

"All the News  
That's Fit to Print"

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TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 2024

**THE WEATHER**  
Today, more sunshine than clouds with temperatures near average, high 39. Tonight, patchy clouds, low 30. Tomorrow, sunshine and clouds, high 44. Weather map, Page B12.

Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00

## \$2.8 BILLION HOLE IN U.S. SANCTIONS ON OIL FROM IRAN

### LAX OVERSIGHT FOUND

Tankers Covered by U.S. Insurance Are Used to Fund Regime

This article is by Christiaan Triebert, Blacki Migliozzi, Neil Bedi and Alexander Cardia.

For months, as Iran-backed groups attacked U.S. forces and allies in the Middle East, the Biden administration hailed its efforts to restrict Iran's oil revenue — and the country's ability to fund proxy militias. The Treasury secretary told Congress that her teams were "doing everything that they possibly can to crack down" on illegal shipments, and a senior White House adviser said that "extreme sanctions" had effectively stalled Iran's energy sector.

But the sanctions failed to stop oil worth billions of dollars from leaving Iran over the last year, a New York Times investigation has found, revealing a significant gap in U.S. oversight.

The oil was transported aboard 27 tankers, using liability insurance obtained from an American company. That meant that the U.S. authorities could have disrupted the oil's transport by advising the insurer, the New York-based American Club, to revoke the coverage, which is often a requirement for tankers to do business.

Instead, the 27 tankers were able to transport shipments across at least 59 trips since 2023, The Times found, with half the vessels carrying oil on multiple journeys.

The Treasury Department did not respond to a question about whether it was aware the ships had transported Iranian oil while insured by the American Club.

The tankers exhibited warning signs that industry experts, and the Treasury, have said collectively warrant greater scrutiny. Among other red flags, the ships are owned by shell companies, older than average vessels and use a tactic called "spoofing" to hide their true locations.

It is unclear who the U.S. government considers primarily responsible for identifying suspicious tankers. The Treasury is tasked with administering sanctions by investigating and blacklisting individuals or companies participating in illicit activities. But it places some of the burden on insurers to monitor for suspicious behavior through the regular release of advisories and alerts.

To identify the shipments of Iranian oil, The Times built a database of thousands of tankers and their whereabouts using maritime data and satellite imagery. Vessels whose voyage paths showed irregularities were cross-refer-

Continued on Page A6

## Rising Killings of Women Incite Flares of Fury in Africa's Streets

By ABDI LATIF DAHIR

MURANG'A, Kenya — A wave of gruesome killings of women across several African countries in recent weeks has prompted outrage and indignation, triggered a wave of protests and precipitated calls for governments to take decisive action against gender-based violence.

Kenyas were shocked when 31 women were killed in January after they were beaten, strangled or beheaded, activists and police said. In Somalia, a pregnant woman died this month after her husband allegedly set her on fire. In the West African nation of Camer-

oon, a powerful businessman was arrested in January on accusations, which he has denied, of brutalizing dozens of women.

The upsurge in killings is part of a broader pattern that got worse during economic hard times and pandemic lockdowns, human rights activists say. An estimated 20,000 gender-related killings of women were recorded in Africa in 2022, the highest rate in the world, according to the United Nations. Experts believe the true figures are likely higher.

"The problem is the normalization

Continued on Page A11

### Teacher Sick Days on the Rise

Officials hope an Olympic Village can transform a troubled Paris suburb. But big plans have failed before. PAGE A4

### Israel May Put Curbs on Al Aqsa

Reducing access to the mosque compound in Jerusalem may set off unrest, some Israelis warned. PAGE A9



INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Can the Games Bring Revival?

In some districts across the U.S., teachers are missing more school since the pandemic. A shortage of substitutes can make matters worse. PAGE A16

Election Rule Debate in Ohio

Transgender candidates say that election paperwork requiring a listing of previous names is an obstacle. PAGE A17

OBITUARIES B11

Charles V. Hamilton

The quiet intellectual popularized the term "institutional racism" and wrote books on the subject. He was 94.

NATIONAL A12-17

Teacher Sick Days on the Rise

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ARTS C1-6

An Elegant Presence

Juliette Binoche, starring in "The Taste of Things," explains why working with a former boyfriend was freeing, and discusses an Oscar controversy. PAGE C1

When Superstars Gathered

A film about the recording of "We Are the World" spotlights the interactions among the artists involved. PAGE C2

SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

Eyes on the Horizon

Satellites orbiting the Earth at very low altitudes may lead to a world where no place can avoid surveillance. PAGE D1

OPINION A18-19

Zeynep Tufekci

PAGE A18

BUSINESS B1-5

Weighing In on Tesla's Aims

The carmaker's plan to expand operations near Berlin prompts environmental concerns and hopes for jobs. PAGE B1

Jump-Starting an Industry

GlobalFoundries is getting a \$1.5 billion grant, one of the first aimed at revitalizing U.S. chip manufacturing. PAGE B1

OPINION A18-19

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PAGE A18

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JAMES VAN DER ZEE ARCHIVE, THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

"Street Life, Harlem," a painting by William Henry Johnson, is a highlight of the Met's second survey of Black art. At left, a work by the sculptor Richmond Barthé. Below, a photograph by James Van Der Zee.

## Navalny's Widow Accepts Mantle of the Opposition

To the Bitter End, an Active Reader and Correspondent

By ANTON TROIANSKI

Confined to cold, concrete cells and often alone with his books, Aleksei A. Navalny sought solace in letters. To one acquaintance, he wrote in July that no one could understand Russian prison life "without having been here," adding in his deadpan humor: "But there's no need to be here."

"If they're told to feed you caviar tomorrow, they'll feed you caviar," Mr. Navalny, the Russian opposition leader, wrote to the same acquaintance, Ilya Krasilshchik, in August. "If they're told to strangulate you in your cell, they'll strangulate you."

Many details about his last months — as well as the circumstances of his death, which the Russian authorities announced on Friday — remain unknown; even the whereabouts of his body are unclear.

Mr. Navalny's aides have said little as they process the loss. But his final months of life are detailed in previous statements from him and his aides, his appearances in court, interviews with people close to him and excerpts from private letters that several friends, including Mr. Krasilshchik, shared with The New York Times.

The letters reveal