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The New York Times



From left, Senators John Barrasso, John Thune and Mike Crapo, all Republicans, after passage of the party’s policy bill on Tuesday.

Package Gives a Lift to the Rich, at the Expense of the Safety Net

By TONY ROMM

WASHINGTON — Millions of low-income Americans could experience staggering financial losses under the domestic policy package that Republicans advanced through the Senate on Tuesday, which reserves its greatest benefits for the rich while threatening to strip health insurance, food stamps and other aid from the poor.

For many of these families, the loss of critical federal support is likely to negate any improve-

ments they might have seen as a result of slightly lower taxes, experts said. That reality could undercut Republican lawmakers and President Trump, who insisted anew this week that their legislative vision would benefit the entire economy.

The latest evidence arrived in the hours before lawmakers finalized their signature legislation. Studying a since-amended version of the Senate bill, experts at the Budget Lab at Yale, a research center, concluded Monday that it would parcel out its benefits disproportionately.

Nearly 12 Million Could Become Uninsured

Americans who comprise the bottom fifth of all earners would see their annual after-tax incomes fall on average by 2.3 percent within the next decade, while those at the top would see about a 2.3 percent boost, according to the analysis, which factors in wages earned and government benefits received.

On average, that translates to

about \$560 in losses for someone who reports little to no income by 2034, and more than \$118,000 in gains for someone making over \$3 million, the report found. Martha Gimbel, the co-founder of the budget lab, described the Senate measure as “highly regressive.”

The disparity owes largely to the fact that Republicans aim to pay for their tax cuts by slashing programs for the poor, including Medicaid and food stamps. The cuts amount to one of the largest retrenchments in the federal safety net in a generation. But the

Continued on Page A15

Clashing Views On Pope’s Work To Fight Abuse

This article is by Julie Turkewitz, Simon Romero, Mitra Taj and Elisabetta Povoledo.

CHICLAYO, Peru — The contrasts are glaring.

In one case, Pope Leo XIV — then known as Bishop Robert Prevost — sided with victims of sexual abuse, locking horns with powerful Catholic figures in Peru. He sought justice for victims of a cult-like Catholic movement that recruited the children of elite families and used sexual and psychological abuse to subordinate members.

In another case, Bishop Prevost was accused of failing to sufficiently investigate claims by three women that they had been abused as children by priests. The accused were two priests in Bishop Prevost’s diocese in a small Peruvian city, including one who had worked closely with the bishop, according to two people who work for the church.

As Leo settles into the papacy, leading the world’s 1.4 billion Catholics, his handling of clergy sexual abuse will be closely scrutinized, and the two cases have left him open to starkly diverging judgments: praise for helping victims in one, claims that he let them down in the other.

In the first, victims have hailed as heroic his work taking on the ultraconservative group, Sodalitium Christianae Vitae, which had grown more influential after Pope John Paul II gave it his pontifical stamp of approval.

Breaking with other powerful Catholic figures in Peru, Bishop Prevost arranged talks between victims and church leaders and

Continued on Page A6



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Prison to Terrify Migrants

President Trump toured a makeshift detention center in the Florida Everglades on Tuesday. He is calling the facility Alligator Alcatraz because it is surrounded by reptile-filled marshland. *Page A13.*

Halal Cart Holds Blueprint for Mamdani’s Upset

This article is by Nicholas Fandos, Benjamin Oreskes, Emma G. Fitzsimmons and Jeffery C. Mays.

On a frigid night in January, Zohran Mamdani, a little-known state lawmaker running for mayor, climbed into a halal cart in Manhattan’s Zuccotti Park for a plate of chicken and rice.

With cameras rolling, the fresh-faced Democrat mainlined a take-out container as he explained in simple terms how the city’s arcane permitting process was squeezing vendors and driving “halalflation.”

Strong Ground Game and Simple Message

The 90-second video went viral, but it also offered a more direct sign of Mr. Mamdani’s growing reach. Mahmoud Mousa, the Egyptian-born vendor next to him onscreen, said that his Brooklyn neighbors, friends and family inundated him with questions about the 33-year-old candidate in a suit and tie.

“Politicians never care about

the problems we have,” he said in an interview last week. “But he is saying he is going to take care of how I live.”

Five months later, the episode illustrates how Mr. Mamdani, a democratic socialist, broke New York’s political mold and pulled off a seismic upset to claim the Democratic nomination for mayor over far more seasoned rivals, including former Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo.

The victory sent shock waves through American politics, electrifying progressives, alarming

Continued on Page A19

SENATORS APPROVE TRUMP POLICY BILL; VANCE BREAKS A TIE

NEWS ANALYSIS

Costly Bill Puts U.S. on Perilous Path

By ANDREW DUEHREN

WASHINGTON — Washington has not exactly won a reputation for fiscal discipline over the last few decades, as both Republicans and Democrats passed bills that have, bit by bit, degraded the nation’s finances.

But the legislation that Republicans passed through the Senate on Tuesday stands apart in its harm to the budget, analysts say. Not only did an initial analysis show it adding at least \$3.3 trillion to the nation’s debt over the next 10 years — making it among the most expensive bills in a generation — but it would also reduce the amount of tax revenue the country collects for decades. Such a shortfall could begin a seismic shift in the nation’s fiscal trajectory and raise the risk of a debt crisis.

The threat is a reflection of the fact that Senate Republicans have voted to make tax cuts that the party first passed in 2017 a permanent feature of the tax code. That means the growth in the country’s debt, already at levels economists find alarming, would only accelerate as the bill shaves down the country’s main source of money.

“We are looking at the most expensive piece of legislation probably since the 1960s,” said Jessica Riedl, a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute, a conservative think tank. “The danger is that Congress is piling trillions of new borrowing on top of deficits that are already leaping.”

Historically, lawmakers have been unable to make such a large change in the country’s finances without bipartisan support, helping contain how much debt is added at a time.

That is because reconciliation, the special legislative procedure that Republicans used to avoid the filibuster in the Senate and pass the bill along party lines, has long included the requirement that bills cannot add to the debt for more than a decade. But

Continued on Page A15

THE WEATHER

Today, partly sunny, a little less humid, high 84. **Tonight**, mostly clear, low 72. **Tomorrow**, partly sunny, an afternoon thunderstorm, high 88. Weather map appears on Page A24.

G.O.P. Bridges Rifts, but Fate in House Is Uncertain

This article is by Catie Edmondson, Carl Hulse, Michael Gold and Megan Mineiro.

WASHINGTON — A divided Senate on Tuesday narrowly passed Republicans’ marquee bill to slash taxes and social safety net programs, sending it to an uncertain fate in the House amid deep G.O.P. divisions that still threatened to derail President Trump’s first-year domestic agenda.

The 51-to-50 vote reflected the considerable angst among Republicans over the legislation and underscored the rough road it still faced in the House, where several Republicans were already vowing to block it in defiance of Mr. Trump’s demand that it be enacted by July 4.

In the Senate, three Republicans — Senators Susan Collins of Maine, Thom Tillis of North Carolina and Rand Paul of Kentucky — joined all Democrats in voting against it, forcing Vice President JD Vance to cast the tiebreaking vote.

It came after a brutal slog of debating, voting and negotiating that lasted more than 24 hours, as party leaders worked through Monday and into Tuesday morning huddling with Republican holdouts — particularly Senator Lisa Murkowski of Alaska.

In the end, she supported the legislation after G.O.P. leaders packed it with sweeteners for her state, including a provision aimed at insulating Alaska from some of the bill’s harshest cuts to Medicaid and SNAP food assistance.

The bill would extend roughly \$3.8 trillion in tax cuts enacted during Mr. Trump’s first term in 2017 and add new tax breaks on tips and overtime that he promised during the campaign, while providing hundreds of billions of dollars in new funding for border security and the military. Republicans hailed it as the legislative pinnacle of their governing trifecta.

“We’re here passing legislation that will permanently extend tax relief for hard-working Ameri-

Continued on Page A14

JIMMY SWAGGART, 1935-2025

Fire-and-Brimstone Preacher Scalded by Scandal of Passion

By DAVID STOUT

The Rev. Jimmy Swaggart, who emerged from the backwoods of Louisiana to become a television evangelist with global reach, preaching about an eternal struggle between good and evil and warning of the temptations of the flesh, a theme that played out in his own life in a sex scandal, died on Tuesday. He was 90.

His death was announced by Jimmy Swaggart Ministries in Baton Rouge, La. It provided no other details.

Mr. Swaggart had been placed in intensive care at a hospital after a heart attack on June 15, his son, Donnie Swaggart, who is also a preacher, told a prayer service that morning at the family’s ministry. “Without a miracle, his time is short,” he was quoted as saying.

Mr. Swaggart’s voice and passion carried him to fame and riches that he could scarcely have dreamed of in his small-town boyhood. At its peak in the mid-1980s, Jimmy Swaggart Worldwide Ministries had a television presence in more than 140 countries and,



MARK AVERY/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Jimmy Swaggart, a televangelist with global reach, in 1987.

along with its Bible college, took in up to half a million dollars a day from donations and sales of Bible courses, gospel music and merchandise.

In his prime, Mr. Swaggart strode the stage like a bear, his voice thundering with emotion, dropping to a near-whisper, then rising again, sometimes to the accompaniment of tears — his own as well as those of his followers — as he spoke of his love for God and

Continued on Page A20



SPORTS B7-10

Tennis’s Quick-Change Artist

Carlos Alcaraz can seem pressured, but in two seconds, the two-time Wimbledon champ can retake control. *Page B7*

Baseball Commissioner’s Pitch

Rob Manfred, seeking to win the players’ trust, has been telling them they’ve lost billions. *Page B10*

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Pushback on Trash Shipments

Malaysia has effectively banned all deliveries of discarded plastic from the U.S., which has relied on other countries to take such waste. *Page A10*

Settlers Burn Palestinian Town

The violence last week in Kafr Malik, in the West Bank, comes amid a surge in assaults by Israeli settlers. *Page A5*

BUSINESS B1-6

Power That China Can’t Cut Off

Taiwan, which relies almost entirely on imported energy, is seeking alternative sources it can tap. *Page B1*



FOOD D1-8

Crazy About Croissants

We sink our teeth into classics even the French would admire, as well as some zanier interpretations. *Page D4*

Showcasing Hmong Food

Chefs in Minnesota are driving the rise of a cuisine little known outside of its own immigrant community. *Page D1*

NATIONAL A11-19

Cliffhanger for Combs

Verdicts were reached, but not announced, for four counts at the music mogul’s trial. Jurors were told to keep deliberating on a racketeering charge where they were deadlocked. *Page A16*

Environment Versus Housing

Gov. Gavin Newsom and state lawmakers scaled back an environmental measure that was widely criticized for playing a role in California’s housing shortage and homelessness crisis. *Page A12*

OPINION A22-23

Bret Stephens *Page A23*



ARTS C1-6

The Comeback Kid at 86

The singer and songwriter Neil Sedaka is seeing his albums reissued as he occasionally takes the stage to celebrate his decades-old resurrection. *Page C1*

