

ELECTION 2024

## Trump slims down playbook from 2020

Campaign leans on outside groups, alarming some state GOP officials

BY MICHAEL SCHERER, JOSH DAWSEY, MAEVE RESTON AND YVONNE WINGETT SANCHEZ

Donald Trump's 2020 campaign called itself a "juggernaut" in May of that year, on par with a planet-destroying Death Star that was "firing on all cylinders."

Trump's 2024 campaign has traded Star Wars metaphors for talk of a "leaner" and "more efficient" operation, with less real estate, fewer employees and greater dependence on outside groups.

"We're focused on quality over quantity. I mean, how novel a concept," top strategist Chris LaCivita told the crowd of top donors May 4 at Mar-a-Lago in Palm Beach, Fla., according to attendees.

The shift comes as President Biden's campaign and its allies, buoyed by incumbency, have been moving in the opposite direction, building a more expansive operation sooner than in 2020. Strategists for both major parties expect Democrats to raise and spend more than Republicans over the coming months, a dynamic that has been magnified by the significant legal costs Trump's fundraising apparatus has absorbed to defend him in state and federal courts.

The situation has alarmed GOP officials in key states like Arizona, Georgia and Michigan who have yet to receive promised funding, staff or even briefings on

SEE RNC ON A5

## Trone pays a king's ransom in Senate bid

Md. Democrat embraces his record self-funding in primary vs. Alsobrooks

BY ERIN COX AND LATESHIA BEACHUM

In the high-stakes Democratic primary for U.S. Senate, Rep. David Trone has offered Maryland voters something they have never seen on this scale: a statewide candidate with seemingly unlimited personal resources devoted to capturing their attention.

Weeks ago, Trone shattered records for self-funding in a primary campaign. As of this week, he's dropped more on political advertisements to target Maryland's 2.2 million Democrats than the Biden for President campaign has spent on ads nationwide since the start of 2023, according to AdImpact, a media tracking firm.

After the latest infusion, Trone as of Wednesday had poured \$61.77 million of his own money into the campaign, outpacing his leading rival 10 to 1 in a bid to face popular former governor

SEE TRONE ON A6

## Ultrasound technology is used in many ways. Addiction is the next frontier.



BY DAVID OVALLE IN MORGANTOWN, W.VA.

Nestled inside a giant MRI machine, the woman wears a helmet outfitted with special probes. Peering through high-tech goggles, she sees images designed to trigger the awful, familiar cravings that have wrecked her life.

Heroin residue on tinfoil. Lines of powder cocaine. Pain pills scattered on a table.

At the same time, scientists buzz around a small observation room, scrutinizing brain scans on computer monitors, calibrating measurements, tweaking data points. Beams of ultrasound waves fire into a tiny sector of the woman's brain by the hundreds — an experimental treatment that researchers hope will essentially reset her mind and ease her cravings for drugs.

The April clinical trial session at West Virginia University's Rockefeller Neuroscience Institute opens

SEE ULTRASOUND ON A14



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**TOP:** A patient is removed from an MRI machine at West Virginia University's Rockefeller Neuroscience Institute on April 9 during a study testing the use of ultrasound waves to treat addiction. **ABOVE:** Pierre D'Haese, director of imaging analytics at the institute, points at scans of the patient's brain during the study.

## Bowling alley reopens amid hope and heartbreak

Just-In-Time Recreation was one of the sites of Maine's worst mass shootings. Now, it's back in business.

BY JOANNA SLATER

LEWISTON, MAINE — Justin Juray curled up in bed with his three dogs, knowing he should leave the house and get over to his bowling alley. But he couldn't.

Sometimes there were days like this, bad days, days when he struggled to be around people. His wife, Samantha, told him she loved him and offered to come home. He told her no.

Almost six months had passed since a gunman burst into Just-In-Time Recreation, the couple's bowling alley, the start of a rampage at two locations that left 18 people dead in the worst mass shooting in Maine's history.

Now they were close to reopening to the public, beginning with a special event for the customers and first responders who had been there the night of Oct. 25.

By the time Justin managed the 15-minute drive to the bowling alley last month, the gathering was already underway.

SEE BOWLING ALLEY ON A8



Samantha Juray listens as Jon Lizotte shares memories about his time at the bowling alley and remembers Bob Violette, a dear friend who was killed in the October shooting in Lewiston, Maine.

SOFIA ALDINO FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

## Report critical of Israel in Gaza

HUMANITARIAN LAW POSSIBLY BREACHED

But a stamp of approval for U.S. arms to continue

BY JOHN HUDSON, KAREN DEYOUNG, ABIGAIL HAUSLOHNER AND MICHAEL BIRNBAUM

The Biden administration announced Friday that it was "reasonable to assess" that Israel violated international law using U.S. weapons in its military campaign in Gaza but found there was insufficient information to draw a firm conclusion in any specific instances, meaning American military aid could continue to flow to the country.

The findings were contained in a convoluted 46-page unclassified report that President Biden ordered this year in response to growing alarm from Democrats in Congress about Israel's conduct in the conflict. Despite clear internal concerns that U.S. weapons may have been used in war crimes, the report concluded that assurances provided by Israel that it is not violating U.S. or international law were credible, a finding at odds with assessments made by the United Nations and major international aid groups.

The report also said that Israeli "action or inaction ... contributed significantly" to the insufficient flow of food and other critical aid to Palestinian civil-

SEE ISRAEL ON A4

**Weapons sales:** Some say Biden has sidestepped transfer laws. **A12**

## The top Navy officers tempted by Fat Leonard

Admirals caught up in scandal were wooed with cigars, women, dinners

BY CRAIG WHITLOCK

Shortly after he was promoted and entrusted with one of the Pentagon's most sensitive jobs — director of naval intelligence — Vice Adm. Ted "Twig" Branch received an urgent request from the Justice Department. Prosecutors wanted to speak with him about

an investigation into leaks of classified material to a 350-pound Malaysian defense contractor known as "Fat Leonard."

The businessman, Leonard Glenn Francis, and his company, Glenn Defense Marine Asia, held \$200 million in contracts to resupply U.S. Navy ships and provide port security in Asia. But Francis had recently been arrested in San Diego on fraud and bribery charges. Federal agents were shocked to discover while carrying out search warrants that he had obtained reams of classified information from corrupt Navy officers about the itineraries of U.S. warships and submarines

SEE FAT LEONARD ON A10

### IN THE NEWS

'Flatlined' Voyager 1, launched in 1977 and 15 billion miles from Earth in the depths of interstellar space, suddenly stopped sending data. So NASA dispatched its "tiger team." A7

'We have a budget' Virginia Gov. Glenn Youngkin (R) and legislative negotiators reached a compromise on a spending plan. B1

**THE NATION**  
**House Speaker** Mike Johnson said he doesn't expect a national abortion ban next year. A3  
**Michael Cohen** is slated to take the stand next week in Donald Trump's trial. A4

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**Marathons** are China's latest wellness trend, but landing a spot is an uphill battle. A9  
**Carbon dioxide** levels in the atmosphere are rising faster than ever, a study found. A11

**THE ECONOMY**  
**With India's** election season in full swing, improper "shadow" ads are thriving on Facebook, threatening the integrity of the process. A13  
**Apple** took a beating after its commercial for the new iPad, which seems to celebrate destroying analog art. A13

**THE REGION**  
**A court** declined to undo Stephen K. Bannon's contempt conviction for defying the Jan. 6 committee. B1  
**A school board** in Virginia voted to restore the names of Confederate leaders to two schools that were re-named in 2020. B1

**STYLE**  
**For journalists** covering Donald Trump's hush money trial in New York, the courtroom photo ban presents a vexing hurdle. C1

**SPORTS**  
**Jayden Daniels** dazzled in his Commanders debut at rookie minicamp in Ashburn. D1

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