

“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Today, increasingly windy, late-afternoon showers, high 56. Tonight, evening showers, breezy, low 32. Tomorrow, partly sunny, windy, high 44. Weather map is on Page B12.

VOL. CLXXIII . . . No. 60,099 © 2024 The New York Times Company WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 2024 Prices in Canada may be higher \$4.00



MAHMOUD ISSA/REUTERS

Netanyahu Vows to Invade Rafah
Rebuffing Washington, the Israeli leader said there was no other option. Above, waiting to get food in Jabaliya on Tuesday. Page A7.

Officer Guilty In Torture Case Gets 20 Years

This article is by **Nate Rosenfield, Jerry Mitchell and Brian Howey.**

JACKSON, Miss. — Two former law enforcement officers who were part of a self-styled “Goon Squad” that tortured, sexually assaulted and beat residents of a Mississippi county were given hefty prison sentences on Tuesday for brutally attacking two Black men last year.

A federal judge ordered Hunter Elward, who shot one of the victims in the mouth, to serve 20 years in prison. Jeffrey Middleton, a former lieutenant who supervised the Goon Squad, was sentenced to nearly 18 years.

Mr. Elward broke down in tears as he turned to face Eddie Parker, 36, and Michael Jenkins, 33, and apologized for what he had done to them.

“I hate that I was involved in this,” he said. “I hate what’s happened to them.”

As Mr. Elward left the podium, Mr. Parker stood up and said that he forgave him.

Outside the courtroom, Mr. Jenkins, the man Mr. Elward shot in the face during what was described as a mock execution, said that he did not forgive Mr. Elward. “If he wouldn’t have gotten caught, he would still be doing the same thing,” Mr. Jenkins said.

Four other officers will face sentencing this week in the federal courthouse in Jackson. All of them pleaded guilty this summer to federal civil rights offenses related to their brutal treatment of Mr. Parker, Mr. Jenkins and a white man, Alan Schmidt, who was assaulted in a separate incident in December 2022.

So far, charges against officers in Rankin County have been narrowly focused on these two incidents, but residents in impoverished pockets of the county say that the sheriff’s department has routinely targeted them with similar levels of violence.

Last November, The New York Times and Mississippi Today published an investigation revealing that for nearly two decades, deputies in the Rankin County sheriff’s department, many of whom called themselves the Goon Squad, would barge into homes in the middle of the night, handcuff people and torture them for information or confessions.

Continued on Page A14

Visiting the Brooklyn Roots of Schumer’s Speech

By **ANNIE KARNI**

In the library of James Madison High School in Brooklyn on Sunday afternoon, Senator Chuck Schumer took stock of the splash he made a few days before. In a speech on the Senate floor, he had branded Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel a major impediment to peace in the Middle East and called for elections to replace him when the war winds down.

It was here, he recalled, inside this hulking red brick school deep in south Brooklyn, where at 16 he

Senator Draws on Faith While Many Jews Criticize Him

was glued to his transistor radio to hear breaking news of the Arab-Israeli War of 1967. It was where he idolized Sandy Koufax, the Jewish pitcher for the Brooklyn Dodgers who refused to play on Yom Kippur after he and the team moved to Los Angeles, and he learned it was cool to be proud of his heritage.

And on Sunday, Mr. Schumer, the New York Democrat, majority leader and highest-ranking Jewish official in the United States, returned to explain how his upbringing in Jewish Brooklyn in the shadow of the Holocaust prompted him to deliver a politically risky speech that brought about a watershed moment in the politics of U.S.-Israeli relations.

“This is so part of my core, my soul, my neshama,” Mr. Schumer said in an interview, using the Hebrew word for soul. “I said to myself, ‘This may hurt me politically; this may help me politically.’ I

Continued on Page A10



Enduring Mystery of the Gardner Heist
After 34 years, not one of the 13 works stolen from a Boston art museum during the largest art theft in history has surfaced, and the public still puzzles over the peculiarities of the case. Page A9.

Justices Permit Texas to Arrest Border Arrivals

Immigration Policy to Take Effect, for Now

By **ADAM LIPTAK**

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court temporarily sided with Texas on Tuesday in its increasingly bitter fight with the Biden administration over immigration policy, allowing an expansive state law to go into effect that makes it a crime for migrants to enter Texas without authorization.

As is typical when the court acts on emergency applications, its order gave no reasons. But Justice Amy Coney Barrett, joined by Justice Brett M. Kavanaugh, filed a concurring opinion that seemed to express the majority’s bottom line.

They were returning the case to an appeals court for a prompt ruling on whether the law should be paused while an appeal moves forward, Justice Barrett wrote. “If a decision does not issue soon,” she wrote, “the applicants may return to this court.”

For now, though, Texas law enforcement officials will be allowed to arrest people suspected of crossing the border illegally. How long that remains true is now a question for the appeals court.

The three liberal members of the court — Justices Sonia Sotomayor, Elena Kagan and Ketanji Brown Jackson — dissented.

“Today, the court invites further chaos and crisis in immigration enforcement,” Justice Sotomayor wrote. “Texas passed a law that directly regulates the entry and removal of noncitizens and explicitly instructs its state courts to disregard any ongoing federal immigration proceedings. That law upends the federal-state balance of power that has existed for over a century, in which the national government has had exclusive authority over entry and removal of noncitizens.”

Justice Sotomayor, joined by Justice Jackson, said the majority had rewarded the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit for using an unseemly procedural gambit. The appeals court had entered an “administrative stay” of a trial judge’s ruling blocking the law.

Such administrative stays are meant to give courts time to consider whether to enter actual stays, and they are typically in place for brief periods. But the Fifth Circuit, Justice Sotomayor wrote, “recently has developed a troubling habit of leaving ‘administrative’ stays in place for weeks if not months.”

She wrote that “the Fifth Circuit

Continued on Page A12

HEEDING BEIJING, HONG KONG PASSES ANTI-DISSENT BILL

GAP WITH WEST GROWS

Crackdown on ‘External Interference’ May Put Many in Danger

By **TIFFANY MAY**
and **DAVID PIERSON**

HONG KONG — Hong Kong on Tuesday passed national security laws at the behest of Beijing, thwarting decades of public resistance in a move that critics say will strike a lasting blow to the partial autonomy the city had been promised by China.

The new legislation, which was passed with extraordinary speed, grants the authorities even more powers to crack down on opposition to Beijing and the Hong Kong government, establishing penalties — including life imprisonment — for political crimes like treason and insurrection, which are vaguely defined. It also targets offenses like “external interference” and the theft of state secrets, creating potential risks for multinational companies and international groups operating in the Asian financial center.

Analysts say the legislation, which will take effect on March 23, could have a chilling effect on a wide range of people, including entrepreneurs, civil servants, lawyers, diplomats, journalists and academics, raising questions about Hong Kong’s status as an international city.

An earlier attempt to pass such legislation, in 2003, set off mass protests involving hundreds of thousands of people.

But this time many of the opposition figures who might have challenged the legislation have either been jailed or gone into exile since China’s ruling Communist Party, under Xi Jinping, its most

Continued on Page A8



PETER PARKS/A.F.P. — GETTY IMAGES

Hong Kong’s security measure
was approved unanimously.

‘Ireland Is Full’: A Rural Town Erupts as Immigrants Arrive

By **MEGAN SPECIA**

ROSCREA, Ireland — On a cold January afternoon in Roscrea, a market town of around 5,500 people in rural Ireland, news began to spread that the town’s only remaining hotel would close temporarily — to provide housing for 160 asylum seekers.

Almost immediately, speculation and anger began to swirl online.

Posts to a local Facebook group put the blame for the closure on the government and on “non-nationals” moving in. Someone called for people to gather outside the hotel, Racket Hall, to demand answers.

That night, dozens of people showed up for an improvised protest that has divided the town and become a monthslong symbol of growing anti-immigration sentiment across Ireland. A small group of locals has kept a constant

presence in the hotel parking lot since then, using a tent as protection from the rain and a metal drum as a firepit.

Similar demonstrations have sprung up in pockets across Ireland over the past year, fueled by nativist rhetoric online, a housing shortage and a cost-of-living crisis. Occasionally, they have erupted in violence: There was a riot in Dublin last year, and a series of arson attacks have targeted accommodations intended for asylum seekers.

While the Roscrea protest has been small and mostly peaceful, it echoes a well-defined playbook. “It’s not like this is all centrally planned,” said Mark Malone, a researcher at the Hope and Courage Collective, which monitors the far right in Ireland. “But there be-

Continued on Page A6

INTERNATIONAL A4-8

G.O.P. Blocks Aid to Haiti
Congressional Republicans have refused to release \$40 million to help quell a surge in gang violence. PAGE A4

Unsafe Air Spreads Worldwide
New research found that fewer than 10 percent of countries and territories met W.H.O. pollution guidelines. PAGE A4



NATIONAL A9-14

Trump Requests Full Immunity
The Supreme Court will hear arguments on April 25 over whether the former president can be prosecuted on election subversion charges. PAGE A12

\$1 Billion for Biden’s Campaign
The pro-Biden outside money originates from climate groups, labor unions and traditional super PACs. PAGE A13

OBITUARIES A15, 18

Unsung Civil Rights Heroine
Dorie Ann Ladner, who joined the front lines of the movement when she was a teenager, was 81. PAGE A18

BUSINESS B1-6

Is Kate Middleton Missing?
Whether it is just for kicks or propelled by genuine doubt, the unsupported claims about public figures keep gaining traction online. PAGE B1

First Rate Increase Since 2007
Higher inflation and rising wages suggest that Japan’s economy can grow without aggressive stimulus. PAGE B1

SPORTS B7-12

Sizing Up Bracket Busters
The N.C.A.A. women’s basketball tournament has a number of double-digit seeds capable of surprising. PAGE B8

ARTS C1-8

Challenging Ballet’s Traditions
The choreographer Emma Portner comes to the genre aware of its sometimes calcified gender relations. PAGE C1

Bending Rules, and More
At the Flamenco Festival at City Center, the dancing wasn’t entirely traditional, or even all flamenco. PAGE C8



FOOD D1-8

Five Easy Baking Recipes
We offer tips on making homemade sweets (and quote a somber Emily Dickinson poem in the process). PAGE D4

From Field to Table
A program in Missouri teaches high school students to take freshly killed animals into the kitchen. PAGE D8

OPINION A16-17

Mara Gay PAGE A16

