americans held by the Social Security Administration.

The court's order was brief and unsigned, which is typical when the justices rule on emergency applications.

The Trump administration said it needed the data to root out waste and fraud and to modernize the agency's operations. Two labor unions and an advocacy group represented by Democracy Forward Foundation sued to block access, saying that much of the information was deeply personal and protected by privacy laws.

The court responded that the agency “may proceed” to allow DOGE access to the records necessary to do its work.

In a second unsigned order on Friday the court handed the group another victory, ruling that, for now, the organization does not have to turn over internal records to a government watchdog group as part of a public records lawsuit.

The court's three liberal members — Justices Sonia Sotomayor, Elena Kagan and Ketanji Brown Jackson — dissented from both rulings.

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Housing Slump, Defying Hopes, Has Not Eased

By **RONDA KAYSEN**

As 2025 began, the stars were aligning for a housing market rebound.

Inflation was easing, the economy looked strong and mortgage rates were drifting downward. By April, there were more available homes to buy than at any time since January 2020, according to the Federal Reserve of St. Louis. The conditions were ripe for buyers to re-emerge, checkbooks in hands, and sellers to negotiate.

Then on April 2, President Trump rolled out his expansive global trade tariffs, shocking the stock and bond markets and sparking fears of a recession. Mortgage rates jumped again, hitting 6.89 percent for a 30-year fixed-rate loan on May 29, their highest level since early February. The extreme volatility threw cold water on a fragile market. Buyers bailed out.

“There isn't any urgency to buying right now — if anything it feels more risky to put a down payment into a home when you might not have a job six months from now,” said Daryl Fairweather, the chief economist of Redfin.

Real estate agents across the country report a chilled environment, with sellers unwilling to lower their prices and buyers reluctant to make a big purchase as the economy flounders and the

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Trans Troops Staring Down An Ultimatum

By **DAVE PHILLIPPS**

The Trump administration gave transgender troops an ultimatum this spring when it announced that it wanted them all out of the military. Leave voluntarily and get an honorable discharge and extra separation pay, or wait to be forced out and potentially face negative repercussions.

Now, the deadline for making that choice is here, and many trans troops say they will stay and fight.

Katie Benn is a captain in an Army air defense battalion at Fort Campbell, Ky. This spring, she briefly considered giving in and taking the separation pay — worth about \$60,000 for her. But then she remembered a part of the Soldier's Creed that she had repeated many times in her career: “I will always put mission first, I

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MAHMOUD ISSA/REUTERS

A Bright Spot Among the Rubble

Children having fun on a trampoline in Gaza City on Friday, the first day of the Muslim holiday Eid al-Adha. Elsewhere in the Gaza Strip, funerals were held. Gaza coverage, Pages A4-5.

INTERNATIONAL A4-8

A Different Kind of D-Day
Amid current tensions, the U.S. defense secretary honored the soldiers who landed in France 81 years ago. PAGE A6

Patrolling the High Arctic
Joint Canada-U.S. exercises had troops preparing for possible Russian incursions as the ice shifts. PAGE A7



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A Series Inside Trump’s Bubble
Episodes of “Art of the Surge” offer a rare look at the adulatory environment in which the president has moved since regaining power. PAGE A15

Stoking Fears About C.D.C.
The planned consolidation of data raised concerns about privacy and states not sharing disease information. PAGE A17

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Impact of Gay Male Athletes
The evolution of the out pro player still has further to go before more of them raise their hands. PAGE B7

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Seeking Forgotten Talent
A cottage industry within the art market turns to the past to discover tomorrow's blue-chip stars. PAGE C1

Top Songs of the Tonys Season
Our critic listened to the cast recordings of the nominated musicals and picked a favorite track from each. PAGE C1



BUSINESS B1-6

No Bar Tabs for Gen Z
To the chagrin of bartenders, many 20-something bargoers prefer to close out and pay after every single drink, no matter how many they might order during an outing. PAGE B1

Confirming a Cancer Diagnosis
Shari Redstone, who is trying to close the sale of her family's Paramount media empire to Skydance and dealing with a suit filed by President Trump, has thyroid cancer. PAGE B1

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Margaret Renkl PAGE A23

THE MAGAZINE



THIS WEEKEND

