

“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Today, sunny, windy, high 60. To-
night, increasing amounts of clou-
diness, low 47. Tomorrow, turning
breezy, partly cloudy, high 65.
Weather map appears on Page B12.

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ADMINISTRATION WON’T FULLY FUND FOOD ASSISTANCE

COURTS FORCED ACTION

Many Recipients of Aid
Could Face Delays in
Getting Payments

By TONY ROMM
WASHINGTON — The Trump administration will send partial payments this month to the roughly 42 million Americans who receive food stamps, offering only a temporary and limited reprieve to low-income families as the federal shutdown approaches its sixth week.

The government revealed its plans in a set of court filings on Monday, just days after two judges found fault in the administration’s initial refusal to fund those benefits under the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, known as SNAP, starting this month.

But the roughly one in eight families that receive SNAP may still be at risk of imminent hunger and financial hardship. The Trump administration opted against using its full stable of available funds — totaling into the billions of dollars — to sustain the nation’s largest anti-hunger program. As a result, eligible households may receive only half as much in benefits compared with their usual amounts, officials said.

It also remained unclear when food stamp recipients would actually receive their aid. The Trump administration had previously warned that it could take weeks to provision benefits on a partial basis, further underscoring the consequences of its budgetary decision on Monday.

Many Democrats sharply condemned the White House in response, saying the administration had a legal and moral obligation to pay full benefits on time, especially given the fact that there were plenty of available funds.

“It is not enough to do the bare minimum — the administration should stop playing politics with hunger and use all available resources to ensure Americans can put food on the table,” said Senator Amy Klobuchar, Democrat of Minnesota, who leads her party on the chamber’s top agriculture panel.

The White House did not respond to a request for comment. “There’s a process that has to be

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More on the White House

FOREIGN AID A lawsuit, underway since February, has sought to compel President Trump to honor Congress’s vision. PAGE A10

FORCES ON THE STREETS A guide to the agencies they come from, what they do and the uniforms they wear (or not). PAGE A12



AMIR HAMJA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

BROOKLYN The audience listened to Zohran Mamdani at a Cuco concert at Kings Theater on Friday.



DAVE SANDERS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

BRONX Curtis Sliwa, the Republican nominee, spoke to supporters in Throgs Neck on Saturday.



VINCENT ALBAN/THE NEW YORK TIMES

MANHATTAN Former Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo drew a crowd in Washington Heights on Monday.

Election Day Offers Test Of Vigor for Democrats In the City and Beyond

New York’s Hopefuls Make Final Pitches

By EMMA G. FITZSIMMONS

After a frenetic and bitterly contested mayoral race that has consumed New York City for months, voters were heading to the polls on Tuesday to decide who would run the nation’s largest city.

The three leading candidates — Assemblyman Zohran Mamdani, former Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo and Curtis Sliwa — crisscrossed the city on Monday in an 11th-hour bid to turn out their voting bases, convert the undecideds and fiercely attack their rivals.

A new wrinkle was added on Monday to one central debate — which candidate was best equipped to fend off growing threats from President Trump — when Mr. Trump gave a last-minute endorsement to Mr. Cuomo, a move that could help the candidate with Republican voters but alienate Democrats.

“Whether you personally like Andrew Cuomo or not, you really have no choice,” Mr. Trump wrote on Truth Social. “You must vote for him, and hope he does a fantastic job. He is capable of it, Mamdani is not!”

The president vowed to withhold as much federal funding as he could if Mr. Mamdani were elected, saying the city had “zero chance of success” under him.

If Mamdani wins, “it is highly unlikely that I will be contributing Federal Funds, other than the very minimum as required,” he wrote.

Mr. Mamdani, the Democratic nominee, has consistently led in polls, although more recent surveys suggest that Mr. Cuomo, running as an independent, may be drawing closer.

The election’s outcome could have a major impact on the nation’s financial capital, the eight million people who call the city home and the tone of national politics heading into the midterm elections next year.

If elected, Mr. Mamdani, 34, would become the city’s first Muslim mayor, the second to be a democratic socialist and the youngest to lead City Hall in more than a century. He would also be among the city’s least experienced mayors in modern history.

But he has built a formidable coalition from some nontraditional sources, winning support from young professionals, immigrants and Muslims — some of them

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Chance for Foothold vs. Trump in 2026

By SHANE GOLDMACHER

After more than nine months of President Trump using the full force of the federal government to impose his will on the nation, elections across the country on Tuesday will offer the Democratic Party its biggest chance yet to assert its viability as a serious opposition party.

No federal contests that could provide a meaningful check on Mr. Trump’s powers in Washington will be decided. But races for governor in New Jersey and Virginia headline an Election Day that will provide a critical update on the state of the Democrats’ rebuilding project and a preview of the fault lines in the 2026 midterm elections.

The 2025 races have been buffeted by many of the same forces that shaped the 2024 race, led by an affordability crisis that is pinching voters in cities, suburbs and rural areas alike. Unlike in the 2024 election, it is now Mr. Trump and his ambitious regime of tariffs that are seen as driving the economy.

Ken Martin, the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, predicted in an interview that victories on Tuesday would help his party go into 2026 with a head of steam.

“Where there were once strong headwinds against the Democratic Party, there now seems to be wind at our back and momentum for sure,” Mr. Martin said. He insisted, “it’s not just an anti-Trump wave that we’re seeing,” but a powerful chord that Democrats have struck with their message on economics and affordability.

Of course, it helps Democrats that the biggest contests are being held in states that Mr. Trump lost. The flip side is that any defeats in those states could be especially deflating.

Beyond the governors’ races, mayoral contests in New York, Minneapolis and Seattle will highlight generational and ideological divides in the Democratic Party. Supreme Court elections in Pennsylvania, a key swing state, offer a check on the main parties’ strength.

Races farther down the ticket — state legislative showdowns in Mississippi, a close attorney general contest in Virginia, two seats on Georgia’s public service commission, even a City Council recall

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2025 Election

GOVERNOR’S RACES Abigail Spanberger in Virginia and Mikie Sherrill in New Jersey are hoping to tap into anger at the president. PAGE A17

TAKING NOTES With the 2026 midterms set to decide control of Congress, both parties will look to Tuesday’s results for lessons. PAGE A18

Justices to Grapple With Tariffs Under President’s Watchful Eye

By ANN E. MARIMOW

WASHINGTON — Again and again since President Trump returned to the White House, the Supreme Court’s conservative majority has blessed his boundary-pushing policies, allowing them to take effect on an interim basis while litigation plays out in the lower courts.

But on Wednesday, the justices will consider for the first time whether to say no to Mr. Trump in a lasting way.

At issue is the legality of his signature economic policy: the use of emergency powers to impose sweeping tariffs on nearly every

U.S. trading partner. The outcome of the case could significantly affect the global economy, American businesses and consumers.

Experts say the case is a tossup that poses difficult legal and political considerations for the justices, made all the more tense by Mr. Trump’s efforts to personalize the dispute.

Mr. Trump had mused about attending the court’s argument this week, and has spoken repeatedly of the case’s importance to him. On Sunday, he said he decided against going to court, but

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Prison Guards Go Unpunished After Video of Bloody Beating

This article is by **Jay Root, Jan Ransom and Ainara Tiefenthäler.**

Ernstiaze Moore had been an inmate at Sullivan Correctional Facility in upstate New York for 11 days, he said, when an officer there gave him an ominous warning: “We are going to show you how we do it up in Sullivan.”

Soon after, in January 2023, Mr. Moore was in his cell when guards blasted him with pepper spray, burst in, beat him bloody and brought him to a so-called frisk room, where, he said, they groped his genitals and shoved fingers into his anus.

Afterward, Mr. Moore needed

surgery to reconstruct his left eye socket, records show. He reported what happened as a case of sexual assault and, in September, he filed a federal civil rights lawsuit accusing the guards of sexual abuse, excessive force and other offenses.

Mr. Moore, who was five years into a 21-year sentence for attempted murder and attempted assault, is one of scores of New York State prisoners who have complained over the years about being mistreated by guards. But his claims have emerged at a time of intense scrutiny for the prisons, where, in the past year, two in-

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A.I. Adds a Sickening Realism To Death Threats Made Online

By TIFFANY HSU

Even though she was toughened by years spent working in internet activism, Caitlin Roper found herself traumatized by the online threats she received this year.

There was the picture of herself hanging from a noose, dead. And another of herself ablaze, screaming.

The posts were part of a surge of vitriol directed at Ms. Roper and her colleagues at Collective Shout, an Australian activist group, on X and other social media platforms. Some of it, including images of the women flayed, de-

capitated or fed into a wood chipper, was seemingly enabled — and given a visceral realism — by generative artificial intelligence. In some of the images, Ms. Roper was wearing a blue floral dress that she does, in fact, own.

“It’s these weird little details that make it feel more real and, somehow, a different kind of violation,” she said. “These things can go from fantasy to more than fantasy.”

Artificial intelligence is already raising concerns for its ability to mimic real voices in service of

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INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Rethinking a Love of Russia

Emmanuel Carrère’s travels to a Ukraine under invasion by Moscow have tempered his views. PAGE A4

Palace Mystery in Mexico

After a figure in a window was captured on video, speculation arose that she was the ghost of an empress. PAGE A6

BUSINESS B1-6

Buying the Maker of Tylenol

Kimberly-Clark will acquire the company that has fought unproven claims by the White House that the pain reliever is linked to autism. PAGE B1

The Wealth Tax Momentum

Plans have grown popular around the world as inequality has widened and government debt has risen. PAGE B1

NATIONAL A11-21

Unleashing the Gerrymander

If part of the Voting Rights Act is struck down, partisan election maps could become even more contorted. PAGE A12



ARTS C1-6

A Scene-Stealer’s Next Move

William Fichtner has many TV and film credits, mostly in supporting roles. Now he is starring in a horror series. PAGE C1

Film Score by Nine Inch Nails

Trent Reznor and Atticus Ross’s soundtrack for “Tron: Ares” is their first under their band’s name. PAGE C1

SPORTS B7-10, 12

A Football Career Redefined

After injuries ended Cam Rising’s Heisman hopes at Utah, he returned to his old high school to mentor a next-generation star quarterback. PAGE B7

OBITUARIES B11

The Daughter of Dietrich

Maria Riva was her mother’s handmaiden and aide-de-camp. In 1993, her blockbuster biography told of the awful price that she paid. She was 100.

OPINION A22-23

David French

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SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

In Search of Black Heroes

Jacob T. Bryan, above, and others have been searching for the remains of Black Union soldiers who were killed in 1865 along a road in Kentucky. PAGE D1

