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THE WEATHER

Today, some sunshine giving way to clouds, high 50. **Tonight,** rain, a light southeast wind, low 45. **Tomorrow**, periodic clouds and sunshine, high

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SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 2023

Prices in Canada may be higher

Big Bombs in Urban Areas Raise Civilian Toll in Gaza Israel Has Killed More Women and Children Than Have Been Killed in Ukraine By LAUREN LEATHERBY Israel has cast the deaths of civilians in the Gaza Strip as a regrettable but unavoidable part of modern conflict, pointing to the heavy human toll from military

campaigns the United States itself once waged in Iraq and Syria.

But a review of past conflicts and interviews with casualty and weapons experts suggest that Israel's assault is different.

While wartime death tolls will never be exact, experts say that even a conservative reading of the casualty figures reported from Gaza shows that the pace of death during Israel's campaign has few precedents in this century.

People are being killed in Gaza more quickly, they say, than in even the deadliest moments of U.S.-led attacks in Iraq, Syria and Afghanistan, which were themselves widely criticized by human rights groups.

Precise comparisons of war dead are impossible, but conflictcasualty experts have been taken aback at just how many people have been reported killed in Gaza - most of them women and children — and how rapidly.

It is not just the scale of the strikes. Israel said it had engaged more 15,000 targets before reaching a brief cease-fire in recent days. It is also the nature of the Israel's liberal use of very large

weapons in dense urban areas, including U.S.-made 2,000-pound bombs that can flatten an apartment tower, is surprising, some experts say.

"It's beyond anything that I've seen in my career," said Marc Garlasco, a military adviser for the Dutch organization PAX and a former senior intelligence analyst at the Pentagon. To find a historical comparison for so many large bombs in such a small area, he said, we may "have to go back to Vietnam, or the Second World

In fighting during this century, by contrast, U.S. military officials often believed that the most common American aerial bomb — a 500-pound weapon — was far too arge for most targets when battling the Islamic State in urban areas like Mosul, Iraq, and Raqqa,

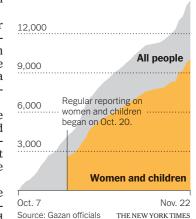
The Israeli military points out that Gaza presents a battlefield like few others. It is small and dense, with civilians living next to, and even on top of, Hamas combatants who rely on tunnel networks to shield themselves and their weapons, putting residents directly in the line of fire, the military says.

Given these underground networks - which the military says enabled Hamas to wage its deadly attacks on Oct. 7 — Israeli forces say they use the "smallest available ordnance" to achieve their strategic objectives in order to cause the "minimal adverse effect on civilians."

Civilian casualties are notori-

Deaths Reported in Gaza

15,000 deaths



ously hard to calculate, and officials in the Hamas-run Gaza Strip do not separate the deaths of civilians and combatants.

Researchers point instead to the roughly 10,000 women and $children\, reported\, killed\, in\, Gaza\, as$ an approximate - though conservative - measure of civilian deaths in the territory. International officials and experts familiar with the way figures are compiled by health officials in Gaza say the overall numbers are generally reliable.

The Israeli military acknowledged that children, women and older people have been killed in Gaza, but said the death toll reported in Gaza could not be Continued on Page 12

How a Troubling Trump Pardon Hurt a Major Criminal Inquiry

This article is by Michael S. Schmidt, Maggie Haberman, Jonathan Swan and Alan Feuer

Even amid the uproar over President Donald J. Trump's freewheeling use of his pardon powers at the end of his term, one commutation stood out.

Jonathan Braun of New York had served just two and a half years of a decade-long sentence for running a massive marijuana ring, when Mr. Trump, at 12:51 a.m. on his last day in office, announced he would be freed.

Mr. Braun was, to say the least, an unusual candidate for clemen-

A Staten Islander with a history of violent threats, Mr. Braun had told a rabbi who owed him money: "I am going to make you bleed." Mr. Braun's family had told confidants they were willing to spend millions of dollars to get him out of

At the time, Mr. Trump's own Justice Department and federal

regulators, as well as New York state authorities, were still after him for his role in an entirely separate matter: his work as a predatory lender, making what judges later found were fraudulent and usurious loans to cash-strapped

small nesses.

Nearly three years later, the consequences

Jonathan

of Mr. Braun's commutation are becoming clearer, raising new questions about how Mr. Trump inter-

Braun

vened in criminal justice decisions and what he could do in a second term, when he would have the power to make good on his suggestions that he would free supporters convicted of storming the Capitol and possibly even to pardon himself if convicted of the federal charges he faces.

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Yoni Asher was reunited with his wife, Doron Katz Asher, and daughters Raz, 4, and Aviv, 2, who had been held hostage. Page 13.

Dilemma Awaits Israel: What to Do When the Cease-Fire Ends

By PATRICK KINGSLEY and AARON BOXERMAN

JERUSALEM — As Israel and Hamas completed the second exchange of hostages and prisoners on Saturday evening, Israeli leaders faced a dilemma over whether to restart their military campaign in the Gaza Strip once the fourday truce ends on Tuesday morn-

By early Sunday morning, Israel said it had received 13 Israeli hostages — eight children and five women - and four foreign nationals who had been held in Gaza, and had in turn released 39 Palestinians from Israeli prisons.

The exchange was the latest part of agreement that allows for a pause in fighting to be extended. Israel has said it is prepared to grant another day's pause for every 10 hostages that Hamas releases beyond the 50 outlined in the agreement, but Hamas has not responded to the offer.

"The question is Day 5," said Alon Pinkas, an Israeli political commentator and former senior diplomat. "Does Israel resume the

Extending Truce Could Free More Hostages, but Threaten Goals

An extension that allows for more hostage releases could give further relief to Israelis who see the hostages' freedom as the country's biggest immediate priority. That sentiment could spread more widely among Israelis as

each day of the cease-fire passes and more hostages are freed. "And Hamas knows this very

well," said Shira Efron, a senior researcher at Israel Policy Forum, a New York-based political research group. "They're going to play with Israel and say, 'Oh, we found another five kids. If you give us another day, there are a few in the north that we can find."

But a longer pause could jeopardize the primary goal of Israel's military campaign in Gaza: the destruction of Hamas, the armed Continued on Page 13

Bans Ignored In Sterilization Of the Disabled

By SARAH HURTES

REYKJAVIK, Iceland — Anita cannot speak or comprehend complex information. At 28, she communicates mostly with facial expressions and baby-like sounds. When excited, she washes her hands. When her periods cause cramping and pain, she moans and agitates, unable to understand

To eliminate this monthly discomfort and ease the burden of caring for her, caregivers at an assisted-living home in Reykjavik, Iceland, proposed an unusually aggressive step. The home's manager recommended that Anita undergo a hysterectomy, a major surgical procedure to remove her uterus and end her periods.

Eirikur Smith, an official in Iceland's disabilities office, discovered this plan last year during a routine visit to the home.

"Does she even know if she wants children later?" he recalls asking. The manager, he said, was

face. "'Of course not," he said she replied. "'Why would she ever want children?'

stunned. "She just laughed in my

Forced sterilization, with its history of racism and eugenics, is banned under multiple international treaties. Thirty-seven European nations and the European Union have ratified the Istanbul

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Afternoon traffic near McIntosh High School in Peachtree City, Ga., which has a parking lot for carts.

Where Teens Taste Independence at 10 M.P.H.

By RICK ROJAS

PEACHTREE CITY, Ga. -A regular golf cart has no turn signals, no radio, no protection from the elements other than a thin roof and rain

ACROSS THE COUNTRY

flaps. Press the pedal to the floor and it can maybe maybe — accelerate to 15 miles per hour.

Still, grip the steering wheel. Feel the wind and the sun on a crisp afternoon, the cart hugging

the curves as it picks up speed on a smoothly paved pathway, one of your parents beside vou. your friends hanging on in the back seat. If you are 12, commanding that cart feels like power. It feels like freedom.

"You had that little sense of adventure," said Caroline Lawson, 17, thinking back a few years to her earliest experiences driving a golf cart. "It's just that little sense of, 'Whee!'"

That's growing up in Peachtree City, Ga.

Parents talk about the quality of the schools. Or they describe the appeal of finding what feels like a small town, with access to lakes and woods to explore, less than an hour from the heart of Atlanta (traffic permitting).

But if there is one thing that defines Peachtree City, it is golf carts. The city has roughly 13,000 households and some 11,000 registered carts. Its logo? A peach and a golf cart.

Communities filled with golf Continued on Page 28

INTERNATIONAL 4-14 Acapulco's Mountains of Trash

Weeks after Hurricane Otis slammed Mexico's Pacific Coast, residents are overwhelmed by tons of uncollected garbage, roaches and illnesses. PAGE 4

ARTS & LEISURE **Protecting Sacred Spaces**

Preservationists are fighting to save praise houses, a cradle of the Black church, before the structures are erased by sprawl and fading memories. PAGE 14 **SUNDAY BUSINESS**

Offices That Feel Like Home

To lure young employees back to the workplace, more offices are being designed with coziness in mind, reflecting evolving ideas about work

SUNDAY STYLES

Bucking Fashion's System

The designer Maria Cornejo, whose customers include the actress Tilda Swinton, has avoided trends and advertising for 25 years.

SUNDAY OPINION

Ezra Klein

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