

“All the News
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JOÃO SILVA/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Only Home They Can Afford
Residents of a Johannesburg building know it is every bit as dangerous as one that burned in August, killing 77 people. Page A8.

Nations Losing Race to Control Dangers of A.I.

**By ADAM SATARIANO
and CECILIA KANG**
BRUSSELS — When European Union leaders introduced a 125-page draft law to regulate artificial intelligence in April 2021, they hailed it as a global model for handling the technology.
E.U. lawmakers had gotten input from thousands of experts for three years about A.I., when the

THE A.I. RACE
Government vs. Technology

topic was not even on the table in other countries. The result was a “landmark” policy that was a “future proof,” declared Margrethe Vestager, the head of digital policy for the 27-nation bloc.
Then came ChatGPT.
The eerily humanlike chatbot, which went viral last year by generating its own answers to prompts, blindsided E.U. policymakers. The type of A.I. that powered ChatGPT was not mentioned in the draft law and was not a major focus of discussions about the policy. Lawmakers and their aides peppered one another with calls and texts to address the gap, as tech executives warned that overly aggressive regulations could put Europe at an economic disadvantage.
Even now, E.U. lawmakers are arguing over what to do, putting the law at risk. “We will always be lagging behind the speed of technology,” said Svenja Hahn, a member of the European Parliament who was involved in writing the A.I. law.
Lawmakers and regulators in Brussels, in Washington and elsewhere are losing a battle to regulate

Continued on Page A12

Desperate Families Seek Affordable Home Care

By REED ABELSON
CHARLESTON, S.C. — It’s a good day when Frank Lee, a retired chef, can slip out to the hardware store, fairly confident that his wife, Robin, is in the hands of reliable help. He spends nearly every hour of every day anxiously overseeing her care at their home on the Isle of Palms, a barrier island near Charleston, S.C.
Ms. Lee, 67, has had dementia for about a decade, but the couple was able to take overseas trips and enjoy their marriage of some 40 years until three years ago, when she grew more agitated, prone to sudden outbursts and could no longer explain what she needed or wanted. He struggled to care for her largely on his own.
“As Mom’s condition got more difficult to navigate, he was just handling it,” said Jesse Lee, the

DYING BROKE
The High Cost of Help

youngest of the couple’s three adult children. “It was getting harder and harder.”
“Something had to change, or they would both perish.”
Frank Lee’s search for trustworthy home health aides — an experience that millions of American families face — has often been exhausting and infuriating, but he has persisted. He didn’t entirely trust the care his wife would get in an assisted-living facility. Last August, when a respite program paid for her brief stay in one so Mr. Lee, 69, could take a trip to the mountains, she fell and fractured her sacrum, the bone that connects the spine to the pelvis.
There is precious little assistance from the government for

families who need a home health aide unless they are poor. The people working in these jobs are often woefully underpaid and unprepared to help a frail, elderly person with dementia to bathe and use the bathroom, or to defuse an angry outburst.
Usually, it is family that steps into the breach — grown children who cobble together a fragile chain of visitors to help an ailing father; a middle-aged daughter who returns to her childhood bedroom; a son-in-law working from home who keeps a watchful eye on a confused parent; a wife who can barely manage herself looking after a faltering husband.
Mr. Lee finally found two aides on his own, with no help from an agency. Using the proceeds from the sale of his stake in a group of restaurants, including the popular Charleston bistro Slightly North

Continued on Page A18



DESIREE RIOS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Amanda Falkner, a family friend and home caregiver, with Robin Lee, 67, who has dementia.

Military Promotions Approved After Tuberville Lifts His Blockade

By CATIE EDMONDSON
WASHINGTON — Senator Tommy Tuberville, Republican of Alabama, on Tuesday lifted his blockade of nearly all the military promotions he had delayed for almost a year in protest of a Pentagon policy ensuring abortion access for service members, saying he would continue to hold up only

the most senior generals.
Hours after Mr. Tuberville said he would allow the promotions of about 440 service members, the Senate confirmed all of them in one fell swoop, by a single voice vote.
“Thank God,” Senator Chuck Schumer of New York, the majority leader, said after he pushed the promotions through. “These mili-

Senator Was Protesting an Abortion Policy

tary officers will now get the promotions they so rightfully earned.”
The retreat represented a stark reversal for Mr. Tuberville, who

for 10 months had steadfastly defended his move to stall all senior military promotions over a new Pentagon policy that offers time off and travel reimbursement to service members seeking abortions or fertility care.
With his blockade, the first-term senator had single-handedly disrupted the Pentagon’s ability to

Continued on Page A20

Feud in Senate Is Jeopardizing Aid to Ukraine

G.O.P. Is Holding Out for Border Security

**By KAROUN DEMIRJIAN
and MARC SANTORA**

WASHINGTON — President Biden’s urgent push to replenish Ukraine’s war chest and send aid to Israel is on the brink of collapse in the Senate, where Republicans are prepared on Wednesday to block the funding unless Democrats agree to add strict measures to clamp down on migration at the U.S. border with Mexico.
A classified briefing with administration officials called to shore up support devolved into a partisan screaming match on Tuesday afternoon, with Republicans angrily accusing Democrats of trying to steamroller over their demands for a border crackdown.
The meltdown, which took place on the eve of a critical test vote in the Senate on a \$110.5 billion emergency spending bill, not only made it clear that the measure would fail, but severely dimmed the prospects for any bipartisan agreement soon. A vote to block aid would spotlight flagging U.S. resolve at a critical time in Ukraine’s war against President Vladimir V. Putin’s Russia.
“We are about to abandon Ukraine,” Senator Christopher S. Murphy, a Connecticut Democrat who played a leading role in negotiations with Republicans over the past few weeks, said as he left the briefing with cabinet-level officials. “When Vladimir Putin marches into a NATO country, they will rue the day they decided to play politics with the future of Ukraine’s security,” he said of Republicans.
Republican senators leaving the briefing said they were outraged that administration officials refused to answer their questions about border security, which they said was a prerequisite for any plan to send emergency help to American allies.

“They want tens of billions of dollars to help our friends and allies overseas, but they’re not willing to do what’s necessary to prevent a potential crisis at the border,” said Senator John Cornyn, Republican of Texas. “The Biden administration just does not seem to care.”
Even Republicans who have argued vociferously for helping Ukraine amid waning support in

Continued on Page A9

THE WEATHER
Today, cloudy, brisk, breezy, high 42. Tonight, partly cloudy, breezy, cold, low 30. Tomorrow, period clouds and sunshine, remaining cool, high 40. Weather map is on Page B7.

FEARS FOR GAZANS GROW AS FIGHTING GETS FIERCER YET

TROOPS PUSH INTO CITY

**As Israel Battles Hamas,
a Feeling No Place Is
Safe for Civilians**

This article is by Matthew Mpoke Bigg, Ben Hubbard and Michael Levenson.

Israeli soldiers pushed into the heart of the largest city in the southern Gaza Strip on Tuesday, Israel and Hamas said, amid some of the most intense bombing and ground combat of the war, and growing concerns that there is almost nowhere left for desperate civilians to flee.
The Israeli offensive drove deep into the southern Gazan city of Khan Younis — “Hamas’s military capital,” the Israeli military said — which was home to more than 200,000 people before the war, but swelled during the conflict with people who heeded an earlier Israeli order to evacuate all of the northern enclave.
Heavy bombardment was heard on Tuesday from inside Nasser Hospital, the city’s largest, where many Palestinians had sought shelter and were sleeping in hallways. Video from the hospital showed that it was packed with people, including crying children and a young girl who was carried inside and bandaged on the floor.
The Israeli military said its soldiers were also still fighting Hamas in the north, in the Shajaiya neighborhood of Gaza City, and Jabaliya, a densely populated neighborhood north of Gaza City that was heavily bombed by Israeli warplanes in October.

“We are in the most intense day since the beginning of the ground operation — in terms of terrorists killed, the number of firefights and the use of firepower from the land and air,” the chief of Israel’s southern military command, Maj. Gen. Yaron Finkelman, said in a statement. “We intend to continue to strike and secure our accomplishments.”
Lt. Gen. Herzi Halevi, the chief

Continued on Page A10

SHIFTING ROLE The U.N.’s vast relief efforts have eclipsed its peacemaking work. PAGE A11

Music Inspired by Drug Trade Is Loved and Loathed in Mexico

By ELDA CANTÚ

MEXICO CITY — In many Mexican towns where wars between drug cartels continue to wreak havoc, the sight of a young man at night dressed in black and donning a balaclava would be terrifying. On a recent Friday in Mexico City, Peso Pluma strutted across the stage in the same outfit, to excited cheers: It was time for the corrido tumbado concert.
Peso Pluma, a 24-year-old breakout star who makes a modern take on traditional Mexican music, wore a glamorous Fendi version of a sicario (or hit man) uniform. He faced a stadium full of fans and shouted, “Are you ready to witness the most warlike concert of your life?”
The crowd roared back: It was ready. Later, during “El Gavilán,” the audience sang in unison, “I’m of the people of Chapo Guzmán,” a reference to one of Mexico’s most notorious drug lords.
Peso Pluma, along with acts like Natanael Cano, Grupo Firme, Es-labon Armado and Banda MS, is at the forefront of a musical movement that has found growing audiences this year in the United



MEDIOS Y MEDIA, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Peso Pluma’s music has found a wide audience beyond Mexico.

States and beyond. The artists perform corridos tumbados (or trap corridos), which combine singing and rapping familiar to fans of hip-hop and reggaeton with instrumentation and melodies common to traditional Mexican music, along with lyrics inspired by narcocorridos — songs that tell stories of the drug trade.
But even as Peso Pluma racks up millions of streams and Grupo Firme tours arenas in the United

Continued on Page A6

SPORTS B8-11
Higher Pay for College Players
An N.C.A.A. plan would have schools set aside educational trusts of \$30,000 a year for many athletes. PAGE B11

Climbing Feat in Himalayas
Three Americans have conquered Mount Jannu in what one expert called “the greatest climb ever.” PAGE B8



INTERNATIONAL A4-13
Big Oil vs. Science
Attention at the U.N. climate summit has turned to a fundamental question: Will the final text call for a phaseout of fossil fuels? PAGE A4

Johnson Faces Covid Inquiry
Britain’s former prime minister will testify this week before an official hearing into the pandemic. PAGE A13

SPECIAL SECTION
The Art of Collecting
Creativity, fame and money converge at art fairs in cities around the globe, including in Miami this week.

NATIONAL A14-21
How Easy It Was for Santos
The newly ousted congressman, while an extreme case, illustrated the weaknesses of a system that relies on politicians to report in good faith. PAGE A14

At Yale, the A’s Have It
Data show nearly 80 percent of grades at Yale last year were A’s or A minuses, a trend many find troubling. PAGE A21

ARTS C1-8
Showing the Way Forward
Emilie Gossiaux’s guide dog, an English lab, inspired her art. Now the dog stars in her museum exhibition. PAGE C1

FOOD D1-8
Delightful Doughnuts
Once you make these treats with bri-oche dough, Yewande Komolafe writes, you may never go back. PAGE D5

Making Sacramento Tastier
Remote work policies may have helped improve the city’s dining scene. Below, preparing blue fin tuna at Kru. PAGE D1



BUSINESS B1-6
Bayer’s Roundup Bills
Juries recently awarded more than \$2 billion in damages tied to the weed killer that has been linked to cancer. PAGE B1

Beijing Firms Grip on Finance
China’s ruling party issued a directive, making it clear that businesses must adhere to Marxist principles. PAGE B1

OPINION A24-25
Bret Stephens PAGE A25

