

“All the News  
That’s Fit to Print”

# The New York Times

**THE WEATHER**  
Today, windy, cold, clouds and sun, a few flurries, high 43. **Tonight,** cloudy, brisk, cold, low 37. **Tomorrow,** breezy, clouds and sunshine, high 50. Weather map, Page B12.

VOL. CLXXV . . . . No. 60,700

© 2025 The New York Times Company

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 2025

Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



IMAN AL-DABBAGH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Abudy, a newborn, with his mother near a gas station in Riyadh, the Saudi capital. A rumor said they could get help there.

## Born in Limbo and Trapped in Saudi Arabia

By VIVIAN NEREIM  
and ABDI LATIF DAHIR

RIYADH, Saudi Arabia — If you do not look closely, it is easy to miss the children. They come and go during the day, a handful of boys and girls seeking refuge from the 110-degree heat. But at night, they are always there, their bodies curled up on the median near a gas station in Riyadh, the capital of Saudi Arabia.

The girl in the red dress is Dalia, a bubbly 8-year-old who learned English from YouTube videos. The baby whimpering for milk is Abudy, born 17 days earlier. Nearby is a wide-eyed toddler, still learning to look both ways before crossing the road.

### Children of Unwed Workers From Kenya Are Denied Papers and Health Care

Their mothers, lying beside them, are Kenyan housekeepers and nannies. Their government encouraged workers like them to find jobs in Saudi Arabia and send their savings back to Kenya. They cleaned the houses and cared for the children of Saudi families.

Like so many other Kenyans employed in Saudi homes, they faced abuse, exploita-

tion and neglect. But other women, when they are desperate, can go home.

These women cannot. They had children outside of marriage. And now they are trapped.

In this conservative Islamic kingdom, where an unmarried mother can be jailed for an “illegal pregnancy,” it is as if their children do not exist. Without identification documents, they are banished to the fringes of society. Yet they cannot leave the country, either.

Police officers, shelter workers and diplomats turned the mothers away. Finally, they came to the gas station. It made no sense, but rumor had it that this was the

*Continued on Page A6*

## Supreme Court Will Not Revisit Gay Marriage

By ANN E. MARIMOW

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court on Monday turned down a request that it consider overturning its landmark decision to legalize same-sex marriage a decade ago.

The court, without comment, declined the petition, filed by Kim Davis, a former Kentucky county clerk who gained national attention in 2015 when she defied a court order and refused to issue same-sex licenses because of her religious beliefs.

She had asked the Supreme Court to reverse an order that required her to pay more than \$300,000 to a couple denied a marriage license — and to overturn the same-sex marriage ruling from 2015.

At least four of the nine justices would have needed to vote to hear Ms. Davis’s case and revisit the marriage precedent, a major step that many legal experts had said they were not expecting the court to take.

Still, the justices’ consideration of Ms. Davis’s petition had set off alarms among gay Americans, who were already reeling from the Trump administration’s targeting of programs and funding that benefit L.G.B.T.Q. individuals.

Gay Americans and their allies had been on alert since the Supreme Court’s conservative majority eliminated the nationwide right to abortion after 50 years, showing a willingness to undo longstanding legal precedent. In

*Continued on Page A15*

## The Volunteer Buglers Giving 24-Note Salutes

By DANNY FREEDMAN

COLUMBUS, Miss. — At the end of a parking lot in rural Mississippi, Matthew Burford blew long warm-up tones from his trumpet into a wall of oaks and sweetgums while a familiar knot formed in his stomach. He had done this a couple of hundred times, but the nerves never failed to flare.

“I think they’re getting ready,” Burford said shortly afterward, walking to his place beside a readied grave in a 198-year-old cemetery.

As a few dozen mourners watched, a member of the Air Force approached the casket of a 92-year-old veteran and saluted. Then Burford began to play taps, the solemn bugle call that since the 1800s has been used to herald the end of a day and, in this case, the end of a life.

When his final note crescendoed to a finish, it left a chasm of silence.

It was not a perfect rendition — “a little pitchy,” Burford said later, with a quarter note that cracked near the end. But it was unique in a way that some find vastly superior to the alternative.

If Burford had not driven 115 miles to the cemetery, a recording would have been played instead from a speaker that fits into the bell of a bugle. The device allows taps to be played at every funeral with military honors, as is legally required, but it has also stirred a resistance.

Burford is one of at least 2,500 volunteers who travel to play taps at military funerals, many distressed by the idea of a recording performing the duties. They are tweens and nonagenarians, civil-



WES FRAZER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Matthew Burford, an adjunct literature professor, playing taps at Alabama National Cemetery last month for a veteran’s funeral.

ians and veterans. Some are seasoned musicians with an in-demand skill. Others are lapsed players who felt compelled to restart.

“It’s not like I don’t like the recording,” Burford, a 49-year-old adjunct professor who teaches classic literature at Samford University, said a few weeks before the funeral in Columbus, Miss. “I just feel like our veterans and our soldiers deserve better.”

Since Jan. 1, 2000, most veterans have been eligible to receive funeral honors that guarantee a two-person military honor detail; the folding of a U.S. flag and its presentation to the next of kin;

*Continued on Page A14*

## Rift Among Democrats Puts Congress on Path For Ending Shutdown

### U.S. Again Seeks to Halt Full Food Aid

By TONY ROMM  
and ABBIE VANSICKLE

WASHINGTON — The Trump administration returned to the Supreme Court on Monday in another attempt to halt full federal funding for food stamps, seeking to stymie the nation’s largest anti-hunger program even as the government shutdown neared its end.

As Congress inched toward a deal that would end the record-long stoppage — and provision new funds for nutrition programs — the Trump administration opted to escalate a legal crusade that has already imperiled millions of low-income families’ benefits for weeks.

The administration urged the justices to stop an order issued by a lower court earlier this month, which had required the government to finance benefits in full for the roughly one in eight Americans who receive monthly federal aid to buy groceries.

Despite having ample funds in reserve, President Trump has refused to supply that money, offering a stark contrast with the other ways he has rearranged the budget during the shutdown — including reprogramming billions of dollars to pay the officers conducting mass deportations.

At one point, D. John Sauer, the solicitor general, described the court’s instructions — and its work to interpret the law — as “massively inappropriate.” He claimed that conflicting court orders had sowed “upheaval,” without acknowledging the administration’s role in the chaos. And he claimed that the courts could “affect” the work to end the shutdown, despite the president’s continued absence from any talks.

Yet it remained unclear whether the Supreme Court would even need to rule on the government’s request. The Trump administration acknowledged the possibility in the very opening of its filing, which said the nascent deal in Congress “would end the shutdown and moot this application.”

The request arrived on a day

*Continued on Page A20*

### Plan Doesn’t Extend Health Subsidies

This article is by Ashley Ahn, Michael Gold and Catie Edmondson.

WASHINGTON — The end of the longest government shutdown in U.S. history was in sight on Monday, a day after eight senators who caucus with Democrats broke ranks and provided the votes to advance a plan to fund most federal agencies through January.

Senator John Thune, Republican of South Dakota and the majority leader, urged his colleagues not to “pointlessly” drag out the process after a 60-to-40 vote late Sunday exposed a rift among Democrats but cleared the way for the Senate to move toward a final vote in the coming days.

“People have suffered for long enough,” Mr. Thune said on the Senate floor on Monday.

Despite Mr. Thune’s urgency in the Senate, the government would be unlikely to reopen until mid-week. The package must pass the Senate and then go to the House for its approval before being signed by President Trump.

Speaker Mike Johnson said on Monday that he would give House members, who have been on an extended recess and have not held a vote since Sept. 19, 36 hours to return to Washington after Senate approval. They should begin the process of returning to Capitol Hill “right now,” he said.

The plan did not include Democrats’ central demand — the extension of Affordable Care Act subsidies that are scheduled to expire at the end of the year — an omission that drew an angry backlash from many in the party.

Even so, the votes on Sunday by the eight members of the Democratic caucus suggested there was enough support to end the gridlock that has shuttered the government for more than five weeks, leaving hundreds of thousands of federal workers furloughed, millions of Americans at risk of losing food assistance and millions more facing air-travel disruptions.

The compromise measure includes a spending package that would fund the government

*Continued on Page A18*

**BREAKING RANKS** Of the eight senators who voted with Republicans, two are retiring and none of the others face re-election in 2026. **PAGE A18**

**AFFORDABILITY WORRIES** The Trump administration is straining to regain lost ground on an issue that has buoyed Democrats. **PAGE A19**

PAUL TAGLIABUE, 1940-2025

## N.F.L. Commissioner as Profits And Safety Concerns Mounted

By RICHARD GOLDSTEIN  
and KEN BELSON

Paul Tagliabue, who presided over an era of labor peace, soaring revenues and expansion for the National Football League in his 17 years as commissioner while facing rising concerns over a lack of minority hiring, the effects of concussions and the use of drugs, died on Sunday at his home in Chevy Chase, Md. He was 84.

The cause was heart failure, said his daughter Emily Rockefeller, who added that he had also had Parkinson’s disease.

Mr. Tagliabue succeeded Pete Rozelle in November 1989 after spending 20 years as the league’s outside legal counsel, working mostly on antitrust cases but advising on many other issues as well.

He moved quickly on two fronts: the N.F.L.’s troubled labor



BARTON SILVERMAN/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Paul Tagliabue’s tenure brought labor peace and hefty TV deals.

relations and the impending renewal of its network television contracts.

The league had been hit with a pair of player strikes in the 1980s and had resorted to fielding “replacement” players in the early

*Continued on Page A24*



INTERNATIONAL A4-12

### Street Party for Juan Gabriel

Over 170,000 folled Mexico City’s central plaza to watch footage of a landmark concert. The icon died in 2016. **PAGE A9**

### From ISIS to the White House

Ahmed al-Shara has shed his Islamic State ties to lead Syria’s government and emerge as a statesman. **PAGE A8**

NATIONAL A13-21

### Treatment for the Mentally Ill

A former Goodwill store in San Francisco now houses an urgent care clinic for people experiencing mental health breakdowns in public. **PAGE A13**

### Trump Pardons Giuliani

Clemency is granted to a wide array of people accused of trying to overturn the results of the 2020 election. **PAGE A16**

OBITUARIES A24, B11

### An N.B.A. Hall of Famer

Lenny Wilkens was cited as one of the league’s 50 greatest players and one of its top 10 coaches. He was 88. **PAGE B11**



BUSINESS B1-6

### Taste of Home, With Tariffs

For immigrant communities from countries with especially high duties, food costs have risen sharply. **PAGE B1**

### Big Food Fights Kennedy

A new industry group favors federal control of food dye and labeling laws, setting off the MAHA coalition. **PAGE B1**

SPORTS B7-10

### Fading Into Career Sunset

Mike Trout was a three-time M.V.P. Injuries, the Angels’ playoff drought and his lack of self-marketing have dimmed his star. **PAGE B7**

SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

### Minding the Organoids

Lab-grown “reductionist replicas” of the human brain are helping scientists better understand fetal development and cognitive disorders. **PAGE D1**

OPINION A22-23

### Jonathan Darman

**PAGE 22**



ARTS C1-6

### King Tut, Reigning Supreme

The most anticipated exhibition to be found in Egypt’s newly opened Grand Museum features 5,500 items from the tomb of King Tutankhamen. **PAGE C1**

