# THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

FRIDAY, APRIL 25, 2025 ~ VOL. CCLXXXV NO. 96

OIL \$62.79 A \$0.52

DJIA 40093.40 A 486.83 1.23%

NASDAQ 17166.04 A 2.7%

STOXX 600 518.61 A 0.4%

10-YR.TREAS. A 21/32, yield 4.304%

GOLD \$3,332.00 A \$55.70

## What's News

- The CEOs of American Air-lines, PepsiCo, Procter & Gamble and many other big U.S. compa-nies warned that shape-shift-ing tariff threats make it virtu-ally impossible to plan and are spooking consumers. A1, B1-3
- ◆ U.S. stocks rallied for a third straight session amid hopes for trade deals and lower interest rates, pushing the S&P 500, Nasdaq and Dow up 2%, 2.7% and 1.2%, respectively. **B1**
- loss, gave a weak revenue out-look and said it would lower its operating-expense target this year by \$500 million. **B1**
- ◆ The FCC began discussing with Paramount Global initial steps the company would need to take to secure the agency's approval of its merger with Skydance Media. B3
- Business sentiment in Germany unexpectedly edged up in April, as firms shrugged off the threats to the German economy posed by Trump's tariff pol-icies toward Europe. A16
- ◆ Tesla's sales in the EU plunged for the third consec-utive month in March, a set-back for the company even as demand for electric vehi-cles grew in the bloc. **B4**

- In a direct response to the biggest and deadliest aerial barrage on Kyiv by Moscow's forces this year, Trump made a personal appeal to Putin to stop attacks on Ukraine and agree to a peace deal. A1

- ◆ Morgan Stanley veteran Michael Grimes took the helm of the president's ini-tiative to encourage do-mestic and foreign compa-nies to invest in the U.S. A5
- The Trump Organization said it would fire a legal adviser to the company in light of his representation of Harvard University in its clash with the administration. A3
- College students are asking to have their names removed from articles in universities' student newspapers, fearing scrutiny by immigration officials. A3
- ◆ Israel's military said its troops were responsible for a March 19 strike on a U.N. facility in Gaza that killed one of the organization's staff members, negating an earlier denial, A16 earlier denial. **A16**
- d on

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Crossword... Al1 Sports...
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#### Business & Finance

- ◆ Sales of existing homes in March had their biggest monthly decline in more than two years after mount-ing economic uncertainty roiled the housing market at the start of the critical spring selling season. Al
- ◆ Intel posted a quarterly
- Comcast continues to lose broadband and cable-Tysubscribers, but found bright spots in the first quarter with its mobile-phone plans and Peacock service. B1

#### World-Wide

- ◆ Trump saw a string of defeats in federal courts as judges ruled to curtail mea-
- judges ruled to curtail mea-sures targeting immigration enforcement, voting and di-versity initiatives. A3 A judge in Maryland or-dered the Trump administra-tion to facilitate the return to the U.S. of an asylum pe-titioner who was sent to a prison in El Salvador. A3

- ◆ Former South Korean President Moon Jae-in, a 72-year-old left-leaning poli-tician whose tenure ended in 2022, was indicte bribery charges. A7



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## 'Vladimir, STOP,' Trump Tells Putin After Kyiv Strike Kills 12

In social-media post. president issues rare rebuke urging Russia to end war

By Jane Lytvynenko And Meridith McGraw

KYIV, Ukraine—In a direct response to the biggest and deadliest aerial barrage on Kyiv by Moscow's forces this year, President Trump made a personal appeal to President Vladimir Putin of Russia to stop attacks on Ukraine and agree to a peace deal.

"Not necessary, and very bad timing," Trump said in a

post on his Truth Social plat-form on Thursday after the at-tack. "Vladimir, STOP! 5000 soldiers a week are dying. Lets get the Peace Deal DONE!" The missile-and-drone at-tack killed 12 people and in-jured 90 in the Ukrainian capi-tal, part of a countrywide assault that involved 215 mis-siles and explosive drones. assault that involved 215 missiles and explosive drones, Ukraine's air force said. Russia said it was targeting "enterprises in Ukraine's aviation, rocket and space, machine-building and armored vehicle industries," among other sites. Trump's frustration is building as talks to end the war have stalled. On Wednesday, Trump criticized President Vo-

lodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine for refusing to accept a peace proposal that includes Washington's legal recognition of Russian sovereignty over the Crimean Peninsula, which Russia has occupied since 2014. The U.S. president pointed out that Ukraine wasn't required to recognize Crimea as Russian.

But Trump had largely refrained from speaking out against Putin. When asked what concessions have been offered up by Russia, Trump said: "Stopping the war, stopping taking the whole country."

The attack on kyiv, which sent residents fleeing to shelters at I a.m., has turned his attention to Russia's prosecu-

tion of the war and toward Putin personally. Some among the president's Republican allies have also become critical of Putin's refusal to accept a cease-fire.

In March, the U.S. proposed a 30-day truce to which Ukraine agreed, but Putin declined, saying "root causes" of the conflict would need to be resolved first. Russia launched its invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, aiming to overthrow the government in Kyiv and replace it with a puppet administration that would align it with Moscow Please turn to page A16

♦ Ukraine fails to reach debt restructuring deal............ A16

## Home Sales See Steepest Decline In 2 Years

March's drop of 5.9% comes as inventories grow but mortgage rates remain high

By NICOLE FRIEDMAN

By Nicole Friedman

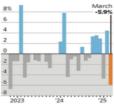
Sales of existing homes in
March posted their biggest
monthly decline in more than
two years, after mounting
economic uncertainty roiled
the housing market at the
start of the critical spring
selling season.

U.S. existing-home sales fell
5.9% in March from the prior
month to a seasonally adjusted annual rate of 4.02 million, the National Association
of Realtors said Thursday.
That marked the biggest
month-over-month decline
since November 2022. It was
also the slowest sales pace for
any March since 2009, which
was near the peak of the financial crisis.

The sharp drop in sales
dashes early hopes that this
spring would offer signs of a
Please turn to page A2

U.S. existing-home sales,

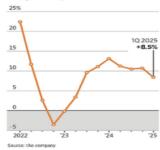
#### U.S. existing-home sal



## Growth Holds Up

Alphabet, Google's parent company, showed resilience amid global economic turmoil in the first quarter, driven by growth in its advertising, services and clou divisions. Revenu creased 12% to \$90.23 billion from \$80.54 billion a year ago—beating analysts' expectations of \$89.18 billion. B1

### Alphabet Google advertising revenue change from a year earlier



#### Six Ice Cubes for \$100? Must Be From Greenland

Startups haul water and ice from Arctic, pitching it as cleaner and denser than most

Is there gold in Greenland's

Is there gold in Greenland's ice?
Entrepreneurs are flocking to the Arctic island to harvest its most abundant resource in hopes there are enough people willing to pay a premium for vodka made with glacial meltwater or a cocktail childed with Greenland ice.
The ice is marketed as cleaner and denser than most because it has been compressed in a glacier for 100,000 years before falling into the fjord. Whether the science backs up the sales pitch is the subject of debate, as are the environmental trade-offs of hauling ice chunks from the Arctic to nightclubs in Dubai. Greenland says it's open for

business.

"If there's something we have a lot of in this country, it's ice," said Thomas "Tyt" Mogensen, CEO of Nalik Ventures, Greenland's \$130 million business development fund. In the past five years, the territory's government has approved 13 licenses to six companies that are currently or planning to harvest glacial meltwater and ice.

Arctic Ice, a two-

ice. Intervate and ice. Arctic Ice, a two-shelf arctic Ice, a two-par-old startup, captures car-size floating icebergs from a fjord in western Greenland, cuts them up with a chain saw, packs the chunks of ice into refrigerated containers, and loads them on cargo ships for a 10,000-mile, five-week ocean Please turn to page A9

## Companies Tear Up Outlooks Over Trade-War Uncertainty

The CEOs of American Air-lines, PepsiCo, Procter & Gam-ble and many other major U.S. companies warned that shape-shifting tariff threats make it

By Lynn Cook, Alison Sider and Caitlin McCabe

virtually impossible to plan and are spooking consumers. American, Southwest Air-lines and Alaska Air Group told investors and analysts that lei-sure travel had already soft-ened and pulled their full-year

outlooks because the economic climate makes it too tough to forecast. Procter & Gamble, the maker of Pampers diapers and Tide detergent, said it was considering raising prices on some items. And auto industry groups representing General Motors, Volkswagen, and Toyota sent a letter to President Trump imploring him to reconsider the 25% tariff on car parts that goes into effect May 3, because it will make buying and repairing cars and trucks more expensive.

going to happen," Robert Isom, CEO of American Air-lines, told investors and ana-lysts Thursday. He said the airline is being cautious. "What does that mean? It means that we don't hire as much. It means that we don't bring on as many planes, po-Please turn topage A2

В1

INSIDE



#### SPORTS

The Mets are baseball's richest team. That's not why they're winning. A12



MANSION

The superrich try to turn Manalapan, Fla, into the next Palm Beach M1

## Xi Lays Groundwork For Long Tariff Battle

By Josh Chin

As President Trump tries to ay hardball in his trade war

As President Trump tries to play hardball in his trade war with Xi Jinping, he faces an adversary who has armed China to play a long and possibly painful game with the U.S. In the weeks since Trump slapped sky-high tariffs on China, Beijing has responded with defiance. A spokeswoman for China's Foreign Ministry posted on X footage from 1953 of Mao Zedong promising to fight to the end against U.S.-led forces in the Koream War. "We are Chinese," she wrote. "We don't back down."

The Mao post and other messages from Beijing highlight what China sees as one of its core advantages against Republican backers are valuerable to the whims of U.S. voters, the party that Mao built is deeply entrenched, having maintained power through more than seven decades de-

spite war, famine, political upheaval and financial crises.

Xi isn't resting on those laurels. Since an earlier trade war during the first Trump administration, Xi has intensified his grip on the country's leadership and reinforced the authoritarian tools that underpin the party's longevity, including enhancements to the world's most sophisticated systems for censorship and surveillance. The Chinese leader wants to harden his country specifically for a confrontation with the U.S., urging officials to engage in what he calls "extreme scenario thinking."

Trump already struck a more conciliatory tone this week, saying he is willing to cut tariffs on Chinese goods. His administration is considering slashing the levies, in some cases by more than half, in a Please turnto page A7



THE NATION'S NEWS | \$3 | APRIL 25-27, 2025

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#### Leaders in fighting climate change

ore U.S. companies are pur reand to lower their carbo otprint. In Weekend Extra



#### **Brotherly love key** in 'Accountant 2'

Jon Bernthal, left, and Ben Affleck chat about their affection for each other on- and off-screen. In Life

## Trump stands behind **HBCUs**

Black universities praise latest executive order

Zachary Schermele

WASHINGTON - Even as his ad-

WASHINGTON — Even as his administration targets diversity peograms in higher education, President Donald Trump reaffirmed his commitment to supporting the nation's historically Black colleges and universities, or HECUs.

He signed a largely symbolic ceder on April 23 in the Oval Office that rehouses a long-standing hipartisan presidential initiative on HECUs at the White House rather than at the Education Department. It also maintains a presidential initiative on HECUs at the White House rather than at the Education Department. The order was celebrated by many HECUs, including Howard University, where former Vice President Kamala Harris studied and gave her concession speech after she lost her bid for the presidency last year.

For nearly two centuries, Howard and the collective of HECUs have cultivated talent, unlocked opportunity, and contributed mightily to every sector of American life, the school said in a statement. This executive order affirms the vital and visionary necessity of our work.

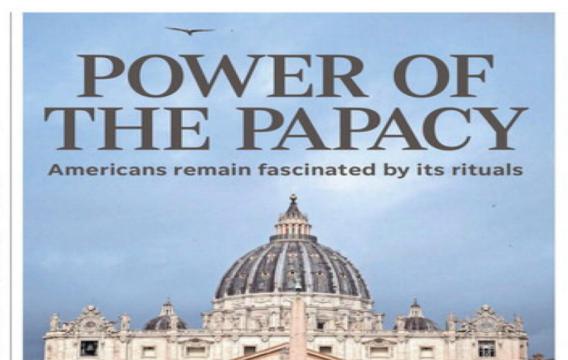
The directive, part of a flurry of education-celated orders Trump signed April 23, is mostly a continuation of conventional federal policy, which generally supports HECUs. And it reinforces the Trump administration's prioritization of historically Black colleges over other types of minority-serving institutions. Immediately after Trump took office, he rescinded similar measures meant to bolster tribal colleges and universities where at least a quarter of the undergraduates are Hispanic.

The move frustrated college officials, who said its would require a herculess effort to revive the federal support on which they have come to rely.

We need to start from zero again, Antonio Flores, head of the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities, told USA TODAY in January.

The measure is also a departure from the Trump administration's war on so-called diversity, equity and inclusion, or DEL in the past three months, the federal government has placed enormous pressure on colleges of discharded programs.

See HBCUS, Page 6A



The attention of tens of millions of Catholics and populations worldwide will be focused on St Peter's Basilica at Vatican on April 26 for the funeral of Pope Francis, ANTONIO MARKELLO/GETTY IN



Francis releases a dove as a symbol of peace for a gatherin, at the Catholic Church of St. Simon Bar Sabbae in Tbilisi, Georgia, on Sept. 30, 2016, www.nco.noro.uur vu.catm saucus

Vatican extends hours as mourners pay homage

Talk swirts of whom cardinals could pick as successor. 2A

Even in death, Francis breaks tradition for burial

Maps and graphics explain relatively humble funeral, 3A

A clooked and timeless figure with a regal authority spanning centuries, the pope is a global
icon whose appearances draw hundreds of thousands and whose influence as leader of the
Catholic Church extends well beyond his flock of
1.4 billion adherents.
Even in the United States, where Americans
have gradually abandoned organized religion,
the magnitude of the pope's sway commands the
attention of Catholics and non-Catholics alike,
interest might obb and flow depending on the
presson who fills the role, but the kingly complexion of the papacy itself continues to hold enduring intrigue.

ion of the papacy itself continues to hold endur-ing intrigue.

"Particularly for Americans who are not Catholic, there's something analogous with the interest in European royalty, a kind of timeless institution that doesn't exist here," said R. An-drew Chesmut, chair of Catholic studies at Vir-ginia Commonwealth University in Richmond. Pope Francis, who died April 21, was unique in that he was able to resee the corrace's sarefied air

that he was able to case the papacy's rarefied air with an unassuming approachability, said Math-ew Schmalz, a professor of religious studies at The College of the Holy Cross in Worcester, Mas-

See RITUALS, Page 2A

## Tariffs, inflation create a surging secondhand marketplace

compelling reason why consumers are choosing secondhand, and now in the era of tariffs, it's even more a unique way to shop and get what you're looking for, and see prices not rise." "We think that there's a really

Alon Rotem Chief strategy officer for ThreeUp





USATODAYSERVICE.COM



Once Upon a Time in Cape Coral, Florida, buys and sells gently used kilds clothing, toys, furniture and more. Such stores have seen an increase in younger shoppers over the past year, sicketo isouch, us footh relimon:

Longtime thrift shopper, mom talks trends, tips

Madeline Mitchell

Kelsey Meyers started thrifting buby gear and clothes when she had her first child 20 years ago. A teen mom at the time, she said the only new items her daughter had were a stroller gifted by Meyers, consortiers and a cut seat. Meyers, of Minnesota, is 38 years old now and still buys most things second-hand. She has four kids and said she's seen the second-hand

seen the secondhand market change dramatically over the past two decades. The biggest shift she's noticed happened just after the COVID-19 panden ic. Suddenly, she said, thrift stores ar

See SECONDHAND, Page 8A

# FINANCIAL TIMES



Hedge funds hold Treasuries market hostage

The papal conclave's lessons in democracy JOHN THORNHILL, PAGE 17

## **Ukraine** raids Trump tells Putin to stop

The explosion of a ballistic missile lights The explosion of a ballistic missie fights up the sky over Kyiv during a Russian strike on the Ukrainian capital early yesterday morning, killing at least 12

yesterday morning, killing at least 12 people and injuring another 90. Russia's deadliest barrage on Kyiv in mouths came as Donald Trump lashed out at Ukraine's President Volodymyr Zelenskyy for holding up his peace plan. But later yesterday the American leader turned his ire on his Russian counterpart, criticising Vladimir Putin on his Truth Social platform. "I am not happy with the Russian strikes on KYIV." Trump wrote. "Not necessary, and very bad timing. Vladimir, STOP!" Trump's airing of his frustration with Putin indicates his struggle to persuade the Russian president to agree to his proposals to bring a swift end to the war. News 6 analysis page 2

News & analysis page 2 No deal on Kyiv debt burden page 10



## China tells White House to 'cancel all unilateral tariffs' if it wants trade talks

Beijing hardens battle stance
 Start of dialogue with US denied
 Trump's updates are 'fake news'

DEMETRI SEVASTOPULO — WASHINGTON
China has told the US that it must "completely cance all unilateral tariff measures" if Washington wants trade talks, in some of Beijing's strongest comments on the deepening trade war between the world's two economic superpowers.
Beijing also denied that there were any "economic and trade negotiations" between china and the US, despite repeated comments from President Donald Trump that the two sides were talking.

has said this week the trade war is "not sustainable" and that "there would have to be a de-escalation by both sides". He Yadong, a Chinese commerce min-istry spokesperson, said yesterday: "The

unilateral tariff measures were initiated by the US. If the US truly wants to solve the problem, it should . . . completely cancel all unilateral tariff measures against China and find a way to resolve differences through equal dialogue."

Trump has wanted to negotiate a deal with President Xi Jinping but China has insisted that it will not capitulate to what it views as economic bullying. Bei-

- Tariffs & frade wars Page &
  Robert Armstrong Page 6
  Rethink on car parts Page 8
  War on Fed hits Treasuries Page 10
  Megan Greene Page 16
  John Gapper & Angela Zhang Page 17

jing has also stressed to the White House that the US must make the first move to de-escalate the crisis, which is threatening to spark a hard decoupling between the two countries' economics. China has consistently said its "door is open" to talks, but an insistence that the US first unilaterally remove its tariffs as a precondition for negotiations would represent a hardening of its stance.

Asked on Wednesday how soon he could reduce tariffs on China, Trump said: "That depends on them."

The White House also said that the president would not unilaterally roll back his levies on Chinese goods.

Washington and Beijing have been engaged in a ti-for-tat escalation since Trump started raising tariffs on imports from China in February. US levies on

Chinese goods have reached 145 per cent while Beijing has imposed a 125 per cent retallatory duty.

Trump has softened some of his overall tariffs, granting exemptions for smartphones, semiconductors and electronics. On Tuesday, he said that tariffs would come down "substantially" and that a deal would be done "pretty quickly". But Beijing said yesterday that any reports that China and the US were nearing a deal were "fake news".

"There have been no consultations or negotiations between China and the

"There have been no consultations or negotiations between China and the United States regarding tariffs, let alone reaching an agreement," said ministry spokesperson Guo Jiakun.
Speaking yesterday, Trump said US and Chinese officials had met but the declined to provide any details. Chinese

finance minister Lan Fo'an and central bank governor Pan Gongsheng were both in Washington yesterday for the IMF's spring meetings.

Asked about China's description of his remarks on trade talks as "fake news", Trump said. "They had a meeting this morning... It doesn't matter who they is, we may reveal it later, but they had meetings this morning, and we've been meeting with China."

He Yadong said "he who tied the bell [on the tiger] should be the one to untie it", a reference to a Chinese proverb on the onus in problem solving.

He said Belging had maintained "an open attitude towards consultations and dialogue" but "pressuring, threat-ening and extorting are not the correct ways to engage with China".

#### Briefing

 Germany braced for zero growth as exports take hit rnin has revised down its growt recast to zero for this year after ving previously predicted a 5 per cent rise in GDP, as its 0.3 per cent rise in GDP, as its export-dependent manufacturers prepare to take a blow from the global trade wars.—PAGE 2

BNP Paribas prospers
The French lender's traders had The French lender's traders hav helped its investment bank to a record quarter, with revenues of €5.3bn, extending the gains fron Trump-induced volatility from Wall Street to Europe. — PAGE 9

War on Harvard steps up

Vehicle parts reprieved The White House plans to spare carmakers from some of the president's most onerous tariffs, in another trade war climbdown following intense sector lobbying.

— REPORT & SMART CAR HYPE, PAGE 8

Davos founder under fire World Economic Forum founde Klaus Schwab is alleged to have manipulated research to curry

Exxon wins lithium spat The oil major has defeated a bid by rival Occidental Petroleum to contest its production rights on one of the largest lithium deposits in the US as energy groups fight for a foothold in minerals.— PAGE 10

South Africa tax rise axed The finance minister has scrapped a controversial VAT increase, in a big concession to his party's main governing partner after a battle threatened to bring down South Africa's grand coalition.—PAGE 3

#### Corporate America counts cost of Trump's trade war

Company chiefs have largely avoided public criticism of the US president, but quarterly earnings calls this month forced many to speak up on the impact of tariffs. Transport, energy, telecoms and homebuilding groups were among those to put Wall Street on alert over rising costs, gummed-up supply chains and the hit to demand. Policy U-turns add to their woes. They don't know if they're going to wake up to an entirely new world order,'s says one analyst.

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## Pakistan suspends India peace accord as tensions rise over Kashmir killings

Pakistan has closed its airspace to India's airlines, suspended a 1972 peace treaty with its neighbour and warned that any diversion of shared river water would be "considered an act of war".

Pakistan has denied any involvement in the attack that killed 26 in Pahalgam, a tourist destination in the Indian-controlled territory of Jammu and Kashmir, and yesterday levelled india's accusations of supporting terrorism back at Narendra Modi's government. The Islamic republic's National Secu-rity Committee denounced India's sus-ression of the 1960 treatured results.

pension of the 1960 treaty under which the two countries share water from the Indus river system. "Any attempt to stop or divert the flow of water belong-

Treaty . . . will be considered as an act of war and responded [to] with full force across the complete spectrum of

and are and responded to J with full force across the complete spectrum of national power," the committee said. It said that Pakistan would suspend all bilateral treaties with its neighbour, including a 1972 peace accord, "till India desists from . . . fomenting terrorism inside Pakistan [and] transnational killings." The remarks were an apparent reference to Indian agents' alleged involvement in the killing of separatist Sikh activists in Canada and Pakistan. The committee also said Pakistan would hold "in abeyance" the Simla Agreement, which has governed ties between the nations since after 1971 war. The pact's provisions included establishing the "Line of Control" along which they face off in Kashmir.

Michael Kugelman, a Washington-

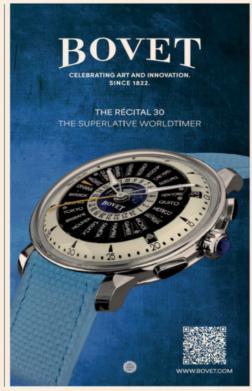
based South Asia analyst, said the Indus Water Treaty and Simla accord had served as 'safety nets', ensuring a baseline of co-operation and communication at times of high tension between Pakistan and India. "The relationship risks entering uncharted territory."

Police in Jammu and Kashmir said two of the three suspects in the Pahalgam massacre were Pakistani nationals, identifying them as part of a militant group behind one of India's worst mass murders of civilians. In a "Wanted" notice published online, the police described the men as "Left Terrorists", a reference to Pakistan-based Lashkar-e-Tayyaba, which was responsible for the

reference to Pakistan-based Lashkar-Tayyaba, which was responsible for the killing of 175 people in Mumbai in 2008. Pakistan's foreign minister said Islam-abad was not involved in the Pahalgam attack and that "no evidence" had been provided to show otherwise.

#### World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURREN	CHES					GOVERNMENT	BONDS		
	Apr 24	Prev	%chg	Pair	Apr 24	Prev	Pair	Apr 24	Prev	Yield (%)	Apr 24	Prev	Cho
S&P 500	5444.53	5375.86	1.28	\$/€	1.137	1.135	6/\$	0.879	0.881	US 2 yr	3.81	3.82	-0.01
Nasdaq Composite	17006.85	16708.05	1.79	S/E		1.327	£/\$	0.751	0.753	US 10 yr	4.33	4.33	0.00
Dow Jones Ind	39853.04	39606.57	0.62	£/E	0.854	0.855	E/E	1.171	1.170	US 30 yr	4.79	4.80	0.00
FTSEurofirst 300	2059.44	2051.32	0.40	¥/\$	142,480	142.620	Y/E	162.049	161.873	UK 2 yr	3.87	3.92	-0.04
Euro Stoxx 50	5112.59	5098.74	0.27	V/E	189.705	189.314	£ index	84.945	85.121	UK 10 yr	4.58	4.63	-0.05
FTSE 100	8407,44	8403.18	0.05	SFr/€	0.940	0.940	SFr/E	1,101	1.099	UK 30 yr	5.24	5.31	-0.06
FTSE All-Share	4541.71	4538.87	0.06	CRYPTO						JPN 2 yr	0.66	0.67	-0.00
CAC 40	7502.78	7482.36	0.27	CRYPTO		Apr	24	Prev	%chg	JPN 10 yr	1.30	1.32	-0.01
Ketra Dax	22064.51	21961.97	0.47	Bitcoin (\$1		93561		969.00	0.96	JPN 30 yr	2.68	2.68	0.01
Nikkei	35039.15	34868.63	0.49	Ethereum		1773		757.80	0.32	GER 2 yr	1.68	1.74	-0.06
Hang Seng	21909.76	22072.62	-0.74	Euroreum		1773	40 1	1/07.00	0.32	GER 10 yr	2.45	2.50	-0.05
MSCI World \$	3537.97	3487.99	1.43	соммор	HTIES					GER 30 yr	2.87	2.91	-0.04
MSCI EM \$	1096.05	1073.79	2.07			Apr	24	Prev	%chg				
MSCI ACWI \$	808.21	796.26	1.50	Oil WTI \$		62.	30	62.27	0.05				
FT Wilshire 2500	6898.88	6783.47	1.70	Oil Brent S		66.	08	66.12	-0.06			Prices are lates	t for edition
FT Wilshire 5000	53603.50	52708.70	1.70	Gold \$		3262	95 3	433.55	-4.97		0	ata provided by f	Morningsta



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## '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

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



President Trump has mulled reducing tariffs on China.

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

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" tar-iffs will have the effects he pre-

This is not, of course, the expla-nation of the events of the past few days that the White House is Continued on Page A9

#### NEWS ANALYSIS

## Brushing Off Due Process For Migrants

White House Erodes a Bedrock Principle

By LUKE BROADWATER

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 constrained
limits that have constrained
presidents of both parties in the
past on immigration. Instead
in the past on immigration in the
past on immigration. Instead
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

dent 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

He made similar remarks on ocial media on Monday, writing:
'We cannot give everyone a trial, because to do so would take, without exaggeration, 200

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 Continued on Page A13

Continued on Page A13

SHATTERED' An Indo has a visa, an American wife a deportation order. PAGE A13

## Deadliest Russian Assault on Kyiv in Nearly a Year



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 VARENIKOVA
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
NEWS
ANALYSIS
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

hard pomplace.
Inside Ukraine, formal recognition of Russian control of
Crimea would be widely viewed
as a dangerous concession to a
duplicitous rival and an abandon
out of Ukrainians still living in
would also dash 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 elderfly 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 i Mr. Zelensky's reaction on Wednesday, posting on social media that Crimea was "lost Continued on Page A7

## TRUMP, IN RARITY, REBUKES MOSCOW

#### Ukraine's Capital Shakes, With Dozens Injured

and MARIA VARENIKOVA

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.

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

ings 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

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 hard-

est. 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.

tions can seem to inp-nop 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 de-manded that Kyiv accept an American-designed plan that would seemingly grant Russia all the territory it has gained in the

Continued on Page A6

### Musk Fades From Washington, But His Mission There Lives On to dramatize his role as a govern-This article is by Jonathan Sw

Maggie Haberman, Nicholas Ne-hamas, Theodore Schleifer and Da-vid A. Fahrenthold.

vid 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 word's richest man said
The word's richest man said
the 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 "wall listen to my advice is
up to him."

He was not quite chastened, but

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 onstage at a pro-Trump conference

to dramatize his role as a govern-ment slasher.

Back then, Mr. Musk was inar-guably a force in Washington, driving radical change across the government. To the president, he was a genius; to Democrats, he was Mr. Trumps "unelected co-president"; to several cabinet sec-retaries, 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 un-clear whether his audacious plan to overhaul the federal bureaucrato overhaul the federal bureaucra-cy will have lasting power. The en-deavor has already left an im-mense imprint on the govern-ment, and Mr. Musk has told asso-ciates that he believes he has put in place the structure to make

Continued on Page A14



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. MICHAEL Projecting the

KIMMELMAN

CRITIC'S
NOTEBOOK

ing the Depression, becoming a beehive of ball fields and "Belewith the light of the light o

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.

maintenance an endless task. But the \$160 million Davis Cen-

ter, opening to the public Satur-day, is a culmination of sorts. It's a spectacular new swim-ming pool, skating rink and paylling as size.

ming 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 master-piece of the 1850s. This northern stretch of the park was shamefully neglected

park was shamefully neglecte when the city was at its nadir

Continued on Page A20

#### SPORTS B6-10

#### Harvest of Homegrown Talent

The Yankees have developed an im-pressive group of young players, includ-ing Anthony Volpe, above. PAGE BO

#### 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 wou consider it "an act of war" if India followed through on a threat to block the flow of crucial rivers.

#### New Israeli Medical Discipline

An updated guide covers what of have learned about helping ex-h transition to freedom. PAGE AS

#### Greenmarket Groundbreaker

Barry Benepe 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 AI7



WEEKEND ARTS C1-12

## The People's Dance Studio

#### 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

arket turmoil raises questions for trents who invest to stack up a college nd. We have answers. PAGE BI

#### Chinese Say, Buy Direct

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

Larry David

PAGE A22



#### FRIDAY, APRIL 25, 2025 - \$4

## CEO's clout has been waning in West Wing

Musk clashed with Cabinet long before his word of a return to Tesla

BY DAN DIAMOND.

he head of a Cabinet secretary—
The billionaire leader of the
US. DOGE Service helped install
Gary Shapley, a mid-level IRS official, as the agency's acting commissioner last week. But the Internal Revenue Service falls under
the purview of Treasury Secretary
Scott Bessent, who had repeatedly
bristled at DOGE's attempts to
intervene at his agency.

This time, the resulting match
in the West Wing, where Musk
and the nation's top financial official battled within earshot of President Donald Trump, said two
people familiar with the heated
comfrontation, who spoke on the
condition of anonymity to describe the sensitive situation. Bessent won, and Shapley was replaced after just three days as the
IRS's acting head. Musk unfolmedia platform.

Asked about the clash, which

Asked about the clash, which wed Bessem on ... edia platform. Asked about the clash, which SEE MUSK ON A16

## D.C.'s bond rating cut amid twin concerns

Moody's: Uncertainty surrounds future of federal workers, budget

BY MEAGAN FLYNN AND JENNY GATHRIGHT

BY MEAGAN FLYNN
AND JENNY GATHRIGHT

Federal workforce cuts and anticipated hits to the District's economy have caused D.C. to lose its coveted triple-A bond rating, Moody's Ratings announced, a move that adds to a stack offinancial stressors this year owing to actions by the Trump administration and Congress.

The bond ratings agency downgraded the city's rating Wednesday from Ana to Aal, a drop that will probably make it more expensive for the District to borrow money, potentially costing taxpay—Moody's cited the Trump administration's "substantial cuts to the federal workforce" that are expected to hurt the city's economy. And it revised the city's out-look to "negative," pointing to a still-sluggish commercial real estate market, the "increased likelihood" of deeper federal spending and workforce cuts, and the uncertainty over whether Congress will slash Medicaid — a fear among D.C. officials and area hospias. The city is overseen by Congress. The city is overseen by Congress.

SEE D.C. ON A16



Rescuers in Kyiv work at a residential building struck by a rocket Wednesday after Russia launched a large-scale overnight attack

## Trump team turns dinner invite into crypto boon

millions of dollars into President Donald Trump's meme coin since his team advertised Wednesday that top purchasers could join Trump for an "intimate private dinner" next month, a Washington Post analysis found.

The holders of 27 crypto wallets have each acquired more than 100,000 STRUMP coins, stakes worth about a million dollars each, since noon on Wednesday, when the team announced that the 220 top coin

The offer of access to the president sparks concern from ethics experts

holders would be rewarded with a "night to remember" on May 22 at the president's Trump Nation-al Golf Club outside Washington. Crypto wallets are generally anonymous, making it challeng-ing to identify who the purchas-

the idea of offering direct residential access to those who

pay into a project benefiting the Trump company's bottom line has sparked criticism over poten-tial conflicts of interest. The biggest buyer acquired 2 million coins worth about \$24 million, according to The Post's review of crypto data. Tak-ent together, the 27 wallets ac-quired more than 8 million \$TRUMP coins, worth about \$100 million as of Thursday af-ternoon.

\$100 million as of inursuay arternoon.

Some of the owners may have bought the coins before the announcement and merely moved them from one account to another to become eligible for the

gala.

The coin's price has surged more than 30 percent since the announcement, to about \$12, boosting the value of the crypto wallets owned by a digital firm affiliated with Trump's family business, the Trump Organization, by roughly \$100 million, the review shows.

affiliateu business, the Trump Orapution, by roughly \$100 million, the review shows.

The Trump-allied team that launched the meme coin also earns fees when the coins are bought or traded, including via a debit-card-friendly "buy now" button on the coin's website. The team has earned \$1.25 million in SEE CRYPTO ON A15

## Attack on Kyiv tangles up talks

TRUMP ISSUES RARE REBUKE TO PUTIN

Ukraine doubles down on refusal to give up turf

AND ANASTACIA GALOUCHKA

KYIV — Russia launched a massive missile and drone attack on
Kyiv and other Ukrainian cities
early Thursday, prompting a rare
rebuke from President Donald
Trump, who called the deadly
attack "not necessary, and very
bad timing."

"Vladimir, STOP!" he wrote on
Truth Social, referring to Russian
President Vladimir Putin. Trump
has generally refrained from criticizing Russia's conduct of the war
and has instead denounced
Ukraine, claiming Kyiv is reluctant to end the conflict.

The Russian attack killed at
least 12 people and wounded
about 90 others, emergency authorities said, in one of the deadliest cancels on the capital in nearly
accels on the capital in nearly
accels and the conflict.

The strike, the latest in a devase.

est attacks on the capital in nearly a year.

The strike, the latest in a devastating series of Russian attacks on civilians, came as the White House pushes Kyiv to trade territory for peace without adequate security guarantees, enraging Ukrainians, who feel abandoned by Washington and are turning to Europe for support.

France strongly backed Ukraine and its insistence on a SEE UKRAINE ON A12



## The moms fueling a movement

Backers of Kennedy's health effort push for changes to the food system

They say the food industry is putting pesticides, dangerous food dyes and other toxic chemicals into the U.S. food supply. They eschew highly processed foods, raise chickens and grow organic vegetables in their backyards. Some call themselves "crunchy moms," a term once linked with 1970s liberal environmentalists. But these aren't traditional, left-wing environmentalists. They are the moms in the "Make America Healthy Again," or MAHA, movement: They lean conservative, distrust vaccines and

support Health and Human Services Secretary Robert F. Kennedy Jr. And they are changing what it means to be an environmentalist in the means to be an environmentalist in the mentum to change the country's food system.

"This perception that the food industry specifically is exploiting families to profit over children's health — you can see roots of that from long ago, looking at grassroots campaigns in Berkeley," said Lindsey Smith Taillie, a professor of nutrition at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. "And that's the same kind of mindset

## Trump spat with BMW rattles this MAGA town

Automaker's S.C. factory, now under a tariff cloud. is community's life blood

BY DANIELLE PAQUETTE

SPARTANBURG, S.C. — Their po-litical hero's trade adviser kept attacking what the county's busi-ness guru called their "golden goose," and no one knew how to quell the clash between two of the most beloved brands in Spartan-burg.

burg.
Around here, it's like watching
Santa Claus kick the Easter Bunny. Or Uncle Sam stomp an apple
pie, nay, strudel.
"This is Trump country," said
Eddie Tallon, a retired Republican
lawmaker in South Carolina's conservative Upstate, "but we love
RMW"

lawmaker in South Carolina's conservative Upstate, "but we love
BMW"

In the days since White House
aide Peter Navarro publicly
bashed the German carmaker
credited with resuscitating the local economy, GOP leaders here
have faced an awkward dilemma:
How do they defend the foreign
firms propelling South Carolina's
growth against a ruthlessly America First president?

Plant Spartanburg this
month as a "scam" that "doesn"t
work for America" and is "bad for
our national security." Other Republicans — such as Gow. Henry
McMaster and Sens. Lindsey
Graham and Tim Scott — heaped

praise on the European auto giant, which three decades ago
chose this Southern community
for what bloomed into its largest
factory in the world.

County officials have invited
County officials have invited
County officials have invited
County officials have invited
County officials the property of the state of the sprawling facility and meet
some of the IL000 South Carolinians employed there. Thus far,
they've received no response. The
president, they insist, should
stroll the downtown no longer
boarded up with plywood, thanks
to the rush of overseas investment
that followed BMW's splashy lead.
Hundreds of companies from dozens of nations now call Spartanburg home, and most rely on a
Hundreds of companies from dozens of nations now call Spartanburg home, and most rely on a
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#### IN THE NEWS

Pentagon procedures Defense contractors lost security clearances for lapses similar to those of Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth, documents show. A7

Pearls of perseverance Chesapeake oysters have continued their comeback from decades of overharvesting, disease and drought. Bl

THE NATION
An Illinois man was sentenced to life for a 2022 mass killing at a Fourth of July event. A3 The president's new orders on education cover civil rights rules and college accreditation. A4

THE WORLD
Britain, facing economic and security
pressures, has nationalized its last steel mill. A9
Esrael took responsibility for a deadly attack on
a U.N. house, which it
had earlier denied. A11

THE ECONOMY
Meta's Oversight Board
ruled that two antitrans posts did not
violate its revised hatespeech rules. A13
Law firms are becomiest invessionly word. ing increasingly vocal about pushing back on the president's demands and legal threats against them. A15

THE REGION
A family filed a multimillion-dollar lawsuit
against a Maryland
crematory that was shut
down by the state. B1
A helicopter pilot in
the Army accused of
shipping IS BD to buyers
on the "dark web" argued that he has a religious right to do so. B1

STYLE
There will be no comedian at Saturday's
White House correspondents' dinner. Should the
event even be funny? C1

WEEKEND

Adrenaline junkies can find whitewater kay-aking, windsurfing, rock climbing, biking and more a short drive away.

COMTENT © 2025 The Washington Post Year 148, No. 54197

70628 21100 3

## REPORT WARNS OF MEASLES ROARING BACK

A disease 'eliminated' in U.S. in 2000 could be ever-present again if current vaccination rates hold, study says.

By Corinne Purtill

In December, Stanford School of Medicine col-leagues Dr. Nathan Lo and Mathew Kiang got to talk-ing.

childhood immunization Childhood immunization rates were slowly but steadily falling nationwide, from 95% in the years before the pandemic to less than 93% in the 2023-24 school year.

If even that relatively small decline in vaccinations

mall decline in vaccinations for measles, mumps and rubella, or MMR; diphtheria, tetanus and pertussis, or DTaP; polio; and varicella held, they wondered, what would U.S. infectious-disease prevalence look like in 10 years, or 20? What would happen if vaccination rates went up by a little bit, or fell by a whole lot?

Lo and Kiang put together a statistical model representative of the U.S. population and ran the results.

They found that if current vaccination rates hold

sults.

They found that if current vaccination rates hold steady over coming decades, measles — currently spreading in many parts of the country, but primarily in the Southwest — will once again be endemic in the U.S. within 25 years.

Their results were published Thursday in the Journal of the American Medical Assn.

Measles was technically "eliminated" in the U.S. in 2000, meaning the disease became rare enough — and immunity widespread enough — that even if a case or two were to arise within a community, local transmission and the community, local transmission and the sease of two were to arise within a community, local transmission community, local transmission and the sease of two were to arise within a community, local transmission that even there have been 10,570 measles cases, sincluding the 800 people sickened in the outbreak that began in west Texas in January.

But at current vaccination rates, Lo and Klang estimate there could be as many as 851,300 measles cases between now and 2050. By their [See Measles, A7]

tween now and 2050. By their [See Measles, A7]



DAMIAN DOVARGANES Associated
THE ICONIC Hollywood sign, an emblem of California's entertainment industry, is seen in Januar



**CLUSTERS** of Merlot grapes hang on the vines at Napa Valley's Cakebread Cellars in Rutherford, Calif.



AN ELECTRIC self-driving vehicle from Mountain View-based Waymo travels in Santa Monica in 2023



AMID tariffs that could jeopardize the state economy, shipping containers pile up at the Port of Los Angeles.

## State eclipses Japan in economic rankings

Governor touts California's climb to No. 4 globally amid concerns over tariff consequences.

By Hannah Fry and Clara Harter

If California were its own country, its economy would now rank as the fourth-largest of any nation across the globe, Gov. Gavin Newsom said, a new milestone that said, a new milestone that country of the conomic turbulence. California has long been a global powerhouse, fueled by a variety of sectors including technology, agriculture, tourism and entertainment. The new ranking comes as the state is facing challenges from a trade war with China and other nations that are key California trading partners.

ners.

Newsom announced the state's new economic ranking Wednesday after recently released data from the International Monetary Fund and the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis indicated that California's nominal gross domestic product now exceeds Japan's.

According to the data, California's nominal GDP reached \$4.1 trillion, surpassing Japan's \$4.02 trillion. That places the Golden State behind only the United States at \$29.18 trillion, China at \$18.74 trillion and Germany at \$4.65 trillion. "California isn't just keeping pace with the world—we're setting the pace." Newsom said in a statement—cause we invest in people, prioritize sustainability, and believe in the power of innovation." rs. Newsom announced the te's new economic rank-

rioritize sustainability, and elieve in the power of inno-ation." [See California, A10]

## ICE check-ins for Southeast Asians leading to deportation

Normally routine visits turn worrying for Cambodian, Laotian and Vietnamese immigrants whose orders had long been stayed

By Melissa Gomez

A growing number of Southeast Asian immigrants in Los Angeles and Orange counties whose deportation orders have been on indefinite hold for years are being detained, and in some cases, deported after showing up for routine check-ins at U.S. Immigration of the check-ins and advocacy groups.

In recent months, a number of Cambodian, Laotian and Vietnamese immigrants whose orders had been stayed — in some cases for decades — have been told that they will be enforced as the Trump administration stayed — in some cases for decades — the immigrants being targeted are generally people who were convicted of a [See Migrants, A8]



Damian Dovardants associated Press

AN IMMIGRANT deemed a threat to public safety and national security waits to be processed by Immigration and Customs Enforcement agents in L.A. in 2022.

## Pope's daily calls for peace resonate in Gaza

By Bilal Shbeir and Nabih Bulos

GAZA CITY — "Pope o'clock." That's what Gaza residents sheltering in this besleged Catholic parish called the time — usually 8 p.m. local time, 7 p.m. in Rome — when Pope Francis would video call Father Gabriel Romanelli, the pastor of the Holy Family Church in Gaza City.

"When he called, everyone would gather near the screen and say hello, in Italian, in Arabic, in English," said Romanelli, one of Gaza's last remaining priests.

Gaza's last remaining priests.

In a place where killing seems omnipresent, the all-too-ordinary death of Pope Francis, who died Monday at 88, may have passed with little more than a moment's thought for some. But for the church officials and the familles at Holy Family [See Francis, A4]



OMAR AL-QATTA APPROENT
FATHER Gabriel Romanelli, pastor of the Holy Family Church in Gaza City,
Francis "truly became a member of the congregation" with his regular video

## Reservoir needs further repair

New leaks are found in the Pacific Palisades site's floating cover, delaying reopening. CALIFORNIA, B1

#### Traffic declines at Port of L.A.

Arrivals will drop by 35% in next two weeks because of Trump's tariffs, executive direc-tor says. BUSINESS, A9

## Clippers result, coverage online

For full coverage of Game 3 against the Nuggets, go to the

Weather Low clouds clearing. L.A. Basin: 65/51. **B6** 



## California nonprofits are ready for a fight

One group of health clinics is organizing a campaign against Trump's program cuts.

By James Rainey

By James Rainey

With the Trump administration slashing budgets and threatening to revoke tax-exempt status for non-profits, some Southern California social justice organizations have gone into a defensive crouch, hoping to wait out the passing storm. They are not openly fighting President Trump's program cuts. Some have scrubbed their websites of terms such as "equity." Inclusion and transged they should drop land acknowledgments — proclamations paying tribute to the Indigenous peoples who were this region's first human inhabitants.

But other local nonprofi-

region's first human inhabitants.
But other local nonprofits intend to fight. They have slammed Trump's policies. They declined suggestions to alter their mission statements. They have gone to [See Nonprofits, A.7]



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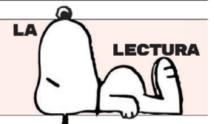
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Viernes, 25 de abril de 2025. Año XXXV. Número: 12.910. Edición Madrid. Precio: 2 € con La Lectura.



NOOPY SU ÉXITO **75 AÑOS DESPUÉS DE LA PRIMERA** VIÑETA: CAUTIVA MILLONES DE JÔVENES POR RODRIGO TERRASA

El perro más famoso del mundo vuelve a estar de moda, convertido hoy en héroe imprevisto de la generación zeta: "Representa sus sueños"



El Gobierno envía nuevos datos a la OTAN

para no tener que gastar 1.600 millones más

La Alianza mantiene a

del PIB y no con el 1,4%

militar con un 1,24%

España a la cola del gasto

# Sánchez abrasa a Marlaska para aplacar a la izquierda

Ordena rescindir el contrato de 15 millones de balas con la empresa israelí que Interior veía «imposible» suspender

Desautoriza de nuevo a su ministro tras la inmigración en Cataluña y en Moncloa existe malestar con él

POR RAÚL PIÑA Y MARINA PINA Páginas 14 y 19

Israel «condena enérgicamente la decisión» y advierte a España de que está «sacrificando su seguridad por motivos políticos»

## que aseguró Sánchez POR DANIEL VIAÑA Pág. 15 Trump implora a Putin que pare las matanzas de civiles tras atacar Kiev ALBERTO ROJAS BERLÍN

Pese a su buena sintonía con Rusia, Trump rogó ayer al líder ruso que detenga las matanzas de civiles ucranianos tras otro ataque en Kiev: «¡Vladimir, stopb». Página 26

## El juez recibe información de WhatsApp de los móviles del fiscal general

POR ÁNGELA MARTIALAY Pág. 21



El Rey preside la reunión del Consejo de Seguridad Nacional, ayer, en el Palacio de La Zarzuela en presencia del presidente y los ministros. CASA DE S.M. EL REY

Pastificio Futuro, ALBERTO DILIOLLI

## En la fábrica de la pasta de la «esperanza»: la reinserción gracias al Papa

Pastificio Futuro es una factoría en una cárcel de menores que emplea ex presos y cuenta con la bendición y el respaldo económico del Pontífice

POR CHARLOTTE DAVIES (ROMA) PRIMER PLANO

ENTREVISTA ISABEL CELAÁ EMBA IADORA DE ESPAÑA EN LA SANTA SEDE



«La Iglesia es inteligente, elegirá un Papa que siga la senda de Francisco»

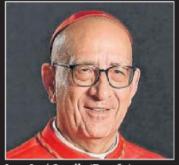
POR LUCÍA MÉNDEZ Página 7



OPINIÓN

VIERNES 25 DE ABRIL DE 2025

# ABC



Juan José Omella (España) Arzobispo de Barcelona



Jean-Claude Hollerich Arzobispo de Luxemburgo

## Los ocho cardenales más influyentes para elegir al nuevo Papa

Son los denominados grandes electores que aglutinan corrientes ideológicas y geográficas en un cónclave con 133 purpurados de 71 países divididos entre una mayor ortodoxia o seguir la senda más reformista

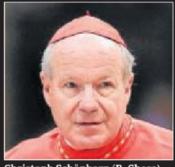
JAVIER MARTÍNEZ-BROCAL - EDITORIAL Y PRIMER PLANO



F<mark>ridolin Ambongo (Congo)</mark> Arzobispo de Kinsasa



Luis Antonio Tagle (Filipinas) Arzobispo emérito de Manila



Christoph Schönborn (R. Checa) Ha sido arzobispo de Viena



Óscar Andrés Rodríguez Madariaga Fue arzobispo de Tegucigalpa



Gerhard Ludwig Müller (Alemania) Prefecto emérito de Doctrina de la Fe



You Heung-sik (Corea del Sur) Prefecto del Dicasterio para el Clero

# Indra y Escribano negocian ya la fusión de ambas empresas

El Gobierno respalda la creación de una plataforma empresarial que compita en defensa con los grandes operadores internacionales La compañía familiar ha encargado a la consultora KPMG analizar una operación que varios informes internos valoran en unos 3.000 millones

MARÍA IESÚS PÉREZ - PÁGINAS 20-21



Atração fatal: Ataque de onça que matou homem no Pantanal é raro e quase sempre causado pela imprudência de tentar atrair felino





#### Emaranhado do crime



Operação policial desbaratou quadrilha interestadual com um sofisticado esquema de furto de flação subterrânea, que abrangia reciclagem, revenda e lavagem de dinheiro. Material era lexado para ferros-velhos e galpões na capital e no Grande Rio. Justiça determinou o bloqueio de R\$ 200 milhões do bando, que teve sete pessoas presas. ««»» la

#### FREIO NA BLINDAGEM

## Com apoio do Centrão, Motta esfria tramitação de anistia ao 8/1

Câmara não votará por ora pedido de urgência para o texto, que abre brecha a beneficiar articuladores da trama golpista

O presidente da Câmara, Hugo Motta, decidia proielar o pedido de urgência ao projeto de lei da antecia para os réus do 8 de Janeiro, frustrando a pertensão da oposição, que protocolou a peoposta. Motta teve-o-aval dos lideoes partidários e defendeu "diálogo" so-bre o mérito do projeto. A oposição sinali-

n alterar a redação do texto de forma a re tirar a brecha para que os articuladoses da trama golpista de 2022 sejam beneficiadose quer derrubar via Congresso a condenação por tentativa de golpe dos envolvidos no quebra-quebra do dia 8, movimento que o STF já aponta como inconstitucional. Маньы

## Moraes ordena prisão de Collor, condenado por corrupção

O ministro do STF Alexandre de Moraes rejeitou recurso da defesa e determinou que o ex-presidense Fernando Collor comece a cumprir a pena de oito anos e dez meses de prisão por participação em se-quema de corrupção na BR Distribuidora, em sentença de 2023. A decisão de Moraes tem cumprimento imediato. Ainda assim, ele remeteu sua ordem ao plenário virtual do STF, e os dez demais ministros avaliarão ao longo do dia se dio aval à sua decisio, repeat

#### VERA MAGRIFIANS

Governo tem de ser mais firme no escândalo do INSS stant

Festa de São Jorge é utopia de um Rio respeitoso e seguro mana s

#### III ENARDO MELLO FRANCI

União Brasil obriga Lula a engolir sapo nama

#### OCERIO FUROUM WERNECK

Arcabouco fiscal foi um fiasco que não durou dois axos re

Geração-canguru tem facilidade na casa dos país un

#### CASO MARIELLE

#### Por faltas, Câmara cassa mandato de Chiquinho Brazão

Mesa Diretora da Casa decidiu cassar o mandato do deputado por assência às sessões. Acusado de mandar matar Marielle Franco, ele estava há duas semanas em prisão domiciliar, após mais de um ano na cadeia. Manas

#### O NOVO PARK

#### Xadrez e geopolítica no conclave para suceder a Francisco

Com cardeais de ao menos 70 países, conclave será mais internacional que o de 2013, quando eram 48 nacionalidades. Abertura enfraqueero dual idade entre conservadores e progressistas, informa Amunasa Duas Lopes, e o novo Papa tondo a ser um "moderado", Acasas

#### IANAINA PIGUEIREDO

Brasil espera de sucessor a boa relação com Francisco Namez

#### VAZAMENTO

Corretora XP reporta exposição não autorizada de dados de clientes ressur

#### Consignado para setor privado pode ser feito via app bancário

wa medida tem potencial, segundo equipe econômica, de impulsionar programa que já liberou R\$ 8,2 bilhões em créditos e elevar o PIB. **rices** 

#### Governo promete ressarcir vítimas de desvios no INSS, mas ainda não sabe como

Ogoverno federal anuncio si que vai rest os aposentados vitimas do esquerna no INSS alvode operação da PV, mas não detalhou co-mo nom quando isso ocorrerá. **Pisses** n

#### Bolsonaro tem aumento na pressão arterial e alteração hepática

Internado na UTI há 12 dias após cirur-gia, ex-presidente teve "piora clinica" e foi submetido a novos exames. Noma

#### Campinas terá fábrica de mosquito contra dengue

Empresa produziră Aedes argusti infecta-do com bactéria que impede transmissão de dengue, chikungunya e zika. **Manazi** 



## La Feria del Libro, con abucheos de fondo al secretario de Cultura

—cultura

En la apertura formal hubo gestos de hostilidad cuando habló el funcionario: hoy empieza la maratón de actividades. Página 28



## espectáculos

Darín v el impacto de El Éternauta en la Argentina actual

"El país te abre todos los días un nuevo capítulo", dice el actor; la serie se estrena el miércoles próximo.



# LA NACION

VIERNES 25 DE ABRIL DE 2025 | LANACION.COM.AR

# Milei confronta con Macri y apunta a captar dirigentes, pero sin acordar con Pro

LEGISLATIVAS. El Presidente salió al cruce del exmandatario; no irían juntos en la provincia

Los cruces entre el presidente Javier Milei y el jefe de Pro, Mauricio Macri, tensaron ayer la relación entre ambos v pusieron en crisis la posibilidad de un acuerdo partidario en la provincia de Buenos Aires.

Macri había acusado a los dirigentes de Pro que pasaron a las filas libertarias de haber sido comprados. El expresidente lo di-jo el miércoles, en Mar del Plata, cuando afirmó: "Los dirigentes que tenían precio ya fueron comprados [por LLA]; los que quedamos tene-mos valores". Ayer, Milei lo confrontó en una entrevista televisiva v le pidió, con ironía, que "muestre las facturas". Las declaraciones de Macri generaron enojo en el Gobiernoy desde el espacio libertario afirmaron que, más que nunca, en la provincia buscarán tejer acuerdos con dirigentes de Proyvaciar el partido con incorporaciones individuales. De esa forma, los libertarios rechazaron un acuerdo institucional entre partidos, como pide Macri. La nueva tensión impactó de lleno en las negociaciones que lleva adelante el macrista Cristian Ritondo para presentar una lista común que enfrente al kirchneris mo en la provincia. Página 14

#### EL ESCENARIO

Antes de una semana clave, un breve paréntesis

> Claudio Jacquelin Página 16

## Una tumba sencilla y austera, símbolo del legado papal

DESPEDIDA. ROMA (De nuestra corresponsal).- Conmovidas e invadidas por la tristeza, miles de personas desfilaron aver ante el ataúd del papa Francisco para darle un último adiós en San Pedro, antes del funeral previsto para mañana, seguido de la inhumación en la Basílica Santa María la Mayor, en una tumba simple y austera, última voluntad de Jorge Bergoglio.

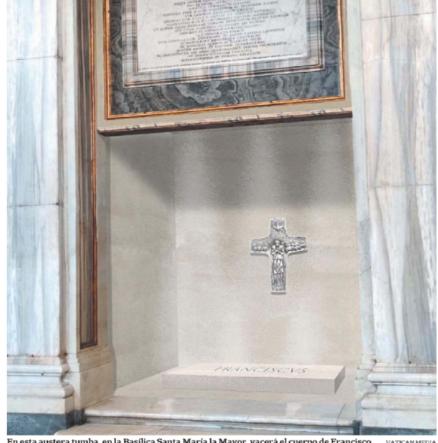
Mientras los cardenales sesiona-ban en las Congregaciones Generales y debatían la participación en el cónclavede uno de sus pares sancio-nado por Francisco, el Vaticano revelóal mundo la imagen de la tumba papal, con una lápida con la inscripción Franciscus y un grabado de la cruz pectoral del hasta ahora jefe de la Iglesia Católica. Páginas 2 y 4

#### La diplomacia paralela se mete en los funerales

Luisa Corradini Página 4

Milei lleva una comitiva con adversarios del Papa

Iván Ruiz **Página 8** 



## De cara a las elecciones, el FMI instó a mantener el rumbo

RIESGOS. Georgieva dijo que es importante que no se descarrile la voluntad de cambio

La directora gerente del Fondo Monetario Internacional (FMI), Kristalina Georgieva, volvió a res-paldar al gobierno de Javier Milei. Esta vez, y de manera inédita, lo hizo aludiendo a las elecciones. Domésticamente, el país irá a elecciones en octubre próximo y esimportantequeno se descarrile la voluntad de cambio. No vemos que ese riesgo se pueda materializar, pero urgimos a la Argentina a mantener el rumbo", expresó la funcionaria durante una conferencia de prensa, en el marco de las reuniones de primavera del Fondo y el Banco Mundial. Página 22

DESDE ADENTRO Florencia Donovan

China v los dólares del colchón, el centro de charlas privadas. Página 24

## El sistema de atención médica, cada vez peor

DOCUMENTO. El Foro de Sociedades Médicas Argentinas, que agru-pa a profesionales de 21 especialidades, advirtió sobre la profundización de la crisis en la atención sanitaria en todo el país. Sostuvo que ya afecta el desempeño laboral y la calidad de la atención de pacientes. Denuncian guardias colapsadas y demoras en los turnos. Página 26

**Auschwitz**. La marcha que desafía el odio v la muerte Inés Capdevila



## Protesta de escritores K y de izquierda en la Feria de Libro

El discurso del secretario de Cultura fue silbado. Autores organizaron un escrache con carteles y la imagen de Osvaldo Bayer. P. 50



BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA, AÑO LXXIX, Nº 28.523 - PRECIO: \$ 2.700,00 EN CABA Y GBA RECARGO ENVÍO AL INTERIOR \$ 500.00 - PRECIO DE LOS OPCIONALES EN ELÍNDICE DE LA PÁGINA 58

Viernes 25 de abril de 2025

# Milei admite que Santiago Caputo tiene más poder que el jefe de Gabinete

Primo del ministro de Economía, no tiene cargo y figura como asesor.

"Francos es un ministro que distribuye el juego. Entonces los ministros están muy libres. Y hay una segunda instancia de control político que es Santiago Caputo. Y el que mete el gancho final soy yo". Así blanqueó el Presidente el poder de Santiago Caputo en el Gobierno, pese a tener un vínculo con el Estado sólo como monotributista, y no poder ser investigado por la Oficina Anticorrupción ni por la Unidad de Información Financiera. Sin embargo, su influencia comprende desde la SIDE, el ARCA, la Secretaría Legal y Técnica y el Ministerio de Justicia hasta la UIF, entre otros. P.3

#### "Que Macri me traiga la factura"

Fue la respuesta de Milei a la acusación del ex presidente de haber "comprado" a dirigentes del PRO. **P. 10** 



Fue uno de los bombardeos más intensos contra la capital de Ucrania desde hace casi un año. Y generó una inusual réplica por parte de Estados Unidos contra el líder del Kremlin, a quien reclamó frenar los ataques. Una andanada de misiles y drones sobre blancos civiles en plena noche mató, al menos, a 12 personas y dejó casi 100 heridos. "No estoy contento con los ataques rusos contra Kiev. Innecesarios y en un mal momento", dijo Trump. **P.27** 

## A contramano, un patrullero mató a un estudiante

Dylan Bustamante tenía 25 años, siete hermanos, dos trabajos, y un sueño: ser profesor de Matemática. Se recibía este año. Volvía de estudiar en su moto, con las luces encendidas, cuando un patrullero de la Bonaerense, que circulaba a

contramano, en Lanús, lo atropelló y lo hizo volar varios metros. Murió en el acto. La mujer policía que manejaba el móvil quedó imputada por homicidio culposo: iban a la estación de Lanús por una pelea a cuchillazos. **P.34** 

## Georgieva se mete en la campaña electoral: "Que el cambio no se descarrile"

La directora del FMI Kristalina Georgieva respondió así a una pregunta de Clarín. Sumó elogios al programa económico de Milei, pero advirtió por los riesgos que enfrentaría el país, internos y por la crisis mundial, si se cambia el camino. "El país va a elecciones en octubre. Es muy importante que la voluntad de cambio no se descarrile. Yo le pediría a Argentina que mantenga el rumbo", dijo. P.8

## "Quiero morir en casa", el último pedido del Papa a su médico

Lo reveló Sergio Alfieri, que fue llamado de urgencia a Santa Marta el lunes a la madrugada, cuando Francisco se descompensó. "Tenía los ojos abiertos, estaba en coma. No respondía a ningún estímulo", contó, y recordó que el Papa había insistido en la necesidad de evitar "la obstinación terapéutica", y en morir "en casa". P. 22



Video. Chicos cargando el dinero.

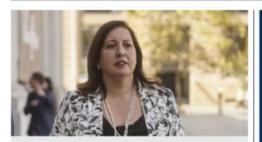
## "La Rosadita" de Chaco: fajos de billetes en una usina de facturas truchas

La Policía detuvo a un matrimonio vinculado a piqueteros, al que la Justicia Federal señala como responsable de una red que emitía facturas falsas contra el Estado. En videos se ve a chicos ordenando fajos de billetes. 8 15

# **III**LATERCERA

Viernes 25 de abril de 2025





#### 4 POLÍTICA

Escala choque de fuerzas internas en el PS por candidatura de Vodanovic

#### **15 NACIONAL**

Suprema ordena a la Corte revisar amparo con el que Monsalve busca dejar la cárcel

#### 3 PULSO

Próximo gobierno heredará necesidad de un ajuste fiscal de al menos US\$ 1.000 millones en su primer año



#### 32-33 MUNDO

Fieles colman basílica de San Pedro en segundo día de despedida al Papa Francisco 14 NACIONAL

# Cordero viaja junto a embajador chino a la Macrozona Sur y llama a inversionistas a la tranquilidad

Ministro de Seguridad visitó la zona tras el violento atentado que afectó el domingo pasado a la central hidroeléctrica Rucalhue.



#### **47 DEPORTES**

El bufete que intentará salvar a Colo Colo de un castigo catastrófico ante la Conmebol

#### **PULSO**

FNE visa alianza Codelco–SQM en salar de Atacama y solo falta pronunciamiento de China







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HIGHI.AND PARK PARADE SHOOTING

## Gunman gets life in prison without parole



Members of the Uvaldo family react as Judge Victoria Rossetti sentences Robert Crimo III at the Lake County Courthouse in Waul Crimo was sentenced to seven consecutive life sentences without the possibility of parole, STACEY WESCOTT/CHICAGO TRIBUNE

#### Survivors hug each other for comfort as victims' names are read by judge

By Robert McCoppin and Joseph States Chicago Tribune

Chicago Tribune
Victims of the mass shooting at
the Highland Park Fourth of July
parade in 2022 have one consolation in the aftermath of the
deadly attack: The gunman will
spend the rest of his life in prison.
Following Robert Crimo
III's guilty plea last month, the
law required he receive a life
sentence. Lake County Judge
Victoria Rossetti went on
Thursday to mete out seven life
sentences — one for each person
Crimo killed — plus 50 years for

the spectators wounded in 48 cases of attempted murder.
For those who survived or lost loved ones, the punishment was a measure of justice even though some said they would have preferred Crimo's execution. Yet for all the evidence that came out of the hearing about the killer's years of planning the attack, the mass shooting remained tragic and inexplicable.
Only the response of those affected was at times heroic. Victims protected and helped each other while bullets rained down on them. Police rushed to respond to the danger, to get

medical help, and track down the offender. Survivors who saved each other at the scene now hugged to comfort each other as each victim's name was read by the judge, along with the accompanying sentence.

Those gathered in court welcomed the conclusion of the case as a relief. Some vowed to continue trying to recover from the attack, while acknowledging that lost lives and innocence can never be replaced.

"A mass shooting is like a bomb blast throughout a community," said Highland Park resident Erica Weeder, who was injured in

the attack alongside her husband.
"Because of this mass shooting,
this act of terror, I, my children,
and our entire community now
know that no one is ever really
safe."

safe."

Crimo did not attend the two-day hearing, prompting victims to call him a coward. The sentencing was briefly halted when there came word that Crimo would show up, but the proceedings continued after it was revealed he was upset that jaillers had taken some books from him, including the Quran,

#### EMIL IONES III TRIAL



## Mistrial declared after jury deadlocks

Trial's conclusion comes after nearly 3 weeks of testimony

By Jason Meisner, Caroline Kubzansky, Sam Charles and Madeline Buckley Chicago Tribune

After deliberating for nearly as many hours as they heard evidence, jurors in the corruption trial of state Sen. Emil Jones III on Thursday could not reach a unanimous decision, leaving the case to end in a mistrial after nearly three weeks of testimony and arguments.

case to end in a mistrial after nearly three weeks of testimony and arguments.

The trial's conclusion without a verdict came after jurors for two days signaled that they were struggling to come to an agreement while weighing three counts against Jones, who was charged with agreeing to take bribes from an executive of a red-light camera company in exchange for Jones' protection in Springfield against legislation that would hurt the company's bottom line. Flanked by his attorneys as he left the Dirksen U.S. Courthouse, Jones, 46, thanked the judge, jurors his attorneys and prosent the president Emil Jones Jr., he was the first sitting member of the state General Assembly to have a jury trial at the Dirksen U.S. Courthouse since then-state Rep. Turn to Mistrial, Page 5

Turn to Mistrial, Page 5

#### Stratton 1st major Dem to bid for **Durbin's seat**

Lieutenant governor announces Senate plans on social media

By Rick Pearson, A.D. Quig and Jeremy Gorner Chicago Tribune

Chicago Tribune

Lt. Gov. Juliana Stratton wasted little time in formally launching her bid for the U.S. Senate seat being vacated by Sen. Dick Durbin, becoming the first major Democrat to enter a race that is expected to attract a large field of contenders.

Stratton announced her plans in a video posted on social media at 5 a.m. on Thursday, less than 24 hours after Durbin declared he would not run for a sixth term in 2026. The move was designed to position herself as an early front-runner in what figures to be a highly competitive campaign.

Other Democrats who are



Lt. Gov. Juliana Stratton speaks during a news conference to sign the Dignity in Pay Act into law at Access Living of Metro Chicago on Jan. 21. EILEEN T. MESLAR/CHICAGO TRIBUNE

considering joining the race, including U.S. Reps. Raja Krishnamoorthi of Schaumburg, Lauren Underwood of Naperville and Robin Kelly of Matteson, spoke at public events Thursday but didn't say whether they planned to run for Senate.

The decision by Stratton, a former state lawmaker, was not a surprise. The state's lieutenant governor under Gov. JB Pritzker since 2019, Stratton announced in late January her interest in

Durbin's seat if he decided not to run, and she formed a federal Durbin's seat if he decided not to run, and she formed a federal political action committee. Stration has also sought to increase her public visibility and boosted staffing in recent weeks as she awaited Durbin's decision.

Just hours after Stratton's announcement, the Democratic Lieutenant Governors Association endorsed Stratton and said it would commit "seven figures"

## **Trump rebukes Putin** after attack on Kviv

Russia hit the city with barrage of missiles, killing at least 12 people

By Vasilisa Stepanenko and Samya Kullab

Associated Press

KYIV, Ukraine — Russia pounded Kyiv with an hourslong barrage of missiles and drones Thursday, killing at least 12 people in its deadliest assault ton the Ukrainian capital since July and drawing a rare rebuke of Moscow from President Donald Trump just as peace efforts appeared to be coming to a head. The attack kept residents on edge for about 11 hours, with many staying awake all night while loud explosions reverberated around the city and flashes of light punctuated the sky. Families gathered in public air-raid shelters, some of them bringing cats and dogs. The strikes that began around 1 a.m. hit at least five neighborhoods and heavily damaged multiple residen-

tial buildings. Around 90 people were wounded.
Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy said he would cut short his official trip to South Africa and return home as the city reeled. The bombardment appeared to be Russia's biggest attack on Kyiv in nine months, and Zelenskyy called it one of Russia's most outrageous."
Trump, who has long been reluctant to criticize the Kremlin, said he was 'not happy' with the assault. He implored Russian President Vladimir Putin to cease the devastating strikes.
"Not necessary, and very bad timing. Vladimir, STOP! 5000 soldiers a week are dying," Trump wrote on his Truth Social media platform, adding, "Lets get the Peace Deal DONE!"
The attack Thursday came as weeks of peace negotiations appeared to be culminating without an agreement in sight and hours after Trump lashed out at Zelenskyy. Trump accused him

Turn to Ukraine, Page 9

#### 'It points to a larger problem'

Aldermen are spurning Mayor Brandon Johnson's new budget task force that will be charged with making far-reaching recommendations. **Chicagoland, Page 3** 

#### Turnout keeps viewing open late

So many mourners lined up to see the body of Pope Francis in a simple wooden coffin that the Vatican kept the doors open all night. **Nation & World** 



#### Bears draft tight end

Bears hoping fist-round selection of Colston Loveland "creates creativity" in Ben Johnson's offense. **Chicago Sports** 





High 61 Low 42

Complete Chicagoland forecast on Page 12

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Declaraciones de Fernández Valdovinos a CNN en Washington

# MEF afirma que el país está listo para acuerdo comercial con China

 Paraguay está preparado negociar con el Mercosur.

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- Ministro dijo que el país si el gigante asiático acepta no cambió su rumbo y que está abierto a inversiones.
- Destacó que crecimiento económico local estará por encima del 4% este 2025.

PÁGINA 13

**Guerra** entre pandillas pone en peligro a los barrios

PÁGINA 50





Legisladora: Que Peña no viaje a Roma "es un papelón" CON ESTA EDICIÓN FASCICULO TRABAJOS A MANO Nº 12

PÁGINA 6



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## Motta decide não pautar urgência do projeto de anistia do 8/1

O presidente da Câmara, Hugo Motta (Republicanos-PB), decidiu ainda não pautar o requerimento de urgência do projeto de lei que prevê anistia aos envolvidos no 8 de janeiro. Em reunião com líderes dos partidos, a maioria se manifestou contra a medida, com exceção do PL e do Novo. Texto pode beneficiar o ex-presidente Jair Bolsonaro (PL). Política A6

### Bolsonaro apresenta piora clínica, afirma boletim médico All

## guiafolha



Prato do Clandestina Rafaela Araújo/Folhapress

COZINHAS AUTORAIS TOMAM VILA MADALENA cs

#### comida

Veja dicas para inovar e fazer o brigadeiro perfeito c14

## Moraes rejeita recursos e determina prisão do ex-presidente Collor

Ex-mandatário foi condenado por corrupção passiva e lavagem de dinheiro em ação derivada da Lava Jato; defesa se diz surpresa

O ministro Alexandre de Moraes, do STF (Supremo Tribunal Federal), determinou a prisão do ex-presidente Fernando Collor em processo derivado da Operação Lava Jato. Em maio de 2023, ele foi condenado pelo Supremo a oito anos e dez meses de prisão por corrupção passiva e lavagem de dinheiro. Moraes, relator do caso, negou os últimos recursos e mandou que a pena seja executada. Segundo o ministro, a defesa repetiu argumentos já apresentados à corte, o que evidenciaria tentativa de atrasar o cumprimento da condenação. Uma sessão virtual do plenário foi marcada para referendar a decisão.

Segundo a condenação, Collor influenciou o comando da BR Distribuidora, subsidiária da Petrobras, para garantir contratos com construtora. Em troca, teria ganho R\$ 20 milhões. A defesa disse ter recebido "com surpresa e preocupação" a decisão e que o ex-presidente vai se apresentar para cumpri-la. Política A8



Carlos Macedo/Folhapress

## Um ano após enchentes no RS, cavalo Caramelo vive em hospital veterinário

O animal no gramado da Universidade Luterana do Brasil, em Canoas, onde chegou desnutrido e desidratado após ser resgatado do telhado de uma casa; Caramelo foi um dos 20 mil bichos socorridos durante o evento climático, parte deles ainda à espera de adoção Cotidiano A4S

## Funeral do papa e feriado atraem multidão a Roma

Cidade receberá milhares de turistas para o funeral do pontífice e o feriado dos 80 anos do fim da ocupação nazista. A38

#### EDITORIAIS A2 Cidadãos foram roubados sob a guarda do INSS Acerca de descontos em beneficios.

Desigualdade na educação paulistana Sobremau desempenho em distritos pobres.

#### ilustrada ARQUIVO DE RUBEM FONSECA VEM À TONA

Cartas, contos e fotos são dissecados por sua filha, Bia Corrêa do Lago, e mostram intimidade do autor B12



## Cidades pequenas gastam até R\$ 1,2 mi ao ano com salários do Executivo

Cidades com menos de 3.000 habitantes gastam até R\$ 1,2 milhão por ano em salários de prefeitos, vices, secretários e assessores, valor que muitas vezes se aproxima da arrecadação da administração municipal.

É o caso de Amparo do São Francisco (SE), que em 2024 desembolsou R\$ 1,2 milhão em vencimentos — a cidade prevê arrecadar R\$ 2 milhões em impostos neste ano. Procurada, a prefeitura não comentou. Cotidiano A42

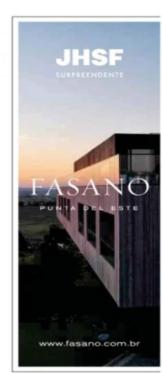
Governo de SP e União buscam evitar reocupação da favela do Moinho A43

### Câmara cassa Chiquinho Brazão por faltar a sessões

A Câmara cassou ontem o mandato de Chiquinho Brazão (sem partido), acusado de mandar assassinar Marielle Franco (PSOL), por ausência em sessões. O processo de cassação relacionado ao crime estava paralisado. Política A8

#### Hélio Schwartsman

Lula tem duas crises fresquinhas batendo à sua porta opinião A3





THÉÂTRE LE FIGARO DÉCERNE SES MOLIÈRES 2025

AUTOMOBILE À SHANGHAÏ, LA DÉMONSTRATION

DE FORCE DES CONSTRUCTEURS CHINOIS PAGES 18 ET 19



#### LE FIGARO SCOPE

- Paris 3e: les meilleures formules déjeuner
- Châlons-en-Champagne: entre vignes, cirque et patrimoine
- Vichy: les bonnes tables bistronomiques PAGES 34 Å 37

#### PRÉSIDENTIELLE

Édouard Philippe et Bruno Retailleau, rivaux à fleurets mouchetés PAGES 6 ET 7

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L.Inde mûrit sa riposte contre le Pakistan après l'attentat au Cachemire PAGE 9

#### FONCTIONNAIRES

Face à la hausse des coûts, Bayrou tape du poing sur la table PAGE 20

#### CHAMPS LIBRES

- Un grand entretien avec Jacques Rupnik
- La tribune de Benoît Perrin
- Des entretiens avec Maxime Sbaihi et Rod Dreher
- L'analyse de Marie-Cécile Renault PAGES 13 Å 15

#### FIGARO OUI FIGARO NON

## Réponses à la question de jeudi :

La désescalade de Trump sur les droits de douane face à la Chine vous paraît-elle une bonne chose?





VOTANTS: 103 634

Zelensky a-t-il raison de refuser d'abandonner la Crimée à la Russie?



Téléchargez



## Nantes sous le choc après une attaque mortelle au couteau dans un lycée

Une adolescente est morte jeudi après qu'un élève du même établissement, Notre-Dame-de-Toutes-Aides, à Nantes, a fait irruption dans une classe de couteaux. Âgé de

pressif et singulier, a été interellé. François Bayrou a exigé des «propositions concrètes» pour endiguer ces violences à l'arme blanche. PAGE8



## Rome se prépare à une affluence record pour les funérailles du pape François

Après une dernière nuit au Vatican ce vendredi soir, le cersamedi matin vers la basilique Sainte-Marie-Majeure, où il sera enterré, au terme d'une

vant plus de 1 million de peronnes. De leur côté, les cardinaux, s'ils esquivent pour l'heure le sujet, préparent déjà

## ÉDITORIAL par Philippe Gélie

## Renversement d'alliance

e renversement d'alliance que l'on voyait se profiler depuis le retour de Donald Trump à la Maison-Blanche est en train de s'accomplir. De sou-tiens de l'Ukraine face à l'envahisseur russe, les États-Unis passent irrésistible-ment à une alliance avec Moscou contre Kiev. La «paix» à prendre ou à laisser que Trump veut imposer à Volodymyr Zelensky fait la part belle aux exigences de Vladimir Poutine : reconnaissance américaine de l'annexion de la Crimée par la Russie, renonciation définitive à tout rapprochement avec l'Otan et, bien sûr, perte de facto des territoires actuellement occupés. Washington y ajoute le mon-tant de sa commission : le contrôle des centrales nucléaires et des concessions ruineuses sur les minerais stratégiques ukrainiens.

Le choix offert par Trump à Zelensky se résu-me à deux formes de reddition : la paix à ses conditions, qui sont celles de Poutine, ou « la perte de son pays » d'ici trois ans. Derrière les amicales colères de celui qui l'apostrophe théâtralement - «Vladimir, arrête!» -, le maître du Kremlin ne pouvait rêver d'un meilleur allié. Même Xi Jinping n'a pas re-connu l'annexion unilatérale de la Crimée. À se demander si le «deal» trumpien n'est

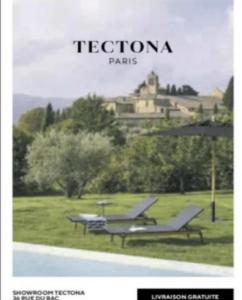
as qu'un prétexte pour tourner le dos à 'Ukraine et passer directement à la réconci liation avec Moscou.

Donald Trump ne fait rien pour dissiper le soupçon de «candidat mandchou», sous influence étrangère, qu'il traîne depuis son premier mandat. Il s'est empressé de neutraliser toutes les enquêtes sur les ingérences russes et les crimes de guerre en Ukraine. Son

#### Moscou et Washington contre Kiev

ambition serait d'arracher l'emprise de Pékin, mais c'est sous-estimer leur désir com-

mun de mettre fin à la suprématie américaine, et l'aptitude de Poutine à jouer sur plusieurs tableaux à la fois. Focalisé sur un premier succès diplomatique en cent jours, Trump amorce un bouleverse-ment géopolitique majeur. Les renseigne-ments extérieurs russes (SVR) viennent de publier une note révisionniste accusant l'Europe d'être un foyer permanent du fascisme, et invitant Washington à reconstituer l'al-liance de la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Trump et Vance, dont on sait les préventions envers les Européens, peuvent-ils vraiment tomber dans un piège aussi grossier?



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Dallas News.com

## Schools' '23 A-F grades released

DISD drops from a B to a C; 2024 scores still hung up in litigation

By TALIA RICHMAN

Texas parents finally can see the A-F grade their children's schools earned — in 2023. Dallas ISD got a C, while Fort Worth ISD got a D. Fami-lies can find all 2023 campus and district scores at

#### **Education Lab**

an A or a B. Roughly 14% got a

D, while 7% received Fs.
Parents won't get a true
sense of how a school is doing
until this summer, Texas Education Commissioner Mike cation Commis Morath warned.

"For the most part, parents are going to want to wait until

See A-F Page 6A

#### AT A GLANCE Senate Bill 2

Senate Bill 2 creates a program that allows parents to apply for an education savings account, or ESA, worth roughly worth roughly \$10,000 at today's

- It can be used to pay for private school expenses, such as tuition,
- ESAs will be ope to the plan

## **Education savings** account bill passes

to governor, who has vowed to sign it quickly

By PHILIP JANKOWSKI

AUSTIN — A program that will fundamentally change Tex-as education by sending public

donars toward private schools is headed to the governor's desk. The state Senate voted Thursday to send Senate Bill 2 to Gov. Greg Abbott, who has promised to swiftly sign the measure creating education sav-ings accounts after working for more than two years to ress a more than two years to pass a school voucher-like proposal. On a vote of 19-12, the Senate

approved the ESA proposal that the House passed last week after a marathon debate in the Legis-lature's lower chamber. The vote tally was largely partisan, with one Republican, Jacksonville Sen. Robert Nichols, joining

Democrats in opposition.

"School choice has come to

See LAW Page 5A

# Cowboys go on offensive

allas selected Alabama's Tyler Booker - the third time in the past four drafts the team has drafted an offensive lineman in the first round. (Coverage, SportsDay)



oker (right) hugged NFL Commissio after being chosen by the Cowboys with the 12th overall pick Thursday.



Dallas Cowboys fans at an NFL draft party at The Star in Frisco on Thursday reacted after the team selected Alabama offensive guard Tyler Booker in the first round. Booker could replace seven-time All-Pro right guard Zack Martin, who retired at the end of last season.

ELECTIONS

## Some Trump changes blocked

Judge stops enactment of proof of citizenship for federal registration

By ALI SWENSON

NEW YORK — A judge on Thursday blocked the Trump administration from immedi-ately enacting certain changes to how federal elections are run, including adding a proof-of-citizenship requirement to the federal voter registration

The decision is a setback for President Donald Trump, who has argued the requirement is needed to restore public confi-dence in elections. But the judge allowed other parts of juage anowed other parts of Trump's sweeping executive order on U.S. elections to go forward for now, including a directive to tighten mail ballot deadlines around the country. Trump's March executive order overhauling how U.S. elections are run prompted

elections are run prompted swift lawsuits from the League of United Latin American Citi-zens, the League of Women Voters Education Fund, the Democratic National Committee and others, who called it unconstitutional.

U.S. District Judge Colleen

See PLAINTIFFS Page 4A



Metro, back page

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#### BUSINESS

## Southwest reports quarterly loss

Also: American reports \$473 million loss. 3B

#### METRO

#### 14 UTD students indicted over protests

Nearly a year after UTD students set up an encampment on campus to protest the war in Gaza, 14 were indicted on misde-meanor charges. 1B



Sergio Alfieri, the doctor treating Pope Francis, said, "I tried to call to him, but he didn't answer me."

## Pope 'died without suffering'

Doctor says he found pontiff alive but not responsive from stroke

By ANTHONY FAIOLA

VATICAN CITY — Pope Francis was alive but unrespon-sive after suffering a massive stroke early Monday, his doctor said, and his medical team con-cluded there was no point in rushing him to the hospital, giv-on the sewrity of his condition en the severity of his condition

extreme medical treatment.

"He died without suffering, at home," Sergio Alfieri told the Italian newspaper La Repubblica in comments published Thursday.

Alfieri, a surgeon at Rome's Gemelli bospital. coordinated

Affleri, a surgeon at roomes Gemelli hospital, coordinated Francis' treatment during his five-week hospitalization and responded to his medical crisis Monday.

The pope woke at 5 a.m. Monday for a glass of water, Al-

"He rolled over on his side, "He rolled over on his side, and the nurse realized that something was wrong," Affieri told the Corriere della Sera newspaper. "He was having trouble answering." At 5:30 a.m., the pope's per-

sonal medical assistant called Alfieri to report a major health

episode. "The Holy Father is very sick. We have to go back to Gemelli,"

See DOCTOR Page 4A

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## Hour by hour, why we wake up at night Features





# The Daily Telegraph

# Starmer challenges Trump peace plan

PM stands by Zelensky and refuses to back giving away Crimea in Telegraph interview

By Ben Riley-Smith and Joe Barnes

By Ben Riley-Smith and Joe Barnes
SIR KEIR STARMER has insisted that
Ulcraine must be allowed to decide the
ulcraine must be allowed to decide the
with Russia, in a
challenge to proposals by Donald Trump.
The Prime Minister also contradicted
Mr Trump by saying that Volodymyr
Zelensky, the "courageous" Ulcrainian
president, was not to blame for the lack
of an agreement ending the war.
Sir Keir also refused to back US plans
to formally recognise Crimea as Russian
in any settlement with Vladimir Putin,
and demanded that Moscow agree to an
"unconditional ceasefire".
Speaking to The Telegraph aboard
HMS Prince of Wales, he said: "We are
at an intense stage in the negotiations
and I'm not going to do a running commentary. In the end, I'm always mindful
of the fact that it is Ulcraine that must
of the fact that it is Ulcraine that must
of the fact that it is Ulcraine that must
must come to the table for that unconditional ceasefire."
Sir Keir is continuing to push for US
security guarantees for his so-called
"coalition of the willing," where Westem troops would be based in Ukraine to
ensure peace. It was reported yesterday
that Britain had softened those plans
and now intended to send military
trainers instead of a fighting force.
Discussions on the wording of a
potential peace deal are continuing after
a summit in London this week. The Telegraph has seen details of a five-point set
offferences from America to send military
trainers instead of a fighting force.
Discussions on the wording of a
potential peace deal are continuing after
a summit in London this week. The Telegraph has seen details of a five-point set
offferences from America to sen military
trainers instead of a fighting force.
Mr Trump who is trying to bring the
conflict to a end soon, heavily criticised
the Kremlin yesterday for air strikes that
killed 12 people in Kyiv. On his Truth
Social social media platform, the president wrote. "Tamnothappy with the Rus-

sian strikes on KYIV. Not necessary, and very bad timing. Vladimir, STOP 5000 soldiers a week are dying. Lets get the Peace Deal DONE!"

In a White House press conference later, he reiterated his criticism of the strikes but said it would be "very difficult" for Ukraine to retake Crimes.

In a White House press conference later, he reiterated his criticism of the strikes but said it would be "very difficult" for Ukraine to retake Crimes.

In a White House press conference later, he reiterated his criticism of the strikes but said it would be "very difficult" of the strikes but said it would be "very difficult". Stopping taking the winder of the said of the whole country. Pretty big concession.

Sir Keir pushed back on White House rheoric on a number of fronts when speaking to this newspaper aboard the Royal Navy's flagship aircraft carrier, which is heading to the Indo-Pacific.

Asked if Mr Zelensky was to blame for the lack of a peace deal, Sir Keir said: "No. Russia is the aggressor. Never forget that Zelensky was offered safe passage out of his country in the first week of the conflict. At that point everybody thought that Russia would succeed very quickly in its intent of taking over Ukraine. And he stayed to fight and to lead his country, which he's done with huge courage and resilience for over Ukraine. And he stayed to fight and to lead his country, which he's done with huge courage and resilience for over Ukraine. And he stayed to fight and to lead his country, which he's done with huge courage and resilience for over three years, as has his whole country. It's Russia that needs to come to the able and agree to a ceasefire?

Asked if he would accept a peace deal that defined Crimea as part of Russia, Sir Keir said: "The Prime Ministers said: "It's got to be a cassefire that is not terms that all parties can accept, including Ukraine. And it's got to be a lasting ceasefire. What I don't want to see is a ceasefire that is temporary. Because I am as convinced as I can be that that will simply continued on



## Cyclists face life in prison for killing pedestrians

By Steve Bird

CYCLISTS who kill pedestrians are to face life imprisonment under new laws. The offence of causing death by dangerous cycling will be brought into line with motoring laws following a series of amendments tabled yesterday. The Telegraph can disclose.

Ministers in the Home Office and the Department for Transport have lodged ascries of key changes to the Crime and Folicing Bill that will update "archaic" and "inadequate" Victorian laws. The amendments revive a planned overhaul of the law under the Tories that was derailed by the general election.

The move, being led by Heidi Alexander, the Transport Secretary, will close a legal loophole that has meant cyclists who hit and kill or seriously injure pedestrians are only charged under an 1861 law intended for riders of horse-drawn carriages. Dangerous or reckless cycling can only usually be punished with a maximum two-year jail term for "wanton and furious" riding.

Once the proposed legislation is approved by Parliament, those who cause death or serious injury by dangerous cycling could face life imprisonment or five years in jail respectively. The maximum sentence for death by careless or inconsiderate cycling will be five years.

A government source said that there

who have worked tirelessly through their tragedies to have the laws changed'

have the laws changed was still a need for proportionality, considering that 1,600 people were killed or seriously injured by motor vehicles. Matt Briggs, who led a campaign to change the law after his wife, Kim, 44, was killed by a cyclist riding an illegal single-speed fixe bile nine years ago, said he was delighted that Ms Alexander had honoured her commitment to update laws. He said: "The use of the wanton and furious charge for so many cases has been inadequate and archaic. I'm absolutely delighted that this Labour Government has followed through with our calls for new legislation. "This isn't just a victory for all the families who have worked tirelessly through their unbearable tragedies to have these laws changed."

The current limited penalties for dangerous cycling have angered relatives of those killed, as well as frustrating police who have repeatedly backed calls for new laws. However, bile campaigners such as Chris Boardman, the former Olympic cyclist and National Active Travel Commissioner, opposed changing the law.

They have claimed that cows and lightning kill more people than cyclists and that any new laws could deter people from using a bicycle instead of a Continued on Page 2

### Trans Britons fleeing for asylum, claims peer Jobless young 'won't work for under £40k'

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT
TRAN'S people are seeking asylum
abroad amid fears for their safety after
last week's Supreme Court judgment, a
Labour peer has claimed.
Lord Cashman said his friends were
looking to leave Britain after the country's highest court ruled that transgender women are not legally women.
Last week, judges insisted that the
ruling did not dilute protections for
trans people against direct discrimination. But during a debate in the Lords
yesterday, Lord Cashman said: "Trans

people in this country live in fear, they live in fear of their safety, their futures. Indeed, some friends are now looking at seeking asylum in countries where they will fear not [for their safety but where they will fear not for their safety but where they will fear not for their safety but where they will fear not for their safety but where to support his claim. It is believed no one has ever fled Britain to successfully claim asylum in another country. Lord Cashman, an LGBT rights activist and former EastEnders actor, is one of the founders of Stonewall, the LGBT charity that has continued to insist that trans women are women.

It came as Wes Streeting, the Health

tech giants ordered

Social media giants such as Facebook, Instagram and WhatsApp will be forced to delete up to 1.5 million children's accounts to comply with new rules to protect them from harm online. The tech firms have been told they must ensure their minimum age limits of 13 are enforced, or overhaul their sites to make content safe enouge fow the thousands of under-age

or the thousands of under-age hildren who breach restrictions. Campaigners, however, said the Ofc neasures were insufficient.

Secretary, suggested that he wished he had listened to women's concerns about the Government's trans stance sooner. Mr Streeting has also suggested trans people could be treated in private rooms in the NIIS after the court ruling, which determined that trans women were not the same as biological women under the equalities law. Meanwhile, Rosie Duffield, the MP who claims she was forced out of Labour for her gender-critical views, called Sir Keir weak for changing his views on trans rights. She told Times Badio: "He'sa manager rather than a political leader... that's how most of the backbenchers view him."

#### 'Two-tier justice' over Southport sentence

A Left-wing demonstrator who assaulted a man at a protest after the Southport killings has walked free amid accusations of two-tier justice. Caroline Leneghan snatched a phone from Dylan Fontaine and smashed it on the ground at a rally last summer. Leneghan, 43, also accused him of being a racist. She was found guilty of assault and criminal damage but received only a suspended sentence, contrasting with the jail terms given to other defendants for public order offences. Page 5



# By Lacy Burton WORRLESS youths will not get out of bed for less than £40,000, peers have been told. Graham Cowley, who works with young people who are not in employment, education or training (Neets) in Blackpool, said a colleague told him that there are 'kids on the internet 24-hours a-day, and they don't want to work for anything less than £40,000". Peers on the Lords social mobility policy committee gasped in response, prompting Mr Cowley to say: 'I know, lad that reaction, you may laugh, but

that is the reality." Mr Cowley was giving evidence as part of an inquiry into
why there are almost a million le to 24
year-olds not working or studying.

The Government is fighting to bring.
The Government is fighting to bring
thighest level since 2013. Policies have
focused on offering young people extra
help to find jobs and cutting benefits to
encourage people into work or study.
However, Mr Cowley's comments
will fuel concerns that young people
have lost interest in the jobs market following several lockdowns and a rise in
easy entertainment online.

Mel Stride, the former work and pen-

sion secretary, last year blamed pornog-raphy and video games for a surge in worldessness among young men.

Mr Cowley said: "There's something going on in the minds of these young people. I believe if we were able to get sense of 'you need to put a shift in to get what you want in life', then I think there's a real value in doing that."

Lord Wats responded by saying that young people "are not stupid" and have decided that "it's more comfortable to stay in the house than it is to go and try and find your way through life" on a low salary.

#### Goldman's chief joins exodus over tax rises

A Goldman Sachs' boss and billie A Goldman Sachs' boss and billionaire property investors have quit Britain in the wake of Labour's raid on the ultra-rich. Richard Gnoddee, who in January, is moving to Milan, while Ian and Richard Livingstone have dropped Britain as their main country of residence and moved to Monaco. The moves come after Labour ditched inheritance tax breaks for overseas trusts and raised capital gains tax to 24 per cent for higher earners. Business: Page 17

#### INSIDE Delete child accounts,

## Obituaries TVlistings



#### Farage hints at pact with Tories in councils

Nigel Farage has said Reform UK could work with the Tories to run local councils despite previously insisting he would not do deals: At any level. He said his party would "work with anybody" in local government, in an apparent about-turn after ruling out "formal coalitions." Mr Farage also said he believed there were 21 Tory MPs who "ought to be in Reform", potentially including Robert Jenrick, whom he described as a "Nigel Farage impersonator".

# The Boston Globe

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FRIDAY, APRIL 25, 2025

# A long road to a dream

An Ailey dance program (in NYC) is worth any sacrifice for a teen and her mother



'I was like, "Oh my gosh, is this my child?" She just looked so stunning and confident, like it was just natural.'

NATALYA BAINE on watching her daughter Nasya perform



Natalya and Nasya Baine have been making the trip to New York City from Boston four times a week over the past few months so that Nasya can train at the renowned Ailey School. Stories of relentlessly dedicated dancers and the families who support them no matter the cost are commonplace at Ailey.

## By Alyssa Vaughn

By now, Natalya Baine and her aughter Nasya have their routine down

pat.

Four days a week, Natalya wakes up,
cooks lunch and dinner, then stores the
meals in to-go containers as 17-year-old
Nasya packs up and gets dressed. They Nasya packs up and gets dressed. They load their belongings into their car — the food, Nasya's dance shoes and clothes, Natalya's homework for her master's program — make a quick stop at BJ's for gas, call Natalya's mother to say a prayer, and are on the road by late morning.

By 4:30, they've arrived at their destination: the Joan Weill Center in Manhatan, home of the renowned Alley School, where Nasya is enrolled in the company's pre-professional school year program. She takes ballet and modern classes at the Alley studios for three hours, then returns to the car, where her mother her mother.

then returns to the car, where her mother has been waiting. Natalya puts the keys in the ignition. They're back home in Dorchester by midnight. This has been the drill for Natalya

and Nasya every Tuesday, Thursday, Fri-day, and Saturday (except they start ear-lier on Saturday) since Nasya began the Ailey program last September. Finan-cially and logistically, a move, even tem-porarily, to New York City for the dura-AILEY, Page A10

## **Jewish** students say bias less of an issue

Many at Harvard believe antisemitism has eased since height of Gaza protests

By Hilary Burns and Mike Damiano

GLOBE STAFF

Jewish students at Harvard find themselves at the center of a storm.

For a year and a half, influential alumni, na-

For a year and a nair, influential atumin, national politicians, the international media, and now the president of the United States have been pointing to Jewish students as the primary victims of what they see as the rot at the core of American unique is the state of the state

► Garber casts doubt on the White House's motives in targeting Harvard. B1.

versities.

In their telling, leftist ideology, and its antipathy to Israel, have created a breeding ground for rampant antisemitism that has forced many Jewish students to live in fear.

But many Jewish students at Harvard, including these concerned about antisemitism on alite.

ing those concerned about antisemitism on elite campuses, say this political narrative distorts their

Interviews with more than a dozen Jewish stu-Interviews with more than a dozen Jewish stu-dents and recent graduates, and half a dozen Har-vard alumni, faculty, and staff, found that many felt the climate has shifted significantly since the height of the Gaza war protests a year ago. Then, Jewish students were regularly confronted with of-fensive slogans and rhetoric around campus and online, experienced social shunning from peers, and reported incidents of bias and hate.

## In shift, DA faults judge, not ICE agent

Hayden says Summerville's contempt finding was illegal

Suffolk District Attorney Kevin Hayden has de-clined to bring contempt charges against the Im-migration and Customs Enforcement agent who arrested a man in the middle of his trial last

arrested a man in the middle of his trial last month — and instead issued a scathing rebuke to the Boston judge who ordered the investigation. Hayden said in a 10-page report released Thursday that Judge Mark Summerville's contempt finding against the ICE agent "was without adequate factual or legal basis and barred by the Supremacy Clause of the United States Constitution."

Supremacy Clause of the United States Constitu-tion."

The report was a downshift for Hayden. In the immediate aftermath of the incident, he had vowed to investigate Summerville's finding and expressed similar concerns that the ICE agent had interfered with the local justice system, calling his actions "extraordinarily reckless" and harmful to public safety. But while Hayden said Thursday that he remained troubled by ICE's actions, he faulted Summerville for pushing the investigation in the first place.

in the first place.
"This office finds that criminal charges based upon Judge Summerville's patently illegal contempt finding and referral are not warranted," Hayden wrote.

Summerville found ICE agent Brian Sullivan in contempt for detaining defendant Wilson Marhayden, Page A6

## SNAP thefts leave families at a loss

By Katie Johnston

Dawn Hines had just finished a Dawn Hines had just finished a quick grocery run when she realized all the SNAP funds had been drained from her card — \$608 gone in the 10 minutes it took to get through the checkout line at the Braintree Stop & Shop, walk back to her car, and check her account.

Hines's family is one of thousands of low-income Massachusetts famiof low-income Massachusetts fami-lies that collectively have had mil-lions of dollars in Supplemental Nu-trition Assistance Program funds stolen in recent months. The theft of SNAP benefits, formerly known as food stamps, has become a national epidemic in recent years, fueled by suspected crime rings using skimmers on retail card readers to access electronic benefits cards.

electronic benefits cards.

Since December, when federal
funding to replace stolen SNAP money was halted, families have been left
without the help they rely on to put
food on the table. And massive funding cuts to the SNAP program being
discussed by the Trump administraTHEFTS, Page A10

## Many T escalators still out of step

With some down for years, accessibility is an issue

By Shannon Larson

After walking through the turnstile at Aquari-um Station, 85-year-old Joan Taylor glanced up at the seemingly never-ending flight of stairs, and the neighboring defunct escalators cordoned off by yellow barricades with "do not enter" warn-ings. She clasped the silver cross dangling from her neck.

"I don't wanna do them," said Taylor, who has problems with her knees.

problems with her knees.

She was visiting from Canada with her daughter and granddaughter on a recent weekday. They elected to wait for the elevator to take them up to

Atlantic Avenue. Many other Blue Line riders did the same, including nannies with small children in tow on their way to the New England Aquari-

um.

But not everyone had time to spare. A handful of travelers, rushing to Logan Airport, strained to heave their luggage down all 61 steps, occasionally stopping to collect themselves.

On a daily basis, closed escalators at MBTA stations pose accessibility issues and headaches for passengers, leaving them with the option to climb the stairs — a sweat-inducing workout for some, and a painful task for those with mobility challenges — or spend precious time waiting in line for an elevator, if one is available.

While certain issues can be fixed within a day, others that require major work or new parts can

others that require major work or new parts can ESCALATORS, Page A5

CAMPBELL

NO. 4 IS NO. 1 - The Patriots chose LSU's Will Campbell, a left tackle, with the fourth pick overall in the NFL Draft on Thursday night. C1.

al im

migration offi-

must transport rysa Öztürk back to ont, a federal judge

after the government nued fighting to keep

a killed 12 people and ad 90 others in a huge k on Kyiv, prompting dent Trump to issue a critique of Moscow. A3.

n his office to use the I messaging app. A2.

Vhat goes up

urday: Showers, cool. h 59-64. Low 46-51.

er and Comics, G6-7. Obituaries, C9. L. 307, NO. 115 sted retail price \$4.00

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FRIDAY APRIL 25 2025

# HHiami Herald

## Feds launch first-of-its-kind sting with Florida cops to deport undocumented immigrants

BY ANA CEBALLOS AND SYRA ORTIZ BLANES

Herald/Times Tallahassee Bureau

TALLAHASSEE

Federal authorities Federal authorities launched a large-scale operation in Florida this week to find and detain some 800 undocumented immigrants in the first coordinated immigration-enforcement effort with

state police since the Trump administration came into power. The Department of Homeland Security-led effort — nicknamed Oper-ation Tidal Wave — start-ed on Monday and will continue through Sat. ed on Monday and will continue through Sat-urday, according to a copy of the plans reviewed by the Miami Herald. The individuals targeted are located in Miami-Dade and Broward counties and the cities of Tampa, Or-



Operation Tidal Wave targets individuals in Miami-Dade and Broward counties and other spots in Florida.

 Florida attorney general says 

lando, Jacksonville, Stuart,

Tallahassee and Fort Myers, the records show. It was unclear how many had been detained. The records do not explain in detail how the federal

government chose its targets, but do say that authorities are trying to detain "criminal individu-als or immigration vio-lators" who have final deportation orders. The operation is a col-laboration between the

rump administration and public-safety agencies in Florida, a state where roughly one-fifth of the population is foreign-born.



The historic Coral Reef Hotel from 1941 sits shuttered on Collins Avenue and 36th Street in Miami Beach. Developer Investments plans to demolish the building and its also-vacant historic neighbor the Patrician Hotel

## New state law means Miami Beach can't stop demolition of two historic hotels

BY ANDRES VIGLUCCI

As a prominent developer gets ready to demolish two hotel buildings in a signature Miami Beach historic district, Miami Beach historic district, officials in a city known for its robust preservation rules say they are powerless to do anything about it.

The reason: a controversial year-old state law that gives

property owners in certain coastal areas unfettered power to tear down historic build-ings, overriding local reg-

ulations designed to protect structures designated as archi-tecturally or historically signif-icant.

icant.

The plan by Miami developer 13th Floor Investments it the first in Miami Beach to take advantage of the so-called Resiliency and Safe Structures Act, though city officials say it likely won't be the last. Local critics say the act, which its sponsors contend is meant to promote new tend is meant to promote new development better designed to meet rising seas, threatens

SEE HOTELS, 2A



An architectural rendering shows the columned base of the Casa Cipriani luxury hotel and condo that would replace two historic hotels on Collins Avenue and 36th Street.

## Florida House ends Hope Florida probe after witnesses decline to testify

BY LAWRENCE MOWER AND ALEXANDRA GLORIOSO

agorisos@miamikerald.com
Herald/Times Tallahassee Bureau
TALLAHASSEE
House lawmakers are ending their
probe into Gov. Ron DeSantis' Hope Florida Foundation without hearing testimony
from the organization's lawyer or leaders
of two groups that received \$5 million
grants from the charity.

Rep. Alex Andrade, the Pensacola Republican who has been spearheading the
investigation, said Thursday that he believed Florida Attorney General James
Uthmeier and the charity's lawyer, Jeff
Aaron, committed criminal acts when
they moved \$10 million from a Medicaid
overbilling settlement to the foundation.

The foundation gave the money to two
other nonprofits, which then gave \$8.5 million to a political committee controlled by
Uthmeier. But Andrade said he and his
committee won't be the ones to prosecute
them. The legislative session is scheduled
to end next week.

"While I'm firmly convinced that James
Uthmeier and Jeff Aaron engaged in a
conspiracy to commit money laundering
and wire fraud, and that several parties
played a role in the misuse of \$10 million
in Medicaid funds, we as legislators will
not be the ones making the ultimate charging decisions," Andrade told lawmakers
Thursday.

"I believe our work on this topic in this
capacity as a subcommittee will be con-

SEE HOPE FLORIDA, 6A



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# 'Vladimir, stop!': Trump in rare rebuke to Putin after Kyiv strike

Deadly missile and drone assault leaves 12 dead and 90 injured

#### **Luke Harding** Kharkiv

Donald Trump issued a rare rebuke of Moscow yesterday for a devastating air attack that killed 12 in Kyiv, telling the Russian president in a social media post: "Vladimir, STOP!"

The US president's remarks to Vladimir Putin came as he made a renewed push to end the Ukraine war, reportedly on terms favourable to Russia that include recognition of Moscow's 2014 annexation of Crimea, something President Volodymyr Zelenskyy has said he cannot accept.

Trump told reporters in Washington: "I have my own deadline" for ending the war, amid speculation he wants to get a ceasefire agreed before his 100th day in office on 30 April. During his election campaign he repeatedly claimed he would end the conflict within 24 hours.

The US president insisted he was applying pressure on Putin to end the war, claiming an agreement by Moscow not to take over the entire country would be a "pretty big concession". "We're putting a lot of pressure on Russia, and Russia knows that," he said.

The attack on Kyiv was the biggest and most deadly this year, with at least 12 people



A woman is rescued from a block of flats in Kyiv early yesterday. At least 12 people died in overnight strikes on the city PHOTOGRAPH: KOSTIANTYN LIBEROV/LIBKOS/GETTY

## Attack pushes India and Ofcom 'favouring tech Pakistan closer to war

Aakash Hassan and Penelope MacRae Delhi Peter Beaumont

Nuclear rivals India and Pakistan moved closer to military confrontation yesterday, when Islamabad closed its airspace to Indian aircraft and warned that any effort by Delhi to interfere with the supply of water under a decades-old treaty would be viewed as an act of war.

In a series of escalating tit-for-tat moves since a massacre of Indian tourists in the disputed region of Kashmir this week by Islamist militants, India

# firms over child safety'

Dan Milmo Global technology editor

The communications watchdog has been accused of backing big tech over the safety of under-18s after the children's commissioner for England criticised new measures for tackling online harms. Dame Rachel de Souza said she warned Ofcom last year that its proposals for protecting children under the Online Safety Act were too weak. New codes of practice issued by the watchdog yesterday have ignored her concerns, she said.

"I made it very clear last year that its proposals were not strong enough to protect children from the multitude of harms they are exposed to online every day," she added.

"I am disappointed to see this code has not been significantly strengthened and seems to prioritise the business interests of technology companies over children's safety.

De Souza, whose gov-ernment-created role



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Cultura

Régis Debray: "El tabú que era el sexo ahora es la muerte" -P40

## Sánchez desautoriza a Marlaska y cancela la compra de balas a Israel

• El presidente rescinde "de forma unilateral" el pedido de munición para la Guardia Civil a una empresa israelí • Trata así de apaciguar a la coalición bajo una fuerte presión de Sumar

CARLOS E. CUÉ / JOSÉ MARCOS Madrid

El presidente del Gobierno, Pedro Sánchez, ordenó ayer "rescindir de forma unilateral" el contrato de compra de balas para la Guardia Civil, por más de seis millones de euros, a la empresa israelí IMI Systems. Sánchez desautorizaba así al ministro del Interior, Fernando Grande-Marlaska, quien defendía el pedido para no tener que pagar una indemnización. El presidente recibió fuerte presión de Yolanda

Díaz, ante el malestar en Sumar y en especial en IU. Sánchez, que se ha significado en el apoyo a los palestinos, había prometido en el Congreso que no habría compraventas de armamento con Israel mientras siga atacando Gaza. Israel "condena firmemente" la decisión del Gobierno español, que sacrifica consideraciones de seguridad por fines políticos", según un portavoz del Ministerio de Ex-

-EDITORIAL EN P12



Una mujer herida era atendida ayer por personal de emergencias entre los escombros de un edificio en Kiev. KOSTIANTYN LIBEROV (LIBKOS/GETTY)

## Putin lanza un duro ataque a Kiev y Trump le advierte: "¡Vladímir, PARA!"

Al menos 12 muertos y unos 100 heridos por la oleada de 200 misiles y drones

LUIS DE VEGA MACARENA VIDAL LIY Kiev / Washington

Una oleada de más de 200 drones y misiles rusos golpeó en la madrugada de ayer una decena de regiones de Ucrania. Para la capital, Kiev, fue el peor ataque desde el pasado verano. El balance es de al menos 12 muertos y casi un centenar de heridos, pero anoche todavía se buscaba a personas desaparecidas entre los escombros.

El presidente de Estados Unidos, Donald Trump, lanzó una firme advertencia a su homólogo ruso, Vladímir Putin, para que detenga los bombardeos. "No estoy contento con los ataques rusos contra Kiev. No son necesarios y -EDITORIAL EN P12

el momento es muy malo. ¡Vladímir, PARA!", escribió en su red social, Truth. Washington intensifica los contactos diplomáticos y la presión a Ucrania para tratar de llegar a un acuerdo de paz en los próximos días, incluso antes del miércoles, cuando Trump cumple 100 días en el poder. -P2 Y 3

## El Gobierno impulsará 15.000 viviendas al año con módulos prefabricados

El plan estratégico inyectará 1.300 millones de euros en 10 años

#### DENISSE LÓPEZ Madrid

El Gobierno anunció ayer que inyectará 1.300 millones de euros en 10 años para el nuevo Proyecto Estratégico para la Recuperación y Transformación Económica (PERTE) de vivienda. El programa, con fondos europeos, aspira a que se construyan unas 15.000 casas al año mediante sistemas industrializados, es decir, con módulos prefabricados.-P28

#### Inmigración

El venezolano desaparecido en EE UU fue enviado a El Salvador -P5

#### La muerte del Papa

Aperturistas y conservadores miden fuerzas ante el cónclave -P6 A 10

#### **Empresas**

Indra estudia la integración de Escribano para ganar capacidad \_P29

