VOL. CLXXI ... No. 59,485

© 2022 The New York Times Company

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, JULY 15, 2022

#### midity, high 87. **Tonight**, clear to partly cloudy, low 70. **Tomorrow**, sunshine mixing with some clouds, high 85. Weather map, Page B11.

\$3.00

# In Rape Case, Politics Raced Ahead of News

#### 10-Year-Old's Abortion Spurs Heated Debate

#### By KATIE ROBERTSON

For nearly two weeks, the story of a 10-year-old Ohio girl who was raped and crossed state lines to get an abortion became a flash point in the national abortion debate. President Biden and other Democrats argued that it showed the harm resulting from the Supreme Court's overturning of Roe v. Wade.

But the facts were sparse, with reporters struggling to confirm a report in The Indianapolis Star that relied on a single named

Conservative media questioned whether the girl existed. Jesse Watters, a host on Fox News, suggested that the story could be a "hoax" meant to buttress the abortion-rights position. The Wall Street Journal published an editorial on Tuesday with the headline: "An Abortion Story Too Good to Confirm.

People on the left were quick to jump on and criticize any media report that noted how little was known about the girl and the circumstances of the crime. On Saturday, Glenn Kessler, a reporter at The Washington Post, wrote that he had been unable to confirm any of the details. "This is a very difficult story to check," he wrote, a conclusion that led to a flurry of angry comments on The Post's website. The case became an example of how, with a highly partisan issue, a single article can become the focus of a heated debate.

The facts became clearer on Wednesday, when The Columbus Dispatch reported that a man in Ohio had been arraigned in the

But by then, the debate over the case had placed mainstream publications in an uncomfortable bind. A politicized narrative had evolved faster than reporters could accumulate information, and was fueling its own news cycle outside the facts

"It was extreme enough that the questions about it were logical questions to ask," said Kelly McBride, a media ethics expert at the Poynter Institute. But, she added, journalists needed to do the reporting to answer questions and "not just put more opinions out without any more additional

A Fox News spokeswoman declined to comment on statements from Mr. Watters or other hosts, but pointed to reporting by the network on Tuesday that corroborated the case. A Wall Street Journal spokeswoman did not reply to requests for comment.

The Indianapolis Star first brought the case to the public's attention in an article on July 1 that examined restrictions on abortion in the wake of the Supreme Court decision. The article referred to a case of Dr. Caitlin Bernard's. Dr. Bernard, an Indianapolis obstetrician-gynecologist, treated a 10year-old rape victim from Ohio who had traveled to Indiana for abortion care because she was past the newly imposed six-week abortion limit in her home state.

Continued on Page A13



Say It Is Time

For New Blood

By MAYA KING

and JONATHAN WEISMAN

Alexandra Chadwick went to

the polls in 2020 with the single

goal of ousting Donald J. Trump. A

22-year-old first-time voter, she

saw Joseph R. Biden Jr. as more of

a safeguard than an inspiring po-

litical figure, someone who could

stave off threats to abortion ac-

cess, gun control and climate pol-

Two years later, as the Supreme

Court has eroded federal protec-

tions on all three, Ms. Chadwick

now sees President Biden and

other Democratic leaders as lack-

ing both the imagination and

willpower to fight back. She points

to a generational gap — one she

once overlooked but now seems

"How are you going to accu-

rately lead your country if your

mind is still stuck 50, 60 or 70

years ago?" Ms. Chadwick, a

customer service representative

in Rialto, Calif., said of the many

septuagenarian leaders at the

helm of her party. "It's not the

same, and people aren't the same,

and your old ideas aren't going to

While voters across the spec-

trum express rising doubts about

Continued on Page A12

work as well anymore."

#### A Hero's Farewell

Hershel Williams, known as Woody, the last surviving Medal of Honor recipient from World War II, lay in honor at the U.S. Capitol on Thursday. As a 21-year-old Marine, he braved machine-gun fire to break through the Japanese defenses on Iwo Jima. He was 98.

# Across U.S., It's Getting Harder to Find a Home Young Voters

#### By EMILY BADGER

San Francisco, Los Angeles, New York and Washington have long failed to build enough housing to keep up with everyone trying to live there. And for nearly as long, other parts of the country have mostly been able to shrug off the housing shortage as a condition particular to big coastal cities.

But in the years leading up to the pandemic, that condition advanced around the country: Springfield, Mo., stopped having enough housing. And the same

#### Soaring Prices Threaten Further Disruption to the Economy

with Appleton, Wis., and Naples,

What once seemed a blue-state coastal problem has increasingly become a national one, with consequences for the quality of life of American families, the health of the national economy and the politics of housing construction.

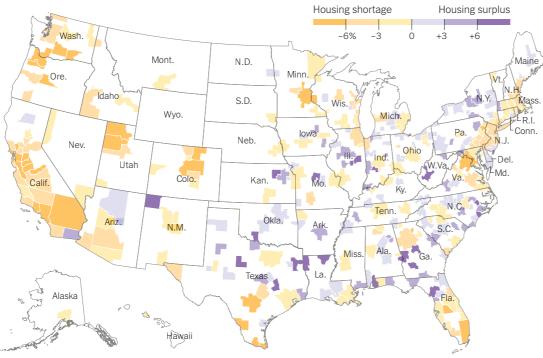
Today more families in the middle of America who could once count on becoming homeowners can't be so confident anymore. And communities that long relied on their relatively affordable housing to draw new residents can no longer be so sure of that advantage.

"It's like the cancer was limited to certain parts of our economic body," said Sam Khater, the chief economist at Freddie Mac. "And now it's spreading."

Freddie Mac has estimated that the nation is short 3.8 million Continued on Page A14

#### **Shortages vs. Surpluses**

A growing number of metro areas that once took housing affordability for granted faced shortages heading into the pandemic. By 2019, they lacked enough housing to meet demand, according to a new analysis.



Note: Shortage percentages reflect estimated housing units needed to meet demand, as a share of existing housing units Source: Up for Growth analysis of U.S. Census Bureau and U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development data

THE NEW YORK TIMES

# Steak Frites Without Mustard? France Shudders as Jars Vanish.

#### By ROGER COHEN

PARIS — Mustard runs deep in French culture. "My blood is boiling" is rendered in French by the expression "la moutarde me monte au nez," or "the mustard is rising into my nose" - and as Bastille Day testifies, when that happens in France, the effect can be devastating

As France marked its most important national holiday on Thursday, commemorating the storm-

ing of the Bastille fortress prison in 1789 that ignited the French Revolution, the mysterious

disappearance of mustard from supermarket shelves has caused, if not revolt, at least deep disquiet.

Deprived of the condiment that gives edge to a steak frites, life to a grilled sausage, depth to a vinaigrette and richness to mayonnaise, France has been casting around with quiet desperation for alternatives. Horseradish, wasabi, Worcestershire sauce and even

creams of Roquefort or shallots have all emerged as contend-Poor contenders, it

must be said. The problem is that Dijon mustard is as irreplaceable as it is indispensable. Butter or cream of unique quality may be more essential to French cuisine,

but many an unctuous sauce with-

ers into insipidity without mustard. In Lyon, the idea of an offal sausage, or andouillette, without its mustard sauce is as inconceivable as cheese starved of wine.

Another problem, it transpires, is that Dijon mustard is composed largely from ingredients that do not come from that lovely capital of the Burgundy region. A perfect storm of climate change, a European war, Covid supply problems and rising costs have left French producers short of the brown

Continued on Page A9

# BIDEN MUST FACE A VILIFIED PRINCE HIGH-STAKES MEETING

COURTING SAUDIS,

#### De Facto Ruler Is Key to Helping U.S. on Iran and Oil Prices

#### By BEN HUBBARD

BEIRUT, Lebanon — The Saudi Arabia that President Biden will visit this week is a country being actively reshaped by the whims and visions of one man: Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman.

As the de facto ruler of the oilrich monarchy, the 36-year-old prince has cast himself as a reformer, loosening some restrictions of ultraconservative Islam by permitting women to drive and allowing once-forbidden cinemas

But the prince's rule has also been defined by his institutionalization of force — both to quash domestic dissent and to pursue a more muscular foreign policy. Stepping beyond the old Saudi model of quietly cultivating influence with cash-driven diplomacy, Prince Mohammed has bombed Yemen, moved aggressively to jail activists and critics and, according to the Central Intelligence Agency, dispatched the hit squad that murdered the Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi.

It was because of these human rights concerns that Mr. Biden vowed during his election campaign to make Saudi Arabia a "pariah" and refused once in office to speak with Prince Mohammed, seeking to punish him with isolation.

It did not work.

With Russia's invasion of Ukraine affecting oil prices and Iran believed to be expanding its nuclear capabilities, Mr. Biden suddenly needs Saudi Arabia's help — and must confront the reality that the only way to get it is through Prince Mohammed, widely known as M.B.S.

"By the simple fact that M.B.S. managed to hold onto his position domestically, he is the necessary interlocutor if you want to talk to Saudi Arabia," said Cinzia Bianco, a visiting fellow at the European Council on Foreign Relations.

Regardless of the trip's outcome, the image of Mr. Biden meeting Prince Mohammed on his own turf will provide validation of the young royal's position at the helm of one of the most important countries in the Middle East and provide a boost to his vision for the kingdom and its more

Continued on Page A7

**DIFFERING APPROACHES** The U.S. and Israel are divided on how exactly to deal with Iran. PAGE A6

IVANA TRUMP, 1949-2022

# Former President's First Wife, Who Became a Mogul Herself

#### By CLAY RISEN

Ivana Trump, the glamorous Czech American businesswoman whose high-profile marriage to Donald J. Trump in the 1980s established them as one of the era's quintessential New York power couples, died on Thursday at her home in Manhattan. She was 73.

Mr. Trump announced her death in a statement on Truth Social, the conservative social media platform he founded.

The New York City police were investigating whether Ms. Trump fell down the stairs at her townhouse on the Upper East Side, according to two law enforcement officials with knowledge of the matter. One of the officials said



Ivana and Donald J. Trump, a

1980s New York power couple. that there was no sign of forced entry at the home and that the death appeared to be accidental. A

would investigate the death. Continued on Page A18

spokeswoman for the city's chief

medical examiner's office said it

#### **INTERNATIONAL A4-9**

#### **Ukraine Priests Draw Scrutiny**

Officials suspect some clergy members in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church may be collaborating with Russia. PAGE A8

#### Prime Minister Offers to Quit

Italy's president refused to accept Mario Draghi's resignation, leaving the country in political limbo.



NATIONAL A10-15

# A Crushing Debt to Society

A new report asserts that ordering juvenile offenders to pay restitution often derails their lives and doesn't compensate the victims either. PAGE A10

### **Exonerated and Suing City**

Muhammad A. Aziz filed a \$40 million claim against New York, seeking redress for his wrongful conviction in the killing of Malcolm X. PAGE A15

# Manchin Sinks Spending Deal

Senator Joe Manchin III said he would not back tax increases or climate funding, dashing hopes that the Biden PAGE A14 agenda could be salvaged.

**BUSINESS B1-5** 

# Inflating the Airwaves

Prices are soaring, and so are political ads by Republicans castigating Democrats for the problem as the midterm elections approach.

#### Questionable Surveillance

A data breach has caused some people in China to express concerns about the country's surveillance state, which shows no signs of easing.

# **Empty Airport Carousels**

Surging demand for air travel and airport staffing shortages have made this a bedeviling season when it comes to missing luggage.

#### WEEKEND ARTS C1-12

#### A Nice Role After All

Jennifer Coolidge wasn't wild about taking a role in "The White Lotus." Now she's an Emmy nominee. PAGE C3

#### Speaking Her Language

Two shows explore the art of Barbara Kruger. Below, a variation on her "Untitled (I Shop Therefore I Am)." PAGE C1



SPORTS B6-10

# A Clunker at the British Open

Tiger Woods, a three-time Open champion, was six over par after the first round at St. Andrews.

#### Latinos Lack Voice in Baseball

Nearly 30 percent of big-league players are Hispanic, but they are largely absent from union leadership.

OPINION A16-17

Thomas L. Friedman

