"All the News That's Fit to Print"

# The New York Times

**THE WEATHER** 

Today, cloudy, breezy, an afternoon shower, high 49. Tonight, cloudy, shower in spots, low 38. Tomorrow, partly cloudy, a shower in spots, high 52. Weather map, Page B12.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

#### \$4.00

## '24 Candidates **Guard Details** About Health

Biden and Trump Pick What Public Knows

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON - In 2008, when Senator John McCain was the oldest person to seek a first term in the White House, his campaign set out to reassure the public about his health. It let reporters examine 1,173 pages of handwritten notes, lab results and insurance documents, including details of the senator's biopsies, his prostate exams and even the "very light tan freckling" on his

He was 71 years old.

Today, President Biden is 81 and his rival, Donald J. Trump, is 77, and many voters believe both men are too old for another term. Their doctors proclaim them fit to serve, but neither has agreed to throw open his medical charts to prove

Mr. Biden released a six-page summary of medical test results in February, but his doctor has refused to be interviewed by reporters, breaking from past practice. Mr. Trump has revealed less than Mr. Biden; his last public note from his doctor, in November, was three paragraphs long. Neither man has sat for a comprehensive assessment of his mental fitness, a battery of tests often administered to people their age.

The longstanding truth about the American political system is that presidents and presidential candidates choose what to test, what to ignore, how much medical information to release to the public and, in the end, what voters will know about their health and wellbeing.

But the election between the two oldest people to ever seek the presidency is challenging that notion. Not only are Mr. Biden and Mr. Trump failing to do anything extra to reassure Americans that they can lead well into their ninth Continued on Page A13



A woman from Venezuela with her children in Panama. She said she was a victim of sexual violence while crossing the Darién Gap.

# 'They Do All Kinds of Evil': Assaults on Migrants Rise in a Jungle

By JULIE TURKEWITZ

DARIÉN GAP, Panama — The girl, 8, from Venezuela, had slept fitfully the night before, wailing in her dreams, her mother said, about the men trying to kill her.

Days earlier, the family had entered the Darién Gap, the jungle straddling Colombia and Panama that in the last three years has become one of the world's busiest migrant highways. After climbing mountains and crisscrossing rivers in their quest to reach the United States, their group was accosted by a half-dozen men in ski

masks, holding long guns and issuing threats.

"Women, take off your clothes!" assailants shouted, the mother said, before they probed each woman's intimate parts looking for cash.

Sons, brothers and husbands were forced to watch. Then the men turned to the girl, her mother said, ordering her to undress for a search, too.

Assault, robbery and rape have long been a grim risk of migrant journeys around the globe. But aid groups working in the Darién Gap say that in the past six months they have documented an exPanama Has a Level of Sexual Attacks Rarely Seen Outside War

traordinary spike in attacks, with patterns and frequencies rarely seen outside of war zones.

Nearly all the attacks, they say, are happening on the Panamanian side of the jungle.

Long-established aid groups, including Doctors Without Borders and UNICEF, with experience working in conflicts, say the

attacks are organized and exceptionally cruel. Perpetrators beat victims and take food, even baby formula, leaving people battered and starving in the forest. And the assaults often involve

cases in which dozens of women are violated in a single event.

In January and February, Doctors Without Borders recorded 328 reports of sexual violence, compared with 676 in all of 2023. This year, 113 came in a single week in February.

"The level of brutality is extreme," said Luis Eguiluz, the organization's director in Colombia

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Players practicing on Wednesday before the Doral tournament.

# Trump's New Vision for Hotels Focuses on Golf, With Saudi Help

By ERIC LIPTON

DORAL, Fla. — Amateur golfers lined up on Thursday at the Trump National Doral near Miami, having agreed to pay more than \$9,000 apiece to play a friendly round alongside some of the world's top professionals.

Rooms at the resort hotel will fill up with fans as a pro tournament featuring some of the biggest names in the sport gets underway on Friday. The resort's restaurants and bars will pull in more business, and the Trump name will be beamed around the world on television and the inter-

Behind this surge in business at one of former President Donald J. Trump's properties is his deal to host tournaments for LIV Golf, the upstart league sponsored by

Saudi Arabia's sovereign wealth

LIV's eagerness to pay to have Mr. Trump host tournaments at his resorts is just one more example of the ties between the Saudis and the Trump family even as he seeks the presidency again, an arrangement that continues to generate conflicts of a type and scale unique to Mr. Trump.

Mr. Trump spoke recently with Saudi Arabia's leader, Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, two people briefed on the discussion said; the Biden administration has been working with Saudi Arabia on a Middle East peace plan. It is not clear what Mr. Trump and the Saudi leader discussed. Officials representing Mr.

Continued on Page A15

# Why Big Soccer Learned to Embrace Ramadan

Youseff Chippo had a secret. A few months into his life as a soccer pro in Europe, Chippo, a Moroccan midfielder, was pushing to prove himself and didn't want to do anything that might hurt his chances of success. That included revealing he was fasting for Ramadan, a normal practice for the world's billion Muslims but not in the locker room of Portugal's F.C. Porto in 1997.

The team's double practice sessions - morning and afternoon were arduous. Taking part while going without food and water from sunup to sundown made things harder. Eventually, after enduring days of dizziness and headaches in silence, Chippo came clean, and the club quickly put together a plan to preserve his energy and his health.

For decades, though, other Muslim players found teams to be less accommodating, at least officially. So in a sport where continuous play and a lack of substitutions offer little opportunity for a



Premier League players breaking their fast in a match Tuesday.

mid-game trip to the bench, those players have long relied instead on resourcefulness and improvised solutions to break their fasts: teammates who faked or embellished injuries just after sundown to buy a moment for

their Muslim colleagues to rush to the sideline; a few dates or a sugary drink slipped into a hand by a staff member at the appointed hour; trainers rushing out to attend to an injured knee carrying a

Continued on Page A7

# WHITE HOUSE SAYS GAZANS' WELFARE IS KEY TO U.S. AID

#### CALL WITH NETANYAHU

Hours Later, Israel Agrees to Open More Supply and Food Routes

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON - President Biden threatened on Thursday to condition future support for Israel on how it addresses his concerns about civilian casualties and the humanitarian crisis in Gaza, prompting Israel to commit to permitting more food and other supplies into the besieged enclave in hopes of placating him.

During a tense 30-minute call with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel, Mr. Biden for the first time leveraged U.S. aid to influence the conduct of the war against Hamas that has inflamed many Americans and others around the world. The announcement of additional aid routes hours later met some but not all of Mr. Biden's demands.

"President Biden emphasized that the strikes on humanitarian workers and the overall humanitarian situation are unacceptable," according to a White House summary of the call. "He made clear the need for Israel to announce and implement a series of specific, concrete, and measurable steps to address civilian harm, humanitarian suffering, and the safety of aid workers. He made clear that U.S. policy with respect to Gaza will be determined by our assessment of Israel's immediate action on these

The statement was the sharpest the White House has issued on Israel's conduct in the six months of its war against Hamas, underscoring the president's growing frustration with Mr. Netanyahu and his anger over this week's killing of seven aid workers by Israeli military forces. But while the president repeated his call for a negotiated deal that would result in an "immediate cease-fire" and the release of hostages taken by Hamas, the White House stopped snort of saying directly that he might limit U.S. arms supplies if not satisfied.

By the middle of the night in Jerusalem, Israel made its first gestures to Mr. Biden. In a statement, a spokeswoman for the U.S. National Security Council said Israel had agreed to use the Ashdod port to direct aid into Gaza, to open the Erez crossing into northern Gaza for the first time since the Hamas terrorist attack on Oct. 7, and to significantly increase deliveries from Jordan.

Biden administration officials, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe the private call in more detail, said that Mr. Netanvahu agreed to additional commitments intended to assuage the president. Among others, the officials said, Israel would promise to institute more measures to reduce

Continued on Page A9

TRAGIC ERROR An Israeli strike in Syria was carried out with precision. One in Gaza wasn't. PAGE A8

# Spraying Vitriol, Parents in New York Clash Over What's Taught

By TROY CLOSSON

New York City has never been immune to heated education fights, but in recent months those fights have taken on a new level of vitriol and aggression, and expanded to focus on a broader menu of divisive issues.

The battles reflect the nation's growing political divide even in this deep blue city, as parents lay-

er old debates - how issues of race and discrimination are taught in schools, for example over newer ones, such as the role of transgender students in sports and how schools should address the Israel-Hamas war.

Parents have shouted over one another, called one another bigots and made formal complaints about behavior at meetings traditionally focused on issues like

Feuding on Issues Like Race and Gender

school improvements and student achievement. Some parents have filed police reports against one another for harassment. One woman said she was mailed a parcel with

The battlegrounds have also multiplied, from a few notoriously quarrelsome parent councils to traditionally peaceful around the city.

In other districts around the country, changes in school board policy can transform what happens in classrooms. In New York City, the parent councils where many of the fights are occurring

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**INTERNATIONAL A4-11** 

#### Trying to Keep a Tilt in Check

The Italian city of Bologna is looking to Pisa, home of the most famous leaning tower, for help keeping the Garisenda, its own tipping tower, upright. PAGE A4

#### Doctors' Protest Drags On

Thousands of physicians in South Korea walked off the job weeks ago. Patient frustration, with hospitals and the government, is boiling over.

#### Taiwan's Disaster Prep Pays Off

Decades of learning from other catastrophes, tightening building codes and increasing public awareness helped to mitigate earthquake damage. PAGE A11



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#### I'd Just as Soon Lose a ...

Even in the woodworking world, there are trade-offs where policy, public safety, patents and profit meet. PAGE A12

#### No Dismissal in Records Case

A judge said Donald Trump cannot escape prosecution by claiming secret federal materials as his own. PAGE A22 **BUSINESS B1-5** 

#### Ditching Apple for Android?

Even if you manage to surrender your iPhone, Apple's hooks are still there. Switching is the easy part; it's the aftermath that stings.

#### Ford Slows Its Push Into E.V.s

The automaker said it would delay new battery-powered models and shift its focus to hybrid cars. PAGE B1

**OBITUARIES B10-11** 

#### **Pathbreaking Novelist**

John Barth, who wrote "The Sot-Weed Factor," believed literary conventions were exhausted. He was 93.



#### **WEEKEND ARTS C1-14** Gum-Wrapper Michelangelo

Lyndon J. Barrois Sr. is perhaps the world's greatest gum-wrapper sculptor. (Not that it's a crowded field.) PAGE C11

### Goodbye to a Cultural Refuge

The Rubin Museum of Art will leave its space this fall and transition into being a global museum "without walls." PAGE C1 SPORTS B6-9, 12

#### A Winding Road to Stardom

Kamilla Cardoso was an anxious teenager when she left Brazil. She's led South Carolina to the Final Four.

## Silencing the Doubters

Mookie Betts, the Dodgers star, has made an unthinkable position switch, from right field to shortstop.

OPINION A20-21

**David Brooks** 

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