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NEWS ANALYSIS

Echo of Trump As Biden Acts On the Border

Leaning on Same Law
to Restrict Immigration

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — Looking for a way to shut down the southern border in 2018, President Donald J. Trump found a 73-word provision in the asylum law that he said gave him “magical authorities” to keep migrants out of the country.

President Biden turned to that same provision on Tuesday as he took executive action to temporarily close the border to asylum seekers, suspending longstanding guarantees that anyone who steps onto U.S. soil has the right to ask for protection in America. [Page A15.]

“The simple truth is, there is a worldwide migrant crisis,” Mr. Biden said at the White House, “and if the United States doesn’t secure our border, there’s no limit to the number of people who may try to come here.”

Mr. Biden’s announcement is a stunning reversal for a president and a party that spent years arguing that America was a country of immigrants. When President Barack Obama wanted to shore up his chances of reelection in 2012, he issued a sweeping executive order on immigration — one that allowed millions of immigrants to stay in the country legally.

A dozen years later, with the number of people crossing the border illegally at historic highs,



PAUL RATJIE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Mexican National Guard near the border with Texas.

the next Democratic president moved entirely in the other direction. Critics say Mr. Biden is adopting the tactics of Mr. Trump and Stephen Miller, his immigration czar, to end asylum, even using the same clause in the Immigration and Nationality Act that Mr. Trump cited to justify a travel ban on Muslim countries.

“Stephen Miller and Donald Trump peddled fear-based politics on immigration, and the Biden White House has decided to buy,” said Heidi Altman, the policy director at the National Immigrant Justice Center. She called it “a dangerous shift” that will “put the United States at odds with core values and commitments.”

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ARIZONA Republicans have added a tough immigration measure to November’s ballot. PAGE A14



MARK ABRAMSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Asylum seekers in San Diego after they were processed by U.S. Border Patrol. President Biden is seeking to deter illegal crossings.

G.O.P. on Spot To Guarantee Birth Control

By ANNIE KARNI

WASHINGTON — House Democrats on Tuesday went on the offensive on reproductive rights, announcing they will seek to force a vote on legislation to codify the right to birth control access nationwide.

The maneuver, through a procedural move known as a discharge petition, is all but certain to fail for lack of Republican support, but that is by design. It is part of a broad election-year push by Democrats to highlight Republicans’ record of opposing abortion rights and other reproductive health choices that voters fear will be stripped away following the fall of Roe v. Wade.

“The choice to use birth control should be yours and yours alone,” Representative Katherine M. Clark of Massachusetts, the Democratic whip, who has held abortion events with 11 members and candidates across the country, said at a news conference outside the Capitol. House Republicans, she said, “can put aside their MAGA ideology, join us, join the American people and get this bill passed. Or they can triple down on their anti-freedom extremism in full view of the American people.”

The move comes as Senate Democrats plan to force a vote this week on an identical contraceptive access bill, which Republicans are expected to block. The coordinated legislative push shows that Democrats regard access to abortion, contraception and reproductive health options as their strongest issues on which to draw a contrast with Republicans before the November elections.

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Modi’s Party Wins, but It’s Far From a Landslide

This article is by Mujib Mashal, Alex Travelli, Hari Kumar, Suhasini Raj, Sameer Yasir and Pragati K.B.

NEW DELHI — Suddenly, the aura of invincibility around Narendra Modi has been shattered.

In an Indian election in which his party’s slogan had promised a landslide victory and Mr. Modi even repeatedly referred to himself as sent by God, the results announced on Tuesday were unexpectedly sobering.

Mr. Modi, 73, is set to take up a third consecutive term as prime minister, after the Election Commission gave final confirmation early Wednesday that the parties that make up his coalition had collectively passed the majority mark in Parliament. It is a feat that only one other Indian leader has accomplished, and his Bharatiya Janata Party, or B.J.P., gained far more seats than any other party.

But instead of a runaway win, the B.J.P. lost dozens of seats. It now finds itself at the mercy of its coalition partners — including one politician notorious for how often he has switched sides — to stay in power, a sharp reversal a decade into Mr. Modi’s transformational tenure.

As the results came into view, the country’s stock markets plunged. Opposition parties, newly unified in what they had called an effort to save the country’s democracy, rejoiced. And India, while extending Mr. Modi’s firm hold on power, learned that there are limits to his political potency, even as he made the election, usually fought seat by seat, squarely about himself.

Mr. Modi took a more positive view in a statement on X declaring that his coalition had won a third term. “This is a historical feat in India’s history,” he said. “We will continue the good work done in the last decade to keep fulfilling the aspirations of people.”

For Mr. Modi, a generous reading of the outcome could be that

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ATUL LOKE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Prime Minister Narendra Modi of India will need to rely on his coalition partners to stay in power.

THE WEATHER

Today, clouds, some sun, high 78. Tonight, mostly cloudy, showers, a thunderstorm, low 68. Tomorrow, a morning shower and thunderstorm, high 81. Weather map, Page B10.

IN EUROPE, BIDEN WILL FIND STRIFE AND SOLIDARITY

SPLIT ON WAR IN GAZA

Allies Unite on Ukraine
but Worry About U.S.
Support for Israel

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR and PETER BAKER

PARIS — When President Biden lands in France on Wednesday, he will be rallying European leaders to his side and showcasing the resolve he has helped to foster on behalf of Ukraine.

But he will also be defying the very same leaders and standing virtually alone among Western democracies still firmly in support of Israel as it wages war in Gaza.

When Mr. Biden arrives in France for the 80th anniversary of the D-Day invasion, it will be his first time in Europe since the Oct. 7 terrorist attack led by Hamas, which killed 1,200 people in Israel and brought a military retaliation that has killed about 36,000 people in Gaza. Next week, he will return to Europe for a summit in Italy with the leaders of the Group of 7 nations, and three weeks after that he will host the 75th anniversary summit of NATO nations in Washington.

The series of meetings will put Mr. Biden in a position he has not experienced since becoming president: He will be embraced and isolated at the same time by the group of allies he has courted for nearly four years. For a president who has emphasized his support for America’s traditional alliances, it represents a challenge that will test his diplomatic skills in unfamiliar ways.

“Gaza undermines the moral clarity of the argument they want to make about Ukraine,” said Peter Beinart, a professor of journalism and politics at the City University of New York and a longtime analyst of Middle East affairs who has been critical of Israel’s government. “The Gaza war makes that story a lot less compelling to a lot of people.”

Ivo Daalder, who was an ambassador to NATO under President Barack Obama, acknowledged the tension in Mr. Biden’s approach.

“Yes, it seems to be slightly contradictory to be making one argument on Russia and another argument on Israel,” said Mr. Daalder, who now serves as president of the Chicago Council on Global Affairs. “But the situations are different. One was attacked, and the other did the attacking. It’s pretty big.”

The European allies, with a couple of notable exceptions, have been strongly aligned with Washington for more than two years in the multinational campaign to defeat Russia after its invasion of Ukraine, broadly matching American investments in the war with their own commitments to Kyiv. But the Europeans have grown increasingly critical of how Israel is conducting its operation in Gaza over the past nine months, even as the Biden administration has rejected efforts by the chief prosecutor at the International Criminal

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Insiders Warn of OpenAI’s Reckless Race to No. 1

SAN FRANCISCO — A group of OpenAI insiders is blowing the whistle on what they say is a culture of recklessness and secrecy at the San Francisco artificial intelligence company, which is racing to build the most powerful A.I. systems ever created.

The group, which includes nine current and former OpenAI employees, has rallied in recent

Whistle-Blowers Allege Profits Eclipse Safety

days around shared concerns that the company has not done enough to prevent its A.I. systems from becoming dangerous.

The members say OpenAI, which started as a nonprofit research lab and burst into public view with the 2022 release of

ChatGPT, is putting a priority on profits and growth as it tries to build artificial general intelligence, or A.G.I., the industry term for a computer program capable of doing anything a human can.

They also claim that OpenAI has used hardball tactics to prevent workers from voicing their concerns about the technology, including restrictive nondisparagement agreements that

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Top Music Producer Accused of Rape in Lawsuit

By BEN SISARIO

Terius Gesteelde-Diamant, a top songwriter and producer for Beyoncé, Rihanna and other stars under the name The-Dream, has been accused of rape and sexual battery in a lawsuit filed on Tuesday by a former protégée.

Chanaaz Mangroe, who performed as Channii Monroe, says in her suit that in 2015, Mr. Gesteelde-Diamant used promises to promote her career to entangle

Denying Claims Made by Former Protégée

her in an abusive relationship in which he repeatedly forced her to have sex, strangled her and once made a video recording of an intimate encounter and threatened to show it to others.

As The-Dream, Mr. Gesteelde-Diamant is one of the most powerful

ful producers behind the scenes of the music industry, an eight-time Grammy Award winner who helped make some of the biggest pop and R&B hits of the last two decades, including Rihanna’s “Umbrella,” Justin Bieber’s “Baby” and Mariah Carey’s “Touch My Body.”

He has forged a particularly close creative bond with Beyoncé, credited as a writer and producer on her signature female-empowerment songs.

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‘Last Hurrah’ for D-Day Heroes

The average age of veterans of the Allied invasion of Normandy is 100. And they’re heading back to France. PAGE A4

Britain’s Race Just Got Messier

The surprise candidacy of Nigel Farage, an architect of Brexit, shook up what had been a stagnant campaign. PAGE A6

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China’s Disappearing Internet

The number of Chinese websites is shrinking and posts are being removed and censored, stoking fears about an erasure of history. PAGE B1

U.S. Wind Energy in Trouble

A 2022 climate law was expected to set off a boom in renewable energy. So far, that’s only come partly true. PAGE B1

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The N.H.L. in Salt Lake City

Pro sports are embracing smaller markets in their search for newer arenas and more devoted fan bases. PAGE B6



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Overdoses in Senior Homes

In Baltimore, the hardest-hit are Black men in their 50s to 70s, a group that a changing economy left behind. PAGE A11

Trump Is ‘in Our Community’

The former president’s conviction stirred mixed emotions for some with criminal records. PAGE A16

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Shakespeare Out on the Town

While the Delacorte Theater is being renovated, a musical version of “The Comedy of Errors,” being performed in Spanish and English, is touring some of the city’s outdoor spaces. PAGE C1

Seeing Him in the Funny Pages

A crop of apprentice cartoons from the pen of a teenage Philip Guston that were published in a supplement of The Los Angeles Times may add to our understanding of the artist. PAGE C1

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Michelle Goldberg

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Extra-Special Summer Classics

The former Chez Panisse chef David Tanis puts his spin on a well-known seasonal bill of fare: a salad, a burger (above) and a crumble. PAGE D2

