

“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Today, warmer, sunny, less humid, high 87. **Tonight**, partly cloudy, light winds, low 75. **Tomorrow**, warmer, increasing cloudiness, light winds, high 91. Weather map, Page 28.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$6.00



DAVID GUTTENFELDER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

“We live like cave people,” said Fidaa al-Eissa, above in February, in the crumbled Qaboun area of Damascus.

SPECIAL SECTION

EXPLORING A NEW SYRIA

After one of the most brutal wars of this century, a new Syria is rising from the disastrous legacy of the toppled dictator Bashar al-Assad. ¶ His image has been torn from the walls, as people exercise freedoms denied during his family’s decades-long reign. Now, a different flag flies across Syria, the emblem of the rebels in charge. ¶ For Syrians, the future is uncertain — a tangle of elation and pain, of hope and fear. ¶ Our journalists traveled the length of the country to explore its hopes and its challenges.

Legal Checks On President Fade Further

By CHARLIE SAVAGE

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court ruling barring judges from swiftly blocking government actions, even when they may be illegal, is yet another way that checks on executive authority have eroded as President Trump pushes to amass more power.

The decision on Friday, by a vote of 6 to 3, could allow Mr. Trump’s executive order seeking to end birthright citizenship to take effect in some parts of the country — even though every court that has looked at the directive has ruled it unconstitutional. That means some infants born to undocumented immigrants or foreign visitors without green cards could be denied citizenship-affirming documentation like Social Security numbers.

But the diminishing of judicial authority as a potential counterweight to exercises of presidential power carries implications far beyond the issue of citizenship. The Supreme Court is effectively tying the hands of lower-court judges at a time when they are trying to respond to a steady geyser of aggressive executive branch orders and policies.

The ability of district courts to swiftly block Trump administration actions from being enforced in the first place has acted as a rare effective check on his second-term presidency. But generally, the pace of the judicial process is slow and has struggled to keep up. Actions that already took place by the time a court rules them illegal, like shutting down an agency or sending migrants to a foreign prison without due process, can

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CAROLINE GUTMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

As a lesbian in the 1970s, Georgette DuBois was unlikely to gain custody of her daughter, Kara.

Life Underground for a Gay Mom, and Her Child

By SARAH DIAMOND

NARBERTH, Pa. — Georgette called it a rescue. This is how she remembers it:

It was the fall of 1975, and she and her husband were separated. He had taken their 3-year-old daughter, Kara, and moved her to another state. Georgette wanted to fight for custody, but she knew she probably wouldn’t win. She was a lesbian, and the family courts almost never sided with gay parents.

Convinced she had no other choice, she bypassed the courts entirely. Georgette and three other women drove to her husband’s home in Michigan. His twin brother, Roy, answered the door.

One of the women, older and sophisticated, posed as a real estate agent. Two others stood close behind, shielding Georgette and chatting with Roy to create a distraction.

Georgette stepped through the entryway. “Kara,” she said. She wrapped the little girl in a blanket and turned toward the door. Roy blinked in confusion, Georgette recalled.

“George? What are you doing

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With an Onslaught of Manipulated Images, A.I. Is Wearing Down Democracy

By STEVEN LEE MYERS and STUART A. THOMPSON

As generative artificial intelligence has exploded over the last two years, the technology has been used to demean and defame political opponents and, for the first time, officials and experts said, has had an impact on election results.

Free and easy to use, A.I. tools have generated a flood of fake photos and videos of candidates or supporters saying things they did not or appearing in places they were not — all spread with the relative impunity of anonymity online.

The technology has amplified social and partisan divisions and bolstered antigovernment sentiment, especially on the far right, which has surged in recent elections in Germany, Poland and Portugal.

In Romania, a Russian influence operation using A.I. tainted the first round of last year’s presidential election, according to government officials. A court there nullified that result, forcing a new vote last month and bringing a new wave of fabrications. It was the first major election in which A.I. played a decisive role in the outcome. It is unlikely to be the last.

As the technology improves, officials and experts warn, it is undermining faith in electoral integrity and eroding the political consensus necessary for democratic societies to function.

Madalina Botan, a professor at the National University of Political Studies and Public Administration in Romania’s capital, Bucharest, said there was no question

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In Immigrant Detentions, Filth and Despair Fester

Mass Arrests Overcrowd the Facilities, With Showers and Toilets in Short Supply

By MIRIAM JORDAN and JAZMINE ULLOA

Far from public view, the toll of the Trump administration’s crack-down on immigration is unfolding in overcrowded detention facilities across the country.

Some immigrants have gone a week or more without showers. Others sleep pressed tightly together on bare floors. Medications for diabetes, high blood pressure and other chronic health problems are often going unprovided. In New York and Los Angeles, people have been held for days in cramped rooms designed for brief processing, not prolonged confinement, and their lawyers and family members have remained in the dark about their whereabouts.

The nation’s immigration detention system is buckling under the weight of record numbers as the Trump administration intensifies its enforcement agenda with raids on workplaces and arrests at immigration courts. More than 56,000 immigrants were in government custody on June 15, exceeding the current capacity of 41,000.

“These are the worst conditions I have seen in my 20-year career,” said Paul Chavez, litigation and advocacy director at Americans for Immigrant Justice in Florida, which represents detainees. “Conditions were never great, but this is horrendous.”

At least 10 immigrants have died in ICE custody in the six months since Jan. 1, including two at a facility in Miami, the Krome detention center, where detainees earlier this month formed a human “S.O.S.” sign in the yard. At least two of the deaths were suicides, in Arizona and Georgia. (An average of about seven deaths a year occurred in ICE custody during the four years of the Biden administration.)

Immigration detentions have soared since late May, when Stephen Miller, the White House aide overseeing immigration policy, set a goal of 3,000 arrests per day.

To accommodate the swelling numbers, the administration has expanded contracts with prison operators and pushed for a substantial funding increase to secure additional capacity. The House version of the budget reconciliation bill proposes \$45 billion for immigration detention, more than 10 times the current budget.

Many immigrants already have outstanding deportation orders, and others agree to voluntarily leave the country. In those cases, ICE officials are able to swiftly put them on planes or buses out of the country. But many others are entitled to court hearings, which take time, and ICE is either releasing those detainees on bond, which also requires a court hearing, or

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SOPHIE PARK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Over six days, Marcelo Gomes, 18, lost seven pounds, and couldn’t shower or change.

The Steamroller That Sputtered: Cuomo’s Listless Run for Mayor

By NICHOLAS FANDOS

For Andrew M. Cuomo, the rallying out a \$20-an-hour minimum wage proposal was supposed to be a high point of his comeback campaign for mayor of New York City.

It did not go particularly well. On the stage of a claustrophobic conference room in Midtown, the former governor flubbed two key lines, at one point promising to “combat affordability.” Many of the laborers paid by their unions to attend appeared uninterested, chatting in the back throughout the speech.

And when it was over, Mr. Cuomo beelined to his waiting Dodge Charger, punched the gas past waiting reporters and made an illegal right-on-red turn.

He made no further public appearances that day last month, even with Primary Day weeks away.

Mr. Cuomo, who dominated New York for a decade as governor, entered the crowded field of Democrats in March with the force of a steamroller and a commanding lead in the polls. He wore down the Democratic establishment until it lined up behind him, strong-armed unions and seeded a record-shattering super PAC that would spend \$25 million.

But even some of his allies said that up close, the campaign sometimes looked more like a listing ship, steered by an aging candidate who never really seemed to want to be there and showed little interest in reacquainting himself with the city he hoped to lead.

New Yorkers took note. And on Tuesday, a campaign that Mr. Cuomo, 67, had hoped would deliver retribution four years after his humiliating resignation as governor ended in another thumping rebuke instead. Voters preferred Zohran Mamdani, a 33-

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PROGRESSIVE UNITY An alliance with a rival helped propel Zohran Mamdani. METROPOLITAN, PAGE 3

INTERNATIONAL 4-11

Scholars Find Haven in Canada
Several U.S. professors have moved to the University of Toronto amid pressure by the Trump administration on many top American universities. PAGE 6

A Billionaire’s Bash in Venice
The over-the-top festivities for the wedding of Jeff Bezos and Lauren Sánchez attracted global celebrities as well as local detractors. PAGE 10

Hungary Pride March Thrives
Prime Minister Viktor Orban’s party banned the annual event, but Budapest’s mayor allowed it to go on and attendance was the best ever. PAGE 8



ARTS & LEISURE
His Second-Chance Songs
Bruce Springsteen has released 83 “lost” tracks in genres including Mexican ranchera, retro pop and country. PAGE 8

NATIONAL 12-20

A Funeral in Minnesota
Melissa and Mark Hortman were remembered as being devoted to public service, two weeks after they were slain in a politically motivated attack. PAGE 18

METROPOLITAN
A Hospital on the Critical List
A medical center in Brooklyn seemed destined to join a spate of closures. Then something unexpected happened: It received \$1.1 billion. PAGE 1

SUNDAY OPINION
Andrew Sullivan PAGE 6



SUNDAY STYLES
A Decade of Gay Marriage
On a landmark anniversary, we asked for personal stories. We heard about kids, tears and midnight cereal. PAGE 12

‘Less Burnout, More Babies’
A conservative group is pushing for young women to marry, have babies and forgo pursuing a career. PAGE 1

SUNDAY BUSINESS

A Husk of Its Former Self
The days of opulence are over at Condé Nast’s once-powerful glossies. Now that everyone is a gatekeeper, why do we keep recreating their status-obsessed world? PAGE 6

A Narrowing Philanthropy
Mark Zuckerberg and his wife, Priscilla Chan, once had sprawling ambitions for their Chan Zuckerberg Initiative. But now they are retooling their efforts to focus on science. PAGE 1

