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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



NEW YORK Volunteers distributing groceries in Manhattan. The latest order in the feud over food stamp benefits came from the Agriculture Department on Saturday.



NEW JERSEY An event in Leonia last week helped federal workers and Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program beneficiaries during the government shutdown.



OKLAHOMA Lining up for food in Tulsa on Thursday after a lapse in SNAP benefits. The food stamp program is federally funded but largely managed by states.



TEXAS Loading bags of potatoes for distribution in San Antonio. Roughly one in eight Americans depends on monthly federal assistance to purchase groceries.

MORE TAX BREAKS FOR THE WEALTHY

I.R.S. Quietly Retracting Limits on Loopholes

By JESSE DRUCKER

With little public scrutiny, the Trump administration is handing out hundreds of billions of dollars in tax cuts to some of the country's most profitable companies and wealthiest investors.

The Treasury Department and Internal Revenue Service, through a series of new notices and proposed regulations, are giving breaks to giant private equity firms, crypto companies, foreign real estate investors, insurance providers and a variety of multinational corporations.

The primary target: The administration is rapidly gutting a 2022 law intended to ensure that a sliver of the country's most profitable corporations pay at least some federal income tax. The provision, the corporate alternative minimum tax, was passed by Democrats and signed into law by President Joseph R. Biden Jr. It sought to stop corporations like Microsoft, Amazon and Johnson & Johnson from being able to report big profits to shareholders yet low tax liabilities to the federal government. It was projected to raise \$222 billion over a decade.

But the succession of notices the Treasury and I.R.S. have issued beginning this summer means the tax could bring in a fraction of that.

These breaks come in addition to the roughly \$4 trillion package of tax cuts that President Trump signed into law in July. The legislation, passed entirely by Republicans, heavily benefits businesses and the ultrawealthy. It is projected to add trillions of dollars to the federal deficit and came with steep cuts to health care for older people and food stamps for the poorest Americans.

With its various tax relief provi-

A Proposed Two-Headed Coin Would Always Come Up 'Trump'

By DAN BARRY

Nearly a century ago, the United States paused its 1920s roar to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the country's birth. There were speeches, a Philadelphia flop of a World's Fair, more speeches and a commemorative coin mostly remembered now as a numismatic misfire.

The 1926 coin featured the long-dead first president, George

Washington, beside the very-much-alive current president, Calvin Coolidge, whose appearance broke with American convention not to depict a sitting president on money. The custom was inspired by Washington himself, who was so anti-monarchical he could have coined the phrase "No Kings."

The Washington-Coolidge half-dollar is the only American coin to feature a sitting president. But not

obverse, in a profile partly eclipsing the word LIBERTY; and on the reverse, his fist raised below the words FIGHT FIGHT FIGHT.

The very idea of such a coin reflects the national divide over the Trump presidency. Is depicting the current president on money a pitch-perfect way to celebrate the Declaration of Independence, the world-altering denunciation of royal tyranny? Or is it a tone-deaf

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Breaking Norm Set by Anti-King Founders

for long. The Treasury Department recently announced plans to celebrate the country's 250th anniversary in 2026 with a one-dollar coin depicting President Trump. In a draft rendering, he appears twice, and alone: on the

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U.S. TELLS STATES TO 'UNDO' MOVES ON FOOD STAMPS

FULL AID IN DEEP DOUBT

Trump Officials Threaten Severe Penalties for Freeing Up Funds

By TONY ROMM

WASHINGTON — The Trump administration told states that they must "immediately undo" any actions to provide full food stamp benefits to low-income families, in a move that added to the chaos and uncertainty surrounding the nation's largest anti-hunger program during the government shutdown.

The Agriculture Department issued the command late Saturday in a memo, which The New York Times later viewed. That guidance threatened to impose harsh financial penalties on states that did not "comply" quickly with the new federal orders.

The memo surprised, vexed and frustrated many state leaders, and by Sunday, some had begun to explore their legal options to prevent any further disruptions to the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, or SNAP. But the Trump administration held firm in its refusal to fund food stamps in full, telling a court in a strongly worded filing that states would be "responsible for the consequences" of their actions.

Caught in the middle were the roughly one in eight Americans who depend on monthly federal assistance to purchase groceries — aid that has been imperiled for days in a record-long shutdown. Multiple lawsuits to loosen that money remained unresolved, leaving many families at growing risk of hunger and financial hardship.

Some of the 42 million people enrolled in SNAP began to receive their full benefits on Friday, after a federal judge ordered the Trump administration to fully fund the program this month amid the shutdown. New York, Oregon, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin were among states that raced to release the aid to residents, some of whom had been without nutrition assistance for days.

Soon after, though, the Supreme Court temporarily paused the judge's order so that an appeals court could further review it, leaving the entire program in legal limbo.

That review was still underway by Sunday night, and the outcome could determine whether the government must tap its ample reserves — totaling into the tens of billions of dollars — to preserve

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New Chatbots, Forged in Bias, Tangle What Is Fact or Fiction

By STEVEN LEE MYERS and STUART A. THOMPSON

Enoch, one of the newer chatbots powered by artificial intelligence, promises "to 'mind wipe' the pro-pharma bias" from its answers. Another, Arya, produces content based on instructions that tell it to be an "unapologetic right-wing nationalist Christian A.I. model."

Grok, the chatbot-cum-fact-checker embedded in X, claimed in one recent post that it pursued "maximum truth-seeking and helpfulness, without the twisted priorities or hidden agendas plaguing others."

Ever since they burst onto the scene, A.I.-powered chatbots like OpenAI's ChatGPT, Google's Gemini and others have been pitched as dispassionate sources, trained on billions of websites, books and articles from across the internet in what is sometimes described as the sum of all human knowledge.

Those chatbots remain the most popular by far, but a suite of new ones are popping up to claim that they, in fact, are a better

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More on the White House

'CONSPIRACY' A federal inquiry into a former C.I.A. director was moved to Florida amid dozens of new subpoenas. PAGE A20

FLIGHT CUTS Disruptions for travelers at U.S. airports are expected to worsen this week as the shutdown continues. PAGE A15

His Food Delighted. His Robberies Confounded.

By CORINA KNOLL

On a warm May morning in 2018, a man with a graying beard sidled into a Citibank in Orinda, a suburb in Northern California. He was over six feet tall and burly, but it was the way he was dressed that stood out. Black hoodie, sunglasses, latex gloves. And he carried a duffel bag.

"I knew exactly what he was doing," recalled Kamyar Amintaheri, a manager of the bank at the time. "I told my banker to hit the alarm

BB gun. Mr. Amintaheri assured him that a teller would cooperate. "I said, 'It's OK, hold the gun at me,' and I talked him through it. You could tell he was nervous."

The man made off with about \$18,000, driving away in a 1997 black Mercedes. The authorities managed to track him down that same day.

His name was Valentino Luchin. He was 54 years old and a resident of nearby Lafayette.

He was also an acclaimed chef.

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A typhoon's remnants eroded an Alaska archaeological site and brought thousands of artifacts washing ashore. Residents are hoping to recover them before it's too late. Page A10.



Valentino Luchin, a celebrated Italian chef, hit up one bank. Then three more.

— we're getting robbed!

When the man approached, he was visibly shaking as he held up what would later be identified as a

SPORTS D1-8

Russian Stars Winding Down

As their hockey careers near the end, Alex Ovechkin and Evgeni Malkin have intertwined legacies.

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Many Climbs in Little Time

Kilian Jornet wanted to summit 72 of the tallest peaks in the contiguous U.S. He gave himself a month.

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Lamenting Erosion of Culture

The rerouting of the Penn Center Heritage Day Parade in South Carolina has upset the community it celebrates, the Gullah Geechee people.

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Rise of 'Fertility Awareness' Fueled by the MAHA movement, social conservatives are objecting to hormonal birth control methods while promoting "natural" alternatives.

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Dot of Blue in a Sea of Red

Residents of Boise, Idaho, worry that the statewide dominance of Republicans is encroaching on the Democratic stronghold's independence.

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INTERNATIONAL A4-8

Jamaica's Solar Switch Pays Off

People with rooftop panels — a growing group in the past decade — have electricity after a disastrous hurricane, and help their neighbors.

PAGE A4

An Oasis for Gay Russians Argentina has emerged as a prominent destination for escaping President Vladimir V. Putin's escalating repression of L.G.B.T.Q. people.

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Ostrich Cull Draws Criticism

The birds, exposed to the avian flu, were killed after Canada's Supreme Court refused to hear an appeal and rescue efforts fell short.

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ARTS C1-6

A Not-So-Charming Prince

The new stage musical "Purple Rain," inspired by his 1984 movie, comes off as disorienting, our writer says.

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Always Grasping for More In 'The Queen of Versailles,' Kristin Chenoweth plays a woman who has it all — and it still isn't enough.

PAGE C1

Dot of Blue in a Sea of Red

Residents of Boise, Idaho, worry that the statewide dominance of Republicans is encroaching on the Democratic stronghold's independence.

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BUSINESS B1-6

Nailing Down Cost of College

Niche is the latest company to help families predict what they might pay. If only schools would do more.

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An Online Role in 'Brain Rot' A.I. search tools, chatbots and social media are associated with lower cognitive performance, studies say.

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OPINION A18-19

David French

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