

“All the News  
That’s Fit to Print”

# The New York Times

**THE WEATHER**  
Today, cloudy, cooler, a passing shower, high 59. **Tonight**, cloudy, a shower, low 50. **Tomorrow**, occasional rain, increasing winds, high 61. Weather map is on Page A17.

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OKSANA PARAFENIUK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**Ukrainian Family’s Life Is Shattered**  
A drone strike killed Serhii Haidarzhý’s wife and 4-month-old son. He and their 2-year-old daughter, Lizi, above, survived. Page A8.

## Britain Limits Gender Drugs For Children

**By AZEEN GHORAYSHI**  
The National Health Service in England started restricting gender treatments for children this month, making it the fifth European country to limit the medications because of a lack of evidence of their benefits and concern about long-term harms. England’s change resulted from a four-year review released Tuesday evening by Dr. Hilary Cass, an independent pediatrician. “For most young people, a medical pathway will not be the best way to manage their gender-related distress,” the report concluded. In a related editorial published in a medical journal, Dr. Cass said the evidence that youth gender treatments were beneficial was “built on shaky foundations.”

The N.H.S. will no longer offer drugs that block puberty, except for patients enrolled in clinical research. And the report recommended that hormones like testosterone and estrogen, which spur permanent physical changes, be prescribed to minors with “extreme caution.” (The guidelines do not apply to doctors in private practice, who serve a small fraction of the population.) England’s move is part of a broader shift in northern Europe, where health officials have been concerned by soaring demand for adolescent gender treatments in recent years. Many patients also have mental health conditions that make it difficult to pinpoint the root cause of their distress, known as dysphoria.

In 2020, Finland’s health agency restricted the care by recommending psychotherapy as the primary treatment for adolescents with gender dysphoria. Two years later, Sweden restricted hormone treatments to “exceptional cases.”

In December, regional health authorities in Norway designated youth gender medicine as a “treatment under trial,” meaning hormones will be prescribed only to adolescents in clinical trials. And in Denmark, new guidelines being finalized this year will limit hormone treatments to transgender adolescents who have experienced dysphoria since early childhood.

Several transgender advocacy  
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## Dr. Bob Knows Age’s Toll. He Looks in the Mirror.

**By ELI SASLOW**  
ORTONVILLE, Minn. — He had become the local expert on what he called the “unwanted side effects of old age,” so Dr. Bob Ross, 75, rubbed arthritis cream onto his hands and walked into an exam room to see his seventh elderly patient of the day. He had been a doctor in the remote town of Ortonville for nearly five decades, caring for most of its 2,000 residents as he aged alongside them. He delivered their children, performed their high school physicals, tended to their workplace injuries and now specialized in treating the wide-ranging symptoms of what it meant to grow old in America. “What’s hurting you most today?” he asked Nancy Scoblic, 79. “Let me take out my list,” she

### At 75, He’s Wondering if Biden and Trump Can Say the Same

said. “Sore knees. Bad lungs. I’ve got a spot on my leg and pain in my shoulder. Basically, if it doesn’t hurt now, it’ll probably hurt later.” She’d known him for most of her life, first as Bobby, whom her family sometimes babysat, then as Bob in high school, and now as Dr. Bob — the physician who had cared for her grandparents and also her grandchildren, and whom almost everyone in Ortonville entrusted with their most vulnerable moments. It was behind the closed door of Dr. Bob’s exam room where hun-

dreds of people filled out their advance directives, took cognitive evaluations and tested out their new walkers and hearing aids. It was Dr. Bob who delivered bad news with a farmer’s directness and then sat with families around a hospice bed for hours when the only thing left to do was to pray. Most of his patients were white, geriatric and still largely self-sufficient — members of the same demographic as the country’s two leading presidential candidates in the 2024 election, 81-year-old Joe Biden and 77-year-old Donald Trump. The conversations at the heart of an election cycle were the same ones unfolding inside Bob’s office: What were the best ways to slow the inevitable decline of the human body? How did aging impact cognition? When was it  
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PHOTOGRAPHS BY ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Dr. Bob Ross, at left and with a patient at right, has books listing over 1,500 babies he has delivered.

## G.O.P. States Split on Taking Summer Food Aid

**By JASON DePARLE**  
WASHINGTON — The governor was firm: Nebraska would reject the new federal money for summer meals. The state already fed a small number of children when schools closed. He would not sign on to a program to provide all families that received free or cut-rate school meals with cards to buy groceries during the summer. “I don’t believe in welfare,” the governor, Jim Pillen, a Republican, said in December.

### U.S. Is Offering to Help Fight Child Hunger

A group of low-income youths, in a face-to-face meeting, urged him to reconsider. One told him she had eaten less when schools were out. Another criticized the meals at the existing feeding sites and held a crustless prepackaged sandwich to argue that electronic benefit cards from the new federal program would offer better food

and more choice. “Sometimes money isn’t the solution,” the governor replied. A week later, Mr. Pillen made a U-turn the size of a Nebraska cornfield, approving the cards and praising the young people for speaking out. “This isn’t about me winning,” he said. “This is about coming to the conclusion of what is best for our kids.” Mr. Pillen’s extraordinary reversal shows the conflicts shaping red-state views of federal aid:  
*Continued on Page A14*

## Kushner Builds On Ties Forged As Trump Aide

### Fund Financed Mostly by Foreign Investors

*This article is by Eric Lipton, Jonathan Swan and Maggie Haberman.*  
SUNNY ISLES BEACH, Fla. — Jared Kushner’s investment fund is not especially large by global finance standards. But as he gets it fully up and running, each step is bringing with it ethical issues that would only grow if his father-in-law, Donald J. Trump, should win another term as president. His \$3 billion fund is financed almost entirely from overseas investors with whom he worked when he served as a senior adviser in the Trump White House. He has taken money from government wealth funds in Saudi Arabia, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates, as well as from Terry Gou, a founder of Foxconn, the Taiwan-based electronics manufacturer, whose role in Mr. Kushner’s firm has not been previously disclosed. In total, 99 percent of the money placed with him by investors has come from foreign sources, according to a filing with the Securities and Exchange Commission in late March.

Mr. Kushner’s firm, Affinity Partners, is collecting approximately \$40 million a year in management fees from those investors even before any share of profits earned on investments. He has made 10 investments to date, totaling \$1.2 billion, many of them in companies based abroad.

The investments include stakes in the Shlomo Group, an Israeli car-leasing and financing company; Dubizzle Group, a Dubai-based online real estate site; EGYM, a Munich-based electronic fitness company; Mosaic, a California-based solar lending site; and Zamp, an Abu Dhabi-backed fast food company that operates more than 1,000 restaurants in Brazil.

Other investments include two insurance businesses and a software company. The foreign transactions — previously unseen in scale and speed for a former White House adviser — are bringing fresh scrutiny as Mr. Kushner’s father-in-law again seeks the White House and control over American foreign policy. Mr. Kushner’s business partner in the car-leasing firm is part owner of Israel’s only domestic builder of warships, putting him in business with executives who are also major shareholders in an Israeli military contractor whose vessels have been used in the war in Gaza, armed with American-made weapons.  
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## IRAN IS FLOODING THE WEST BANK WITH WEAPONS

### AIM IS INCITING UNREST

### Smugglers Said to Funnel Wide Range of Arms to Palestinians

*This article is by Farnaz Fassihi, Ronen Bergman and Eric Schmitt.*  
Iran is operating a clandestine smuggling route across the Middle East, employing intelligence operatives, militants and criminal gangs, to deliver weapons to Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied West Bank, according to officials from the United States, Israel and Iran. The goal, as described by three Iranian officials, is to foment unrest against Israel by flooding the enclave with as many weapons as it can. The covert operation is now heightening concerns that Tehran is seeking to turn the West Bank into the next flashpoint in the long-simmering shadow war between Israel and Iran. That con-



LOUAI BESHARA/AFP — GETTY IMAGES

The rubble of an Iranian Embassy annex in Syria last week.

flict has taken on new urgency this month, risking a broader conflict in the Middle East, as Iran vowed to retaliate for an Israeli strike on an embassy compound that killed seven Iranian armed forces commanders. Many weapons smuggled to the West Bank largely travel along two paths from Iran through Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Israel, the officials said. As the arms cross borders, the officials added, they change hands among a multinational cast that can include members of organized criminal gangs, extremist militants, soldiers and intelligence operatives. A key cog in the operation, the Iranian officials and analysts said, consists of Bedouin smugglers who carry the weapons across the border from Jordan into Israel.  
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## A 160-Year-Old Ban on Abortion Is Reinstated by Arizona Justices

**By JACK HEALY and KELLEN BROWNING**  
PHOENIX — Arizona’s highest court on Tuesday upheld an 1864 law that bans nearly all abortions, a decision that could have far-reaching consequences for women’s health care and election-year politics in a critical battleground state. “Physicians are now on notice that all abortions, except those necessary to save a woman’s life, are illegal,” the court said in a 4-to-2 decision. But the court, whose justices are all Republican appointees, also put its ruling on hold for the moment and sent the matter back to a lower court for additional arguments about the law’s constitutionality. Abortion providers said they expected to continue performing abortions through May as their lawyers and Democratic lawmakers searched for new legal arguments and additional tactics to delay the ruling. The ruling immediately set off a political earthquake. Democrats condemned it as a “stain” on Arizona that would put women’s lives at risk. Several Republicans, sensing political peril, also criticized the ruling and called for the Republican-controlled Legislature to repeal it. The decision from the Arizona Supreme Court concerned a law that was on the books long before Arizona achieved statehood. It outlaws abortion from the moment of conception, except when necessary to save the life of the mother, and it makes no exceptions for rape or incest. Doctors prosecuted under the law could face fines and prison terms of two to five years. Planned Parenthood Arizona,  
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**INTERNATIONAL A4-8**  
**A Politician’s Meteoric Rise**  
Simon Harris, 37, was confirmed as the youngest premier in Irish history. His time in office could be short. *PAGE A4*

**Swiss Lose Major Climate Case**  
An international court ruled the government’s failure to meet an emissions goal was a human rights violation. *PAGE A7*

**NATIONAL A9-19**  
**Parents of Shooter Sentenced**  
Jennifer and James Crumbley, whose son killed four people at a Michigan high school, were each sentenced to 10 to 15 years in prison. *PAGE A10*

**New York to Settle Rikers Suit**  
Nicholas Feliciano tried to hang himself in a jail cell as more than half a dozen correction officers stood by. *PAGE A11*

**FOOD D1-8**  
**Debunking 5 Kitchen Myths**  
Our writer digs into common misconceptions about salting pasta water, browning meat and more. *PAGE D1*



**ARTS C1-6**  
**Becoming Jane Goodall**  
An immersive spectacle is going up in Africa, allowing visitors to experience the chimp expert’s discoveries. *PAGE C1*

**The Lure of Culture**  
The pandemic was tough on city centers and cultural institutions. What does that mean for Los Angeles? *PAGE C1*

**OBITUARIES A20-21**  
**Man Behind the ‘God Particle’**  
Peter Higgs envisioned a particle that helped explain the universe. After it was discovered decades later, he received a Nobel. He was 94. *PAGE A21*

**BUSINESS B1-6**  
**F.A.A. Looks Into 787 Claims**  
A Boeing engineer has reported that sections of the plane’s body are being assembled in a way that could weaken the aircraft over time. *PAGE B1*

**OPINION A22-23**  
**Bret Stephens** *PAGE A23*



**SPORTS B7-11**  
**A Modern Camelot**  
Connecticut’s back-to-back national titles have come at a time when mass parity is flattening the landscape of men’s college basketball. *PAGE B7*

