# The New York Times

**THE WEATHER** 

Today, sunny to partly cloudy, breezy, quite chilly, high 40. Tonight, mostly clear, cold, low 29. Tomorrow, partly sunny, brisk, remaining cold, high 38. Weather map, Page B10.

VOL. CLXXIV .... No. 60,354

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SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 2024

Prices in Canada may be higher

**NEWS ANALYSIS** 

## Musk's Pledge To Ax Trillions Faces Reality

Legal Fights and Lags Will Await His Efforts

This article is by David A. Fahrenthold, Alan Rappeport, Theodore Schleifer and Annie Karni.

WASHINGTON - These are frenzied times for the nascent Department of Government Efficiency.

In Silicon Valley, tech leaders are eagerly seeking positions or introductions to the department, even though for now it is not an actual part of government, but a loose grouping that Elon Musk named after an internet meme. On his social media platform, X, Mr. Musk posted a "Godfather"style photo of himself as the "Dogefather," asking government employees, "What did you get done this week?"

And in Washington, a House subcommittee has been announced to help push through President-elect Donald J. Trump's vision, announced on Nov. 12, for a department that would slash the \$6.7 trillion federal budget.

 $Members\ of\ Congress-even$ Democratic ones — have been offering up ideas for where to cut what Mr. Musk said could be \$2 trillion out of the budget.

"It's going to be very easy," Elon Musk's mother, Maye Musk, told Fox News on Tuesday, after she sat in on some of her son's meetings. Mr. Musk will lead the department along with Vivek Ramaswamy, a former Republican presidential candidate.

The coming months will show if her prediction proves right.

When Mr. Trump takes office, Mr. Musk's group will face a daunting reality. An entire apparatus has developed over the centuries that allows the government to keep marching on in the face of economic shocks, wartime hardships, or — as in this case — political vows to diminish its size  $\,$ and spending.

Any effort to slash the federal government and its 2.3 million civilian workers will likely face resistance in Congress, lawsuits from activist groups and delays mandated by federal rules. Unlike in his businesses, Mr. Musk will not be the sole decider, but will have to build consensus among legislators, executivebranch staffers, his co-leader and Mr. Trump himself. And federal rules ostensibly prevent Mr. Musk and Mr. Ramaswamy from making decisions in private, unlike how many matters are handled in the business world.

Meetings would have to be open and minutes made public, said Brian D. Feinstein, a professor at the University of Pennsylvania who studies administrative

"All of this would have to happen in the sunlight," Mr. Fein-Continued on Page A14



#### Looking for a Shopping Haul

Black Friday deal hunters in Albany, N.Y. Retailers are finding that buyers have grown more choosy about their purchases. Page B1.

## Amid the Graves, Letting Nature Take Its Course In Airline Math,

By CARA BUCKLEY

Across the country, where the dead lie, life is increasingly thriv-

It's happening in Catholic and Jewish cemeteries; in burial grounds up and down the East and West coasts and in the Bible Belt; in sprawling private graveyards that double as public greenspaces, and in century-old potter's fields.

Groundskeepers, deacons, horticulturists, conservationists, arborists and newly minted gardeners are changing how they tend to burial sites. They are letting grasses grow longer and reducing how much they mow. They're ripping out invasive plants, encouraging native shrubs to thrive, forgoing pesticides, and replacing



#### Cemeteries Resilient to Climate Change, and Helpful to Wildlife

manicured turfgrass with wildflower meadows.

Cemeteries have often been the largest green spaces in cities, providing vital havens for wildlife. But during the pandemic, many of them grew especially popular as spots where people could safely gather and enjoy pastoral settings. In 2020, Laurel Hill, a 265acre historic cemetery straddling the Schuylkill River in Pennsylvania, saw its attendance more than double. Green-Wood in Brooklyn, with 478 acres of rolling hills, lush

through one of the cemetery's new Continued on Page A16

plantings, thousands of trees and

serene vistas, counted 200,000

The surge coincided with an ef-

fort underway by Green-Wood

and other cemeteries to swap

swaths of manicured lawns for

meadows filled with wildflowers

and drought resistant native

shrubs. Earlier attempts to let

grass grow longer at Green-Wood

had been met with fierce resist-

ance. But as people sought solace

in nature during pandemic lock-

downs, they brought with them a

in terms of people's willingness to

accept this," said Joseph Charap,

Green-Wood's vice president of

horticulture, as he wound his way

"We've seen a huge sea change

new visitors.

new openness.

# Late Departure Equals On Time

By BEN BLATT

The average flight today from Kennedy Airport to Los Angeles is slower than it was in 1995 in every conceivable way. Planes face longer delays leaving the gate; take more time taxiing before taking off; and spend more time in the air.

But paradoxically, even with an average rise in travel time of 18 minutes, the percentage of flights on this route arriving after the scheduled arrival time has decreased. In 1995, the arrivals were behind schedule 51 percent of the time; today it's just 37 percent.

Why do today's flights arrive early more often, even though they're slower? Airlines have extended their scheduled flight durations even more than the flights have lengthened in actual duration. The average scheduled duration from J.F.K. to Los Angeles has increased 23 minutes since 1995, according to an Upshot analysis of Bureau of Transportation Statistics data.

Thanks to those more forgiving schedules, a majority of domestic flights nationwide arrive early or on time. If your plane reaches the gate at exactly the estimated arrival time, you are actually on a plane that is running slower than

For airlines, scheduling the extra time has little downside, while Continued on Page A20

## U.K. LAWMAKERS **VOTE TO PERMIT** ASSISTED DYING

\$4.00

#### A LANDMARK MOMENT

Applicants in Wales and **England Must Meet** Strict Criteria

By STEPHEN CASTLE

LONDON — After an emotive and at times impassioned debate, Britain's lawmakers on Friday voted to allow assisted dying for terminally ill patients in England and Wales under strict conditions, opening the way to one of the most profound social changes in the country in decades.

By 330 votes to 275, members of Parliament gave their support to a bill that would permit doctors to help some terminally ill patients to end their lives.

Friday's vote was not the final say on the matter for Parliament, as it will now be scrutinized in parliamentary committees and amendments to the bill may be put forward. But it is a landmark political moment, setting the stage for a significant shift that some have likened to Britain's legalization of abortion in 1967 and the abolition of the death penalty in 1969.

The new legislation would apply to a narrow group: Applicants would have to be over 18, diagnosed with a terminal illness and have been given no more than six months to live. Two doctors and a judge would be required to give their approval, and the fatal drugs would have to be self-administered.

Assisted dying is already legal in a handful of European countries, as well as in Canada, New Zealand, 10 U.S. states and the District of Columbia.

The bill debated on Friday was proposed by a Labour Party member of parliament, Kim Leadbeater, but lawmakers were given the freedom to vote with their consciences, instead of being expected to vote along a party line, meaning the outcome was impossible to predict.

During almost five hours of debate on Friday in a crowded parliamentary chamber, raw divisions were revealed over an issue that transcended political affili-

Meg Hillier, a Labour lawmaker, said the legislation would "cross a Rubicon," by involving the state in the death of some of those it governs. "This is a fundamental change in the relationship between the state and the citizen, and the patient and their doctor," she said.

But Kit Malthouse, a Conservative lawmaker, argued in support of the bill, saying, "The deathbed for far too many is a place of misery, torture and degradation, a reign of blood and vomit and tears." He added, "I see no compassion and beauty in that — only

Continued on Page A10

### Cyclist's Death Inflames Clash Over Paris Streets U.S. Looks Away on China's Misuse of Panda Aid

#### By RICHARD FAUSSET and SÉGOLÈNE LE STRADIC

- It sent a shock through Paris, a city striving to transform itself into one of the great cycling metropolises in the world: a bicycle rider, crushed under the wheels of an SUV in a bike lane just a few yards from La Madeleine, the landmark neoclassical church, in what prosecutors suspect was a deliberate act of road rage. A murder investigation has

been opened, and last week, Mayor Anne Hidalgo led the Paris City Council in a minute of silence for the cyclist, Paul Varry, a 27-yearold who was also a cycling advocate. Ms. Hidalgo, a member of

#### A Road Rage Inquiry Exposes a Divide on an Anti-Car Push

the Socialist Party, delivered an emotional speech in which she signaled she would continue to roll out her notably aggressive policies that aim to drastically reduce the role of the automobile in Parisian life. "I am truly angry," she said.

"The future does not belong to An outpouring of emotion over

Mr. Varry's Oct. 15 death has put a spotlight on the dangers facing cy-

clists in a city that has seen an explosion in bikes and cycling lanes in recent years. But it has also underscored the frustrations that motorists increasingly feel in a place that has chosen to limit the movement, speed and parking options of cars.

More and more cemeteries, like Brooklyn's Green-Wood, are letting the grass grow longer.

cycling organizations, spurred by the death of Mr. Varry, have demanded more protections from aggressive drivers in recent weeks, others have complained about Parisian bikers themselves, some of whom have earned a reputation as dangerous risk-takers.

Ratcheting up tensions this month is a new policy banning motorists from driving through the four arrondissements, or dis-

Continued on Page A9

#### By MARA HVISTENDAHL

WASHINGTON — For decades, American zoos have raised tens of millions of dollars from donors and sent the money to China for the right to host and display pandas. Under U.S. law, those funds were required to be spent

protecting pandas in the wild. But the Chinese government instead spent millions on apartment buildings, roads, computers, museums and other expenses, records show. For years, China refused even to account for millions

Regulators with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, which oversees the payments, have for two decades raised concerns about



A panda at the San Diego Zoo.

this with American zoo administrators and Chinese officials alike. The U.S. government, on three occasions, froze payments to China over incomplete record keeping, documents show.

money was not always going toward conservation. But they worried that if Fish and Wildlife cut off the money altogether, China could demand the return of its bears. Zoos count on pandas for visitors, merchandise sales and media attention. Ultimately, the regulators al-

Zoos, too, have known that the

lowed the money to keep flowing and agreed not to check the spending in China so thoroughly, according to records and former 'There was always pushing

back and forth about how the U.S. shouldn't ask anything," said Kenneth Stansell, a former Fish and Wildlife official who traveled to

Continued on Page A6



**INTERNATIONAL A4-12** 

#### Syrian Rebels Escalate Attacks

An attack on the major city of Aleppo raised alarm that a long-running civil war was flaring up.

#### Notre-Dame in a New Light

France's president, Emmanuel Macron, toured the renovated cathedral before it opens to the public next week. PAGE A4 NATIONAL A13-17, 20

#### Justice Dept. Bracing for Test

President-elect Donald J. Trump's plans to install loyalists have left officials fearful that he will undermine the department's independence.

#### Last Resort for Rikers Island

A federal judge is likely to employ a rarely used remedy to try to fix problems in New York City's jails. PAGE A17

SPORTS B6-8

#### Aiming High in Season 2

The Professional Women's Hockey League is counting on an influx of talent to build on its early success.



#### ARTS C1-6

#### Reprising a Killer Role

The murderer played by Mark Duplass in the found-footage "Creep" films has returned in a TV series.

#### 'And Don't Call Me Shirley'

Revisiting gags from "Airplane!" and other movies that Jim Abrahams, who died on Tuesday, helped create. PAGE C1

#### **BUSINESS B1-5**

#### Rethinking Airline Loyalty

Some frequent fliers, frustrated with changes to rewards programs, have stopped chasing status and are adopting different strategies when booking flights and using credit cards. PAGE B1

#### Hostile Days Ahead in Health

Robert F. Kennedy Jr. and others with marginal experience are in line for top health posts, raising alarms at drug makers and setting the stage for battles over regulatory changes.

OPINION A18-19

Vickie Wang

PAGE A19

THIS WEEKEND



