

“All the News  
That’s Fit to Print”

# The New York Times

**THE WEATHER**  
Today, morning clouds, afternoon sun, cold, breezy, high 30. **Tonight**, mainly clear, cold, low 24. **Tomorrow**, morning sun, afternoon clouds, high 33. Weather map, Page A20.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00

## ‘Zero Hour’ in Middle East As War-Weariness Sets In

### Can a Long Cycle of Conflict Be Stopped?

**By ROGER COHEN**

DAMASCUS, Syria — From the rubble and the ruin, the torture and the terror, the dust and the debris, something is stirring in the Middle East, a spirit that says no to endless cycles of violence and values a future for the region's children above past feuds.

This sentiment is tenuous, contested and vulnerable. But with more than a half-million killed in Syria's 13-year civil war and 70,000 Palestinians killed in the two-year Gaza war, alongside close to 2,000 Israelis, exhaustion

A sign close to where Mr. Smadi stood, installed recently by the local authorities outside a remarkably preserved Roman amphitheater, says, “On this earth, there exists that which deserves life,” a line from the Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish.

If there is a refrain heard across war-shattered Syria, where even the gray-green wilting trees look shellshocked, it is, “We just want to live.”

If there is an ambition in Saudi Arabia, it is to become a major power representing a modern Islam, open and technologically advanced, far from any aggressive Pan-Arab ideology.

If there is a buzzword among the Sunni Gulf monarchies, once driven to paroxysms of fear and rage by the Shiite mullahs of Iran, it is “pragmatism.”

Still, the region remains combustible. The United States responded to the killing of two U.S. soldiers and an American interpreter in December by hitting the Islamic State in Syria with punishing airstrikes that Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth called “a declaration of vengeance.”

The strikes came soon after the Trump administration said in its National Security Strategy that the region was “emerging as a place of partnership, friendship and investment,” adding that the days when “the Middle East dominated American foreign policy” were “thankfully over.”

Such optimism, based in large part on the Gaza peace agreement signed in Sharm el Sheikh, Egypt, on Oct. 13, looks overblown, much like President Trump's claim that day that it took 3,000 years to

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Scars of Syria’s civil war linger in the city of Deir al-Zour.

is widespread. Shun retribution, murmur the war-weary, and think again.

“There is no other solution but finding a solution,” said Hassan Smadi, 48, a hospital worker in the battered southern Syrian town of Busra. He lost a younger brother, killed in the relentless bombing by Bashar al-Assad, the dictator ousted in 2024; his family fled to Jordan. “We are tired of war and bored of war, and want only to live peacefully.”

## 329 Days of Trump, Trump, Trump, Trump, Trump, Trump, Trump, Trump, Trump, Trump, Trump, Trump, Trump,

**By MICHAEL M. GRYNBAUM and STUART A. THOMPSON**

Since his inauguration, President Trump has relentlessly pursued the public's attention each day of his second term in office.

In doing so, Mr. Trump has set out to dominate our collective consciousness unlike any of his predecessors.

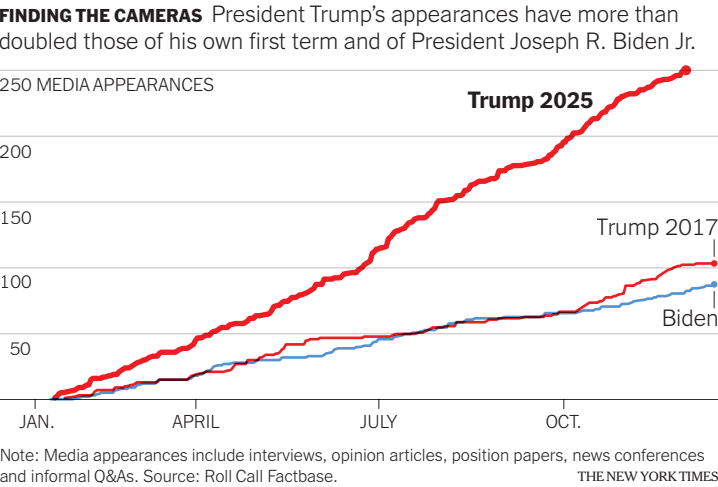
To understand how Mr. Trump has achieved this omnipresence, The New York Times reviewed the first 329 days of his second term, finding at least one instance each day when he attracted the public's attention to himself and his actions.

The review encompassed more than 250 media appearances, more than 320 official appearances, and more than 5,000 Truth Social posts or reposts. The analysis shows that while Mr. Trump has lagged his predecessors in his number of official appearances, he has pursued a raft of innovative methods to force himself into the public consciousness on a daily, and sometimes even hourly, basis.

The battery of activity started from the moment he was inaugurated, when he traveled from the Capitol Building to the Capital One Arena to publicly sign a flurry of executive orders.

Since then, he has stayed in the public eye in part by doing things no president has ever done. High-

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**WEEKEND ARTS C1-10**

**Resonating at the Met Opera**  
A staging of “I Puritani” provided three hours of drama and, of course, beautiful singing, our critic says. **PAGE C1**

**Nordic Noir in New York**  
An exhibition of the works of the Finnish painter Helene Schjerfbeck may leave some visitors awe-struck. **PAGE C1**

**INTERNATIONAL A4-9**

**Another New Year at War**  
For Ukrainian troops on the front line, the holiday felt like any other day. After a year of Russian advances, their goal for 2026 is simply to survive. **PAGE A4**

**Bardot’s Polarizing Legacy**  
The actress, who died this week at 91, was a 1960s cinema icon. She was also a hero to the French far right. **PAGE A9**

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**Maverick in House and Senate**  
Ben Nighthorse Campbell of Colorado was the only Native American in Congress at the time. He was 92. **PAGE B10**

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**Minnesota Families Rattled**  
Parents and providers are warning of dire effects as the federal government, citing fraud concerns, threatens to pull funds for child-care programs. **PAGE A11**

**Southern California’s Trials**  
The floods last week just before the first anniversary of the January wildfires show how extreme weather is defining life in the L.A. region. **PAGE A16**

**Hospital Accused of Negligence**  
More than 500 women said in a lawsuit that a doctor in Virginia had performed unnecessary C-sections and sterilizations without their consent. **PAGE A17**



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**All Eyes on This N.F.L. Owner**  
Carlie Irsay-Gordon of the Colts has a distinctive vision of leadership. It is about to face a major test. **PAGE B5**

**Last Hurdle to the Postseason**  
The Seahawks are in a great position, if they aren't derailed by turnovers or a slow start against the 49ers. **PAGE B6**

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**Data Centers in the Sky**  
Some tech leaders worry the A.I. race will exhaust available land and energy. The solution might lie in orbit. **PAGE B1**

**Most Indebted Team in Soccer**  
F.C. Barcelona's liabilities have reached 2.5 billion euros from financial mismanagement and high ambition. **PAGE B1**

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**M. Gessen** **PAGE A18**



## Taking Oath, Mamdani Vows to Lead ‘Audaciously’



Senator Bernie Sanders administering the oath to Mayor Zohran Mamdani, whose wife, Rama Duwaji, held Qurans at two events.

## Dozens Die in Fire at Bar in Swiss Resort Town

*This article is by Ségolène Le Stradic, Christopher F. Schuetze, Aurelien Breenen and Richard Pérez-Peña.*

CRANS-MONTANA, Switzerland — Fire ripped through a bar packed with young New Year's revelers in an upscale Swiss ski resort town early Thursday, killing about 40 people and injuring about 115, officials said, in what the Swiss president called “one of the worst tragedies our country has ever experienced.”

The victims, from multiple countries, had flocked to Le Constellation, a bar in the resort town of Crans-Montana, officials said, when the blaze began. It set off a

### Scores More Are Hurt in ‘Frenzy to Escape,’ Many Ages 16 to 26

flashover, when surfaces in an enclosed space become hot enough to ignite almost simultaneously, spreading flames with lethal speed. At least one explosion quickly followed.

Guy Parmelin, president of the Swiss federal council, said that “many lives, young for the most part, have been lost,” and several medical officials also noted the youth of the victims.

The head of a hospital in the city

of Lausanne, where 22 severely burned people were taken, told the Swiss news site 24 Heures that most of them were between ages 16 and 26.

University Hospital Zurich was treating 15 victims with severe burns, most of them “young adults around the age of 20,” a hospital spokesman said.

Beatrice Pilloud, the prosecutor general for the canton of Valais, said it was too early to comment on the cause of the fire or on possible safety lapses at the bar, though she ruled out the possibility of terrorism. The authorities, she said, were focusing on identifying the victims, returning their bodies to their families, interviewing wit-

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Terrorism was ruled out in a fire early Thursday that killed about 40 people in a town in the Alps.

## They Fled Kabul 3 Years Ago. Their Boy Is Stuck.

**By ANNA GRIFFIN**

BEAVERTON, Ore. — Husna Hashemi keeps photos on her phone from the day more than three years ago when she handed her infant son, asleep and swaddled in blankets, to her husband's parents and brother in a city park in Kabul.

She didn't want to leave — even now, speaking in Dari through an interpreter, she wept as she talked about returning to Afghanistan to

### Desperation Grows for a Couple in Oregon

be with her youngest child.

But her husband, Sayed Rasool Hashemi, had worked for years with the American military, and after the U.S. government fled Afghanistan, the Hashemis faced a terrible choice: Stay and risk everyone's lives or leave their

newborn behind.

“I did not want to go without him,” Ms. Hashemi said. “What kind of mother does that?”

The Hashemis' story, told from their neat, snug suburban apartment in Beaverton, Ore., where the immigrants are building new lives, holds twists and bureaucratic dead ends that span two presidential administrations and would make Franz Kafka proud. It's capped, for now, by President

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**SECURITY** Mayor Zohran Mamdani took office at a time of fear about political violence. **PAGE A15**