

Hamas Uses Brutal Tactics To Keep Its Grip on Gaza

Group Puts Palestinian Civilians in Peril in War and Violently Represses Dissent

This article is by **Julian E. Barnes, Adam Rasgon, Adam Goldman and Ronen Bergman.**

WASHINGTON — Early this summer, Amin Abed, a Palestinian activist who has spoken out publicly about Hamas, twice found bullets on his doorstep in northern Gaza.

Then in July, he said, he was attacked by Hamas security operatives, who covered his head and dragged him away before repeatedly striking him with hammers and metal bars.

“At any moment, I can be killed by the Israeli occupation, but I can face the same fate at the hands of those who’ve been ruling us for 17 years,” he said in a phone interview from his hospital bed, referring to Hamas. “They almost killed me, those killers and criminals.”

Mr. Abed, who remains hospitalized, was rescued by bystanders who witnessed the attack, but what happened to him has happened to others throughout Gaza.

The bodies of six Israeli hostages recovered last month provided a visceral reminder of Hamas’s brutality. Each had been shot in the head. Some had other bullet wounds, suggesting they were shot while trying to escape, according to Israeli officials who reviewed the autopsy results.

But Hamas also uses violence to maintain its control over Gaza’s population.

Some Palestinians have been injured or killed as Hamas wages an insurgent style of warfare that risks Palestinian lives to strike the Israeli military from densely populated areas. Others have been at-

tacked or threatened for criticizing the group. Some Palestinians have been shot, accused of looting or hoarding aid.

Much international attention has focused on Israeli hurdles to delivering aid to Palestinians, its military operations that have killed tens of thousands of people and a bombing campaign that has reduced cities to rubble. American officials have repeatedly expressed deep frustration with Israel for those failures, too, as well as for not providing basic security in the territory.

But the reality of the war, according to U.S. officials, is that the Israeli military and Hamas carry out questionable acts nearly every day. Many of the reports reviewed by American intelligence analysts involve Israeli actions: military strikes that kill large numbers of civilians, errant attacks on aid convoys or other deadly incidents. But a large number of reports involve Hamas, both its acts of terrorism against hostages and its abuses of Palestinians.

Vice Adm. Frank Whitworth, the head of the U.S. intelligence agency that analyzes satellite imagery, compared the role of intelligence officials monitoring Gaza to that of an umpire.

“We also have a responsibility to tell the whole story,” he said at a gathering of reporters recently. “We certainly are enabling Israel to protect itself. But we are also calling every ball and strike and balk and foul, and we’re doing so in a very complete way.”

This article is based on inter-

Continued on Page 12



ILLUSTRATION BY MARK HARRIS; PHOTOGRAPH BY JONATHAN ERNST/REUTERS

How the Chief Justice Shaped Trump’s Supreme Court Winning Streak

By **JODI KANTOR and ADAM LIPTAK**

Last February, Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. sent his eight Supreme Court colleagues a confidential memo that radiated frustration and certainty.

Former President Donald J. Trump, seeking to retake the White House, had made a bold, last-ditch appeal to the justices. He wanted them to block his fast-approaching criminal trial on charges of attempting to overturn the 2020 election, arguing that he was protected by presidential immunity. Whatever move the court made could have lasting consequences for the next election, the scope of presidential power and the court’s own battered reputation.

The chief justice’s Feb. 22 memo, jump-

Details of Private Memos and Insider Interviews

starting the justices’ formal discussion on whether to hear the case, offered a scathing critique of a lower-court decision and a startling preview of how the high court would later rule, according to several people from the court who saw the document.

The chief justice tore into the appellate court opinion greenlighting Mr. Trump’s trial, calling it inadequate and poorly reasoned. On one key point, he complained, the lower court judges “failed to grapple with the most difficult questions altogether.” He

wrote not only that the Supreme Court should take the case — which would stall the trial — but also how the justices should decide it.

“I think it likely that we will view the separation of powers analysis differently” from the appeals court, he wrote. In other words: grant Mr. Trump greater protection from prosecution.

In a momentous trio of Jan. 6-related cases last term, the court found itself more entangled in presidential politics than at any time since the 2000 election, even as it was contending with its own controversies related to that day. The chief justice responded by deploying his authority to steer rulings that benefited Mr. Trump, according to a New York Times examination that un-

Continued on Page 24

On Tape, Nixon Says Penalties Didn’t Fit Crime for Marijuana

By **ERNESTO LONDOÑO**

Two years after former President Richard M. Nixon launched a war on drugs in 1971, calling substance use the nation’s “public enemy No. 1,” he made a startling admission during a meeting in the Oval Office.

Speaking to a small group of aides and advisers at the White House in March 1973, Nixon said he knew that marijuana was “not particularly dangerous.”

Nixon, who had publicly argued that curbing drug use globally warranted an “all-out offensive,” also privately expressed unease about the harsh punishments Americans were facing for mari-

juana crimes. “Penalties should be commensurate with the crime,” Nixon said during that Oval Office conversation, calling a 30-year sentence in a case he recently had learned about “ridiculous.”

The remarks were captured on the president’s secret recording system amid a set of tapes that were only recently made widely available. A lobbyist for the cannabis industry in Minnesota pored over hours of the tapes and came across the remarks, which leading historians on the Nixon era said they found revelatory.

The comments, on scratchy, sometimes hard-to-hear recordings, provide a surprising glimpse into the thinking of the president who implemented the federal government’s drug classification system and decided that marijuana belonged in a category of substances deemed most prone to abuse and of no proven medical value. Over five decades, that designation has led to millions of arrests, which disproportionately affected Black people and hobbled efforts to rigorously study the therapeutic potential of cannabis.

Continued on Page 18



ASSOCIATED PRESS

President Richard M. Nixon’s admissions startled historians.



ERIK CARTER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



THEA TRAFF FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Coming Attractions

In Arts & Leisure, a preview of the new season in books, theater, music, dance, art, video games, television and film, including, above, the director Barry Jenkins and the actor Margaret Qualley.

Extreme Stress Over Parenting Brings Warning

By **CLAIRE CAIN MILLER**

In his recent advisory on parents’ mental health, the United States surgeon general, Dr. Vivek M. Murthy, said out loud what many parents might have only furtively admitted: Parenting today is too hard and stressful.

Of course, there have always been concerns about families’ well-being. And while some of today’s parents’ fears are newer — cellphones, school shootings, fentanyl — parents have always worried about their children.

So why has parental stress risen to the level of a rare surgeon general’s warning about an urgent public health issue — putting it in the same category as cigarettes and AIDS?

It’s because today’s parents face something different and more demanding: the expectation that they spend ever more time and money educating and enriching their children. These pressures, researchers say, are driven in part by fears about the modern-day economy — that if parents don’t equip their children with every possible advantage, their children could fail to achieve a secure, middle-class life.

This parenting style is known as intensive parenting, as the sociologist Sharon Hays described it

Continued on Page 19

TEENAGE MINDS Girls’ brains aged faster than boys’ during the lockdown, a study found. PAGE 22

Paraguay Adores a Cartoon Mouse Named Mickey. Just Don’t Bring Up Disney.

By **LAURENCE BLAIR**

ASUNCIÓN, Paraguay — One is a colossus spanning theme parks, merchandise and movies, with 150 Academy Awards, 225,000 employees and annual revenue of nearly \$90 billion.

The other is a third-generation family firm with 280 workers that packages hot sauce, soy beans, multicolored sprinkles, an herb called horsetail, six varieties of

panettone and seven kinds of salt for sale in Paraguayan supermarkets.

Yet Mickey (*MEE-kay*) is a household name to rival Disney across the little-touristed South American nation of 6.1 million. In fact, a visitor might assume they’re partners.

There are the red uniforms worn by Mickey’s staff. There’s its family-friendly slogan: “the obli-cated to be good!”

Above all, there’s the cartoon mouse — also called Mickey, and indistinguishable from Mickey Mouse — whose iconic circular ears adorn the gates of the company’s factory, its trucks and a mascot in heavy demand at Paraguayan weddings.

But don’t get it twisted, said Viviana Blasco, 51, sitting in the capital, Asunción, among Mickey-branded stationery, T-shirts and coffee cups.

There’s “the Disney Mickey,” said Ms. Blasco, one of five siblings who run the business, and “the Paraguayan Mickey, our Mickey.”

Still, if the Paraguayan Mickey seems remarkably similar to the Disney one, it may not be entirely a coincidence.

Paraguayans are notoriously creative — some would say light-fingered — when it comes to intellectual property.

Factories churn out knockoff Nike, Lacoste and Adidas clothing. Paraguay’s educational authorities warned last year that Harvard University Paraguay — in Ciudad del Este, the country’s second-largest city and a counterfeiting hot spot — was awarding bogus medical degrees. (The school has no connection to the more famous Harvard.)

Paraguay ranks 86th out of 125

Continued on Page 8

INTERNATIONAL 4-15

A Test for Trudeau

A parliamentary election in Montreal is seen as a referendum on the Canadian prime minister, who has brushed aside calls to step down. PAGE 4

Shattered Legacy of a Priest

Accounts of sexual abuse plague the image of Abbé Pierre, who crusaded against homelessness in France. PAGE 15

SPORTS 30-33

I Am Lion, Hear Me Roar

The media mocked Dan Campbell’s enthusiasm when he took the Detroit job. Who’s laughing now? PAGE 30



NATIONAL 16-26

Changing Course on Protesting

After the unrest of last semester, many colleges have adopted new policies around protest and speech. PAGE 17

A Political Family Divided

Gov. Tim Walz laments splits within families over politics. He and his Republican brother rarely speak. PAGE 16

METROPOLITAN

Location, Location, Location

For those looking to purchase homes while navigating the city’s housing crisis, flood-prone areas are a popular option despite the mounting effects of climate change. PAGE 1

The Elephant Not in the Room

Happy the elephant, a star attraction of the Bronx Zoo, hasn’t been seen by visitors since July. Zoo officials say she’s fine. But some animal rights activists say they are worried. PAGE 1

SUNDAY OPINION

Rachel Louise Snyder

PAGE 6



SUNDAY STYLES

Looks for Here and Now

Issues like immigration, diversity and economic inequity are shaping the creations of clothing designers. PAGE 1

V.I.P.s to the Very End

A discreet mortuary on the Upper East Side of Manhattan serves the city’s elite with prestige and privacy. PAGE 12

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Creating a Path to a Presidency

How the producers of “The Apprentice” crafted a TV version of Donald Trump — measured, thoughtful and endlessly wealthy — that fueled his ascent to the White House. PAGE 4

Wall Street Is Watching

Short sellers, who make money by betting on a decline in stock prices, are closely following the trial of the investor Andrew Left. PAGE 1



0 354753 6