"All the News That's Fit to Print"

# The New York Times

Today, partly cloudy, windy, high 43.
Tonight, partly cloudy, low 31. Tomorrow, mostly cloudy, moderate temperatures for late December, high 44. Weather map, Page B10.

\$4.00

**THE WEATHER** 

VOL. CLXXV .... No. 60,743

Lethal Recipe:

Older Copters,

**Inexpert Pilots** 

By KATE KELLY

Army for years put inexperienced

pilots in aging helicopters and

flew them over the nation's capi-

above Ronald Reagan National

Airport in Washington is one of

the most complex in the country,

Army aviators operated there in a

way that suggested they were un-

familiar with some of its dangers,

That combination of risks had

worried others flying the same

skies, a situation of such concern

that a safety summit was held

Assessing the wreckage in the

Potomac after a midair crash.

military and law enforcement pi-

Now, those continuing prob-

lems are being re-examined after

an Army helicopter crew from the

12th Aviation Battalion in North-

ern Virginia flew a dated model

Black Hawk helicopter into a com-

mercial jet at a perilous juncture

in the Washington airspace on Jan

29. The collision killed everyone

on board both aircraft — a total of

The New York Times found.

And even though the airspace

WASHINGTON — The U.S.

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WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 24, 2025

As Artists Flee Expensive City,

A Core Identity Could Be Lost

By ELIZA SHAPIRO

day by the Center for an Urban

Today, there are fewer dancers

and fashion designers, video edi-

tors and graphic designers than there were in 2019, the report

found. New York's share of people

working in creative industries

compared with the rest of the

United States declined during the

Of course, New York has never

exactly been a cheap place to

make art, and creative workers

have always come and gone. But

something different is happening.

the city grew by about 35 percent

Continued on Page A16

The number of artists living in

Future, a think tank.

same period.

New York is a city of trade-offs.

For as long as the rent has been

too high, the subways perpetually

delayed and the rats abundant,

New York's singular arts scene has brought people to the city and

The arts have helped define

New York's image and buoyed its

economy, creating jobs in adver-

tising, television, publishing and

architecture that helped solidify

Over the past five years, after

decades of growth, New York's

creative sector has shrunk as the

cost of living has soared, accord-

ing to a report released on Mon-

kept them there.

the middle class.

Until now.

Prices in Canada may be higher

Epstein Files

Often Mention

New Release Also Puts Focus on Ex-Prince

This article is by Matthew Gold-

The Justice Department has re-

leased nearly 30,000 more pages of files related to investigations of the convicted sex offender Jeffrey

Epstein, a mix of documents that includes hundreds of references

to President Trump, along with

mentions of other prominent peo-

ple who were once in Mr. Epstein's

Many of the references to Mr.

Trump are brief mentions in news

reports or other materials, but

some are focused on the presi-

dent, including an email from a federal prosecutor discussing Mr.

Trump's trips on Mr. Epstein's pri-

The department released the

documents late Monday under a

law passed by Congress last

month, after months of resistance

from Republican leaders and Mr.

Trump, who reversed course amid

pressure from his own supporters.

The department has published roughly 130,000 pages online since Friday, with more expected

to be released over the next sev-

Todd Blanche, the deputy attor-

ney general, said Sunday on

NBC's "Meet the Press" that de-

partment lawyers were examin-

ing close to a million documents.

Many of those pages, he said, had

victim information that needed to

In a statement on social media

on Monday, the Justice Depart-

ment, whose independence Mr.

Trump has eroded, asserted that

some of the documents contained

"untrue and sensationalist claims

made against President Trump

that were submitted to the F.B.I.

The statement did not point to

any claims in particular. Mr.

Trump has never been charged

with wrongdoing in connection

Continued on Page A11

with Mr. Epstein.

right before the 2020 election."

eral weeks.

be redacted.

vate jet in the mid-1990s.

orbit.

stein, Jessica Silver-Greenberg, Steve Eder and Michael Levenson.

The President

**NEARLY 30 ENVOYS** RECALLED TO U.S. NO EXPLANATION GIVEN

Career Diplomats Told to Leave Posts Are All **Biden Picks** 

By EDWARD WONG

WASHINGTON — The Trump administration has ordered nearly 30 ambassadors in embassies around the world to return to the United States within weeks, a move that would leave a large gap in the American diplomatic corps even as President Trump has said he wants to resolve conflicts

Many of the ambassadors were

of mission.

"Those affected report being notified abruptly, typically by phone, with no explanation provided," said Nikki Gamer, a spokeswoman for the union that represents career diplomats, the American Foreign Service Association. "That method is highly ir-

The lack of transparency and process breaks sharply with longstanding norms," she added.

Ms. Gamer said that after checking its archives, the union "can say definitively that such a mass recall has never happened since the founding of the Foreign Service as we know it."

Candidates for ambassador are

However, that is not the norm for career diplomats, who often serve for years into a new administration. The Trump administration did not give a reason for the recalls and has not publicly announced them.

"This is a standard process in any administration," the State Department said in a statement. when asked about the recalls. "An ambassador is a personal representative of the president, and it is the president's right to ensure that he has individuals in these countries who advance the America First agenda."

Ms. Gamer said that the union did not have an exact count of the number of ambassadors to be recalled and that it was trying to piece together the full picture. Politico reported on the recalls on Friday.

An unofficial list circulated among diplomats on Monday. It

# '60 Minutes' Report Held From Air Found a Way Online Anyway

By MICHAEL M. GRYNBAUM Opens a Deportee Story in El Salvador. But the 13-minute One of this season's mostto Further Scrutiny

who were deported by the Trump

administration to a brutal prison segment, as originally edited by talked-about "60 Minutes" inves-"60 Minutes" staff members, soon tigations may be one that never surfaced online in full.

The last-minute change had already set off a political firestorm. Bari Weiss, the network's editor in chief, said she postponed the segment because its reporting was

**BUSINESS B1-5** 

Gross domestic product grew at a 4.3

Five women contacted by The Athletic said that they had uncomfortable online exchanges with Sherrone Moore, who was fired by Michigan. PAGE B6

PAGE A18

flawed and incomplete. Her critics

including the "60 Minutes" cor-

respondent who reported the seg-

ment, Sharyn Alfonsi — saw it as

an attempt by CBS to placate the

# BY WHITE HOUSE

through diplomacy.

told in recent days to leave their posts by mid-January. They are all Foreign Service officers who were appointed to their positions by the Biden administration and confirmed by the Senate. A standard tour is three to four years. The union representing career

diplomats said this was the first time that such a mass recall had taken place of career diplomats serving as ambassadors or chiefs

nominated by the president and confirmed by the Senate. There are two types of ambassadors: career diplomats and political appointees. The latter are often donors or friends of the president, and they are expected to offer their resignations at the start of a new administration. That was the case when Mr. Trump took office in January, and he immediately accepted the resignations.

showed ambassadors being re-

Continued on Page A8

administration. CBS is owned by

David Ellison, a technology heir

who is trying to acquire Warner

Bros. Discovery in a deal that

needs federal regulatory approv-

draw its own conclusions. After a

Canadian television network

briefly posted the video on its

Continued on Page A11

Now the viewing public can

#### No Crib for a Bed, but Visitors Aplenty, Including Trump called from every part of the

The president has joined the celebrity figurines often included in Italian Nativity scenes. Page A7.

#### 67 people. It was the deadliest Army accident ever to occur on U.S. soil. And it happened against a backdrop of

safety concerns about Army avia-

tion, which has seen catastrophic

episodes rise in recent years. Multiple factors contributed to the tragedy in January: A poorly designed set of air routes that allowed for helicopters to fly just under passenger jets as they landed. An air traffic controller who was juggling a double workload for the shift. Nighttime conditions that marred visibility.

Still, last Wednesday, the government accepted legal liability Continued on Page A14

# Troops and A.I. Need Batteries Made in China

Fabrics at Materials for the Arts, which processes six million pounds of donated art materials a year, in Long Island City, Queens.

This article is by Hiroko Tabuchi, Brad Plumer and Harry Stevens.

In Northern Virginia's Data Center Alley, windowless buildings the size of aircraft hangars are powering America's artificial intelligence industry, which is locked in a race against China.

**POWER MOVES** 

U.S. Scramble for Replacements

Yet, these data centers are increasingly reliant on China, America's geopolitical rival, for a vital technology: batteries.

These facilities can use as much electricity as a small city, strain ing local power grids. Even flickers can have cascading effects, corrupting sensitive A.I. computer coding.

To cope, tech giants are looking to buy billions of dollars of large lithium-ion batteries, a field in which "China is leading in almost every industrial component," said Dan Wang, an expert on China's technology sector at Stanford's Institution. "They're Hoover ahead, both technologically and in terms of scale.'

A short drive from the data centers, at the Pentagon, military officials are sounding similar warnings, for different reasons. Military strategists, watching as modern warfare is reinvented in Ukraine, say the armed forces will need millions of batteries to power drones, lasers and countless other weapons of the future.

Many of those batteries, too, come from China.

Chinese battery dominance has long been a problem for industries like auto manufacturing, but now is increasingly being viewed as a national security threat. Currently, the U.S. military relies on Chinese supply chains for some 6,000 individual battery components across weapons programs, according to Govini, a defense analytics firm.

'The reality is very stark," Tara Murphy Dougherty, Govini's chief executive, told a recent gathering of top defense and industry officials in California. "There are foreign parts in 100 percent of our weapon systems and military platforms.

China understands the importance of these batteries. On Oct. 9, amid growing trade disputes,

China threatened to limit exports Continued on Page A5

NATIONAL A9-16

## Two Dead in Rest Home Fire

made it to air.

CBS News caused a contro-

versy after it pulled a report from

Sunday's episode of the long-run-

ning news program that featured

the stories of Venezuelan men

The explosion at the Bristol Health and Rehab Center in Bristol, Pa., caused a fire and partial collapse of the building, the authorities said. PAGE A12

### Justices Block a Deployment

A Supreme Court preliminary order blocks the sending of Guard troops to Chicago, casting doubt on the viability of deployments in other cities. PAGE A12

### Threat of Execution Revived

At least four of the 37 men who received commutations from President Joseph R. Biden Jr. last year could face the death penalty at the state level.



ARTS C1-6

### Theft Proves Troupe's Value

A scrappy ballet company got a validation of its mission to take the art form to places it wouldn't otherwise go. PAGE C1

#### Best Songs of 2025

From sources as diverse as Drake and "KPop Demon Hunters," the tracks that grabbed our attention this year. PAGE C4

## U.S. Economy Remains Robust

percent annual rate, outperforming the bearish expectations of some experts only months before.

SPORTS B6-9

### Inside a Coach's Downfall

**OPINION A18-19** Ezra Klein



FOOD D1-8

On Menus, a New Gilded Age Truffle shavings, flights of Wagyu and seafood towers — ever-pricier dishes and luxury upgrades meet the demand from affluent diners.





**INTERNATIONAL A4-8** Moving 120,000 Works of Art

#### The Pompidou Center in Paris, now under renovations, has put its astonishing collection into storage.

Snickers, Wrapped in Cyrillic Russian-labeled candy bars in London are a reminder of how hard it is to sever a nation from the flow of goods. PAGE A6