

"All the News
That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Today, hot, humid, a heavy afternoon storm, high 94. Tonight, a thunderstorm, low 73. Tomorrow, a morning storm, afternoon sun, high 84. Weather map is on Page B12.

VOL. CLXXIII No. 60,218

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WEDNESDAY, JULY 17, 2024

Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



HIROKO MASUIKE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Convention Style

Red, white and blue dominates the view. Follow Wednesday's developments at [nytimes.com](#), where reporters will give live updates.

Contradictions Cloud Inquiry Into Shooting

This article is by **Zolan Kanno-Youngs, Eileen Sullivan and Campbell Robertson.**

BUTLER, Pa. — While a gunman was climbing onto the roof of a warehouse less than 500 feet from where former President Donald J. Trump was speaking on Saturday, three law enforcement snipers were positioned inside the same complex of buildings, looking for anything amiss in the crowd.

The director of the Secret Service said the local forces were in the same building, an account suggesting that the gunman was essentially on top of them. A local law enforcement official told The New York Times on Tuesday that was not the case, and that the local officers were in an adjacent building.

The discrepancy in their accounts is just one unsettled element in the effort to determine how security broke down and allowed a 20-year-old with a semi-automatic rifle to open fire in a rapid barrage that left Mr. Trump hurt, one man dead and two other people at the rally gravely wounded.

That this simple matter — whether law enforcement used the same building as the gunman — is still not easily resolved three days after the shooting shows that divisions are emerging among the law enforcement agencies after a would-be assassin came close to felling the Republican presidential nominee two days before the party's convention.

The Secret Service director, Kimberly A. Cheatle, set off the back and forth in an interview with ABC News on Tuesday morning, her first public appearance since the assassination attempt. She said that local officers were inside the building used by the gunman, Thomas Matthew Crooks, 20, of Bethel Park, Pa., on Saturday evening. If so, that meant the gunman could have scaled a building even as snipers

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Threat Against Trump

U.S. intelligence agencies detected a potential Iranian plot to kill the former president before Saturday's shooting. Page A13.

Bullet's Graze Seen as Sign of 'God's Protection'

This article is by **Michael C. Bender, Andrew Trunsky and Neil Vigdor.**

MILWAUKEE — For Donald J. Trump's most devoted supporters, the bullet that nicked his ear and came within inches of ending his life was only further proof that a higher power is looking out for him.

"I don't see this as luck," said the Rev. Nathaniel Thomas, a Republican National Convention delegate and a pastor from the Washington, D.C., area. "I see this as God's protection."

After he spent decades pursuing riches, fame and power, Mr. Trump's life has been far from pi-

Survival From Gunfire Lifts Trump's Status for His Followers

ous. Yet he has drawn a committed core of followers — many in Milwaukee this week for his nominating convention — who view him as handpicked by God for a second term in the White House.

These supporters are less likely to explicitly compare him to Jesus and instead view him as the latest example of a morally flawed Old Testament hero, like Cyrus or David, who was ordained by the

heavens to lead profound missions of good versus evil. Their passion for Mr. Trump has long transcended slogans on faded rally T-shirts or political bumper stickers, but now, it appears to be reaching new heights after the assassination attempt on Saturday.

"Something's got to be at play," said Michael Thompson, the Republican chairman in Lee County, Fla., while looking toward the sky as if to invoke the heavens. "I don't think the average person could withstand a tenth of what he has gone through. So yeah, I think he's probably chosen at the right time in our country's history."

Sue Means, 73, a delegate from

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TYLER HICKS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Parliament's dysfunction has dented government credibility as Ukraine tries to reset its war effort.

War and Disarray Erode Ukraine's Parliament

By **ANDREW E. KRAMER**

KYIV, Ukraine — Ukraine's Parliament is in a state of disarray. Under martial law, with the country at war, no elections are possible to replace members who switched jobs, joined the army, fled the country or quit. The Parliament regularly gathers with more than 10 percent of its lawmakers absent.

Though legally obliged to attend hearings when summoned,

Key Votes From Former Pro-Russia Faction

ministers sometimes do not show up, without repercussions.

President Volodymyr Zelensky's party, once a political juggernaut, has in effect lost its majority by unraveling into factions. To pass crucial bills, it is forced to rely on support from lawmakers

who belonged to a now-banned pro-Russian party.

The overall picture, said Volodymyr Fesenko, a Ukrainian political analyst, is of a Parliament sidelined during the war and slipping from its once powerful role in Ukrainian democracy.

"In a state of martial law, with our centralization of state management and the end of public politics, Parliament lost its influence," Mr. Fesenko said.

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MENENDEZ GUILTY IN SCHEME TO SELL POLITICAL FAVORS

First U.S. Senator Convicted of Acting as Foreign Agent — He Vows Appeal

This article is by **Benjamin Weiser, Tracey Tully, Nicholas Fandos and Maria Cramer.**

Senator Robert Menendez of New Jersey, a powerful Democrat who once led the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, was convicted on Tuesday of participating in a vast international bribery scheme, in which prosecutors said he had accepted gold, cash and other payoffs worth hundreds of thousands of dollars in exchange for political favors abroad and at home.

A Manhattan jury returned the verdict after deliberating for about 13 hours over three days in Federal District Court. Mr. Menendez was found guilty on all 16 counts he faced, including bribery, honest services wire fraud, extortion, obstruction of justice, conspiracy and acting as an agent for Egypt.

The verdict made Mr. Menendez the first United States senator to be found guilty of acting as an agent of a foreign power and the seventh to be convicted of a federal crime while in office.

Mr. Menendez, 70, now faces the possibility of many years in prison when he is sentenced by the judge, Sidney H. Stein. Eight of the counts on which he was convicted carry potential 20-year sentences. The judge said he would sentence Mr. Menendez on Oct. 29.

The resounding verdict will almost certainly deliver a final blow to Mr. Menendez's storied four-decade political career and create intense pressure for him to leave office before his term expires at year's end. Senator Chuck Schumer, the New York Democrat and majority leader, said in a statement, "In light of this guilty verdict, Senator Menendez must now do what is right for his constituents, the Senate and our country, and resign."

Mr. Menendez had resisted calls to step down before his trial, but he could now face a rare expulsion vote by his Senate colleagues if he does not leave voluntarily. If the seat is vacated, Gov. Philip D.

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ADAM GRAY/GETTY IMAGES

Senator Robert Menendez of New Jersey could face prison.

Biden's Own Circle Is Shrinking As Anxiety in the Party Expands

This article is by **Katie Rogers, Lisa Lerer, Reid J. Epstein and Maggie Haberman.**

WASHINGTON — In the nearly three weeks since President Biden took the debate stage in Atlanta and plunged his re-election campaign into chaos, his closest consultations have been not with his White House chief of staff, his top communications strategist or even with the leader of his campaign.

Instead, he is relying on members of his family — a tight-knit clan that includes his son, Hunter, and the first lady, Jill Biden — along with a tiny group of loyalists to steer him through a self-created crisis and quell a rising rebellion against his candidacy from within his own party.

Mr. Biden has not consulted directly with the pollsters on his 500-person campaign team about

the state of the race against Donald J. Trump, but has instead relied on Mike Donilon, a longtime friend, former pollster and Biden-campaign messaging guru, to summarize the numbers, with regular memos and numerous daily phone calls.

The ever-buzzing phone of Steve Ricchetti, a close counselor to Mr. Biden since his vice presidency, is the main conduit between concerned lawmakers and the president.

Mr. Biden speaks frequently to his son, Hunter Biden, who calls and texts the president and first lady multiple times a day to see how they are coping with the onslaught of scrutiny surrounding

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WARNING Adam B. Schiff said the G.O.P. would win the Senate if the president didn't bow out. PAGE A15

Tough Laws Have Not Relieved The Distress at Nursing Homes

By **JORDAN RAU**

For hours, John A. Pernorio repeatedly mashed the call button at his bedside in the Heritage Hills nursing home in Rhode Island. A retired truck driver, he had injured his spine in a fall on the job decades earlier and could no longer walk. The antibiotics he was taking made him need to go to the bathroom frequently. But he could only get there if someone helped him into his wheelchair.

By the time an aide finally responded, he'd been lying in soiled briefs for hours, he said. It happened time and again.

"It was degrading," said Mr. Pernorio, 79. "I spent 21 hours a day in bed."

Payroll records show that during his stay at Heritage Hills, daily aide staffing levels were 25 percent below the minimums under state law. The nursing home said it provided high-quality care to all residents. Regardless, it wasn't in trouble with the state, because Rhode Island does not enforce its staffing rule.

An acute shortage of nurses and aides in the nation's nearly 15,000 nursing homes is at the root of many of the most disturbing shortfalls in care for the 1.2 million Americans who live in them, including many of the nation's frailest old people.

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FOOD D1-8

South Korea's Kimchi Masters

Experts share secrets about this foundational dish. Above, Yun Mi-wol, who makes whole cabbage kimchi. PAGE D8

A New Course of Action

Pete Wells is moving on from his role as The Times's restaurant critic, which may be a too fulfilling job. PAGE D1

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Gazans Say Shelter Is Hit

Two Israeli strikes killed more than 20 people, including at a former U.N. school housing displaced people, according to local health officials. PAGE A6

Blunt Talk vs. China's Backlash

Beijing is putting pressure on Taiwan's president, whose rhetoric has been sharper than his predecessor's. PAGE A9

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Ambitious Plan for Court

President Biden is considering proposals that would impose term limits and a code of ethics on the justices. PAGE A16



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A Hype Man for Water Polo

Flavor Flav, a rapper who knows gold records, is helping the U.S. women's team as it tries to make history. PAGE B6

Leaving on His Own Terms

By stepping down so soon after losing the Euro 2024 final, England's Gareth Southgate got the last word. PAGE B8

BUSINESS B1-5

E.V.s May Get Harder to Rent

Rental car firms are cutting back on adding electric cars to their fleets after they lost value more quickly than expected, affecting the companies' revenue from reselling used stock. PAGE B1

Joy of Meeting the Deductible

Some of those grappling with high health care costs are finding ways to celebrate that small win with full-fledged parties filled with cake, relief and a sense of community. PAGE B1

OPINION A20-21

Michelle Goldberg

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Lifting Voices for Eric Garner

An opera at Lincoln Center honors the man who was a victim of police violence in 2014. Neema Bickersteth, above, plays Garner's daughter. PAGE C1



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