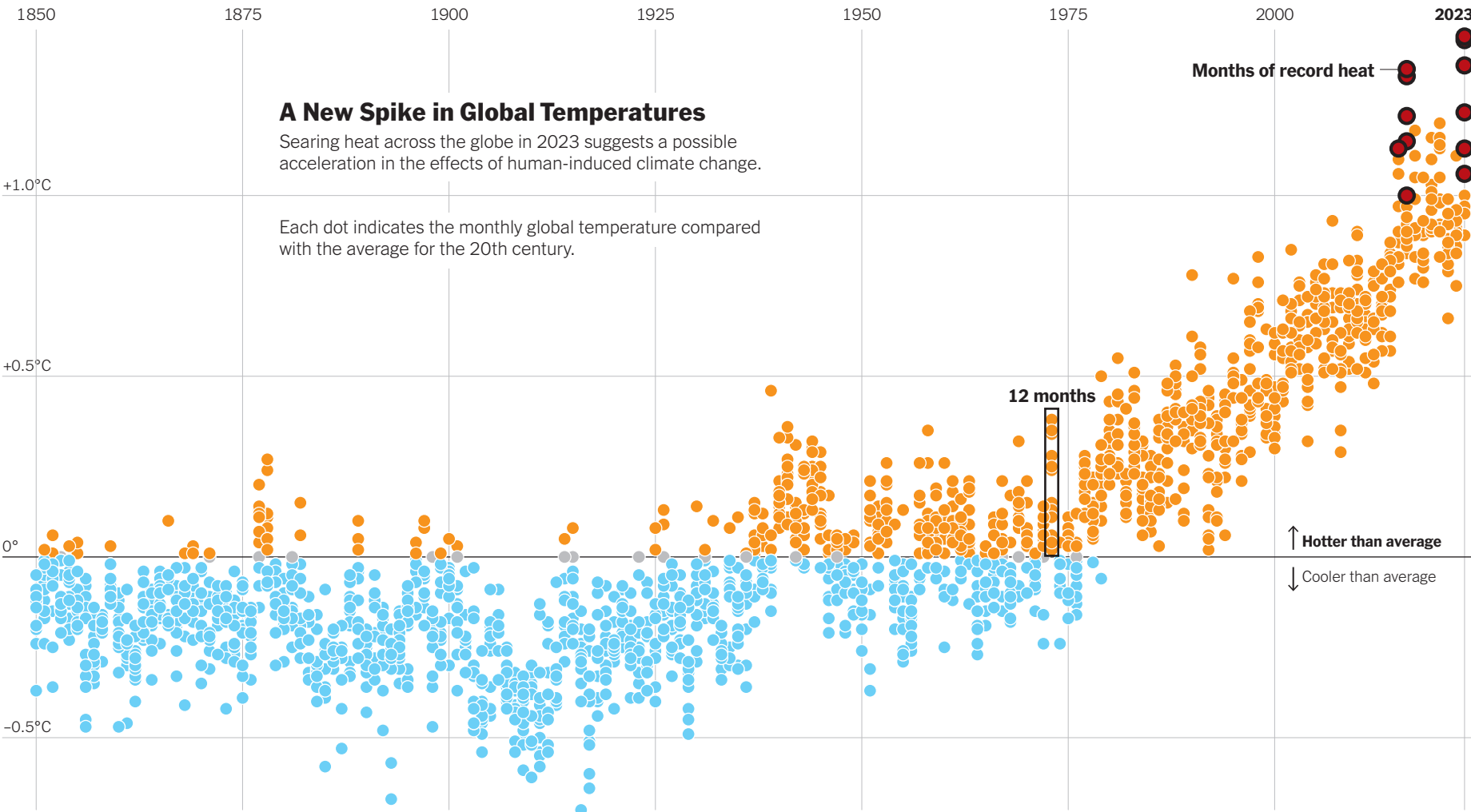


“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

VOL. CLXXIII . . . No. 60,017 © 2023 The New York Times Company FRIDAY, DECEMBER 29, 2023 Prices in Canada may be higher \$4.00



Source: NOAA | Notes: Monthly temperature anomalies apply to land and sea and are relative to averages from 1901 to 2000. Data available through November 2023. NADJA POPOVICH/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Earth Was Due For a Hot Year, But This Hot?

By RAYMOND ZHONG

Earth is finishing up its warmest year in the past 174 years, and very likely the past 125,000. Unyielding heat waves broiled Phoenix and Argentina. Wildfires raged across Canada. Flooding in Libya killed thousands. Wintertime ice cover in the dark seas around Antarctica was at unprecedented lows.

This year’s global temperatures did not just beat prior records. They left them in the dust. From June through November, the mercury spent month after month soaring off the charts. December’s temperatures have largely remained above normal: Much of the Northeastern United States is expecting springlike conditions this week.

That is why scientists are already sifting through evidence — from oceans, volcanic eruptions, even pollution from cargo ships — to see whether this year might reveal something new about the climate and what we are doing to it.

One hypothesis, perhaps the most troubling, is that the planet’s warming is accelerating, that the effects of climate change are barreling our way more quickly than before. “What we’re looking for, really, is a bunch of corroborating evidence that all points in the same direction,” said Chris Smith, a climate scientist at the University of Leeds. “Then we’re looking for causality. And that will be re-

Continued on Page A6

Maine Decides Trump Isn’t Fit For Its Primary

By JENNA RUSSELL and ERNESTO LONDOÑO

Maine’s top election official on Thursday barred Donald J. Trump from the state’s primary election ballot, the second state to block the former president’s bid for reelection based on claims that his efforts to remain in power after the 2020 election rendered him ineligible.

In a written decision, the official, Secretary of State Shenna Bellows, said that Mr. Trump did not qualify for the ballot because of his role in the Jan. 6 attack on the U.S. Capitol, agreeing with a handful of citizens who claimed that he had incited an insurrection and was thus barred from seeking the presidency again under the 14th Amendment of the Constitution.

“I am mindful that no secretary of state has ever deprived a presidential candidate of ballot access based on Section 3 of the 14th Amendment. I am also mindful, however, that no presidential candidate has ever before engaged in insurrection,” Ms. Bellows, a Democrat, wrote.

Last week, Colorado’s Supreme Court ruled in a 4 to 3 decision that the former president should not be allowed to appear on that state’s Republican primary ballot.

The decision in Maine underscores the ongoing tensions in the United States over democracy, ballot access and the rule of law. It

Continued on Page A15

Migrant Surge Stretches U.S. Border Patrol Thin

By NATALIE KITROEFF

A MIGRANT ENCAMPMENT NEAR SÁSABE, Ariz. — At a remote spot in the Arizona desert, near a hole in the border wall, dozens of migrants huddled over wood fires.

After fleeing war in Sudan, violent gangs in Central America or Mexican cartels, the men had all crossed into the United States illegally, walked on foot over rugged terrain for hours, and arrived at this outpost exhausted, hungry and cold.

They wanted to turn themselves into the authorities to ask for asylum, but were stranded here, miles away from the closest town, Sásabe.

Then, as temperatures dropped on Tuesday night, a convoy of Border Patrol agents rolled in, loaded the men into a van to be processed and sped away — off to search for more people in need of rescue.

“We are not equipped to deal with this,” Scott Carmon, a Border Patrol watch commander, said while surveying the muddy encampment. “It’s a humanitarian disaster.”

This is the crisis unfolding at the southern border, as migrant encounters once again hit record levels and test the capacity of American law enforcement to contain an explosion of illegal crossings with far-reaching repercussions for the Biden administration.

Thousands of migrants are arriving at the border every day, trekking from the farthest reaches of the globe, from Africa to Asia to South America, driven by relentless violence, desperation and poverty.

In May, the Biden administration briefly celebrated when crossings declined, even after pandemic-era border restrictions were lifted and many feared the floodgates would open. But the numbers have spiked in recent months, provoking sharp criticism from both parties and fears within the administration that the issue will damage Democrats’ electoral future.

Last week, the number of apprehensions reached more than 10,000 a day — stretching the resources of the Border Patrol and overwhelming small towns on both sides of the border, where

Continued on Page A7



Migrants being brought in for processing by U.S. Border Patrol agents Tuesday in Sásabe, Ariz.

In Nashville, Parents Believed Time Had Come for Gun Limits

By EMILY COCHRANE

NASHVILLE — Mary Joyce told herself she would be kind, just as she always had been. Say enough, but not too much, she reminded herself.

Surely, the members of the Tennessee General Assembly before her would be moved by her testimony at a special session dedicated to public safety.

A moderate conservative herself, she would tell them about the day in March when she dropped off her 9-year-old daughter at the Covenant School, a private Christian school tucked into one of the wealthiest neighborhoods in

Lawmakers Unmoved, Families Press On

Nashville. She would remind them how an assailant wielding powerful rifles killed three of her daughter’s third-grade classmates, the head of the school, a beloved custodian and a substitute teacher.

What she wanted now were modest measures that she believed could have prevented the violence and still be accepted by other Republicans.

Ms. Joyce and other Covenant

Continued on Page A10

Haley’s Blunder on Civil War Question Puts Her Coalition at Risk

By JONATHAN WEISMAN and JAZMINE ULLOA

Prominent Democratic donors, anxious about the increasingly authoritarian language of Donald J. Trump, have been calling on Democratic voters and independents to thwart the former president’s comeback by voting for Nikki Haley in open Republican primary elections.

But Ms. Haley’s political gaffe on Wednesday night, when the presidential hopeful and former governor of South Carolina stumbled through the causes of the Civil War with no mention of slavery, may make that appeal considerably harder just as she is edging closer to striking distance of Mr.

Crossover Votes Crucial in Early Primaries

Trump in New Hampshire.

Ms. Haley on Thursday walked back her answer about the causes of the Civil War, telling a New Hampshire interviewer, “Of

course the Civil War was about slavery.”

Her retreat came about 12 hours after a town-hall meeting in Berlin, N.H., a state that is central to her presidential ambitions, where she was asked about the Civil War’s origins. Her answer focused on government overreach and “the freedoms of what people

Continued on Page A14



BUSINESS B1-5

Thieves Are Cashing In

A sharp increase in fraud has made a once-routine way to pay bills — paper checks — a high-risk endeavor. *PAGE B1*

Tesla Strike Is a Culture Clash

Swedish workers seeking a collective agreement from the automaker are at odds with a “typical U.S. model.” *PAGE B1*

INTERNATIONAL A4-7

Using the Draft as a Muzzle

The junta in Burkina Faso, a West African nation torn by extremist violence, is accused of stifling its critics by forcing them to join the army. *PAGE A7*

South Korea’s War on Drugs

A celebrity’s death has highlighted the country’s hard line against anything other than total abstinence. *PAGE A5*

OBITUARIES A16-19

Host of Very Long Lives Lost

Life expectancy averages may be falling, but you wouldn’t know that from those we lost in 2023. *PAGE A16*



WEEKEND ARTS C1-12

The Center of Attention

Often playing a baddie in action films, Sofia Boutella wasn’t sure about taking a leading role in “Rebel Moon.” *PAGE C8*

Mapping the Holocaust

The director Steve McQueen’s new film charts Amsterdam’s Jewish population during the Nazi occupation. *PAGE C1*

NATIONAL A8-15

Who Investigates the Sheriff?

Mississippi has ignored allegations of jailhouse rape, brutal beatings and corrupt acts by sheriffs and their deputies, even when there was ample evidence to pursue. *PAGE A12*

Upheaval for Migrant Students

Some children will soon have to change schools or endure long commutes if the 3,500 migrant families that received shelter eviction notices from the City of New York are forced to move. *PAGE A8*

OPINION A20-21

Zeynep Tufekci *PAGE A20*

THE WEATHER

Today, some drizzle in the morning, sun by afternoon, high 54. Tonight, cloudy, a shower late, low 40. Tomorrow, early sprinkle, some sun late, high 48. Weather map, Page A22.

ISRAEL ADMITTING FAULT IN 2 STRIKES HITTING CIVILIANS

REGRET FROM MILITARY

Sees ‘Unintended Harm’ Where Locals Said Dozens Died

This article is by Aaron Boxerman, Isabel Kershner and Thomas Fuller.

JERUSALEM — The Israeli military said on Thursday that it had caused “unintended harm” to “uninvolved civilians” in two strikes this week on a densely packed Gaza Strip neighborhood, where, the local health authorities said, dozens were killed.

It was a rare admission of fault by the military over its conduct of the war. The military said it was targeting Hamas on Sunday when it launched two strikes on a central Gazan community, Al Maghazi, which has been flooded with Palestinians uprooted by the war and crammed into homes by the dozen.

“A preliminary investigation revealed that additional buildings located near the targets were also hit during the strikes, which likely caused unintended harm to additional uninvolved civilians,” the Israel Defense Forces said in a statement.

“The I.D.F. regrets the harm to uninvolved individuals, and is working to draw lessons from the incident,” the statement said.

Israel has come under growing international pressure to scale back its heavy air and ground campaign in Gaza, where more than 20,000 people have been reported killed, after a Hamas-led attack on Israel on Oct. 7.

Much of the criticism has been not just about the extent of the bombing, but also about the weapons being used, including U.S.-provided 2,000-pound bombs that many military experts say are unsuitable for densely populated areas. After the strike in Al Maghazi, photos showed a gray concrete building gaping with dark holes where rooms used to be, and a mound of debris where men appeared to be digging for survivors, or bodies.

An unidentified military official told Kan News, Israel’s public broadcaster, that an improper choice of weaponry was to blame for the extensive damage and high civilian death toll, adding that the type of munition used did not match the nature of the attack.

The military’s statement on Al Maghazi came as excerpts from a leaked draft of an Israeli Supreme Court ruling threatened to rattle Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu’s alliance with some of his opponents. The draft of the ruling is about legislation passed by Mr. Netanyahu’s initial coalition administration and his far-right allies to rein in the power of Israel’s judiciary.

An Israeli broadcaster, Channel 12, reported on Wednesday night that, in the draft decision, a one-vote majority of justices favored striking down an amendment to a basic law that would prevent judges from overturning government decisions and appointments on the grounds that they are unreasonable, part of a wider judicial

Continued on Page A6



SPORTS B8-11

Enforcers Fall Out of Fashion

An evolving rule book and new priorities have made big body checks less prevalent in the N.H.L. Has the game changed for the worse? *PAGE B8*

