



FINBARR O'REILLY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**An Hourslong Assault on Kyiv**  
An overnight barrage of Russian missiles and drones killed at least 18 people in Ukraine’s capital, including four children. Page A8.

**Got \$1 Million?  
New York State  
May Need You.**

**By MATTHEW HAAG**

The rate at which New York State has been adding millionaires to its population in recent years has fallen below that of other large states, potentially costing the state billions in unrealized tax revenue, according to a new report from a nonpartisan fiscal watchdog group.

At the same time, California, Florida and Texas had large increases in the number of people with annual incomes of at least \$1 million residing in their states, all adding them at a faster rate than New York did from 2010 to 2022. The millionaire population in New York nearly doubled over that same time period, but it more than tripled in those other states.

The report, published on Thursday by the Citizens Budget Commission, comes at a time when the topic of millionaires in New York City, the taxes they pay and broader concerns about income inequality and affordability have been the most prominent themes in the race for mayor.

“We have a debate about affordability, but we need to raise more revenue,” said Andrew Rein, the president of the Citizens Budget Commission, “and we can raise even more revenue if we have even more millionaires.”

There were about 70,000 people earning \$1 million in New York State in 2022, with half of them living in New York City, according to the report.

Mr. Rein said the timing of the report’s release, about nine weeks before Election Day, had not been influenced by politics or any campaign. The group’s trustees and its executive committee include officials from some of the largest corporations in the city. He said the commission has tracked the composition of New York earners and the state’s competitiveness for decades.

But the group’s arguments that New York needs more millionaires and that any increase in personal income taxes could drive them away mirror positions held by two candidates, Mayor Eric Adams and former Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo, and are in opposition to the platform of Zohran Mamdani, a state assemblyman and the Democratic nominee. Mr. Mamdani proposed a new 2 percent tax on income greater than \$1 million.

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**U.S. Ally Targets a Dissident 1,000 Miles Away**

**By VIVIAN NEREIM**

RIYADH, Saudi Arabia — An Egyptian dissident who was extradited to the United Arab Emirates after criticizing its government on social media has been detained for more than seven months without a trial, in a case that his lawyers warn sets a dangerous precedent for transnational repression.

Abdulrahman al-Qaradawi, a poet and anti-authoritarian activist, had traveled to Syria in December to celebrate after rebels toppled the Syrian dictator Bashar al-Assad. From there, he recorded a video expressing hope that the Middle East’s other autocratic rulers would also fall. In the video, posted online, he warned

**U.A.E. Chills Criticism Through Extradition of an Arab Poet**

that “the shameful Arab regimes and Arab Zionists in the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia and Egypt” could conspire against the new Syria.

Within days, Mr. al-Qaradawi — the son of an Islamic scholar, the late Yusuf al-Qaradawi — was arrested by the Lebanese security forces as he crossed the border into Lebanon. But he was not deported to Egypt, where a prison sentence had been issued in absentia against him in 2016, on

charges connected to speaking out against the Egyptian government. Or to Turkey, where he lived in political exile. Instead, Lebanese authorities sent him to the Emirates — a country more than 1,000 miles away, to which he had no connection.

Mr. al-Qaradawi’s unusual case has shed light on the long arm of the Emirates as it exerts political influence across the Middle East. A federation of seven sheikhdoms on the Persian Gulf, the country is a close U.S. ally that has translated its oil wealth into immense economic and political power.

Detained on Dec. 28, Mr. al-Qaradawi was on a flight to the Emirates by Jan. 8. His case appears to be the first in which a

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LIAM JAMES DOYLE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A community vigil on Wednesday to honor the victims of the shooting at a Mass in Minneapolis.

**The Other Victims of School Shootings: Survivors**

**By SARAH MERVOSH**

They were, by some measures, the lucky ones.

The children who were rushed to the hospital, bloody and scared. The ones who clutched their parents in emotional reunions that circulated on the Minneapolis news.

They were the latest survivors of the latest school shooting, which killed two children, ages 8

**An Expanding Group of Almost 400,000**

and 10, on Wednesday.

Now the children of Annunciation Catholic School join a group that numbers nearly 400,000: America’s children who have been exposed to gun violence at school.

As Natalie Barden, the sister of

7-year-old Daniel Barden, who was killed at Sandy Hook Elementary School in Newtown, Conn., in 2012, put it in a letter to future survivors of school shootings: “You are now part of this sad little club that is actually not so little anymore.”

More than 397,000 children have experienced gun violence at school since the shooting at Columbine High School in Littleton,

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**U.S. Is Taking  
A Hard Look  
At Transplants**

**Reports of Lapses in  
Organ Donor Safety**

**By BRIAN M. ROSENTHAL**

The federal government is cracking down on the U.S. organ transplant system, investigating donation groups accused of safety lapses and overhauling policies meant to protect donors and recipients.

The efforts come after congressional scrutiny and reporting in The New York Times revealed troubling problems in the system, including at organ procurement organizations, the nonprofit groups in each state that arrange transplants. A federal investigation recently found that the organization in Kentucky had ignored signs of growing alertness in critically ill patients being prepared for organ donation.

The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services has begun investigating other nonprofits over similar accusations, as well as reining in others that flout fairness rules by sending organs to patients who are not near the top of waiting lists.

The initiatives were described in an interview with Dr. Raymond Lynch, the transplant chief at the Health Resources and Services Administration, an agency within H.H.S. that oversees the system.

“We want to make sure that people continue to have faith in the public good that is organ procurement and transplant,” he said. “We will make it safe and reliable.”

Dr. Lynch declined to name the targets of the investigations but said the inquiries were focused on circulatory death donation, an increasingly common practice.

Unlike most donors, who are brain-dead, these patients have brain function. But they are on life support, often in a coma, and are not expected to recover. If donation is authorized, doctors withdraw life support, wait for the patient’s heart to stop and then remove the organs. This type of donation involves judgment calls that can be prone to error.

The Times reported last month on a dozen patients who endured premature or bungled attempts to retrieve their organs. Some hospitals, which are in charge of caring for potential donors until death, mistakenly determined that patients could not recover. And some procurement organizations inappropriately influenced treatment decisions, The Times reported.

In one case, signs of recovery in a New Mexico woman were dismissed until she awoke just before a planned organ removal. In another case, doctors realized that an Alabama woman was alive after they began cutting into her.

Congress released the findings

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**KENNEDY INSISTED  
C.D.C. CHIEF AGREE  
TO VACCINE POLICY**

**REFUSAL RISKED FIRING**

**Standoff on Leadership  
Paralyzes an Agency  
Already in Tumult**

*This article is by Sheryl Gay Stolberg, Apoorva Mandavilli and Christina Jewett.*

Health Secretary Robert F. Kennedy Jr. summoned Susan Monarez, the director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, to his office in Washington earlier this week to deliver an ultimatum.

She needed to fire career agency officials and commit to backing his advisers if they recommended restricting access to proven vaccines — or risk being fired herself, according to people familiar with the events.

Dr. Monarez’s refusal to do so led to an extraordinary standoff on Thursday that paralyzed the nation’s health agency, which is still reeling from mass layoffs and a shooting this month that killed a police officer and terrified employees.

Top officials have quit, Dr. Monarez’s future is in doubt and President Trump has yet to publicly back his health secretary.

The White House press secretary, Karoline Leavitt, said Mr. Trump had fired Dr. Monarez. “The secretary asked her to resign,” Ms. Leavitt said. “She said she would, and then she said she wouldn’t, so the president fired her, which he has every right to do.”

Lawyers for Dr. Monarez insisted that because she had been confirmed by the Senate and served at the pleasure of the president, she would leave only if Mr. Trump personally instructed her to do so. They said she had chosen “protecting the public over serving a political agenda.”

The president himself was silent.

Dr. Monarez, who had been

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TIERNY L. CROSS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Susan Monarez, the C.D.C. director, is caught in a standoff.

**Black Parents Fear D.C. Patrols:  
‘Like We Took 100 Steps Back’**

**By CLYDE McGRADY and BERNARD MOKAM**

WASHINGTON — Days after President Trump ordered a surge of federal law enforcement agents in Washington, Charlene Golphin told her 17-year-old son that his curfew was being cut short by two hours.

Ms. Golphin feared that as a Black boy, her son would be caught in the dragnet set up by officers tasked by the president with cracking down on the “roving mobs of wild youth” he accused of terrorizing the city.

Her son, Atrayu Lee, argued that his mother was overreacting. He didn’t engage in the activities that could incite a negative interaction with the police, he said. He spent his free time working with local organizations and had stopped wearing hoodies or black track suits.

Ms. Golphin didn’t want to hear it. “I said what I said,” she affirmed.

The highly visible new patrols of federal agents and National Guard troops and President Trump’s declaration that young people are a threat to public safety has put Black parents on edge, prompting many of them to enforce stricter rules about going out and wade back into tough conversations about racial profiling and policing.

For decades, Black parents have given what they describe as “the talk,” a set of guidelines for how their children, particularly

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**INTERNATIONAL A4-8**

**The City of Light Traffic**  
Many Parisians depart for long vacations in August, and those left behind rejoice in the roominess. *PAGE A4*

**A Military Morale Problem**  
Worn down by hundreds of days of military service, fewer Israeli reservists are turning up for duty. *PAGE A6*

**NATIONAL A9-17**

**School District’s Crucial Funds**  
President Trump wants to cut federal spending for education. The money often goes toward disadvantaged students in Republican states. *PAGE A9*

**Pistol Linked to Till’s Murder**  
The Mississippi Civil Rights Museum acquired the weapon and displayed it soon after records on Emmett Till’s 1955 case were released. *PAGE A17*

**Who Can Get a Covid Vaccine**  
Federal health officials have limited who qualifies for Covid shots, creating a fractured and confusing landscape. A look at where things stand. *PAGE A13*

**BUSINESS B1-5**

**Fed Governor Sues Trump**  
Lisa D. Cook, who has not been charged with a crime, sought to retain her position, arguing that an attempt to terminate her was illegal. *PAGE B1*

**Nvidia Sales Jump 56%**  
The chipmaker, the most valuable public company in the world, said demand for its chips should continue. *PAGE B1*

**OBITUARIES B10-11**

**Tennis Star in 1950s and ‘60s**  
Angela Mortimer, who said her hearing loss helped her concentrate, won three Grand Slam titles. She was 93. *PAGE B11*



**WEEKEND ARTS C1-10**

**Pleasantly Disruptive**  
Flora Yukhnovich, above with her painting “Summer,” likes to create riffs on the works of old masters. *PAGE C1*

**Still Telling Her Story**  
A film about E. Jean Carroll’s life and her court battle with President Trump will debut at the Telluride festival. *PAGE C5*

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**The Season of the Southpaw**  
Left-handed pitchers are dominating Major League Baseball. What’s at the core of the sudden switch? *PAGE B6*

**Fever Clinging to Playoff Spot**  
Caitlin Clark’s possible return to action has Indiana hoping it can sneak into the W.N.B.A. postseason. *PAGE B7*

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