"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

THE WEATHER

Today, breezy, partly cloudy, high 57. **Tonight,** mostly cloudy, breezy, low 48. **Tomorrow,** cloudy, breezy, a couple of afternoon sprinkles, high 55. Weather map appears on Page B12.

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TUESDAY, OCTOBER 28, 2025

Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00

Workers Seek Ways to Stretch A \$0 Paycheck

Shutdown Is Squeezing Federal Employees

By EILEEN SULLIVAN and DREW ATKINS

WASHINGTON — When Jill Hornick woke up on a recent Monday morning, her first thought was that her timecard would be submitted that day for her job with the Social Security Administration in Chicago. But this Monday was different. The federal government was locked in a shutdown, and she received a paycheck for \$0.

"This is the only income I have." she said. "And I just started crying. I had a meltdown."

Ms. Hornick, 59, is one of 730,000 federal employees working without pay because of the impasse. Another 670,000 federal workers are furloughed without pay, according to data from the Bipartisan Policy Center, a Washington think tank.

As the shutdown stretches toward its fifth week, those government employees are confronting an increasingly acute and stressful situation. Their bills are mounting, and there is no clear resolution in sight.

Some are turning to side hustles like delivering food, walking dogs and selling personal items to bring in a bit of income. Others are relying on food banks that have been hastily organized to provide federal workers and contractors with free groceries — efforts that community service providers say reflect a broadening food insecurity caused by the shutdown.

The widespread anxiety is punctuating what has already been a grueling year for federal workers as the Trump administration has raced to shrink and reshape the government, and moved to eliminate hundreds of thousands of jobs.

The last shutdown, which came during President Trump's first term, was the longest ever, lasting 34 full days. The current standoff, which began on Oct. 1, could stretch even longer. There are no negotiations for a deal to reopen the government, which Democrats say must include an agreement to extend expiring subsidies

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HAIYUN JIANG/THE NEW YORK TIMES President Trump this week with Malaysia's prime minister, Anwar Ibrahim, who praised Mr. Trump's willingness to break the rules.

Trump's Son Is Poised to Profit From Drone Plans

By ERIC LIPTON

WASHINGTON — It is a bold plan. A team of defense industry start-ups envisions a new fleet of miniaturized, unmanned aircraft carriers stuffed with autonomous killer drones, antiaircraft missiles and torpedoes that will take on just about any enemy at sea.

And this group pitching the Pentagon comes with an unusual sweetener: close financial ties to President Trump's oldest son, Donald Trump Jr., who is positioned to profit considerably if this ambitious but unproven venture

The proposal by the companies Puerto Rico-based Red Cat, with drone parts supplied by Unusual Machines, based in Orlando, Fla. — reflects the unprecedented role the president's sons are playing, not only as supporters of their father's policies but also as investors in ventures selling to agencies Advising Manufacturer That Won Contract From the Army

Unusual Machines gave Donald Trump Jr. 200,000 shares of its stock late last year in return for his help as an adviser. The shares are now worth about \$2.6 million. Though officials at the company and the Pentagon say Mr. Trump's son has not reached out to the Defense Department on their behalf, he has relationships with some high-level figures there.

Donald Trump Jr. helped screen candidates for top jobs at the Pentagon on behalf of his father after the election. He is also an important and unusually vocal ally of Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth, appearing at events with him at least twice this year.

Don Jr., as he is broadly known,

through these two defense contractors and others he is investing in, has become part of the Beltway military-industrial complex, even as his father is setting policy priorities that are likely to benefit the companies he has invested in.

In a recent podcast, Donald Trump Jr. acknowledged that as he helped screen candidates for Pentagon positions, he pushed to find someone open to investing more money in drones.

"Everyone was like an old F-15 pilot, and that's incredible," he said last month on "Triggered With Don Jr.," his podcast, referring to candidates for top Air Force jobs and the Boeing-made fighter jets he claimed many of them once flew. "But they sort of want to go with what they know, which is, 'We're fighter pilots.' But they are better served with a drone that costs a tiny fraction of that of a plane.'

The push for a different ap-Continued on Page A14

NEWS ANALYSIS

On Asia Tour, Agenda Short On U.S. Ideals

This article is by Katie Rogers, Erica L. Green, Javier C. Hernández and Choe Sang-Hun.

TOKYO — The durability of the American experiment has been tested in the nine months since President Trump's return to the White House, with institutions from Congress to the judiciary struggling or declining to check his aggressive attempts to flout the law and expand his

During Mr. Trump's latest trip abroad, on a six-day sojourn through Asia, he has launched, fists pumping, onto the world stage, chasing a trade deal with China and compelling several other Asian governments to sign economic agreements. Several of the leaders he will encounter this week are autocrats, or are presiding over vulnerable democracies. And some are open fans of his bulldozing approach to governing.

In Malaysia, Prime Minister Anwar Ibrahim praised Mr. Trump's willingness to skirt security protocols by letting him Continued on Page A5

NEWS ANALYSIS

Trump Seeks End of Crisis He Initiated

Trade Pact May Bring China Ties Full Circle

By ANA SWANSON

WASHINGTON — Trump administration officials have hailed the makings of a potential trade deal that could have China buy American soybeans and pause the introduction of its new licensing system on rare earth minerals, while the United States pauses or removes some of its

It remains to be seen what might be agreed when President Trump meets the Chinese leader Xi Jinping this week. But those and the other measures that U.S. officials have mentioned appear to largely restore the relationship to a status quo from earlier this year, before Mr. Trump began his latest trade war with Beijing.

The United States and China have shown their willingness to repeatedly escalate trade tensions and hurt companies that do business across the Pacific, before walking back measures and striking a truce. But the truces have quickly crumbled, calling into question how durable a new agreement would be.

Speaking on ABC News on Sunday, Scott Bessent, the Treasury secretary, said American and Chinese negotiators who met in Malaysia over the weekend had "reached a substantial framework" for the two leaders to discuss when they meet in South Korea on Thursday.

He said that a 100 percent increase in United States tariffs on Chinese exports scheduled for Nov. 1 had been averted, and that China had agreed to delay a rare earths licensing system "for a vear while they re-examine it." The Chinese also agreed to help the United States stop the flow of chemical ingredients used to make illicit fentanyl, and make "substantial agriculture purchases for U.S. farmers," Mr.

Bessent said. Rollins, the secretary of agriculture, praised the planned soybean purchases as "big news." She added, "China's commitment to make substantial purchases of U.S. soybeans brings the market BACK into balance and secures years of prosperity for

Continued on Page A6

RARE EARTHS In the past year, Beijing has tightened its grip on materials needed to make jets, semiconductors and cars, PAGE B1

Weighing Ability and Opportunity in Debate Over Who's 'Gifted

By TROY CLOSSON

In New York City, families sparred over whether a few thousand 4-year-olds should be funneled into gifted education pro-

In Seattle, teachers disagreed on how to improve the dismal enrollment rates of Black and Latino students in schools for gifted pupils, a problem decades in the making.

And in Fairfax County, Va., school leaders wrestled with a thorny question: Should we still label children "gifted"?

Welcome to America's gifted and talented debate. From major cities to suburban districts, the question of how to identify and educate advanced students has emerged in recent years as one of the most volatile issues in public education.

In classrooms across the United States, some children display high-level skills from an early age: first graders who breeze through "Charlotte's Web," or 10year-olds who can tell their friends how to find the circumference of a circle.

More than three million U.S. public school students are estimated to be enrolled in gifted programs. But those programs are a lightning rod, because the divide between who gets in and who is left out often falls along lines of race, income and disability status.



In San Luis, Ariz., students performing above local standards, rather than national, are identified.

Imagine two students: one from an especially affluent household and another whose family lives well below the poverty line. Both perform at the same level in their core classes. Yet the child from the affluent family will be twice as likely to receive gifted services, research shows.

That divergence has generated

federal civil rights complaints accusing big districts such as Los Angeles of failing to provide all children with an equal education.

And it prompts questions about ability and opportunity. Is bias shutting bright children out of gifted education? Are schools measuring academic potential or family privilege? Is a separate

gifted and talented program even the best answer?

"There is no issue in American education that is more fraught," said Thomas Toch, the director of FutureEd, an education think tank at Georgetown University, who called the enrollment disparities a troubling example of "the failure

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Was a Chess Star's Death at 29 Linked to Claims of Cheating?

This article is by Jesse McKinley, Dylan Loeb McClain and Jonathan

Chess has long produced prodigies with complicated personalities, prone to quirks, fierce rivalries and sometimes tortured relationships with the game itself. Daniel Naroditsky, a chess grandmaster, was at once a successor to that lineage and a merry subvert-

A grade-school wizard who topped American rankings for his age at 9 years old, Mr. Naroditsky built a fervent online fan base with a sense of humor and humility about a pastime that has humbled even experts who study its seemingly endless permutations.

"More so than in any other game," Mr. Naroditsky told The New York Times in 2022, "you're going to suck for a while."

On Oct. 20, news of the death of



The grandmaster Daniel Naroditsky built a vast fan base.

Mr. Naroditsky, 29, stunned the same chess world that he had devoted himself to, leading to an outpouring of grief and bitter accusations that another elite player, Vladimir Kramnik, a Russian grandmaster and former world champion, had bullied him.

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SPORTS B8-11

The N.H.L.'s Face in Waiting

Macklin Celebrini is only 19, but many stars say that he is primed to take over from his idol Sidney Crosby.

A World Series at Last

After 36 years in Major League Baseball, Don Mattingly is participating in his first Fall Classic.

INTERNATIONAL A4-10 Calgary's Fight Over Fluoride

A contentious vote to return the mineral to the city's water was supposed to settle a decades-long debate. But both

Defending Against Malaria

sides are as polarized as ever.

Mothers in Uganda carry their babies in cloths that can be treated with mosquito repellent to provide protection. PAGE A10

BUSINESS B1-6

Saudis Aim to Export A.I. The kingdom is pouring money into data centers and working with U.S. and Chinese tech giants.



SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

Vaccine Hesitancy and Pets

Unlike the puppy Cousin, above, some pets have missed crucial shots because of anti-vaccine sentiments.

What's My Sign? Who Knows?

There's a whole constellation of reasons to think that zodiac signs, based on the stars, might be a little bit off. PAGE D8

NATIONAL A11-20

Vance's Positions Keep Flipping The vice president has found himself

defending or promoting positions that he once opposed, even as recently as the campaign.

OBITUARIES A21, 24

Portuguese Prime Minister

Francisco Pinto Balsemão helped shape a fledgling democratic system in the 1980s and championed press freedom. He was 88. PAGE A21

OPINION A22-23

The Editorial Board



ARTS C1-6

Becoming Bruce Springsteen Jeremy Allen White never imagined he'd be performing as the Boss in front of the Boss. But the head-spinning nature of the role has paid off. PAGE C1

