

The New York Times

THE WEATHER

Today, dry, mostly cloudy, high 65. Tonight, cloudy, rain toward dawn, low 51. Tomorrow, cooler, periodic rain growing steadier, a light breeze, high 56. Weather map is on Page B8.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



FINBARR O'REILLY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Muslima Ibrahim Mohamed, 38, holding her 2-day-old son, Noor Mohamed. She had lost four children to disease and hunger.

‘Era of Indifference’: Scarce Aid as Calamity Unfolds in Somalia

By PETER S. GOODMAN

DOLLOW, Somalia — For nine days, they trudged across the parched soil of southern Somalia, taking turns carrying their 3-year-old daughter on their shoulders. Abdullahi Abdi Abdirahman, his wife and their seven children sought escape from a landscape drained of life.

Another drought had killed their goats and sheep, turning their life savings to dust. So they pressed on for 140 miles toward Dollow, a dusty outpost on the Ethiopian border. They were drawn by the same things that had already at-

tracted more than 100,000 other people: International relief organizations were clustered there, offering food, water and health care.

Yet when they arrived in late January at a camp on the fringes of town, they were horrified to learn that aid groups had abandoned the area. President Trump had dismantled the U.S. Agency for International Development, or U.S.A.I.D., eliminating Somalia's primary source of assistance. From London to Berlin, governments had reduced funding for humanitarian aid. Relief organizations had been forced to choose where to focus their remaining money.

Relief System in Tatters as War on Iran Raises Food and Fuel Costs

Dollow had not made the cut. Inside the camps, thousands of tents remained, but aid was disappearing. Families were losing cash grants for food. Health clinics were bereft of medicines and staff.

The following month, another shock unfolded, as the United States and Israel unleashed war

on Iran. The closing of the Strait of Hormuz halted the shipment of oil, fertilizer and other critical commodities from the Persian Gulf. The cost of moving cargo soared. In Somalia, which depends on imports for 70 percent of its food, staple goods like rice and wheat flour doubled in price.

“Milk and meat are just a dream for us,” said Mr. Abdirahman, 47. His family was subsisting on a daily meal of sorghum porridge and wild grasses plucked from nearby riverbanks.

“The children are hungry,” he said. “It hurts.” As the war in the Middle East

NEWS ANALYSIS

Sidestepping the Rules, Trump Serves Himself

A Once-Unthinkable Move on His Taxes

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — It is hard to imagine that any previous president would have thought he could engage in such an audacious act of self-dealing.

Then the government he runs, then settle the lawsuit with himself by barring the Internal Revenue Service from auditing his past returns. And as part of that deal, hand over \$1.8 billion of taxpayer money to his allies.

President Trump has used the federal government to advance his own personal interests and those of his family and allies more expansively and openly than any past occupant of the White House. Any review of history would suggest that it is not even close.

But as Mr. Trump, the only convicted felon ever elected president, heads deeper into his second term, he seems even less inhibited by the rules, written or unwritten, that governed his predecessors. While deeply unpopular with the general public, he has demonstrated as recently as this week that he remains the undisputed master of his own party, and therefore appears to feel that he can do as he likes without fear of Congress standing in his way.

His self-granted writ of immunity from the I.R.S. amounts to a get-out-of-audits-free card, essentially the equivalent of pardoning himself for any past offenses and forgiving any tax debt or penalties. While the status of any now-short-circuited audits is not publicly known, his action could theoretically save him from paying \$100 million or more, based on past estimates of what his liability might have been under an unfavorable I.R.S. decision.

The I.R.S. audit exemption for himself and the taxpayer payout to his supporters — potentially including those who attacked the Capitol and beat police officers on Jan. 6, 2021, in an effort to overturn an election that Mr. Trump lost — stand out in their brazenness, yet not in what they say about his underlying approach to governance in his sixth year in office.

Mr. Trump has so blurred the lines between his financial interests and his public office that it is hard to define where the lines lie anymore, or if they exist. He, his family and his friends have made a fortune in the 16 months since he returned to power in ways

Continued on Page A14

Balking at Trump Fund, G.O.P. Hits the Brakes on the Budget

By MICHAEL GOLD and CARL HULSE

WASHINGTON — Senate Republicans abruptly abandoned plans to take up a filibuster-proof bill on Thursday to fund President Trump's immigration crackdown, a stunning turn demonstrating that members of his own party were not willing to risk politically toxic votes to advance the president's personal agenda.

Though senators had widely been expected to bring their legislation to the floor before a week-long recess, as Mr. Trump had demanded, G.O.P. leaders were unable to overcome deep concerns within their own ranks around the president's plan to use a federal fund to pay people who claim to have been politically persecuted.

While Republicans still plan to take up the measure when lawmakers return, the delay underscored a toxic dynamic between the White House and the G.O.P.-controlled Congress just months before the midterm elections.



KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES
Senator John Thune of South Dakota, the majority leader.

Republicans had already appeared ready to jettison \$1 billion for Mr. Trump's ballroom project the White House had requested to include in the bill, after a group of senators made clear they would

Continued on Page A14

VOTE PULLED Amid defections, House Republicans shelved the war powers resolution. PAGE A16

D.N.C. Issues, But Undercuts, Its '24 Autopsy

This article is by Shane Goldmacher, Reid J. Epstein and Lisa Lerer.

The Democratic National Committee on Thursday released a nearly 200-page draft of an internal autopsy of what went wrong in the 2024 campaign, ending months of speculation that had created an embarrassing public spectacle for the party as it seeks to regain control of Congress.

The draft report places blame for former Vice President Kamala Harris's defeat partly on former President Joseph R. Biden Jr.'s political operation, arguing that it did not position her for success in the race after Mr. Biden dropped out. It also critiques the Harris campaign for failing to distance itself from Mr. Biden, and for not producing an effective strategy to make a dent in Donald J. Trump's rising approval ratings.

The release was an extraordinary turn of events for the party, which all but trashed its own report as incomplete and inaccurate, releasing the document only after months of mounting headaches from keeping it secret. The episode drew unwanted attention to the committee's internal struggles at a time when it should be focused squarely on the midterms and preparing for the looming 2028 cycle.

Democrats spent the day contending with what most agreed was a shoddy assessment of the 2024 cycle, stepping on a news cycle when Republicans in Congress were breaking with President Trump over a proposed \$1.8 billion

Continued on Page A18



JOSÉ MORE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Sam Sianis in 2009. He helped his uncle open the Billy Goat Tavern at its present location in 1964.

SAM SIANIS, 1934-2026

Behind the Bar, a Symbol of Chicago's Character

By CLAY RISEN

Chicago is a sprawling metropolis. But for those looking to sum up the city in a single place, an afternoon with Sam Sianis at the Billy Goat Tavern, a watering hole as rich in local character as a Saul Bellow novel, offered a master class.

Like any pilgrimage site, the Billy Goat — or the Goat, to regulars — is hard to reach, down two flights of stairs to a subterranean street below North Michigan Avenue. It was, however, conveniently across from the headquar-

Slinging 'Cheezburgers' to the Famous and the Ordinary Alike

ters of The Chicago Tribune and a few blocks from several other dailies, making it popular with reporters, editors and pressmen.

A dark, greasy-walled saloon, the Billy Goat is a true Chicago dive, open up to 20 hours a day to serve the newspapers' shift workers. And for more than 50 years, regardless of the hour, visitors

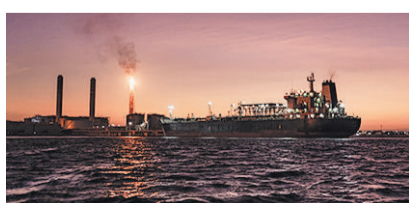
were likely to find Mr. Sianis tending bar or manning the small kitchen in back.

A Greek immigrant who arrived in Chicago in 1960, he helped his uncle, William Sianis, open the Billy Goat Tavern (sometimes called the Billy Goat Inn) at its present location in 1964. Six years later, when Billy died, Sam took over and ran it until his semi-retirement during the pandemic.

Mr. Sianis died at a hospital in Chicago on May 15. He was 91.

His son Billy, who now runs the Billy Goat with another son, Paul, confirmed the death.

Continued on Page A21



INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Possible Return to Venezuela

Exxon is negotiating a deal to pump oil there for the first time since its projects were nationalized in 2007. PAGE A9

Conglomerate's Web in Cuba

A secretive military-run organization is thought to control up to 70 percent of the island's economy. PAGE A10

NATIONAL A12-19

Medicaid Fraud Charged

The Justice Department accused 15 people of fraud totaling more than \$90 million in Minnesota. PAGE A15

A Split Between Young Voters

Whether to avoid or embrace the far right is dividing college Republican organizations. PAGE A12

OBITUARIES A20-21

Milliner Turned Indigo Artist

Leigh Magar was known for bespoke hats that attracted a celebrity following. She later cultivated indigo on an island off South Carolina. She was 57. PAGE A20



SPORTS B7-11

San Antonio's Secret Weapon

Even after retiring from coaching last year, Gregg Popovich continues to mentor the Spurs' players. PAGE B7

Roland Garros Rollout

The French Open, tennis's second Grand Slam tournament of the year, begins on Sunday in Paris. PAGE B10

BUSINESS B1-6

Shielding Workers Against A.I.

Gov. Gavin Newsom of California signed an executive order to explore an overhaul of labor policies to deal with potential mass job displacement from artificial intelligence. PAGE B1

Bankers Are Back on Top

Private equity and hedge funds took center stage for years, but 2026 is shaping up to be “the year of the bank,” said one analyst, thanks to regulation rollbacks and deal booms. PAGE B1

OPINION A22-23

Jeffrey Toobin

PAGE A22



WEEKEND ARTS C1-10

In Step With the Past

Students are learning a centuries-old Ugandan dance for the DanceAfrica festival held at the Brooklyn Academy of Music this weekend. PAGE C1



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