

“All the News  
That’s Fit to Print”

# The New York Times

**THE WEATHER**  
Today, sunny to partly cloudy, low humidity, high 78. Tonight, mainly clear, low 63. Tomorrow, sunshine, a few clouds, low humidity continues, high 79. Weather map is on Page D8.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



ISADORA KOSOFSKY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**Magic Arises From Tragedy**  
For a school razed by the January wildfire in Altadena, Calif., staging “Alice in Wonderland” created a haven of normalcy. Page A13.

## Black Women Most Affected By Trump Cuts

**By ERICA L. GREEN**

WASHINGTON — When President Trump started dismantling federal agencies and dismissing rank-and-file civil servants, Peggy Carr, the chief statistician at the Education Department, immediately started to make a calculation.

She was the first Black person and the first woman to hold the prestigious post of commissioner of the National Center for Education Statistics. As a political appointee, she knew there was a risk of becoming a target.

But her 35-year career at the department spanned a half dozen administrations, including Mr. Trump’s first term, and she had earned the respect of officials from both parties. Surely, she thought, the office tasked with tracking the achievement of the nation’s students could not fall under the president’s definition of “divisive and harmful” or “woke.”

But for the first time in her career, Dr. Carr’s data points didn’t add up.

On a February afternoon, a security guard showed up to her office just as she was preparing to hold a staff meeting. Fifteen minutes later, the staff watched in tears and disbelief as she was escorted out of the building.

“It was like being prosecuted in front of my family — my work family,” Dr. Carr said in an interview. “It was like I was being taken out like the trash, the only difference is I was being taken out the front door rather than the back door.”

While tens of thousands have lost their jobs in Mr. Trump’s slash-and-burn approach to

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## A Suicidal Teen, and the Chatbot He Confided In

**By KASHMIR HILL**

When Adam Raine died in April at age 16, some of his friends did not initially believe it.

Adam loved basketball, Japanese anime, video games and dogs — going so far as to borrow a dog for a day during a family vacation to Hawaii, his younger sister said. But he was known first and foremost as a prankster. He pulled funny faces, cracked jokes and disrupted classes in a constant quest for laughter. Staging his own death as a hoax would have been in keeping with Adam’s sometimes dark sense of humor, his friends said.

But it was true. His mother found Adam’s body on a Friday afternoon. He had hanged himself in his bedroom closet. There was no note, and his family and friends struggled to understand what had happened.

Adam was withdrawn in the last month of his life, his family said. He had gone through a rough patch. He had been kicked off the basketball team for disciplinary reasons during his freshman year at Tesoro High School in Rancho Santa Margarita, Calif. A longtime health issue — eventually diagnosed as irritable bowel syndrome — flared up in the fall, making his trips to the bathroom so frequent, his parents said, that he switched to an online program so he could finish his sophomore year at home. Able to set his own schedule, he became a night owl, often sleeping late into the day.

He started using ChatGPT-4o around that time to help with his schoolwork, and signed up for a paid account in January.

Despite these setbacks, Adam was active and engaged. He had briefly taken up martial arts with one of his close friends. He was into “looksmaxxing,” a social media trend among young men who want to optimize their attractive-

ness, one of his two sisters said, and went to the gym with his older brother almost every night. His grades improved, and he was looking forward to returning to school for his junior year, said his mother, Maria Raine, a social

worker and therapist. In family pictures taken weeks before his death, he stands with his arms folded, a big smile on his face.

Seeking answers, his father, Matt Raine, a hotel executive, turned to Adam’s iPhone, thinking his text messages or social media apps might hold clues about what had happened. But instead, it was ChatGPT where he found some, according to legal papers. The

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MARK ABRAMSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Matt and Maria Raine sifting through months of conversations between ChatGPT and their son Adam, who died in April at 16.

## Suddenly Within Reach: The Fed in Trump’s Grip

### How He Could Steer the Banking System

**By COLBY SMITH**

A watershed legal battle over the White House’s attempt to oust a sitting Federal Reserve governor has only just begun, but if President Trump gets his way, it could leave him with much more latitude to steer the central bank’s decisions on interest rates and its oversight of Wall Street.

Mr. Trump is already relishing the idea.

“We’ll have a majority very shortly,” Mr. Trump said at his latest marathon cabinet meeting about the Fed’s powerful seven-person Board of Governors. “So that’ll be great.”

Mr. Trump plans to appoint loyal individuals to that board, and he would need to fill just one more seat for the balance of power to tip further in his favor. If that happens, it would give the president immense sway over an institution that is supposed to operate independently from the White House.

The president could also gain substantial leverage over another part of the Federal Reserve system — the 12 regional banks whose officials take turn voting on policy matters. The central bank’s staff are vulnerable, too.

“With four on the board, the president and his administration can have a big influence,” said Gary Richardson, a professor of economics at the University of California, Irvine. “It gives them ways to push.”

That kind of power is desired by Mr. Trump, who has for months harangued the Fed to lower borrowing costs and has made little secret that he would like Jerome H. Powell, the Fed’s

chair, to resign. But until August, the chances that Mr. Trump could so swiftly gain a majority of support on the board seemed far-fetched.

The president’s first big break came when Adriana D. Kugler hastily stepped down months before her term as a governor was set to end. The president tapped Stephen I. Miran, a critic of the Fed who most recently served as one of Mr. Trump’s top economic advisers, to take Ms. Kugler’s place. He could be confirmed by the Senate in time for the Fed’s next policy meeting in September.

Mr. Trump’s second break could come if the courts are persuaded that he is allowed to remove Lisa D. Cook, a governor, over allegations that she committed mortgage fraud. The law stipulates that a president can fire a member of the board only “for cause,” which is interpreted to mean professional neglect or malfeasance. Ms. Cook, who has not been charged with any crime or convicted of any wrongdoing, filed a lawsuit on Thursday against Mr. Trump seeking to retain her position. Her lawyers have argued that the allegations are not enough to meet the “for cause” test.

If the courts disagree, Ms. Cook’s departure would allow Mr. Trump to put forward yet another nominee. In his first term, he appointed Christopher J. Waller and Michelle W. Bowman to the board. He also elevated Mr. Powell to become the chair. Mr. Trump will get a chance to name a new chair soon given

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**WHITE HOUSE MEMO**

## Is the President Watching? Ask Cracker Barrel.

**By KATIE ROGERS**

WASHINGTON — Cracker Barrel didn’t ask for this.

Just a couple of weeks ago, it was a restaurant where patrons could play checkers and eat Chicken n’ Dumplings. That changed when the chain removed an image of a man sitting next to a barrel from its logo. The restaurant endured cultural backlash from conservatives, including President Trump’s eldest son, who accused the company’s executives of supporting diversity efforts.

After a call with White House officials and a logo change last week, the company unwoke itself to Mr. Trump’s liking.

“Congratulations Cracker Barrel!” read the statement from Mr. Trump, who celebrated the old barrel man’s return to the logo. “All of your fans very much appreciate it.”

It used to be that you could switch off the so-called culture wars, or at least find a place to mute them for a little while. Cracker Barrel was actually one of those places. But now, not even something as low stakes as a company’s logo can escape the gaze of a president bent on changing — or forcing — American life to reflect his own views and tastes, which often mirror the far-right ideological movement that fueled his rise.

The White House declined to comment on why this matter was worthy of the president’s time, and why officials had held the call with Cracker Barrel. But an

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HAIYUN JIANG/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Shows of force don’t produce durable decreases, experts say.

## Drop in Crime Could Be Short In Washington

**By TIM ARANGO**

In the days since the president deployed hundreds of National Guard troops and federal agents to patrol city streets, crime has continued to drop in Washington. The question is whether the trend will last.

Local politicians, along with people who study crime for a living, say probably not.

In Washington, local elected officials have called President Trump’s deployment of the National Guard to fight street crime a power grab — just a temporary show of force unlikely to produce any durable reductions in crime, since leaving hundreds of troops on the ground indefinitely is unsustainable.

“The reason that surges are not particularly effective, and are generally disfavored by crime researchers and others who look at this stuff for a living, is because it’s a resource-intensive way of temporarily reducing crime,” said

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## What’s in the Suitcase: Extra-Strength Cannabis From California

**By LIZZIE DEARDEN**

LONDON — In California, the legalization of recreational marijuana has had many consequences, including the boom in boutique dispensaries, the proliferation of edibles and increasing questions around the health effects for some users.

Add to the list a more unexpected effect, far from the industrial

greenhouses of Northern California: an illicit export market for so-called Cali weed in Britain, where cannabis remains illegal.

California-grown marijuana, which has developed a reputation for potency and high quality, is so popular that it is being smuggled in suitcases from America with minimal attempts to hide it, according to British law enforcement officials.

**Smuggling Feeds Huge Demand in Britain**

Officials have intercepted a steady flow of cannabis-filled suitcases loaded onto passenger flights from the United States, with an average of five seizures a month this year. The drug is often

vacuum-packed in plastic bags and crammed inside suitcases taken on commercial flights as checked baggage.

“What we’re seeing is Californian weed, which demands a price premium in the U.K.,” Paul Pantry, a senior officer at the National Crime Agency, where he oversees Britain’s border security issues, told The New York Times. “The

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**INTERNATIONAL A4-9**

### The Banlieue Reborn

The suburbs of Paris are more vibrant than ever, blurring borders and shifting the city’s center of gravity. PAGE A7

**Russia’s Ominous Message**  
The Kremlin’s missile strikes on American and European assets seem to signal a resistance to peace efforts. PAGE A6

**NATIONAL A10-19**

### When a Motive Is Obscure

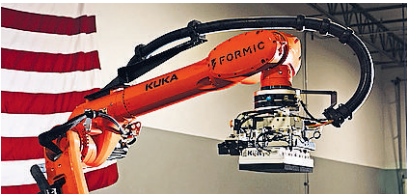
Investigators reviewing evidence from the attack on a Minneapolis church cautioned that such shooters can leave more questions than answers. PAGE A18

**Minors’ Deportation Blocked**  
A judge temporarily barred the Trump administration from sending back young Guatemalans. PAGE A16

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### Striking Photographer, and Life

Tina Modotti’s work is in museums, but her relationships with prominent men once obscured it. Overlooked. PAGE B6



**BUSINESS B1-4**

### Tech Helps Sites Keep Humans

Renting robots is one way some small U.S. factories reduce turnover and ensure workers are not injured. PAGE B1

**Safety Net Frays for Workers**  
A U.S. trade program was supposed to help when jobs were at risk from competition, but it has been eroded. PAGE B1

**SPORTS D1-8**

### A Growing Stalking Problem

Even as many cases in sports go unreported in the news media and to the police, players are increasingly admitting that it affects their mental health and their performance. PAGE D2

**Tar Heels Bet on Belichick**  
North Carolina football, which opens its season on Monday, has seen skyrocketing demand for season tickets and record donor revenue with the N.F.L. veteran as its new head coach. PAGE D7

**OPINION A20-21**

**Kristen Soltis Anderson** PAGE A21



**ARTS C1-6**

### Therapeutic Watercolors

When Katrina hit New Orleans, an art program helped children process their emotions. Two decades on, creations like the one above still resonate. PAGE C1



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