

Colleges Warn
Of Punishment
For Disruptions

Setting Limits as Gaza
Protests Spread

By JEREMY W. PETERS

The 100-year-old annual honors convocation at the University of Michigan is typically a decorous affair, with a pipe organ accompanying golf-clap applause.

This year’s event was anything but. Protesters rose from their seats, and unfurled banners with “Free Palestine” written in red paint. They shouted, “You are funding genocide!”

Unable to continue with the ceremony, university officials cut it short, as hundreds of disappointed students and their parents stood up and walked out.

Two days after the honors convocation, the university’s president, Santa J. Ono, issued a stern rebuke: Enough.

“Like many of you, I am proud of our university’s history of protest,” he said. “But none of us should be proud of what happened on Sunday.” He announced that the school would draft a new policy to redefine what could be punished as disruptive behavior.

The University of Michigan is not alone.

After years of often loose enforcement of their own rules, some of the country’s most high-profile academic institutions are getting bolder, suspending and in some cases expelling students. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, New York University and Brown University have recently taken swift and decisive action against student protesters, including making arrests.

And on Thursday, Columbia University hit its limit with student protesters who had set up dozens of tents on campus, sending in the New York Police Department to make arrests. The arrests followed congressional testimony on Wednesday, in which the president of Columbia, Nemat Shafik, said the school had delivered an unambiguous message to students that misconduct would not be tolerated.

College officials are driven by criticism from alumni, donors and Republican lawmakers, but in interviews they also described a gnawing sense that civility on campus has broken down.

They say that lately, some student protests have become so disruptive that they not only are interfering with their ability to provide an education, but they also have left many students, particularly Jewish ones, fearing for their safety.

Recalibrating isn’t necessarily easy, as many universities are learning. Efforts by administrators to claw back some of their authority over campus demonstrations are being met with pushback from students, faculty and civil liberties groups who say a university’s role is to foster debate — even if it’s messy, rude and disruptive — not attempt to smother it.

Campus activists said the aggressive enforcement of the student disciplinary process by universities is a new and concerning development. “This is an escalation,” said Rosy Fitzgerald of the Institute for Middle East Understanding, a nonprofit that is tracking how schools are responding to

Continued on Page A15



C.S. MUNCY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

POLICE ON CAMPUS Columbia called in law enforcement Thursday to empty an encampment of pro-Palestinian protesters. Page A15.

Muslims Heed a Sacred Duty to the Sun and Soil

By SUI-LEE WEE

JAKARTA, Indonesia — The faithful gathered in an imposing modernist building, thousands of men in skullcaps and women in veils sitting shoulder to shoulder. Their leader took to his perch and delivered a stark warning.

“Our fatal shortcomings as human beings have been that we treat the earth as just an object,” Grand Imam Nasaruddin Umar said. “The greedier we are toward nature, the sooner doomsday will arrive.”

Then he prescribed the cure as laid out by their faith, which guides almost a quarter of humanity.

Like fasting during Ramadan, it is every Muslim’s Fard al-Ayn, or obligation, to be a guardian of the earth. Like giving alms, his congregants should give waqf, a kind of religious donation, to renewable energy. Like daily prayers,



ULET IFANSASTI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Planting trees in Bogor, Indonesia. Some activists say environmentalism is embedded in the Quran.

The ‘Green Islam’ Push
in Indonesia Strives
to Guide the World

planting trees should be a habit.

The environment is a central theme in the sermons of Mr. Nasaruddin, the influential head of the Istiqlal Mosque in Jakarta, Indonesia, who has tried to lead by example.

Dismayed by the trash sullyng the river that the mosque sits on, he ordered a cleanup. Shocked by astronomical utility bills, he retrofitted Southeast Asia’s largest mosque with solar panels, slow-flow faucets and a water recycling system — changes that helped make it the first place of worship to win a green building accolade from the World Bank.

The Grand Imam says he is sim-

ply following the Prophet Muhammad’s instructions that Muslims should care about nature.

He is not alone in this country of more than 200 million people, the majority of them Muslims, in trying to kindle an environmental awakening through Islam. Top clergy have issued fatwas, or edicts, on how to rein in climate change. Neighborhood activists are beseeching friends, family and neighbors that environmentalism is embedded in the Quran.

“As the country with the largest number of Muslim people in the world, we have to set a good example for Muslim society,” Grand Imam Nasaruddin said in an interview.

While other Muslim nations also have strains of this “Green Islam” movement, Indonesia could be a guide for the rest of the world if it can transform itself. The world’s biggest exporter of coal, it

Continued on Page A6

ON POLITICS

In Trump Trial,
Even Its Name
Is a Hot Topic

By JESS BIDGOOD

As former President Donald J. Trump’s first criminal trial begins, there is one battle taking place in a Manhattan courtroom, where he faces 34 felony counts of falsifying business records.

But there is another fight taking place in the court of public opinion, which concerns a much more basic question: What should this trial even be called?

Many media outlets — including The New York Times — have used “hush-money trial” as a shorthand for the proceedings. It’s a nod to the fact that Mr. Trump is accused of directing a payoff, and then falsifying business records, to cover up a potential sex scandal involving a porn star.

Alvin Bragg, the district attorney in Manhattan, has argued that the case is about something much bigger: that the payment, made to Stormy Daniels, was part of an effort to hide information from voters ahead of the 2016 presidential election.

“It’s an election interference case,” he said in an interview on NY1 in January.

Mr. Trump, who has always understood the power of catchy shorthand, is trying to label the

Continued on Page A14

CHINA THREATENS
BIDEN MAKEOVER
OF U.S. INDUSTRY

CHEAP EXPORTS SURGE

President Pushes Tariffs
as His Climate Goals
Face Risks

By JIM TANKERSLEY
and ALAN RAPPEPORT

WASHINGTON — President Biden’s trillion-dollar effort to invigorate American manufacturing and speed a transition to cleaner energy sources is colliding with a surge of cheap exports from China, threatening to wipe out the investment and jobs that are central to Mr. Biden’s economic agenda.

Mr. Biden is weighing new measures to protect nascent industries like electric-vehicle production and solar-panel manufacturing from Chinese competition. On Wednesday in Pittsburgh, the president called for higher tariffs on Chinese steel and aluminum products and announced a new trade investigation into China’s heavily subsidized shipbuilding industry.

“I’m not looking for a fight with China,” Mr. Biden said. “I’m looking for competition — and fair competition.”

Unions, manufacturing groups and some economists say the administration may need to do much more to restrict Chinese imports if it hopes to ensure that Mr. Biden’s vast industrial initiatives are not swamped by lower-cost Chinese versions of the same emerging technologies.

“It is a very clear and present danger, because the industrial policy of the Biden administration is largely focused on not the traditional low-skill, low-wage manufacturing, but new, high-tech manufacturing,” said Eswar Prasad, a Cornell University economist who specializes in trade policies.

“Those are precisely the areas where China has upped its own investments,” he said.

Both America and China are using large government subsidies to stoke economic growth and to try

Continued on Page A13



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

A U.S. senator is seeking to ban Chinese electric vehicles.

Black Voters’ Generation Gap
Poses Problem for Biden Camp

By MAYA KING

ATLANTA — For years, Loretta Green has voted at her Southwest Atlanta precinct wearing the same custom T-shirt emblazoned with a photo of her first voter registration card, dated to 1960. The front of it reads: “This is why I vote.”

Since gaining the legal right, Ms. Green, 88, has participated in every possible election. This November will be no different, she said, when she casts a ballot for President Biden and Democrats down the ticket.

But conversations with her younger relatives, who have told her they’re unsure of voting or considering staying home, illustrate some of the challenges Mr.

Biden’s campaign faces in re-assembling his winning 2020 coalition, particularly in key battleground states like Georgia. While Ms. Green and many older Black voters are set on voting and already have plans in place to do so, younger Black voters, polling and focus group data show, feel far less motivated to cast a ballot for Democrats or even at all.

“To me, voting is almost sacred. Look at what people went through. The struggles. The people that allowed themselves to be beaten,” Ms. Green said of the civil rights movement that ignited her determination to vote in every election. “I think there are some

Continued on Page A12

Long-Acting Drugs May Revolutionize Ability to Control H.I.V.

By APOORVA MANDAVILLI

A pill taken once a week. A shot administered at home once a month. Even a jab given at a clinic every six months.

In the next five to 10 years, these options may be available to prevent or treat H.I.V. Instead of drugs that must be taken daily, scientists are closing in on longer-

acting alternatives — perhaps even a future in which H.I.V. may require attention just twice a year, inconceivable in the darkest decades of the epidemic.

“This period is the next wave of innovation, newer products meeting the needs of people, particularly in prevention, in ways that we didn’t ever have before,” said Mitchell Warren, executive director of the H.I.V. prevention organi-

Chance to Make Access
to Treatment Easier

zation AVAC.

Long-acting therapies may obviate the need to remember to take a daily pill to prevent or treat H.I.V. And for some patients, the

new drugs may ease the stigma of the disease, itself an obstacle to treatment.

“To not have to remember that every morning is earth-changing for them,” said Dr. Rachel Bender Ignacio, director of University of Washington’s UW Positive, a clinical research site focusing on H.I.V. “That stigma, that internalized

Continued on Page A16



INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Deadly Rains Lash 2 Neighbors

More than 130 people have died in flash flooding and severe weather in Pakistan and Afghanistan. PAGE A4

New Penalties Imposed on Iran

The U.S. and Europe hope the sanctions will blunt Israel’s response to Iran’s retaliatory weekend attack. PAGE A9

NATIONAL A11-19

Difficult Spot for Johnson

The Republican speaker’s problems spring from his predecessor’s efforts to placate the far right of the party as he grasped for the gavel. PAGE A17

Relief for Sleep Apnea

The drug maker Eli Lilly reported that clinical trials show that Zepbound, its obesity drug, targets blockages in the airway that impede breathing. PAGE A18

Blue-State Conservatives Flee

Real estate agents in fast-growing South Carolina say that many newcomers are Republicans who feel out of step with the Northeast and West Coast. PAGE A11



SPORTS B7-10

Goodbye Grand Canyon State

The Coyotes’ 28-year tenure in Arizona has ended. The N.H.L. franchise is off to Salt Lake City. PAGE B9

Bush League Blitz

Diamond Baseball Holdings now owns a quarter of all minor-league clubs. What’s its end game? PAGE B7

BUSINESS B1-6

TikTok Ban vs. Open Internet

Global digital rights advocates are watching to see if Congress acts to force a sale of the Chinese-owned app, worried that other countries could follow suit with app bans of their own. PAGE B1

Legal Fight Over Trump Media

Two ex-contestants on “The Apprentice” sold the former president on the idea of a social media platform. Now, the company and the pair are wrangling over their stake. PAGE B1

OPINION A20-21

David Brooks PAGE A21



WEEKEND ARTS C1-12

Boundary-Breaking Tapestries

MoMA PS1 is hosting an exhibition of the works of the Navajo weaver Melissa Cody. Above, visitors viewing “Into the Depths, She Rappels.” PAGE C1

