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That’s Fit to Print”

# The New York Times

**THE WEATHER**  
Today, very windy with gusts up to 50 miles per hour, partly cloudy, high 49. **Tonight**, clear skies, windy, low 40. **Tomorrow**, less wind, sunny, high 62. Weather map is on Page B8.

VOL. CLXXIII . . . No. 60,090      © 2024 The New York Times Company      MONDAY, MARCH 11, 2024      Prices in Canada may be higher      \$4.00

## Gang Uprising Is Aggravating Crisis in Haiti

### Medicine, Water and Food in Short Supply

This article is by **Frances Robles**, **David C. Adams** and **Andre Paultre**.  
PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti — Dr. Ronald V. LaRoche has not been able to cross into dangerous territory to inspect the hospital he runs in Haiti’s Delmas 18 neighborhood since it was ransacked by gangs last week, but a TikTok video he saw offered clues to its current condition: It was on fire.

He learned from neighbors and others who dared venture into gang territory that Jude-Anne Hospital had been looted and cleared of anything of value. It was the second hospital he has had to close.

“They took everything — the operating rooms, the X-rays, everything from the labs and the pharmacies,” Dr. LaRoche said. “Imagine! They are taking windows from hospitals! Doors!”

Haiti is in the throes of an uprising not seen in decades. As politicians around the region scramble to hash out a diplomatic solution to a political crisis that has the prime minister, Ariel Henry, stranded in Puerto Rico and gangs attacking police stations, a humanitarian disaster is quickly escalating. The food supply is threatened, and access to water and health care has been severely curtailed.

André Michel, an adviser to the prime minister, said Mr. Henry has refused to resign, and has demanded that the international community take all necessary measures to ensure his return to Haiti.

The United States and Caribbean leaders have been trying to convince Mr. Henry that to continue in power is “untenable.” An international security mission led by Kenya has been stalled. The United States has offered to finance the mission, but showed little interest in sending troops of its own.

On Sunday, the U.S. military carried out an operation to add more security forces to the American Embassy and airlift non-essential personnel out of the country, U.S. Southern Command said in a statement. “No Haitians were on board the military aircraft,” the statement said.

While gangs expand their territory and band together in concerted attacks against the state, millions of people throughout the country are caught in the middle. Many are afraid to leave their homes for fear of getting caught in the crossfire. They are hungry. They are running out of clean water and gas. They are desperate.

“Around me everyone is running,” said Dr. LaRoche, who packed up and closed three more medical facilities to avoid more looting. “Women, children and elderly have bags on their heads, and by foot they are fleeing. It is a war zone.”

Gangs that in the past year have spread throughout the country joined forces last week to attack state institutions, releasing thousands of prisoners. They are demanding the resignation of Mr. Henry, who was prevented from returning to Haiti as violence surrounded the airport and grounded

Continued on Page A12



STR/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE, VIA GETTY IMAGES

### Three Is Better Than One

A sculpture in Wuhan once depicted a happy family of three. Now, as the birthrate in China continues to fall and the official view from Beijing changes, that sculpture family has grown. Page A8.

## Prosecutor’s Public Glee Creates Hard Feelings

By **JESSE MCKINLEY**

This has been a very good year for Letitia James.

Over the past month, Ms. James, New York’s attorney general, has racked up hard-fought victories over two formidable opponents. First, in mid-February, her office won a staggering \$454 million judgment against former President Donald J. Trump in a civil fraud trial stemming from accusations that he had inflated his net worth.

A week later, Ms. James, a Democrat, prevailed again, this time against the National Rifle Association and its longtime leader, Wayne LaPierre, who was found personally liable for more than \$5 million in misused funds.

“It took a prosecutor with the mettle to get under the hood,” Nick Suplina, the senior vice president for law and policy with Everytown for Gun Safety, a gun-violence prevention group, said of the N.R.A. case. “And that’s what Attorney General James did.”

The dual victories against figures viewed as villains by her fellow Democrats have, in some quarters, made Ms. James a hero, complete with the kind of résumé-burnishing accomplishments that can presage an ascent to the gov-

### Critics Fume as James Wins Legal Battles

ernor’s mansion or national office. Ms. James, who won a second term handily in 2022, is seemingly reveling in her reputation as an antagonist of right-wing political figures, some of whom have reacted to her public pronouncements with fury.



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Letitia James, New York’s attorney general, has needed on social media those she has legally vanquished, angering opponents.

ments with fury.

Ms. James’s other recent targets include neglectful nursing homes, anti-transgender bans and the world’s largest meat producer. But her outspokenness regarding Mr. Trump has underscored the tension between an attorney general’s pledge of impartiality and the political benefits of attacking a deeply unpopular Republican in a state where Demo-

Continued on Page A21

## Abortion Clinic Persists Despite Wyoming’s Ban

### Surviving on an Injunction From a Judge, and Moving On After Arson in 2022

By **KATE ZERNIKE**

CASPER, Wyo. — It was not such an implausible idea, back in 2020, when a philanthropist emailed Julie Burkhart to ask if she would consider opening an abortion clinic in Wyoming, one of the nation’s most conservative states and the one that had twice given Donald Trump his biggest margin of victory.

In fact, Ms. Burkhart had the same idea more than a decade earlier, after an anti-abortion extremist killed her boss and mentor, George Tiller, in Wichita, Kan., where he ran one of the nation’s few clinics that provided abortion late in pregnancy.

Dr. Tiller’s work had drawn the wrath of the nation’s anti-abortion groups — his clinic had been blockaded, bombed and flooded with a hose before he was shot to death while ushering his regular Sunday church service. When she reopened it instead of moving, the death threats and stalkers shifted to Ms. Burkhart, or, as they called her, Julie Darkheart.

Running a clinic in a red state had worn her down, and she was looking to put Wichita and all it represented behind her. But if Wyoming was even more conservative than Kansas, she understood that it was more Cowboy State conservatism, shaped by self-reliance and small government, less interested in regulating what people do behind their drapes.

So she said yes.

Then, three months before Ms. Burkhart planned to open her clinic in 2022, the Wyoming Legislature, pushed by a new Freedom Caucus, joined a dozen other states in passing a trigger law that

would ban abortion as soon as the United States Supreme Court overturned Roe v. Wade.

After the court ruled, other abortion providers in states with trigger bans moved their clinics to safe havens in Illinois, Maryland or Minnesota. Ms. Burkhart, rather than leave the front lines of the abortion wars, pushed on in Wyoming, making her the only person in America to open an abortion clinic in a state that bans abortion.

“I really reject the notion of putting facilities only in the safe states, because the only way we’re going to preserve rights in this country is to go to these really uncomfortable places,” she said in an interview on the three-and-a-half-hour drive from her home near Denver to the clinic in Casper. “For us to say we’re going to concede in certain areas, I don’t think we’re living up to our words and what we say when we say we support the rights of everyone.”

Continued on Page A18



JOANNA KULESZA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Julie Burkhart faced heavy opposition opening the clinic.

## Strife Heats Up Between Biden And Netanyahu

This article is by **Vivek Shankar**, **Raja Abdulrahim** and **Andrew Jacobs**.

A day after President Biden asserted that Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu was “hurting Israel more than helping Israel,” Mr. Netanyahu dismissed that contention as “wrong,” escalating the leaders’ increasingly public dispute.

Mr. Netanyahu, in an interview with Politico that was to be aired on Sunday night, challenged Mr. Biden’s assessment of Israel’s military strategy in the Gaza Strip, saying that his policies represented the “overwhelming majority” of Israelis.

“I don’t know exactly what the president meant, but if he meant by that that I’m pursuing private policies against the majority, the wish of the majority of Israelis, and that this is hurting the interests of Israel, then he’s wrong on both counts,” Mr. Netanyahu told Politico. An excerpt from the interview was released by the prime minister’s office.

The Israeli leader was responding to comments Mr. Biden made on Saturday in an interview with MSNBC that was also to be aired on Sunday night. Mr. Biden rebuked Mr. Netanyahu over the rising civilian death toll in Gaza, even as he reaffirmed American support for Israel.

“He has a right to defend Israel, a right to continue to pursue Hamas, but he must, he must, he must pay more attention to the innocent lives being lost as a consequence of the actions taken,” Mr. Biden said.

“In my view, he’s hurting Israel more than helping Israel,” Mr. Bi-

Continued on Page A10

## Dubai Retains Its Israel Pact, But Unhappily

By **VIVIAN NEREIM**

DUBAI, United Arab Emirates — Only a few years ago, plenty of citizens of the United Arab Emirates were willing to speak warmly about their country’s budding ties with Israel.

Israel had just established relations with the Emirates through a U.S.-brokered deal. Business groups had sprung up to funnel cross-country investment. Two women, Emirati and Israeli, posed for a photograph holding hands atop a skyscraper in Dubai. American, Emirati and Israeli officials predicted that their deal, called the Abraham Accords, would spread peace across the Middle East.

But now, as Israel’s monthslong bombardment of Gaza fuels anger around the region, Emirati fans of the deal are increasingly hard to find.

An Emirati businessman who had once touted the economic ties said that he had left an Emirati-Israeli business council and that he had nothing else to say. Some Emiratis, although frustrated with the accords, said they were afraid to speak publicly, citing their authoritarian government’s history of arresting critics. One figure who did speak out, Dubai’s deputy police chief, declared online that Arabs had “truly wanted peace” and that Israel had “proved that its intentions are evil.”

Neither the Emirates nor Israel is likely to walk away from the deal, analysts say: It remains a diplomatic lifeline for Israel while its ties to other Arab countries fray, and it has brought the Emirates billions in trade and positive public relations in Western na-

Continued on Page A10

## In Fentanyl Deaths, Victims’ Families Say Word Choice Matters

By **JAN HOFFMAN**

The death certificate for Ryan Bagwell, a 19-year-old from Mission, Texas, states that he died from a fentanyl overdose.

His mother, Sandra Bagwell, says that is wrong.

On an April night in 2022, he swallowed one pill from a bottle of Percocet, a prescription painkiller that he and a friend bought earlier

that day at a Mexican pharmacy just over the border. The next morning, his mother found him dead in his bedroom.

A federal law enforcement lab found that none of the pills from the bottle tested positive for Percocet. But they all tested positive for lethal quantities of fentanyl.

“Ryan was poisoned,” Mrs. Bagwell, an elementary-school reading specialist, said.

### Cases Were Poisonings, Not Overdoses

As millions of fentanyl-tainted pills inundate the United States masquerading as common medications, grief-scarred families have been pressing for a change in the language used to describe

drug deaths. They want public health leaders, prosecutors and politicians to use “poisoning” instead of “overdose.” In their view, “overdose” suggests that their loved ones were addicted and responsible for their own deaths, whereas “poisoning” shows they were victims.

“If I tell someone that my child overdosed, they assume he was a

Continued on Page A17



INTERNATIONAL A4-12

### Fervor for García Márquez

The legacy of the global literary titan has transformed the town of Aracataca, Colombia, where he was born. Page A12

### Whiplash in Ireland Vote

An effort to make changes to the country’s 1930s-era Constitution was derailed by voter confusion. Page A6

NATIONAL A14-21

### 24-Hour Home Care Shifts

Workers are pushing to end the grueling hours in home health care, among the fastest growing industries in New York and nationwide. Page A14

### SAT Checks Boxes, Online

Several test takers across the country hailed the new all-digital format of the college admissions exam. Page A16

SPORTS D1-8

### The Quarterback Carousel

As many as 10 N.F.L. teams are facing a decision on their 2024 starter. We offer some predictions. Page D4



ARTS C1-6

### Lush Landscapes, and More

A new show displays stunning works by Gustav Klimt. Above, “Forester’s House in Weissenbach II (Garden).” Page C1

### Uplifting Performances

During the City Ballet’s winter season, there were two sparkling premieres and many moments to remember. Page C1

BUSINESS B1-5

### Investing, Literally, in Nature

“Natural asset companies” would put a market price on improving ecosystems, rather than on destroying them. The idea is gaining traction, but also has some opponents. Page B1

### Upgrading Taxpayer Access

Ken Corbin, the I.R.S.’s chief taxpayer experience officer, is fixing the phone lines and exceeding goals for its call-back program — but those foreboding letters are staying the same. Page B1

OPINION A22-23

### Daniela Lamas

PAGE A23



ONLINE

### Oscar’s Big Night

Complete coverage of the Academy Awards on Sunday is at nytimes.com/arts. Above, Da’Vine Joy Randolph, who won best supporting actress.

