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TRUMP SHOWS LIMITS OF COURTS

A scholar of the federal courts expects the judiciary will be of limited help in navigating through President Donald Trump's barrage of executive orders and policy statements. Page A9

REGION

TODAY'S MUST-READS

SPRINGFIELD

2 new assistant school chief posts added

The school administration team will now include two assistant superintendent positions, a change from the way the department has been run over the past three years.

Last week, the School Committee voted 7-0 to create the positions of assistant superintendent of community engagement, family empowerment and partnerships, and assistant superintendent of curriculum, instruction and professional development. Full story, Page A3

'People are getting tired'

Ukrainians in Western Mass. continue relief efforts, skeptical of talks with Russia

By IIM KINNEY

jkinney@repub.com

Tables in area church social halls were stacked three years ago with donated supplies for Ukraine.

Shelf-stable food. Warm clothing. Military-style first aid kits. All destined for collection points where it'd get packed into shipping containers and sent to Ukrainians straining under the weight of Russia's Feb. 24, and two drone aircraft. 2022, invasion.

Bethesda Ukrainian Pentecostal Church in West Springfield raised

INSIDE

U.S. and Russia to create team to negotiate Ukraine peace, Page A9

and donated \$90,000 for Ukraine in just the first year of the war, buying relief supplies and even military equipment like night vision goggles

"But now people are getting tired, more than anything else," said Bethesda Senior Pastor Peter Mosijchuk.

Tired and worried that America's support for Ukraine will falter amid talks Tuesday in Saudi Arabia between Russia and officials of the Trump administration.

"Behind Ukraine's back," Mosijchuk said. "He makes Putin as a peacemaker."

Mosijchuk and members of his congregation are still in contact with family back home. He talks about ruined cities. He talks about lives lost.

"Why would you talk to dictators? Aggressors?" Mosijchuk said. "Try to make it like they want peace." "Ukraine is going to keep fight-

ing.' Russia and the U.S. agreed Tuesday to start working toward ending the war in Ukraine and to improving their diplomatic and economic ties. Russia and the U.S. agreed to return staffing to each others' embassies an to start working toward ending the war in Ukraine and improving their SEE UKRAINE, PAGE A9



An influential coalition is launching a push this session for a "corporate fair share" policy that targets global businesses that hide their money from taxation.

Raise Up Massachusetts, which earlier shepherded passage of the income surtax on wealthier Massachusetts residents, is working to build momentum for legislation addressing "offshore tax havens." Full story, Page A5

STATE **Gun law foes**

STATE Mass. judge fired in Trump

By HADLEY BARNDOLLAR HBarndollar@masslive.com The Trump administration

challenge rules on young adults

Firearms owners added another prong to their campaign against a sweeping Massachusetts law, filing a new federal lawsuit late last week challenging its constitutionality.

A coalition of industry groups on Friday sued over firearm age restrictions included in the wide-reaching package Gov. Maura T. Healey signed in July. Full story, Page A5

WEATHER

Mostly sunny and cold. **High:** 26°; **Low:** 4°

EXPANDED WEATHER, A10



INDEX	200th year. No. 165		
Business	A6	Obituaries	A 8
Classified	A7	Opinion	A4
Comics	B2	Puzzles	B4
Dear Abby	B4	Sports	A11
Health	B1	Television	A10





The age of ice

This mailbox on Holyoke Road in Westfield was covered with ice on Tuesday. (SEAN HURT / SPECIAL TO THE REPUBLICAN)

REGION WMass continues to dig out, deice

By Jeanette Deforge jdeforge@repub.com

Western Mass continues to try to shovel and chop its way out of a winter storm that left roads covered with ice and sidewalks buried in piles of frozen slush.

Although temperatures hovered in the teens and 20s on Tuesday doing little to help melt the ice, officials from different cities said they are making progress in clearing roads.

In Springfield about 20% to 25% of the streets are still "a big problem" but most main roads are clear two days after the storm, said Christopher Cignoli, head of the Springfield Department of Public Works.

While the city has had past problems hiring enough independent plow drivers to supplement the department to clear all the streets, this wasn't the problem over the weekend. This time it simply was the nature of the storm.

With as much as 8 inches of snow predicted, the city aggressively pre-treated the roads on Saturday, hitting many side streets as well as the main thoroughfares, which are usually the only ones salted before a storm, Cignoli said.

Plowing started around 8:30 p.m. Saturday and by noon Sunday, 92% of streets were finished. By 3 p.m.



Snow and ice storms in Western Massachusetts left roads covered in ice. (JOHN BEATTIE / MASSLIVE.COM)

all the streets, even the tiny side streets, had been plowed out, he said.

"All our trucks were done sanding and salting and we peeled off and had to handle flooding complaints and unclog storm drains," he said. At the same time when a plow

driver encountered a street that had a layer of slush, it was cleared to try to keep it from freezing, creating the huge ice boulders and frozen slush piles on sidewalks and at the end of driveways that so many people have complained about on social media.

"Once it turns to slush, you can't go 5 miles an hour to plow it,'

Cignoli said. "You have to go faster and it gets thrown farther.'

Later Sunday night temperatures dropped, the rain turned back to snow and everything froze solid and has been like that ever since, Cignoli said.

We are actively sanding and salting on the side streets," he said. "They all need attention in some way, shape or form," he said.

Agawam Department of Public Works Superintendent Mario Mazza agreed with Cignoli that it was the nature of the storm, not a lack of planning, too few plow drivers or incompetence that left Agawam

SEE **SLUSH,** PAGE A2

immigration judge as part of its continued purge of federal workers. The judge contends her firing was "political."

More than two dozen immigration judges, managers and new hires have been fired since the start of the new administration, according to the International Federation

of Professional and Technical Engineers, the union representing immigration judges. Several of those termination notices went out on



KERRY DOYLE Friday

Receiving one was Kerry Doyle, a seasoned Boston immigration attorney who had recently been appointed to the new immigration court in Chelmsford. Doyle previously served as the top prosecutor for U.S. Immigration Customs and Enforcement under the Biden administration, despite being a vocal critic of the federal agency and having led several lawsuits against it, GBH previously reported.

Doyle announced her own firing in a LinkedIn post, writing she was terminated by email on Feb. 14 by the acting director of the Executive Office for Immigration Review at the Department of Justice, which oversees immigration courts.

"I had not publicly posted that I had started working as an (immigration judge) in the hope of keeping my head down and just getting to work and avoiding having a bullseye on me," Doyle wrote. "Unfortunately, I was unable to avoid the political pink slip." SEE **JUDGE**, PAGE A2

RIYADH, SAUDI ARABIA

Russia and US agree to work toward ending Ukraine war in a remarkable diplomatic shift

By MATTHEW LEE AND DASHA LITVINOVA Associated Press

Russia and the U.S. agreed Tuesday to start working toward ending the war in Ukraine and improving their diplomatic and economic ties, the two countries' top diplomats said after talks that reflected an extraordinary about-face in U.S. foreign policy under President Donald Trump.

In an interview with The Associated Press after the meeting, U.S. Secretary of State Marco Rubio said the two sides agreed broadly to pursue three goals: to restore staffing at their respective embassies in Washington and Moscow, to create a high-level team to support Ukraine peace talks and to explore closer relations and economic cooperation.

He stressed, however, that the talks – which were attended by his Russian counterpart, Sergey Lavrov, and other senior Russian and U.S. officials - marked the beginning of a conversation, and more work needs to be done.

Lavrov echoed Rubio's remarks and told reporters that "the conversation was very useful."

"We not only listened, but also heard each other," he said.

Trump's national security adviser, Michael Waltz, and special Mideast envoy Steven Witkoff joined Rubio at the table, along with Lavrov and Russian President long term." Vladimir Putin's foreign affairs adviser, Yuri Ushakov.

No Ukrainian officials were present at the meeting, which came as the beleaguered country is slowly but steadily losing ground against more numerous Russian troops in a grinding war that began nearly three years ago.

Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy said his country would not accept any outcome from the talks since Kyiv didn't take part, and he postponed his own trip to the kingdom scheduled for Wednesday.

European allies have also expressed concerns that they are being sidelined.

Improving Russian-US relations

Ties between Russia and the U.S. have fallen to their lowest level in decades in recent years – a rift that has been widening ever since Russia illegally annexed Crimea from Ukraine in 2014 and only worsened after Moscow's fullscale invasion.

The U.S., along with European



Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, right, and Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy arrive for a joint news conference following their meeting Tuesday at the presidential palace in Ankara, Turkey. (YAVUZ OZDEN / DIA PHOTO VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS)

tions on Russia in an effort to damage its economy. And embassies in Washington and Moscow have been hit hard by expulsions of large numbers of diplomats, as well as other restrictions.

Rubio said Tuesday that ending the war in Ukraine could "unlock the door" for "incredible opportunities that exist to partner with the Russians geopolitically on issues of common interest and, frankly, economically on issues that hopefully will be good for the world and also improve our relations in the

His comments were further evidence of the remarkable U.S. reversal on Russia after years in which Trump's predecessor, Joe Biden, led international efforts to isolate Moscow.

Tuesday's meeting was meant to pave the way for a summit between Trump and Putin. After the talks ended, Ushakov and Waltz said no date has been set yet for that summit. Ushakov told Russian television that a meeting was "unlikely" to take place next week, while Waltz said he thought it could be arranged in the coming weeks.

Speaking to reporters after the meeting, Lavrov mentioned the same three goals as Rubio and said that Washington and Moscow agreed to appoint representatives to carry out "regular consultations" on Ukraine.

"I have reason to believe that the American side has started to better understand our position," the Russian foreign minister said.

Witkoff said the meeting was "positive, upbeat, constructive. Everybody was there to get to the right outcome."

The meeting marked the most

territory back from Russia - two key items on Putin's wish list.

Waltz said "the practical reality is that there is going to be some discussion of territory, and there's going to be a discussion of security guarantees."

French President Emmanuel Macron on Tuesday said he spoke by phone to Trump and Zelenskyy following Monday's European meeting.

"We seek a strong and lasting peace in Ukraine," Macron wrote on social media platform X. "To achieve this, Russia must end its aggression, and this must be accompanied by strong and credible security guarantees for the Ukrainians," he said and vowed to "work on this together with all Europeans, Americans, and Ukrainians.'

Saudi Arabia's role

The meeting at the Diriyah Palace in the Saudi capital of Riyadh also highlighted de facto leader Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman's efforts to be a major diplomatic player, burnishing a reputation severely tarnished by the 2018 killing of Washington Post journalist Jamal Khashoggi.

Saudi state media described the talks as happening at the prince's direction. Like the neighboring United Arab Emirates, the prince has maintained close relations to Russia throughout its war on Ukraine, both through the OPEC+ oil cartel and diplomatically as well.

Saudi Arabia has also helped in prisoner negotiations and hosted Zelenskyy for an Arab League summit in 2023.

But Zelenskyy postponed his own trip to Saudi Arabia scheduled for this week, suggesting that he wanted to avoid his visit being linked to the talks since Ukrainian officials weren't invited. His visit was rescheduled for March 10.

Meanwhile, Russia continued to pummel Ukraine with drones, according to Kyiv's military. The Ukrainian air force said Russian troops launched a barrage of 176 drones at Ukraine overnight, most of which were destroyed or disabled by jamming.

One Russian drone struck a residential building in Dolynska in the Kirovohrad region, wounding a mother and her two children and prompting an evacuation of 38 apartments, the regional administration reported. Four more residential buildings were damaged by drone debris in the Cherkasy region of Ukraine, according to

Ukraine

CONTINUES FROM PAGE A1

diplomatic and economic ties.

And with the third anniversary, groups here in the Pioneer Valley are marking it with panel discussions and demonstrations at the Northampton office of the U.S. Rep. James P. McGovern, D-Worcester.

The Rev. Andriy Krip of Saint Peter and Saint Paul Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ludlow said people in his congregation are reacting to changes in U.S.-Russian or U.S.-Ukrainian relations in different ways.

"There are different moods," Krip said. "Some Republicans. Some are Democrats. We all hope for the good outcome."

Anna Nagurney, the Eugene M. Isenberg Chair in Integrative Studies at Isenberg School of Management at the University of Massachusetts Amherst, said the Ukrainian American community, like the nation, was split in November.

"I believe that many Ukrainian Americans, while expecting some policy shifts, did not anticipate the abrupt shift of the U.S. policy on Russia's war on Ukraine nor did they expect the radical change in the U.S. relationship with its European allies," she said, Ukrainian Americans, like many others in the U.S., are holding their breath as to what comes next. Many are not convinced that the war can be ended with a positive result for Ukraine by just "negotiations" between the U.S. and Russia and without the presence of Ukraine and Europe.'

Nagurney was born in Canada to a family that fled Ukraine after World War II. Ukrainian was her first language and she follows the country closely as a professor on the board at the Kyiv School of Economics.

Nagurney's program here is now into the second year of having exchange students from the Kyiv school with them at UMass Amherst.

"Some have, of course, shared their concerns for the safety of their families and peers back in Ukraine," Nagurney said. "While it goes unmentioned, I'm sure that they all know someone who is serving in the defense of their country. At least one lives roughly the same distance from the frontlines with Russia as Springfield is from Amherst."

The KSE exchange students are doing a panel discussion from 4 to 5 p.m. Feb. 27 in Room 210 of the Isenberg School of Management at UMass.

Calling for negotiations, Massachusetts Peace Action's Ukraine Peace Campaign will parade a "doomsday clock" from noon to 12:45 p.m. Monday, Feb. 2, to McGovern's offices, 94 Pleasant St., Northamp-

"Speakers will focus on the urgent need for peace, for ending the war, and for stopping the risk of it escalating into a direct confrontation between the US/ NATO and Russia, which could become a catastrophic nuclear war," said John Berkowitz, member of Massachusetts Peace Action's Ukraine Peace Campaign, in a news release.

McGovern traveled with a delegation to Ukraine to meet Ukrainian president Volodymyr Zelenskyy in May 2022

extensive contact between the two countries since Moscow's Feb. 24, 2022, invasion. Lavrov and then-U.S. Secretary of State Antony Blinken talked briefly on the sidelines of a G-20 meeting in India nearly two years ago, but tensions remained high.

Concerns from allies they are being sidelined

The recent U.S. diplomatic blitz on the war has sent Ukraine and key allies scrambling to ensure a seat at the table amid concerns that Washington and Moscow could press ahead with a deal that won't be favorable to them.

Kyiv's absence at Tuesday's talks rankled many Ukrainians, and France called an emergency meeting of European Union countries and the U.K. on Monday to discuss the war. Kyiv's participation in such talks was a bedrock of U.S. policy under Biden.

U.S. State Department spokeswoman Tammy Bruce said the talks were aimed at determining how serious the Russians are about achieving peace and whether detailed negotiations can start.

Rubio said Tuesday that there would be "engagement and consultation with Ukraine, with our partners in Europe and others. But ultimately, the Russian side will be indispensable to this effort."

Rubio also said ending the conflict would require concessions from all sides and that Washington "is not going to predetermine" what those concessions would be.

U.S. Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth said last week that NATO membership for Ukraine was unrealistic and suggested Kyiv should

ANALYSIS Courts unlikely to 'save' democracy from Trump, Musk actions

By Maya Sen

The Conversation

State governments, community groups, advocacy nonprofits and regular Americans have filed a large and growing number of federal lawsuits opposing President Donald Trump's barrage of executive orders and policy statements. Some of his actions have been put on hold by the federal courts, at least temporarily.

As a scholar of the federal courts, however, I expect the courts will be of limited help in navigating through this complicated new political landscape.

One problem is that the U.S. Supreme Court in recent years has moved sharply to the right and has approved of past efforts to expand the powers of the presidency. But the problem with relying on the courts for help goes beyond ideology and right-leaning justices going along with a right-leaning president, as happened in Trump's first term.

One challenge is speed: The Trump administration is moving much faster than courts do, or even can. The other is authority: The courts' ability to compel government action is limited, and also slow.

And that doesn't even factor in statements by Trump, Vice President JD Vance and "special government employee" multibillionaire Elon Musk. All three have indicated that they are open to ignoring court rulings and have even

The problem with relying on the courts for help goes beyond ideology and right-leaning justices going along with a right-leaning president, as happened in Trump's first term.

threatened to seek the impeachment of judges who rule in ways they don't like.

Speed

Musk has been put in charge of White House efforts to cut government services, both in spending amount and reach.

Constitutional law is clear: The executive branch cannot, on its own, close or shut down a federal agency that has been in a matter of days. By the established by Congress. That is Congress' job. But Trump and Musk are trying to do so anyway, including declaring that the congressionally established U.S. Agency for International Development will be shut down and turning employees away from the agency's offices in Washington, D.C.

The administration's strategy, it seems, is the longstanding tech-company mantra: 'move fast and break things." The U.S. courts do not — and by design cannot – move equally quickly.

It can take years for a case to wind its way through the lower courts to reach the U.S. Supreme Court. This is by design.

Courts are deliberative in nature. They take into account multiple factors and can

engage in multiple rounds of deliberation and fact-finding before reaching a final ruling. At every stage, lawyers on both sides are given time to make their cases. Even when a case does get to the Supreme Court – as many of these lawsuits likely will – it can take months to be fully resolved. By contrast, Trump's and Musk's actions are happening time a court finally resolves an issue that happened in late January or early February 2025, the situation may have

changed substantially. For an example, consider the effort to shut down the U.S. Agency for International Development. In the space of a week, the Trump administration put most of USAID's workers on administrative leave and halted USAID's overseas medical trials, which included pausing potentially lifesaving treatments.

As of this writing, a district judge has temporarily blocked the order putting USAID workers on leave. But even if the courts ultimately conclude several months from now that the Trump administration's actions regarding USAID were unlawful, it might be impossible to reconstitute the agency

the way it used to be.

For instance, many workers may have been demoralized and sought other employment. New personnel would have to be recruited and trained to replace them. Contracts that were terminated or invalidated or expired would have to be renegotiated. And the countries and communities that had received help from USAID might be less committed to the renewed programs, because of concerns services could be cut off again.

Breadth

When Republicans disagreed with any of Joe Biden's executive actions – for example, his student debt forgiveness plan – they went to federal court to obtain nationwide injunctions stopping the implementation of the plan.

But injunctions will not be as helpful given Trump's recent playbook. A court blocking one order isn't enough to stop the administration from trying different tactics. In 2017, courts blocked the first two versions of Trump's ban on travel to the U.S. from majority-Muslim countriesbut ultimately allowed a third version to take effect. And if an attack on one agency is blocked, the administration can try similar – or different – tactics against other agencies.

The strategy of moving fast and breaking things is successful if the other side -

or even the process of repair can't keep up with all the different strategies. Courts can be part of the strategy to preserve the Constitution, but they cannot be its only defenders.

Authority

Researchers have argued that court-issued injunctions mostly work to stop the government from doing something, not to compel the government into doing something. Judges are already expressing concern that the Trump administration may fail to comply with orders to stop funding freezes.

For instance, a federal district judge in Massachusetts has ordered the government not only to refrain from implementing changes to federal research grant funding but to provide evidence to the court that it was complying with the court's order, immediately and every two weeks until the case is decided.

Another federal judge has already found the administration failed to abide by a court order – but so far has not imposed any consequences on Trump, the administration or other officials.

It's unclear whether Trump would obey Supreme Court rulings against him, either. On the campaign trail, Trump's running mate JD Vance said, "When the courts stop you, stand before the country like Andrew Jackson did and

say, 'The chief justice has made his ruling, now let him enforce it." He also recently remarked that "Judges aren't allowed to control the executive's legitimate power," hinting at strong opposition to rulings the administration disagrees with.

All this doesn't mean the courts are useless, nor that people shouldn't sue to challenge actions they deem illegal or unconstitutional. The courts – and the Supreme Court in particular – exist in part to arbitrate power disputes between Congress and the presidency. As Chief Justice John Marshall said in his landmark 1803 Marbury v. Madison ruling, "It is emphatically the province and duty of the judicial department to say what the law is.'

But the courts alone will not be sufficient. The courts are like an antibiotic on a cut, helping healing and staving off further infection. They cannot keep a grievously wounded patient alive. For this, a robust political strategy is necessary. It is in all Americans' hands collectively to make sure that the constitutional structure is not just enforced, but also sustained.

Maya Sen is a professor of public policy at the Harvard Kennedy School. She wrote this article for The Conversation, a nonprofit news and analysis site, and it is reprinted with permission.