

"All the News
That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

VOL. CLXXV No. 60,695

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THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 2025

Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00

KEY JUSTICES CAST A SKEPTICAL EYE ON TRUMP TARIFFS

PRESIDENT'S PRIORITY

Debate Over Power and What Constitutes an Emergency

By ANN E. MARIMOW

WASHINGTON — A majority of Supreme Court justices on Wednesday asked skeptical questions about President Trump's use of emergency powers to impose tariffs on imports from nearly every U.S. trading partner, casting doubt on a centerpiece of the administration's second-term agenda.

The outcome of the case, which could be decided within weeks or months, has immense economic and political implications for U.S. businesses, consumers and the president's trade policy.

Several members of the court's conservative majority, including Justice Amy Coney Barrett and Justice Neil M. Gorsuch, joined the liberal justices in sharply questioning the Trump administration's assertion that it has the power to unilaterally impose tariffs without congressional approval.

Justice Barrett, who is seen as a key vote, questioned the scope of Mr. Trump's reciprocal tariffs, which she described as "across the board."

"Is it your contention that every country needed to be tariffed because of threats to the defense and industrial base?" she asked a lawyer for the administration. "Spain? France? I mean, I could see it with some countries but explain to me why as many countries needed to be subject to the reciprocal tariff policy."

Several justices also noted that Mr. Trump was the first president to claim that the 50-year-old emergency statute allowed the president to impose tariffs.

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HERE TO STAY The administration has plenty of other options for imposing tariffs if the Supreme Court rules against it. PAGE BI

Emboldened Mamdani Cites Mandate to Pursue His Agenda



Zohran Mamdani, New York's mayor-elect, at the Unisphere in Flushing Meadows Corona Park.

VINCENT ALBAN/THE NEW YORK TIMES

G.O.P.'s Economic Edge Vanished, Polls Show

Democrats' Focus on Affordability Paid Off in Wins

Democratic victories in New Jersey and Virginia were built on promises to address the sky-high cost of living in those states while blaming Mr. Trump and his allies for all that ails those places. In New York City, the sudden rise of Mayor-elect Zohran Mamdani, the democratic socialist with an ambitious agenda to lower the cost of living, put a punctuation

mark on affordability as a political force in 2025.

The results on Tuesday came after a drumbeat of polls showing that Mr. Trump and the Republican Party have seen their long-time edge on management of the economy evaporate.

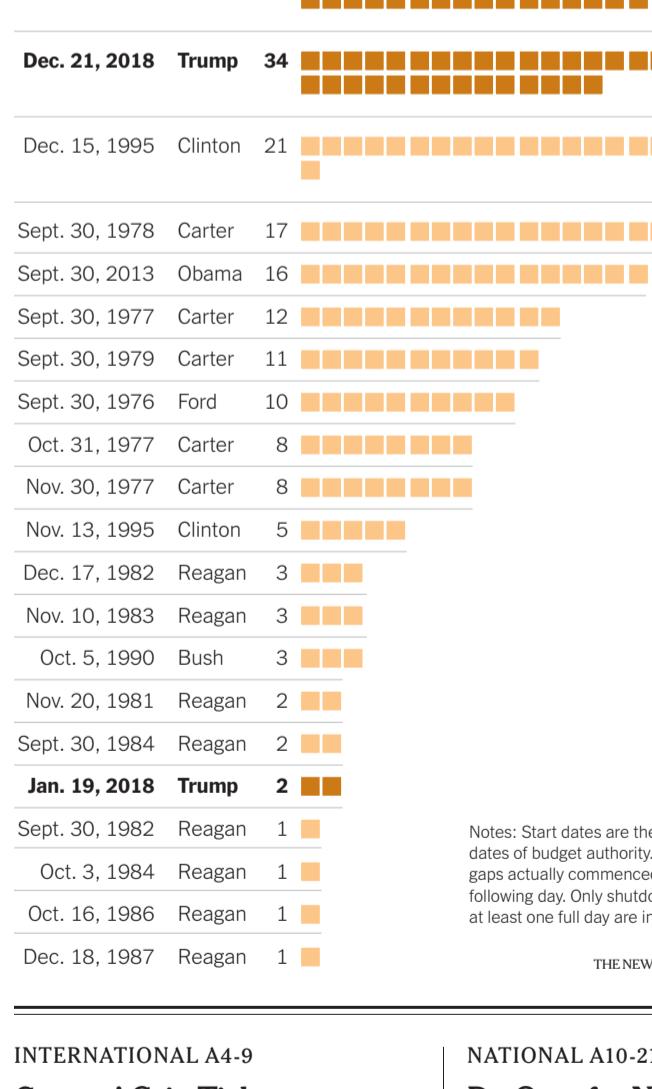
"Exactly one year ago we had that big beautiful victory, exactly one year," Mr. Trump said on Wednesday at a breakfast with Republican senators at the White House. "And last night it was not expected to be a victory — it was very Democrat areas — but I don't think it was good for Republicans."

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WALL STREET Some financiers are vowing to play nice with Zohran Mamdani, while others are seeking to offset some of his plans. PAGE BI

Shutdown Becomes Longest in History

The president suggested the impasse could get more painful. Page A19.



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Hawk for Bush Became a Voice Against Trump

By PETER BAKER

Dick Cheney and Kenneth Adelman were thick as thieves for decades. They worked side by side in Republican administrations, their wives and children were close, their families spent Thanksgiving together, they shared the same wedding anniversary.

Their relationship broke over the Iraq war.

Donald J. Trump brought them back together again.

Iraq, of course, was a defining moment of Mr. Cheney's life in government. Like many Americans, Mr. Adelman supported the war at first, only to grow disenchanted. He and Mr. Cheney stopped speaking for 16 years. Then Mr. Trump came along, and Mr. Cheney and his daughter Liz Cheney spoke out against him. And so, one day, Mr. Cheney and his old friend were on the phone again, putting "the void years," as Mr. Adelman put it, behind them.

Their reconciliation speaks to the complicated place Mr. Cheney occupies in the public life of the nation at this point in its

'Strung Up and Tortured' in Grip of Iraqi Militia

This article is by Adam Rasgon, Isabel Kershner and Ronen Bergman.

RAMAT GAN, Israel — They handcuffed her, hung her up from the ceiling and beat her senseless. They shocked her with electricity and forced her into positions that injured her back and shoulders. When she lost consciousness, they threw water on her face to wake her so the torture could resume.

Elizabeth Tsurkov endured two

Israeli Russian Woman Held for Over 2 Years

and a half years of captivity in Iraq, held in solitary confinement by an Iran-backed militia. Ms. Tsurkov, 38, said it was a marathon of psychological torment, but the most excruciating were the first months, when she suffered beating after beating by her captors, as well as sexual assault.

"They whipped me all over," she said in her first interview since being freed in September. "They basically used me as a punching bag."

Barely able to sit up because of her injuries, Ms. Tsurkov, an Israeli Russian doctoral student at Princeton University, spoke while lying down in a friend's home, the occasional jolt of pain forcing her to shift positions. During hours of interviews with The New York Times, she shared in mostly calm

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'The Whole Place Is Blown Apart'

On Jamaica's southern coast, Hurricane Melissa destroyed an untold number of homes. Page A7.

INTERNATIONAL A4-9

Censors' Grip Tightens

Restrictions on publishers and sellers have grown more severe, but bookstores remain important sources of community in Russia. PAGE A4

Challenge for a Dutch Centrist
Rob Jetten will need to turn his momentum into action to form a government after his center-left party bested the far right in elections last week. PAGE A5

U.S. Military's Nigeria Plans

After social media posts from the president and his defense secretary, officials drafted an array of options to combat Islamist militant groups. PAGE A9

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Do-Over for NASA Nominee

To lead the space agency, the president tapped a man whose nomination he had withdrawn in June. PAGE A24

UPS Jet's Left Engine Detached

Federal safety officials arrived in Kentucky to investigate what led the cargo plane to plunge, killing 11. PAGE A20

Notes: Start dates are the final

dates of budget authority. Funding gaps actually commenced on the following day. Only shutdowns of at least one full day are included.

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Would Pay Deal Drive Musk?

There is an assumption that money is the biggest motivator for all. But economists present a more complex picture of how rewards affect effort. PAGE B1

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Interview With a Literary Titan

John Irving, 83, talks about his 16th novel, President Trump and why he hasn't stopped working. PAGE D1

He's Picturing the 2020s

Sam McKinniss's internet-sourced portraits are in demand. But he says,

"I'm a very nervous person." PAGE D6

SPORTS B6-9

No End in Sight for Dodgers

With Shohei Ohtani under contract for eight more seasons, the champions may be just starting their dynasty. PAGE B8

N.F.L.'s Mexican Soundtrack

A mariachi band infuses Rams games with entertainment that reflects the Los Angeles region's character. PAGE B6

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Recreating an Assassination

In a film about the killing of James A. Garfield, Matthew Macfadyen and Michael Shannon make sparks fly. PAGE C1

A Good Way to Stay Afloat

By sharing details of her seafaring life, a designer found an audience for her game about cleaning up pollution. PAGE C1

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Jamelle Bouie

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THE WEATHER
Today, sunny to partly cloudy, windy, cooler, high 54. Tonight, partly cloudy, low 42. Tomorrow, clouds and limited sunshine, breezy, high 58. Weather map, Page A24.

ARTS C1-8

Tone Shifts After Win

With a Clear Call to Tax the Rich

By EMMA G. FITZSIMMONS

A newly empowered Zohran Mamdani on Wednesday vowed to use his convincing victory in the New York City mayor's race as a mandate to push an ambitious progressive agenda past potential obstacles, from billionaire antagonists to Albany bureaucracy.

In a shift from the mollifying tone he had used for months, Mr. Mamdani made clear that while he would govern for all New Yorkers, he was determined to deliver for those who had been agitating for structural change.

"I'm also looking to be clear about the mandate that we won over the course of this election, and it is a mandate to deliver on the agenda that we ran on," he said in a phone interview on Wednesday afternoon after a celebratory lunch with his progressive ally Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York.

The shift in tone was most striking when it came to his plan to raise taxes on the wealthy. In recent weeks, Mr. Mamdani had conveyed an openness to finding creative ways to pay for his signature policy initiative, universal child care, indicating that he was not necessarily set on raising taxes. There was plenty of revenue in the existing budget, he suggested.

On Wednesday, Mr. Mamdani said his call to tax the wealthy was also about fairness. He said that New Yorkers who had voted for him were eager for billionaires to pay more taxes. On Monday, the day before the election, droves of Mr. Mamdani's supporters marched with him over the Brooklyn Bridge at sunrise, chanting, "Tax the rich!"

"My supporters and our movement are hungry for a politics of consistency — a politics that actually focuses on the needs of working people," Mr. Mamdani said. "I think that our tax system is an example of the many ways in which

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DEMOCRATS Victories in New York, New Jersey, Virginia and elsewhere were decisive, but the party is still rebuilding its brand. PAGE A11

WALL STREET Some financiers are vowing to play nice with Zohran Mamdani, while others are seeking to offset some of his plans. PAGE BI

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