

“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Today, partly sunny, warm, high 90.
Tonight, partly cloudy, a light wind,
low 73. **Tomorrow**, some sun, breezy,
hot, an afternoon thunderstorm,
high 93. Weather map, Page A24.

VOL. CLXXIII . . . No. 60,196 © 2024 The New York Times Company TUESDAY, JUNE 25, 2024 Prices in Canada may be higher \$4.00



Pilgrims last week near the holy city of Mecca, Saudi Arabia. More than 1,300 died making the Islamic pilgrimage this month.

PUBLISHER’S TIES TO HACKING CASE

Police Doubted Boss Now
at Washington Post

**By JO BECKER
and JUSTIN SCHECK**

LONDON — Will Lewis, now the publisher of The Washington Post, was in full crisis mode in 2011. Then an executive at a subsidiary of Rupert Murdoch’s News Corporation, he was an intermediary to the police detectives investigating a British phone-hacking scandal that had placed the company’s journalists and top leaders in legal peril.

For years, reporters at News Corporation’s best-selling British tabloid had landed scoops by paying public officials and illegally listening to the voice mail messages of royals, politicians, celebrities and even a murdered girl. Mr. Lewis was supposed to cooperate with police, identify wrongdoing and help steer the company through the crisis.

His role, he would later say, was as a force for good. He was “draining the swamp.”

But confidential documents obtained by The New York Times and interviews with people involved in the criminal investigation show that, almost from the beginning, investigators with London’s Metropolitan Police were suspicious of News Corporation’s intentions, and came to view Mr. Lewis as an impediment.

The police suspected that News Corporation was trying to “steer the investigation into a very narrow remit” by pointing the finger at a few journalists “while steering the investigation away from other journalists and editors,” one of the lead detectives wrote in a previously undisclosed internal

Continued on Page A16

Hajj Deaths Reveal Underbelly of Spiritual Quest

**By EMAD MEKAY
and VIVIAN NEREIM**

CAIRO — More than 1,300 people died making the Islamic pilgrimage of hajj in Saudi Arabia this month, the vast majority of whom the Saudi government said did not have permits. Many walked for miles in scorching heat after paying thousands of dollars to illicit or fraudulent tour operators.

While pilgrims with permits are transported around the holy city of Mecca in air-conditioned buses and rest in air-conditioned tents, unregistered ones are often exposed to the elements. In recent days, as temperatures surpassed 120 degrees, some pilgrims described watching people faint and passing bodies in the street.

The Saudi health minister, Fahd

**Without Permits, Many
Were Unprotected
From Dire Heat**

al-Jalajel, said in an interview on state television that 83 percent of the 1,301 reported deaths involved pilgrims who lacked permits.

“The rise in temperatures during the hajj season represented a big challenge this year,” he said Sunday. “Unfortunately — and this is painful for all of us — those who didn’t have hajj permits walked long distances under the sun.”

Mr. al-Jalajel’s remarks came after days of silence from the Saudi government over the fatalities during the hajj, an arduous

and deeply spiritual ritual that Muslims are encouraged to perform once in their lifetimes if they are physically and financially able.

With nearly two million participating each year, it is not unusual for pilgrims to die from heat stress, illness or chronic disease. It is unclear if the number of deaths this year was higher than usual, because Saudi Arabia does not regularly report those statistics. Last year, 774 pilgrims died from Indonesia alone, and in 1985, more than 1,700 people died around the holy sites, most of them from heat stress, a study at the time found.

But because so many of those who died had no permits, this year’s toll exposed an underbelly of tour operators and smugglers

Continued on Page A5



Record Floods in the Midwest
Officials in Iowa, South Dakota and Minnesota reported major damage last weekend. Page A17.

Realities of Abortion Bans Shift the Terms of the Issue

Complications of Pregnancy and Fertility
Sway Voters From Different Parties

By KATE ZERNIKE

In the decades that Roe v. Wade was the law of the land, abortion rights groups tried to shore up support for it by declaring “Abortion Is Health Care.”

Only now, two years after the Supreme Court eliminated the constitutional right to abortion, and just six months before the presidential election, has the slogan taken on the force of reality.

The public conversation about abortion has grown into one about the complexities of pregnancy and reproduction, as the consequences of bans have played out in the news. The question is no longer just whether you can get an abortion, but also, Can you get one if pregnancy complications put you in septic shock? Can you find an obstetrician when so many are leaving states with bans? If you miscarry, will the hospital send you home to bleed? Can you and your partner do in vitro fertilization?

That shift helps explain why a record percentage of Americans are now declaring themselves single-issue voters on abortion rights — especially among Black voters, Democrats, women and those ages 18 to 29. Republican women are increasingly saying their party’s opposition to abortion is too extreme, and Democrats are running on the issue after years of running away from it.

“When the Dobbs case came down, I told my friends — somewhat but not entirely in jest — that America was about to be exposed to a lengthy seminar on obstetrics,” said Elaine Kamarck, a fellow at the Brookings Institution, referring to the Supreme Court

decision that overturned Roe v. Wade.

Abortion opponents say that stories about women facing medical complications are overblown and that women who truly need abortions for medical reasons have been able to get them under exceptions to the bans.

Still, a poll in April found that 46 percent of registered voters had heard stories of women forced to cross state lines to get abortions they needed because of pregnancy complications — up 11 points since September. In the latest abortion case before the Supreme Court, justices from both ends of the ideological spectrum pressed lawyers for Idaho to explain how the state could deny the procedure to a woman who was bleeding uncontrollably after her water had broken early.

The Biden campaign has dispatched six women to battleground states as it tries to mobilize voters around Monday’s two-

Continued on Page A18



HAIYUN JIANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Protesting a near-total abortion ban in Idaho this year.

Can Delaying Menopause Give Women Longer, Healthier Life?

By ALISHA HARIDASANI GUPTA and DANA G. SMITH

In March, the first lady, Jill Biden, announced a new White House women’s health initiative that highlighted a seemingly obscure research question: What if you could delay menopause and all of the health risks associated with it?

The question comes from a field of research that has started to draw attention over the last few years, as scientists who study longevity and women’s health have come to realize that the female reproductive system is far more than just a baby-maker. The ovaries, in particular, appear to be connected to virtually every aspect of a woman’s health.

They also abruptly stop performing their primary role in midlife. Once that happens, a woman enters menopause, which accelerates her aging and the decline of other organ systems, like the heart and the brain. While women, on average, live longer than men, they spend more time living with diseases or disabilities.

The ovaries are “the only organ

in humans that we just accept will fail one day,” said Renee Wegrzyn, the director of the Advanced Research Projects Agency for Health, a government agency tasked with steering Dr. Biden’s mission. “It’s actually kind of wild that we all just accept that.”

It is the ovaries’ truncated life span that also makes them such a promising site for experimentation. Researchers think that prolonging their function, better aligning the length of their viability with that of other organs, could potentially alter the course of a woman’s health — and longevity research overall.

Dr. Wegrzyn said she hoped the White House initiative, in which researchers and startups are competing for a slice of the program’s \$100 million budget, would highlight the connection between menopause and longevity, while also attracting more funding and talent to the field.

“If you don’t think about ovarian function during aging,” said

Continued on Page A17

Trump’s Warm-Up Act: A Gold-Coin Pitchman

By SHARON LaFRANIERE

At a conference this month put on by Turning Point Action, a rising conservative activist group, 8,000 people packed into a Detroit convention hall to hear directly from Republicans’ presumptive nominee for president, Donald J. Trump.

But first, there was a word from a sponsor: Alexander Spellane.

Mr. Spellane, who federal regulators say is also known as Alex-

**Political Event Sponsor
Facing Fraud Claims**

ander Fisher and Alexander Overlie, sells investments in precious metals. Cash, stocks and 401(k)s could plummet in value, he warned from the stage, but he told the throng of Trump supporters that they could protect their money by buying gold and silver

from his company, Fisher Capital.

The Commodity Futures Trading Commission has been trying to shut down Fisher Capital’s business for the past 14 months, alleging in a lawsuit that it sold gold and silver coins at such exorbitant, deceptive prices that virtually every customer had suffered “immediate and dramatic losses on their investment.” Fisher Capital has denied the allegations.

That lawsuit did not keep Turn-

Continued on Page A14

Iran’s Strict Hijab Law Rattles Presidential Race

**By FARNAZ FASSIHI
and LEILY NIKOUNAZAR**

Iranian officials insisted for decades that the law requiring women to cover their hair and dress modestly was sacrosanct and not even worth discussion. They dismissed the struggle by women who challenged the law as a symptom of Western meddling.

Now, as Iran holds a presidential election this week, the issue of mandatory hijab, as the hair cov-

**Women’s Movement Is
Gaining Ground**

ering is known, has become a hot campaign topic. And all six of the men running, five of them conservative, have sought to distance themselves from the methods of enforcing the law, which include violence, arrests and monetary fines.

“Elections aside, politics aside, under no circumstances should we treat Iranian women with such cruelty,” Mustafa Pourmohammadi, a conservative presidential candidate and cleric with senior roles in intelligence, said in a round-table discussion on state television last week. He has also said that government officials should be punished over the hijab law because it was their duty to educate women about why they

Continued on Page A5



Chance for Olympics Do-Over
Nyjah Huston, skateboarding’s biggest star, is chasing more than redemption in Paris this summer. PAGE B6

Scheffler in Perspective
With six victories already this year, the Masters winner is having one of the best PGA Tour seasons ever. PAGE B7

A Dissident’s Next Act
A series of gambles got Kwon Pyong out of China by jet ski and eventually out of South Korea, where he was still hounded by the Chinese state. PAGE A4

Russians Fear Mass Terrorism
A deadly assault in the Dagestan region has put a spotlight on the failings of Russian security services. PAGE A8

Apple Is Charged in E.U.
Regulators say the App Store’s policies are illegal under the European Union’s Digital Markets Act. PAGE B1



Definitely Not Washed Up
Despite lots of weirdness over the years, including a shoreline invasion of France, above, Garfield is still on top. PAGE C5

The Ballet of a Writer
A work by Wayne McGregor evokes elements of Virginia Woolf’s life and the essence of three of her novels. PAGE C1

Hearing on Transgender Care
In a case that could have broad ramifications, the Supreme Court will consider the constitutionality of a Tennessee law that bans three types of treatments for transitioning minors. PAGE A19

Dreading the Debate
Democratic hand-wringing is nothing new, but this week’s high-stakes clash between President Biden and former President Donald J. Trump has some feeling particularly anxious. PAGE A14

Frank Luntz
PAGE A23



Protecting Marine Corals
With the sea creatures making up a growing share of illegal animal seizures worldwide, U.S. officials are working on ways to house them safely. PAGE D4

