



T-storms 88/75 • Tomorrow: Partly sunny 99/77 C8

Democracy Dies in Darkness

SUNDAY, AUGUST 4, 2024 • \$5

Transcript shows how search at rally failed

Separate command posts hindered Secret Service before Trump shooting

BY SHAWN BOBURG, SAMUEL OAKFORD AND DEVLIN BARRETT

An urgent message crackled over the radio inside the white trailer, a mobile communications hub for local police helping to secure former president Donald Trump's July 13 rally in Butler, Pa.

"Just an FYI, we had a younger white male, long hair, lurking around the AGR building," a local countersniper said at 5:42 p.m., according to a time-stamped transcript of encrypted radio communications obtained by The Washington Post. "He was viewed with a range finder sighting the stage. ... We lost sight of him."

No one from the Secret Service, the agency primarily responsible for protecting Trump, was inside that white trailer to hear the message, according to two law enforcement officials. Instead, the federal agency had its own mobile command post with Pennsylvania State Police almost 300 yards away — and had no direct, open communication line to the local police hub. The local commander inside the trailer had to pick up his cellphone and dial a state trooper to relay the message, the two officials said.

The lack of a direct communication link would later hamper the ability of the Secret Service to quickly grasp the threat posed by would-be assassin Thomas Matthew Crooks as local police searched for him over the next 29

SEE RALLY ON A16

In Gaza, mixed reactions to the death of Hamas chief

As residents mourn, some criticize him for not staying in the enclave

BY MIRIAM BERGER AND HAJAR HARB

JERUSALEM — For many Palestinians in the Gaza Strip, Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh was one of them.

He grew up in a refugee camp and attended schools run by the United Nations. Even as he climbed the ranks of Hamas, briefly serving as Palestinian prime minister, Haniyeh continued to live in the camp, playing soccer in the streets and nurturing his image as a modest leader.

But by the time he was killed early Wednesday in Tehran — in an operation Hamas blames on Israel — Haniyeh had traded his humble life in Gaza for a more comfortable perch abroad. As Hamas chief, he split most of his time between Qatar and Turkey, courting diplomats and dignitaries. More than 1,000 miles away in Gaza, however, the movement he led had staged a brutal attack in Israel, whose military responded so ferociously that it

SEE GAZA ON A14

Iran statement: A "short-range projectile" killed Haniyeh. **A15**



NANNA HEITMANN/MAGNUM PHOTOS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Putin's plea: Have babies for Russia

He tells women to embrace patriotism over feminism and to forgo careers to raise children

Vladimir Putin, who has long cultivated an aura of machismo as Russia's strongman leader, is enlisting women to grow Russia's population through childbirth and to rebuild his nation as a great power steeped in traditional family values — a campaign that is eroding equal rights and protections, human rights advocates and Russian feminists say.

"Many of our grandmothers and great-grandmothers had seven or eight children, and maybe even more," Putin declared to an audience of ultraconservative religious and political figures who had convened in the State Kremlin Palace in November. "We should preserve and revive these wonderful traditions."

BY ROBYN DIXON, FRANCESCA EBEL AND NATALIA ABBAKUMOVA IN MOSCOW

Cadets take part in Russia Day celebrations in the city of Kirov on June 12. Russian feminists say President Vladimir Putin's efforts to shape a conservative society are diminishing women's rights.

Putin, who spoke by video link from his office in Sochi in southern Russia, appeared on a massive screen flanked by two images of the "Icon of the Savior, Made-Without-Hands," suggesting godlike status as he urged Russian women to give birth to very large families. Russian officials, echoing their leader, are telling women to start young — at 18.

As Putin seeks to restore Russia's status as a superpower, his revanchist policies are rolling back women's rights, Russian feminists say, with idealized roles fitted to the imperial era that predated communism. Women are being told to forgo education and careers to prioritize child-rearing, even as the war in Ukraine drains men from

SEE RUSSIA ON A12

PARIS OLYMPICS

Richardson's comeback ends at almost

Sprinter was looking for a fairy-tale finish but came up 0.15 seconds short



Jerry Brewer COLUMN

SAINT-DENIS, FRANCE — In the rain, a poetic ending washed away. This was not the night Sha'Carri Richardson would craft a beautiful last stanza to her comeback. This

was the night her Olympic debut, deferred three years because of a mistake, forced her to confront a different kind of disappointment.

She was not meant to be crowned the world's fastest woman. At 5 a.m. Saturday, a 23-year-old sprinter from Saint Lucia awoke, early and eager, and reached for a notebook. She wrote the words "Julien Alfred, Olympic champion." Then she posted a photo and shared a similar sentiment on Snapchat. Those words looked so good to

SEE BREWER ON A18

Still golden: Katie Ledecky rules the 800-meter freestyle again. **D1**

What a leap: Maryland's LaFond makes history for Dominica. **D1**



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

Three years after a positive test for THC sidelined her from the Tokyo Games, Sha'Carri Richardson had a slow start in the 100-meter race Saturday and finished second to Saint Lucia's Julien Alfred.

ELECTION 2024

Turnout effort is a GOP gamble

CAMPAIGN LEANS ON OUTSIDE GROUPS

FEC recently opened the door for collaboration

BY ISAAC ARNSDORF AND JOSH DAWSEY

Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump is relying on a cluster of loosely coordinated outside groups to run turnout operations traditionally performed by the campaign itself, an approach that takes advantage of new leniencies in campaign finance rules but comes with the risk of untested outfits duplicating efforts or working at cross purposes.

With fewer than 100 days before the election, local GOP officials in battleground states have raised alarms about the scant presence of Trump campaign field staff. For the large armies of paid and volunteer door-knockers and canvassers who typically drive turnout in presidential elections, the campaign is largely relying on outside groups such as America First Works, America PAC and Turning Point Action.

The Trump campaign's shrunken in-house operation

SEE GOP ON A4

Pa. voters: With Vance as VP pick, many reassess Trump's views. **A8**

Debate shake-up: Trump rejects ABC event, pushes Fox as host. **A9**

Two Black women, two American realities

As Vice President Harris ascended, Sonya Massey was killed by police

BY HOLLY BAILEY

SPRINGFIELD, ILL. — Vice President Harris dominated the news late last month as she became the presumptive Democratic nominee, a first for a woman of color. But that potentially historic milestone barely registered for Jasmine Hudson, who was sitting in grief over another Black woman in the news: her second cousin, Sonya Massey.

On July 22, the same day Harris locked up endorsements for the nomination, Illinois State Police released body-camera video showing the fatal July 6 shooting of Massey, a 36-year-old mother of two, by a sheriff's deputy who responded to Massey's 911 call about a potential prowler at her south Springfield home.

Hudson, who is also Black, had struggled to eat or sleep as her family sought answers about why and how Massey was killed. The footage only made the pain worse. The woman she saw in the video was the same person she'd

SEE HARRIS ON A6

Multiracial Americans: Trump's attacks on Harris feel personal. **A9**

METRO

In a historic Georgetown home, Jane Austen fans enjoy a Regency-era ball.

BUSINESS

For air-conditioning firms, a spike in heat has meant soaring demand.



BOOK WORLD

Dinaw Mengestu's latest is an evocative, mysterious ride.

A-SECTION

Place your bets! Which fast feathered friend wins the bird Olympics?



TRAVEL

Locals give tips on how to navigate gratuities across Europe.

SPORTS

Howard's coach seeks investors in the school's men's basketball team.

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SUNDAY COUPON INSERTS

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