



DADO GALDIERI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

John Travolta? Well, John Travolta of Olinda.

The Brazilian seaside city is famous for its Carnival puppets, including one honoring the star of "Saturday Night Fever." Page A4.

Trump Calls Haley Soft on Border. Her Record Shows Otherwise.

By JAZMINE ULLOA

Former President Donald J. Trump and his allies have spent weeks painting Nikki Haley as a bleeding heart on immigration as he seeks to dispatch her as his last remaining rival for the 2024 Republican nomination.

In Mr. Trump's telling, Ms. Haley, a former governor of South Carolina and the daughter of Indian immigrants, is a "globalist" who flip-flopped on her support

for Mr. Trump's hard-line policies before she served as his ambassador to the United Nations. Ahead of a showdown between the two candidates in South Carolina's primary on Feb. 24, his surrogates have accused her of being a secret liberal who supports open borders and won't do enough to curb the flows of migrants and refugees into the nation.

But it's a portrait nearly unrecognizable to many who knew her as governor: the Republican state

Both Sides in Her State Point to Long History of Tough Measures

lawmakers who counted on her support for immigration restrictions; the longtime immigrant rights activists in South Carolina who fought her on legislation; the conservative religious leaders

who were disappointed with her opposition to allowing Syrian refugees to resettle in the state. Mr. Trump's attacks are complicated by her record as a staunch conservative on the issue, they said, even as she maintained support for legal immigration when her party shifted its focus toward more extreme immigration cuts.

Larry Grooms, a South Carolina state senator who in 2011 helped lead the passage of the immigr-

Continued on Page A13

For McConnell, Victory on Bill Widens 2 Rifts

Republican Schisms on Leader and Policy

By CARL HULSE

WASHINGTON — Senator Mitch McConnell put his standing on the line in aggressively pursuing military assistance for Ukraine over deep Republican resistance, and he achieved the outcome he wanted: a strong Senate vote to bolster embattled U.S. allies at a critical moment.

"History settles every account," Mr. McConnell, Republican of Kentucky and the minority leader, said in a statement issued early Tuesday, minutes after the Senate voted 70 to 29 for a \$9 billion foreign aid package. "And today, on the value of American leadership and strength, history will record that the Senate did not blink."

But his hard-fought legislative victory came at a cost.

The bitter Senate fight over the aid package — money that Mr. McConnell framed as essential to preserving Western power — exposed serious divisions among Senate Republicans not just over Ukraine and border security policy but over his leadership.

The fallout underscored Mr. McConnell's waning influence over his party's rank and file and raised new questions about his future. Though most of his chief critics had weighed in against him in the past, their complaints took on a bold new intensity as they openly called for his ouster and contended he was out of step with a majority of his colleagues, as evidenced by the fact that most Republicans opposed the bill.

"It stinks to high heaven," Senator J.D. Vance, a freshman Republican from Ohio, declared on the Senate floor on Monday. "No one who watched this process unfold believes Republican leadership negotiated in good faith for border security or that Democrats did the same. It was always Kabuki theater."

But Mr. McConnell, a traditional

Continued on Page A8

'UN-AMERICAN' President Biden bashed Donald J. Trump's inflammatory NATO remarks. PAGE A8

HOUSE IMPEACHES MAYORKAS, CITING BORDER POLICIES

REDO OF FAILED VOTE

First for Sitting Cabinet Member — Senate Is Likely to Acquit

By KAROUN DEMIRJIAN

WASHINGTON — The United States House of Representatives voted narrowly on Tuesday to impeach Alejandro N. Mayorkas, the homeland security secretary, in a precedent-shattering vote that charged him with willfully refusing to enforce border laws and breaching the public trust.

In a 214-to-213 vote, Republicans barreled past the solid opposition of Democrats and reservations in their own ranks to make Mr. Mayorkas the first sitting cabinet secretary in U.S. history to be impeached.

It amounted to a partisan indictment of President Biden's immigration policies by the G.O.P., which is seeking to use a surge in migration across the United States border with Mexico during his tenure as a political weapon against him and Democrats in this year's elections.

The vote came a week after the House rejected the charges against Mr. Mayorkas when Republicans, who control the House by a razor-thin margin, tried and failed to muster a majority to approve them. The vote on Tuesday paved the way for a trial to remove him from office in the Democratic-controlled Senate, where he is almost certain to be acquitted.

The action put Mr. Mayorkas in the company of past presidents and administration officials who have been impeached on allegations of personal corruption and other wrongdoing.

But the charges against him broke with history by failing to identify any such offense, instead effectively declaring the policy choices Mr. Mayorkas has carried out a constitutional crime. The approach threatened to lower the bar for impeachments — which already has fallen in recent years —

Continued on Page A16

How a Tunnel Under a Hospital May Have Been Used by Hamas

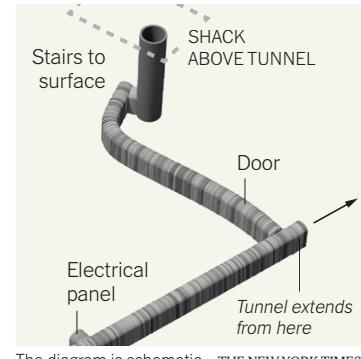
This article is by Matthew Rosenberg, Ronen Bergman, Aric Toler and Helmut Rosales.

Gaza's hospitals have emerged as a focal point in Israel's war with Hamas, with each side citing how the other has pulled the centers into the conflict as proof of the enemy's disregard for the safety of civilians.

In four months of war, Israeli troops have entered several hospitals, including the Qatari Hospital, Kamal Adwan Hospital and Al-Rantisi Specialized Hospital for Children, to search for weapons and fighters. But Al-Shifa Hospital has taken on particular significance because it is Gaza's largest medical facility, and because of Israel's claims that Hamas leaders operated a command-and-control center beneath it. Hamas and the hospital's staff insisted it was only a medical center.

Al-Shifa's value as a military target was not immediately clear in the days after the Nov. 15 raid, even after the Israeli military released the tunnel video that The Times used to create a 3-D model.

But evidence examined by The



The diagram is schematic. THE NEW YORK TIMES

Continued on Page A6

INSIDE The Times used Israeli military video and other photos to illustrate the tunnel.

A Press Secretary's Role Is Scrutinized as an Official Is Elevated

By MICHAEL M. GRYNBAUM

On the day she was named the first Black and first openly gay White House press secretary, Karine Jean-Pierre said she hoped her appointment might inspire other people who, like her, never imagined occupying the pre-eminent role in political communications.

"I think this is important for them to see this," she said in May 2022.

Americans are seeing less of her lately.

Since the Hamas terrorist attack on Oct. 7, Ms. Jean-Pierre has yielded the spotlight to a lower-ranking official, John F. Kirby. For months, Mr. Kirby has regularly co-hosted her daily briefings, often fielding more questions from journalists than she does, and appeared more frequently on major political news programs as the administration's spokesperson.

Mr. Kirby, 60, a retired Navy admiral who previously worked at the Pentagon and the State Department, is better versed in foreign affairs at a time of war in Ukraine and the Middle East. He evinces a clarity and comfort at the lectern that can sometimes elude Ms. Jean-Pierre, 49, a more

rote public speaker with less experience tussling with an adversarial press.

The White House attributes Mr. Kirby's larger role to the flurry of international news and says he will brief less often once the Middle East crisis ebbs. But the per-

ception in Washington that President Biden has allowed Mr. Kirby, who is white, to upstage a Black woman as the face of his White House has turned their double act into a third-rail subject.

"Can't think of many topics I'd

like to opine on less," said one Bi-

den supporter and Democratic strategist, who deemed the subject too politically and culturally sensitive to discuss with their name attached.

Many of the White House aides,

Biden political allies and White

Continued on Page A15



The press secretary Karine Jean-Pierre with John Kirby, whose duties have expanded since Oct. 7. ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

NATIONAL A11-17

Warning Signs Before Attack

The woman who opened fire inside Joel Osteen's megachurch in Houston had a history with guns and mental illness, her mother-in-law said.

PAGE A17

BUSINESS B1-6

Mexico Key to Asia Gas Sales

By next year, American natural gas will start flowing across the border to a major export terminal on the Pacific, heading for new markets.

PAGE B1

SPORTS B7-10

A Gym Rat Gets Another Shot

Arthur Dukes Jr. had three false starts at college basketball before becoming the leader of LaGuardia Community College's scrappy new team.

PAGE B7

FOOD D1-8

A Sweet Strawberry Secret

Melting and cooling chocolate just right is the trick needed for juicy berries with a shiny shell — and it is a lot easier than you might think.

PAGE D1

OPINION A20-21

Thomas L. Friedman

PAGE A21



TIFFANY & CO.

THE LANDMARK



Inspiring Love Stories Since 1837