"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

THE WEATHER

Today, sunshine and patchy clouds, remaining breezy, dry, high 45. **Tonight,** clear, brisk, chilly, low 37. **Tomorrow,** plenty of sunshine, high 45. Weather map is on Page B6.

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TUESDAY, DECEMBER 12, 2023

Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



For Many, New Sickle Cell Therapies Are Out of Reach

There is no clear path for African patients to get access to the treatments, which have multimillion-dollar price tags. Page A4.

Soaring Rents Are Burdening Lower Incomes

By JASON DePARLE

NORTH CHARLESTON, S.C. To understand how rising rents punish families of modest means. look no further than the queensize bed that Jessica Jones and her three children share in her mother's living room, where each night brings a squirming, turning tussle for space in a house with no

Ms. Jones and her daughter Katelen, 14, anchor the sides like human bed rails, with two younger girls tucked in between. Joy is a 4-year-old featherweight, but Destaney, at 6, kicks so much that Ms. Jones binds her in a mermaid blanket. The day's tensions lie beside them, and midnight sneezes are shared events.

After two years of doubling up, Ms. Jones longs for a place of her own. But even though she works full time for the state government, a modest apartment would consume more than half of her income, a burden most landlords find disqualifying and one she could not sustain.

With \$41,000 a year in earnings and child support, she is, by government definition, not poor just homeless.

"My anxiety is through the roof," she said. "I feel almost hope-

Unaffordable rents are changing low-income life, blighting the prospects of not only the poor but also growing shares of the lower middle class after decades in which rent increases have outpaced income growth.

Nearly two-thirds of households in the bottom 20 percent of incomes face "severe cost burdens," meaning they pay more than half of their income for rent

By DAVE PHILIPPS

servist named Robert Card went

on a shooting spree in Lewiston,

Maine, in October, his community

Eighteen people were killed.

Neighborhoods were locked down

for days as the police hunted for

Mr. Card. Then, after he was found

grasped for answers.

After a 40-year-old Army Re-

Continued on Page A18

Rethinking Drug Policies in an Ailing Portland

By MIKE BAKER

PORTLAND, Ore. - After years of rising overdoses and an exodus of business from central Portland, Gov. Tina Kotek of Oregon said on Monday that state and city officials were proposing to roll back a portion of the nation's most wide-ranging drug decriminalization law in a bid to revive the trou-

Under the plan brokered by Governor Kotek, a Democrat, state lawmakers would be asked to consider a ban on public drug use and the police would be given greater resources to deter the distribution of drugs. Ms. Kotek said officials hoped to restore a sense of safety for both visitors and workers in the city's beleaguered urban core, which has seen an exodus of key retail outlets, including REI, an institution in the Pa-

Overdoses Up, Leaders Seek to Bring Back **Criminal Penalties**

cific Northwest.

"When it comes to open-air drug use, nobody wants to see that," Ms. Kotek said in an interview. "We need different tools to send the message that that is not acceptable behavior."

Along with new drug use prohibitions and an expanded police presence, a task force led by the governor also proposed a moratorium on new taxes and other tax relief targeted at encouraging businesses to remain in the city. The group also called for increased services for homeless residents, including more shelter capacity, and emergency declara-

tions at multiple levels of government to help open more services to people struggling with drug ad-

Oregon voters in 2020 approved the nation's first law decriminalizing the possession of small amounts of hard drugs, including fentanyl, heroin and methamphetamines. The ballot measure sought to end the use of jail as a punishment for drug users and instead treat addiction as a health issue. The effort was to be joined with major new investments in drug treatment, but those have been slow to develop

In the meantime, cities around the country have been struggling manage both widespread homelessness and an overdose crisis spurred by the rapid spread of fentanyl, a particularly addictive drug that is both cheap and

Continued on Page A20



analyzes brains for maladies

caused by repeated hits to the

head, including chronic traumatic

encephalopathy, or C.T.E. And

Army investigators have asked

members of Mr. Card's battalion if

his work in the military could have

affected his mental state, two sol-

Continued on Page A21

Publicly, the Army has said al-

diers who served with him said.

Cleaning the streets of Portland, Ore., where officials are struggling to manage public drug use.

Years on the Range as a

Grenade Instructor

have been damaged by his time in

In recent weeks, the state medi-

cal examiner has sent part of Mr.

Card's brain to a laboratory that

Is Anti-Zionism Antisemitism, By Definition?

The Question Roils the National Discourse

By JONATHAN WEISMAN

The brutal shedding of Jewish blood on Oct. 7, followed by Israel's relentless military assault on Gaza, has brought a fraught question to the fore in a moment of surging bigotry and domestic political gamesmanship: Is anti-Zionism by definition antisemitism?

The question deeply divided congressional Democrats last week when Republican leaders, seeking to drive a wedge between American Jews and the political party that three-quarters of them call their own, put it to a vote in the House. It has shaken the country's campuses and reverberated in its city streets, where pro-Palestinian protesters bellow chants calling for Palestine to be free from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea.

It surfaced in Wednesday's Republican presidential debate, when Nikki Haley, the former South Carolina governor, said, "If you don't think Israel has a right to exist, that is antisemitic." The following night, lighting the national menorah behind the White House, Vice President Kamala Harris's husband, Doug Emhoff, who is Jewish, warned, "When Jews are targeted because of their beliefs or identity, and when Israel is singled out because of anti-Jewish hatred, that is antisemitism."

Zionism as a concept was once clearly understood: the belief that Jews, who have endured persecution for millenniums, needed refuge and self-determination in the land of their ancestors. The word still evokes joyful pride among many Jews in the state of Israel, which was established 75 years ago and repeatedly defended itself against attacks from Arab neighbors that aimed to annihilate it.

If anti-Zionism a century ago meant opposing the international effort to set up a Jewish state in what was then a British-controlled territory called Palestine, it now suggests the elimination of Israel as the sovereign homeland of the Jews. That, many Jews in Israel and the diaspora say, is indistinguishable from hatred of Jews generally, or antisemitism.

Yet some critics of Israel say they equate Zionism with a continuing project of expanding the Jewish state. That effort animates an Israeli government bent on set-

Continued on Page A17

GAZA FIGHT RAGES AS ISRAEL WARNS OF A NEW FRONT

A THREAT IN LEBANON

Hezbollah Attacks in the North as Battles With Hamas Intensify

This article is by Andrés R. Martínez, Neil MacFarquhar and Thomas Fuller.

Street-to-street combat raged in what Israel described as three Hamas strongholds in the Gaza Strip on Monday, as top Israeli officials warned that increased attacks on northern Israel by Hezbollah, from Lebanon, could prompt a powerful response.

Fighting in "fierce and difficult battles," the Israeli military said Monday that the number of its soldiers killed in the ground invasion of Gaza had surpassed 100 — a fraction of the death toll among Palestinian civilians and Hamas fighters, but a measure of the intensity of the urban warfare.

At the same, in a sign that the smoldering tensions inflamed across the Middle East by the war in Gaza could be heating up, Israeli leaders hinted at escalating a conflict on another front, with Hezbollah, which like Hamas is backed by Iran.

Increasing Hezbollah strikes on northern Israel "demand of Israel to remove such a threat," Benny Gantz, a member of the war cabinet and former defense minister, told the American secretary of state, Antony J. Blinken, in a phone call, according to a statement by Mr. Gantz's office.

The chief of staff of Israel's military, Lt. Gen. Herzi Halevi, said on a visit to the northern border with Lebanon on Sunday that Hezbollah risked pushing his forces to make a "very clear change" in the confrontation. Neither he nor Mr. Gantz elaborated on what additional steps Israel might take, but General Halevi said that on both frontiers, Israel needs a return of "both safety and a sense of securi-

A third Iranian-backed militia, the Houthis, threatened over the weekend to step up attacks on transiting the Red Sea. The French Navy said on Sunday that one of its frigates there had shot down two drones launched from Yemen, where the Houthis are based.

Continued on Page A8

Projects for Offshore Wind Stall As Supply and Funding Sputter

This article is by Ivan Penn, Stanley Reed and Brad Plumer

A few years ago, interest in offshore wind energy was so strong that developers proposed spending tens of billions of dollars to plunk hundreds of turbines the size of skyscrapers in the Atlantic Ocean from Maine to Virginia.

But several of those projects have recently hit the skids after executives miscalculated the impact that the pandemic and rising interest rates would have on supply chains. The industry has found it much more difficult to manufacture, transport and erect wind turbines than it had expected. Just two dozen or so turbines have been installed in U.S. waters, compared with more than 6,000 in Europe, which has been building offshore wind farms for decades.

The cost of offshore wind energy will be higher than anticipated and its climate and economic benefits will, in some cases, arrive years later than expected.

Some wind farms may be delayed. Others may never be built. To date, Eastern states have



Wind farms near Block Island, R.I. The industry has faltered.

awarded contracts to build roughly two dozen offshore wind farms with 21 gigawatts of electric capacity, or enough to meet the needs of more than six million homes. But developers have canceled or asked to renegotiate rates for nearly half that capacity. Analysts are downgrading expectations: About 15 gigawatts of offshore wind will be installed by according to BloombergNEF, a research arm of Mi-

Continued on Page A14

SPORTS B7-10

U.S. Swimming's New Star

Katie Grimes, 17, was the first American to qualify for the Paris Olympics, and she wants much more.

Favoring Big Schools, Again

A plan from the N.C.A.A. on compensating athletes would have major ramifications for smaller programs. PAGE B9 **INTERNATIONAL A4-11**

dead from a self-inflicted gunshot

wound, his family and fellow sol-

diers revealed that he had become

delusional, paranoid and poten-

tially violent, and that the police

had not acted on their warnings

mystery. But the authorities have

started to explore one possible an-

swer: that Mr. Card's brain may

Why he came apart remains a

about him for months.

Navalny Misses Court Date

The Russian opposition leader failed to appear on Monday, continuing a worrying trend. His lawyers have not been allowed to see him for days.

Maine Gunman's Brain May Have Been Damaged in the Army

the Army.

NATIONAL A12-21

Does Trump Have Immunity? The special counsel asked for the Supreme Court for a quick ruling on the former president's claim.

Ruling Against an Abortion

The Texas Supreme Court overturned a lower court order allowing the procedure for a pregnant woman. PAGE A21



SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

NASA's Four Squirmy Letters

The "worm" logo keeps crawling ahead, even though the space agency tried to dump it three decades ago.

Putting Pregnancies at Risk

Many expectant Black women say that medical professionals often dismiss or downplay their concerns.

BUSINESS B1-5

Google Loses Antitrust Case

A jury ruled that the tech giant had illegally extracted fees and limited competition from Epic Games and others in its Play app store. PAGE B1

INSIDE THE TIMES A2-3

An Error Lasting for 101 Years

Today brings Issue No. 60,000 of The Times. In 1999, a news assistant found that 500 issues were mistakenly added to the count in 1898.

OPINION A22-23

Paul Krugman

PAGE A23





ARTS C1-6

Diversifying the Art Scene

Smaller galleries in Los Angeles are shining a light on Black and Latino artists. Above, Terrell Milford, left, with a painting by Monica Ikegwu. PAGE C1

