

“All the News  
That’s Fit to Print”

# The New York Times



SAHER ALGHORRA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**Hunger Is Just One Danger**  
Hundreds of Palestinians have been killed near aid hubs set up under a new Israel-backed system, Gaza health officials say. Page A8.

## Gay Marriage Is Turning 10. Will It Hit 11?

By ADAM NAGOURNEY  
and JEREMY W. PETERS

Could same-sex marriage be next?

Gay Americans and their allies have much to celebrate on Thursday, the 10th anniversary of Obergefell v. Hodges, the Supreme Court decision that legalized same-sex marriage nationwide.

Same-sex marriage has, by almost every indication, become ingrained in everyday American life. Since the decision, there have been 591,000 same-sex marriages, and today, nearly two-thirds of Americans approve of the policy. Same-sex couples are staples in contemporary movies and television shows, and reside, often with their children, in small towns, cities and suburbs all across America.

But advocates of gay rights are approaching this anniversary with trepidation as much as celebration.

Led by the Trump administration, conservatives are pushing to eliminate protections and programs for L.G.B.T.Q. people. And three years ago this month, the justices overturned Roe v. Wade and eliminated the constitutional right to abortion, demonstrating that this Supreme Court is willing to jettison five decades of precedent.

Among Republicans, support for same-sex marriage has dropped significantly — to 41 percent last month, from 55 percent in 2021, according to a Gallup poll. The finding reflects the Republican

Continued on Page A17

## Usha Vance’s New Life in Trump’s Washington

By ELISABETH BUMILLER

WASHINGTON — She has settled her three children into new schools, set up play dates and overseen the childproofing of her 9,000-square-foot home.

She takes the children to the second lady’s office overlooking the Washington Monument, attends Mass with her family in the Virginia suburbs and hikes on wooded trails around Washington, the Secret Service in tow.

She has a warm relationship with the president of the United States, who marvels over her academic credentials and tells her she is beautiful, a senior administration official said. She gets along with Melania Trump, the first lady.

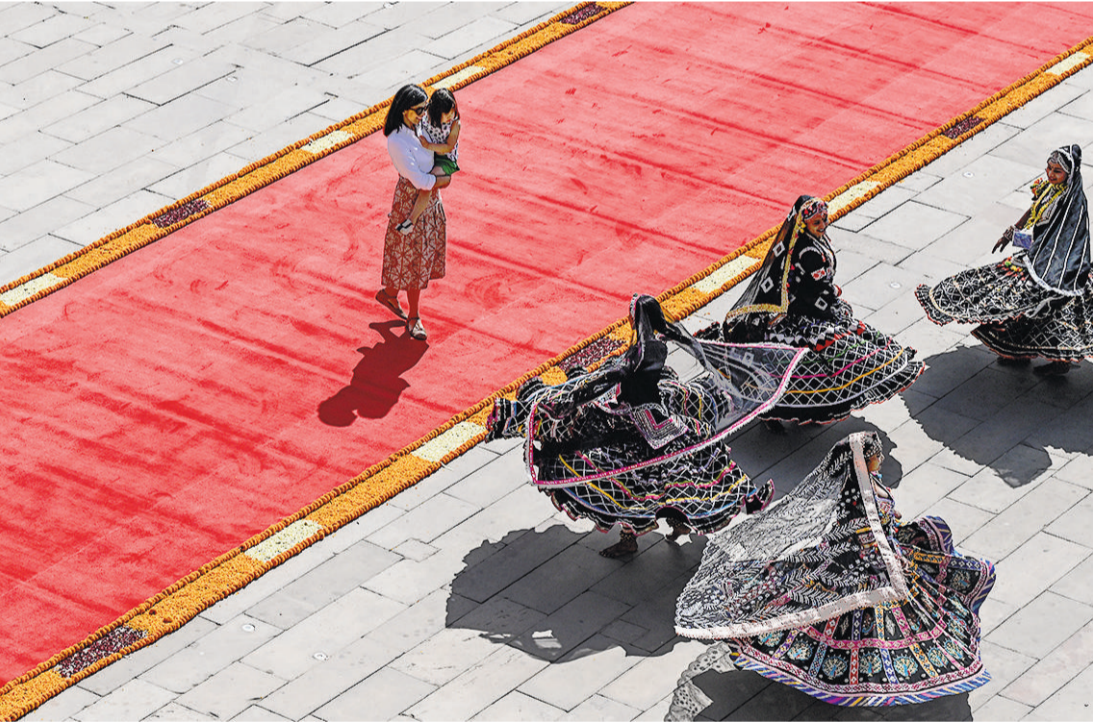
### Model of a Pro-Family Movement Backed by Her Husband

Less than a year ago, Usha Vance, onetime Democrat and the daughter of immigrants, was living a radically different life as a litigator for a progressive law firm while raising her children in Ohio. Many old friends are bewildered by her transformation. She may be the wife of the vice president, they say, but she must be appalled by the Trump administration’s attacks on academia, law firms, judges, diversity programs and immigrants.

Others say she likes the respite from her legal career and the glamour and influence of her new role. (Ms. Vance, who clerked for Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr., and was a top editor on The Yale Law Journal, referred to herself at a recent public appearance as a “former lawyer.”) She always supported her husband’s ambitions, they note, even if she did not necessarily share them. People close to the vice president, who went from being a vocal critic of now-President Trump to his running mate, argue that Ms. Vance went on a similar but less public journey that soured her on the left.

Either way, colleagues say, she is a model, at least for now, of a movement embraced by the

Continued on Page A14



KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Usha Vance, the second lady, and her daughter watched a performance in Jaipur, India, in April.

## Mamdani’s New York Ascent Spotlights a Rift Among U.S. Jews

By KATIE GLUECK  
and LISA LERER

New York’s annual parade celebrating Israel has been a standard stop for the state’s politicians for the last 60 years, drawing in governors, senators and every mayor since Robert F. Wagner to pay their respects to the Jewish community.

Now, as Israel’s standing in the United States has fallen precipitously since the Gaza war, New York City Democrats appear

likely to nominate a mayoral candidate who does not shy away from his record of anti-Israel activism, underlining an extraordinary departure from past mayors and from current Democratic leadership in Washington.

Assemblyman Zohran Mamdani’s success in the city with the largest Jewish population in the world offered the starkest evidence yet that outspoken opposition to Israel and its government — and even questioning its existence as a Jewish state — is in-

### Fear That Antisemitism Will Be Brushed Off

creasingly acceptable to broader swaths of the party, even in areas where pro-Israel Jews have long been a bedrock part of the Democratic coalition.

Some surveys showed Mr. Mamdani winning as many as one in five Jewish Democrats, with supporters including Brad Land-

er, the city’s comptroller, who also ran for mayor and encouraged his supporters to back Mr. Mamdani through a cross-endorsement. And on Wednesday, Representative Jerrold Nadler, one of the city’s most prominent Jewish leaders, endorsed Mr. Mamdani, saying they would work together “to fight against all bigotry and hate.”

But for other Jews around the country who were already struggling with their place in the pro-

Continued on Page A19

## Panel Reversal Is Early Signal In Vaccine Shift

### Flu Shot Vote Echoes Kennedy Skepticism

By APOORVA MANDAVILLI

An advisory panel recently appointed by Health Secretary Robert F. Kennedy Jr. voted on Thursday to walk back longstanding recommendations for flu vaccines containing an ingredient that the anti-vaccine movement has falsely linked to autism.

The vote signaled a powerful shift in the way federal officials approach vaccines, putting into action Mr. Kennedy’s deep skepticism about their safety and delivering the first blows to a scientific process that for decades has provided effective vaccines to Americans.

Mr. Kennedy fired all 17 experts on the panel about two weeks ago and then appointed eight new members, at least half of whom have expressed skepticism about some vaccines.

“We came to this meeting with no predetermined ideas, and will make judgments as if we are treating for our own families,” the panelists said in a statement.

To critics, the two-day meeting of the panel, the Advisory Committee on Immunization Practices, offered the clearest signs yet that the Trump administration intends to unravel the system that has long guided clinical decisions about vaccination.

“As a physician and scientist who has devoted my entire career to vaccines and preventing and treating infections, this meeting has been devastating to watch,” said Dr. Lakshmi Panagiotakopoulos, an expert on vaccines who resigned from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention this month.

Dozens of studies have shown the vaccine ingredient, called thimerosal, to be harmless. It has not been a component of most childhood shots since 2001.

“The risk from influenza is so much greater than the nonexistent risk as far as we know from thimerosal,” said the lone dissenter, Dr. Cody Meissner, a professor of pediatrics at Dartmouth Geisel School of Medicine who is widely considered to be the most qualified member of the new committee.

“I find it very hard to justify” the panel’s decision, he added.

In a separate vote, the new panel recommended seasonal flu vaccines to all Americans 6 months and older. The common single-dose flu shots do not contain thimerosal.

The committee advises the C.D.C. on vaccine efficacy and safety, and makes recommendations

Continued on Page A15

## REPUBLICANS AIM TO DEFANG RULES ON FUEL ECONOMY

### BILL WOULD END FINES

#### Environmentalists Warn Pollution From Cars Would Surge

By BRAD PLUMER  
and JACK EWING

Republicans in the Senate are considering a measure in President Trump’s big domestic policy bill that would essentially nullify the fuel efficiency rules for cars and light trucks that have been in place for nearly 50 years.

The provision would eliminate fines for any automaker that failed to comply with federal Corporate Average Fuel Economy standards, which were created by Congress in 1975. Over time, those efficiency rules have gotten stricter, pushing automakers to improve the mileage of their cars and trucks and to introduce innovations like the Toyota Prius hybrid.

Environmentalists fear that without penalties to enforce compliance, automakers could freely ignore those rules, leading to expanded gasoline use and more pollution from millions of tailpipes. The measure could also slow the growth of electric vehicles, which are already facing stiff headwinds under the Trump administration.

“If polluters are told that there’s no penalty for polluting, what do you think they’re going to do?” said Daniel Becker, director of the Safe Climate Transport Campaign at the Center for Biological Diversity, an environmental group. “They’ll be perfectly happy to pollute more and make more gas guzzlers.”

Automakers, including General Motors and Stellantis, have welcomed Republican moves to relax fuel economy standards, relieving them from paying hundreds of millions of dollars in fines when

Continued on Page A13



REBECCA COOK/REUTERS

Stellantis, which owns Jeep, says fuel rules are out of sync.

## Knives Out for a Green Feature That Turns Off Some Drivers

By BEN BLATT

Would you be willing to pay more for gas if your car could be a little less annoying?

If you’ve ever noticed a gas-powered engine shutting off during a red light, that’s the start-stop feature. Its adoption has skyrocketed since 2012, when the Environmental Protection Agency started subsidizing the feature with credits to manufacturers.

But under the Trump administration, the agency is threatening to eliminate those credits. In a post on X, the agency’s administrator, Lee Zeldin, said that start-stop technology was just a “climate participation trophy” for companies, and that “everyone hates it.”

Though the technology has its skeptics, research says it does effectively cut fuel consumption

and emissions. Most studies on start-stop technology show real-world fuel use reductions of 5 to 10 percent, depending on driving patterns. One study found that start-stop begins to save fuel when the engine is off for as little as seven seconds during an idling period.

But if the E.P.A. ends its credits, could it spell doom for the feature? And where would that leave automakers and drivers?

Most of the complaints about the feature fall in a few categories. Some skeptics believe that it doesn’t really save on gas, or that it adds wear and tear to the engine. Others worry about not having control of the car, or about having the air-conditioning turn off with the engine.

Manufacturers try to make the

Continued on Page A13



INTERNATIONAL A4-10

**The Selfie Menace to Art**

A museumgoer’s harm to a centuries-old painting in Italy has put more focus on shielding Europe’s treasures. PAGE A5

**China’s Calculus on Taiwan**

President Trump’s attack on Iran raises questions for Beijing about what he might risk for Taiwan. PAGE A10

NATIONAL A11-19, 24

**G.O.P. May Hit Johns Hopkins**

The university is not a direct target of the Trump administration, but it braces for big funding cuts as Republicans seek to trim spending. PAGE A15

**More Voters? Still a Harris Loss.**

New data, based on authoritative voter records, suggests that Donald J. Trump would have done even better in 2024 with higher turnout. PAGE A16

**Planned Parenthood Denied**

Ruling in a South Carolina case, the justices said Medicaid users could not sue to receive services under a law that lets them choose a provider. PAGE A17



BUSINESS B1-6

**Hanging by a Thread**

The U.S. textile industry proved essential during the pandemic, yet it’s feeling little love from the president. PAGE B1

**Fed Rethinks Post-Crisis Rule**

The central bank is planning to reduce a capital buffer for big banks meant to shore up the financial system. PAGE B1

WEEKEND ARTS C1-10

**Brad Pitt Goes the Distance**

In tanned, tousled form, the actor stars in a thin Formula 1 story about fast cars, last chances and pretty people. Manohla Dargis has the review. PAGE C1

OBITUARIES A20-21

**He Traded Glam for Hard Rock**

After leaving Mott the Hoople, Mick Ralphs formed Bad Company and wrote “Can’t Get Enough” and “Feel Like Making Love.” He was 81. PAGE A21

OPINION A22-23

**M. Gessen** PAGE A22



SPORTS B7-10

**Twists, Turns and Trades**

On a night of surprises at the N.B.A. draft, the Portland Trail Blazers picked a 7-foot-1 teenager, Yang Hansen, above, out of the stands. PAGE B10



0 354613 9