

“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Today, heavy rain in the morning, high 59. **Tonight**, a late night rain or snow shower, windy, low 38. **Tomorrow**, a rain or snow shower, high 44. Weather map appears on Page D8.

VOL. CLXXIII . . . No. 60,006 © 2023 The New York Times Company MONDAY, DECEMBER 18, 2023 Prices in Canada may be higher \$4.00

Voter Support For Abortion Faces Limits

Some States Trying to Keep Issue Off Ballot

By KATE ZERNIKE

As long as the Supreme Court’s decision in *Roe v. Wade* was the law of the land, conservatives complained that it had squelched the democratic process — that unelected men in black robes had handed down a national edict rather than letting the American people sort out a consensus.

Celebrating *Roe*’s reversal in *Dobbs v. Jackson Women’s Health Organization*, they declared that democracy would finally be allowed to take over and settle the question of abortion once and for all. “Now the American people get their voice back,” Senator Mitch McConnell, the Republican leader, said. While the court in *Roe* had “inflamed debate and deepened division,” Justice Samuel A. Alito Jr. wrote for the majority in *Dobbs*, “the people and their elected representatives” would reach the “national settlement” that had eluded the country for so long.

Eighteen months later, the American people are indeed using their voices, but not in the way anti-abortion advocates had hoped. In a steady march of ballot measures, even in conservative states like Ohio, they have codified a right to abortion and rejected attempts to restrict it. Polls show increasing support for abortion rights in all 50 states, with majorities in nearly all states — even deep red states — saying that abortion should be legal in all or most cases.

The entire dynamic of the debate has shifted: Democrats who once dreaded speaking the word abortion are now running on it, while Republicans struggle to define what exceptions they would allow to bans on the procedure, and former President Donald J. Trump now says overturning *Roe* was a mistake.

And yet a “national settlement” seems more elusive than ever. One reason is simply American federalism, which allows states to set their own standards where



MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Signs before Ohio voted to codify the right to abortion.

Solitary Confinement Is Poised To End, Despite Adams’s Wishes

By EMMA G. FITZSIMMONS

The City Council is expected on Wednesday to approve a bill that would make New York the largest American city to ban solitary confinement in city jails in most cases, part of a national campaign to end a practice that critics say amounts to torture.

The Council’s push to ban solitary confinement has been stalled for years over concerns about violence against jail workers. Mayor Eric Adams has argued since he took office two years ago that isolating detainees is an important tool to protect them.

The mayor and the union representing correction officers, which also fiercely opposes the bill, are expected to continue to lobby against the ban right up to the



AVISHAG SHAAAR-YASHUV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
The funeral Sunday for Alon Shamriz, one of three Israelis killed by Israeli soldiers in Gaza. He was kidnapped by Hamas on Oct. 7.

Campus Allies Of Palestinians Feel Muzzled

By VIMAL PATEL and ANNA BETTS

At the University of Pennsylvania, approval for the screening of a documentary critical of Israel was denied.

At Brandeis University — which expressed a public commitment to free speech — a pro-Palestinian student group was barred for statements made by its national chapter.

At the University of Vermont, a Palestinian poet was set to deliver a talk, but the school pulled the meeting space after students complained he was antisemitic.

There are growing signs that colleges are starting to clamp down on pro-Palestinian protests and events on campus, as the institutions face pressure from donors, alumni and politicians, who are furious over what they say is an antisemitic campaign against Jews.

Some schools have simply canceled events, or delayed them. A handful of schools have shut down student groups and disciplined students. Some students have simply stopped participating in protests, concerned for their own safety, spooked by alumni who have started do-not-hire lists and outside groups that have doxxed students.

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War Erases Full Branches of Gazan Family Trees

By VIVIAN YEE and IYAD ABUHEWEILA

CAIRO — People whispered that Nasser al-Astal had come undone, dazed by grief. Weeks after the Israeli airstrike that he said had crashed into his family’s home, his words came in loud, quivering spurts, darting frantically from memory to memory, from loss to loss — his wife, two of their sons and four of their daughters, all dead.

A daughter-in-law and a son-in-law, dead. His older brother and his family, dead. His first grandchild, dead, he said, his second never born: His elder son’s wife had been pregnant.

“When I look at photos of my family on my phone, I cry to myself at night,” Mr. al-Astal said by phone a few weeks after his loss. “But men hide their tears, so I try to do it away from people, alone.”

All of their names were there in black and white on a list of 6,747 Palestinians who Gaza health officials said had been killed by Israeli attacks in the first 19 days of the war. No. 14: his wife, Marwa al-Astal, 48. No. 84: their granddaughter, 1, also named Marwa.

The first 88 people on the list were all from the extended al-Astal family. The next 72 were Hassounas. The next 65 al-Najjars. The next 60 al-Masrys. The next 49 al-Kurds.

Such numbers capture the magnitude of Gaza’s loss like little else: family trees dismembered, whole branches obliterated.



IBRAHEEM ABU MUSTAFA/REUTERS
A funeral for members of the Astal family. Civilians in Gaza have virtually no safe places to hide.

In Iran, It’s Not Just a Song and Dance. It’s a Nationwide Protest.

By FARNAZ FASSIHI and LEILY NIKOUNAZAR

A new form of protest against the government is rocking Iran: a viral dance craze set to an upbeat folk song where crowds clap and chant the rhythmic chorus, “Oh, oh, oh, oh.”

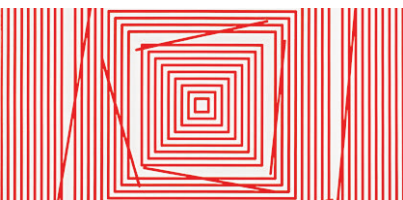
In cities across Iran, men and women of all ages are gyrating their hips, swirling their arms in the air, and chanting the song’s catchy lines, according to videos posted on social media, television news channels like BBC Persian and Iranians interviewed.

People are dancing on the streets, in shops, at sport stadiums, in classrooms, malls, restaurants, gyms, parties and everywhere else they congregate. In Tehran, traffic was stopped in a major highway tunnel for an impromptu dance party to the song. Young women, hair uncovered and flowing, dance in parks and young men performed a choreographed hip-hop dance.

“It’s obvious that joining this dance trend sends a strong message,” said Mohammad Aghapour, 32, a D.J. who goes by the profes-

sional name DJSonami, in an interview from Tehran. “It’s a way of protesting and demanding our freedom and happiness.”

In most countries dancing and singing in public would not be considered taboo. But in Iran, dancing in public, especially by women and between men and women, is banned. Although the rule is regularly defied, enforcing it has been arbitrary. Music, dancing and



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A Pioneer of Digital Art
Vera Molnar employed the principles of computation, even before gaining access to a computer. She was 99. PAGE B6

Early Voice on Police Brutality
Paul Chevigny, an eminent civil rights lawyer, won landmark cases and wrote a seminal book. He was 88. PAGE B5

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New Zealand has long been lauded for working with its Indigenous people, but a new government may curtail many of those initiatives. PAGE A4

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Prime Minister Viktor Orban used E.U. rules on unanimity to sink a \$52 billion package. News Analysis. PAGE A9

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A Seismic Shift for Biden
Discussions about the southern border in negotiations over aid to Ukraine and Israel show how drastically the politics of immigration have moved to the right in the United States. PAGE A18

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Seeking to Silence Criticism
The Brooklyn Rail agreed to Jeff Koons’s request to not publish an essay, one of several instances of a publication yielding to such pressures. PAGE C1



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