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The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Today, cloudy, morning thunderstorm, less humid afternoon, high 83. Tonight, clear, low 65. Tomorrow, sunshine and clouds, low humidity, high 78. Weather map, Page D8.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



ULET IFANSASTI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Sawing Down Borneo’s Rainforests to Build R.V.s for Americans

By SUI-LEE WEE

WEST KALIMANTAN PROVINCE, Indonesia — Word spread fast that heavy machinery had arrived in the ancient rainforest near the Indonesian village of Sungai Mata-Mata, an expanse on the western edge of the island of Borneo that is home to orangutans, clouded leopards and sun bears.

Flouting the law, the excavators began digging trenches to drain the area’s protected wetlands. Then came the logging crews, which cut down woodlands the size of more than 2,800 football fields, in just a few days.

It was an apocalyptic sight, said Samsidar, a regional forestry official who goes by one name, recalling the devastation he encountered two years ago. “The trees had turned into piles of wood.”

Not just any kind of wood, though. The trees were meranti, a species found mostly in Indonesia



ELIZABETH BICK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A tract in Padu Banjar, Indonesia, above, where a tree called meranti or lauan was harvested. Its wood is ideal for use in R.V.s. Left, Anna Montgomery in her Winnebago.

flooring, cabinets and other features.

Catering to this demand, conservation groups say, has accelerated deforestation on Borneo. In the last five years alone, tens of thousands of acres of the island’s forests have been chopped down for lauan, usually with the Indonesian government’s permission. This has contributed to the disappearance of some of the world’s largest rainforests and wetlands, unleashing dense stores of carbon, upending the lives of Indigenous people and endangering the habitats of orangutans and other animals.

Since 2020, the United States

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The New Activist Investor Scrambling U.S. Business

President Demands Stakes for Government, Breaking From Free-Market System

By LAUREN HIRSCH and MAUREEN FARRELL

Corporate America has built up defenses against the likes of Carl Icahn, Nelson Peltz and other corporate raiders who have rattled the cages of chief executives, pushing for higher stock prices. Now companies have a new investor to worry about: the president of the United States.

President Trump has inserted the government into U.S. companies in extraordinary ways, including taking a stake in U.S. Steel and pushing for a cut of Nvidia’s and Advanced Micro Devices’ revenue from China. Last month, the Pentagon said it was taking a 15 percent stake in MP Materials, a large American miner of rare earths.

And on Friday, Intel agreed to allow the U.S. government to take a 10 percent stake in its business, worth \$8.9 billion.

These developments could herald a shift from America’s vaunted free-market system to one that resembles, at least in some corners, a form of state-managed capitalism more frequently seen in Europe and, to a different degree, China and Russia, say lawyers, bankers and academics steeped in the history of hostile takeovers and international business.

And the actions are sending Wall Street’s bankers and lawyers scrambling to help companies come up with a playbook to defend against or at least find ways to mollify Mr. Trump.

“Virtually every company I’ve

talked to which is a regular recipient of subsidies or grants from the government is concerned about this right now,” Kai Liekefett, co-chairman of the corporate defense practice at the law firm Sidley Austin, said in an interview.

The Trump administration is casting a wide net, scouring other companies that it thinks could be ripe for some form of government involvement, three people briefed on these discussions said.

The U.S. government has inserted itself in corporate America before. The Obama administration took stakes in banks and auto companies after the 2008 financial crisis, and both the Obama and Biden administrations used government subsidies to promote green technology.

But experts say Mr. Trump’s push is different from — and more aggressive than — what the United States had seen before. The companies he is targeting are not on the cusp of collapse, nor would their demise, as in the case of the banks during the financial crisis, set off a chain of events that could lead to global economic ruin.

“America has always been wary about the line between public and private enterprise,” said Jonathan Levy, a historian and professor at Sciences Po in Paris and author of “Ages of American Capitalism: A History of the United States.”

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Under Trump, Far-Right View Is Mainstream

By ALAN FEUER

During President Trump’s first turn in the White House, right-wing extremists like the Proud Boys were on the streets, weekend after weekend, raising their voices — and oftentimes their fists — about issues such as immigration, the squelching of conservative speech and the removal of Confederate-era statues.

But in the first seven months of Mr. Trump’s second term, there has been a conspicuous absence of far-right demonstrations. And that, some leaders of the movement say, is because the president has effectively adopted their agenda.

“Things we were doing and talking about in 2017 that were taboo, they’re no longer taboo — they’re mainstream now,” said Enrique Tarrio, the chairman of the Proud Boys, who took part in many of those early far-right rallies. “Honestly, what do we have to complain about these days?”

Whether it is dismantling diversity programs, complaining about anti-white bias in museums or promoting an aura of authoritarian nationalism, Mr. Trump has embraced an array of far-right views and talking points in ways that have delighted many right-wing activists who have long supported those ideas.

His administration has also hired several people with a history of making racist or antisemitic remarks or who have looked favorably on the attack on the Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021.

Far-right figures have been particularly thrilled by Mr. Trump’s aggressive crackdown on undocumented immigrants, praising not only the ubiquitous images of masked federal agents raiding farms and factories, but also the ideology that has fueled those moves: a belief that migration to the United States is all but synonymous



POOL PHOTO BY STEVEN HIRSCH

Ingrid Lewis-Martin appeared in court last December.

Brazen Tactics Of Adams Aide Led to Charges

By NICHOLAS FANDOS and DANA RUBINSTEIN

It took decades for Ingrid Lewis-Martin to fight her way to the top of New York City politics. But by 2022 she had unquestionably arrived.

As chief adviser to Mayor Eric Adams, she was arguably the second most powerful person in city government. She had an office across the hall from him, a habit of rewriting policy and a reputation as his heavy-handed enforcer.

So it was notable that fall when Ms. Lewis-Martin set her sights on a seemingly whimsical goal: a turn on the silver screen. A pair of studio executives she knew agreed to help, and soon enough she was donning an evening dress for a cameo alongside Forest Whitaker in “Godfather of Harlem.”

She had just two brief lines, but she was delighted.

“It was everything,” Ms. Lewis-Martin gushed to the executives afterward in a thank-you text message. “One thing off of my bucket list.”

In reality, the TV gig was far from a lighthearted aberration, Manhattan prosecutors asserted on Thursday. Rather, in a series of four indictments, they said it

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NEWS ANALYSIS

Donbas’s Future Is Pivotal to Fate Of Ukraine War

By KIM BARKER and CONSTANT MÉHEUT

KYIV, Ukraine — For President Trump, the map of Ukraine on an easel in the Oval Office had an obvious message. Russia has taken a big chunk of territory in an eastern region known as the Donbas. That territory, shaded in red, was gone. Ukraine needed to make a deal to get peace, or it risked losing more.

For President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine, the map, displayed at a meeting last Monday with the two presidents and European leaders, presented a far more complicated picture. This was not a business deal or a poker game. This was personal.

Away from the cameras, he told Mr. Trump that his grandfather had fought in World War II to free the cities of the Donbas from the Nazis. He could not just give it up.

On Wednesday, hours after he returned to Kyiv, Ukraine’s capital, Mr. Zelensky reiterated the point.

“There were many such families” who fought to free the Donbas, Mr. Zelensky told reporters. “Many fell and many were wounded. And I explained that this is a particularly painful moment in our history and a

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KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Holding Court in Queens

Attending the opening day of play on Sunday at the U.S. Open in Flushing Meadows. Page D8.

Signed, Sealed and Delivered, With Pepperoni

By RACHEL WHARTON

When Jorge Mejia closed on his \$445,000 townhouse in suburban Atlanta this month, he didn’t celebrate with Champagne or steak. Standing in his empty kitchen, he took a picture of a pepperoni pizza in its cardboard delivery box framed by his new house keys and a bare living room floor, and then proudly posted it to Reddit.

“The pizza symbolized years of

For New Home Buyers, Pizza Photo Is a Rite

hard work,” said Mr. Mejia, 28, who is a staff sergeant in the Marines and the first person in his immediate family to buy a home. He had seen similar pizza box pictures posted in a Reddit group, FirstTimeHomeBuyer, for more

than a year, he said, and had been waiting to finally be able to upload his own.

Pizza — affordable yet celebratory, easily eaten by hand while sitting cross-legged on a carpet — has long been a move-in meal. But today, sharing an image online of an open pizza box on the floor is a rite of passage for some first-time homeowners.

Videos and photos like Mr.

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Accusations of Blasphemy
In Pakistan, hundreds are in jail on charges of denigrating Islam. Rights groups say some cases are caused by bad actors entrapping victims. PAGE A4

Evoking Croatia’s Fascist Past
The singer known as Thompson uses nationalist appeals to cast himself as a guardian of Croatian heritage. PAGE A7

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NASCAR’s Great Showman
With his Hollywood-style stunts, Humpy Wheeler brought spectacle to motorsports. He was 86. PAGE B7



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Keen Footwear has opened a plant in Kentucky. But the trade upheaval has strained its adaptive strategy. PAGE B1

Focusing on the Economy
Attendees at the Fed’s annual conference are feeling the pressure from the White House to cut rates. PAGE B1

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U.S. Deportations Accelerating
A summer surge in federal immigration arrests has increased the removal of people to a level not seen since the Obama administration. PAGE A14

Boaters Fight to Save Buoys
Many New Englanders feel a deep attachment to the navigational tools, some of which are scheduled for removal by the Coast Guard. PAGE A12

Raids Disrupt a Shipping Hub
In Edison, N.J., thousands of immigrants work in hundreds of warehouses. Detentions have left employees rattled and business owners alarmed. PAGE A18



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Lady Gaga’s Mayhem Ball
The singer showed she is operating at the peak of her powers during a concert at Madison Square Garden. PAGE C1

Museums Feel the Pressure
Some institutions are changing or canceling offerings, especially those that are dealing with hot-button topics. PAGE C1

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Kyle Tucker leads the way in a class that is expected to feature power hitters and impact closers. PAGE D4

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