



PHOTOGRAPHS BY TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

8 Months Inside New York’s Migrant Shelters: Fear, Joy and Hope

Over the past two years, more than 225,000 migrants have turned New York City shelters into a tapestry of cultures. The Times was granted exclusive access to document the teeming life inside. Top, Ingrid and William Henao and their children, Luis and Antonella, fled gang threats in Colombia and settled in Manhattan. Special Section.

A Path of Isolation and Radicalization, Leading to New Orleans

This article is by Edgar Sandoval, Eduardo Medina, Adam Goldman and Rukmini Callimachi.

HOUSTON — His electric truck was already headed toward New Orleans, traveling from his trailer home outside Houston and past the twinkling oil refineries to the east, when Shamsud-Din Jabbar began capturing a video on his phone in the dark. “I wanted to record this message for my family,” Mr. Jabbar said. “I wanted you to know that I

joined ISIS earlier this year.” Mr. Jabbar then added a chilling addendum. “I don’t want you to think I spared you willingly,” he said, according to details of the video reviewed by The New York Times. He told his family that he had previously conceived of organizing a “celebration” for them and then making everyone “witness the killing of the apostates.” The words were among Mr. Jabbar’s last before he plowed his rented pickup truck through early

Attacker’s Perplexing, Hidden Evolution

morning New Year’s crowds on Bourbon Street in New Orleans, killing 14 people before dying in a shootout with the police. He carried with him in the truck the flag of the Islamic State terrorist group, better known as ISIS. The devastating violence revealed a secret radicalization that

confounded his loved ones, who knew him as a decorated Army veteran who held a \$120,000-a-year job as a “senior solutions specialist” focused on government and public services at the international accounting firm Deloitte. Days later, investigators were still trying to trace exactly how Mr. Continued on Page 18

LIVES LOST As the victims of the attack are identified, loved ones mourn unrealized futures. PAGE 18

Five Women, Heirloom China And the Reverence It May Lose

By RUKMINI CALLIMACHI

In the spring, Ashley Dumulong accidentally broke a delicate bowl, the exact size of her cupped hands. The bowl, specifically used to serve berries, is part of a set of fine china that has been in her family for over a century. For a split second, she considered turning to eBay, in search of a replacement. But that felt like a betrayal. Five generations of women in her family have owned the china with the laurel leaf pattern, and all but one woman in the line broke at least one item: Her great-great-grandmother broke a teacup and carefully pieced it back together. When the lid of the butter dish broke, Ashley’s grandmother used a suture of Elmer’s Glue to mend it. The handle of the soup tu-

reen was broken, and repaired, by Ashley’s mother. For every chip, every break, the women put the dishes back together, dedicated to the stewardship of these objects. So with all the precision she could muster, Ashley put the berry bowl back together with super glue. But she knows she is likely the last person in her family who will care about preserving the uninterrupted line of the 20-place set from one generation to the next. “I’m a mother of two boys,” said Ashley, 52, who keeps the china in boxes underneath a staircase in her home in San Antonio. “Neither of which is remotely interested.” Walk into a thrift shop and in-



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A Hometown Salute

Former President Jimmy Carter’s hearse departed Plains, Ga., on Saturday for a tribute-filled journey toward Washington. Page 11.

How Trump Flipped Script And Made Jan. 6 an Asset

Transforming Crime Scene Into Platform for Conspiracy Theories and Grievances

By DAN BARRY and ALAN FEUER

In two weeks, Donald J. Trump is to emerge from an arched portal of the United States Capitol to once again take the presidential oath of office. As the Inauguration Day ritual conveying the peaceful transfer of power unfolds, he will stand where the worst of the mayhem of Jan. 6, 2021, took place, largely in his name. Directly behind Mr. Trump will be the metal-and-glass doors where protesters, inflamed by his lie that the 2020 election had been stolen from him, stormed the Capitol with clubs, chemical irritants and other weapons. To his left, the spot where roaring rioters and outnumbered police officers fought hand to hand. To his right, where the prostrate body of a dying woman was jostled in the bloody fray. And before him, a dozen marble steps descending to a lectern adorned with the presidential seal. The same steps where, four years earlier, Trump flags were waved above the frenzied crowd and wielded like spears; where an officer was dragged facedown to be beaten with an American flag on a pole and another was pulled into the scrum to be kicked and stomped. In the wake of the attack on the Capitol, Mr. Trump’s volatile political career seemed over, his incendiary words before the riot rattling the leaders of his own Republican Party. Myriad factors explain his stunning resurrection, but not least of them is how effectively he and his loyalists have laundered the history of Jan. 6,

turning a political nightmare into a political asset. What began as a strained attempt to absolve Mr. Trump of responsibility for Jan. 6 gradually took hold, as his allies in Congress and the media played down the attack and redirected blame to left-wing plants, Democrats and even the government. Violent rioters — prosecuted, convicted and imprisoned — somehow became patriotic martyrs. This inverted interpretation defied what the country had watched unfold, but it neatly fit the persecution narrative that binds Mr. Trump to many of his faithful. Once he committed to running again for president, he doubled down on flipping the script about the riot and its blowback, including a congressional inquiry and two criminal indict-

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KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The pro-Trump attack on the U.S. Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021.

In Bold Attacks, Hybrid Warfare Targets the West

By LARA JAKES

BRUSSELS — When mysterious drones began appearing over oil rigs and wind farms off Norway’s coast about three years ago, officials were not certain where they came from. But “we knew what they were doing,” Stale Ulriksen, a researcher at the Royal Norwegian Naval Academy, said in a recent interview. “Some of it was espionage, where they are charting a lot of things. Some of it, I think, was positioning in case of a war or a deep crisis.” The drones were suspected of being launched from Russian-controlled ships in the North Sea, Mr. Ulriksen said, including some ships that were near underwater energy pipelines. Norway could not do much to stop them, he said, given that they were flying over international waters. In recent weeks, reports of drone swarms over the East Coast of the United States have brought fears of hybrid warfare to widespread attention. Only 100 out of 5,000 drone sightings there required further examination, U.S. officials said, and so far none are believed to have been foreign surveillance drones. But it is a different story for the drones spotted in late November and early December over military bases in England and Germany where American forces are stationed. Military analysts have concluded those drones may have been on a state-sponsored surveillance mission. Continued on Page 6

Fading Voices In Gaza Rubble Haunt Rescuers

By RAJA ABDULRAHIM

JERUSALEM — When he sleeps, Nooh al-Shaghnobi, a rescue worker in Gaza, is haunted by the cries of those he could not save. The memories of the past 14 months come flooding back, nightmares of collapsed buildings with no equipment to dig out survivors. “We hear the voices of the people under the rubble,” he said in an interview between rescue calls. “Imagine there are people under the rubble who we know are alive, but we can’t save them. We have to leave them to die.” For more than a year now, Gaza’s rescue workers, paramedics and ambulance drivers have toiled on the front lines of the war, racing to the sites of countless Israeli airstrikes to try to save those who survived and recover the bodies of those who did not. In the war’s first seven weeks alone, Israel fired nearly 30,000 munitions into Gaza, unleashing one of the most intense bombing campaigns in contemporary warfare. The International Committee of the Red Cross has said that Gaza rescuers face dangerous conditions without sufficient equipment, vehicles or fuel. They are mostly left to dig out survivors from under tons of broken stone, concrete and twisted metal with their hands and rudimentary tools. The carnage has taken a heavy physical, mental and emotional toll on rescuers, and Israeli strikes Continued on Page 10

NATIONAL 11-19 The Speaker’s Impossible Job Mike Johnson narrowly kept his post. Now comes the hard part: satisfying the president-elect and the rank and file. News Analysis. PAGE 13	ARTS & LEISURE Gearing Up for the Oscars A preview of some of the films, actors and directors that are considered front-runners for Academy Award nominations, including Zoe Saldaña. PAGE 6	SUNDAY STYLES Searching for Life After Death Is reincarnation real? Is communication from the beyond possible? A small set of academics is trying to find out, case by case. PAGE 7	SUNDAY BUSINESS Reinventing a TV Staple Dick Wolf, the creator of “Law & Order” and many other network series, is seeking to build a streaming business out of half-hour procedurals. PAGE 4	SUNDAY OPINION Chris Hayes PAGE 6
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