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cloudy, a couple of showers, high 70.

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WEDNESDAY, MAY 28, 2025

Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



In Gaza, a Desperate Quest for Food

Facing starvation, Palestinians on Tuesday surged toward a center that Israel says was designed to circumvent Hamas. Page A10.

# **CITIZENS MAY FEEL MIGRANT AID CUTS**

## Crackdown by G.O.P. on Safety-Net Programs

#### By MADELEINE NGO and LYDIA DePILLIS

President Trump has vowed to end what he calls the "waste of hard-earned taxpayer resources" by cutting off federal benefits for undocumented immigrants and ensuring that funding goes to American citizens in need.

Administration officials have said they would root out "illegal aliens" who are living in federally subsidized housing. The Agriculture Department has ordered states to enhance immigration verification practices used to determine eligibility for food stamps. And House Republicans just passed a tax bill that would to benefits like Medicaid and Medicare, a popular tax credit for parents and federal financial aid.

The actions amount to an aggressive attempt to curb immigrant families' use of safety-net programs. Although Republicans say they want to remove incentives for people to enter the country illegally, unauthorized immigrants generally do not receive federal benefits given efforts to

chip away at their eligibility. Immigration experts and advocates for immigrant rights say the changes would instead largely be felt by children who are U.S. citizens but whose parents are undocumented or immigrants who are authorized to live in the United States, such as refugees and people granted asylum.

Twelve percent of American children, or about nine million people, are citizens with at least one noncitizen parent. Children with at least one immigrant parent are twice as likely to live in poverty as those with native-born parents, according to a 2022 report by researchers at the Boston

University School of Social Work. Continued on Page A17

# More on the White House

**RUSSIA** The president criticized attacks on Ukraine, but has not joined Europe with its newest sanctions. News Analysis. PAGE A6

PARADE The president will get the military celebration he craved on his 79th birthday. PAGE A16

# Kennedy Reverses C.D.C.'s Covid Vaccine Advice

#### By APOORVA MANDAVILLI and CHRISTINA JEWETT

The Covid vaccine will no longer be recommended for healthy children or healthy pregnant women, ending a pandemic-era policy aimed at protecting all Americans from the coronavirus.

Robert F. Kennedy Jr., the health secretary, announced the new policy on Tuesday, saying the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention would drop its yearslong guidance that the vaccine be offered to children 6 months and

He also withdrew the additional recommendation for immunizing pregnant women intended to

# Shot Guidance Ends for Pregnant Women

shield mothers and younger infants, who can be at higher risk of

"I couldn't be more pleased to announce that as of today, the Covid vaccine for healthy children and healthy pregnant women has been removed from the C.D.C. recommended immunization schedule," Mr. Kennedy said in a video he posted on X.

Flanked by Dr. Marty Makary

lead the Food and Drug Administration and the National Institutes of Health, Mr. Kennedy said in the video announcement that there was no clinical data to support additional shots for healthy children. No C.D.C. official appeared in the

Overall, the absolute numbers of children who became seriously ill from Covid are low. Though children with medical conditions would still qualify for the vaccine, it is unclear whether government programs and private insurance will limit coverage for the shots.

Some public health experts immediately denounced the decision, pointing out that the risk of severe disease and hospitaliza-

# Pardon for a Donor's Son After a \$1 Million Dinner

# Tax Cheat Spared by Trump in Time to Avoid Prison and a \$4.4 Million Penalty

#### By KENNETH P. VOGEL

WASHINGTON — As Paul Walczak awaited sentencing early this year, his best hope for avoiding prison time rested with the newly inaugurated president.

Mr. Walczak, a former nursing home executive who had pleaded guilty to tax crimes days after the 2024 election, submitted a pardon application to President Trump around Inauguration Day. The application focused not solely on Mr. Walczak's offenses but also on the political activity of his mother, Elizabeth Fago.

Ms. Fago had raised millions of dollars for Mr. Trump's campaigns and those of other Republicans, the application said. It also highlighted her connections to an effort to sabotage Joseph R. Biden Jr.'s 2020 campaign by publicizing the addiction diary of his daughter Ashley Biden — an episode that drew law enforcement scrutiny.

Mr. Walczak's pardon application argued that his criminal prosecution was motivated more by his mother's efforts for Mr. Trump than by his admitted use of money earmarked for employees' taxes to fund an extravagant lifestyle.

Still, weeks went by, and no pardon was forthcoming, even as Mr. Trump issued clemency grants to hundreds of other allies.

Then, Ms. Fago was invited to a \$1-million-per-person fund-raising dinner last month that promised face-to-face access to Mr. Trump at his private Mar-a-Lago club in Palm Beach, Fla.

Less than three weeks after she attended the dinner, Mr. Trump signed a full and unconditional pardon.

It came just in the nick of time for Mr. Walczak, sparing him from having to pay nearly \$4.4 million in restitution and from reporting to prison for an 18-month sentence that had been handed down just 12 days earlier. A judge had justified the incarceration by declaring

that there "is not a get-out-of-jail-

free card" for the rich. The pardon, however, indicated otherwise. The case of Ms. Fago and Mr. Walczak is the latest example of the president's willingness to use his clemency powers to reward allies who advance his political causes, and to punish his enemies

Mr. Walczak's pardon application was described to The New York Times by a person who received it but was not authorized to

Ms. Fago, Mr. Walczak and his



Paul Walczak's tax crimes funded an extravagant life.

lawyer did not respond to ques-

A White House official echoed the framing in Mr. Walczak's application, asserting in a statement to The Times that he was "targeted by the Biden administration over his family's conservative

Mr. Walczak, 55, joined his mother's nursing home business after dropping out of college, eventually becoming chief executive. After she sold the company in 2007, they invested \$18 million in a new nursing home venture based in South Florida, where they lived

Continued on Page A16

# A Mother's Fear Spurs a Return To Venezuela

# By ANNIE CORREAL

PUERTO OBALDÍA, Panama For Yessica Rojas, the choice was clear. After less than two years in Missouri, she and her two children had to leave.

The reason, she said, were stories about Venezuelan mothers like her that had gone viral on social media. Ms. Rojas heard they had been deported to Venezuela while the American authorities held on to their children.

"It just isn't worth it now," said Ms. Rojas, 29, explaining her decision to leave the United States.

The stories are not just rumors: This year, a Venezuelan 2-year-old called Antonella by her family remained in foster care while her mother was sent back to Venezuela and her father to a prison in El Salvador. (Antonella has since been returned to her family.)

Ms. Rojas left Branson, Mo., the

same week. Episodes like this one have sent shock waves through immigrant communities. accomplishing what the Trump administration's warnings - and even the promise of \$1,000 for those willing to "selfdeport" - alone could not do: They have persuaded at least some migrant parents to leave the United States.

It is not clear how many people have abandoned their American lives since President Trump began his second term. A recent flight carried around 65 people

Continued on Page A8

# Healthy Children and

severe illness

and Dr. Jay Bhattacharya, who

# Continued on Page A20

# 

President Franklin D. Roosevelt in his car leaving Fort Knox, having surveyed the vaults, in 1943.

# Fort Knox Gold Conspiracy's Convenient Return

#### By RICHARD FAUSSET and LEO DOMINGUEZ

It is one of the more baffling story lines of Donald J. Trump's second term. The president has said he wants to personally visit Fort Knox to ensure that no one has stolen the government-owned gold bars that are stored there.

Mr. Trump has not explained why any gold might be missing from the nation's heavily guarded reserves. His own Treasury secre-

## Trump-Allied Investors Are Game to Cash In

tary, Scott Bessent, has insisted that there is no reason to worry. "All the gold is there," Mr. Bessent emphatically told Bloomberg in February, at one point looking directly into a camera and addressing the American people.

Mr. Trump's interest in the gold

reserves has been largely overshadowed by his family's involvement in cryptocurrency ventures, which has raised ethical concerns about potential conflicts of inter-

The president has a long history of embracing conspiracy theories, and is known to be a fan of golden and gilded things. It is difficult to say what exactly is behind his recent fanning of unfounded fears about Fort Knox, which have been

Continued on Page A15

# Cuomo's Critics Say His Agenda Is Like Adams's

# By EMMA G. FITZSIMMONS

In the New York City mayor's race, many of the candidates trying to displace former Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo from his frontrunner status are deploying a new strategy.

They contend that Mr. Cuomo is just like the current mayor, Eric Adams — which, in many New Yorkers' view, is an unflattering comparison.

And yet their similarities keep piling up.

Mr. Adams has steered New York City in a more conservative direction after eight years under the left-leaning Mayor Bill de Blasio. If Mr. Cuomo wins, he is expected to keep the city firmly in the ideological center.

Both are moderate Democrats who delight in attacking the left wing of their party. They have similar plans to get mentally ill people off the streets. They oppose rent freezes and support charter schools. They share more than 200 donors, including powerful real estate leaders.

When Mr. Cuomo recently decided to create his own independent third party to run on an extra ballot line in the general election, Mr. Adams — who is also collecting signatures for a third-party run in November — appeared irritated.

"All he's doing is looking at Eric Adams's playbook," the mayor said earlier this month at City Continued on Page A14



**INTERNATIONAL A4-10** 

# NATO's Arctic Drills

In March, about 10,000 troops from nine countries practiced defending the alliance in Norway's extreme cold. PAGE A7

# **Curbing Rumors in Liverpool**

The police acted swiftly to ensure that speculation would not overtake facts after a car plowed into a crowd. PAGE A9 **NATIONAL A11-17, 20** 

# Congestion Pricing's Changes

Evidence has mounted that the new tolls in New York City have altered traffic patterns and raised money for transit improvements. PAGE A12

# Mining Past Revealed

Sinkholes along Interstate 80 are a legacy of iron mining in New Jersey, which began in colonial times. PAGE A11

SPORTS B6-9

#### N.B.A.'s Dynasty Era Is Over Small-market teams are making a run

for the title. Could that be a problem for the league's business model? PAGE B6



**BUSINESS B1-5** 

# Inside United's Base at Newark

At an airport in crisis, a crew figures out how to get over 600 flights a day to take off and land safely.

#### Trump Media to Buy Bitcoin Companies partly owned by the presi-

dent aim to invest \$2.5 billion in the PAGE B1 cryptocurrency.

# **Ex-Coroner Back in Spotlight**

Thomas Noguchi, 98, who for years served as chief medical examiner in Los Angeles, is featured in the Broadway musical "Dead Outlaw" and in a new documentary about his life.

# When Life Is Still a Cabaret

The latest album from the German-born singer Ute Lemper celebrates the 125th anniversary of the composer Kurt Weill's birth, yoking classics to the language of today's music. PAGE C1

OPINION A18-19 Bill Saporito

PAGE A18



A Quarter-Century of Dining

# From a cupcake cameo on "Sex and the

City" to the arrival of a new crop of neo-bistros, we look at 25 years of tasty moments in New York City.

