mid, high 88. Tonight, mainly clear,

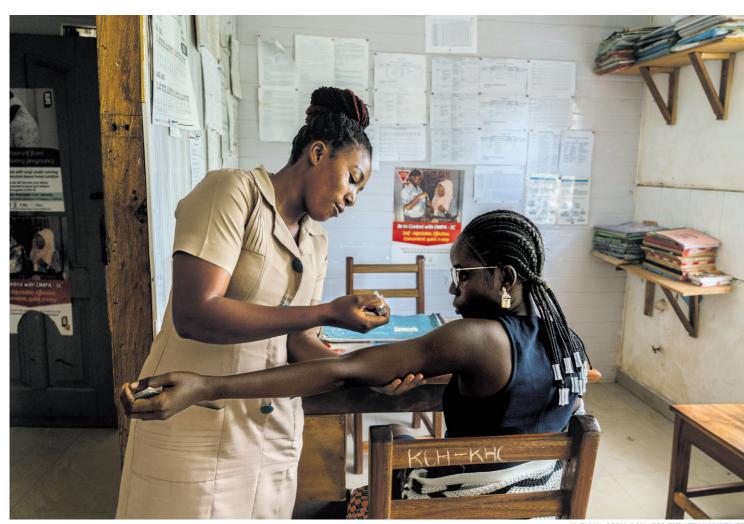
sunny, very warm, humid, high 88. Weather map appears on Page B12.

VOL. CLXXIII No. 60,189 © 2024 The New York Times Company

TUESDAY, JUNE 18, 2024

Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



Sandra Dadjan administering a three-month contraceptive injection to Mary Amoako at Kwapong Health Centre in rural Ghana.

The Gun Lobby's Hidden Hand In Legal Fights Over Restrictions

By MIKE McINTIRE and JODI KANTOR

In the battle to dismantle gun restrictions, raging in America's courts even as mass shootings become commonplace, one name keeps turning up in the legal briefs and judges' rulings: William English, Ph.D.

A little-known political economist at Georgetown University, Dr. English conducted a largestof-its-kind national survey that found gun owners frequently used their weapons for self-defense. That finding has been deployed by gun rights activists to notch legal victories with far-reaching consequences.

He has been cited in a landmark Supreme Court case that invalidated many restrictions on guns,

Influential Scholar Has **Pro-Firearms Ties**

and in scores of lawsuits around the country to overturn limits on assault weapons, high-capacity magazines and the carrying of firearms. His findings were also offered in another Supreme Court case this term, with a decision expected this month.

Dr. English seems at first glance to be an impartial researcher interested in data-driven insights. He has said his "scholarly arc" focuses on good public policy, and his lack of apparent ties to the gun lobby has lent credibility to his work.

Continued on Page A20

Easier Access to Contraception Alters Lives of African Women

By STEPHANIE NOLEN

GOASO, Ghana — On a busy day at the Kwapong Health Centre in rural Ghana, Beatrice Nyamekye put contraceptive implants into the arms of a half-dozen women, and gave eight or nine more a three-month hormonal injection to prevent pregnancy. A few sought condoms or birth control pills, but most wanted something longer lasting.

"They like the implants and injections best of all," said Ms. Nyamekye, a community health nurse. "It frees them from worry, and it is private. They don't have to even discuss it with a husband or a partner."

The bustle at the Kwapong clinic is echoed all over Ghana, and across much of sub-Saharan

Long-Lasting Methods Reach Remote Areas

Africa, where women have the world's lowest rate of access to contraception: Just 26 percent of women of reproductive age in the region are using a modern contraceptive method something other than the rhythm or withdrawal methods - according to the United Nations Population Fund, known as UNFPA, which works on reproductive and maternal health.

But that is changing as more women have been able to get methods that give them a fast, affordable and discreet boost of re-

Continued on Page A8



A Lust for Durian

China's new appetite for the spiky fruit has made it one of the world's priciest, changing life for Southeast Asian farmers. Page A6.

Surgeon General Wants Warning Labels on Social Media Sites

By ELLEN BARRY and CECILIA KANG

The U.S. surgeon general, Dr. Vivek H. Murthy, announced on Monday that he would push for a warning label on social media platforms advising parents that using the platforms might damage adolescents' mental health.

Warning labels — like those

that appear on tobacco and alcohol products - are one of the most powerful tools available to the nation's top health official, but Dr. Murthy cannot unilaterally require them; the action requires approval by Congress.

The proposal builds on several years of escalating warnings from the surgeon general. In a May 2023 advisory, he recommended

Seeing Risks to Mental Health of Teenagers

that parents immediately set limits on phone use and urged Congress to swiftly develop health and safety standards for technology platforms.

He also called on tech companies to make changes: to share internal data on the health impact of their products; to allow independent safety audits; and to restrict features like push notifications, autoplay and infinite scroll, which says "prey on developing brains and contribute to excessive

Continued on Page A17

Medical Limits In Gaza Result In Lost Limbs

War Creates an Outsize Share of Amputees

This article is by Hiba Yazbek, Bilal Shbair, Cassandra Vinograd and Abu Bakr Bashir.

Bleeding and crying, Dr. Hani Bseso's teenage niece Ahed called out for him as she slipped in and out of consciousness.

A shell had ripped into their home, which had been surrounded by Israeli troops as fighting raged outside that December day. It was too dangerous to make the five-minute drive to Al-Shifa Hospital, where Dr. Bseso, 52, worked in orthopedics.

So he grabbed a kitchen knife, scissors and sewing string — then amputated Ahed's leg on the kitchen table, where her mother had just made bread.

"She was badly hit," he recalled. With "no tools, no anesthetic, nothing," he explained, "I had to find a way to save her life."

The crude surgery was captured in a video shared widely online, a grim emblem of the agonizing choices that have been repeated countless times in a war that has ravaged Gazans' lives and limbs. Doctors say they have been stunned by the sheer number of amputations in Gaza, which put patients at risk of infection in a place where access to medical care and even clean water is lim-

Israel's war against Hamas in Gaza has killed more than 37,000 people in the enclave, according to Gazan health authorities. The numbers do not distinguish between civilians and combatants. The war has also left an even larger number of people of wounded. Local health authorities say that number is more than 85,000 — and aid workers say that includes an outsize number of am-

Gaza's health care system is illequipped to cope. Many of the territory's hospitals have been knocked out of service completely while others scrape by with severe shortages of supplies like anesthesia and antibiotics.

Surgeons say the lack of supplies and the scale of the wounded have forced them to amoutate limbs that elsewhere would have been salvageable. But it's a loselose situation they say amputations require close care and, frequently, further surgeries.

"There's no good options there," said Dr. Ana Jeelani, an orthopedic surgeon in Liverpool, England, who spent two weeks at Al-Aqsa Hospital in central Gaza in March. "Everything requires follow-up that we do, and there is none."

Continued on Page A11

RAFAH ATTACK A Times investigation shows civilian casualties were almost inevitable, PAGE A12

PAUSE IN FIGHTING OPENS POTENTIAL FOR AID TO GAZA

SIGN OF ISRAELI SHIFT

With Moderates Gone, Netanyahu Disbands War Cabinet

This article is by Patrick Kingsley, Adam Rasgon, Cassandra Vinograd and Michael Levenson.

JERUSALEM — The Israeli military said on Monday that it had paused operations during daylight hours in parts of the southern Gaza Strip, as a new policy announced a day earlier appeared to take hold, along with cautious hopes that it would allow more food and other goods to reach desperate civilians.

Aid workers said they hoped that the daily pause in the Israeli offensive would make it less dangerous to deliver vital supplies to areas in central and southern Gaza from Kerem Shalom, a key border crossing between Israel and Gaza, removing one of many obstacles to their beleaguered operations.

But aid agencies warned that other restrictions on movement, as well as lawlessness in the territory, would still make it difficult to meet the dire needs of Gazans struggling to survive after eight months of war.

With stockpiles in southern



An Israeli convoy inside Gaza, where some military operations paused during the day.

Gaza dwindling, "maybe for a couple of weeks they'll have enough food, but if we cannot have access and sustain that, then that's going to be a big problem," said Carl Skau, the deputy director of the World Food Program, an arm of the United Nations that distributes food in Gaza. Food supplies in southern Gaza were "more stabilized a month ago, but we are really concerned now," said Mr. Skau, who visited Gaza last week.

The shift in Israeli operations came as Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu disbanded the war cabinet he had formed after the Hamas-led Oct. 7 attacks, an Israeli official said on Monday, high-

Continued on Page A11

Suspect in Gilgo Beach Killings Said to Keep Planning Manual

By COREY KILGANNON

When prosecutors indicted Rex Heuermann this month on two additional murders in the Gilgo Beach serial killings on Long Island, they also described a manual he kept as a "planning document."

Prosecutors say Mr. Heuermann created the document to "methodically blueprint" the selection, killing and disposal of victims, according to a bail application filed with the indictment.

Written in capital letters, the manual is structured as a series of reminder lists under topics like PRE-PREP, which offers banal tips about the importance of checking weather reports and looking for surveillance cameras. The PREP section is more grim, with directives to set up a holding area and "stage" with equipment for apparent sexual torture. The BODY PREP list includes reminders on how to avoid leaving evi-

The manual is the most informative piece of narrative evidence disclosed since prosecutors filed legal papers after Mr. Heuermann's arrest detailing investigators' 18-month pursuit. In prosecutors' hands, a document they say the defendant created to avoid detection may instead become damning evidence against him,

Continued on Page A23



SPORTS B6-9, 12

Never Tiring of Hitting

Juan Soto of the Yankees, who smacked bottle caps as a youth, has evolved a strong mind for the craft.

Learning From His Struggles

Gio Reyna has found a sanctuary with the U.S. men's soccer team as he prepares for Copa América. PAGE B9 **INTERNATIONAL A4-13**

The War at Russia's Border

Residents of Belgorod, a city 25 miles from Ukraine, have learned to dodge drones and artillery shells.

BUSINESS B1-5

They're Not Playing Around

For news publishers and tech sites looking to entice and engage users, games are serious business.

OBITUARIES B10-11

Pioneering Trans Advocate

Lynn Conway, 86, had a significant role at IBM but lost her job.



ARTS C1-6

Best and Worst of the Tonys

Among the highlights: Above, Wendell Pierce presented Kara Young ("Purlie Victorious") with her award.

Relics of a Darker Time An exhibition on the Holocaust looks at

eight stories of struggle, and the objects that were not taken away. PAGE C1 NATIONAL A14-23

Impossible to Be Indivisible?

From the urban and rural divide to the partisan gulf, from religious groups to warring factions on campuses, organizations and funders are cropping up with hope for common ground. PAGE A14

Mulling a Bird-Flu Pandemic

There is no guarantee that a person-toperson virus would be benign, and vaccines and treatments at hand may not be sufficient. One possible solution: inoculating dairy cows.

Vivek H. Murthy

OPINION A24-25

PAGE A24



Saving the Salamanders

While trying to protect large amphibians native to Japan, herpetologists in the country found a way to potentially save an even bigger species in China. PAGE D5

