

“All the News  
That’s Fit to Print”

# The New York Times

**THE WEATHER**  
Today, humid, an afternoon storm in spots, high 89. **Tonight**, an evening thunderstorm, low 69. **Tomorrow**, less humid, partly cloudy, high 77. Weather map appears on Page 30.

VOL. CLXXIV ... No. 60,614

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SUNDAY, AUGUST 17, 2025

Prices in Canada may be higher

\$6.00



LOREN ELLIOTT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

U.S. Forest Service firefighters from a hotshot crew working around the Gifford blaze last week in San Luis Obispo County, Calif.

## Unmasked in Smoke, Wildfire Crews Are Getting Fatally Ill

**By HANNAH DREIER**

The smoke from the wildfires that burned through Los Angeles in January smelled like plastic and was so thick that it hid the ocean. Firefighters who responded developed instant migraines, coughed up black goo and dropped to their knees, vomiting and dizzy.

Seven months later, some are still jolted awake by wheezing fits in the middle of the night. One damaged his vocal cords so badly that his young son says he sounds like a supervillain. Another used to run a six-minute mile and now struggles to run at all.

Fernando Allende, a 33-year-old whose U.S. Forest Service

crew was among the first on the ground, figured he would bounce back from his nagging cough. But in June, while fighting another fire, he suddenly couldn't breathe. At the hospital, doctors discovered blood clots in his lungs and a mass pressing on his heart. They gave him a diagnosis usually seen in much older people: non-Hodgkin lymphoma, an aggressive cancer.

It would be unthinkable for urban firefighters — those American icons who loom large in the public imagination — to enter a burning building without wearing a mask. But across the country, tens of thousands of people who fight wildfires spend weeks working in toxic smoke and ash wearing only a cloth bandanna, or nothing at all.

Wildfire crews were once seasonal laborers who fit in deployments between other jobs. They might have experienced only a few bad smoke days a year and had the winter and spring to recover. Now, as the United States sees more drought and extreme heat, forest fires are starting earlier in the year, burning longer and expanding further. Firefighters often work almost year-round.

### Forest Service Failed to Heed Decades of Health Warnings

And many of them are getting very sick.

Some struggle to walk up a flight of stairs after seasons spent in smoke. Others have become permanently disabled after breathing in concentrated plumes of ash, fungus or poison oak. They are getting cancer in their 20s, developing heart disease in their 30s, waiting for lung transplants in their 40s.

“I’ve been on eight of the 10 biggest fires in California history. Now I can’t even push a shopping cart without having chest pain,” said Brian Wangerin, a former crew boss who fought wildfires for a decade until heart problems put him out of work at 33. “I can’t hold

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## Juvenile Crime A D.C. Concern For Many Years

**By CAMPBELL ROBERTSON and NICHOLAS BOGEL-BURROUGHS**

WASHINGTON — The arrest of two 15-year-olds after a government worker was attacked this month on a Washington, D.C., street was going to attract attention in a city where violent crimes committed by young people have long gripped the public consciousness.

But the man who was assaulted in what he said was an attempted carjacking was not just any government worker — he was a high-profile Trump administration employee. And in the days that followed, the president lashed out, claiming the city was overrun by “roving mobs of wild youth” and renewing his threats to take over the city.

On Monday, President Trump announced he was placing the District of Columbia’s police department under federal control and sending in the National Guard, as he and his top prosecutor for the city declared they were fed up with what they say is rampant lawlessness among young people in the city.

“I see too much violent crime being committed by young punks who think that they can get together in gangs and crews and beat the hell out of you or anyone else,” said Jeanine Pirro, the U.S. attorney for the District of Columbia.

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MERIDITH KOHUT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The SpaceX Starship is a reusable rocket that the founder Elon Musk hopes will one day reach Mars.

## SpaceX Gets Billions From U.S., But Likely Pays Very Little Taxes

**By SUSANNE CRAIG and KIRSTEN GRIND**

SpaceX, Elon Musk’s rocket and satellite internet company, has received billions of dollars in federal contracts over its more than two-decade existence.

But SpaceX has most likely paid little to no federal income taxes since its founding in 2002 and has privately told investors that it may never have to pay any, according to internal company documents reviewed by The New York Times.

The rocket maker’s finances have long been secret because the company is privately held. But the documents reviewed by The Times show that SpaceX can seize on a legal tax benefit that allows it to use the more than \$5 billion in losses it racked up by late 2021 to offset paying future taxable income. President Trump made a change in 2017, during his first term, that eliminated the tax benefit’s expiration date for all

companies. For SpaceX, that means that nearly \$3 billion of its losses can be indefinitely applied against future taxable income.

Tax experts consulted by The Times said that not having to pay tax on \$5 billion in taxable income was substantial and notable for a company that has relied on contracts with the U.S. government to an unusual degree. SpaceX works closely with the Pentagon, NASA and other agencies, giving it a vital role in national security. In 2020, federal contracts generated almost 84 percent of the rocket maker’s revenue, according to the documents, a figure that had not been previously reported.

Larger tech companies — including some that have taken advantage of the tax benefit — often pay billions in federal income taxes. Microsoft, for one, said it expected to pay \$14.1 billion in federal income taxes in 2024.

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## Somehow the Stock Market Just Keeps Climbing, Past Tariffs and Inflation Fears

**By JOE RENNISON**

To the casual observer, the rally in the stock market may seem baffling.

The effective tariff rate on U.S. imports is the highest it has been since the 1930s, upending supply chains, stoking inflation concerns and underpinning an intensifying

war of words between President Trump and Jerome H. Powell, chair of the Federal Reserve.

But the S&P 500 has continued to hit new highs. The index has recovered all the ground it lost in the global market sell-off in April, after Mr. Trump announced sweeping tariffs. It is now more than 5 percent above its last peak, in February, and almost 10 percent

higher for the year.

For the time being, the economic reality of tariffs has yet to catch up with the market’s earlier worries.

Corporate profits remain strong, and the economy, despite worries about what’s to come, is still solid. There are pockets of weakness, but the biggest companies that drive the S&P 500’s performance have been largely insulated against further impact from tariffs, propelled instead by the growth of artificial intelligence.

“There is a case to be made there that we are through the worst of it,” said Stuart Kaiser, an equity strategist at Citigroup.

With most companies in the S&P 500 having already reported earnings for the three months

through June, the average growth rate of the companies in the index nudged into double digits for the third quarter in a row, according to data from FactSet.

Big tech companies again led the way, helping to justify their high stock prices. A further contraction in the energy sector,

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### INTERNATIONAL 4-10

**Canada Shuts Down Strike**  
A walkout by Air Canada’s 10,000 flight attendants ended after 12 hours when binding arbitration was imposed. **PAGE 4**

**Malnourished Children at Risk**  
Cuts to U.S. aid have disrupted the global supply chain of an inexpensive therapeutic food. **PAGE 10**

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In new films by Chloé Zhao and Maggie Gyllenhaal, Jessie Buckley bolsters her reputation for taking on complicated roles with devastating power. **PAGE 12**



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Bears have acquired a fondness for Montana’s farmyards. That’s where bear dogs like Patton come in. **PAGE 11**

**The Gunman Upstairs**  
The man who killed four people in a Manhattan office tower struggled with his mental health for years. **PAGE 12**

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Zohran Mamdani’s win in the Democratic primary has challenged traditional assumptions about New York City’s Black electorate. **PAGE 1**

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**A Busy Cecilia Bartoli**  
The star mezzo-soprano has much to say and sing while running a festival and an opera house at an age when others start to retire. **PAGE 4**

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**SUNDAY STYLES**  
**A Publicist for the Provocative**  
Mitchell Jackson represents divisive figures such as the right-wing podcaster Candace Owens. **PAGE 1**

**Plastic Surgery Power Player**  
Melinda Farina is sending Hollywood actresses and everyday women to doctors around the world. **PAGE 4**

### SUNDAY BUSINESS

**Wait, What Am I Selling?**  
Scott Jacquemin, an actor, licensed his likeness for A.I.-powered ads on TikTok. But after seeing himself pitching a peculiar range of businesses, he now has some regrets. **PAGE 6**

**Alternatives to U.S. Schools**  
As President Trump pushes international students away, other countries, particularly those in Asia that have been building up their universities, look more appealing. **PAGE 1**

