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The New York Times

THE WEATHER

Today, morning drizzle, rain in the afternoon, breezy, high 55. **Tonight**, very windy, heavy rain, low 52. **Tomorrow**, rain tapering off, windy, high 59. Weather map is on Page 23.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$6.00



ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Behind the Scenes at the Dismantling of Roe

By JODI KANTOR and ADAM LIPTAK

On Feb. 10 last year, Justice Samuel A. Alito Jr. showed his eight colleagues how he intended to uproot the constitutional right to abortion.

At 11:16 a.m., his clerk circulated a 98-page draft opinion in *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization*. After a justice shares an opinion inside the court, other members scrutinize it. Those in the majority can request revisions, sometimes as the price of their votes, sweating sentences or even words.

But this time, despite the document's length, Justice Neil M. Gorsuch wrote back just 10 minutes later to say that he would

Rejecting a Compromise and Leaping Guardrails to End a Long-Established Right

sign on to the opinion and had no changes, according to two people who reviewed the messages. The next morning, Justice Clarence Thomas added his name, then Justice Amy Coney Barrett, and days later, Justice Brett M. Kavanaugh. None requested a single alteration. The responses looked like a display of conservative force and discipline.

In the months since, that draft turned into

a leak, then law, then the rare Supreme Court decision that affects the entire country, reshaping elections, the practice of medicine and a fundamental aspect of being female. The story of how this happened has seemed obvious: The constitutional right to abortion effectively died with Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, whom President Donald J. Trump replaced with a favorite of the anti-abortion movement, Justice Barrett.

But that version is far from complete. Justice Barrett, selected to clinch the court's conservative supermajority and deliver the nearly 50-year goal of the religious right, opposed even taking up the case. When the jurists were debating Mississippi's request to

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Children Facing Peril and Death In Roofing Jobs

This article is by **Hannah Dreier, Brent McDonald, Nicole Salazar, Annie Correal and Carson Kessler.**

On social media, they call themselves *rufieritos*.

They wake before dawn to be driven to distant job sites, sometimes crossing state lines. They carry heavy bundles of shingles that leave their arms shaking. They work through heat waves on black-tar rooftops that scorch their hands.

Federal law bars minors from roofing because it is so dangerous, but migrant children are doing this work across the United States, *The New York Times* found. Over more than a year, *The Times* spoke with more than 100 child roofers working in 23 states, including some who began at elementary-school age.

In New Orleans, Juan Nasario said he had been replacing roofs during 12-hour shifts nearly every day since arriving from Guatemala four years ago, when he was 10. He would like to go to school or at least join a soccer team, but he needs to pay rent to his older cousin.

In Dallas, Diego Osbaldo Hernández started roofing at 15, after coming to the United States from Mexico last year to live with an older friend. His jobs take him all across Texas, but his favorite place to work is San Antonio.

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ARLETTE BASHIZI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Decades of War, and Still Overlooked

A survivor of the strife in the Democratic Republic of Congo, where millions are displaced. Page 14.

‘Charlie Brown Christmas,’ a Hanukkah Classic

By JAMES PONIEWOZIK

“A Charlie Brown Christmas” was a one-of-a-kind wonder when it premiered in 1965 and remains so almost 60 years later.

Unlike the other jingle-belled baubles that TV throws down the chimney each year, it is melancholy and meditative. The animation is minimalist and subdued, full of grays and wafting

snowflakes. I could wrap myself in the Vince Guaraldi jazz score like a quilt.

And then there's the speech.

Charlie Brown, having Charlie-Browned his way through a disastrous attempt to direct a school pageant and the adoption of the most anemic specimen on a Christmas-tree lot, despairs over the crass materialism of the holiday and pleads for someone to tell him “what Christmas is all about.”

His friend Linus volunteers: He stands on a spotlighted stage and, as the soundtrack goes dead silent, recites a passage from the Gospel of Luke in which a band of angels proclaim the coming of Christ the Lord.

I have known people for whom the speech is a deal breaker. It's too much Christianity for them, too directly preached. (This is not a “those were different times” thing, either; in 1965,

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Hostages Held A White Flag As Israel Fired

Military Admits Lethal Error Violated Rules

This article is by **Aaron Boxerman, Ben Hubbard and Thomas Fuller.**

JERUSALEM — The Israeli military on Saturday said three hostages mistakenly killed by Israeli troops had been shirtless, unarmed and bearing a makeshift white flag. The troubling details of how they died have created widespread anguish and prompted renewed calls for a pause in the fighting to allow more hostages to be released.

The military, which acknowledged that the killings violated its rules of engagement, announced the deaths on Friday, hours after saying it had recovered the bodies of three other Israeli hostages in Gaza.

Lt. Gen. Herzi Halevy, the Israeli military chief of staff, said on Saturday that the three hostages had done “everything so that we would understand” that they were harmless, including removing their shirts to show they bore no explosives.

“The shooting of the hostages was carried out contrary to the open-fire regulations,” he said. “It is forbidden to shoot at those who raise a white flag and seek to surrender.”

As the death toll of Palestinians killed in 70 days of war soared to nearly 20,000, according to Gazan health officials, the shootings of the Israeli hostages underlined the continuing risks for the more than 120 people who Israel says are still captive and raised questions about Israel's prosecution of the war.

Some families of the hostages seized on the shootings to urge the government to make securing the captives' freedom its highest priority.

Itzik Horn, whose children Eitan, 37, and Yair, 45, were abducted from Kibbutz Nir Oz, said the killings reinforced his belief that Israel must immediately reach a deal to free all the captives, even if it means releasing Palestinians being held in Israeli jails on terrorism charges.

“Let them free all the Palestinian prisoners we have here, all the terrorists — what do I care,” Mr. Horn said in an interview. “The most important thing isn't to defeat Hamas. The only victory here is to bring back all the hostages.”

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ISRAEL DIDN'T ACT ON SECRET RECORD OF HAMAS MONEY

\$500 MILLION IN ASSETS

Ledgers, Pilfered in 2018 and Shown to U.S., of Global Holdings

By JO BECKER and JUSTIN SCHECH

TEL AVIV — Israeli security officials scored a major intelligence coup in 2018: secret documents that laid out, in intricate detail, what amounted to a private equity fund that Hamas used to finance its operations.

The ledgers, pilfered from the computer of a senior Hamas official, listed assets worth hundreds of millions of dollars. Hamas controlled mining, chicken farming and road building companies in Sudan, twin skyscrapers in the United Arab Emirates, a property developer in Algeria, and a real estate firm listed on the Turkish stock exchange.

The documents, which *The New York Times* reviewed, were a potential road map for choking off Hamas's money and thwarting its plans. The agents who obtained the records shared them inside their own government and in Washington.

Nothing happened.

For years, none of the companies named in the ledgers faced sanctions from the United States or Israel. Nobody publicly called out the companies or pressured Turkey, the hub of the financial network, to shut it down.

A Times investigation found that senior Israeli and American officials failed to prioritize financial intelligence — which they had in hand — showing that tens of millions of dollars flowed from the companies to Hamas at the exact moment that it was buying new weapons and preparing an attack.

That money, American and Israeli officials now say, helped Hamas build up its military infrastructure and helped lay the groundwork for the Oct. 7 attacks.

“Everyone is talking about failures of intelligence on Oct. 7, but no one is talking about the failure to stop the money,” said Udi Levy, a former chief of the economic warfare division of Mossad, Israel's foreign intelligence service. “It's the money — the money — that allowed this.”

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‘People Snatchers’ for Ukraine Use Harsh Tactics to Fill Ranks

By THOMAS GIBBONS-NEFF

VYZHNYTSIA, Ukraine — With Ukraine's military facing mounting deaths and a stalemate on the battlefield, army recruiters have become increasingly aggressive in their efforts to replenish the ranks, in some cases pulling men off the streets and whisking them to recruiting centers using intimidation and even physical force.

Recruiters have confiscated passports, taken people from their jobs and, in at least one case, tried to send a mentally disabled person to military training, according to lawyers, activists and Ukrainian men who have been subject to coercive tactics.

Videos of soldiers shoving people into cars and holding men against their will in recruiting centers are surfacing with increasing frequency on social me-

dia and in local news reports.

The harsh tactics are being aimed not just at draft dodgers but at men who would ordinarily be exempt from service — a sign of the steep challenges Ukraine's military faces maintaining troop levels in a war with high casualties, and against a much larger enemy.

Lawyers and activists say the aggressive methods go well beyond the scope of recruiters' authority and in some cases are illegal. They point out that recruiters, unlike law enforcement officers, are not empowered to detain civilians, let alone force them into con-

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FRUSTRATION Ukrainian marines called crossing the Dnipro River a “suicide mission.” PAGE 6

INTERNATIONAL 4-14

Pageants and Politics

Nicaragua rejoiced when Sheynnis Palacios became Miss Universe, but the government claimed her rise was part of an “unpatriotic conspiracy.” PAGE 13

ARTS & LEISURE

Whither the Mouse?

As Disney, with its wealth of memorable characters, turns 100, its decades-long presence as a cultural juggernaut is no longer a given. PAGE 12

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Space or Bust (or Both)

A launchpad on 18,000 acres of desert in New Mexico is sending tourists into space, but local taxpayers and merchants are waiting for the payoff. PAGE 1

SUNDAY STYLES

Love's Collateral Damage

How does money affect a romantic relationship? Let us recount the ways. A collection of essays and stories offers answers. Modern Love. PAGES 14-15

SUNDAY OPINION

Maureen Dowd

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