

## ON TAPE, TRUMP PUSHES GEORGIA TO 'FIND' VOTES

### Senate Runoffs Reflect Changes In Old Red State

By JONATHAN MARTIN and ASTEAD W. HERNDON

With President Trump touching down in North Georgia on Monday to court white rural voters and President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr. rallying support from a diverse electorate in Atlanta, the high-stakes Senate runoffs are concluding with a test of how much the politics have shifted in a state that no longer resembles its Deep South neighbors.

Should the two challengers win Tuesday and hand Democrats control of the Senate, it will be with the same multiracial and heavily metropolitan support that propelled Mr. Biden to victory in Georgia and nationally. And if the Republican incumbents prevail, it will be because they pile up margins in conservative regions, just as Mr. Trump did.

That's a marked change from the 2000 election, when George W. Bush won decisively in the Atlanta suburbs to capture the state and Democrats still ran competitively with right-of-center voters in much of rural North and South Georgia.

After resisting the tide of Republicanism longer than in other parts of the South — it didn't elect its first G.O.P. governor until 2002 — Georgia became a reliably red state in the nearly two decades since. But now, it's fast becoming a political microcosm of the country.

Although Georgia still skews slightly to the right of America's political center, it has become politically competitive for the same demographic reasons the country is closely divided: Democrats have become dominant in big cities and suburban areas but they suffer steep losses in the lightly-populated regions that once elected governors, senators and, in Georgia, a native-born president, Jimmy Carter.

"Georgia is now a reflection of the country," said Keith Mason, a former chief of staff to Zell Miller, the late Democratic governor and U.S. senator from a small town in North Georgia. Mr. Miller helped hold off Republican realignment in the state in the 1990s only to accelerate it in the early 2000s when he crossed party lines to endorse Mr. Bush's re-election.

Conservative Democrats like Mr. Miller are rare, as are the sort

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### From Audio Recording of President Trump's Phone Conversation With Georgia's Secretary of State, Brad Raffensperger

**PRESIDENT TRUMP** We have won this election in Georgia based on all of this. And there's nothing wrong with saying that, Brad. ... And there's nothing wrong with saying that, you know, um, that you've recalculated ...

**BRAD RAFFENSPERGER** Well Mr. President, the challenge that you have is the data you have is wrong.

**TRUMP** You know what they did and you're not reporting it. That's a criminal — that's a criminal offense. And you can't let that happen. That's a big risk to you and to Ryan, your lawyer. And that's a big risk. ... So look. All I want to do is this. I just want to find 11,780 votes, which is one more than we have because we won the state.

**TRUMP** I watched you this morning and you said, uh, well, there was no criminality. But I mean, all of this stuff is very dangerous stuff. When you talk about no criminality, I think it's very dangerous for you to say that.

**RAFFENSPERGER** Mr. President, you have people that submit information and we have our people that submit information. And then it comes before the court and the court then has to make a determination. We have to stand by our numbers. We believe our numbers are right.

**TRUMP** Why do you say that though? I don't know. I mean, sure, we can play this game with the courts, but why do you say that?

### New Congress Opens With Republicans Bitterly Divided

By CARL HULSE

WASHINGTON — After four years of enabling and appeasing President Trump, Republicans find themselves at the end of his tenure in exactly the place they had so desperately tried to avoid: a toxic internecine brawl over his conduct and character that could badly damage their party.

With their Senate power on the line in Georgia on one day, Republicans entered the new Congress on Sunday bitterly divided over the basic question of whether to acknowledge the reality that Mr. Trump had lost the election, or to abet his unjustified and increasingly brazen attempts to overturn the results.

The extraordinary conflict among congressional Republicans reflects the dilemma they face after four years of acquiescence to Mr. Trump's whims and silence in the face of his most outrageous actions. Now that the president has escalated his demands to subvert an election, they are confronting a litmus test involving democracy itself, keenly aware that many voters could punish them for failing to back Mr. Trump.

The rift has thrust Republicans — who typically try to minimize their differences in public — into an intramural battle more pronounced than any other of the Trump era before what would normally be a routine joint session on Wednesday to certify President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr.'s victory. Top party officials, including the top two Senate leaders and the No. 3 House Republican, quietly pushed back against what all sides conceded would be a futile effort — though one that has the backing of a growing segment of the party — to reject the results.

Others spoke out publicly against the instigators of the move to invalidate Mr. Biden's win, accusing them of putting political ambition before the nation's interest.

"Efforts to reject the votes of the Electoral College and sow doubt about Joe Biden's victory strike at the foundation of our Republic," Paul D. Ryan, the former House speaker and Republican

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### Official Rejects Call to Overturn State's Election Result

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR and STEPHANIE SAUL

WASHINGTON — President Trump pressured Georgia's Republican secretary of state to "find" him enough votes to overturn the presidential election and vaguely threatened him with "a criminal offense" during an hour-long telephone call on Saturday, according to an audio recording of the conversation.

Mr. Trump, who has spent almost nine weeks making false conspiracy claims about his loss to President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr., told Brad Raffensperger, the state's top elections official, that he should recalculate the vote count so Mr. Trump, not Mr. Biden, would end up winning the state's 16 electoral votes.

"I just want to find 11,780 votes, which is one more than we have," Mr. Trump said during the conversation, according to a recording first obtained by The Washington Post, which published it online Sunday. The New York Times also acquired a recording of Mr. Trump's call.

The president, who will be in charge of the Justice Department for the 17 days left in his administration, hinted that Mr. Raffensperger and Ryan Germany, the chief lawyer for secretary of state's office, could be prosecuted criminally if they did not do his bidding.

"You know what they did and you're not reporting it," the president said during the call. "You know, that's a criminal — that's a criminal offense. And you know, you can't let that happen. That's a big risk to you and to Ryan, your lawyer. That's a big risk."

The effort to cajole and bully elected officials in his own party — which some legal experts said could be prosecuted under Georgia law — was a remarkable act by a defeated president to crash through legal and ethical boundaries as he seeks to remain in power.

By any standard measure, the election has long been over. Every state in the country has certified its vote, and a legal campaign by Mr. Trump to challenge the results has been met almost uniformly

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**RAMIFICATIONS** President Trump's actions could violate statutes on election fraud, depending on interpretation, lawyers said. PAGE A16

## Delay 2nd Doses? Give 2 Half-Doses? Vaccine Lag Fuels a Debate

By KATHERINE J. WU and REBECCA ROBBINS

As governments around the world rush to vaccinate their citizens against the surging coronavirus, scientists are locked in a heated debate over a surprising question: Is it wisest to hold back the second doses everyone will need, or to give as many people as possible an inoculation now — and push back the second doses until later?

Since even the first shot appears to provide some protection against Covid-19, some experts believe that the shortest route to containing the virus is to disseminate the initial injections as widely as possible now.

Officials in Britain have already elected to delay second doses of vaccines made by the pharmaceutical companies AstraZeneca and Pfizer as a way of more widely distributing the partial protection afforded by a single shot.

Health officials in the United States have been adamantly opposed to the idea. "I would not be in favor of that," Dr. Anthony S. Fauci, the nation's top infectious disease expert, told CNN on Friday. "We're going to keep doing



OCTAVIO JONES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

People lined up for vaccinations last week in Lehigh Acres, Fla. About 300 doses were available.

what we're doing."

But on Sunday, Moncef Slaoui, scientific adviser of Operation Warp Speed, the federal effort to accelerate vaccine development and distribution, offered up an in-

triguing alternative: giving some Americans two half-doses of the Moderna vaccine, a way to possibly milk more immunity from the nation's limited vaccine supply. The rising debate reflects na-

tionwide frustration that so few Americans have gotten the first doses — far below the number the administration had hoped would be inoculated by the end of 2020.

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## Lawsuits Target a Covid Fund Meant to Help Black Residents

By JOHN ELIGON

Black civic leaders in Oregon heard the alarm bells early in the pandemic.

Data and anecdotes around the country suggested that the coronavirus was disproportionately killing Black people. Locally, Black business owners had begun fretting about their livelihoods, as stay-at-home orders and various other measures were put into place. Many did not have valuable houses they could tap for capital, and requests for government assistance had gone nowhere.

After convening several virtual meetings, the civic leaders proposed a bold and novel solution that state lawmakers approved in July. The state would earmark \$62 million of its \$1.4 billion in federal Covid-19 relief money to provide grants to Black residents, business owners and community organizations enduring pandemic-related hardships.

"It was finally being honest: This is who needs this support right now," said Lew Frederick, a state senator who is Black.

### A Cry of Discrimination Over the Economic Aid in Oregon

But now millions of dollars in grants are on hold after one Mexican-American and two white business owners sued the state, arguing that the fund for Black residents discriminated against them.

The dispute in Oregon is the latest legal skirmish in the nation's decades-long battle over affirmative action, and comes in a year in which the pandemic has starkly exposed the socioeconomic and health disparities that African-Americans face. It has unfolded, too, against the backdrop of the Black Lives Matter movement, with institutions across America — from corporations to city councils — acknowledging systemic racism, and activists demanding that meaningful steps be taken to undo racial inequities.

Politicians, social scientists and

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TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-7

### India Clears 2 Vaccines

The approvals, which include a shot developed in India, begin a vast campaign to inoculate 1.3 billion. PAGE A4

### 'Relapsing Left and Right'

Substance-abuse centers say the shift from in-person programs to virtual care has led to a worrisome trend. PAGE A7

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### Examining French Publishers

The release of "Consent" put France's literary establishment under a harsh spotlight, forcing it to confront a nation it resembles less and less. PAGE A8

### China's Leader Builds Leverage

President Xi Jinping is making trade deals, in hopes of heading off U.S. efforts to rally a united front. PAGE A9

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### Concerns About Tribal Health

A federal agency reduced a hospital in New Mexico to a clinic — in the middle of the pandemic. PAGE A13



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### No Fans to Keep in the Seats

The pandemic has shelved N.B.A. half-time performers, exacting a financial and emotional toll. PAGE D5

### An Eventful N.F.L. Week 17

The Jets fired Coach Adam Gase after finishing 2-14, and the Browns ended a long playoff absence. PAGES D2-3

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### Oil Careers on the Skids

Students and recent graduates struggle to get hired as the fossil fuel industry cuts tens of thousands of jobs, some of which may never come back. PAGE B1

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### A Trailblazing Businesswoman

Shirley Young rose in advertising before General Motors took her onboard, and in a second act served as a cultural diplomat to China. She was 85. PAGE D6

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Kara Swisher

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### Relentlessly Super Stylish

Wonder Woman has remained steadfast in her decades-long fight for justice, but her costumes have evolved quite a bit, George Gene Gustines writes. PAGE C2



# TRUMP INCITES MOB

## RAMPAGE IN CAPITOL FORCES EVACUATIONS; IT'S 'PART OF HIS LEGACY,' A REPUBLICAN SAYS



JASON ANDREW FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



ANDREW HARNIK/ASSOCIATED PRESS



DREW ANGERER/GETTY IMAGES



ANDREW HARNIK/ASSOCIATED PRESS

After scaling the walls outside the Capitol on Wednesday afternoon, some in the crowd made it into the House chamber as lawmakers and others scrambled for cover.

### Lawmakers Back Biden's Victory in Arizona

By NICHOLAS FANDOS and EMILY COCHRANE

WASHINGTON — Congress moved late Wednesday toward confirming President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr.'s victory after a mob of loyalists urged on by President Trump stormed and occupied the Capitol, disrupting the final electoral count in a shocking display of violence that shook the core of American democracy.

There was no parallel in modern American history, with insurgents acting in the president's name vandalizing Speaker Nancy Pelosi's office, smashing windows, looting art and briefly taking control of the Senate chamber, where they took turns posing for photographs with fists up on the dais where Vice President Mike Pence had just been presiding. Outside the building, they erected a gallows, punctured the tires of a police SUV, and left a note on its windshield saying, "PELOSI IS SATAN."

By the time the Senate reconvened, hours after lawmakers had been evacuated from a Capitol overrun by rebels carrying pro-Trump paraphernalia, one of the nation's most polarizing moments had yielded an unexpected window of solidarity that briefly eclipsed partisan division. Republicans and Democrats locked arms to denounce the violence and express their determination to carry out what they called a constitutionally sacrosanct function.

"To those who wreaked havoc in our Capitol today, you did not win," Mr. Pence said in a sharp break from Mr. Trump, who had praised the mob. "Violence never wins. Freedom wins. And this is still the people's house."

Senator Mitch McConnell, Republican of Kentucky and the majority leader, said the "failed insurrection" had only clarified Congress's purpose.

"They tried to disrupt our democracy," he said. "They failed."

Under pressure from their colleagues, some Republicans who had planned several hours of objections to Mr. Biden's victory agreed to drop their challenges, though Senator Josh Hawley of Missouri was expected to press forward with a challenge to Pennsylvania's electors. Lawmakers met into the night to debate and vote on an objection to Arizona's results lodged just before the violence broke out in the Capitol. The challenge failed in the Senate, 93 to 6, and the House turned it back on a vote of 303-121. But more than

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**SOCIAL MEDIA REBUKE** Facebook and Twitter have locked Trump out of his accounts. PAGE B1

### President Lit Fuse for Chaos, Biden Declares

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR and JIM TANKERSLEY

WASHINGTON — President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr. denounced the storming of the Capitol on Wednesday as the violent expression of President Trump's refusal to accept his defeat, calling it "an assault on the citadel of liberty" and saying the president had stoked the mob with his brazen and false claims that the 2020 election had been stolen.

In direct, forceful language, Mr. Biden called the scenes of chaos in the halls of Congress "a dark moment" in the nation's history, appealed for calm and made clear that he held Mr. Trump accountable for instigating violence that left members of both parties and allies around the world appalled.

"At their best, the words of a president can inspire. At their worst, they can incite," Mr. Biden said.

"This is not dissent," the president-elect said in remarks from Delaware as scenes of the armed takeover of the Capitol played out on television screens. "It's disorder. It's chaos. It borders on sedition and it must end now."

The day had started as one of triumph for Mr. Biden and his party, with Democrats coming off elections that sealed control of the Senate by picking up two seats in Georgia and Congress scheduled to clear away the last formal Republican objections to his victory by certifying the Electoral College outcome.

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### Americans at the Gates: The Trump Era's Inevitable Denouement

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — So this is how it ends. The presidency of Donald John Trump, rooted from the beginning in anger, division and conspiracy-mongering, comes to a close with a violent mob storming the Capitol at the instigation of a defeated leader trying to hang onto power as if America were just another authoritarian nation.

The scenes in Washington would have once been unimaginable: A rampage through the

citadel of American democracy. Police officers brandishing guns in an armed standoff to defend the House chamber. Tear gas deployed in the Rotunda. Lawmakers in hiding. Extremists standing in the vice president's spot on the Senate dais and sitting at the desk of the speaker of the House.

The words used to describe it were equally alarming: Coup. Insurrection. Seditious. Suddenly the United States was being compared to a "banana republic" and receiving messages of concern from other capitals. "American carnage," it turned out, was not what President Trump would

### 4 Years of Provocation End With Invasion of Seat of Democracy

stop, as he promised upon taking office, but what he wound up delivering four years later to the very building where he took the oath.

The convulsion in Washington capped 1,448 days of Twitter storms, provocations, race-baiting, busted norms, shock-jock governance and truth-bending

from the Oval Office that have left the country more polarized than in generations. Those who warned of worst-case scenarios only to be dismissed as alarmists found some of their darkest fears realized. By day's end, even some Republicans suggested removing Mr. Trump under the 25th Amendment rather than wait two weeks for the inauguration of President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr.

The extraordinary invasion of the Capitol was a last-ditch act of desperation from a camp facing political eviction. Even before the

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### As House Was Breached, a Fear 'We'd Have to Fight' to Get Out

This article is by Zolan Kanno-Youngs, Sabrina Tavernise and Emily Cochrane.

WASHINGTON — The mob of Trump supporters pressed through police barricades, broke windows and battered their way with metal poles through entrances to the Capitol. Then, stunningly, they breached the "People's House" itself, forcing masked police officers to draw their guns to keep the insurgents off the chamber floor.

"I thought we'd have to fight our way out," said Representative Jason Crow, Democrat of Colorado and a former Army Ranger in Iraq, who found himself captive in the House chamber.

What unfolded at that point, at times on national television, was a

tableau of violence and mayhem that shocked the nation, one of the most severe intrusions of the Capitol since the British invaded during the War of 1812 and burned it down.

An armed standoff ensued in the House chamber, with police officers drawing their weapons. A pro-Trump protester casually monkeyed around at the dais of the Senate. Intruders in Speaker Nancy Pelosi's suite overturned desks and smashed photos. Others ripped artwork in Senate hideaway offices.

"This is what the president has caused today, this insurrection," Senator Mitt Romney, Republican of Utah, said as he and other senators were hustled off to a secure lo-

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### Democrats Take Senate With Victories in Georgia

By ASTEAD W. HERNDON and RICK ROJAS

ATLANTA — Democrats gained control of the Senate on Wednesday by winning both of Georgia's runoff races, an electoral repudiation of President Trump that will give the incoming Democratic administration broader policy latitude even as the victory was temporarily overshadowed by a violent mob storming the United States Capitol in the name of the ousted incumbent.

The election of the Rev. Raphael Warnock and Jon Ossoff was a political triumph for the Democratic Party in a state that has stymied it for decades. It was also a jarring split-screen encapsulation of the politics of progress and grievance that have defined Mr. Trump's administration and the changing country he is sworn to serve.



NICOLE CRANE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Rev. Raphael Warnock, left, and Jon Ossoff won runoffs.

On the same day that Georgia elected Mr. Ossoff, a 33-year-old Jewish documentary filmmaker, and Mr. Warnock, 51, a pastor who will become the state's first Black senator, an almost entirely white crowd of aggrieved Trump supporters, some carrying Confederate flags, descended on Washing-

ton to defy political reality. Mr. Warnock's own Twitter feed showed how quickly the mood among Democrats had shifted. At 1:55 p.m. Eastern, he toasted his victory by thanking Georgia voters, saying he was "forever grateful." Within two hours, he was

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# CALLS GROW TO REMOVE TRUMP AS U.S. OFFICIALS HEAD FOR EXIT



## President Finally Concedes Loss in a Video

By PETER BAKER and MAGGIE HABERMAN

WASHINGTON — President Trump's administration plunged deeper into crisis on Thursday as more officials resigned in protest, prominent Republicans broke with him and Democratic congressional leaders threatened to impeach him for encouraging a mob that stormed the Capitol a day earlier.

What was already shaping up as a volatile final stretch to the Trump presidency took on an air of national emergency as the White House emptied out and some Republicans joined Speaker Nancy Pelosi and a cascade of Democrats calling for Mr. Trump to be removed from office without waiting the 12 days until the inauguration of President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr.

The prospect of actually short-circuiting Mr. Trump's tenure in its last days appeared remote. Despite a rupture with Mr. Trump, Vice President Mike Pence privately ruled out invoking the disability clause of the 25th Amendment to sideline the president, as many had urged that he and the cabinet do, according to officials. Democrats suggested they could move quickly to impeachment, a step that would have its own logistical and political challenges.

But the highly charged debate about Mr. Trump's capacity to govern even for less than two weeks underscored the depth of anger and anxiety after the invasion of the Capitol that forced lawmakers to evacuate, halted the counting of the Electoral College votes for several hours and left four people dead.

Ending a day of public silence, Mr. Trump posted a 2½-minute video on Twitter on Thursday evening denouncing the mob attack in a way that he had refused to do a day earlier. Reading from a script prepared by his staff, he declared himself "outraged by the violence, lawlessness and mayhem" and told those who broke the law that "you will pay."

While he did not give up his false claims of election fraud, he finally conceded defeat. "A new administration will be inaugurated on Jan. 20," Mr. Trump acknowledged. "My focus now turns to ensuring a smooth, orderly and seamless transition of power. This moment calls for healing and reconciliation."

Mr. Trump initially resisted tapping the video, agreeing to do it only after aides pressed him and he appeared to suddenly realize he could face legal risk for prodding the mob, coming shortly after the chief federal prosecutor for Washington left open the possibility of investigating the president for illegally inciting the attack by telling supporters to march on the Capitol and show strength.

Pat A. Cipollone, the White House counsel, had warned Mr. Trump of just that danger on Wednesday as aides frantically tried to get the president to intervene and publicly call off rioters, which he did only belatedly, reluctantly.

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**SHAKEN** Images from the Capitol undercut a pillar of global democracy. News Analysis. PAGE A17

**BAD FOR BUSINESS** Executives who courted Trump are breaking with him. News Analysis. PAGE B1



PHOTOGRAPHS BY JASON ANDREW FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**TRAIL OF DESTRUCTION** Trump supporters on Wednesday left broken windows, doors and furniture in the Capitol, as well as a defaced bust of President Zachary Taylor. The damage to the nation was still being assessed by lawmakers, many of whom are saying even two weeks would be too long to let the president remain in office.

## Capitol Breach Puts the Police Under Scrutiny

This article is by Shaila Dewan, Neil MacFarquhar, Zolan Kanno-Youngs and Ali Watkins.

Six days before a raucous rally of President Trump's supporters in Washington, Representative Maxine Waters anxiously grilled the chief of the Capitol Police about his preparations for various



ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Police officers after the Capitol was cleared on Wednesday.

scenarios: Were the rooftops secured? Would streets be blocked off? Did he know that violent groups like the Proud Boys and the Oath Keepers were vowing to stir up chaos?

Ms. Waters, a California Democrat, said each of her concerns was met with a similar response from Chief Steven Sund during their hourlong call: "He assured me that they have everything under control, that they were on top of everything."

They weren't. Instead, an angry mob of pro-Trump extremists swarmed the barricades around the Capitol on Wednesday, spraying chemical irritants and wielding lead pipes, injuring more than 50 officers. They battered doors,

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## After the Mob, A Reckoning For the G.O.P.

By JONATHAN MARTIN and ALEXANDER BURNS

WASHINGTON — President Trump not only inspired a mob to storm the Capitol on Wednesday — he also brought the Republican Party close to a breaking point.

Having lost the presidency, the House and now the Senate on Mr. Trump's watch, Republicans are so deeply divided that many are insisting they must fully break from the president to rebound.

Those divisions were in especially sharp relief this week when scores of House Republicans sided with Mr. Trump in voting to block certification of the election — in a tally taken after the mob rampaged through the Capitol — while dozens of other House members and all but eight Republican senators refused to go along.

Republicans who spent years putting off a reckoning with Mr. Trump over his dangerous behavior are now confronting a disturbing prospect: that Wednesday's episode of violence, incited by Mr. Trump's remarks, could linger for decades as a stain on the party — much as the Watergate break-in and the Great Depression shadowed earlier generations of Republicans.

"His conduct over the last eight weeks has been injurious to the country and incredibly harmful to the party," said Chris Christie, the former governor of New Jersey who was the first major Republican to endorse Mr. Trump.

Mr. Christie said Republicans must "separate message from messenger," because "I don't think the messenger can recover from yesterday."

A small number of Republican officials who have been critical of

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## With Senate in Control, Biden Solidifies Agenda

By JIM TANKERSLEY and MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — With his victory recognized by Congress and his party set to control both the House and Senate, President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr. moved on Thursday to fill out his cabinet, while his aides and allies drafted plans for an ambitious legislative agenda headlined by \$2,000 stimulus checks to individual Americans.

Just hours after the House and Senate confirmed his election and President Trump said he would peacefully transfer power, Mr. Biden announced Judge Merrick B. Garland as his attorney general and selected three nominees to run the Labor Department, the Commerce Department and the Small Business Administration.

The president-elect's ability to push through key parts of his agenda and win confirmation of his cabinet selections received a significant lift this week, as Democrats picked up two Senate seats in Georgia, resulting in a 50-50 split. Vice President-elect Kamala Harris has the power to cast the tiebreaking vote, which would give Democrats control of the chamber.

As part of what he has pledged will be a next round of economic

## President-Elect Reveals 4 More Cabinet Picks

assistance, Mr. Biden is expected to move quickly to gain passage of \$2,000 stimulus checks — which were a big focus in the Georgia elections — along with expanded unemployment benefits, aid to state and local governments and additional relief for small busi-

nesses.

But despite Democratic control, the scope of his ambitions will be somewhat constrained by the moderates in his party, as well as a much thinner majority than his party's predecessor, President Barack Obama, had.

In the House, Democrats will have only a 12-seat advantage, potentially dampening the multi-trillion-dollar ambitions that Mr. Biden laid out in the 2020 campaign to expand health care, reduce eco-

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DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Judge Merrick B. Garland is the nominee for attorney general.

## 'It's Us Who's in Charge': A Boiling Desire to Desecrate the Capitol

By SABRINA TAVERNISE and MATTHEW ROSENBERG

WASHINGTON — There were infamous white nationalists and noted conspiracy theorists who have spread dark visions of pedophile Satanists running the country. Others were more anonymous, people who had journeyed from Indiana and South Carolina

to heed President Trump's call to show their support. One person, a West Virginia lawmaker, had only been elected to office in November.

All of them converged on Wednesday on the grounds of the U.S. Capitol, where hundreds of rioters crashed through barricades, climbed through windows and walked through doors, wandering the hallways with a sense of glee-

## Spreading Lawlessness in the Halls of Power

ful desecration, because, for a few breathtaking hours, they believed that they had displaced the very elites they said they hated.

"We wanted to show these poli-

ticians that it's us who's in charge, not them," said a construction worker from Indianapolis, who is 40 and identified himself only as Aaron. He declined to give his last name, saying, "I'm not that dumb."

He added: "We've got the strength."

As the country sifts through the shards of what happened in Wash-

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# IMPEACHED

## TRUMP, AFTER INCITING RAMPAGE IN CAPITOL, IS FIRST PRESIDENT TO FACE 2ND SENATE TRIAL



National Guard troops found a moment to rest under the gaze of George Washington on Wednesday as they patrolled the Capitol grounds.

ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

### 10 Republicans Join Vote as House Acts Swiftly

By NICHOLAS FANDOS

WASHINGTON — Donald J. Trump on Wednesday became the first American president to be impeached twice, as 10 members of his party joined with Democrats in the House to charge him with "incitement of insurrection" for his role in egging on a violent mob that stormed the Capitol last week.

Reconvening in a building now heavily militarized against threats from pro-Trump activists and adorned with bunting for the inauguration of President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr., lawmakers voted 232 to 197 to approve a single impeachment article. It accused Mr. Trump of "inciting violence against the government of the United States" in his quest to overturn the election results, and called for him to be removed and disqualified from ever holding public office again.

The vote left another indelible stain on Mr. Trump's presidency just a week before he is slated to leave office and laid bare the cracks running through the Republican Party. More members of his party voted to charge the president than in any other impeachment.

Speaker Nancy Pelosi of California, declaring the past week one of the darkest chapters in American history, implored colleagues to embrace "a constitutional remedy that will ensure that the republic will be safe from this man who is so resolutely determined to tear down the things that we hold dear and that hold us together."

A little more than a year after she led a painstaking, three-month process to impeach Mr. Trump the first time for a pressure campaign on Ukraine to incriminate Mr. Biden — a case rejected by the president's unfailingly loyal Republican supporters — Ms. Pelosi had moved this time with little fanfare to do the same job in only seven days.

"He must go. He is a clear and present danger to the nation that we all love," the speaker said, adding later, "It gives me no pleasure to say this — it breaks my heart."

The top House Republican, Representative Kevin McCarthy of California, conceded in a pained speech on the floor that Mr. Trump had been to blame for the deadly assault at the Capitol. It had forced the vice president and lawmakers who had gathered there to formalize Mr. Biden's victory to flee for their lives.

"The president bears responsibility for Wednesday's attack on Congress by mob rioters," said Mr. McCarthy, one of the 138 Republicans who returned to the House floor after the mayhem and voted to reject certified electoral votes for Mr. Biden. "He should have immediately denounced the mob when he saw what was unfolding."

Outside the House chamber, a surreal tableau

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### Biden Stays Above the Fray To Focus on Mounting Crises

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR and MICHAEL CROWLEY

WASHINGTON — His fellow Democrats are red hot with rage after the assault on the Capitol, but President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr. has maintained a studied cool, staying largely removed from the searing debate that culminated on Wednesday with President Trump's impeachment and keeping his focus on battling a deadly pandemic, reviving a faltering economy and lowering the political temperature.

Hours after the vote in the House to impeach Mr. Trump for a second time, Mr. Biden denounced what he called a violent attack on the Capitol and the "public servants in that citadel of liberty." He said a bipartisan group of lawmakers had condemned the violence by following "the Constitution and their conscience."

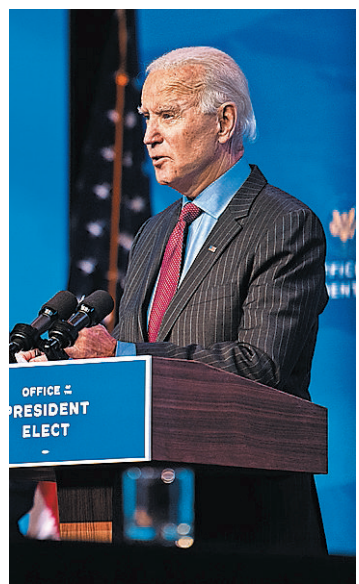
But he also pledged to ensure that Americans "stand together as a nation" when he becomes president next week, exhibiting the deliberate approach to politics that became the trademark of his march to the White House.

"This nation also remains in the grip of a deadly virus and a reeling economy," he said in a statement. "I hope that the Senate leadership will find a way to deal with their constitutional responsibilities on impeachment while also working on the other urgent business of this nation."

Rather than step up to lead his

party's effort to hold Mr. Trump accountable, Mr. Biden has deferred to Speaker Nancy Pelosi and other Democrats in the House and Senate. He has spent the past week honing policy proposals and introducing new appointees while delivering a carefully calibrated, above-the-fray message. "What the Congress decides to do is for them to decide," he said about the impeachment two days after the attacks.

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KRISTON JAE BETHEL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES  
Joseph R. Biden Jr.

### U.S. Authorities Warn of Threat By Extremists

This article is by John Eligon, Frances Robles, Zolan Kanno-Youngs and Helene Cooper.

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — The F.B.I. on Wednesday urged police chiefs across the country to be on high alert for extremist activity and to share intelligence on any threats they encounter, as the U.S. government issued a dire intelligence bulletin warning of potential violence ahead of the inauguration.

In the call with police chiefs, Christopher Wray, the F.B.I. director, and Kenneth Cuccinelli, the acting deputy secretary of the Department of Homeland Security, warned about potential attacks on state capitols, federal buildings, the homes of congressional members and businesses, according to one of the chiefs on the call. The officials failed to identify any specific threats, participants said, but called on law enforcement officers across the country to watch for signs of trouble, no matter how small.

"They don't want to be dismissive of anything," Chief Jorge Colina of the Miami Police Department, one of thousands of officials participating in the call, said in an interview. "So even if it sounds aspirational, even if it's just like, 'Yeah, it'd be great if the whole place is burned down,' they don't

Continued on Page A20

### Armed Soldiers in the Halls and Anger in the Air

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — Not since the dark days of the Civil War and its aftermath has Washington seen a day quite like Wednesday.

In a Capitol bristling with heavily armed soldiers and newly installed metal detectors, with the physical wreckage of last week's siege cleaned up but the emotional and political wreckage still on display, the president of the United States was impeached for trying to topple American democracy.

Somehow, it felt like the pre-ordained coda of a presidency

#### NEWS ANALYSIS

that repeatedly pressed all limits and frayed the bonds of the body politic. With less than a week to go, President Trump's term is climaxing in violence and recrimination at a time when the country has fractured deeply and lost a sense of itself. Notions of truth and reality have been atomized. Faith in the system has eroded. Anger is the one common ground.

As if it were not enough that Mr. Trump became the only president impeached twice or that lawmakers were trying to remove him with days left in his

term, Washington devolved into a miasma of suspicion and conflict. A Democratic member of Congress accused Republican colleagues of helping the mob last week scout the building in advance. Some Republican members sidestepped magnetometers intended to keep guns off the House floor or kept going even after setting them off.

All of which was taking place against the backdrop of a pandemic that, while attention has drifted away, has grown catastrophically worse in the closing weeks of Mr. Trump's presidency.

More than 4,400 people in the United States died of the corona-

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ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES  
Speaker Nancy Pelosi presiding over the second impeachment of President Trump in his one term.



THE 46TH PRESIDENT

# 'DEMOCRACY HAS PREVAILED': BIDEN VOWS TO MEND NATION



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Biden and Jill Biden, the first lady, in front of the White House on Wednesday as they prepared to become its newest inhabitants. Mr. Biden signed 17 executive actions on his first day in office.

## A President Forged by Setbacks as Much as by His Success

By LISA LERER

As a child, Joseph R. Biden Jr. wrestled with words, grappling with a boyhood stutter. Years later, as a young politician, he couldn't stop saying them, quickly developing a reputation for long-winded remarks.

It was words that undercut his first two campaigns for the White House, with charges of plagiarism ending his 1988 bid and verbal missteps that hampered his 2008 outing from nearly the first moments. And it was his self-described penchant for being a "gaffe machine," as he once put it,

that would cement his vice-presidential nickname of "Uncle Joe," the endearing relative who prompts the occasional wince.

Through a nearly half-century-long political career marked by personal tragedy and forged in national upheaval, Mr. Biden's struggle with his own words has remained a central fact of his professional life, and of the ambition he harbored for nearly as long, the White House.

Yet over the course of the 2020 campaign, and especially in the two months since his victory, Mr. Biden, the nation's 46th president, has transformed himself into a steady hand who chooses words

### 'Take a Measure of Me and My Heart,' He Asks of America

with extraordinary restraint.

The self-described "scrappy kid from Scranton," who called President Trump a "clown" and told him to "shut up" during their first debate, refused to take the political bait laid by Mr. Trump for weeks after the election with his attempts to overturn the results. Rather than get sucked into the

Trumpian chaos, Mr. Biden focused on announcing his cabinet and helping his party win two runoff races in Georgia. And with a second impeachment trial looming in the Senate, Mr. Biden, 78, has maintained his steadfast faith in the political center, positioning himself as a champion of all Americans and a deal maker between the left and the right.

"There's more of a sense of a calm resolve now," said Representative Lisa Blunt Rochester, Democrat of Delaware, who has known Mr. Biden for decades and served as a co-chair of his campaign. "Even the words that he

Continued on Page A14

## Taking Reins of Country Torn by Crisis and Strife; Historic Leap for Harris

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — Joseph Robinette Biden Jr. was sworn in on Wednesday as the 46th president of the United States, assuming leadership of a country ravaged by disease, dislocation and division with a call to "end this uncivil war" after four tumultuous years that tore at the fabric of American society.

Mr. Biden sought to immediately turn the corner on Donald J. Trump's polarizing presidency, inviting Republicans to join him in confronting the nation's dire economic, social and health crises even as he began dismantling his predecessor's legacy with orders to halt construction of his border wall, lift his travel ban and rejoin the Paris climate agreement.

The ritualistic transfer of power ended weeks of suspense as the vanquished president waged a relentless bid to hang on, only to be rebuffed at every level of government, clearing the way for Mr. Biden to claim his office. With his hand on a five-inch-thick Bible that has been in his family for 128 years, Mr. Biden recited the 35-word oath administered by Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. at 11:49 a.m., 11 minutes before the constitutionally prescribed noon hour.

Vice President Kamala Devi Harris was sworn in a few minutes earlier by Justice Sonia Sotomayor using a Bible that once belonged to Thurgood Marshall, the civil rights icon and Supreme Court justice. Ms. Harris thus became the highest-ranking woman in the history of the United States and the first Black American and first person of South Asian descent to hold the nation's second highest office.

The drama of the moment was underscored by the sight of Mr. Biden taking the oath on the same West Front of the Capitol seized just two weeks ago by a marauding mob trying to block final ratifi-

cation of Mr. Trump's election defeat. Without ever naming Mr. Trump, who left the White House early in the morning for Florida but still faces a Senate trial for provoking his supporters, Mr. Biden said that the United States' democratic experiment itself had come under assault by extremism and lies but ultimately endured.

"Through a crucible for the ages, America has been tested anew and America has risen to the challenge," the president said in a 21-minute Inaugural Address that blended soaring themes with



POOL PHOTO BY SUSAN WALSH  
Barack Obama greeting Vice President Kamala Harris.

folksy touches. "The will of the people has been heard, and the will of the people has been heeded," he added. "We've learned again that democracy is precious. Democracy is fragile. And at this hour, my friends, democracy has prevailed."

Already abbreviated because of Mr. Trump's refusal to concede, the transition that ended Wednesday was like none before, not just from one party to another but from one reality to another. A president who came to Washington to blow up the system was replaced by one who is a lifelong

Continued on Page A12

## Transfer of Power Brings Respite To City Where a Mob Held Sway

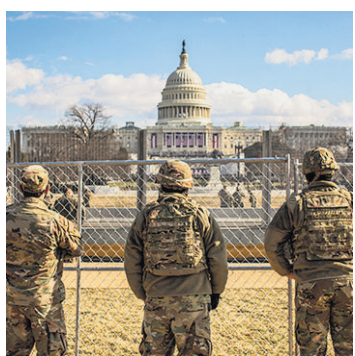
By MARK LEIBOVICH

WASHINGTON — Quite a difference between two chilly Wednesdays in January: Under a crystalline Inauguration Day sky and a bunting-draped Capitol, the Marine Band welcomed the 46th president into office with a procession of fanfares — in the same spot that a mob answering the call of the 45th had ransacked the building two weeks earlier to try to stop this transfer of power.

There was no mention of Donald J. Trump, the departed and deplatformed commander in chief who flew out of town early in the morning as the first president in 152 years to refuse to attend the swearing-in of his successor.

Whether or not related to the former president's absence, a bipartisan lightness seemed to prevail across the stage. Snow flurries gave way to sun and an aura distinctly serene. Senator Mitch McConnell, the Republican leader, and now former Vice President Mike Pence — both close allies of Mr. Trump who broke bitterly with him in his final days — were seen cracking grins, even chuckling with their counterparts in the opposing party.

Supreme Court justices greeted former presidents with elbow



JASON ANDREW FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES  
National Guard troops during the inauguration Wednesday.

bumps and waved to masked members of Congress from several feet away, a literal separation of powers mandated by the pandemic. The rampage on Jan. 6 had brought on uniformed troops clustered in all directions across a Capitol complex otherwise abandoned by civilians. Still, the inauguration felt like a friendly gathering, a small step toward President Biden's elusive promise of national unity.

"This is a great nation. We are good people," Mr. Biden said, speaking in simple goals, sounding almost plaintive at times in his

Continued on Page A13

## A Call for the Return of Civility, And Truth as a Guiding Light

By DAVID E. SANGER

WASHINGTON — In the end, the inauguration triumphed over the insurrection.

President Biden's plea for national unity in his Inaugural Address on Wednesday was rooted in a belief — born of decades working inside the fractious institutions of government — that America can return to an era where "enough of us have come together to carry all of us forward."

It was a call for the restoration of the ordinary discord of democracy, with a reminder that "politics doesn't have to be a raging fire, destroying everything in its path." The words were made all the more potent because they were delivered from the same steps at the entrance to the Capitol where a violent attack two weeks ago shocked the nation into realizing the lengths to which some Americans would go to overturn the results of a democratic election.

Mr. Biden's inauguration was notable for its normalcy, and the sense of relief that permeated the capital as an era of constant turmoil and falsehood ended. Yet he takes office amid so many



ANNA MONEYMAKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES  
President Donald J. Trump preparing to leave Washington.

interlocking national traumas that it is still unclear whether he can persuade enough of the nation to walk together into a new era. To do so, he needs to lead the country past the partisan divisions that made mask-wearing a political act, and to win acceptance from tens of millions of Americans who believed a lie that the presidency had been stolen.

Joseph Robinette Biden Jr. is hardly the first president to take office in a moment of national desperation and division. Lincoln, whose inauguration amid fear of violence hung over this

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### THE FIRST DAY

#### Dismantling Trump's Legacy

With his pen, President Biden acted to raze and rebuild his predecessor's environmental, immigration, pandemic and other policies. PAGE A20

### THE PARDONS

#### Disdain for Accountability

President Donald J. Trump's clemency actions showed animosity for a justice system seeking to punish corruption and betrayals of public trust. PAGE A27

### THE TIEBREAKER

#### A Powerful Voice

Vice President Kamala Harris could well be making frequent trips to the Capitol, with the Senate evenly split between the two parties. PAGE A24

### THE POET

#### A Young Wordsmith Connects

Amanda Gorman, 22, tried to make her inaugural poem, "The Hill We Climb," hopeful, realistic and unifying. Early reviews were glowing. PAGE A22

### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A30-31

#### Gail Collins

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## Test for Biden: Can U.S. Exit Afghanistan?

### Peace Deal Calls for a Decision by May 1

This article is by Helene Cooper, Eric Schmitt and David E. Sanger.

WASHINGTON — The previous two presidents of the United States declared they wanted to pull all American troops out of Afghanistan, and they both decided in the end that they could not do it. Now President Biden is facing the same issue, with a deadline less than three months away.

The Pentagon, uncertain what the new commander in chief will do, is preparing variations on a plan to stay, a plan to leave and a plan to withdraw very, very slowly — a reflection of the debate now swirling in the White House. The current deadline is May 1, in keeping with a much-violated peace agreement that calls for the complete withdrawal of the remaining 2,500 U.S. troops.

The deadline is a critical decision point for Mr. Biden, and it will come months before the 20th anniversary of the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks that prompted the American-led invasion of Afghanistan to root out Al Qaeda.

Two decades later, the strategic goals have shifted many times, from counterterrorism and democratization to nation-building, and far more limited goals that President Barack Obama's administration called "Afghan good enough." Mr. Biden — who argued as vice president throughout Mr. Obama's term for a minimal presence — will have to decide whether following his instincts to get out would run too high a risk of a takeover of the country's key cities by the Taliban.

Mr. Biden, one senior aide noted, started his long career in the Senate just before the United States evacuated its personnel from Saigon, the capital of South Vietnam; the image of helicopters plucking Americans and a few Vietnamese from a roof was a searing symbol of a failed strategy. Mr. Biden is highly aware of the risks of something similar transpiring in Kabul, the Afghan capital, if all Western troops leave, and he has privately described the possibility as haunting, aides said. But the president also questions whether the small remaining contingent of Americans can accomplish anything after 20

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## Michigan Torn, With the G.O.P. In Trump's Grip

By ASTEAD W. HERNDON

ROCKFORD, Mich. — When Representative Peter Meijer voted to impeach Donald J. Trump in January, making him one of 10 House Republicans who bucked their party, he bluntly acknowledged that "it may have been an act of political suicide."

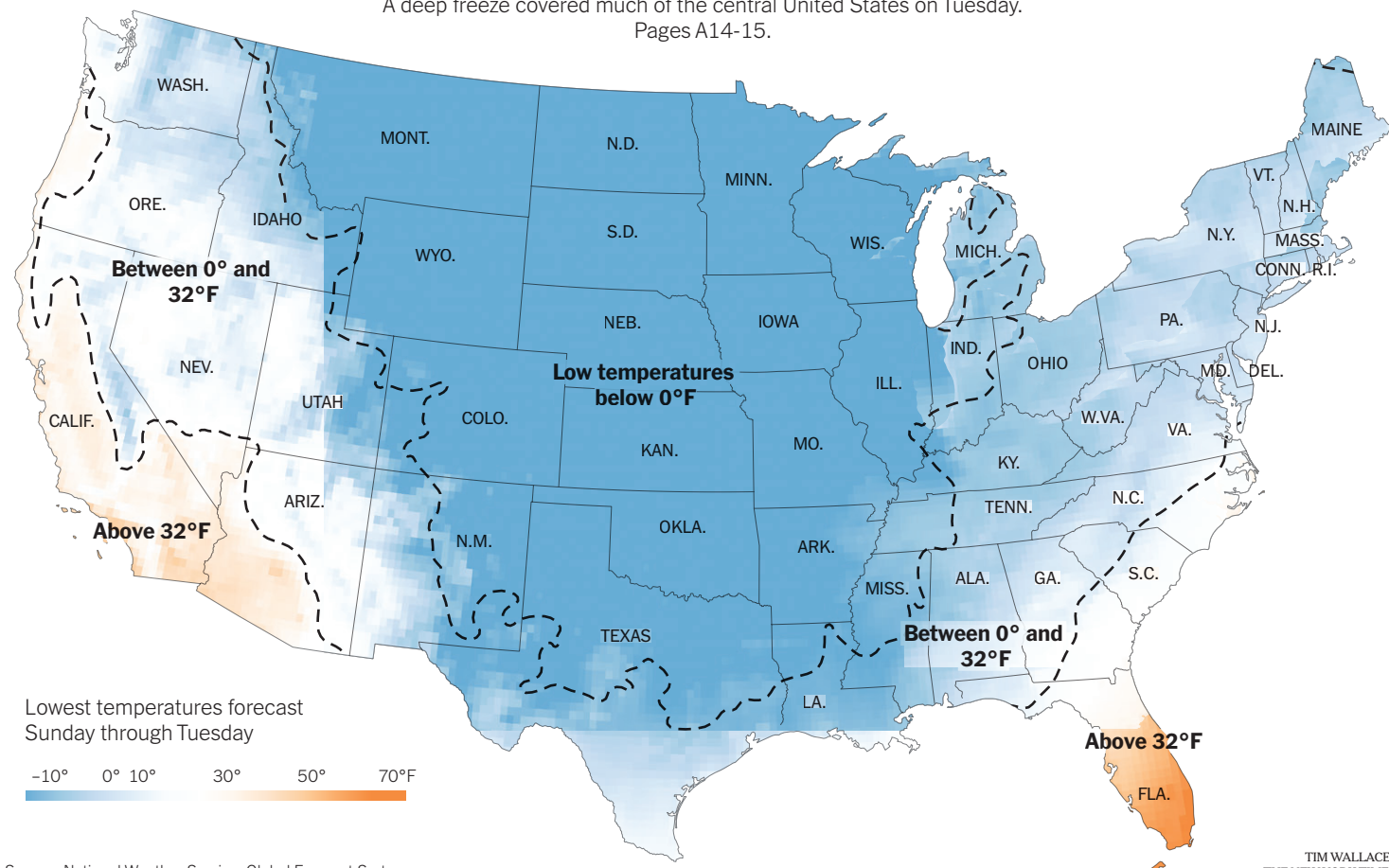
This month, during Mr. Meijer's first town hall event since that impeachment vote, some of his constituents made clear to the newly elected congressman that they shared his assessment — not that Mr. Trump had committed an impeachable act by helping incite a riot at the Capitol, but that crossing him was an unforgivable sin. "I went against people who told me not to vote for you, and I've lost that belief," said Cindy Witke, who lives in Mr. Meijer's district, which is anchored by Grand Rapids and small communities like this one in Western Michigan.

Nancy Eardley, who spoke next, urged Mr. Meijer to stop saying the election had not been stolen. She said he had "betrayed" his Re-

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## Bitter Cold, Stretching From Canada to the Rio Grande

A deep freeze covered much of the central United States on Tuesday. Pages A14-15.



Lowest temperatures forecast Sunday through Tuesday

Source: National Weather Service, Global Forecast System

TIM WALLACE/ THE NEW YORK TIMES



DAVID J. PHILLIP/ASSOCIATED PRESS



TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

More than four million Texans were subject to rolling blackouts to ease strain on electric grids. In Houston, a church served as a warming center, and in Austin, Joel Zavala sought gas for his generator. Grids in the Southwest and Midwest also were stressed.

## A Safe Zone That Can't Protect Against Misery

By CARLOTTA GALL

AFRIN, Syria — In a tented camp on a hilltop above the city of Afrin, 300 Syrian families struggle to keep warm in the rain and mud. Displaced three times since they fled their farms near Damascus seven years ago, they survive on slim handouts and send the children out to scavenge.

"The situation is very bad, rain comes into the tent," said Bushra Sulaiman al-Hamdo, 65, lifting the ground sheet to show the sodden earth where her bedridden husband lay. "There's not enough food, there is no assistance organization, no drinking water."

President Recep Tayyip Erdogan of Turkey was widely criticized by the United Nations and

### Millions Under Turkish Control in Syria Have No Alternative

Western leaders three years ago when he ordered Turkish troops across the Syrian border into Afrin, an action seen as opportunistic and destabilizing. Thousands of Kurdish families fled the Turkish invasion, along with the Kurdish fighters. In their place came hundreds of thousands of Syrians from other areas, who have swollen the population, taking over homes and camping on farming land. Another Turkish intervention in

2019, farther east in Syria, met still more opprobrium amid accusations of human rights violations under Turkey's watch.

But as an end to the decade-long Syrian civil war still confounds the world, Turkey has become the only international force on the ground protecting some five million displaced and vulnerable civilians. Today, the Turkish soldiers are all that stand between them and potential slaughter at the hands of President Bashar al-Assad's forces and those of his Russian allies.

Turkish officials recently escorted journalists on a rare visit to Afrin, a district of northwestern Syria, where Turkey has created its own de facto safe zone along the border. The Turks were keen

Continued on Page A10

## Despite a Push, Oregon Schools Remain Empty

By SHAWN HUBLER

Shortly before Christmas, as Oregon schools faced their 10th month under some of the nation's sternest coronavirus restrictions, Gov. Kate Brown began a major push to reopen classrooms.

She relaxed certain standards for restarting in-person teaching. She offered to help districts pay for masks, testing and tracing, and improved ventilation. Most important, she prioritized teachers and school staff members for vaccination — ahead of some older people.

Her goal: to resume in-person classes statewide by Feb. 15.

But today, roughly 80 percent of Oregon's 560,000 public schoolchildren remain in fully remote instruction. And while some districts are slowly bringing children back, two of the largest, Portland and Beaverton, do not plan to reopen until at least April — and then only for younger students.

Oregon's halting efforts to return children to classrooms are being repeated up and down the West Coast. The region's largest city school districts — from Seattle to Portland to San Francisco to Los Angeles — have remained mostly closed, even as large districts elsewhere, including Boston, New York, Miami, Houston and Chicago, have been resuming in-person instruction.

And the release on Friday of guidelines from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention that urge school districts to reopen has not changed the minds of powerful teachers' unions opposed to returning students to classrooms without more strin-

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## FRIGID ONSLAUGHT STRETCHES LIMITS OF ELECTRIC GRIDS

### SWATH OF U.S. IN ICEBOX

### Climate Change Is Likely to Make Catastrophic Outages Common

By BRAD PLUMER

Huge winter storms plunged large parts of the central and southern United States into an energy crisis this week, with frigid blasts of Arctic weather crippling electric grids and leaving millions of Americans without power amid dangerously cold temperatures.

The grid failures were most severe in Texas, where more than four million people woke up Tuesday morning to rolling blackouts. Separate regional grids in the Southwest and Midwest also faced serious strain. As of Tuesday afternoon, at least 23 people nationwide had died in the storm or its aftermath.

Analysts have begun to identify key factors behind the grid failures in Texas. Record-breaking cold weather spurred residents to crank up their electric heaters and pushed power demand beyond the worst-case scenarios that grid operators had planned for. At the same time, a large fraction of the state's gas-fired power plants were knocked offline amid icy conditions, with some plants suffering fuel shortages as natural gas demand spiked. Many of Texas' wind turbines also froze and stopped working.

The crisis sounded an alarm for power systems throughout the country. Electric grids can be engineered to handle a wide range of severe conditions — as long as grid operators can reliably predict the dangers ahead. But as climate change accelerates, many electric grids will face extreme weather events that go far beyond the historical conditions those systems were designed for, putting them at risk of catastrophic failure.

While scientists are still analyzing what role human-caused climate change may have played in this week's winter storms, it is clear that global warming poses a barrage of additional threats to power systems nationwide, including fiercer heat waves and water shortages.

Measures that could help make

Continued on Page A15

## Texans Shiver, Casting Blame As Power Fails

This article is by David Montgomery, Rick Rojas, Ivan Penn and James Dobbins.

AUSTIN, Texas — Texans shivered under blankets as their electricity flickered off and temperatures inside their homes plummeted. Some awoke on Tuesday to find icicles had formed from dripping kitchen faucets. And in a Houston suburb, a woman and her three grandchildren who had been relying on a fireplace for heat were killed after the authorities said a blaze engulfed their home.

As a winter storm forced the state's power grid to the brink of collapse, millions of residents were submerged this week into darkness, bitter cold and a sense of indignation over being stuck in uncomfortable and even dangerous conditions. The strain revealed the vulnerabilities of a distressed system and set off a political fight as lawmakers called for hearings and an inquiry into the Electric Reliability Council of Texas, the operator managing the flow of electricity to more than 26

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### INTERNATIONAL A7-11

#### Sex Abuse Cases Rock Greece

Dozens of actors have accused some of the nation's best-known performers and directors of harassment. PAGE A11

#### Virus Drowns Out Samba Beat

Brazil cancels its most famous Carnival, which had endured in years of war, hyperinflation and despotism. PAGE A7



### TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-6

#### A Key Link to Herd Immunity

Enrolling teenagers in clinical trials for vaccines is crucial, but they are tougher to keep in trials than adults. PAGE A4

### NATIONAL A12-17

#### The Officers in the Crowd

At least 30 law enforcement officers took part in the rally before the Capitol riot. Many are being investigated. PAGE A13

#### Leveraging Senate Ties

President Biden has made clear that he plans to try to capitalize on his experience and relationships on Capitol Hill to get things done. PAGE A16

### BUSINESS B1-6

#### Betting Big on Batteries

Carmakers, government agencies and investors are pouring money into research in a global race to profit from emission-free electric cars. PAGE B1

#### Novel Plans to Save Pensions

Starved of cash by the pandemic, cities are using their own property as collateral to pay for benefits. PAGE B1

### SPORTSWEDNESDAY B7-9

#### Starry Semifinal in Australia

As Serena Williams gets closer to tying the record for Grand Slam singles titles, Naomi Osaka is in her way. PAGE B7

### FOOD D1-8

#### Maximalist Brownies

Maybe that diet could wait for another day. Melissa Clark has some mouthwatering recipes that go all out. PAGE D2

#### Homebound Pastry Chefs

Microbakeries have popped up in apartment kitchens, meeting New York City's demand for cheer and calories. PAGE D1



### ARTS C1-6

#### Letting Virus Victims Breathe

The English National Opera joined with a London hospital to offer vocal lessons to help patients recover. PAGE C1

#### Drawing a Royal Picture

A painter whose ancestor was an African king is examining how the past shaped his own identity. PAGE C1

### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A18-19

#### Thomas L. Friedman PAGE A18



## TRUMP ALLY SAID TO VIOLATE BAN ON LIBYAN ARMS

### EX-HEAD OF BLACKWATER

#### Weapons Went to Militia Seeking to Oust Government

By DECLAN WALSH

NAIROBI, Kenya — Erik Prince, the former head of the security contractor Blackwater Worldwide and a prominent supporter of former President Donald J. Trump, violated a United Nations arms embargo on Libya by sending weapons to a militia commander who was attempting to overthrow the internationally backed government, according to U.N. investigators.

A confidential U.N. report obtained by The New York Times and delivered by investigators to the Security Council on Thursday reveals how Mr. Prince deployed a force of foreign mercenaries, armed with attack aircraft, gunboats and cyberwarfare capabilities, to eastern Libya at the height of a major battle in 2019.

As part of the operation, which the report said cost \$80 million, the mercenaries also planned to form a hit squad that could track down and kill selected Libyan commanders.

Mr. Prince, a former Navy SEAL and the brother of Betsy DeVos, Mr. Trump's education secretary, became a symbol of the excesses of privatized American military force when his Blackwater contractors killed 17 Iraqi civilians in 2007.

In the past decade he has relaunched himself as an executive who strikes deals — sometimes for minerals, other times involving military force — in war-addled but resource-rich countries, mostly in Africa.

During the Trump administration, Mr. Prince was a generous donor and a staunch ally of the president, often in league with figures like Steve Bannon and Roger Stone as they sought to undermine Mr. Trump's critics. And Mr. Prince came under scrutiny from the Trump-Russia inquiry over his meeting with a Russian banker in 2017.

Mr. Prince refused to cooperate with the U.N. inquiry; his lawyer did not respond to questions about the report. Last year the lawyer, Matthew L. Schwartz, told The Times that Mr. Prince "had nothing whatsoever" to do with military operations in Libya.

The accusation that Mr. Prince violated the U.N.'s arms embargo on Libya exposes him to possible U.N. sanctions, including a travel ban and a freeze on his bank accounts and other assets — though such an outcome is uncertain.

The report raises the question of whether Mr. Prince played on his ties to the Trump administration to pull off the Libya operation.

It describes how a friend and former business partner of Mr. Prince traveled to Jordan to buy surplus, American-made Cobra helicopters from the Jordanian military — a sale that ordinarily would require American government permission, according to

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NASA

## New Eyes on the Red Planet

The first pictures from NASA's Perseverance rover on Mars showed its "pool table flat" landing spot in the Jezero Crater. Page A12.

## Brutal Cold Kills Texans in Beds, Yards and Cars

This article is by Giulia McDonnell Nieto del Rio, Richard Fausset and Johnny Diaz.

SAN ANTONIO — Carrol Anderson spent much of his life in Southeast Texas, where the most feared natural disasters spin up from the Gulf of Mexico during the warm months of hurricane season. But last week, Mr. Anderson, a 75-year-old who breathed with the help of oxygen tanks, knew that a different kind of storm was heading his way.

To prepare, he ordered a fresh supply of oxygen that his stepdaughter said never arrived. There was a spare tank, however, in the pickup outside his one-story

### Carbon Monoxide, Fire and Exposure Raise Toll of Power Crisis

brick house in Crosby, Texas, just northeast of Houston.

So when Mr. Anderson, an Army veteran who went by Andy, was found dead inside his truck on Tuesday, his stepdaughter figured he had gone outside to retrieve it. His main tank, back in the house, runs on electricity, and the power had gone out the night before as a deadly cold descended on much of

Texas.

While the final tally could be much higher, Mr. Anderson was among at least 58 people who died in storm-affected areas stretching to Ohio, victims of carbon monoxide poisoning, car crashes, drownings, house fires and hypothermia.

In Galveston County, along the Texas Gulf Coast, the authorities said two residents had died from exposure to the cold and one person from possible carbon monoxide poisoning. Four other deaths remained under investigation and were possibly linked to the frigid weather.

Judge Mark Henry, the county's  
Continued on Page A14



TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A deep freeze in places like Austin, Texas, above, on Wednesday, caused misery and led to deaths.

## G.O.P. Facing Uphill Battle On Stimulus

By EMILY COCHRANE and JIM TANKERSLEY

WASHINGTON — Republicans are struggling to persuade voters to oppose President Biden's \$1.9 trillion economic rescue plan, which enjoys strong, bipartisan support nationwide even as it is moving through Congress with just Democratic backing.

Democrats who control the House are preparing to approve the package by the end of next week, with the Senate aiming to soon follow with its own party-line vote before unemployment benefits are set to lapse in mid-March. On Friday, the House Budget Committee unveiled the nearly 600-page text for the proposal, which includes billions of dollars for unemployment benefits, small businesses and stimulus checks.

Republican leaders, searching for a way to derail the proposal, on Friday led a final attempt to tarnish the package, labeling it a "payoff to progressives." The bill, they said, spends too much and includes a liberal wish list of programs like aid to state and local governments — which they call a "blue state bailout," though many states facing shortfalls are controlled by Republicans — and increased benefits for the unemployed, which they argued would discourage people from looking for work.

Those attacks have followed weeks of varying Republican objections to the package, including

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## BIDEN REAFFIRMS ALLIANCES' VALUE FOR U.S. POLICIES

### COMBATING AUTOCRACY

#### European Leaders Offer Some Pushback, but Welcome Message

This article is by David E. Sanger, Steven Erlanger and Roger Cohen.

President Biden used his first public encounter with America's European allies to describe a new struggle between the West and the forces of autocracy, declaring that "America is back" while acknowledging that the past four years had taken a toll on its power and influence.

His message stressing the importance of reinvigorating alliances and recommitting to defending Europe was predictably well received at a session of the Munich Security Conference that Mr. Biden addressed from the White House.

But there was also pushback, notably from the French president, Emmanuel Macron, who in his address made an impassioned defense of his concept of "strategic autonomy" from the United States, making the case that Europe can no longer be overly dependent on the United States as it focuses more of its attention on Asia, especially China.

And even Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany, who is leav-



ANNA MONEYMAKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES  
President Biden on Friday.

ing office within the year, tempered her praise for Mr. Biden's decision to cancel plans for a withdrawal of 12,000 American troops from the country with a warning that "our interests will not always converge." It appeared to be a reference to Germany's ambivalence about confronting China — a major market for its automobiles and other high-end German products — and to the continuing battle with the United States over the construction of the Nord Stream 2 gas pipeline to Russia.

But all three leaders seemed to recognize that their first virtual encounter was a moment to celebrate the end of the era of "America First," and for Mr. Macron and Ms. Merkel to welcome back Mr. Biden, a politician whom they knew well from his years as a senator and vice president.

And Mr. Biden used the moment to warn about the need for a common strategy in pushing back at an Internet-fueled narrative, promoted by both Presidents Vladimir V. Putin of Russia and Xi Jinping of China, that the chaos sur-

Continued on Page A9

## Russia Buffs Image by Offering to Share Vaccine

By ANDREW E. KRAMER

ST. PETERSBURG, Russia — In its foreign policy, Russia tends to favor the hard power of military might and oil and gas exports. But in recent months, the Kremlin has scored a sweeping diplomatic win from an unexpected source: the success of its coronavirus vaccine, Sputnik V.

While the United States and European countries have considered

### Promise May Come at Cost to Nation's Own

or implemented bans on vaccine exports to deal with shortages at home, Russia has earned plaudits by sharing its vaccine with countries around the world in an apparent act of enlightened self-interest.

So far, more than 50 countries from Latin America to Asia have ordered 1.2 billion doses of the Russian vaccine, buffing the image of Russian science and lifting Moscow's influence around the world.

Yet, in Russia things are not always what they seem, and this apparent triumph of soft-power diplomacy may not be all that the  
Continued on Page A6

## Outside Cash Plays Outsize Role in Mayor's Race

By DANA RUBINSTEIN and KATIE GLUECK

The last time there was an open mayoral election in New York City, an independent committee spent roughly \$900,000 to help take down the presumptive front-runner, paving the way for Bill de Blasio's victory.

Eight years later, another onslaught of barely regulated money is heading New York's way, with

### Big Spending Highlights Stakes in New York

super PACs poised to play an outsize role in the race for mayor, the most important election in recent city history.

Business-friendly organizations have already raised millions

of dollars. At least one candidate, Raymond J. McGuire, has a dedicated super PAC. And now progressive groups are getting in on the act, creating their own super PACs to supplement their on-the-ground and social media efforts.

The rising tide of independent spending highlights the fierce debates unfolding across the political spectrum about how to manage the city's post-pandemic re-

Continued on Page A17



INTERNATIONAL A7-10

### Author Bares Brazil's Racism

Joyce Fernandes, an ex-domestic worker, is prompting "uncomfortable" dialogue. The Saturday Profile. PAGE A7

### Muted Response on Iran Talks

Nations for and against the 2015 Iran nuclear deal reacted cautiously to President Biden's bid to re-engage. PAGE A9

NATIONAL A11-17

### Budget Nominee in Peril

Senator Joe Manchin III said he would oppose Neera Tanden, the president's budget office nominee, potentially derailing her confirmation. PAGE A12

### More Fuel for Cruz Detractors

Ted Cruz's getaway to Cancún was only the latest episode in a career that has left him reviled by Democrats and some Republicans. Political Memo. PAGE A14

### Militia Members Are Charged

An indictment against nine Oath Keepers is the most significant effort so far to prove far-right extremists worked together before the Jan. 6 attack. PAGE A13

BUSINESS B1-6

### Airlines Waiting for Normal

Tourists may fly again in the spring or summer, but airlines fear profitable business travelers could stay away for a year or longer. PAGE B1

### Uber Is Dealt a Major Defeat

Britain's Supreme Court ruled that a group of drivers for the company are entitled to worker benefits. PAGE B1

TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-6

### Cuomo Says Lives Were Saved

The New York governor lashed out at critics of the state's handling of nursing homes during the pandemic. PAGE A4



ARTS C1-6

### New Tools for New Sounds

Joaquín Orellana, a Guatemalan composer, builds special instruments on which to play his works. PAGE C1

### TikTok Tunes, Made to Go Viral

After a song by an unknown gains attention on the app, a trend-hopping remix usually isn't far behind. PAGE C1

SPORTS SATURDAY B7-10

### A Prodigy Propels UConn

The first-year guard Paige Bueckers has led the Huskies back to the No. 1 ranking in women's basketball. PAGE B7

### Don't Be Sure This Is Farewell

Serena Williams's wave after losing stirred retirement talk. She won't go out that way, Kurt Stretcher writes. PAGE B8

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A18-19

Jamelle Bouie

PAGE A18



## U.S. VIRUS DEATHS NEARING 500,000 IN JUST ONE YEAR

### MORE THAN IN 3 WARS

#### Empty Spaces in Cities, Towns, Restaurants, Homes and Hearts

By JULIE BOSMAN

CHICAGO — A nation numbed by misery and loss is confronting a number that still has the power to shock: 500,000.

Roughly one year since the first known death by the coronavirus in the United States, an unfathomable toll is nearing — the loss of half a million people.

No other country has counted so many deaths in the pandemic. More Americans have perished from Covid-19 than on the battlefields of World War I, World War II and the Vietnam War combined.

The milestone comes at a hopeful moment: New virus cases are down sharply, deaths are slowing and vaccines are steadily being administered.

But there is concern about emerging variants of the virus, and it may be months before the pandemic is contained.

Each death has left untold numbers of mourners, a ripple effect of loss that has swept over towns and cities. Each death has left an empty space in communities across America: a bar stool where a regular used to sit, one side of a bed unslept in, a home kitchen without its cook.

The living find themselves amid vacant places once occupied by their spouses, parents, neighbors and friends — the nearly 500,000 coronavirus dead.

In Chicago, the Rev. Ezra Jones stands at his pulpit on Sundays, letting his eyes wander to the back row. That spot belonged to Moses Jones, his 83-year-old uncle, who liked to drive to church in his green Chevy Malibu, arrive early and chat everybody up before settling into his seat by the door. He died of the coronavirus in April.

"I can still see him there," said Mr. Jones, the pastor. "It never goes away."

There is a street corner in Plano, Texas, that was occupied

Continued on Page 8

## Russia Fears But Can't Quit Open Internet

By ANTON TROIANOVSKI

MOSCOW — Margarita Simonyan, the editor in chief of the Kremlin-controlled RT television network, recently called on the government to block access to Western social media.

She wrote: "Foreign platforms in Russia must be shut down."

Her choice of social network for sending that message: Twitter.

While the Kremlin fears an open internet shaped by American companies, it just can't quit it.

Russia's winter of discontent, waves of nationwide protests set off by the return of the opposition leader Aleksei A. Navalny, has been enabled by the country's free and open internet. The state controls the television airwaves, but online Mr. Navalny's dramatic arrest upon arrival in Moscow, his investigation into President Vladimir V. Putin's purported secret palace and his supporters' calls for protest were all broadcast to an audience of many millions.

For years, the Russian government has been putting in place the technological and legal infrastructure to clamp down on freedom of speech online, leading to frequent predictions that the country could be heading toward internet censorship akin to China's great firewall.

But even as Mr. Putin faced the biggest protests in years last month, his government appeared unwilling — and, to some degree, unable — to block websites or take other drastic measures to limit the spread of digital dissent.

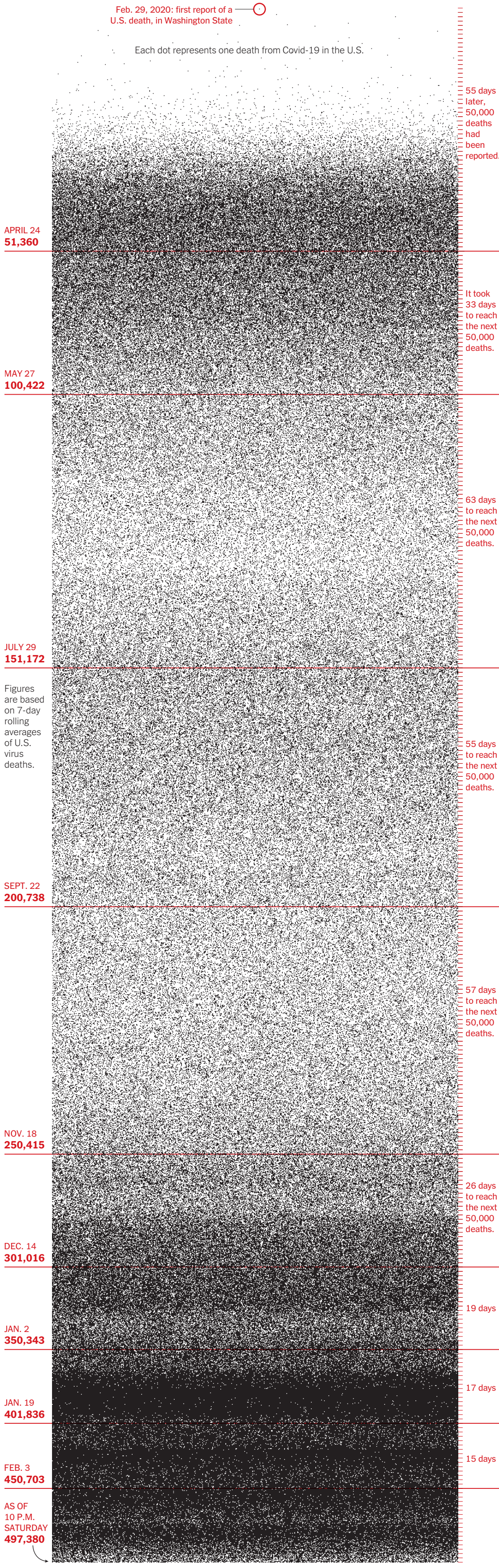
The hesitation has underscored the challenge Mr. Putin faces as he tries to blunt the political implications of cheap high-speed internet

Continued on Page 16

## The Toll: America Approaches Half a Million Covid Deaths

Feb. 29, 2020: first report of a U.S. death, in Washington State

Each dot represents one death from Covid-19 in the U.S.



Source: Reports from state and local health agencies.

LAZARO GAMIO, LAUREN LEATHERBY, BILL MARSH AND ANDREW SONDERN/THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Garland Faces Resurgent Peril Of Extremism

### Oklahoma City Attack Shaped His Views

By MARK LEIBOVICH

WASHINGTON — Judge Merrick B. Garland always made a point of wearing a coat and tie when he surveyed the wreckage at the site of the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing, the worst domestic terrorist attack in American history.

He had been dispatched from Washington to oversee the case for the Justice Department, and he told colleagues that he viewed his daily uniform as a gesture of respect for a community left devastated after Timothy J. McVeigh placed a 7,000-pound bomb in a Ryder truck and blew up the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building, killing 168 people, including 19 children.

"It really looked like a war zone," Judge Garland said in recalling the destroyed and still-smoldering building, part of an oral history he participated in for the Oklahoma City National Memorial and Museum. "The site was lit up like a sun, like the middle of the day." The worst part, he said, was seeing the demolished day care center. "There was nothing there," he said. "It was just a big empty concave." His own daughters were 4 and 2 at the time.

The Oklahoma City case, he later said, was "the most important thing I have ever done in my life."

When President Biden nominated Judge Garland last month to be attorney general, the news conjured up his ordeal in 2016 as President Barack Obama's thwarted nominee to the Supreme Court. But Judge Garland's experience prosecuting domestic terrorism cases in the 1990s was the formative work of his career, from the nuances of federal statutes down to the feeling of broken glass crunching beneath his dress shoes.

The man has now met the moment. At his Senate confirmation hearings starting on Monday, he will almost certainly be asked about the Department of Homeland Security's warning that the United States faces a growing threat from "violent domestic ex-

Continued on Page 26

## STORMS EXPOSING A NATION PRIMED FOR CATASTROPHE

### CLIMATE CHANGE WRATH

#### Unprepared for Threats Facing Power Grids, Water and Roads

This article is by Christopher Flavelle, Brad Plumer and Hiroko Tabuchi.

Even as Texas struggled to restore electricity and water over the past week, signs of the risks posed by increasingly extreme weather to America's aging infrastructure were cropping up across the country.

The continent-spanning winter storms triggered blackouts in Texas, Oklahoma, Mississippi and several other states. One-third of oil production in the nation was halted. Drinking-water systems in Ohio were knocked offline. Road networks nationwide were paralyzed and vaccination efforts in 20 states were disrupted.

The crisis carries a profound warning. As climate change brings more frequent and intense storms, floods, heat waves, wildfires and other extreme events, it is placing growing stress on the foundations of the country's economy: Its network of roads and railways, drinking-water systems, power plants, electrical grids, industrial waste sites and even homes. Failures in just one sector can set off a domino effect of breakdowns in hard-to-predict ways.

Much of this infrastructure was built decades ago, under the expectation that the environment around it would remain stable, or at least fluctuate within predictable bounds. Now climate change is upending that assumption.

"We are colliding with a future of extremes," said Alice Hill, who oversaw planning for climate risks on the National Security Council during the Obama administration. "We base all our choices

Continued on Page 22

A \$16,752 BILL Texans have reported soaring electric fees during a winter storm. PAGE 24



Johanna Guzmán with two of her six children in northern Venezuela, where contraceptives are difficult to find, let alone afford.

## Lack of Birth Control Deepens Women's Burden in Venezuela

By JULIE TURKEWITZ and ISAYEN HERRERA

SAN DIEGO DE LOS ALTOS, Venezuela — The moment Johanna Guzmán, 25, discovered she was going to have her sixth child she began to sob, crushed by the idea of bringing another life into a nation in such decay.

For years, as Venezuela spiraled deeper into an economic crisis, she and her husband had scoured clinics and pharmacies for any kind of birth control, usually in vain. They had a third child. A fourth. A fifth.

Already, Ms. Guzmán was cooking meager dinners over a wood fire, washing clothing without soap, teaching lessons without paper. Already, she was stalked by a fear that she could not feed them all.

And now, another child? "I felt like I was drowning," she said.

As Venezuela enters its eighth

year of economic crisis, a deeply personal drama is playing out inside the home: Millions of women are no longer able to find or afford birth control, pushing many into unplanned pregnancies at a time when they can barely feed the children they already have.

Around Caracas, the capital, a pack of three condoms costs \$4.40 — three times Venezuela's monthly minimum wage of \$1.50.

Birth control pills cost more than twice as much, roughly \$11 a month, while an IUD, or intrauterine device, can cost more than \$40 — more than 25 times the minimum wage. And that does not include a doctor's fee to have the device put in.

With the cost of contraception so far out of reach, women are increasingly resorting to abortions, which are illegal and in the worst

Continued on Page 12

### TRACKING AN OUTBREAK 4-9

#### Israel Funds Vaccines for Syria

To secure the release of an Israeli civilian, Israel secretly agreed to finance a supply of Russian-made Covid-19 vaccines for Syria, an official said. PAGE 9

### SPORTS 35-37

#### Osaka Wins Australian Open

Naomi Osaka, 23, is now 4 for 4 in Grand Slam finals after a straight-set victory over Jennifer Brady, 25, who was in her first Slam final. PAGE 35

### SUNDAY STYLES

#### Sit. Roll Over. Wait Your Turn.

Dog trainers are overwhelmed, thanks to a boom in pet adoptions and sales, spurred by work-from-home policies and social isolation. PAGE 1

### SUNDAY BUSINESS

#### Boredom Is Making Us Buy

Yet another pandemic side effect: consumers who are eager to make online purchases, and not just of groceries. Witness sales of Miracle-Gro. PAGE 1

### SUNDAY REVIEW

#### Katie Engelhart





## Berlin Drove Europe's Pause In Inoculations

### Pressure to Show Unity in Virus Fight

By JASON HOROWITZ and BENJAMIN MUELLER

ROME — After days of touting the safety of AstraZeneca's vaccine, Italy's health minister, Roberto Speranza, took a call from his German counterpart on Monday and learned that Germany was concerned enough about a few cases of serious blood clots among some who had received the vaccine to suspend its use.

For Italy and its neighbors, that call could not have come at a worse time.

Their vaccine rollouts were already lagging because of shortages, and they were encouraging people to get those shots that were available. Only days earlier, Prime Minister Mario Draghi reassured Italians who had become wary of the AstraZeneca vaccine. "There is no clear evidence, clear correlation, that these events are linked to the administration of the vaccine," he said.

But once Germany hit pause, the pressure mounted on other governments to do the same, lest public opinion punish them if they seemed incautious by comparison, and for the sake of a united European front.

Germany's decision set off a domino effect of defections from the vaccine. A cascade of countries — Italy, France and Spain — soon joined the decision to suspend AstraZeneca, dealing a significant blow to Europe's already shaky inoculation drive despite a lack of clear evidence that the vaccine had caused any harm.

On Tuesday, the European Union's top drug regulator pushed back against concerns about the shot, saying that there was no sign of its causing dangerous problems and that its lifesaving benefits "outweigh the risk of the side effects." The European Medicines Agency was still studying the issue, said Emer Cooke, its executive director, adding that there

Continued on Page A7

## In New Jersey, Empty Benches Hinder Justice

By TRACEY TULLY

Phillip White, an unarmed Black man, died in police custody in New Jersey six years ago. After the Vineland, N.J., officers involved in the encounter were cleared by a grand jury and their own department, Mr. White's family filed a \$10 million wrongful-death lawsuit in federal court, accusing one officer of using excessive force.

The suit, filed in 2016, has not yet gone to trial — one of 46,609 cases that were still awaiting action last year in U.S. District Court in New Jersey, according to the latest available figures.

Short-handed and deluged by complex cases, New Jersey's federal court is in the throes of a crisis that lawyers and judges agree threatens a fundamental tenet of the legal system: access to justice. The backlog, already at worrisome levels before the pandemic, has only gotten worse in the last year as courtrooms closed and trials were halted to curb the spread of the coronavirus.

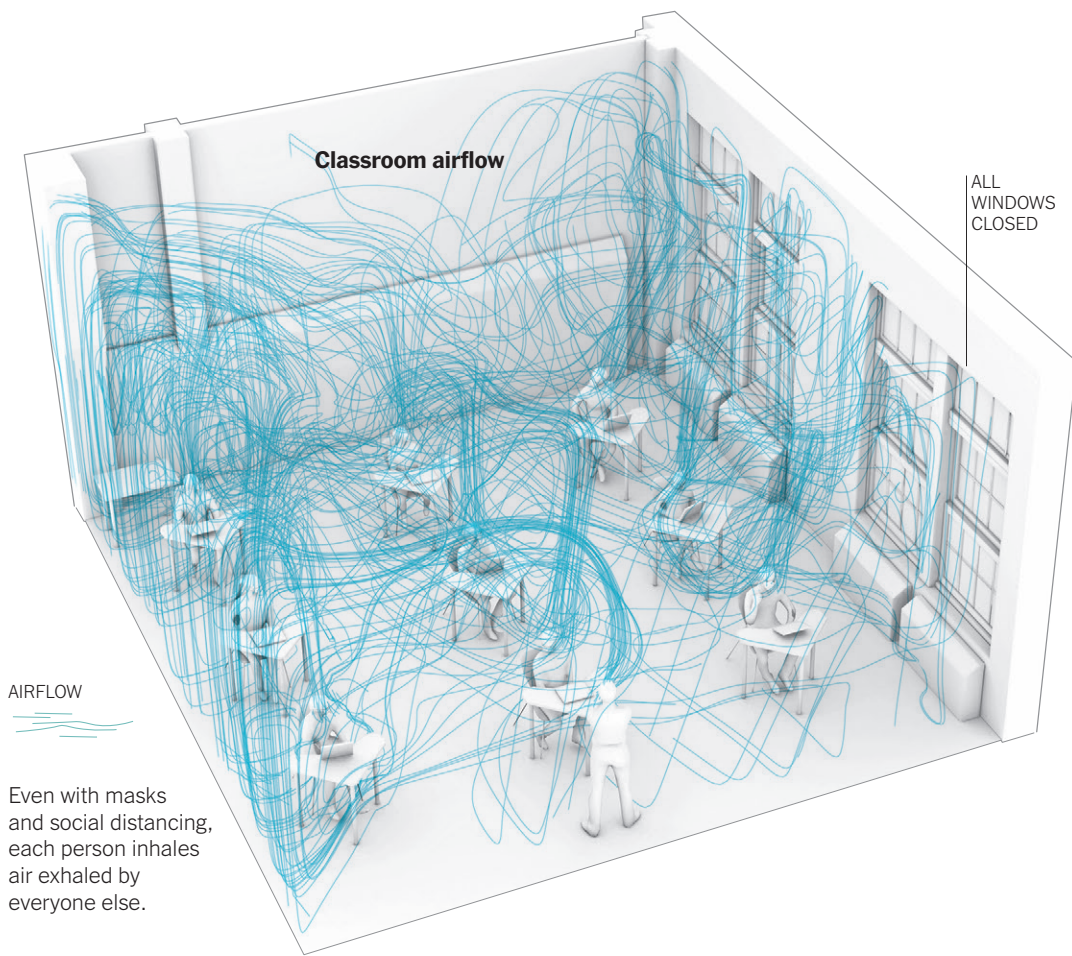
Consistently ranked among the busiest courts in the country, New Jersey's federal bench is also extraordinarily understaffed: One-third of its judicial seats are vacant and have been for years, leaving each seated judge with a pending caseload that is well over three times the national average.

Former President Donald J. Trump

Continued on Page A18

### Key to Safe Classrooms: Open the Windows

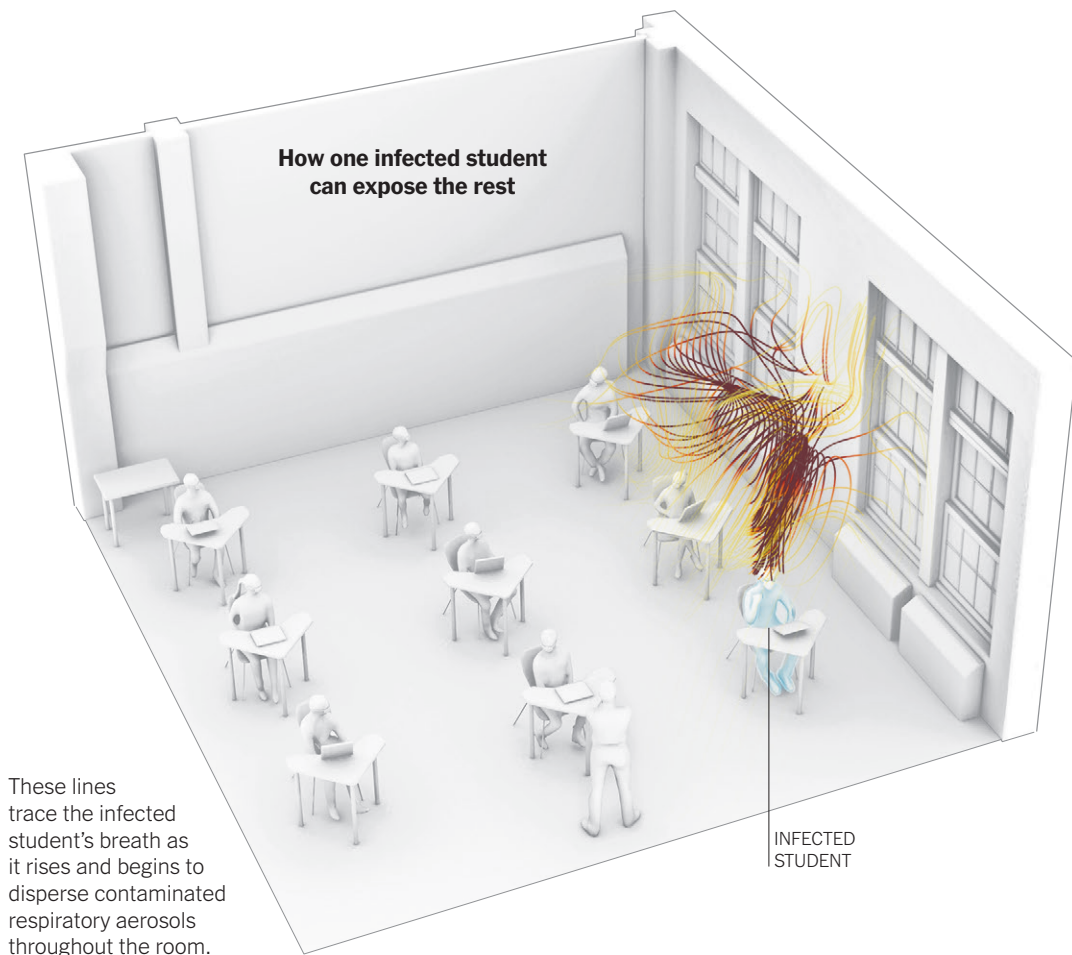
This model shows how air flows in a classroom. Exchanging stale air with fresh or filtered air is vital to reduce the risk of coronavirus transmission. Page A6.



AIRFLOW

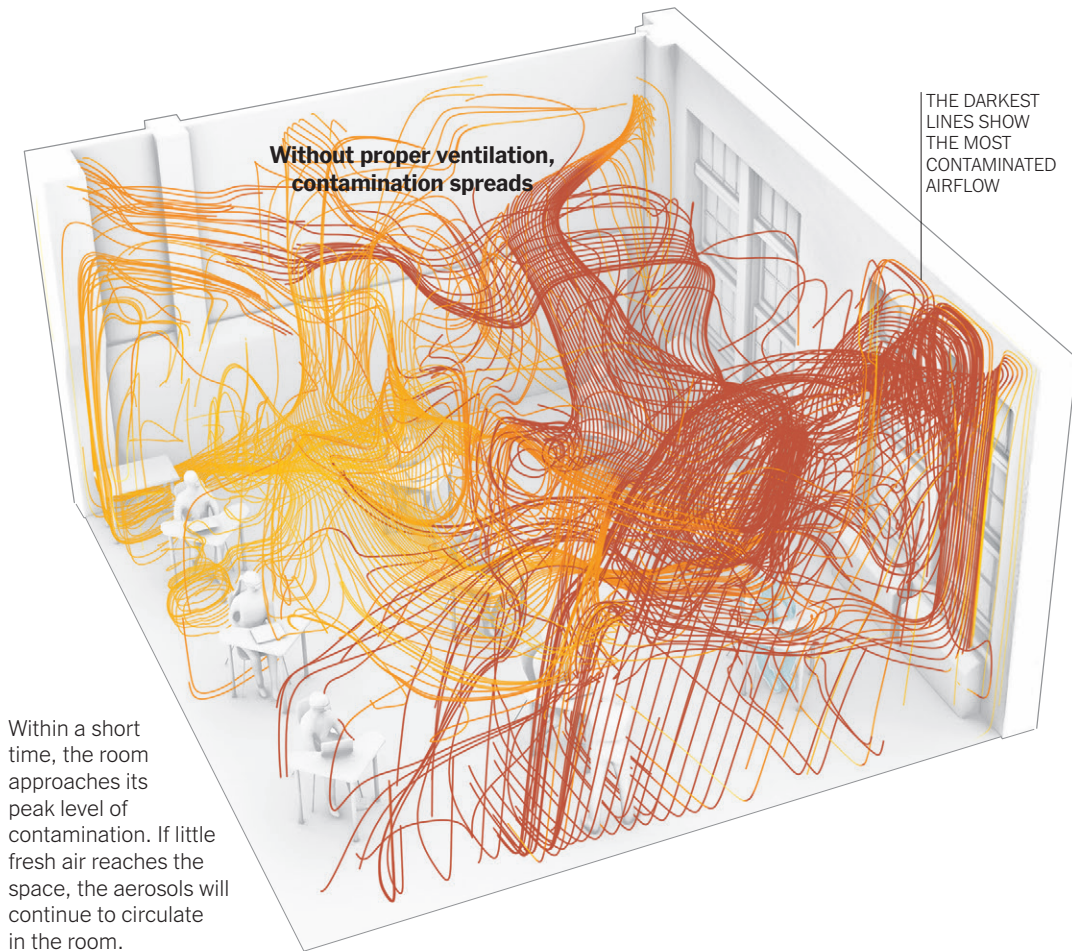
Even with masks and social distancing, each person inhales air exhaled by everyone else.

### How one infected student can expose the rest



These lines trace the infected student's breath as it rises and begins to disperse contaminated respiratory aerosols throughout the room.

### Without proper ventilation, contamination spreads



Within a short time, the room approaches its peak level of contamination. If little fresh air reaches the space, the aerosols will continue to circulate in the room.

Sources: Scott E. Frank and Gregory A. James, JB&B; Joseph G. Allen, T.H. Chan School of Public Health, Harvard University; Mark Thaler, Gensler. NICK BARTZOKAS, MIKA GRÖNDAHL, KARTHIK PATANJALI, MILES PEYTON, BEDEL SAGET, UMI SYAM, BILL MARSH AND ANDREW SONDERN/THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Moscow Urged Trump's Allies To Vilify Biden

### Report Details Effort to Meddle in Election

By JULIAN E. BARNES

WASHINGTON — President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia authorized extensive efforts to hurt the candidacy of Joseph R. Biden Jr. during the election last year, including by mounting covert operations to influence people close to President Donald J. Trump, according to a declassified intelligence report released on Tuesday.

The report did not name those people but seemed to refer to the work of Mr. Trump's former personal lawyer Rudolph W. Giuliani, who relentlessly pushed accusations of corruption about Mr. Biden and his family involving Ukraine.

"Russian state and proxy actors who all serve the Kremlin's interests worked to affect U.S. public perceptions," the report said.

The declassified report represented the most comprehensive intelligence assessment of foreign efforts to influence the 2020 vote. Besides Russia, Iran and other countries also sought to sway the election, the report said. China considered its own efforts but ultimately concluded that they would fail and most likely backfire, intelligence officials concluded.

A companion report by the Justice and Homeland Security Departments also rejected false accusations promoted by Mr. Trump's allies in the weeks after the vote that Venezuela or other countries had defrauded the election.

The reports, compiled by career officials, amounted to a repudiation of Mr. Trump, his allies and some of his top administration officials. They reaffirmed the intelligence agencies' conclusions about Russia's interference in 2016 on behalf of Mr. Trump and said that the Kremlin favored his re-election. And they categorically dismissed allegations of foreign-fund voter fraud, cast doubt on Republican accusations of Chi-

Continued on Page A17

## U.S. DETENTIONS SPIKE AT BORDER, DEFYING EASY FIX

### MIGRANT WAVE GROWING

### White House Pleads for Patience in Managing Unescorted Youth

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR and ZOLAN KANNO-YOUNGS

WASHINGTON — The Biden administration warned on Tuesday that the United States expected to make more apprehensions along the southwestern border this year than at any time in the past two decades, underscoring the urgency for the White House to develop solutions for the chronic problems with immigration from Central America.

The grim prediction by Alejandro N. Mayorkas, the secretary of homeland security, came as President Biden was being assailed for his handling of a surge at the border involving thousands of unaccompanied children and teenagers from the region — with attacks coming from the right for not being tough enough and from the left for not being humane enough.

The president has pleaded for time and patience, blaming his predecessor for dismantling the immigration system in his zeal to keep foreigners out. But even Mr. Biden's top advisers acknowledge that after unwinding the harsh policies of President Donald J. Trump's, there is no easy or quick fix for a problem that has been a recurring crisis.

"We have no illusions about how hard it is, and we know it will take time," Mr. Mayorkas said in a statement on Tuesday as the House prepared to vote this week on several immigration measures and the administration rushed to provide more housing for the young migrants arriving at the border. But, he added, "We will get it done."

The approach being developed

Continued on Page A15



ADRIANA ZEHRBAUSKAS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

### A Border Wall, in Pieces

Barrier segments dot the southern border as a rush to build a wall continued to the last days of the Trump administration. Page A14.

## Cuomo's Circle Pushed Smears In Effort to Discredit Accuser

By MAGGIE HABERMAN and JESSE MCKINLEY

Days after Lindsey Boylan became the first woman to accuse Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo of sexual harassment in a series of Twitter posts in December, people tied to the governor started circulating an open letter that they hoped former staff members would sign.

The letter was a full-on attack on Ms. Boylan's credibility, suggesting that her accusation was premeditated and politically motivated. It disclosed personnel complaints filed against her and attempted to link her to supporters

of former President Donald J. Trump.

"Weaponizing a claim of sexual harassment for personal political gain or to achieve notoriety cannot be tolerated," the letter concluded. "False claims demean the veracity of credible claims."

The initial idea, according to three people with direct knowledge of the events, was to have former Cuomo aides — especially women — sign their names to the letter and circulate it fairly widely.

Continued on Page A17



BUSINESS B1-6

### Beer Here, Flowers Next Door

The Hatch, an Oakland, Calif., bar The Times has followed, not only survived the pandemic; it's expanding. PAGE B1

### Bumpy Recovery for Retail

Sales slid 3 percent last month as stimulus cash ran out, signaling an uneven return to consumer spending. PAGE B1

TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-8

### More Shots, Not Enough Arms

The Cherokee Nation has vaccinated everyone who wants a shot. What about those who haven't lined up? PAGE A8

### Inoculating the Youngest

A new trial by Moderna is studying how a low dose of its vaccine affects children ages 6 months to 11 years. PAGE A7

INTERNATIONAL A9-13

### Domestic Violence in Turkey

The case against a woman accused of killing her husband after a night of beatings and sexual abuse by him has upended Turkish politics. PAGE A9



ARTS C1-6

### Prizing Affordable Housing

After decades of designing inexpensive new spaces, a French couple have won architecture's highest honor. PAGE C1

### Your Brain on Peloton

The exercise bike company's virtual classes fall into a new genre of content: a total curation of the mind. PAGE C1

NATIONAL A14-20

### 8 Killed in Atlanta Spas

A gunman was taken into custody after three massage parlors were attacked. Six of the victims were Asian, according to law enforcement officials. PAGE A19

SPORTSWEDNESDAY B7-9

### Appreciating Brees to the End

A young Black New Orleans native reflects on the legacy of a beloved quarterback whose criticism of anthem protests did not sit well. PAGE B7

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Ross Douthat PAGE A22



FOOD D1-10

### For Your Seder, and Later

Five Passover recipes for a smaller crowd could become part of your regular rotation. Above, roasted chicken with apricots and olives. PAGE D6



## BIDEN SETS END DATE FOR NATION'S LONGEST WAR



Soldiers shielding a wounded comrade from helicopter rotor wash in 2010. Nearly 2,400 American troops have died in Afghanistan.

### Troops Will Leave Afghanistan by the 20th Anniversary of the 9/11 Attacks

This article is by Helene Cooper, Thomas Gibbons-Neff and Eric Schmitt.

WASHINGTON — President Biden will withdraw American combat troops from Afghanistan by Sept. 11, declaring an end to the nation's longest war and overruling warnings from his military advisers that the departure could prompt a resurgence of the same terrorist threats that sent hundreds of thousands of troops into combat over the last 20 years.

In rejecting the Pentagon's push to remain until Afghan security forces can assert themselves against the Taliban, Mr. Biden forcibly stamped his views on a policy he has long debated but never controlled. Now, after years of arguing against an extended American military presence in Afghanistan, the president is doing things his way, with the deadline set for the 20th anniversary of the terrorist attacks.

A senior Biden administration official said the president had come to believe that a "conditions-based approach" would mean that American troops would never leave the country. The announcement is expected on Wednesday.

Mr. Biden's decision would pull all American troops out of Afghanistan 20 years after President George W. Bush ordered an invasion after the Sept. 11 attacks on New York City and the Pentagon, with the goal to punish Osama bin Laden and his Qaeda followers, who were sheltered in Afghanistan by their Taliban hosts.

The war was launched with widespread international support — but it became the same long, bloody, unpopular slog that forced the British to withdraw from Afghanistan in the 19th century and the Soviet Union to retreat in the 20th.

Nearly 2,400 American troops have died in Afghanistan in a conflict that has cost about \$2 trillion. Mr. Biden's Democratic supporters in Congress praised the withdrawal, even as Republicans said it would risk American security.

"The U.S. went into Afghanistan in 2001 to defeat those who attacked the U.S. on 9/11," Senator Tim Kaine, Democrat of Virginia, said in a statement. "It is now time to bring our troops home, maintain humanitarian and diplomatic support for a partner nation, and refocus American national security on the most pressing challenges we face."

Jon Soltz, an Iraq war veteran  
Continued on Page A13

### Johnson & Johnson Shots Halted In U.S. Over Rare Clotting Effect

This article is by Noah Weiland, Sharon LaFraniere and Carl Zimmer.

WASHINGTON — Injections of Johnson & Johnson's coronavirus vaccine came to a sudden halt across the country on Tuesday after federal health agencies called for a pause in the vaccine's use as they examine a rare blood-clotting disorder that emerged in six recipients.

All six were women between the ages of 18 and 48, and all developed the illness within one to three weeks of vaccination. One woman in Virginia died, and a second woman in Nebraska has been hospitalized in critical condition.

More than seven million people in the United States have received Johnson & Johnson shots so far, and another 10 million doses have been shipped to the states, according to data from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. "We are recommending a pause

### Pause Based on Severe Reaction in 6 Women

in the use of this vaccine out of an abundance of caution," Dr. Peter Marks, the director of the Food and Drug Administration's Center for Biologics Evaluation and Research, and Dr. Anne Schuchat, the principal deputy director of the C.D.C., said in a joint statement. "Right now, these adverse events appear to be extremely rare."

While they framed the move as a recommendation to health practitioners, the impact was immediate.

By Tuesday evening, every state, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico had announced a pause in Johnson & Johnson vaccine injections.

Continued on Page A9

### Report Pins Failures of Jan. 6 On Capitol Police Preparation

By LUKE BROADWATER

WASHINGTON — The Capitol Police had clearer advance warnings about the Jan. 6 attack than were previously known, including the potential for violence in which "Congress itself is the target." But officers were instructed by their leaders not to use their most aggressive tactics to hold off the mob, according to a scathing new report by the agency's internal investigator.

In a 104-page document, the inspector general, Michael A. Bolton, criticized the way the Capitol Police prepared for and responded to the mob violence on Jan. 6. The report was reviewed by The New York Times and will be the subject of a Capitol Hill hearing on Thursday.

Mr. Bolton found that the agency's leaders failed to adequately prepare despite explicit warnings that pro-Trump extremists posed

### Unheeded Intelligence and Insufficient Gear

a threat to law enforcement and civilians and that the police used defective protective equipment. He also found that the leaders ordered their Civil Disturbance Unit to refrain from using its most powerful crowd-control tools — like stun grenades — to put down the onslaught.

The report offers the most devastating account to date of the lapses and miscalculations around the most violent attack on the Capitol in two centuries.

Three days before the siege, a Capitol Police intelligence assessment warned of violence from supporters of President Donald J. Trump who believed his false claims that the election had been

Continued on Page A18

NEW PRIORITIES The president's move reflects a belief that the needs of 2021 require moving past the goals of 2001. News Analysis. PAGE A12

STILL A THREAT? Afghanistan is unlikely to regain its status as a haven for terrorists in the short term, U.S. spy agencies believe. PAGE A12

### Chauvin Team Opens by Tying Floyd to Drugs

By SHAILA DEWAN and TIM ARANGO

MINNEAPOLIS — A police officer approached a car with George Floyd in the front seat, and Mr. Floyd started to panic. While officers ordered him to spit out a pill he was trying to swallow, he repeatedly begged them not to shoot him.

In seconds, one of the officers had his gun drawn and Mr. Floyd was being pulled out of the car and handcuffed.

The body-worn-camera video of that scene was shown for the first time on Tuesday to jurors in the trial of Derek Chauvin, the former police officer charged with murdering Mr. Floyd. The episode was strikingly similar to the day Mr. Floyd died. But it had been taken a year before.

As the defense began its case after 11 days of testimony against Mr. Chauvin, the video was the first exhibit introduced and signaled a key strategy: shifting the jurors' focus to Mr. Floyd's use of illicit drugs.

Mr. Chauvin's lawyer, Eric J. Nelson, presented the video of the May 2019 arrest and questioned the paramedic who treated Mr. Floyd that day. He asked a woman who was with him the day he died about how Mr. Floyd fell asleep in the car and was difficult to rouse. He reviewed the signs of excited delirium, a condition often attributed to using stimulants.

Other planks of the defense emerged as well, including suggestions that the bystanders who tried to intervene were threatening and that Mr. Chauvin's behavior was reasonable in the circumstances.

A Minneapolis Park Police officer who responded to the scene on May 25, 2020, the day Mr. Floyd died, testified that the bystanders were aggressive enough to make

Continued on Page A21



Officer Kimberly A. Potter was on the force for 26 years.

### Police Veteran Quits in Killing Of Black Driver

By NICHOLAS BOGEL-BURROUGHS and JULIE BOSMAN

BROOKLYN CENTER, Minn. — Officer Kimberly A. Potter was in the midst of a routine training day on Sunday, demonstrating her decades of policing know-how to less experienced officers in the Brooklyn Center Police Department.

But that training came to an abrupt and horrifying end when Officer Potter, who is white, shot Daunte Wright, a Black 20-year-old man, in his car as he tried to avoid arrest. Body camera video shows that the officer shouted "Taser!" while pointing a handgun at Mr. Wright, who was unarmed; she then fired a single round into his chest, killing him, in what the authorities in Minnesota have described as a deadly mistake.

With protests unfolding each night in Brooklyn Center, Officer Potter, a veteran officer of 26 years, and Tim Gannon, the department's police chief, both resigned their posts on Tuesday. The abrupt departures came a day after the city manager who oversaw the department was fired, and as

Continued on Page A22

## A Girl Was Raped. The Women Who Helped Her Were Arrested.

By JULIE TURKEWITZ and ISAYEN HERRERA

MÉRIDA, Venezuela — She wore a ponytail and a red T-shirt, the words "Glitter Girl" sketched across the front.

Gripping her mother's hand, she spoke softly, describing how she had been forced out of school by Venezuela's economic crisis, and then was raped at least six times by a neighborhood predator who threatened to harm her family if she spoke out. At just 13, she became pregnant.

With her mother, she sought out a doctor, who told her the pregnancy endangered her life, and then a former teacher, who provided pills that induced an abortion.

But ending a pregnancy is illegal in almost all circumstances in Venezuela. And now the girl was speaking up, she said, because her teacher, Vannesa Rosales, was in jail, facing more than a decade in prison for helping her end a pregnancy — while the rape suspect remained free.

"Every day I pray to God that she is released, that there is justice and that they lock him up," the girl told The New York Times.



A mother with her daughter, 13, whose abortion has intensified a fight over Venezuela's restrictions.

In Venezuela, the case, made public in local and international press this year, has become a point of outrage for women's rights activists, who say it demonstrates the way the country's economic and humanitarian crisis has stripped away protections for young women and girls. (The Times is not identifying the girl because she is a minor.)

The country's decline, presided over by President Nicolás Maduro and exacerbated by U.S. sanctions, has crippled schools, shuttered community programs, sent millions of parents abroad and

Continued on Page A16



BUSINESS B1-5

### Turning Ponies Into Perks

Mustangs near a Nevada office park are helping to lure job recruits. Wildlife advocates are pushing back. PAGE B5

### Unified on Voting Rights

Hundreds of companies and executives signed a statement opposing efforts that would restrict voting. PAGE B1

TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-9

### A Return to Mosques

Ramadan observances, constrained by Covid in 2020, promise to be more normal this year, though wariness, and some restrictions, remain. PAGE A4

INTERNATIONAL A10-16

### Doubts Over Fukushima Plan

South Korea has called Japan's idea to release nuclear reactor discharge into the sea "utterly intolerable." PAGE A10

### China Singled Out as a Threat

An annual intelligence report identifies China's growing influence as one of the biggest dangers to the U.S. PAGE A11

NATIONAL A17-23, 28

### Capitol Police Under Siege

With another one of their own lying in honor in the Rotunda, the Capitol Police face a mix of grief and trauma, as well as an uncertain future. PAGE A18

### Biden Keeps Eye on Inflation

Economic aides projected consumer behavior, finding a low risk that prices could spiral out of control as government spending increases. PAGE A20

### Showdown Looms in Michigan

State Republicans have vowed to circumvent any veto of their proposed voting bill, and businesses are making their concerns known. PAGE A20



FOOD D1-8

### Crawfish Season in Houston

Spring is the time for a spicy, buttery feast at Crawfish & Noodles, famous for a Viet-Cajun style that has become popular across America. PAGES D4-5

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

Thomas L. Friedman PAGE A27

ARTS C1-6

### Too Busy to Stop Designing

The 92-year-old architect Frank Gehry is focusing on social justice projects even as he engages in a number of lighthearted pursuits as well. PAGE C1

SPORTSWEDNESDAY B6-8

### Pressure on Transgender Bans

L.G.B.T.Q. advocates have urged the N.C.A.A. to move events from states considering such laws, but so far the organization has stopped short. PAGE B7



## CHAUVIN GUILTY OF MURDER IN FLOYD'S DEATH



STILL IMAGE, VIA COURT TV

Former Officer Derek Chauvin after his conviction on Tuesday in Minneapolis. Philonise Floyd, one of George Floyd's brothers, said, "We are able to breathe again."

### A Rare Rebuke of Police Violence in the U.S.

This article is by John Eligon, Tim Arango, Shaila Dewan and Nicholas Bogel-Burroughs.

MINNEAPOLIS — A former police officer who pressed his knee into George Floyd's neck until well past Mr. Floyd's final breath was found guilty of murder on Tuesday in a case that shook the nation's conscience and drew millions into the streets for the largest racial justice protests in generations.

The verdict, which could send the former officer, Derek Chauvin, to prison for decades, was a rare rebuke of police violence, following case after case of officers going without charges or convictions after killing Black men, women and children.

At the center of it all was an excruciating video, taken by a teenage girl, that showed Mr. Chauvin, who is white, kneeling on the neck of Mr. Floyd, who was Black, for 9 minutes 29 seconds as Mr. Floyd pleaded for his life and bystanders tried to intervene. Mr. Floyd repeated "I can't breathe" more than 20 times during the encounter.

The video, played on a horrifying loop for the past year, triggered more than calls for changes in policing. It stirred Americans of all races, in small towns and large cities, to gather for mass protests, chanting "Black lives matter" and challenging the country to finally have a true reckoning over race. Their demands reverberated within the walls of institutions that had long resisted change, from corporate America to Congress.

This week, over the course of two days, a racially diverse jury of seven women and five men deliberated for about 10 hours before pronouncing Mr. Chauvin guilty on all three charges: second-degree murder, third-degree murder and second-degree manslaughter.

President Biden praised the verdict in an address at the White House but called it a "too rare" step to deliver "basic accountability" for Black Americans.

"It was a murder in full light of day, and it ripped the blinders off for the whole world to see," Mr. Biden said. "For so many, it feels like it took all of that for the judicial system to deliver just basic accountability."

Hours before the jury's decision, Mr. Biden had taken the unusual step of weighing in, telling reporters that he was "praying" for the "right verdict."

"This can be a giant step forward in the march toward justice in America," he said.

After the verdict, Philonise Floyd, one of Mr. Floyd's younger brothers, spoke at the Hilton hotel in downtown Minneapolis. "We are able to breathe again," he said, holding back tears.

Continued on Page A15

**GRIM HISTORY** An examination of police killings of Black Americans shows few convictions. PAGE A14

### A Year of Protest and Reform. What Now for Racial Justice?

This article is by Audra D. S. Burch, Amy Harmon, Sabrina Tavernise and Emily Badger.

George Floyd had been dead only hours before the movement began. Driven by a terrifying video and word of mouth, people flooded the South Minneapolis intersection where he was killed shortly after Memorial Day, demanding an end to police violence against Black Americans.

The moment of collective grief and anger swiftly gave way to a yearlong, nationwide deliberation on what it means to be Black in America.

First came protests, in large cities and small towns across the nation, becoming the largest mass protest movement in U.S. history. Then, over the next several months, nearly 170 Confederate symbols were renamed or removed from public spaces. The "Black lives matter" slogan was claimed by a nation grappling with Mr. Floyd's death.

Over the next 11 months, calls for racial justice would touch seemingly every aspect of American life on a scale that historians say had not happened since the civil rights movement of the 1960s.

On Tuesday, Derek Chauvin, the

white police officer who knelt on Mr. Floyd, was convicted of two counts of murder as well as manslaughter. The verdict brought some solace to activists for racial justice who had been riveted to the courtroom drama for the past several weeks.

But for many Black Americans, real change feels elusive, particularly given how relentlessly the killing of Black men by the police has continued, including the recent shooting death of Daunte Wright in a Minneapolis suburb.

There are also signs of back-

Continued on Page A18



OFFICES OF BEN CRUMP LAW

George Floyd

### With a Cry of 'We Matter,' Catharsis and Relief

By SHAILA DEWAN and JULIE BOSMAN

MINNEAPOLIS — Outside the Cup Foods convenience store where George Floyd was killed last May, a woman nearly collapsed in tears upon hearing the guilty verdicts against Derek Chauvin, the police officer who killed Mr. Floyd.

"We matter," she said, straightening up. "We matter."

In one Minneapolis neighborhood, jubilant residents honked horns and banged pots and pans out their windows. Hundreds of people who were facing the courthouse began pumping their fists in unison as the news whipped through the crowd. "Guilty!" they shouted, and then began to chant: "All three counts! All three counts!"

When Minneapolis heard the verdict in the trial of Mr. Chauvin, it was a moment of catharsis for many in the city, a scene of collective relief and satisfaction that he had been convicted on two murder charges and one manslaughter charge in Mr. Floyd's death.

Those scenes were echoed, sometimes in quieter ways, across the country, as Americans paused from working, running errands or picking up their children from school to listen as Judge Peter A. Cahill announced the verdict. For

### In Minneapolis and the Country, a Sense That Justice Was Served

some Black Americans in particular, the moment was especially poignant, an affirmation that justice had been served for Mr. Floyd.

Don Jackson, a 33-year-old tech worker, was leaving work in Chicago's Loop as the news of Mr. Chauvin's conviction spread through downtown. "I didn't have a lot of hope that they would get it right," he said of the jurors. "But they did."

In the Old Fourth Ward of Atlanta, a block from Ebenezer Baptist Church, Rema Miller, 49, was sitting outside a cigar store having a celebratory puff.

"I honestly feel some type of relief because we've been carrying a lot," Ms. Miller, a retired counselor, said. "We felt like history was going to repeat itself. He was going to get convicted of the lesser charge. And so we've prepared ourselves for that."

In some cities, people said they could not even bear to watch.

Tiffany Burks, 28, who organized protests last summer with the Black Lives Matter Alliance Broward in South Florida, said her mother texted the news to her

Continued on Page A16



VICTOR J. BLUE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Reacting to the verdict at George Floyd Square in Minneapolis.

### Big Tech's Clout Is Challenged Across the Globe

This article is by Paul Mozur, Cecilia Kang, Adam Satariano and David McCabe.

China fined the internet giant Alibaba a record \$2.8 billion this month for anticompetitive practices, ordered an overhaul of its sister financial company and warned other technology firms to obey Beijing's rules.

Now the European Commission plans to unveil far-reaching regulations to limit technologies powered by artificial intelligence.

And in the United States, Presi-

### Curbs Could Reshape How Internet Works

dent Biden has stacked his administration with trustbusters who have taken aim at Amazon, Facebook and Google.

Around the world, governments are moving simultaneously to limit the power of tech companies with an urgency and breadth that no single industry had experienced before. Their motivation

varies. In the United States and Europe, it is concern that tech companies are stifling competition, spreading misinformation and eroding privacy; in Russia and elsewhere, it is to silence protest movements and tighten political control; in China, it is some of both.

While nations and tech firms have jockeyed for primacy for years, the latest actions have pushed the industry to a tipping point that could reshape how the global internet works and change

Continued on Page A12

### Iran Rattled as Israel Strikes Again and Again

This article is by Ben Hubbard, Farnaz Fassihi and Ronen Bergman.

BEIRUT, Lebanon — In less than nine months, an assassin on a motorbike fatally shot an Al Qaeda commander given refuge in Tehran, Iran's chief nuclear scientist was machine-gunned on a country road, and two separate, mysterious explosions rocked a key Iranian nuclear facility in the desert, striking at the heart of the country's efforts to enrich uranium.

### Hitting Targets With Help From the Inside

The steady drumbeat of attacks, which intelligence officials said were carried out by Israel, highlighted the seeming ease with which Israeli intelligence was able to reach deep inside Iran's borders and repeatedly strike its most heavily guarded targets, often with the help of turncoat Iranians. The attacks, the latest wave in

more than two decades of sabotage and assassinations, have exposed embarrassing security lapses and left Iran's leaders looking over their shoulders as they pursue negotiations with the Biden administration aimed at restoring the 2015 nuclear agreement.

The recriminations have been caustic.

The head of Parliament's strategic center said Iran had turned into a "haven for spies." The former commander of the Islamic

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SPORTSWEDNESDAY B8-10

### Super League Supernova

After protests by soccer fans, the two-day-old European Super League fell apart as most teams withdrew. PAGE B8

### Bird, Jokic and . . . Randle?

Statistics testify to the vast improvement in Julius Randle's play, a key to the Knicks' stunning revival. PAGE B10

### TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-5

**E.U. to Resume 1-Dose Vaccine**  
The bloc's drug regulator said the benefits of Johnson & Johnson's shot outweighed the risks of rare blood clots, but suggested adding a warning. PAGE A5

### INTERNATIONAL A6-12

### Chad's Leader Killed in Clash

Idriss Déby ruled for three decades and was considered a linchpin in the fight against Islamist extremism. PAGE A6

### Putin's Emerging Hard Line

The Russian president is escalating his conflicts with his perceived enemies, foreign and domestic. PAGE A10



ARTS C1-6

### Talent Worth Noticing

Film roles focus on the trauma, not the art, of Billie Holiday (played by Andra Day, above) and Ma Rainey. PAGE C1

### Change at California Museum

The Huntington is trying to expand its art programming and present the works of more artists of color. PAGE C1

### BUSINESS B1-7

### Apple Tries to Expand Its Turf

The introduction of a device to find lost items drew criticism from a rival, Tile, and plans to release software with a privacy feature have digital-advertising companies worried. PAGE B1

### Argentina's Sinking Fortunes

Shaky before the pandemic, the country's economy contracted by nearly 10 percent last year, and the government faces a complex renegotiation with the I.M.F. over \$45 billion in debt. PAGE B1

### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

### Amy Klobuchar PAGE A27



FOOD D1-8

### While You Were In

Pete Wells recommends 17 New York restaurants that opened their doors even as many in the city were eating meals exclusively at home. PAGE D7





DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Biden, with Vice President Kamala Harris and Speaker Nancy Pelosi on Wednesday night, became the first president to address Congress with two women behind him as the next officials in the line of succession. "Our government still works," he said.

## BIDEN MAKES CASE TO VASTLY EXPAND GOVERNMENT ROLE

### \$1.8 Trillion Aid Plan Invokes F.D.R. — 'In America, We Never Stay Down'

By PETER BAKER

President Biden laid out an ambitious agenda on Wednesday night to rewrite the American social compact by vastly expanding family leave, child care, health care, preschool and college education for millions of people to be financed with increased taxes on the wealthiest earners.

Invoking the legacy of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Mr. Biden unveiled a \$1.8 trillion social spending plan to accompany previous proposals to build roads and bridges, expand other social programs and combat climate change, representing a fundamental reorientation of the role of government not seen since the days of Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society and Roosevelt's New Deal.

"We have to prove democracy still works, that our government still works and we can deliver for our people," Mr. Biden said in his first nationally televised address to a joint session of Congress.

Taken together, the collection of initiatives that Mr. Biden has introduced in his first 100 days in office suggest a breathtaking scope of change sought by a 78-year-old president who spent a lifetime as a more conventional lawmaker. After presenting himself during last year's campaign as a "transition candidate" to follow the volatile tenure of Donald J. Trump, Mr. Biden has since his inauguration positioned himself as a transformational president.

But the succession of costly proposals amounts to a risky gamble that a country deeply polarized along ideological and cultural lines is ready for a more activist government and the sort of redistribution of wealth long sought by progressives. Mr. Biden's Democrats have only the barest of majorities in the House and Senate to push through the most sweeping of legislation and, successful or not, he may have framed the terms of the debate for the next election.

"Our best future won't come

from Washington schemes or socialist dreams," Senator Tim Scott, Republican of South Carolina, said in his party's televised official response, according to advance excerpts. "It will come from you — the American people."

For Mr. Biden, who watched such speeches as a senator or vice president for nearly a half-century, it was the first time behind the microphone setting the agenda for what was the functional equivalent of a State of the Union address. "It's good to be back," he said as he greeted lawmakers.

But coming in the latter days of the coronavirus pandemic and less than four months after a mob of Trump supporters stormed the



ALYSSA SCHUKAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Security was tight, with streets around the Capitol closed.

Capitol, the event was unlike any other presidential speech as Mr. Biden faced a half-empty chamber.

On the advice of the Capitol physician, only 200 members of Congress and other officials were invited instead of the usual 1,600, all wearing masks in assigned seats at least six feet apart. The president, who fist-bumped his way down the aisle, arrived amid tighter security than usual, with streets around the building closed and patrolled by swarms of police

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## Betting a Country Tested by Crisis Is Ready to Invest in Itself

By JIM TANKERSLEY

WASHINGTON — President Biden's \$4 trillion economic agenda might have seemed unthinkable as the United States was emerging from its last recession, when austerity politics still ruled the Capitol and even a Democratic president was reluctant to push huge tax increases on corporations and the rich.

But Mr. Biden has a significant chance of signing at least a large chunk of his plans into law this year, partly because of a pandemic that reminded many Americans that big government could deliver money to help sustain them and speed efforts to end the crisis.

What the president is promising from the government in the years to come is a long list of tangible improvements in Ameri-

### NEWS ANALYSIS

cans' daily lives: smoother roads, cheaper child care, cleaner and more reliable electricity, more years of free schooling for toddlers and young adults, paid leave for workers whose lives are upended by illness and faster internet service in rural areas and elsewhere. Those sweeping spending

plans, which Mr. Biden made the centerpiece of his first address to a joint session of Congress on Wednesday, would be paid for by raising \$4 trillion in tax revenue from high earners and corporations. While Republicans have begun complaining about that price tag, they have yet to galvanize a public backlash like the Tea Party movement that engulfed President Barack Obama's

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## Giuliani Phones Seized in Raids By Investigators

This article is by William K. Rashbaum, Ben Protess, Maggie Haberman and Kenneth R. Vogel.

Federal investigators on Wednesday seized cellphones and computers from Rudolph W. Giuliani, the former mayor of New York City who became President Donald J. Trump's personal lawyer, stepping up a criminal investigation into Mr. Giuliani's dealings in Ukraine, three people with knowledge of the investigation said.

F.B.I. agents executed search warrants around 6 a.m. at Mr. Giuliani's apartment on Madison Avenue and his Park Avenue office in Manhattan, carting away the electronic devices, Mr. Giuliani confirmed in a statement.

The execution of search warrants is an extraordinary action for prosecutors to take against a lawyer, let alone a lawyer for a former president. The move is a major development in the long-running investigation into Mr. Giuliani, which examines some of the same people and conduct that were at the center of Mr. Trump's first impeachment trial.

It was also a remarkable moment in Mr. Giuliani's long arc as a public figure. As mayor, Mr. Giuliani

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## Cuomo's Aides Hid Covid Data For 5 Months

This article is by J. David Goodman, Jesse McKinley and Danny Hakim.

The effort by Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo's office to obscure the pandemic death toll in New York nursing homes was far greater than previously known, with aides repeatedly overruling state health officials over a span of at least five months, according to interviews and newly unearthed documents.

Mr. Cuomo's most senior aides engaged in a sustained effort to prevent the state's own health officials, including the commissioner, Howard Zucker, from releasing the true death toll to the public or sharing it with state lawmakers, these interviews and documents showed.

A scientific paper, which incorporated the data, was never published. An audit of the numbers by a top Cuomo aide was finished months before it became publicly known. Two letters, drafted by the Health Department and meant for state legislators, were never sent. The actions coincided with the period in which Mr. Cuomo was pitching and then writing a book on the pandemic, with the assistance of his top aide, Melissa DeRosa, and others.

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ATUL LOKE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

## India Blames Variant for 2nd Wave

Data is thin, but doctors point to anecdotal evidence of infections among the vaccinated. Page A6.

## 2020 Census Spurs Debate Over Hispanic Tally

By REID J. EPSTEIN and JENNIFER MEDINA

Minnesota started its 2020 census outreach in 2015, bringing together local governments, foundations and businesses to spur participation. California allocated \$187 million beginning in 2019 to get its people counted. And New York City alone spent \$40 million on census advertising, texts and events.

### Did States' Resistance Lead to Undercount?

By contrast, Texas didn't invest in a census program until last September, dedicating \$15 million months after the count had begun. Florida's governor, Ron DeSantis, said in 2019 that the state would

not "have a role" in aiding the count, before ultimately agreeing to an unfunded committee in January 2020. And Arizona spent less than \$1.5 million on census efforts in what remains one of the fastest-growing states.

The sharply divergent ways that states either embraced census efforts or treated them as a low priority are now having significant repercussions for each

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## Senate Revives Methane Rules Trump Reversed

By CORAL DAVENPORT

WASHINGTON — The Senate voted on Wednesday to effectively reinstate an Obama-era regulation designed to clamp down on emissions of methane, a powerful, climate-warming pollutant that will have to be controlled to meet President Biden's ambitious climate change promises.

Taking a page from congressional Republicans who in 2017 made liberal use of a once-obscure law to roll back Obama-era regulations, Democrats invoked the law to turn back a Trump methane rule enacted late last summer. That rule had eliminated Obama-era controls on leaks of methane, which seeps from oil and gas wells.

The 52-42 vote was the first time congressional Democrats have used the law, called the Congressional Review Act, which prohibits Senate filibusters and ensures one administration's last-minute regulations can be swiftly overturned with a simple majority vote in both chambers of Congress. Three Republican senators — Susan Collins of Maine, Lindsey Graham of South Carolina and Rob Portman of Ohio — joined Democrats and Democratic-leaning

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### OBITUARIES B11-12

**Moon Landing's 'Third Man'**  
Michael Collins orbited in the Apollo command module as his crewmates set foot on the moon. He was 90. PAGE B12

**A Pharmaceutical Innovator**  
John Martin, who made Gilead Sciences a leader in single-pill treatments for H.I.V. and hepatitis C, was 69. PAGE B12

### NATIONAL A12-21

**Charges in Black Jogger's Death**  
Three Georgia men have been indicted on federal hate crime and attempted kidnapping charges in the 2020 shooting of Ahmaud Arbery. PAGE A16

**Fatal Pinning in Police Custody**  
An officer in California appeared to press his knee into a man's back for nearly three minutes, an analysis of body camera video showed. PAGE A19

**Menthol Cigarettes Targeted**  
The Biden administration's plan to ban the product has long been sought by civil rights groups because of marketing aimed at Black people. PAGE A12

### TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-8

**No Testing at the Border**  
The failure of the U.S. to test adult migrants for the coronavirus risks new transmissions, experts warn. PAGE A8

### INTERNATIONAL A9-11

**Brexit Clears Last Hurdle**  
The European Parliament's lopsided vote belied lingering mistrust. PAGE A10

### BUSINESS B1-6

**Court Eyes Trump Role in Deal**  
A federal court said it could weigh the idea that the ex-president interfered in a cloud-computing contract. PAGE B5



### ARTS C1-6

**Some Cello With That Hay?**  
A collaboration between two cattle farmers in Denmark and a music training program brings regular classical recitals to pampered livestock. PAGE C1

### OPINION A22-23

**Ross Douthat** PAGE A22

### SPORTSTHURSDAY B7-10

**Score. Pass. Rebound. Repeat.**  
Washington's Russell Westbrook is on track to average a triple-double for the fourth time in five seasons, making it seem almost routine. It is not. PAGE B7

### THURSDAY STYLES D1-6

**The Look of a Leader**  
It took Joseph R. Biden Jr. decades to reach the presidency, but in terms of image, every day counted. PAGE D1



## CUOMO TO QUIT IN HARASSMENT SCANDAL

### \$1 TRILLION PLAN TO FIX AND BUILD PASSES IN SENATE

#### Bipartisan Deal Is Victory for President

By EMILY COCHRANE

WASHINGTON — The Senate gave overwhelming bipartisan approval on Tuesday to a \$1 trillion infrastructure bill to rebuild the nation's deteriorating roads and bridges and fund new climate resilience and broadband initiatives, delivering a key component of President Biden's agenda.

The vote, 69 to 30, was uncommonly bipartisan. The yes votes included Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, the Republican leader, and 18 others from his party who shrugged off increasingly shrill efforts by former President Donald J. Trump to derail it.

"This historic investment in infrastructure is what I believe you, the American people, want, what you've been asking for for a long, long time," Mr. Biden said from the White House as he thanked Republicans for showing "a lot of courage."

Mr. McConnell, who publicly declared that his priority was stop-

ping the Biden agenda, said in a statement that "I was proud to support today's historic bipartisan infrastructure deal and prove that both sides of the political aisle can still come together around common-sense solutions."

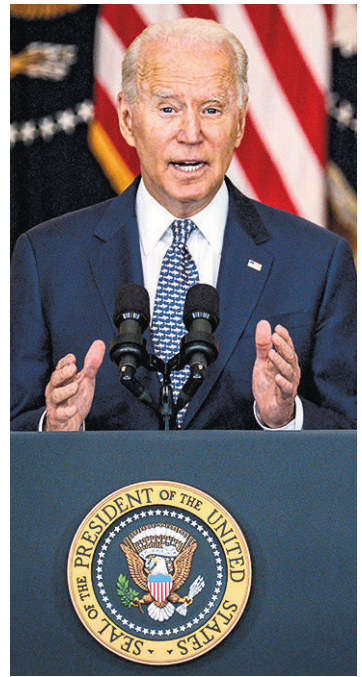
The measure faces a potentially rocky and time-consuming path in the House, where Speaker Nancy Pelosi and a majority of the nearly 100-member Progressive Caucus have said they will not vote on it unless and until the Senate passes a separate, even more ambitious \$3.5 trillion social policy bill. That could put the infrastructure bill on hold for weeks, if not months.

The legislation is, no doubt, substantial on its own. It would be the largest infusion of federal investment into infrastructure projects in more than a decade, touching nearly every facet of the economy and fortifying the nation's response to the warming of the planet. Funding for the modernization of the power grid would reach record levels, as would projects to better manage climate risks. Hundreds of billions of dollars would go to repairing and replacing aging public works projects.

With \$550 billion in new federal spending, the measure would provide \$65 billion to expand high-speed internet access; \$110 billion for roads, bridges and other projects; \$25 billion for airports; and the most funding for Amtrak since the passenger rail service was founded in 1971. It would also revamp existing infrastructure and transportation programs set to expire at the end of September.

Its success, painstakingly negotiated largely by a group of Republican and Democratic senators in consultation with White House officials, is a vindication of Mr. Biden's belief that a bipartisan compromise was possible on a priority that has long been shared by both parties — even at a moment of deep political division.

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PETE MAROVICH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES  
President Biden on Tuesday.

### Steep Challenge Awaits Biden: Keeping Party Factions in Line

By JONATHAN WEISMAN and ZOLAN KANNO-YOUNGS

WASHINGTON — The Senate's passage on Tuesday of a trillion-dollar infrastructure package may have been a vote of confidence for President Biden and his insistence that bipartisanship can still thrive, but there is a far harder task ahead for his agenda: keeping Democrats in lock step.

The crosscurrents in the president's own party have only sharpened since Congress began moving on parallel tracks with two separate legislative efforts. One, a \$1 trillion bipartisan measure that the Senate passed Tuesday, would pay for roads, bridges, rail and water systems. The other, a budget blueprint the Senate was expected to pass late Tuesday or early Wednesday, would come together this fall to expand the nation's social safety net — education, health care, child care and climate change — with Democratic votes only.

It will fall to the president to keep his fractious party in line on both efforts moving forward.

"I would liken it to air traffic control," Representative Tom Malinowski, Democrat of New Jersey, said on Tuesday. "We have

at least a couple of planes circling the airport in stormy weather, and everyone wants to see their loved ones on the ground. But the important thing is to get everyone down safely. In what order and at what time best assures that, that's the challenge."

Mr. Biden, he said, will be "absolutely critical."

In an evenly divided Senate and a narrowly divided House, the path for Mr. Biden's agenda is treacherous. It is remarkable that his expansive social and economic proposals — all \$4 trillion of them — have gotten this far, and the two chambers' Democratic leaders, Speaker Nancy Pelosi and Senator Chuck Schumer, have proved adept at holding their caucuses together.

But the party's left wing is smarting, feeling like infrastructure has been given preferential treatment to its priorities and losing a hard-fought special election in Cleveland to a handpicked representative of the Democratic establishment, Shontel Brown, who beat Nina Turner, a hero of progressives.

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Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo in Manhattan after announcing his resignation, to take effect in 14 days.

### Denies Improper Acts, but Sees 'Mistakes'

By LUIS FERRÉ-SADURNÍ and J. DAVID GOODMAN

Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo of New York said on Tuesday that he would resign from office, succumbing to a ballooning sexual harassment scandal in an astonishing reversal of fortune for one of the nation's best-known leaders.

Mr. Cuomo said his resignation would take effect in 14 days. Lt. Gov. Kathy Hochul, a Democrat, will be sworn in to replace him, becoming the first woman in history to occupy New York State's top office.

"Given the circumstances, the best way I can help now is if I step aside and let government get back to governing," Mr. Cuomo said in remarks streamed from his office in Midtown Manhattan. "And therefore, that's what I'll do."

Mr. Cuomo's dramatic fall was shocking in its velocity and vertical drop: A year ago, the governor was being hailed as a national hero for his steady leadership amid the coronavirus pandemic.

The resignation of Mr. Cuomo, 63, a three-term Democrat, came a week after a report from the New York State attorney general concluded that the governor sexually harassed nearly a dozen women, including current and former government workers, by engaging in unwanted touching and making inappropriate comments. The 165-page report also found that Mr. Cuomo and his aides unlawfully retaliated against at least one of the women for making her complaints public and fostered a toxic work environment.

The report's findings put increased pressure on Mr. Cuomo to resign, with even President Biden, a longtime friend, advising him to do so. It spurred the State Assembly — Mr. Cuomo's last political bulwark in an Albany increasingly arrayed against him — to take steps toward impeachment. And it left Mr. Cuomo with few, if any, allies to fight on with him.

The fallout from the report was swifter than even those closest to Mr. Cuomo expected. He quickly became isolated and grew more so by the day. His top aide, Melissa DeRosa, resigned Sunday. On Monday, the speaker of the State Assembly, Carl E. Heastie, made clear that there would be no "deal" to allow Mr. Cuomo to avoid an impeachment that appeared increasingly inevitable.

In the end, Mr. Cuomo followed through on the advice his top advisers and onetime allies had been offering: leave office voluntarily. By stepping down, Mr. Cuomo dampened talk of impeachment in the State Assembly, which is dominated by Democrats, and left open the possibility, however remote, for a political revival.

In a 21-minute speech that was by turns contrite and defiant, Mr. Cuomo decried the effort to remove him and acknowledged that his initial instinct had been "to fight through this controversy, because I truly believe it is politically motivated."

"This situation and moment are not about the facts," he said. "It's not about the truth. It's not about

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### Governor's Protectors Dwindled to Only Himself

This article is by Matt Flegenheimer, Maggie Haberman, William K. Rashbaum and Danny Hakim.

Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo was wearing everyone down.

He was being wronged, he railed to advisers over the weekend, and with few allies left to defend him publicly after a damning state attorney general's report into allegations of sexual harassment, he feared that voters were getting an unshakable impression, according to people with direct knowledge of his conversations.

Everyone was talking about 11 women, he complained privately, but only a handful of accusations were truly damaging in a vacuum,

#### It Took Day of Setbacks to Realize Options Had Run Out

he felt. And those he saw fit to fight.

Never mind the toll that the report was having on some of those closest to Mr. Cuomo, including his brother, Chris Cuomo, the CNN host whose familial counsel on the allegations caused an outcry, and his top aide, Melissa DeRosa, who had already been considering stepping down for weeks. Never mind that a new revelation from the investigation

— that Mr. Cuomo had harassed a female trooper on his security detail — had astonished even those who knew him best.

The governor's circle had always been small to the point of claustrophobic. But increasingly, on the question of resign or fight, Mr. Cuomo was becoming a coalition of one. At times, he spent the last days effectively forum shopping among advisers — telling them he wanted to stay and that he believed he should be allowed to, then waiting for them to tell him he was right. Most had given up on trying to talk him out of it, even if they were not encouraging him to press on.

But by Sunday, Ms. DeRosa — Continued on Page A12

### With Fate Sealed, a Final Political Play to Preserve His Legacy

By KATIE GLUECK

Andrew M. Cuomo meditated on the lessons he had learned about "generational and cultural shifts" and argued his expressions of endearment could be dated, but certainly not malicious. He apologized for causing offense to the 11 women who had accused him of sexual har-

assment, even as he denied improper conduct. He was wistful as he described his affection for the state.

But as Mr. Cuomo resigned in disgrace on Tuesday, another message became clear: The governor, ever the tactician, was seeking redemption in the eyes of New Yorkers, straining to litigate and define his legacy — sometimes in defiance of reality

#### NEWS ANALYSIS

— and to preserve his future standing amid the worst crisis of his career.

Politically ostracized and facing criminal investigations as well as the prospect of impeachment — and with his family's legacy at stake — Mr. Cuomo

decided to resign, completing one of the most stunning falls in modern American politics. It signals the end of a political dynasty and the beginning of a chaotic and uncertain chapter of governing in New York.

But even on his way out, Mr. Cuomo, the iron-fisted pugilist who controlled the State Capitol

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NATIONAL A8-17

#### Stalled Without Immigrants

A decline in the number of foreign-born workers like Kevin Flores, above, could hurt fast-growing regions. PAGE A16

#### Historic Pick for U.S. Attorney

If confirmed, Damian Williams will be the first Black prosecutor to lead the Southern District of New York. PAGE A10

INTERNATIONAL A4-7

#### Still Barred From the U.S.

Europeans are lamenting the continued closing of America's borders to them, leaving them out of weddings, christenings and family visits. PAGE A4

#### From 2011, Lessons in Leaving

As the U.S. exits Afghanistan, looking back at what happened in withdrawing from Iraq. News Analysis. PAGE A5

BUSINESS B1-6

#### White House vs. Facebook

Inside the negotiations over online virus misinformation, as frustrations grew on both sides. PAGE B1



SPORTS B7-9

#### Say It Proud: Trash Pandas

A California company found a recipe for success as it created mascots for minor league baseball teams. PAGE B7

#### Paralympians Seek Support

U.S. Olympic officials are being criticized for failing to provide personal assistants to some competitors. PAGE B9

FOOD D1-8

#### The Supermarket's Melting Pot

These days, the ethnic foods aisle strikes many shoppers as an anachronistic and perplexing place. But changing or doing away with the section may not be so simple. PAGE D1

#### Meat? You Won't Miss It.

The world of vegetarian cooking is vast, diverse and delicious. Our new weekly newsletter sets out to celebrate its pleasures by offering recipes, stories and much more. PAGE D1

OPINION A18-19

#### Gail Collins

PAGE A19



ARTS C1-6

#### Special Guest: Lamb Chop

The International Puppet Fringe Festival NYC arrives this week with over 50 shows, films and other events. It's not just for children. PAGE C1



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## TALIBAN CAPTURE KABUL, STUNNING U.S. AS A 20-YEAR EFFORT UNRAVELS IN DAYS



JIM HUYLEBROEK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Taliban fighters Sunday in Kabul, Afghanistan, on a Humvee seized from Afghan forces. Eight days into a nationwide push, the insurgents took control of the country.

### Panic Spreads as Thousands Try to Escape

By DAVID ZUCCHINO

KABUL, Afghanistan — Taliban fighters poured into the Afghan capital on Sunday amid scenes of panic and chaos, bringing a swift and shocking close to the Afghan government and the 20-year American era in the country.

President Ashraf Ghani of Afghanistan fled the country, and a council of Afghan officials, including former President Hamid Karzai, said they would open negotiations with the Taliban over the shape of the insurgency's takeover. By day's end, the insurgents had all but officially sealed their control of the entire country.

The speed and violence of the Taliban sweep through the countryside and cities the previous week caught the American military and government flat-footed. Hastily arranged American military helicopter flights evacuated the sprawling American Embassy compound in Kabul, ferrying American diplomats and Afghan Embassy workers to the Kabul military airport. At the civilian airport next door, Afghans wept as they begged airline workers to put their families on outbound commercial flights even as most were grounded in favor of military aircraft.

Amid occasional bursts of gunfire, the whump of American Chinook and Black Hawk helicopters overhead drowned out the thrum of traffic as the frenzied evacuation effort unfolded. Below, Kabul's streets were jammed with vehicles as panic set off a race to leave the city. Two decades after American troops invaded Afghanistan to root out Qaeda terrorists who attacked on Sept. 11, 2001, the American nation-building experiment was in ruins — undercut by misguided and often contradictory policies and by a relentless insurgency whose staying power had been profoundly underestimated by U.S. military planners.

Over 2,400 American troops gave their lives and thousands more were wounded in an effort to build a democratic Afghan government. Tens of thousands of civilians died in the fighting, and thousands more were displaced from their homes. In recent days alone, thousands fled to Kabul as the Taliban advanced through other cities at breakneck speed.

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**EVACUATION** A frantic scene stood in contrast to Washington's optimistic prognoses. PAGE A6

**DIPLOMACY** Officials are contemplating whether to engage with a Taliban government. PAGE A8

### After Week Under New Rulers, Kunduz May Be Hint of Future

By CHRISTINA GOLDBAUM and NAJIM RAHIM

It was his first day as the Taliban-appointed mayor of Kunduz, and Gul Mohammad Elias was on a charm offensive.

A week ago Sunday, the insurgents seized control of the city in northern Afghanistan, which was in shambles after weeks of fighting. Power lines were down. The water supply, powered by generators, did not reach most residents. Trash and rubble littered the streets.

The civil servants who could fix those problems were hiding at home, terrified of the Taliban. So the insurgent-commander-turned-mayor summoned some to his new office, to persuade them to return to work.

"I said that our jihad is not with the municipality, our jihad is against the occupiers and those who defend the occupiers," Mr. Elias told The New York Times by telephone.

But day by day, as municipal offices stayed mostly empty, Mr. Elias grew more frustrated — and his rhetoric grew harsher.

Taliban fighters began going door to door, searching for absentee city workers. Hundreds of armed men set up checkpoints across the city. At the entrance to the regional hospital, a new notice appeared on the wall: Employees must return to work or face punishment from the Taliban.

Just a week after the fall of Kunduz — the first in a series of cities that the Taliban seized with breathtaking speed — the insurgents are now in effective control of Afghanistan. And they now must function as administrators who can provide basic services to hundreds of thousands of people.

The experience of those in Kunduz offers a glimpse of how the

Continued on Page A8

### NEWS ANALYSIS

### For Biden, Images He Wanted to Avoid

By DAVID E. SANGER

Rarely in modern presidential history have words come back to bite an American commander in chief as swiftly as these from President Biden a little more than five weeks ago: "There's going to be no circumstance where you see people being lifted off the roof of an embassy of the United States in Afghanistan."

Then, digging the hole deeper, he added, "The likelihood there's going to be the Taliban overrunning everything and owning the whole country is highly unlikely."

On Sunday, the scramble to evacuate American civilians and embassy employees from Kabul — the very image that Mr. Biden and his aides agreed they had to avoid during recent meetings in the Oval Office — unfolded live on television, not from the U.S. Embassy roof but from the landing pad next to the building. And now that the Afghan government



EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

Taliban militants displaying their flag after taking Jalalabad.

has collapsed with astonishing speed, the Taliban seem certain to be back in full control of the country when the anniversary of the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks is commemorated less than a month from today — exactly as they were 20 summers ago.

Mr. Biden will go down in history, fairly or unfairly, as the president who presided over a long-brewing, humiliating final

act in the American experiment in Afghanistan. After seven months in which his administration seemed to exude much-needed competence — getting more than 70 percent of the country's adults vaccinated, engineering surging job growth and making progress toward a bipartisan infrastructure bill — everything about America's last days in Afghanistan shattered the imagery.

Even many of Mr. Biden's allies who believe he made the right decision to finally exit a war that the United States could not win and that was no longer in its national interest concede he made a series of major mistakes in executing the withdrawal. The only question is how politically damaging those will prove to be, or whether Americans who cheered at 2020 campaign rallies when both President Donald J. Trump and Mr. Biden promised

Continued on Page A9

### Record Rise in Food Stamp Aid Aims to Stem Hunger's Spread

By JASON DePARLE

WASHINGTON — The Biden administration has revised the nutrition standards of the food stamp program and prompted the largest permanent increase to benefits in the program's history, a move that will give poor people more power to fill their grocery carts but add billions of dollars to the cost of a program that feeds one in eight Americans.

Under rules to be announced Monday and put in place in October, average benefits will rise more than 25 percent from prepandemic levels. All 42 million people in the program will receive

additional aid. The move does not require congressional approval, and unlike the large pandemic-era expansions, which are starting to expire, the changes are intended to last.

For at least a decade, critics of the benefits have said they were too low to provide an adequate diet. More than three-quarters of households exhaust their benefits in the first half of the monthly cycle, and researchers have linked subsequent food shortages to problems as diverse as increased hospital admissions, more school

Continued on Page A14

### In Quake-Ravaged Haiti, Hordes of the Injured Seek Scarce Care

By MARIA ABI-HABIB



REGINALD LOUIS SAINT JR./AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Tending to a woman in Les Cayes, Haiti, on Sunday. Thousands with grievous injuries swarmed badly damaged hospitals.

LES CAYES, Haiti — With broken bones and open wounds, the injured jammed into damaged hospitals or headed to the airport, hoping for mercy flights out. A handful of doctors toiled all night in makeshift triage wards. A retired senator used his seven-seat propeller plane to ferry the most urgent patients to emergency care in the capital.

A day after a magnitude-7.2 earthquake killed at least 1,300 people and injured thousands in western Haiti, the main airport of the city of Les Cayes was overwhelmed Sunday with people trying to evacuate their loved ones to Port-au-Prince, the capital, about 80 miles to the east.

There wasn't much choice. With just a few dozen doctors available in a region that is home to one million people, the quake aftermath was turning increasingly dire.

"I'm the only surgeon over there," said Dr. Edward Destine, an orthopedic surgeon, waving toward a temporary operating room of corrugated tin set up near the airport in Les Cayes. "I would like to operate on 10 people today, but I just don't have the supplies," he said, listing an urgent need for intravenous drips and even the most basic antibiotics.

The earthquake was the latest calamity to convulse Haiti, which is still living with the aftereffects of a 2010 quake that killed an estimated quarter-million people.

Continued on Page A10

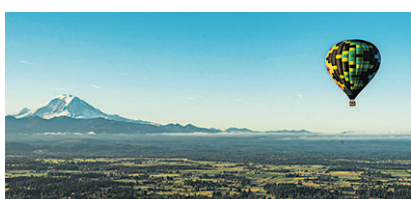
#### NATIONAL A11-15

##### A Racial Shift, Visualized

Maps show a rise in the share of people of color in nearly every county across the United States. PAGE A12

##### The Future of Ballooning

A program in Washington State aims to introduce an aging sport to a new, more diverse class of aeronauts. PAGE A11



#### INTERNATIONAL A4-10

##### Hong Kong Opposition Retreats

A crackdown by Beijing is nullifying the landslide pro-democracy victories in local elections in 2019 as over 250 councilors quit to avoid reprisals. PAGE A4

##### Rising Toll in Turkey Floods

At least 59 people have died in the disaster, and more than 70 are still missing after almost a week. PAGE A4

#### OBITUARIES D7-8

##### An Inspiration for Generations

Donald Kagan, 89, one of the country's leading historians, was also renowned for his classroom style. PAGE D8

#### ARTS C1-6

##### Trying to Ignore the Noise

The director Leos Carax's movies often arrive amid a commotion, and his newest, "Annette," is no exception. PAGE C1



##### A New 'Threepenny Opera'

Barrie Kosky's production, above, for the Berliner Ensemble is at the theater where the work premiered. PAGE C1

#### BUSINESS B1-4

##### Making Lemonade on TikTok

Marissa Meiz became a meme after her friends excluded her from a birthday party. She decided to use the app to find new friends. It turns out she was far from alone. PAGE B1

##### From Marketing to Trust

Red Ventures, the biggest digital media company you've never heard of, is a quiet juggernaut based in South Carolina that has turned very specific advice into very big business. PAGE B1

#### OPINION A16-17

##### Eli Dourado

PAGE A17



#### SPORTS D1-6

##### Skateboarders of New York

As the sport's appeal has grown, an inclusive community has become more visible. "It's just made me more OK with who I am," one skater said. PAGES D3-5



## FACING AFGHAN CHAOS, BIDEN DEFENDS EXIT



VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Afghans ran alongside a U.S. military plane on Monday. President Biden vowed to rescue thousands who had helped Americans, but the fates of many were uncertain.

### He Says U.S. Gave Kabul's Leaders 'Every Tool'

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR  
and DAVID E. SANGER

WASHINGTON — President Biden offered a defiant defense on Monday of his decision to withdraw troops from Afghanistan, blaming the swift collapse of the Afghan government and chaotic scenes at the Kabul airport on the refusal of the country's military to stand and fight in the face of the Taliban advance.

Speaking to the American people from the East Room after returning briefly to the White House from Camp David, Mr. Biden said he had no regrets about his decision to end the longest war in United States history. But he lamented that two decades of support failed to turn the Afghan military into a force capable of securing its own country.

"We gave them every tool they could need. We paid their salaries. Provided for the maintenance of their airplanes," Mr. Biden said. "We gave them every chance to determine their own future. What we could not provide was the will to fight for that future."

Mr. Biden acknowledged that the Taliban victory had come much faster than the United States had expected and that the withdrawal was "hard and messy." As the fourth president to preside over the war in Afghanistan, though, he said that "the buck stops with me."

"I stand squarely behind my decision," he said, adding that he would not "shrink from my share of responsibility for where we are today."

He directed a question to critics of the withdrawal, asking, "How many more generations of America's daughters and sons would you have me send to fight Afghans — Afghanistan's civil war, when Afghan troops will not?"

Mr. Biden spoke after dramatic images showed a frantic scramble to evacuate the American Embassy in Kabul as Taliban fighters advanced, drawing grim comparisons to America's retreat from Saigon at the end of the Vietnam War. Footage of people clinging to a hulking U.S. military transport, even as it left the ground, quickly circulated around the world.

But in his speech, Mr. Biden spent far more time defending his decision to depart from Afghanistan than the chaotic way it was carried out.

The Taliban cemented their control of Afghanistan on Monday, with scenes of handoffs to insurgent fighters playing out across the country and reports that the Taliban were searching for people they considered collaborators of the United States.

### Racing to Get Out as Desperation and Fear Set In

By CARLOTTA GALL  
and RUHULLAH KHAPALWAK

ISTANBUL — Thousands of desperate Afghans trying to escape the Taliban takeover swarmed Kabul's main international airport on Monday, rushing the boarding gates, mobbing the runways, clambering atop the wings of jets and even trying to cling to the fuselage of departing American military planes.

At least half a dozen Afghans were killed in the chaos, some falling from the skies as they lost their grasp, and at least two were shot by American soldiers trying to contain the surging crowds.

The images evoked America's frantic departure from Vietnam, encapsulating Afghanistan's breathtaking collapse in the wake of American abandonment.

As American troops sought to manage the exodus, seizing air traffic control to prioritize military flights evacuating Western citizens and flying Apache helicopters low over the crowds to clear the runway, Taliban fighters capped a swift and devastating lunge for power, posing for an iconic photo behind the ornate presidential desk in the presidential palace hours after President Ashraf Ghani had fled the country.

In a video broadcast on Al Jazeera, the head of the Afghan



WAKIL KOHSAR/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

An American soldier ordering an Afghan man to move at Hamid Karzai International Airport, where hundreds lined the runway.

presidential guard shook hands with a Taliban commander. "I say welcome to them, and I congratulate them," the official said.

Taliban fighters spread out across the streets of the capital on Monday, riding motorbikes and driving police vehicles and Humvees seized from the government security forces. Armed fighters occupied the Parliament, some visited the homes of govern-

ment officials, confiscating possessions and vehicles, while others made a show of directing traffic.

Taliban officials promised safety to civilians and urged them to stay, but the mobs at the Hamid Karzai International Airport revealed the depths of panic and despair of Afghans who feared reprisal killings and a return to the Taliban.

Continued on Page A6

### A Soviet Echo As Forces Flee Over a Bridge

By ANDREW E. KRAMER

DUSHANBE, Tajikistan — The bridge has an eerily Orwellian name — the Friendship Bridge — and a storied history in Afghanistan's wars.

And again this week, the bridge, which spans the Amu Darya River between Afghanistan and Uzbekistan, provided a backdrop for a watershed moment in the fighting. In a chaotic retreat from the city of Mazar-i-Sharif, pro-government soldiers streamed onto the crossing, seeking safety on the opposite bank.

The scene on Thursday mirrored an iconic moment 32 years ago at the end of the failed Soviet war in Afghanistan, when the bridge provided the final exit route out of the country for the defeated Soviet Army.

Then, red flags fixed to the armored vehicles flapped in a winter wind as the departing Soviet troops drove and marched across the bridge on Feb. 15, 1989. That was meant to signal an organized, dignified exit for the superpower's army after a decade of occupation

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### For Veterans, Pain, Anguish And Sorrows

By DAVE PHILIPPS

On Javier Mackey's second deployment to Afghanistan, one of his friends was shot in an ambush and bled to death in his arms. He saw high-ranking Afghan officers selling off equipment for personal gain and Afghan troops running away during firefights. And he started wondering what the United States could really achieve by sending thousands of troops to a distant land that seemed to have never known peace. That was in 2008.

Mr. Mackey, an Army Special Forces soldier, deployed there five more times, was shot twice, and, he said, grew more cynical on each trip, until he decided the only sensible thing for the United States to do was cut its losses and leave.

Even so, seeing the swift and chaotic collapse of the Afghan government in recent days hit him with the intensity of a bomb blast.

"It's pain — pain I thought I had gotten used to," said Mr. Mackey, who retired as a sergeant first class in 2018 and now lives in Florida. "I sacrificed a lot, I saw death

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### A Longtime Lifeline in Haiti Now Lies in Ruins

By MARIA ABI-HABIB  
and ANDRE PAULTRE

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti — The houses collapsed, the hospitals were damaged, the roads buckled or turned impassable. But it was the earthquake's destruction of churches across Haiti's southern peninsula that may prove the biggest gut punch to the roughly 1.5 million people affected.

For many Haitians, their only source of aid throughout their lives, in the absence of strong government institutions, has been the church, a part of Haiti's landscape since the era of European colonialism and slavery.

Many churches lay in ruins after the 7.2 magnitude earthquake on Saturday morning, which wrecked thousands of buildings

### Gut Punch to Ravaged Nation as Churches Fall to Quake

and left entire towns and at least one city without a church left standing. On Monday, as heavy rains threatened floods and mudslides in the region, civil defense officials raised the death toll to more than 1,400 and said nearly 7,000 people had been injured.

In the city of Les Cayes, which was particularly devastated by the quake, clerics despaired even as they sought to project hope and resolve to rebuild.

"We are the only thing here," said the Rev. Yves Joel Jacqueline, 44, who works at the cathedral in

Les Cayes with Haiti's cardinal, Bishop Chibly Langlois, who was hurt in the quake. "There is no support from the government."

The heavy concrete rooftops and domes of churches across the southern peninsula are now caved in, tabernacles crooked or buried under rubble, walls marbled with deep cracks.

Every church seen by reporters from The New York Times in a 15-mile drive in and around Les Cayes on Sunday was completely destroyed or severely damaged. The cathedral in the city of Jeremie, an architectural landmark built more than a century ago, was left in ruins.

The quake could not have come at a worse time for Haiti. The Caribbean nation is still traumatized over the unsolved July 7 assassination of President Jovenel Moïse

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ADRIANA ZEHRBAUSKAS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Marouchka Saint-Cyr in her home near a cathedral in Haiti that was destroyed by a 2010 quake.

#### NATIONAL A12-15

##### Sign of Dry Future in West

A Colorado River reservoir has its first water shortage, forcing supply cuts and previewing challenges ahead. PAGE A13

##### Becoming the Un-Cuomo

Kathy Hochul, who is preparing to lead New York, is seen as mild-mannered, disarming and untested. PAGE A14



#### BUSINESS B1-5

##### Autopilot's Flaws

U.S. auto safety regulators are opening an investigation into a famous Tesla feature after a series of crashes involving parked vehicles. PAGE B1

##### Vaccines Exit Area in Need

Johnson & Johnson is exporting doses bottled in South Africa, where shots are scarce, to Europe. PAGE B1

#### INTERNATIONAL A4-11

##### 5 Losses, Then the Presidency

Hakaïnde Hichilema, a businessman who had repeatedly vied for Zambia's presidency, scored a solid win. PAGE A11

#### SPORTS B6-8

##### Golfers Opt to Stroll, Not Roll

Recreational players are shunning carts and enjoying the health benefits of walking the course. "It's a beautiful setting if you let it be," one said. PAGE B6

#### OBITUARIES A16-17

##### Thorn in a Gilded Paw

Michael Thomas's place in the moneyed elite informed his financial thrillers, which often savaged the rich and powerful. He was 85. PAGE A17

#### OPINION A18-19

##### Thomas L. Friedman

PAGE A19

#### SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

##### Saving the Owens Pupfish

The species can swim under ice or in waters warmer than 90 degrees, but can it survive a warming Earth? PAGE D1

##### Eulogizing Barry the Owl

Michiko Kakutani says goodbye to an occupant of Central Park who had a people-friendly personality. PAGE D8



#### ARTS C1-6

##### Art Appreciation's the Goal

When the English Premier League kicked off last weekend, fans of Tottenham Hotspur had a new attraction to visit: a gallery dedicated to works inspired by the game of soccer. PAGE C5

##### A Back Story in Doubt

Christopher Massimine, who has been a theater executive in New York and Utah, faces questions about errors on his resumé and a phony award. PAGE C1



## U.S. FORCES LEAVE KABUL; EVACUATION ENDS



JIM HUYLEBROEK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Airborne celebrations by the Taliban early Tuesday in Kabul, Afghanistan, after the last American forces departed the country.

### A Solemn Pullout in a Lost Fight's Last Hours

By THOMAS GIBBONS-NEFF

The end of the United States' longest war was unceremonious — trash blowing across the single airstrip of Kabul's international airport, Afghans lingering outside the gates, still hoping in vain for evacuation, Taliban firing victoriously into the night sky.

In its final days, it was two U.S. Marines shaking hands with Taliban fighters in the dim glow of the domestic terminal. It was lines of starved and dehydrated evacuees boarding gray planes that took them to uncertain futures. It was the Taliban's leadership dictating its terms, as a generation of Afghans pondered the end of 20 years of some kind of expanded hope.

It was highway overpasses and park benches stretched across the United States, named in honor of the war's dead.

The end, at least for the Americans and their Western allies, came on a Monday after the thousands of U.S. troops defending Hamid Karzai International Airport flew out in waves, one lumbering transport plane after another until none were left, in the final hours of the lost war.

Unlike the Soviets defeated before them, the Americans' legacy was not a landscape littered with the destroyed hulks of armored vehicles. Instead, they left all the arms and equipment needed to supply the Taliban, the victors, for years to come, the product of two decades and \$83 billion training and equipping an Afghan military and police forces that collapsed in the face of poor leadership and dwindling U.S. support.

Afghanistan has once more completed a cycle that has repeatedly defined the past 40 years of violence and upheaval: For the fifth time since the Soviet invasion in 1979, one order has collapsed and another has risen. What has followed each of those times has been a descent into vengeance, score-settling and, eventually, another cycle of disorder and war.

It is up to the Taliban, now, to decide whether they will perpetuate the cycle of vengeance, as they did upon seizing power from a group of feuding warlords in 1996, or will truly embrace the new path that their leaders have promised in recent days: one of acceptance and reconciliation.

Nearly 20 years have passed since Osama bin Laden and Al Qaeda executed the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States and President George W. Bush announced that the United States would invade Afghanistan as the first act in a global war against terrorism. Now, the United States is contending with how to define its relationship with the same Islamist rulers it toppled in 2001 — again a question of vengeance or acceptance — and how to try to head off the resurgence of any international terrorist threat rising from Afghanistan.

Now, there are smaller prospects of airstrikes in the *Continued on Page A7*

### Taliban Cheer as Longest War Concludes

By ADAM NOSSITER and ERIC SCHMITT

The last United States forces left Afghanistan late Monday, ending a 20-year occupation that began shortly after Al Qaeda's attacks on 9/11, cost over \$2 trillion, took more than 170,000 lives and ultimately failed to defeat the Taliban, the Islamist militants who allowed Al Qaeda to operate there.

Five American C-17 cargo jets flew out of Hamid Karzai International Airport in Kabul just before midnight, the officials said, completing a hasty evacuation that left behind tens of thousands of Afghans desperate to flee the country, including former members of the security forces and many who held valid visas to enter the United States.

"A new chapter of America's engagement with Afghanistan has begun," Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken said Monday evening. "It's one in which we will lead with our diplomacy. The military mission is over."

But the war prosecuted by four presidents over two decades, which gave Afghans a shot at democracy and freed many women to pursue education and careers, failed in nearly every other goal. Ultimately, the Americans handed



JIM HUYLEBROEK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**UNINTENDED DEATHS** Ten people were killed, family members say, in a U.S. drone strike in Kabul on Sunday. *Page A6.*

the country back to the same militants they drove from power in 2001.

Jubilant Taliban fighters and their supporters reveled in victory as the news became clear. Celebratory gunfire broke out across the city in the predawn hours on Tuesday in Kabul, the arc of tracer rounds lighting up the night sky.

"The last American soldiers departed from Kabul airport, and our country has achieved a full independence, thanks to God," Zabihullah Mujahid, the Taliban spokesman, said on Twitter.

Control of the airport was left in the hands of the Taliban, who said they were still working on the shape of their new government.

At the airport, where scenes of mass desperation and carnage this past week became indelible images of the Americans' final days, only a few hundred Afghans still waited at the gates on Monday night as the last flights departed.

The war began under President George W. Bush as a hunt for Al Qaeda and Osama bin Laden, the Qaeda leader who oversaw the 9/11 attacks. *Continued on Page A6*

## Rescuers Fan Out as Ida Puts One Million in Dark

### 300,000 Lack Water — Levees Hold in New Orleans

This article is by Katy Reckdahl, J. David Goodman and Edgar Sandoval.

NEW ORLEANS — Rescue teams fanned out across Louisiana on Monday searching for people left stranded in the aftermath of Hurricane Ida, even as New Orleans emerged from its most serious onslaught since Hurricane Katrina confident that its levees had held.

While city residents could take a measure of relief at having dodged a catastrophic flood, several surrounding communities remained cut off by the storm, with the extent of the devastation in those areas still coming into focus. More than a million people, including most of New Orleans, were left without electricity, more than 300,000 were without water, and some 2,000 were in shelters, officials said.

New Orleans did not have a functioning 911 system for more than 12 hours on Monday, leaving officials to advise those in need of emergency assistance to go to their nearest fire station.

At least three deaths have been attributed to the storm, officials said: A man died while driving in New Orleans; a woman was found dead in the fishing village of Jean Lafitte, south of the city; and a man was killed in Prairieville, about 20 miles southeast of Baton Rouge, where a tree fell on a house.

All across southeastern Louisiana, officials and volunteers responded, sometimes in boats, to calls from residents stranded in houses swamped in the rising waters. In Jefferson Parish alone, the authorities rescued more than 70 people from flooded neighborhoods.

But the fate of many others remained unclear as rescuers struggled to reach those who had stayed home to ride out the storm. Gov. John Bel Edwards of Louisiana said he expected the death toll to rise "considerably."

Hospitals in the state, already strained by a surge of Covid-19 patients, braced for an influx of people injured in the storm. Louisiana *Continued on Page A18*

### As Floods Crept Up, Nothing to Do but Wait for Daylight

This article is by Richard Fausset, Rick Rojas and Patricia Mazzei.

JEFFERSON PARISH, La. — Jordan Roque pulled his Chevy pickup truck onto the last stretch of highway outside of town that was not inundated by water on Monday, hauling an airboat. Hurricane Ida had turned the road into a makeshift boat launch, and Mr. Roque was on a mission to find his relatives.

His aunt and uncle, Diane and Buddy Nolan, had ridden out the fierce Category 4 storm at home in the hardy fishing village of Jean Lafitte. No one had heard from the Nolans since Sunday morning,

and now the village, along with much of the southeastern Louisiana bayou area, was underwater.

The authorities had rescued more than 70 people in Jean Lafitte and the surrounding communities, said Cynthia Lee Sheng, the Jefferson Parish president, after eight feet of water overtopped levees, sending several hundred people into attics and onto roofs. At least one person, an older woman, died in her home, Ms. Lee Sheng said. The parish had received more than 200 calls for rescue since Sunday.

Across the path of Ida's destruction, the weathered and storm-weary people of the northern Gulf

Coast waded out of flooded communities on Monday and surveyed the damage left by one of the most fearsome hurricanes to strike the region since Katrina 16 years ago. New Orleans and its hardened storm infrastructure appeared to have held up, though the city had no electricity. But with parts of Louisiana still unreachable, the full extent of the wreckage remained unclear.

"It's never been as bad as it is this time," said Jesse Touro, 62, who was rescued from Jean Lafitte after riding out storms in town for the past 12 years. He sounded exhausted as he rode a *Continued on Page A18*



EDMUND D. FOUNTAIN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The authorities had rescued more than 70 people from Jean Lafitte, La., and the surrounding areas.

## Putin Opponents Are Given a Grim Choice: Go West Into Exile or East Into Prison

By ANTON TROIANOVSKI

MOSCOW — Evoking the dark era of Soviet repression, Russian politicians and journalists are being driven into exile in growing numbers.

The steady stream of politically motivated emigration that had accompanied President Vladimir V.

Putin's two-decade rule turned into a torrent this year. Opposition figures, their aides, rights activists and even independent journalists are increasingly being given a simple choice: flee or face prison.

A top ally of the imprisoned opposition leader Aleksei A. Navalny left Russia this month, state media said, adding her to a list of

dozens of dissidents and journalists believed to have departed this year. Taken together, experts say, it is the biggest wave of political emigration in Russia's post-Soviet history.

This year's forced departures recall a tactic honed by the K.G.B. during the last decades of the Soviet Union, when the secret police would tell some dissidents they

could go either west or east — into exile or to a Siberian prison camp. Now, as then, the Kremlin appears to be betting that forcing high-profile critics out of the country is less of a headache than imprisoning them, and that Russians abroad are easy to paint as traitors in cahoots with the West.

"Their strategy is: First, squeeze them out," said Dmitri G.

Gudkov, a popular Moscow opposition politician who fled in June. "And if you can't squeeze them out, throw them in jail."

On Aug. 7, Lyubov Sobol, the most prominent ally of Mr. Navalny who had remained inside Russia, flew to Turkey, pro-Kremlin television channels reported. Earlier this month, a court sent *Continued on Page A9*



SPORTS B6-10

**Basketball World Travelers**  
U.S. men's wheelchair players at the Paralympics have had to move overseas to pursue excellence. *PAGE B8*

**Vaccine Hesitancy on Court**  
As the U.S. Open began, about half of the players on the main tennis tours had not had a Covid shot. *PAGE B9*

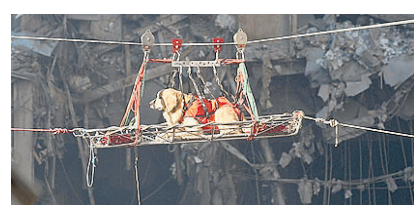
NATIONAL A10-19

**100,000 a Day in Hospital**  
The nationwide Covid surge has hospital admissions nearing what they were during their peak last winter, with states in the South hit hardest. *PAGE A14*

**Plea to Block Abortion Ban**  
The Supreme Court has been asked to intervene against a Texas law that would ban abortion after six weeks. *PAGE A11*

INTERNATIONAL A4-9

**Colombia's President Speaks**  
In an interview, Iván Duque defended his performance amid the pandemic and social strife. *PAGE A8*



ARTS C1-6

**The Dogs of 9/11**  
Two exhibitions recognize the search and rescue dogs who nosed through the World Trade Center wreckage. *PAGE C1*

**Retelling a Scary Story**  
For her horror remake of "Candyman," the filmmaker Nia DaCosta confronted the pressures for success. *PAGE C1*

BUSINESS B1-5

**Theranos Chief Goes to Trial**  
The long-awaited trial of Elizabeth Holmes, the once high-flying blood-testing start-up founder, will cap a saga of Silicon Valley hubris, excess, ambition and deception. *PAGE B1*

**Still Out of Everything**  
Pandemic-related product shortages, from computer chips to lumber, were supposed to be over by now. Instead, the world has gained a lesson in the ripple effects of disruption. *PAGE B1*

OPINION A22-23

**Michelle Goldberg** *PAGE A23*



SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

**Renewing a Search**  
A century after museum collectors surveyed Colombia's birds, researchers are examining what has changed. Above, a Lafresnaye's piculet. *PAGE D4*





"All the News That's Fit to Print"

# The New York Times

Late Edition

Today, clouds, then increasing sunshine, brisk, chilly, high 41. Tonight, clear skies, cold, low 27. Tomorrow, plenty of sunshine, still chilly, high 39. Weather map is on Page 32.


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\$6.00

**c. A child was observed being carried from the target compound after munitions impacted.**



(U) Figure 1. Open Source Photos

**f. (U) No further investigation is warranted. any person in the blast radius was seriously injured or killed**



3. "The devastation caused by the bombing of Flight International Coalition on the city Harem 11/06/2014"

Potential similarities to building, treeline and apartments in Harem Compound 001 slice

AR 15-6 Investigation - Harem Syria CIVCAS, 5-6 Nov 14 4/27/2015 - 059

**SECRET//REL TO USA, FVEY**

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DATE (para 5-2b, AR 15-67)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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is a statement of the matter	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1 and 5-2b, AR 15-67	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
67	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
letter of appointment (para 5-3b, AR 15-67)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**A thorough review of all available strike records indicates that it is more likely than not that five civilians were killed as a result of a Coalition strike.**

*We are certainly capable of performing better.*

Staff	CONCURRENCE	CONCUR	Date
LEGAL			11 DEC 15
CJ33	Concur		11 DEC 15
D-CJ3	Concur		12 DEC

## HIDDEN FILES BARE MILITARY FAILURES IN DEADLY STRIKES

### High-Flying Drones and Precision Bombs Regularly Hit Innocent Targets

By AZMAT KHAN

Shortly before 3 a.m. on July 19, 2016, American Special Operations forces bombed what they believed were three ISIS “staging areas” on the outskirts of Tokhar, a riverside hamlet in northern Syria. They reported 85 fighters killed. In fact, they hit houses far from the front line, where farmers, their families and other local people sought nighttime sanctuary from bombing and gunfire. More than 120 villagers were killed.

In early 2017 in Iraq, an American plane struck a dark-colored vehicle, believed to be a car bomb, stopped at an intersection in the Wadi Hajar neighborhood of West Mosul. Actually, the car had been bearing not a bomb but a man named Majid Mahmoud Ahmed, his wife and their two children, who were fleeing the fighting nearby. They and three other civilians were killed.

In November 2015, after observing a man dragging an “unknown heavy object” into an ISIS “defensive fighting position,” American forces struck a building in Ramadi, Iraq. A military review found that the object was actually “a person of small stature” — a child — who died in the strike.

targeting, and the deaths of thousands of civilians, many of them children, a sharp contrast to the American government’s image of war waged by all-seeing drones and precision bombs.

The documents show, too, that despite the Pentagon’s highly codified system for examining civilian casualties, pledges of transparency and accountability have given way to opacity and impunity. In only a handful of cases were the assessments made public. Not a single record provided includes

### THE CIVILIAN CASUALTY FILES Part 1: The Documents

a finding of wrongdoing or disciplinary action. Fewer than a dozen condolence payments were made, even though many survivors were left with disabilities requiring expensive medical care. Documented efforts to identify root causes or lessons learned are rare.

The air campaign represents a fundamental transformation of warfare that took shape in the final years of the Obama administration, amid the deepening unpopularity of the forever wars that had claimed more than 6,000 American service members. The United States traded many of its boots on the ground for an arsenal of aircraft directed by controllers sitting at computers, often thousands of miles away. President Barack Obama called it “the most precise air campaign in history.”

This was the promise: America’s “extraordinary technology” would allow the military to kill the

*Continued on Page 22*

The Times obtained assessments of more than 1,300 reports of civilian casualties in the U.S. air war in the Middle East since 2014.

## Charting a Path For Hong Kong, And for Herself

By VIVIAN WANG

HONG KONG — The students sat quietly as soldiers goose-stepped into the Hong Kong high school’s auditorium, hoisting a Chinese flag. The M.C.s spoke in Mandarin, the language of mainland China, rather than Cantonese, the city’s predominant language. Then Carrie Lam, Hong Kong’s chief executive, took the podium, to extol the importance of patriotism in the city’s youth.

It was Mrs. Lam’s fourth visit to a school in recent weeks — a striking count for a leader who for two years had barely set foot on a campus. When anti-government protests engulfed the city in 2019, young people were among the most devoted participants, with high schools boycotting classes and forming human chains.

But now, as the scene this month at the school, Pui Kiu, made clear, things had changed: The pro-China side — and by extension, Mrs. Lam — was back in charge. While a Hong Kong cliché long held that the chief executive serves two masters, Beijing and the Hong Kong people, the 2019 protests and the ensuing crisis crystallized that only one really mattered.

With that clarity, Mrs. Lam, 64, *Continued on Page 10*



Carrie Lam

## Map by Map, G.O.P. Erasing Black Districts

By NICK CORASANITI and REID J. EPSTEIN

More than 30 years ago, Robert Reives Sr. marched into a meeting of his county government in Sanford, N.C., with a demand: Create a predominantly Black district in the county, which was 23 percent Black at the time but had no Black representation, or face a lawsuit under the Voting Rights Act.

The county commission refused, and Mr. Reives prepared to sue. But after the county settled and redrew its districts, he was elected in 1990 as Lee County’s first Black commissioner, a post he has held comfortably ever since.

Until this year. Republicans, newly in power and in control of the redrawing of county maps, extended the district to the northeast, adding more rural and suburban white voters to the mostly rural district southwest of Raleigh and effectively diluting the influence of its Black voters. Mr. Reives, who is still the county’s only Black commissioner, fears he will now lose his seat.

“They all have the same objective,” he said in an interview, referring to local Republican officials. “To get me out of the seat.”

Mr. Reives is one of a growing number of Black elected officials across the country — ranging from members of Congress to county commissioners — who have been drawn out of their districts, placed in newly competitive

*Continued on Page 16*



ASHLEY GILBERTSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Chaos and Healing: Images of 2021

Looking back at a year of pandemic heartbreak, cautious recovery, Olympic greatness and political turmoil. Above, Officer Eugene Goodman during the Jan. 6 Capitol attack. A Special Section.

## Generation Goes From ‘Play Ball’ to PlayStation

By JOE DRAPE

FRISCO, Texas — A miniature basketball hoop hangs from the bedroom door. Soccer trophies are prominent on the dresser. Each sport competes for the time and attention of David and Matthew Grimes. But both are losing ground to another staple of adolescence: the video game console.

David, 13, and Matthew, 11, are fledgling e-sports athletes. David thumbs his controllers

and listens to strategy talk from a YMCA coach on Monday nights. On Wednesday, he takes on all comers. Matthew has league play on Thursday. At least one weekend a month, they compete in a Super Smash Bros. Ultimate tournament.

David and Matthew are part of a surging migration among members of Generation Z — as those born from 1997 to 2012 are often labeled — away from the basketball courts and soccer fields built for previous generations and toward

the PlayStations and Xboxes of theirs.

It’s not a zero-sum game: Many children, including the Grimeses, enjoy sports both virtual and physical. But it’s clear that the rise of e-sports has come at the expense of traditional youth sports, with implications for their future and for the way children grow up.

E-sports got a boost, especially at the grass-roots level, during the pandemic. Between at-home

*Continued on Page 14*

## Booster Efforts Falter as Covid Explodes Anew

By SHAWN HUBLER and AMY HARMON

SACRAMENTO — Nine months ago, the lines stretched out the doors at Dr. Rusty Oshita’s three urgent care clinics, teeming with patients frantic to get vaccinated against Covid-19.

Walk-ins jammed the parking lots and mini-mall sidewalks, some crowding too close, some blurring to make the cut, hoping to pass as over 65 or essential workers. Now with the Omicron variant driving a new surge, Dr. Oshita has awaited a new rush, for booster shots this time.

So far, he has been waiting in vain.

“It’s scary,” the physician said this week as patients drifted in and out of his storefront in a Whole Foods shopping center in suburban Sacramento. “We’re not seeing the rise we were hoping for.”

As the pandemic has surged toward its third year, shape-shifting into the contagious new Omicron variant and spiking dangerously in the Northeast, around the Great Lakes and in other parts of the country, health officials and epidemiologists are vehemently urging Americans to get vaccinated and boosted. But the going has been slow.

Of American adults who are fully vaccinated and eligible for a booster shot, only about 30 percent have received one, according to data from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. And

*Continued on Page 28*

### INTERNATIONAL 4-10

#### Plea for Help Grows Louder

A decline in foreign aid after years of war has residents of Marja, Afghanistan, once a focus of U.S. support, feeling abandoned by the world. PAGE 4

### SPORTS 33-35

#### Not So Fast for N.B.A. Star

The day after Kyrie Irving’s part-time return to the Nets was announced, he entered the Covid protocols. PAGE 35

#### Ex-Yankee Will Manage Mets

Buck Showalter’s experience and embrace of analytics made him the choice, our columnist writes. PAGE 35



### SUNDAY STYLES

#### How Low Could We Go?

An oracle pug? A big ship stuck in the Suez Canal? A cat lawyer on Zoom? This year in limbo seemed like an endless series of “not again” sighs. PAGE 13

### SUNDAY REVIEW

#### John McWhorter

PAGE 6

### NATIONAL 12-28

#### Investing in Murder Prevention

The impact of grass-roots programs to stem homicides isn’t clear, but the size of Indianapolis’s commitment speaks to the urgency of the moment. PAGE 12

#### Hard Road to U.S. for Afghans

Refugees fleeing the Taliban are being challenged by an American bureaucracy unprepared to help them. PAGE 20

### METROPOLITAN

#### A Hero of War, and Holidays

How a Jewish New Yorker and World War II bomber pilot became “the king of the artificial Christmas tree.” PAGE 1



### ARTS & LEISURE

#### Making Stitches in Time

At New York City Ballet, nearly 130 “Nutcracker” costumes had to be re-made for an older, taller cast. PAGE 10

#### No Running From Home

Guillermo Del Toro’s “Nightmare Alley” reminds a writer of his childhood on the carnival circuit. PAGE 17

### SUNDAY BUSINESS

#### Ivy League Lies

A bizarre and relentless scam claimed to offer jobs at Harvard to prominent women in India. Nearly a year later, it is still uncertain why the women were targeted. PAGE 1

#### That Garage Has Potential

To ease a housing crisis, California has relaxed rules on unpermitted housing, particularly dwellings built on formerly single-family properties. PAGE 1



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