more humid, high 85. Tonight, partly

cloudy, warm, low 70. Tomorrow, partly sunny, very warm, humid, high 88. Weather map, Page D8.

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**MONDAY, JUNE 17, 2024** 

Prices in Canada may be higher

**NEWS ANALYSIS** 

\$4.00

## Gaza 'Pause' Was Tailored For 2 Camps

Prioritizing Aid to U.S., Fighting to the Israelis

#### By ISABEL KERSHNER

JERUSALEM - The announcement came seemingly out of the blue on Sunday when it was first publicized via the Israeli military's English and Arabic-language channels: The military would "pause" its fighting during daytime hours along an important humanitarian aid corridor in southern Gaza until further notice.

Amid some immediate confusion over the scope of the pause, a clarification swiftly followed, this time in Hebrew and seemingly for domestic consumption. The change did not mean a cessation of fighting in the southern Gaza Strip, that statement said, adding that the campaign in the southernmost city of Rafah was continuing. Military officials said the daily pauses were meant only to facilitate the increased distribution of food aid in Gaza, where international organizations have issued dire warnings about hunger.

The strange choreography of the messaging became stranger still when the government suggested that Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu only learned of the military's plan from news reports and signaled his disapproval.

But analysts said it was likely that the prime minister was aware of the plan and that each announcement was tailored to different audiences. The whipsaw statements appeared to reflect the competing pressures facing Mr. Netanyahu, as he juggles demands from the Biden administration and elsewhere around the globe with those of his own hawkish government. His far-right coalition partners oppose any concessions in Gaza, and he relies on their support to

stay in power. The new policy surrounding the humanitarian corridor where the military said it would pause fighting from 8 a.m. until 7 p.m. daily — went into effect on Saturday, according to military officials. But Mr. Netanyahu insinuated that he did not lead of the plans until Sunday morn-

"It's classic Bibi," said Amos Harel, the military affairs analyst for the left-leaning Haaretz newspaper, referring to Mr. Netanyahu by his nickname. Like other experts, he said the announcement was unlikely to have been a complete surprise to him, even if the military commanders did not update him on the exact timing of what they called a tactical change.

"He has a mask for every occasion," Mr. Harel said in an interview. "For the Americans, he needs to show he is doing more to get aid in. For the Israeli audience he can say 'I didn't know' and go for plausible denia-

Continued on Page A6

PROTESTS Pro-Palestinian stu-

dents in Belgium are adopting a



An injured Russian soldier in January at a hospital in Bakhmut, Ukraine, close to the front lines. The soldier survived and was evacuated to Rostov in Russia.

## Chechen Units Fight for Russia, A Sign of Shifting Ethnic Bonds

Photographs by NANNA HEITMANN Article by NEIL MacFARQUHAR

GROZNY, Chechen Republic — A hulking military transport plane roared onto the tarmac at the main airfield in Grozny, the capital of the Chechen Republic in southeastern Russia, and a group of 120 volunteer fighters heading for Ukraine clambered aboard.

Dressed in camouflage, the newly minted troops had just completed at least 10 days of training in Gudermes, near Grozny, at the Special Forces University, which accepts men from across Russia for general military instruction.

Some of the trainees lacked any combat experience. Others were veterans returning to Ukraine for their second or third tour - including former mercenaries from the Wagner militia, disbanded in 2023 after a short-lived mutiny against the Kremlin.

Some Wagner fighters, chafing at the idea of working for the Russian Defense Ministry, instead transferred whole units to the Chechen-trained forces, known as Akhmat battalions, intended in part to absorb fighters from outside the Russian Army. Wagner veterans were often first recruited from prison, including a lean man with a gold front tooth, identified only by his military call sign, "Jedi," because of the potential for retribution.

Continued on Page A8

**SUMMIT** World leaders urged more talks, but were divided on how to engage Russia. PAGE A10

# Pregnant, Addicted, and Finally Receiving Help

#### By JAN HOFFMAN

GRAND RAPIDS, Mich. - Kim Short waited in the doctor's exam room on an icy day in February, exhausted from the first trimester of pregnancy and trembling in withdrawal from methamphetamine, alcohol, Xanax and Klonopin.

She stared at the floor, her black hair curtaining face tattoos of a dagger and stitches, memorials to friends dead from overdose. Inky wings of eyeliner rimmed her

This was Kim's second pregnancy with the Great Moms clinic

#### Rare Programs Provide Women Treatment, Not Scorn

at the Corewell Health Medical Center in Grand Rapids, Mich., one of the rare programs for a population of patients who are among the most reviled in society: pregnant women and new mothers who are addicted to drugs and al-

Kim, 32, had first come to the clinic in the fall of 2022 and, in

April 2023, gave birth to a healthy, drug-free boy. But within months she relapsed, and child protective services placed the baby in foster care. Her despair drove her further into addiction.

Now, pregnant again, she had returned to the one place she believed was her best shot at staying sober and raising this new baby. Dr. Cara Poland walked into the

exam room "I'm so thankful that you made your way back to us," she said to

Dr. Poland, an addiction medicine specialist who founded the Continued on Page A14



Kim Short has struggled with drug use since her teens, and relapsed after her first baby's birth.

## New Washington Post Leaders Tied to Past Use of Stolen Data

By JUSTIN SCHECK and JO BECKER

LONDON — The publisher and the incoming editor of The Washington Post, when they worked as journalists in London two decades ago, used fraudulently obtained phone and company records in newspaper articles, according to a former colleague, a published account of a private investigator and an analysis of newspaper ar-



Will Lewis, the Washington

Post's publisher, in 2023.

Will Lewis, The Post's publisher, assigned one of the articles in 2004 as business editor of The Sunday Times. Another was written by Robert Winnett, whom Mr. Lewis recently announced as The Post's next executive editor.

The use of deception, hacking and fraud is at the heart of a longrunning British newspaper scandal, one that toppled a major tabloid in 2010 and led to years of lawsuits by celebrities who said that reporters improperly obtained their personal documents and voice mail messages.

Mr. Lewis has maintained that his only involvement in the controversy was helping to root out problematic behavior after the fact, while working for Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation.

But a former Sunday Times reporter said on Friday that Mr. Lewis had personally assigned him to write an article in 2004 using phone records that the reporter understood to have been ob-

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# more peaceful approach. PAGE A4 June Is the Month When Hopes Surge and Olympic Dreams Die

### By SCOTT CACCIOLA

Before the Olympics even begin, there is always heartbreak. And June may be the hardest month of all.

Caitlin Clark, the ascendant star of women's basketball, just found out that she won't be going to Paris. So did Bill May, whose hopes of becoming the first man to compete at the Olympics in the

sport of artistic swimming were dashed by the U.S. selection com-

Over the next few weeks, hundreds more athletes - swimmers and sprinters, divers and tumblers, many of whom have spent years training with the singular goal of representing Team U.S.A. on the planet's grandest sports stage — will see their dreams of competing at the Paris Olympics

U.S. Trials Test Minds as Well as Bodies

pulverized to a fine dust.

That's because the U.S. trials in sports like swimming, gymnastics and track and field might just be the fiercest crucibles of all, with a ruthless requirement for Olympic berths: Perform well, or you're

staying home. At the U.S. track and field trials, which are a 10-day smorgasbord of joy and sorrow that starts on Friday in Eugene, Ore., the top three finishers in each event will qualify for Paris — provided those athletes have met the Olympic standard. So, even for someone like Elle St. Pierre, who has the

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### **INTERNATIONAL A4-10**

### **Green Parties Chastened**

Europe's climate change-minded parties performed poorly in the European Union elections, leaving the continent's green agenda in peril. PAGE A6

## Pope's Slur Awakens Pride

An L.G.B.T.Q. march in Rome on Saturday turned an insult used by Francis into a point of honor. PAGE A6

**OBITUARIES B7-8** 

### A Shaper of TV and Movies

Martin Starger helped ABC rise, and produced award winners like "Roots' and "Nashville." He was 92.

**BUSINESS B1-5** 

## Who Really Runs Toyota?

Akio Toyoda gave the reins to a new chief executive last year, but some say he wields unchecked power.

### At a Cricket Stadium Near You

Investors are looking to cash in on a growing U.S. audience for the sport with venues across the country. PAGE B1



NATIONAL A11-17

### A Halt Felt Nationwide

The governor of New York's decision to pause congestion pricing in Manhattan is likely to stall similar initiatives in other cities.

## Readying for a Hostile Debate

With Donald J. Trump's rampage in 2020 still fresh in mind, his campaign, CNN and President Biden are preparing in different ways.

### Woes in Anti-Abortion Camp

After a week that highlighted its struggles, the movement seeks a path forward: "Is the goal the absolute abolition of abortion in our nation?"

### ARTS C1-6

### Now Playing: The Press Tour

For Jennifer Lopez and other stars, the conventional movie publicity blitz has become very unpredictable.

### An Artist's Baltimore

Joyce J. Scott uses humor as much as art to open up conversations about race and inequality in her hometown. PAGE C1



SPORTS D1-8

### Sudden Shift in N.F.L.'s Hiring

After years of decline, the number of Black head coaches in the league doubled in the off-season.

### Redefining a Troubling Past

The Olympiastadion in Berlin will host the final of Euro 2024. Hitler used it for the 1936 Summer Olympics. PAGES D4-5

**OPINION A18-19** 

Linda Greenhouse

