

“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Today, partly sunny, breezy, cold, high 36. **Tonight**, clear early, clouds late. Low 28. **Tomorrow**, clouds, some sun, brisk, cold, snow at night, high 40. Weather map, Page B10.

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FRIDAY, DECEMBER 12, 2025

Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



SPASIYANA, SERGIEVA/REUTERS

Corruption Convulses Bulgaria
An antigovernment rally in Sofia this week. Prime Minister Rosen Zhelyazkov has resigned after less than a year in office. Page A6.

Judge Orders U.S. to Release Abrego Garcia

By ALAN FEUER

A federal judge on Thursday released Kilmar Armando Abrego Garcia from immigration custody, saying that the Trump administration had detained him for nearly four months “without lawful authority” despite repeated vows to re-expel him from the country.

The ruling by the judge, Paula Xinis, was a stinging defeat for the administration, which had often promised that Mr. Abrego Garcia would never walk free on U.S. soil. It was also the latest twist in a long and byzantine saga that, over the past year, transformed him from an unknown migrant living in Maryland who was wrongfully deported to El Salvador in March into one of the best-known symbols of President Trump’s aggressive deportation agenda.

Judge Xinis’s ruling, issued in Federal District Court in Maryland, meant that Mr. Abrego Garcia would be both free from custody and, at least for now, out from under the immediate shadow of being deported from the country yet again.

But while the ruling was a stern rebuke of how Trump officials have handled his multiple, intersecting cases, it is unlikely to be the final word. The Justice Department is likely to appeal the decision, and administration officials could also seek to open a new immigration proceeding against him.

Moreover, Mr. Abrego Garcia is still facing separate criminal charges of smuggling undocumented immigrants in a different court altogether in Nashville.

Still, Andrew Rossman, one of

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Struggling to Cope and Get Help After Seeing Deaths on the Tracks

This article is by Jonah Markowitz, Bianca Pallaro and Ana Ley.

The fallout from being at the controls when a subway train strikes a person — the panic attacks, the sleepless nights, the crippling guilt — can linger for years.

It is a burden that train operators in New York City know well.

In part because of its sheer size and the continuous nature of its operations — millions of rides per week over 665 miles of track that are in use 24 hours a day — New York’s subway system is the setting for more train strikes per year than any other system in America.

But many other systems make it easier for

train drivers to get help afterward, a New York Times examination has found.

New York’s transit agency has often lagged behind others in providing even basic services for those drivers, records and interviews show, hampered by poor communication, paralyzing bureaucracy and a macho culture that encourages operators to shake the incidents off and get back to work.

Against this backdrop, some train drivers have gotten robust treatment only by happenstance — because they knew someone who had been through a similar experience — and not because agency officials reached out to suggest that they pursue it.

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JONAH MARKOWITZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

‘I didn’t cry as much on the second one. And that’s sad, right?’

NIOKA BAPTISTE, above, an M.T.A. operator, whose train has struck two people.

States Raking In Billions From the Slot Machines on Your Phone

By BEN BLATT

Most casinos in Las Vegas take sports bets, but that’s not where the real money is. The bulk of their profit comes from games like slot machines and blackjack.

Many states have legalized online sports betting in recent years, but a handful have learned the same lesson: If the goal is to increase tax revenue, the big money

comes from allowing a full legal casino, slot machines and all, on your phone.

Pennsylvania is one of seven states to have done that. It legalized both online casino gaming and online sports betting, for ages 21 and up, in 2017.

By last year, the state was collecting \$1.05 billion in taxes from digital casinos, compared with \$188 million from sportsbook

Greater Tax Revenues Than Sports Apps

apps. The revenue from casino games is significant: Pennsylvania’s entire state budget is about \$50 billion.

The state taxes online slots at a higher rate, which explains some

of the difference. But Pennsylvanians are also losing a lot more money to online casino games than they are on sports bets.

Donna Buschelberger, 57, lives in Littlestown, Pa., and works as a home care worker. She said she had never gambled until she downloaded casino apps during the pandemic. In the last few years, she has lost at least \$15,000

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Indiana G.O.P. Spurns Trump On Voting Map

Defeat Is Latest Sign of Rifts Within a Party

By MITCH SMITH

INDIANAPOLIS — Republican members of the Indiana Senate bucked President Trump on Thursday and joined Democrats in voting down a new congressional map that would have positioned Republicans to sweep the state’s U.S. House seats.

The 31-to-19 vote was a highly public defeat for Mr. Trump, who has spent significant political capital pushing for redrawn maps in Republican-led states and who repeatedly threatened political consequences for Indiana Republicans who did not fall in line. The defiance of Mr. Trump comes as he faces other signs of rifts within his own party.

Speaking to reporters in the Oval Office after the vote, Mr. Trump played down the result in Indiana, saying that “we won every other state.” He also said that he hoped the president pro tem of the Indiana Senate, who voted against the map, loses his next primary.

The rejection of the map in the State Senate, where Republicans hold 40 of the 50 seats, followed months of presidential lobbying that turned increasingly pointed in recent weeks as it became clear that some holdouts were not budging. Mr. Trump called some of them out by name on social media, openly questioning their loyalty to the party and pledging to back primary challengers against them.

As the debate turned more tense, several Republicans, both for and against the new map, reported threats. Long-simmering ideological and stylistic divides among Republicans in Indiana spilled into the open, with many long-serving or institutionalist figures who opposed the map clashing with Trump-aligned conservatives who favored the plan. Republicans would have been expected to flip the only two Democratic-held congressional seats among the state’s nine districts if the new map had passed.

In the end, a slim majority of the Senate’s Republican caucus voted against the map.

That Indiana lawmakers voted at all showed the enduring power that Mr. Trump holds over his party. Many in the State Senate did not want to debate the map, which was proposed outside the usual once-a-decade redistricting cycle, and the chamber’s leader-

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HEALTH SUBSIDIES POISED TO EXPIRE IN D.C. DEADLOCK

2 PLANS FAIL IN SENATE

Premium Costs Likely to Shape 2026 Fight to Control Congress

By CARL HULSE

WASHINGTON — The Senate on Thursday deadlocked on competing proposals to avert rising health care premiums, blocking Democratic and Republican alternatives in an outcome that made it all but certain that expanded tax subsidies for health coverage under the Affordable Care Act will expire at the end of the month.

Republicans squelched a bid by Democrats, who had demanded action on the issue during the 43-day government shutdown, to extend the insurance subsidies for three years.

Democrats turned back a Republican alternative that would replace the subsidies with an expansion of tax-advantaged health savings accounts and direct payments of up to \$1,500 to people who buy the most basic health insurance plans.

Neither proposal could muster the 60 votes necessary to overcome a filibuster and move ahead, a long-expected result that teed up a brutal battle over health care that is likely to shape the fight for control of Congress next year.

Both plans were thwarted on separate votes of 51 to 48. Four Republicans — Senators Josh Hawley of Missouri, Susan Collins of Maine, and Lisa Murkowski and Dan Sullivan, both of Alaska — joined Democrats in support of taking up the extension, while all Democrats and a single Republican, Senator Rand Paul of Kentucky, opposed the G.O.P. alternative.

With Congress set to leave for the holidays after next week and the two sides still far apart on their approach to rising health insurance costs, time was nearly out to renew the premium subsidies that millions of Americans depend on to afford coverage on the federal health care exchange.

Democrats have promised to spotlight the issue in midterm election campaigns, seeing an opening to pound Republicans for failing to head off sharp premium increases and threatening health care access at a time when many Americans are toiling to afford basic needs.

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Disney Teams Up With OpenAI In a First for Hollywood’s Giants

By BROOKS BARNES and CADE METZ

LOS ANGELES — In a watershed moment for Hollywood and generative artificial intelligence, Disney said on Thursday that it would buy a \$1 billion stake in OpenAI and bring its characters to Sora, the A.I. company’s short-form video platform.

A curated selection of videos made with Sora will be available to stream on Disney+ as part of the three-year deal, giving the streaming service a foothold in a type of content that younger audiences, in particular, enjoy viewing and that has proved powerful for competitors like YouTube and TikTok. Sora users will be able to start generating videos with Disney characters like Mickey Mouse, Cinderella and Yoda early next year.

“The rapid advancement of artificial intelligence marks an important moment for our industry, and through this collaboration with OpenAI we will thoughtfully



PHILIP CHEUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Users will be able to generate videos with Disney characters.

and responsibly extend the reach of our storytelling,” Robert A. Iger, the chief executive of Disney, said in a statement.

Disney is the first major Hollywood company to cross this particular Rubicon. Many actors, animators and writers have raised alarms about the possibility of A.I.-generated shows and movies replacing them en masse. So far,

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Rebuilding Syria’s Forces
Critics say a government is hobbling military preparedness as it redoes the country’s forces from scratch. PAGE A4

Russian Spies in Mexico
Despite warnings from the United States, Mexico has stood by as Moscow accelerates covert operations. PAGE A10

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Tariffs Shrank Trade Deficit
The export imbalance in September fell to its lowest level in five years after the president’s imposition of sweeping levies worldwide. PAGE B1

Hatching a New Automobile
Desperate to catch up with Chinese automakers, Ford is redesigning its fleet with an elite team. PAGE B1

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Author of ‘Shopaholic’ Series
Sophie Kinsella, the pseudonym of Madeleine Wickham, built an international following. She was 55. PAGE B12



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‘Historic Levels’ of Floods
Washington State ordered 100,000 to leave as days of heavy rain caused potentially deadly conditions. PAGE A24

FEMA Report Postponed
A panel’s guidance had been expected to provide a road map for change after months of upheaval. PAGE A13

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Idea Out of Left-Center Field
Doubles and triples are vanishing in Major League Baseball as outfielders play deeper and cut off drives hit into the gaps. Could a line in the grass revive some excitement? PAGE B6

Vonn Feels Grief, and Hope
Lindsey Vonn’s first coach, Erich Sailer, died at 99 just before her final skiing season. His teachings are bringing her inspiration as she pursues one more Olympic triumph. PAGE B8

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Ross Douthat PAGE A22



WEEKEND ARTS C1-12

They Had Clear Intentions
Agnes Martin and Jay De Feo spent a lifetime searching for clarity of thought. Their works glow in two exhibitions. Above, some of Martin’s works. PAGE C1



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