"All the News

That's Fit to Print"

THE WEATHER

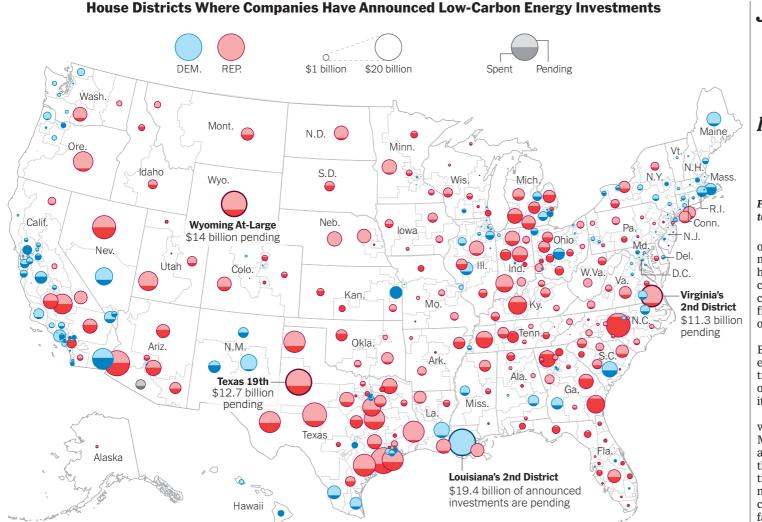
Prices in Canada may be higher

Today, breezy, quite cool, rain and drizzle, high 53. **Tonight**, cloudy, cool, rain and drizzle, low 47. **Tomor**row, cloudy, not as cool, showers, high 59. Weather map, Page B12.

\$4.00

VOL. CLXXIV .... No. 60,527 © 2025 The New York Times Company **THURSDAY, MAY 22, 2025** 

The New York Eimes



Source: Clean Investment Monitor | Notes: Data is from the third quarter of 2022 through the first quarter of 2025. It excludes roughly \$11 billion where the congressional district is unclea

THE NEW YORK TIMES

# G.O.P. Aims to Cut Clean Energy Perks Flowing to Its Own Turf

#### **By BRAD PLUMER** and HARRY STEVENS

Sprawling wind farms in Wyoming. A huge solar factory expansion in Georgia. Lithium mines in Nevada. Vacuums that suck carbon from the air in Louisiana.

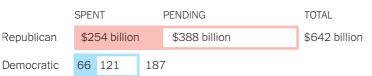
Over the past three years, companies have made plans to invest more than \$843 billion across the United States in projects aimed at reducing planet-warming emissions, driven by lucrative tax credits for clean energy provided by the 2022 Inflation Reduction Act

But only about \$321 billion of that money has actually been spent, with many projects still on the drawing board, according to

# In Cereal Aisle,

#### Low-Carbon Energy Investments Since the 2022 Law

Three-quarters are planned for Republican House districts, and most are still pending.



Source: Clean Investment Monitor | Note: Data shows investments announced in the third guarter of 2022 through the first quarter of 2025. Excludes roughly \$14 billion where the Congressional district is unclear or the seat is vacant THE NEW YORK TIMES

data made public this month by the Clean Investment Monitor, a joint project of the Rhodium Group and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Now, much of the rest, about \$522 billion, will depend on action

playing out on Capitol Hill. Republicans in Congress are engaged in a contentious debate over proposals to roll back tax credits for lowcarbon energy as they search for ways to pay for a roughly \$4 trillion tax cut package favored by

President Trump.

As discussions continued on Wednesday, the House G.O.P. domestic policy bill would effectively end most of the Inflation Reduction Act's tax incentives.

A tax credit for low-carbon electricity sources like wind, solar, nuclear or geothermal power would be phased out over the next few years. Rebates for consumers to buv electric vehicles would mostly disappear by the end of this year. Tax breaks for domestic factories that make batteries or solar panels would contain new restrictions that could make them extremely difficult to access. Incentives for producing hydrogen fuels would end this year.

While shrinking those tax cred-Continued on Page A12



Africa Defied Order

This article is by Alan Feuer, Tyler Pager, Hamed Aleaziz and Mattathias Schwartz.

A federal judge in Boston said on Wednesday that the Trump administration had violated an order he issued last month barring officials from deporting people to countries not their own without first giving them sufficient time to object.

The finding by the judge, Brian E. Murphy, was one of the strongest judicial rebukes the administration has faced so far in a series of contentious cases arising from its sprawling deportation agenda.

It was not immediately clear what punishment, if any, Judge Murphy intended to mete out against the administration or those who took part in the operation, but he asked for a list of names of everyone involved so he could notify them that they might face criminal contempt penalties.

The judge's decision came at a hearing in Federal District Court in Boston to consider an emergency motion filed by lawyers for a group of men who they said were deported after being told they were being sent to South Sudan, a violence-plagued country in Africa.

As the hearing began, officials from the Homeland Security Department in Washington disclosed that eight immigrants had been deported Tuesday on a flight to a third country, but they refused to say where the men were going.

While much of the discussion at the court hearing took place under seal, Judge Murphy said that the government had given the deported men little more than 24 hours' notice that they were being removed from the United States a time frame that he described as "plainly insufficient."

"The department's actions in this case," he went on, "are unquestionably violative of this court's order."

Judge Murphy, who was appointed by former President Joseph R. Biden Jr., said the administration's violation could ultimately result in a finding of criminal contempt. He also said he was searching for a way to provide the men some version of the due Continued on Page A16

**TRUMP BROADSIDE EMBROILS LEADER OF SOUTH AFRICA** 

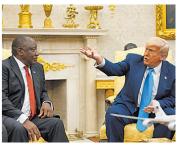
## **TENSION IN OVAL OFFICE**

Sharing a Video Echoing **False Assertions Over** White Genocide

#### By ERICA L. GREEN and ZOLAN KANNO-YOUNGS

WASHINGTON - In an astonishing confrontation in the Oval Office on Wednesday, President Trump lectured President Cyril Ramaphosa of South Africa with false claims about a genocide against white Afrikaner farmers, even dimming the lights to show what he said was video evidence of their persecution.

The meeting had been expected to be tense, given that Mr. Trump has suspended all aid to the country and created an exception to his



ERIC LEE/THE NEW YORK Cyril Ramaphosa tried to explain South Africa's situation.

refugee ban for Afrikaners, fasttracking their path to citizenship even as he keeps thousands of other people out.

But the meeting quickly became a stark demonstration of Mr. Trump's belief that the world has aligned against white people, and that Black people and minorities have received preferential treatment. In the case of South Africa, that belief has ballooned into claims of genocide.

At first, the two leaders seemed to glide over the most contentious issues, focusing instead on golf and a bit of foreign policy. Mr. Ramaphosa brought along two South African golfers, Ernie Els and Retief Goosen, as guests, in a nod to the American president's favorite sport. But the discussions took a turn Continued on Page A9

# Rising Sodium, Sugar and Fat

#### **BV ANDREW JACOBS**

Breakfast cereals, a heavily marketed, highly processed mainstay of the American diet, especially among children, are becoming less healthy, filled with increasing amounts of sugar, fat and sodium, according to a study published Wednesday in the journal JAMA Network Open. The study also found that cereals' protein and fiber content - nutrients essential for a healthy diet - have been in decline.

The findings, based on an analysis of 1,200 new or reformulated cereal products introduced in the United States between 2010 and 2023, are likely to add fuel to the ongoing debate about the relationship between processed food, mounting childhood obesity and the rising prevalence of chronic diseases

The debate has gained greater prominence in the months since health secretary Robert F. Kennedy Jr. began using the federal bully pulpit to excoriate ultra-processed foods as part of his "Make America Healthy Again" campaign. Mr. Kennedy, who has declared that "sugar is poison," last month announced that the Department of Health and Human Services would work to remove some artificial dyes from the U.S. food supply, citing concerns about their impact on children's health. Shuoli Zhao, a professor of agri-

Continued on Page A17



#### ORK STATE ARCHIVES

#### **Governor Acknowledges Atrocities**

Gov. Kathy Hochul of New York visited Seneca land on Tuesday to apologize for the operation of a boarding school, above, that "sanctioned ethnic cleansing" of Native American children. Page A21.

# New Partner at Belichick's Side, or a Step Ahead

#### By KATHERINE ROSMAN

When Bill Belichick appeared on ABC's "Good Morning America" last week to promote his new book, "The Art of Winning," the most revealing moment of the interview had nothing to do with his storied N.F.L. coaching career or his new job leading the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill's football program.

In fact, it was not about Mr. Belichick or his book at all. It was

NATIONAL A10-21

about the 73-year-old football coach's 24-year-old girlfriend.

"A lot has been made about your relationship with Jordon Hudson." said the host, Michael Strahan, himself a former N.F.L. star. "It's been getting a lot of attention."

Then he paused to note: "She isn't here this morning."

In the five months since the University of North Carolina announced it had hired Mr. Belichick as its new head football coach, giving him a five-year-contract that

could be worth more than \$50 million, Ms. Hudson has been there, standing not behind her man, but more often next to him - if not in front.

She was at the U.N.C. news conference announcing Mr. Belichick's hire, at the Super Bowl in New Orleans, at the sidelines of U.N.C. football offseason events and courtside at a U.N.C. basketball game.

Most notably, she was on set at a Continued on Page A20

#### ARTS C1-7

#### **Deep Cuts From Grisly Crimes**

In her new book "Whack Job," Rachel McCarthy James finds a connection between self-reliance and brutality. And for the record, she has questions about Lizzie Borden. PAGE C1

#### A Talk Show Finds Its Way

"Everybody's Live With John Mulaney" on Netflix understands what's wrong with the genre. Still, it took this weirdo program time to hit on the ambitious free-for-all it is now. PAGE C1

**OPINION A22-23** 

#### **NEWS ANALYSIS**

# Trump Ally Embraces a Plan To Name and Shame Enemies

#### By GLENN THRUSH and ALAN FEUER

WASHINGTON — President Trump has kept up a steady bombardment of suggestions, requests and demands to arrest, investigate or prosecute targets of his choosing — the former F.B.I. director James B. Comey, various Democrats, officials who refuted his election lies, Beyoncé, the Boss.

But Mr. Trump's directives have so far hit a stubborn snag. Few, if any, of those singled out have done anything to invite conventional prosecutorial scrutiny, much less committed prosecutable crimes to warrant an indictment under federal law.

But a Trump loyalist, given

**PESTICIDES** An unlikely group is

new, vague and possibly vast power, has found a workaround. In recent days, Ed Martin, the self-described "captain" of the Justice Department's "weaponization" group, made a candid if unsurprising admission: He plans to use his authority to expose and discredit those he believes to be guilty, even if he cannot find sufficient evidence to prosecute them — weaponizing an institution he has been hired to de-weaponize, in the view of critics.

"If they can be charged, we'll charge them," Mr. Martin told reporters before stepping down Continued on Page A14

#### More on the White House

**OVERSIGHT** The Trump administration said it would end efforts to reduce police violence in Minneapolis and elsewhere. PAGE A16

dicted the president's statements

**INTERNATIONAL A4-9** 

#### **Gazans Still Waiting for Food**

Three days after Israel said it would ease its blockade of aid to Gaza, little, if any, has reached Palestinians. PAGE A5

#### Yemeni Civilians Pay the Price

U.S. and Israeli military strikes targeting Houthis have compounded a humanitarian crisis, officials say. PAGE A4

### prostate cancer after none was found at a recent checkup.

A Fast-Growing Cancer

Doctors say that older men who test

diligently may still develop aggressive

**BUSINESS B1-6** 

#### A Deal to Give A.I. Form

OpenAI said it was buying IO, a startup by the iPhone's designer, to create artificial intelligence devices. PAGE B1

#### **Nvidia Faults U.S. Chip Policy**

The chipmaker's C.E.O. said the attempt to block access spurred Chinese companies to "accelerate." PAGE B5

# **THURSDAY STYLES D1-7**

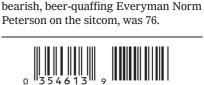
#### Secret Under The Bling

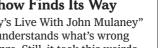
PAGE A19

For the New York Liberty, a W.N.B.A. championship ring, with special meanings in the stones, is a first in more than one way. PAGE D6













# One Neighborhood's History Clayton Patterson, a street photogra-

pher, has thousands of images and video documenting New York's Lower East Side. Now he doesn't know what to do with them. PAGE D1

#### Nicholas Kristof

TARGETED The Justice Department investigates former Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo of New York over his pandemic testimony. PAGE A18

**REWRITE** A report that contra-



