

“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Today, patchy morning fog and drizzle, rain in afternoon, mild, high 52. Tonight, rain, possible street flooding, low 48. Tomorrow, rain early, high 55. Weather map, Page B10.

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AN ISRAELI SOLDIER IN THE WEST BANK ON FRIDAY. THE OCT. 7 ATTACK HAS SHATTERED IDEAS ABOUT ISRAEL'S OCCUPATION OF THE WEST BANK.

600 Days of Migration Chaos in New York City

By ANDY NEWMAN and DANA RUBINSTEIN
Nearly 70,000 migrants crammed into hundreds of emergency shelters. People sleeping on floors, or huddled on sidewalks in the December cold. Families packed into giant tents at the edge of the city, miles from schools or services.
And New York City is spending hundreds of millions of dollars a month to care for them all.
This fall, an official in the administration of Mayor Eric Adams referred to the city's obligation to house and feed the 500 new migrants still arriving each day as “our new normal.”
It is a normal that could scarcely have been imagined 18 months ago, when migrants began gravi-

Some Was Beyond the Mayor’s Control, but Much Was Not

tating to the city in large numbers from the nation's southern border.
The migrant crisis in New York is the product of some factors beyond the city's control, including global upheaval, a federal government letting migrants enter in record numbers without giving most of them a way to work legally, and a unique local rule requiring the city to offer a bed to every homeless person.
But the dimensions of the problem — the \$2.4 billion cost so far, the harsh conditions, the number of migrants stuck in shelters —

can also be traced to actions taken, and not taken, by the Adams administration. The New York Times found in dozens of interviews with officials, advocates and migrants.
As the city raced to improvise a system that has processed more than 150,000 people since last year, it stumbled in myriad ways, many never reported before.
For most of the crisis, the city failed to take basic steps to help migrants move out of shelters and find homes in a city famed for its sky-high rents. It waited a year to help large numbers of migrants file for asylum, probably closing a pathway to legal employment for thousands.
The city has signed more than \$2 billion in no-bid contracts, some with vendors that have been
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MIGRANTS WAITING OUTSIDE THE ROOSEVELT HOTEL IN MANHATTAN IN AUGUST, HOPING TO BE PROCESSED.

Decision on Natural Gas Project Will Test Biden’s Energy Policy

This article is by David Gelles, Clifford Krauss and Coral Davenport.
On a marshy stretch of the Louisiana coastline, a little-known company wants to build a \$10 billion facility that would allow the United States to export vast stores of liquefied natural gas.
Supporters of the project,

known as CP2, say the export terminal would be a boon for the United States economy and help Europe decrease its reliance on gas imported from Russia. They also claim that because burning natural gas produces fewer planet-warming emissions than burning coal, the project is a good thing for the climate.
But a nationwide movement is

Nearing Confrontation on Conflicting Goals

working to stop the export terminal from ever being built.
Opponents, including major environmental groups, scientists and activists, say that CP2 would

’25 Trump Plan For U.S. Trade Aims at China

This article is by Charlie Savage, Jonathan Swan and Maggie Haberman.
Former President Donald J. Trump is planning an aggressive expansion of his first-term efforts to upend America's trade policies if he returns to power in 2025 — including imposing a new tax on “most imported goods” that would risk alienating allies and igniting a global trade war.
While the Biden administration has kept tariffs that Mr. Trump imposed on China, Mr. Trump would go far beyond that and try to wrench apart the world's two largest economies, which exchanged some \$758 billion in goods and services last year. Mr. Trump has said he would “enact aggressive new restrictions on Chinese ownership” of a broad range of assets in the United States, bar Americans from investing in China and phase in a complete ban on imports of key categories of Chinese-made goods like electronics, steel and pharmaceuticals.
“We will impose stiff penalties on China and all other nations as they abuse us,” Mr. Trump declared at a recent rally in Durham, N.H.
In an interview, Robert Lighthizer, who was the Trump administration's top trade negotiator and would most likely play a key role in a second term, gave the most expansive and detailed explanation yet of Mr. Trump's trade agenda. Mr. Trump's campaign referred questions for this article to Mr. Lighthizer, and campaign officials were on the phone for the discussion.
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Oct. 7 Is Forcing Israelis To Rethink Their Identity

Attack Has Shaken Belief in a Sanctuary but Also Unified a Divided People

By PATRICK KINGSLEY
JERUSALEM — The Oct. 7 attack on Israel has prompted soul-searching on the Israeli left, undermining faith in a shared future with Palestinians. It has created a crisis of confidence on the Israeli right, sapping support for Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. It has drawn ultra-Orthodox Jews, often ambivalent about their relationship to the Israeli state, closer to the mainstream.
Across religious and political divides, Israelis are coming to terms with what the Hamas-led terrorist attack has meant for Israel as a state, for Israelis as a society, and for its citizens as individuals. Just as Israel's failures in the 1973 Arab-Israeli war ultimately upended its political and cultural life, the Oct. 7 assault and its aftershocks are expected to reshape Israel for years to come.
The attack, which killed an estimated 1,200 people, has collapsed Israelis' sense of security and shaken their trust in Israel's leaders. It has shattered the idea that Israel's blockade of Gaza and occupation of the West Bank could continue indefinitely without significant fallout for Israelis. And for Israel's Jewish majority, it has broken the country's central promise.
When Israel was founded in 1948, the defining goal was to provide a sanctuary for Jews, after 2,000 years of statelessness and persecution. On Oct. 7, that same state proved unable to prevent the worst day of violence against

Jews since the Holocaust.
“At that moment, our Israeli identity felt so crushed. It felt like 75 years of sovereignty, of Israeli-ness, had — in a snap — disappeared,” said Dorit Rabinyan, an Israeli novelist.
“We used to be Israelis,” she added. “Now we are Jewish.”
For now, the assault has also unified Israeli society to a degree that felt inconceivable on Oct. 6, when Israelis were deeply divided by Mr. Netanyahu's efforts to reduce the power of the courts; by a dispute about the role of religion in public life; and by Mr. Netanyahu's own political future.
Throughout this year, Israeli leaders had warned of civil war. Yet in an instant on Oct. 7, Israelis of all stripes found common cause in what they saw as an existential fight for Israel's future. Since then, they have been collectively stung by international criticism of Israel's retaliation in Gaza.
And in parts of the ultra-Orthodox community, whose reluctance to serve in the Israeli military had been a source of division before the war, there were signs of an increased appreciation for — and in some cases, involvement in — the armed forces.
Recent polling data paint a picture of a society in profound flux since the Hamas attack.
Nearly 30 percent of the ultra-Orthodox public now supports the idea of military service, 20 points higher than before the war, ac-

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A COMMUNITY IN MEXICO CITY CANNOT GIVE UP ON THIS VOLKSWAGEN.

Rusted or Mended With Love, Beetles Are Part of the Family

By ZOLAN KANNO-YOUNGS
MEXICO CITY — Rusted and stripped of their right seat, the cars parked in queues rounding street corners serve as the unofficial taxi in the hillside neighborhoods in Cuauhtepéc in Mexico's capital. The curvy symbol of the 1960s hippie era is admired — even decorated and named — by residents who say the car represents their resilience and work ethic.
They can be spotted throughout Mexico City, but they swarm the vibrant streets in Cuauhtepéc, where Beetles can be heard climbing steep hills past residents relaxing on their roofs and dogs standing guard on balconies.
One of the Cuauhtepéc's many

Classics Well Suited for a Hilly Neighborhood

mechanics is usually just a couple blocks away. The smell of car exhaust fumes fills the streets as yellow, green, red and purple Beetles buzz by one another at intersections.
“It is not a standard car like any other,” said Yolanda Ocampo, 45, as she admired her graying 1982 Beetle parked outside the pharmacy where she works. The brake pedal can be stiff, but owning the Beetle means “your car is tough.”
“We love the Vochos so much,” she added.
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Holiday Spending Increases
Driven by a healthy labor market and wage gains, the sales figures suggest the economy remains strong. PAGE B1

Wall St. Divided on What’s Next
Analysts bullish on 2023 expect more of the same in 2024. Bears caution that the Fed's impact is yet to be seen. PAGE B1

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Dungeons, Dragons and Unions
Tensions over pay and working conditions at several board game cafes in New York City fueled campaigns to organize this fall. PAGE A10

Finding Common Ground
Members of Congress who have children with disabilities have bonded over that shared experience. PAGE A15

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Ukraine Hits Russian Ship
A major success at sea was tempered by the country's withdrawal from the eastern city of Marinka. PAGE A8



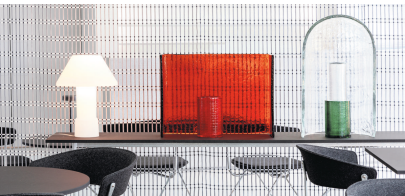
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Cheaper Than a Trip to Sicily
Inspired by a bakery near Palermo, Claire Saffitz's recipe for crispy, creamy cannoli is as close to the real thing as you may get in your home. PAGE D2

How We Will Eat in 2024
Meal-flavored cocktails, premium water and lots of snacks: Here's what the next year holds for food and drinks. PAGE D1

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Inexact Science of Concussions
The N.F.L. has updated its concussion protocol to make things safer, but a lot still depends on players speaking up when they suffer an injury. PAGE B9

OBITUARIES A18
A Pioneer on Wheels
Paula Murphy proved in the 1960s that women could be speed demons by setting records on the Bonneville Salt Flats and on racetracks. She was 95.

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Mara Gay PAGE A17



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A Split in the Design World
The two Bouroullec brothers, the most influential French designers since Philippe Starck, are officially going separate ways. PAGE C1

