"All the News That's Fit to Print"

# The New York Times

Today, hazy sun, dry, light winds, very warm, high 88. Tonight, clear to partly cloudy, light winds, low 72. Tomorrow, partly sunny, very warm, light of the part high 89. Weather map, Page D8.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



Tatiana Andia and her husband, Andrés Molano, last year. After a cancer diagnosis, she decided to publicly chronicle her death.

# She Took Her Country Along for Her Last Journey

## Overcoming Colombia's Barriers to Assisted Death

#### By STEPHANIE NOLEN

CARTAGENA, Colombia The crowd was expectant when Tatiana Andia took the microphone: She was a hero to many in the room, the woman who negotiated cheaper drug prices for Colombia. But that day, at a conference for policymakers and academics on the right to health in Latin America, there was an intimate topic she wanted to discuss.

"A year ago I was diagnosed with a terminal lung cancer," she began, "one that's incurable, catastrophic, all the terrible adjectives." She gave a small laugh, acknowledging the whole thing sounded preposterous.

The air in the packed conference room went still.

Ms. Andia, 44, a professor and a former official in Colombia's health ministry, said she was going to speak not as an expert, but from a different perspective, one

#### THE FINAL CHOICE

A National Conversation

newly acquired — that of a patient. A particular health rights issue preoccupied her these days, she said: the right to death.

No one, she went on, wants to talk to me about dying.

She began to speak faster and faster, and her hands fluttered around her face like small birds.

People in the audience looked at the floor, the ceiling, their laps.

"How come we can't talk about having a dignified death when we talk about the right to health?" she demanded.

On that day a year ago in Cartagena, Ms. Andia concluded her presentation without going into details about how and when she would die. But she had been making plans for months.

Colombia has allowed physi-Continued on Page A6

# **NEWS ANALYSIS**

# In 2nd Term, Trump Pushes War on Facts

Authoritarian Echoes in Jobs Report Firing

#### By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — An old rule in Washington holds that you are entitled to your own opinions but you are not entitled to your own facts. President Trump seems determined to prove that wrong.

Don't like an intelligence report that contradicts your view? Go after the analysts. Don't like cost estimates for your tax plan? Invent your own. Don't like a predecessor's climate policies? Scrub government websites of underlying data. Don't like a museum exhibit that cites your impeachments? Delete any mention of them.

Mr. Trump's war on facts reached new heights on Friday when he angrily fired the Labor Department official in charge of compiling statistics on employment in America because he did not like the latest jobs report showing that the economy isn't doing as well as he claims it is. Mr. Trump declared that her numbers were "phony." His proof? It was "my opinion." And the story he told supposedly proving she was politically biased? It had no basis in fact itself.

The message, however, was unmistakable: Government officials who deal in data now fear they have to toe the line or risk losing their jobs. Career scientists, longtime intelligence analysts and nonpartisan statisticians who serve every president regardless of political party with neutral information on countless matters, such as weather patterns and vaccine efficacy, now face pressure as never before to conform to the alternative reality enforced by the president and his team.

Mr. Trump has never been especially wedded to facts, routinely making up his own numbers, repeating falsehoods and conspiracy theories even after ing the very concept of independent fact-checking. But his efforts since reclaiming the White House to make the rest of government adopt his versions of the truth have gone further than in his first term and increasingly remind scholars of the way authoritarian leaders in other countries have sought to control information.

"Democracy can't realistically exist without reliable enistemic infrastructure," said Michael Patrick Lynch, author of the recently published "On Truth in Politics" and a professor at the

Continued on Page A14

# HOW TRUMP E.P.A. IS GIVING UP ROLE OF U.S. PROTECTOR

#### **UNDOES CLIMATE RULES**

Transformation Puts the Vulnerable in Peril, Scientists Say

#### By DAVID GELLES and MAXINE JOSELOW

Ever since 1965, when President Lyndon B. Johnson's science advisory committee warned of the dangers of unchecked global warming, the United States has taken steps to protect people from these risks.

Now, however, the Trump administration appears to be essentially abandoning this principle, claiming that the costs of addressing climate change outweigh the benefits. The effect is to shift more of the risk and responsibility onto states and, ultimately, individual Americans, even as rising temperatures fuel more extreme and costly weather disasters nationwide, experts say.

"It's a radical transformation of government's role, in terms of its intervention into the economy to try to promote the health and safety of citizens," said Donald Kettl, a professor emeritus at the



Laws fought the kind of smog that covered New York in 1966.

University of Maryland's School of Public Policy.

Lee Zeldin, the administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, last week proposed to repeal the landmark scientific finding that enables the federal government to regulate the greenhouse gases that are warming the planet. In effect, the E.P.A. will eliminate its own authority to combat climate change.

Speaking at a truck dealership in İndianapolis, Mr. Zeldin said the E.P.A. would reverse a 2009 scientific conclusion, known as the endangerment finding, that greenhouse gas emissions pose a threat to public health. He said the agency would also rescind Bidenera regulations designed to reduce planet-warming emissions

Continued on Page A13

# Another Workday Was Ending. The Horror Was Just Beginning

This article is by **Michael Wilson**, Maureen Farrell and Chelsia Rose

A group from the finance firm Blackstone gathered for a mixer off the lobby of 345 Park Avenue last Monday evening. Across the big, airy space a Blackstone senior executive, Wesley LePatner, 43, was passing through after a day of meetings upstairs. She was a mentor to young women who oversaw a real estate team that had injected tens of billions of dollars into their portfolio.

A busy Monday, nearing its end. There was the lobby's security guard — friendly and popular. He stepped outside every day to buy a lottery ticket from the news stand on Lexington Avenue. Today's my day, he would joke with the young vendor. I'll win big and solve all my problems.

Darin Laing, 37, in finance, passed him by as he left with a colleague to grab a quick dinner across the street.

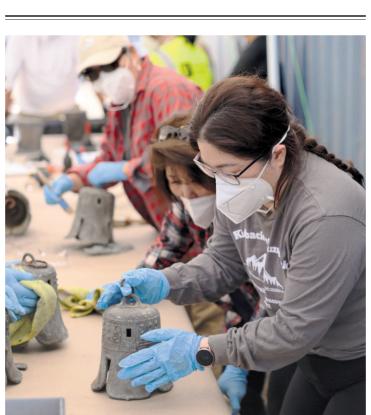
None of them noticed a dark BMW pull up on Park Avenue and double park. The driver stepped out. It was a hot day, the beginning of a heat wave that gripped the city. So the lobby's big blinds were lowered against the sun, masking his approach to the building.

Just before 6:30 p.m., the driver, a slim young man wearing sunglasses, entered the lobby with an assault rifle in his right hand.

Much would be learned about that man in the hours and days to follow — and about the four others who would ultimately lose their lives. But at that moment and for a long stretch that followed, he was an anonymous, terrifying, unfolding threat. One that New Yorkers have seen play out all over America, and now had come to their

Interviews with building employees and law enforcement officials tell the story of those harrowing minutes.

A police officer working securi-Continued on Page A12



## **Handling Hawaiian History**

Archaeologists and others are working to save items, like temple bells, above, that survived the 2023 Lahaina wildfires. Page C1.

# 10,000 Steps? A Nice, Round Number, but Not the Magic One.

## By SIMAR BAJAJ

Walking 10,000 steps a day has long been a fitness cliché. But new research suggests that the health benefits of walking ramp up until about 7,000 steps, before leveling out. And as daily goals go, that's a little more attainable

The analysis, published this month in the medical journal The Lancet Public Health, examined data from 57 studies and found

that even moderate amounts of walking were associated with a lower risk of dementia and cardiovascular disease, among other conditions, adding to a wide body of research tying walking to longevity. People who walked 7,000 steps a day (roughly three miles) also had a 47 percent lower risk of death compared with those who walked 2,000 steps, the analysis

**INTERNATIONAL A4-9** 

to enforce "discipline."

China Curbs Workers' Travel

like schoolteachers and nurses have

A state-approved messaging app has

raised fears that Moscow may block

Country Music Trailblazer

Jeannie Seelv, 85, broke the gingham-

clad mold for women and was the first

female Grand Ole Opry host. PAGE B5

Stifling Russia's Internet

WhatsApp and Telegram.

**OBITUARIES B5-6** 

Even low-level government employees

been ordered to hand in their passports,

"It is just as important to walk

#### Study Says We Benefit Well Before Then

7,000 steps a day as it is to take your pills," said Dr. Joshua Knowles, a cardiologist at Stan-

walking improves metabolic health, making the heart stronger

and more efficient while also reducing weight, cholesterol and blood sugar levels, said Keith Baar, a physiologist at the Univer-

While most scientific reviews have looked at how higher step counts are linked to lower risk of cardiovascular disease and death, the new analysis examined associations across a much broader

Continued on Page A15

## Tariffs Are Moneymakers, But Risk Becoming a Crutch

**NEWS ANALYSIS** 

## By ANDREW DUEHREN

WASHINGTON — President Trump's extensive tariffs have already started to generate a significant amount of money for the federal government, a new source of revenue for a heavily indebted nation that American policymakers may start to rely

As part of his quest to reorder the global trading system, Mr. Trump has imposed steep tariffs on America's trading partners, with the bulk of those set to go into effect on Aug. 7. Even before the latest tariffs kick in, revenue from taxes collected on imported goods has grown drastically so far this year. Customs duties,

along with some excise taxes, generated \$152 billion through July, roughly double the \$78 billion netted over the same time period last fiscal year, according to Treasury data.

Indeed, Mr. Trump has routinely cited the tariff revenue as evidence that his trade approach, which has sowed uncertainty and begun to increase prices for consumers, is a win for the United States. Members of his administration have argued that the money from the tariffs would help plug the hole created by the broad tax cuts Congress passed last month, which are expected

Continued on Page A15



**BUSINESS B1-4** 

China's Workshops Struggling The trade cease-fire left exporters with

onerous tariffs, worsening a slowdown for light-industry factories.

## Perils of Meddling With Data

After the head of the labor bureau was fired, economists said unbiased reporting was necessary to set policy. PAGE B1

PAGE A4

ford Health Care.

Decades of research shows that

SPORTS D1-8

N.B.A. Bubble, 5 Years Later

good, the bad and the odd from a sea-

Figures around the league reflect on the

son during the Covid lockdown. PAGE D1

An Ending Is Also a Beginning

future. The team is rebuilding. PAGE D2

Carlos Correa's exit from the Twins

began with a candid talk about the

sity of California, Davis.

range of conditions. For example,

#### **NATIONAL A10-15, 18** Texas Democrats Leave State

The walkout was a sharp escalation in a partisan clash over a congressional redistricting requested by President Trump aimed at switching seats to Republicans.

## Miami Republicans Called Out

"Deporting immigrants is cruel," some of the ads against Cuban Americans in Congress read. Michael B. Fernández, a billionaire, said he wanted to "wake up" Miami's conscience. PAGE A14

**OPINION A16-17** 

Julia Angwin

## 'King of the Hill' Returns

Hank and Peggy are retired and Bobby is a chef in an aged-up series revival, a return made bittersweet by the deaths of several former cast members. PAGE C1



PAGE A16