

Rifts Abound  
Over Enforcing  
Abortion Bans

Texas Group Pressured  
Police in First Salvo

By J. DAVID GOODMAN and JACK HEALY

HOUSTON — Deep rifts have emerged among the hundreds of elected district attorneys who will be charged with enforcing the expanding restrictions on abortion, creating a Balkanized new legal system within states that are banning the procedure.

Dozens of Democratic prosecutors who represent liberal pockets in conservative states already have vowed to resist bans by refusing to bring charges against abortion providers. But in many rural areas and outlying suburbs, conservative prosecutors have said they will enforce their state bans.

An opening salvo came this week, just days after the Supreme Court struck down the right to abortion, when a prominent anti-abortion group in Texas urged the police and prosecutors in Dallas and Houston to open criminal investigations into three abortion clinics that the group said were preparing to violate the law by scheduling abortions.

“It is your duty to uphold the law and investigate crimes,” the group, Texas Right to Life, said in its letter, in which it claimed to have phone recordings of clinic employees. “We urge you and your officers to investigate this abortion clinic.”

The demand was quickly made moot when a judge temporarily blocked attempts to resurrect the state’s long-dormant, century-old abortion law in the weeks before a new ban takes effect, but it marked the beginning of an explosive new battle over abortion in America: How prosecutors and the police will enforce laws that criminalize abortion in two dozen states, some of them carrying

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Brazilians Tap  
A Black Market  
In Abortion Pills

By STEPHANIE NOLEN

RIO DE JANEIRO — Last November, Xaiana, a 23-year-old college student in northern Brazil, began exchanging text messages with a drug dealer in the south of the country. Following the dealer’s instructions, she transferred 1,500 reais (\$285), her living expenses for several months. Then, she waited three agonizing weeks for the arrival in the mail of a blister pack of eight unmarked white pills.

When she took them, they had the effect she was hoping for: She underwent a medication abortion at home with her boyfriend, ending an eight-week pregnancy.

But Xaiana kept bleeding for weeks, an unusual but not rare complication. “It was like a murder scene every time I had a shower,” she said. She was afraid to get help because it is illegal for a woman in Brazil to use the drug, misoprostol, to trigger an abortion. If she went to a clinic, she feared, the staff might figure out she had induced the abortion and report her. The penalty for having an abortion in Brazil is up to three years in jail.

“It’s the loneliest feeling I’ve ever felt in my life,” she said, asking to be identified only by her first name out of fear of prosecution.

After seven weeks, she went to a women’s clinic and admitted to having terminated a pregnancy. She was given a simple cauterization, and no one reported her.

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**Orlando Museum Chief Fired**  
Aaron De Groot’s ouster came after the F.B.I. seized 25 paintings attributed to Basquiat as part of an inquiry. PAGE C1

**Conan Gray Feels It All**  
The 23-year-old who got his start on YouTube is reintroducing himself with a new LP, “Superache.” PAGE C1



An Island of Access  
To Abortion

Illinois expects an influx of patients as neighboring states restrict the procedure after the reversal of Roe v. Wade. Page A18.

By J. DAVID GOODMAN and JACK HEALY

**BANS ON ABORTION** are in effect in Arkansas, Kentucky, Missouri and Wisconsin. Ohio and Tennessee ban the procedure after six weeks.

**UNCERTAIN** Lawmakers in Iowa, Indiana and Michigan may also seek bans.



Sources: Advancing New Standards in Reproductive Health, University of California, San Francisco; Illinois Dept. of Health | Note: Clinic locations unavailable for five providers in Michigan, two in Illinois and one in Iowa.

McKinsey’s Sway Pervaded the Opioid Industry

By CHRIS HAMBY and MICHAEL FORSYTHE

In patches of rural Appalachia and the Rust Belt, the health authorities were sounding alarms that a powerful painkiller called Opana had become the drug of choice among people abusing prescription pills.

It was twice as potent as OxyContin, the painkiller widely blamed for fueling the opioid crisis, and was relatively easy to dissolve and inject. By 2015, government investigations and scientific publications had linked its misuse to clusters of disease, including a rare and life-threatening blood disorder and an H.I.V. outbreak in Indiana.

Opana’s manufacturer, the

Tips to Boost Sales and  
Handle Regulators

pharmaceutical company Endo, had scaled back promotion of the drug. But months later, the company abruptly changed course, re-focusing resources on the drug by assigning more sales representatives.

The push was known internally as the Sales Force Blitz — and it was conducted with consultants at McKinsey & Company, who had been hired by Endo to provide marketing advice about its chronic-pain medicines and other products.

The untold story of McKinsey’s

work for Endo was among the revelations found by The New York Times in a repository of more than 100,000 documents obtained by a coalition of state attorneys general in a legal settlement related to McKinsey’s opioid work.

Much has been disclosed over the years about McKinsey’s relationship with Purdue Pharma, including the consulting firm’s recommendation that the drug maker “turbocharge” its sales of OxyContin. But The Times found that the firm played a far deeper and broader role in advising clients involved in the opioid crisis than was publicly disclosed.

The newly released McKinsey records include more than 15 years of emails, slide presenta-

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HEBA KHAMIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Egypt Destroys Nile Houseboats

The settings for divas’ debauched salons and famous films, they are suddenly vanishing. Page A8.

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The prison term is the culmination of the R&B star’s stunning downfall, after increasingly heinous accusations from women grew over decades. PAGE A20

**Hunting for a Tiny Pest**  
Several new species of ticks, carrying frightening new diseases, have expanded their turf to New York. PAGE A10

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The Premier League club Chelsea, which sold for billions, came with accusations of a toxic culture. PAGE B13

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Ukrainian officials face daunting challenges in trying to prosecute Russian soldiers who raped women in occupied villages near Kyiv. PAGE A7

**20 Convicted in Paris Rampage**  
The verdict capped a 10-month trial on the 2015 Islamic State terrorist spree that left 130 people dead. PAGE A5

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Hershel Williams, the last living recipient of the Medal of Honor for bravery during World War II, was 98. PAGE B14

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Though gender fluidity is here to stay, this was not its moment on the runways of Paris, Guy Trebay writes. PAGE D5

**For Luxurious Tastes**  
Joey Wölffer, an owner of a winery, has been busy turning her rosés into symbols of a Hamptons lifestyle. PAGE D1



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As the Fed tries to tame inflation, costly mortgage rates are pricing people out of the housing market. PAGE B1

**Workers Want to Fight Back**  
As assaults at stores have increased, some retail employees are tired of fearing for their safety. PAGE B1

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**Norman Eisen** PAGE A22



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NATO Retools Its Mission  
For Moscow’s Aggression

Responding to Putin’s Invasion of Ukraine  
and Strategic ‘Challenge’ of Beijing

By STEVEN ERLANGER and MICHAEL D. SHEAR

MADRID — Faced with a newly aggressive Russia, NATO leaders on Wednesday outlined a muscular new vision that names Moscow as the military alliance’s primary adversary but also, for the first time, declares China to be a strategic “challenge.”

It was a fundamental shift for an alliance that was born in the Cold War but came to view a post-Soviet Russia as a potential ally, and did not focus on China at all.

But that was before Feb. 24, when Russian forces poured across the border into Ukraine, and Chinese leaders pointedly did not join in the global condemnation that followed.

“The deepening strategic partnership between the People’s Republic of China and the Russian Federation and their mutually reinforcing attempts to undercut the rules-based international order run counter to our values and interests,” NATO leaders said in a new mission statement issued during their summit in Madrid.

The announcement came on a day when a top U.S. intelligence official said victory in Ukraine was not yet in Russia’s grasp, the two sides said they had exchanged more than 200 prisoners of war, and a Ukrainian official said, “There are battles everywhere.”

In a flurry of steps at the summit in Madrid, which ends Thursday, President Biden and other NATO leaders sought to respond to President Vladimir V. Putin’s resurgent and bellicose Russia. Just before publishing the mission statement, they extended formal membership invitations to the until-now nonaligned Nordic countries Finland and Sweden, paving the way for NATO’s most significant enlargement in more than a decade.

“In a moment when Putin has

shattered peace in Europe and attacked the very tenets of the rules-based order, the United States and our allies — we’re going to step up,” Mr. Biden said. “We’re stepping up.”

The secretary-general of NATO, Jens Stoltenberg, announced that thousands of new troops would be deployed in eight countries on NATO’s eastern flank. And Mr. Biden said that Washington would deploy an Army garrison headquarters and a field support battalion in Poland, the first U.S. forces permanently located on NATO’s eastern flank.

China offered a chilly response to the new NATO moves.

“We oppose certain elements clamoring for NATO’s involvement in Asia Pacific, or an Asia Pacific version of NATO based on military alliance,” said China’s ambassador to the United Nations, Zhang Jun. “The outdated Cold War script must not be reenacted in Asia Pacific. The turmoil in parts of the world must not be allowed in Asia Pacific.”

For his part, Mr. Putin kept his attention in Central Asia, where

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KENNY HOLSTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

“We’re stepping up,” President Biden said of NATO’s shift.

Aide’s Testimony Reveals Friction  
Between Parallel Jan. 6 Inquiries

This article is by Glenn Thrush, Luke Broadwater and Michael S. Schmidt.

WASHINGTON — The explosive testimony of a former Trump White House aide on Tuesday may have increased the likelihood of new prosecutions stemming from the attack on the Capitol, but it also bared lingering conflicts between the Justice Department and congressional investigators.

The federal prosecutors working on the case watched the aide’s appearance before the House committee investigating the Jan. 6, 2021, riot and were just as astonished by her account of for-

mer President Donald J. Trump’s increasingly desperate bid to hold on to power as other viewers. The panel did not provide them with videos or transcripts of her taped interviews with committee members beforehand, according to several officials, leaving them feeling blindsided.

The testimony from the aide, Cassidy Hutchinson, who worked for Mr. Trump’s final chief of staff, Mark Meadows, came at a critical moment in parallel investigations that will soon converge, and possibly collide, as the committee wraps up a public inquiry geared for maximum political effect and

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Truck With Doomed Migrants  
Slipped Past U.S. Checkpoint

This article is by James Dobbins, J. David Goodman and Miriam Jordan.

SAN ANTONIO — A tractor-trailer that ended up in San Antonio with more than 50 dead or dying migrants passed through a federal immigration checkpoint inside the United States without being inspected, a top Mexican official said on Wednesday.

The truck crossed the checkpoint, operated by the Border Patrol, shortly before 3 p.m. on Monday as it drove north along Interstate 35 from the border region, the official, Francisco Garduño Yáñez, the head of Mexico’s National Institute of Migration, said

at a news conference that featured images of the truck and its driver at the checkpoint.

The Mexican official also said that the rig had driven by a Border Patrol station in the town of Cotulla; that station does not operate a highway checkpoint.

The truck stopped roughly three hours later along a desolate road just off the highway, with the people inside either dead or struggling to stay alive.

A young girl managed to climb out and cry for help.

“I didn’t get her name or think to ask where she came from,” said Roberto Quintero, who came upon

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