

“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Today, mostly sunny, continued low humidity, high 79. **Tonight**, partly cloudy, low 62. **Tomorrow**, plenty of sunshine, low humidity levels again, high 79. Weather map, Page B10.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00

Gun Seizures In Washington Create Duality

Crackdown as Trump Eases Arms Policies

By GLENN THRUSH

WASHINGTON — The Trump administration's crackdown on crime in Washington has been propelled, in part, by an aggressive clampdown on guns, with city and federal officials confiscating around 150 weapons since the president declared a crime emergency in the capital three weeks ago.

“I’m pleased to report another 105 arrests have been made and 12 illegal guns taken off the streets of Washington, DC,” Attorney General Pam Bondi wrote on social media on Thursday. It was part of her near-daily tally of gun seizures, an effort spearheaded by Jeanine Pirro, the U.S. attorney for the District of Columbia.

Under almost any other president, heralding a gun sweep would not be notable. But the shift toward gun enforcement — and publicizing the aggressive street sweeps — marks an abrupt departure for an administration that has courted Second Amendment maximalists and sharply downgraded federal firearms enforcement.

President Trump's political appointees rolled back Biden-era regulations and diverted officials assigned to weapons cases to immigration raids. The White House has also proposed steep cuts to the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives, and installed disengaged, inexperienced leaders to oversee its increasingly marginalized work force.

While these moves have not exposed major political divisions, they have caused some uneasiness among gun rights supporters who are concerned that law-and-order officials like Ms. Pirro, who once supported restrictions on assault rifles, will create a chilling effect on legal gun owners in the district and in the surrounding area.

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Jan. 6 Rioters, Given Pardons, Now Seek More

By ALAN FEUER

The rioters who attacked the Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021, secured a shocking double victory this year. President Trump granted them clemency for their crimes on his first day back in the White House, and in the months that followed, he allowed his Justice Department to purge many of the federal agents and prosecutors who sought to hold them accountable.

But even though the president has given the rioters their freedom and has taken steps toward satisfying their desire for retribution, they are asking for more. In the past several weeks, the rioters and their lawyers have pushed the Trump administration to pay them restitution for what they believe were unfair prosecutions.

On Thursday, one of the lawyers, Mark McCloskey, said during a public meeting on social media that he had recently met with top officials at the Justice Department and pitched them on a plan to create a special panel that would dole out financial damages to the rioters — much like the arrangement of a special master to award money to the victims of the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks.

The panel, which Mr. McCloskey called a “voluntary nonjudicial resolution committee,” would consider rioters’ cases individually, he said, then assign them sums according to harms they had purportedly suffered at the hands

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An array of improvised explosives recovered by the state police force bomb squad in Morelia, Michoacán. Casings are commonly made from plastic bottles or cut drainpipes.

Cartels Wield Arsenal of War

Mexican Drug Gangs Adapt With Drones and Land Mines

By PAULINA VILLEGAS

EL GUAYABO, Mexico — The explosions began before dawn, shaking the ground and rattling windows in the darkness. With them, residents said, came the telltale buzz of drones.

“We knew the devil was coming,” said Ana, a mother of six who grabbed her children and ran as gunmen moved in to do battle.

Weeks later, her town still bore scars. Holes were blasted into roofs where drones had dropped bombs. Craters gaped where land mines had exploded. Spent .50-caliber shells glinted in the dirt.

The clash was not in a war zone of Ukraine or the Middle East, and the combatants did not belong to any army. They were criminal groups,

armed with military-grade weapons and fighting just a few hundred miles from the U.S. border, in Mexico's western state of Michoacán.

Some of Mexico's most formidable cartels are locked in a vicious arms race on multiple fronts. On one side, they are battling the Mexican government, which is under intense pressure from the United States to crack down on the drug trade. But they are also fighting one another for territory and resources, leaving a deadly toll among their members and the civilians caught in between.

Now, President Trump has ordered the Pentagon to begin using military force against certain drug cartels designated as terrorist groups. The directive has infuriated Mexico's leaders, who

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WAKIL KOHSAR/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Deadly Earthquake Strikes Afghanistan

The 6.0-magnitude temblor killed more than 800 people, officials estimated, and the death toll is expected to rise. Rugged terrain and landslides complicated recovery efforts on Monday. Page A8.

In Blitz on Science, Experts Warn of an Autocratic Tilt

NEWS ANALYSIS C.D.C. Left Battling for Its Survival

By APOORVA MANDAVILLI

In the six months since Robert F. Kennedy Jr. took office as the health secretary, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention has withered, losing thousands of employees, about half of its budget and contracts, and much of its authority over the nation's vaccine policies.

Last week, as Mr. Kennedy ousted the agency's new director and precipitated the resignation of four other leaders, experts in public health began asking questions unthinkable just a few months ago: Is the C.D.C. dying? And if so, what does that mean for Americans?

In interviews, a dozen public health experts, along with seven former high-ranking officials, described the C.D.C. as badly wounded and fast losing its legitimacy. It can still be salvaged, they said, but only if Mr. Kennedy listens to scientists and restores some of its crucial functions.

“It’s got, like, a heart rhythm that’s not viable at the moment,” said Dr. Demetre Daskalakis, who led the C.D.C.’s center for respiratory diseases until he resigned last week. “If it’s not shocked out of it now, it may not survive.”

Some experts acknowledged that the C.D.C. has its faults and needs serious reform. Its reputation was badly damaged during the pandemic, in part by its own missteps and in part because of misinformation spread by detractors.

But Mr. Kennedy “has not been reforming the C.D.C.,” said Dr. Ashish Jha, who served as the Covid czar during the Biden administration.

“He has been breaking it, and breaking it in a way that loses pretty much all the good people within it,” Dr. Jha said.

Asked for comment, Andrew Nixon, a spokesman for the Department of Health and Human Services, pointed to Mr. Kennedy’s message to C.D.C. employees on Thursday night.

“The C.D.C. must once again be the world’s leader in communicable disease prevention,” Mr. Kennedy said in the email. “Together, we will rebuild this institution into what it was always meant to be: a guardian of America’s health and security.”

On Thursday night, Mr. Kennedy announced that a longtime ally, James O’Neill, would be

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Are Research Cuts Fighting Red Tape or Free Inquiry?

By WILLIAM J. BROAD

The war on science began four centuries ago when the Roman Catholic Church outlawed books that reimagined the heavens. Subsequent regimes shot or jailed thousands of scientists. Today, in such places as China and Hungary, a less fearsome type of strongman relies on budget cuts, intimidation and high-tech surveillance to cow scientists into submission.

Then there is President Trump, whom voters last year decisively returned to the White House. His blitz on science stands out because America’s labs and their discoveries powered the nation’s rise in the last century and now foster its global influence.

Just last week, Mr. Trump fired the newly confirmed director of the Centers for Disease Control



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Trump has made deep cuts to research projects.

and Prevention. Her lawyers said the move spoke to “the silencing of experts and the dangerous politicization of science.”

In rapid bursts, Mr. Trump has also laid off large teams of scientists, pulled the plug on thousands of research projects and proposed deep spending cuts for new studies. If his proposed \$44 billion cut to next year’s budget is enacted, it will prompt the largest drop in federal support for science since World War II, when scientists and Washington began their partnership.

Few if any analysts see Mr. Trump as a Stalin, who crushed science, or even as a direct analog to this era’s strongmen leaders. But his assault on researchers and their institutions is so deep that historians and other experts see similarities to the playbook employed by autocratic regimes to curb science.

For instance, despots over the ages devised a lopsided way of

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After Her Son’s Fentanyl Death, Seeking Solitude, Then Justice

By MICHAEL CORKERY

Don’t come downstairs, the police told her. You don’t want to see him this way.

Serena Fallon did as the officers said and stayed upstairs while her son lay dead on the basement floor of her Bay Ridge, Brooklyn, home.

Connor, 25, had returned the night before from Florida, where he had recently attended a drug rehab program. After showering and getting ready for bed, he slumped over into his suitcase.

Serena and her husband, Doug, found him in the morning and called 911. The police, suspecting a fentanyl overdose, urged her to stay away from Connor while they worked.

At one point, a detective walked through the house, she said, but left without leaving his card. Connor lay on the floor for six hours



DAVE SANDERS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Serena Fallon’s locket holds photos of Connor, who was 25.

before the medical examiner was ready to take his body away. The whole time, she paced upstairs, calling and texting her family, but mostly unsure of what to do.

“I think of myself harshly that day,” she wrote in a letter to a

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Shaken by a Stalker
Aaron Donald, once an N.F.L. star, has faced the attentions of an obsessed woman for five years. PAGE B6

Game. Set. Cuddles.

At the U.S. Open, players’ dogs are a key part of the entourage, and they have the run of the place. PAGE B7

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Prolonging the War in Gaza
Israel’s push for a permanent cease-fire deal and its plans for a Gaza City offensive are signs that fighting is unlikely to end soon. News Analysis. PAGE A7

A Power Troika Signals Unity
The leaders of Russia, India and China projected a closeness at a security summit intended to show the world an alternative to U.S. leadership. PAGE A6

Syrian City Shattered by War
The Assad regime destroyed Daraya, near Damascus, for its role in the resistance. Residents have little hope of rebuilding anytime soon. PAGE A4

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Trump Strips Union Rights
More than 445,000 federal employees lost union protections last month as the president continues to assert control over government workers. PAGE A17

Mueller Has Parkinson’s
The former special counsel, who led the Russia investigation, has had difficulty speaking in recent months. PAGE A17

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Stepping Into Trade Minefield
Manufacturing has become perilous in countries once viewed as safe alternatives to China. PAGE B1

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A High-Volume Operation
Karl Scholz, a D.J. turned audio engineer, brings his equipment to community events for little or no cost. PAGE C1

No Straying Off Script
A cat named Tonic with an impressive résumé landed the vital role of Bud in the film “Caught Stealing.” PAGE C1

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On a Meteorite Hunt
An all-female research group searches Brazil’s interior trying to preserve space rocks for scientific study. PAGE D1

In Every Tree, a Trillion Lives
Scientists are just beginning to understand an invisible ecosystem that is contained within a single tree. PAGE D5

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