

“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

THE WEATHER

Today, sunny to partly cloudy, hot and humid, high 97. Tonight, partly cloudy, humid, low 79. Tomorrow, humid, gusty thunderstorms later, high 94. Weather map, Page B12.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00

Vance, a Onetime Critic of Trump, Is Selected as His Running Mate

By MICHAEL GOLD

MILWAUKEE — Former President Donald J. Trump has chosen Senator J.D. Vance of Ohio to be his running mate, wagering that the young senator will bring fresh energy to the Republican ticket and ensure that the movement Mr. Trump began nearly a decade ago can live on after him.

Mr. Vance, 39, is a political newcomer who entered the Senate only last year, but he has spent that time methodically ascending the conservative firmament.

Once an acerbic Trump critic — attacking Mr. Trump as “reprehensible” and calling him “cultural heroin” — he won Mr. Trump’s backing in his 2022 Senate race by wholly embracing his politics and his lies about a stolen election. The endorsement lifted him above a crowded field, and ultimately to the Senate.

Mr. Vance, a venture capitalist in Silicon Valley who became best known for writing the memoir “Hillbilly Elegy,” did not forget it. He quickly emerged as a top defender of the former president in the halls of Congress and on television, taking his cues from Mr. Trump while frequently bucking the priorities of Senator Mitch McConnell, the chamber’s long-time Republican leader.

Mr. Trump announced his choice in a post on Truth Social, his social media platform, on Monday as the Republican National Convention was getting underway in Milwaukee. He said that Mr. Vance was “the person best suited” to be his potential vice president. He highlighted Mr. Vance’s time in the Marine Corps and his memoir, saying he believed Mr. Vance was a champion for hardworking people, particularly the workers and farmers in a number of key swing states.

Mr. Trump’s selection came just days after he survived an assassination attempt at a rally in Pennsylvania, an episode that underlined the significance of his choosing a running mate who might be in line as Mr. Trump’s successor.

Mr. Vance, an ardent and vocal defender of Mr. Trump, went further than many of his allies, directly attributing the shooting to the rhetoric of President Biden and his campaign, even as Mr. Trump and his campaign called for unity. “The central premise of the Biden campaign is that President Donald Trump is an authoritarian fascist who must be stopped at all costs. That rhetoric led directly to President Trump’s attempted assassination,” Mr. Vance wrote on X.

In Mr. Vance, Mr. Trump has tapped an ambitious ideologue who relishes the spotlight and has already shown he can energize donors on behalf of the presumptive nominee. His youth — there are nearly 40 years separating them, and Mr. Vance is the first millennial nominated to a major-party ticket — could prove a boon to the

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HAIYUN JIANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

J.D. Vance and his wife, Usha, on Monday, when he became the G.O.P.’s vice-presidential nominee.

For the G.O.P., Free-Market Economics Is History

By JEANNA SMIALEK and ANA SWANSON

Donald J. Trump’s presidency was a major turn away from the Republican Party’s long embrace of free-market economics. If the Republican platform is any indication, a second Trump term would be a near-complete abandonment.

The 2024 platform, which was released last week and is expected to infuse the Republican National Convention that started in Milwaukee on Monday, promises action on what have become Mr. Trump’s signature issues: It pledges to pump up tariffs, en-

Platform Ditches Ideals for Policies Risking Inflation and Debt

courage American manufacturing and deport immigrants at a scale that has never been seen before.

What it lacks are policy ideas that have long been dear to economic conservatives. The platform does not directly mention fiscal deficits, and, apart from curbing government spending, it does not make any clear and detailed promises to rein in the nation’s

borrowing. Other policies it proposes — including cutting taxes and expanding the military — would most likely swell the nation’s debt.

The Republican platform also does not mention exports or encouraging trade. And while the document insists that the party will lower inflation, long a pertinent issue for economic conservatives, it fails to lay out a realistic plan for doing that. Chapter One of

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ONLINE Follow the convention at nytimes.com, where reporters will be providing live updates.

Secret Service Faces Scrutiny Over Rooftop Lapse

This article is by David A. Fahrenthold, Zolan Kanno-Youngs, Christina Morales and Mark Walker.

WASHINGTON — The building from which a gunman fired at former President Donald J. Trump on Saturday was — at least in hindsight — an obvious security risk. Its rooftop offered an ideal sniper’s perch, with a close, elevated and unobstructed view of Mr. Trump.

But when the Secret Service drew up plans for the rally, it left that building outside its security perimeter. Instead, local law enforcement officials in Butler, Pa., were given responsibility for the building, and no police officers were stationed on the roof itself.

The building, used as a warehouse by equipment manufacturer AGR International, has become a focal point of investigations into the shooting that nearly felled a former American president, one that Homeland Security Secretary Alejandro N. Mayorkas on Monday called a security failure.

The first question is why the building, about 450 feet from the stage, was left out of the perimeter. A Secret Service advance



ERIC LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Secret Service snipers before the rally in Butler, Pa. A gunman was atop a nearby building outside the agency’s security zone.

team visited the site and made the determination, and a supervisor would have had to approve it. The agency so far has not said who that was.

That is just one of many unanswered questions. It is also unclear how the gunman got on the roof. People at the rally reported a suspicious person to local law en-

forcement. Quickly thereafter, rally visitors pointed out a man on the warehouse and the Secret Service shot and killed him after he began his assault.

The Secret Service has not said if local law enforcement officers made service agents aware of a suspect, if those officers were up

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First, Gunshots. Moments Later, Disinformation.

This article is by Tiffany Hsu, Sheera Frenkel and Ken Bensinger.

Four minutes after the first report of a shooting at a rally for Donald J. Trump on Saturday, an anonymous account on X posted, “Joe Biden’s antifa shot President Trump.”

Within half an hour, another account on X with links to the QAnon conspiracy theory claimed without proof that the attack against Mr. Trump had probably been ordered by the C.I.A. Shortly after that, the far-right activist Laura Loomer posted on X about some recent remarks that President Biden made about Mr. Trump and then wrote, “They tried to kill Trump.” She did not provide evidence.

An hour later, with official details of the assassination attempt still scant, the narrative that Mr. Biden and his allies had engineered the attack on Mr. Trump was being amplified by Republican lawmakers, Russian sym-

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JUDGE VOIDS CASE ABOUT DOCUMENTS THAT TRUMP KEPT

Special Counsel’s Appointment Is Ruled Improper, and Appeal Is Planned

By ALAN FEUER

The federal judge overseeing former President Donald J. Trump’s classified documents case threw out all of the charges against him on Monday, ruling that Jack Smith, the special counsel who filed the indictment, had been given his job in violation of the Constitution.

In a stunning decision delivered on the first day of the Republican National Convention, the judge, Aileen M. Cannon, found that Mr. Smith’s appointment as special counsel was improper because it was not based on a specific federal statute and because he had not been named to the post by the president or confirmed by the Senate.

She also found that Mr. Smith had been improperly funded by the Treasury Department.

The ruling by Judge Cannon, who was put on the bench by Mr. Trump in his final year in office, flew in the face of previous court decisions reaching back to the Watergate era that upheld the legality of the ways in which independent prosecutors have been put into their posts.

It handed Mr. Trump a major legal victory two days after he was wounded in a shooting at a campaign rally and at the very onset of the political pageant where he is set to formally become his party’s presidential nominee.

The classified documents case, which was being heard in Federal District Court in Fort Pierce, Fla., once appeared to be the most straightforward of the four criminal prosecutions that Mr. Trump has faced. He was charged last year with illegally holding on to classified national security materials after leaving office and then obstructing government efforts to retrieve them along with two co-defendants, Walt Nauta and Carlos DeOliveira.

The charges against Mr. Nauta and Mr. DeOliveira were also tossed out.

Mr. Smith’s office said he intended to appeal. “The dismissal of the case deviates from the uniform conclusion of all previous courts to have considered the issue that the attorney general is statutorily authorized to appoint a

special counsel,” said Peter Carr, a spokesman for the special counsel. “The Justice Department has authorized the special counsel to appeal the court’s order.”

But even if the appeal succeeds, the case still might never go in front of a jury.

It has long been clear that the documents case would not go to trial before the election in November, largely because of the glacial pace with which Judge Cannon has handled it. Should Mr. Trump be elected president again, he could simply have his Justice Department dismiss the case if it is reinstated on appeal — and even if he does not, longstanding Justice Department policy forbids prosecuting a sitting president.

But Judge Cannon’s decision to



U.S. JUSTICE DEPARTMENT

Boxes of documents stored in a bathroom at Mar-a-Lago.

dismiss the indictment in its entirety at such a consequential moment in Mr. Trump’s campaign was a remarkable development for the former president’s legal and political future, giving him more ammunition to portray the prosecution as an effort by President Biden and his allies to undercut him in the election.

In a statement on his social media Continued on Page A15

REBUFF Judge Aileen M. Cannon’s ruling rejected a Supreme Court decision in 1974. PAGE A16

In Japan, Children’s Book Bag Holds Generations of Tradition

By MOTOKO RICH

TOKYO — In Japan, cultural expectations are repeatedly drilled into children at school and at home, with peer pressure playing as powerful a role as any particular authority or law. On the surface, at least, that can help Japanese society run smoothly.

During the pandemic, for example, the government never mandated masks or lockdowns, yet the majority of residents wore face coverings in public and refrained from going out to crowded venues. Japanese tend to stand quietly in lines, obey traffic signals and clean up after themselves during sports and other events because they have been trained from kindergarten to do so.

Carrying the boxy, bulky back-

pack known as a randoseru to school is “not even a rule imposed by anyone but a rule that everyone is upholding together,” said Shoko Fukushima, associate professor of education administration at the Chiba Institute of Technology.

On the first day of school this spring — the Japanese school year starts in April — flocks of eager first graders and their parents arrived for an entrance ceremony at Kitasuna Elementary School in the Koto neighborhood of eastern Tokyo.

Seeking to capture an iconic moment mirrored across generations of Japanese family photo albums, the children, almost all of

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NORIKO HAYASHI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The age-old bags, once uniform, now include distinctive details.

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Fighting to Curb Russian Gains

Ukraine’s military is scrambling to regroup as Russian forces march on Urozhaine, a southern village taken back by Ukraine last summer. PAGE A4

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Insurers Burning for a Solution

The real estate insurance industry is torching buildings to demonstrate construction standards that it says are necessary to combat wildfires. PAGE B1

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Clarity From Anthony Hopkins

The actor discusses a new series, set in ancient Rome, and explains why he believes acting is just a matter of enunciating and “showing up.” PAGE C1

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The Therapy of Estrangement

Thanks mainly to social media, many people have been encouraged to cut off contact with their families. Not everyone is pleased with that idea. PAGE D4

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Paul Krugman

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