

“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Today, sunshine, patchy clouds, warm, high 84. **Tonight**, clear, becoming cooler, low 58. **Tomorrow**, sunny, breezy, cooler, low humidity, high 73. Weather map, Page B8.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



SAHER ALGHORRA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Desperate Escape From Gaza City
A Palestinian family sought refuge in Khan Younis, Gaza, this week after the latest Israeli offensive forced an exodus. Page A11.

Northeast Bloc Aims to Rebuke U.S. on Health

By JOSEPH GOLDSTEIN
New York and several other Northeastern states are forging a regional public health coalition to issue vaccine recommendations and coordinate public health efforts in a rebuke to the Trump administration's shifts on health policy.
Gov. Kathy Hochul announced New York's involvement in the initiative on Thursday morning.
“By standing with our partners across the Northeast, we are ensuring that New Yorkers have the protection and the information they need to stay safe and healthy,” she said in a statement.
The effort is similar to the West Coast Health Alliance — a bloc of four Democratic-controlled Western states, including California — that issued its own vaccine guidance this week.
Both the Western and Northeastern regional coalitions reflect efforts to shore up public health efforts and give a government stamp of approval to vaccines while federal public health institutions are in retreat.
Like the Western initiative, this one, known as the Northeast Public Health Collaborative, is particularly focused on encouraging widespread vaccination as the federal health secretary, Robert F. Kennedy Jr., wages a broad campaign against vaccines. In recent weeks, the federal government has canceled major contracts for vaccine research and development and imposed restrictions that limit access to updated versions of the coronavirus vaccine.
Ms. Hochul on Thursday said the group of states had jointly decided to issue recommendations for who should receive the most recent coronavirus vaccines: infants and toddlers between 6 and 23 months old and adults older than 19. The recommendations state that healthy children older than 2 years and adolescents may be vaccinated against the coronavirus, and that any children with underlying health conditions should be vaccinated.
“As Washington continues to launch its misguided attacks on science, New York is making it clear that every resident will have access to the Covid vaccine and the health care they rely on,” Ms. Hochul said.
The announcement about the creation of the coalition came on

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A Last Serving of Dim Sum
Metropol, a huge banquet hall in Hong Kong known for its chatty, cart-pushing dim sum “aunties,” is closing. PAGE A4

France Erupts in Social Unrest
Barely a week into the job, Prime Minister Sébastien Lecornu faces political deadlock and financial distress. PAGE A7

NEWS ANALYSIS

Netanyahu’s Split With Generals Grows

By ISABEL KERSHNER
JERUSALEM — Israel's advance on Gaza City is not only dividing the Israeli public but also showcasing extraordinary discord between the military leadership and the elected government at a time of crisis.
Top military and security officials have been at odds with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu recently over three critical policies: his decisions to take over Gaza City, the enclave's main urban center, and to strike at senior Hamas officials in Qatar, and his approach to negotia-

Risky Actions Opposed by Israel’s Military

tions on ending the war.
Mr. Netanyahu's hard-line stance on all three issues has not only deepened his isolation internationally but has also sharpened questions at home about where he is taking Israel. His actions have shaken Israel's strategic relations with Arab states, even as President Trump wants to see those expand, and have prompted condemnation

and sanctions from some traditional allies.
“We are in a unique and unprecedented era in the sense that decision-making on core issues of national security is essentially concentrated in the hands of one person,” said Yohanan Plesner, president of the Israel Democracy Institute, a nonpartisan research group in Jerusalem.
“The norm was that big decisions were taken in consensus between the top political and top military-security leadership,” added Mr. Plesner, a former centrist lawmaker. “So this norm

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JAMES ESTRIN/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Marilyn Hagerty tasted the fare at a Manhattan street cart in 2012.

MARILYN HAGERTY, 1926-2025

Midwestern Critic Found Fame In Review of a National Chain

By PETE WELLS
Marilyn Hagerty, a food columnist who startled the online world with an earnestly detail-oriented and nonjudgmental appraisal of a North Dakota Olive Garden, and who was startled in turn when the review racked up more than one million page views, bringing her national media attention and a book contract, died on Tuesday in Grand Forks, N.D. She was 99.
Her death, in a hospital, was

from complications of a stroke, said her son, the journalist James R. Hagerty.
Ms. Hagerty had been writing The Eatbeat, her restaurant column in The Grand Forks Herald, for 26 years when, in early 2012, she filed her report about the opening of the city's first Olive Garden outlet, part of a local branch of a national Italian restaurant chain where the warm bread

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To Californians, It’s Pocketbooks Vs. Green Ideals

By SOUMYA KARLAMANGLA
California has long prided itself as an environmental trailblazer. It was the first state to set its own vehicle emission rules and the first to outlaw plastic shopping bags.
In 2020, Gov. Gavin Newsom, a Democrat, went so far as to seek a ban on the sale of new gas-powered vehicles by 2035. Standing in front of several electric cars, he warned automakers against being on “the wrong side of history.”
So it surprised environmentalists this year when Mr. Newsom and Democratic lawmakers began backtracking on signature green initiatives. They rebuked the state's coastal preservation commission for regulatory overreach and rolled back the landmark California Environmental Quality Act, better known as CEQA, to address the state's severe housing shortage.
Then, to environmentalists, came the unthinkable: pushing legislation to keep oil refineries open and make oil drilling easier.
“It’s a complete 180,” said Hollin Kretzmann, a lawyer at the Climate Law Institute, part of the nonprofit Center for Biological Diversity, which focuses on protecting endangered species. “It’s become more urgent than ever to rid ourselves of fossil fuels, so it’s really inexplicable why our policymakers in Sacramento are moving the exact opposite way we should be going.”

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TRACY BARBUTES/REUTERS

Splendor and Citizenship
About 70 people gathered at Yosemite National Park to take the oath of allegiance at a naturalization ceremony on Wednesday.

Seeking Asylum in U.S. Lands A Russian Soldier Back Home

By PAUL SONNE and MILANA MAZAEVA
BERLIN — Artyom Vovchenko had been conscripted into the Russian military, escaped in opposition to the war in Ukraine and ultimately made it to the United States, a country he hoped would offer him asylum and a new life.
But last month, he found himself on a layover at the airport in Cairo, frantically trying to avoid boarding a flight to Moscow. The United States was deporting him alongside dozens of other Russians after rejecting his pleas.
As the Egyptian authorities boarded the final people onto the deportation flight, Mr. Vovchenko, 26, loitered in the restroom, possibly hoping he could resist, abscond or somehow be forgotten. He had no such luck.
Egyptian guards pulled him out of the bathroom and roughed him up, leaving him with an injury on his forehead. They marched him onto the flight and to the back of the cabin, tying him to a middle

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MEDIA MEMO

Trump Hits the Media With Everything He Has

Kimmel’s Fall Part of Wider Crackdown

By JIM RUTENBERG
President Trump received thunderous applause during his second inaugural address in January when he vowed to “immediately stop all government censorship and bring back free speech to America.”
It was in keeping with the popular free-speech refrain of his long march out of the political wilderness and his first-term broadsides against “cancel culture,” which he had called “the very definition of totalitarianism.” His message had particular resonance with his supporters. After all, major social media companies banished him and others from their services in the days and weeks after the Jan. 6, 2021, riots.
Yet he is now conducting the most punishing government crackdown against major American media institutions in modern times, using what seems like every tool at his disposal to eradicate reporting and commentary with which he disagrees.
ABC's decision on Wednesday to “indefinitely” suspend Jimmy Kimmel's late-night talk show, for comments the host made about the assassination of the conservative activist Charlie Kirk, illuminates the administration's efficacy so far. Far from decrying the silencing of a comedian, Mr. Trump celebrated what he termed a “cancellation” by declaring it “Great News for America” on Truth Social. He later said networks whose hosts are critical of him should lose their right to broadcast.
The decision comes after multimillion-dollar legal settlements from CBS and ABC in lawsuits filed by Mr. Trump that legal experts had viewed as long shots; after CBS News's agreement to change the way it presents political interviews under administration pressure;

and after an agreement by CBS's newly merged parent company, Paramount Skydance, to appoint an “ombudsman” to hear complaints about its coverage. (The company named for the job a conservative policy veteran.)
“Taken together, the attacks on all of our media institutions is certainly unprecedented in modern American history,” said Victor Pickard, a professor of media policy at the University of Pennsylvania. “I can’t think of any parallel.”
The Kimmel suspension was



EVAN AGOSTINI/INVISION, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

ABC suspended Jimmy Kimmel's talk show on Wednesday.

particularly striking, Professor Pickard said, because it came so quickly after the Federal Communications Commission's chairman, Brendan Carr, a Trump appointee, suggested in unambiguous terms that he could consider punishing the local stations that carried Mr. Kimmel's shows.
Mr. Carr was among those who

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CONTRASTS Barack Obama delivered a rebuke of his successor's approach to politics after the death of Charlie Kirk. PAGE A14

INTERNATIONAL A4-11

NATIONAL A12-21

Medicaid and the Homeless
President Trump's signature domestic policy law could make it harder for states to fund programs that help people find stable housing. PAGE A12

Threats Against Mamdani
A Texas man was charged with harassing the Democratic nominee for mayor in New York City. PAGE A20

OBITUARIES A24, B12

Transforming Nature Into Art
John McQueen used materials like bark from his backyard to create ingenious forms of basketry. He was 82. PAGE B12



Lead or Supporting Actor?
As long as the Phillies keep winning, Bryce Harper, the team's first baseman, doesn't care what you call him. PAGE B7

D.C. Stadium Plan Approved
The \$3.8 billion project is scheduled to bring the Commanders back to Washington by 2030. PAGE B10

BUSINESS B1-6

Nvidia to Buy Stake in Intel
The \$5 billion deal between the rival chipmakers, whose fortunes have diverged sharply, includes plans to collaborate on technology to power artificial intelligence. PAGE B1

No Good Options for the Fed
The central bank is grappling with how quickly to lower interest rates after restarting cuts this week amid mixed economic signals and relentless pressure from the White House. PAGE B1

David Brooks
PAGE A22



Revisiting a Creative Decade
The former gallerist Mary Boone helped curate an exhibition that surveys the art stars of the 1980s, including Basquiat, Haring and others. PAGE C1

