

“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

THE WEATHER

Today, sunny, afternoon clouds, very warm, high 88. Tonight, mostly cloudy, low 72. Tomorrow, cloudy and more humid, afternoon showers, high 85. Weather map, Page 20.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$6.00



ERIC LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Secret Service, which looks after 36 protectees and foreign leaders, waiting for President Biden in Las Vegas this month.

LOBBYISTS GREET HARRIS CAMPAIGN

But as They Raise Funds,
She Keeps Distance

By KENNETH P. VOGEL

WASHINGTON — Vice President Kamala Harris has forsworn direct donations from lobbyists, but they are welcoming her candidacy and finding other ways to support it.

In the days since President Biden dropped his re-election campaign and Ms. Harris moved swiftly to lock up the Democratic Party’s nomination, Washington’s influence industry has quietly jockeyed to position itself with her team.

Officials at some of the biggest law and lobbying firms have endorsed her presidential campaign and are raising money for it, using loopholes to get around the campaign’s policy of not accepting donations from lobbyists.

They have briefed clients about her policy positions, the composition of her inner circle and the pool of possible running mates. Some lobbying firms have highlighted their connections to Ms. Harris, drawing the ire of allies seeking to avoid the perception that she is beholden to special interests.

“Human nature is such that anybody that ever walked past somebody on the street would try to capitalize,” said former Senator Doug Jones, an Alabama Democrat who is close to Ms. Harris. “Especially in a campaign for president, there is always going to be those folks.”

“That’s Washington, isn’t it?” he added.

Mr. Jones — a government relations adviser, but not a registered lobbyist, at the law and lobbying firm ArentFox Schiff — said he was planning a Washington fundraising event for Ms. Harris’s campaign featuring lawyers from a host of firms.

The dramatic reset of the presidential race has intensified a Washington tradition, as lobbyists and other government affairs professionals rush to signal connections to the candidates.

Executed deftly, this can create demand among prospective clients. *Continued on Page 16*

GLOBAL VIEW Diplomats say Kamala Harris has an iron hand in a velvet glove. **PAGE 10**

Vance and the Undoing of an Old Friendship

By STEPHANIE SAUL

When his book, “Hillbilly Elegy,” was published in 2016, JD Vance sent an email apologizing to a close friend from his Yale Law School days. The friend identified as transgender, but Mr. Vance referred to them in the book as a lesbian.

“Hey Sofes, here’s an excerpt from my book,” Mr. Vance wrote to his friend, Sofia Nelson. “I send this to you not just to brag, but because I’m sure if you read it you’ll notice reference to ‘an extremely progressive lesbian.’”

“I recognize now that this may not accurately reflect how you think of yourself, and for that I am

Emails Reveal a Bond
Ruptured by Politics

really sorry,” he wrote. “I hope you’re not offended, but if you are, I’m sorry! Love you, JD.”

Nelson wrote back the same day, calling Mr. Vance “buddy” and thanking him for “being sweet,” adding, “If you had written gender queer radical pragmatist, nobody would know what you mean.” Nelson asked for an autographed copy, then signed off with, “Love, Sofia.”

That exchange is from a series of emails between two friends,

part of a close-knit group of 16 students who remained together throughout their first law school semester in the fall of 2010. As now-Senator Vance seeks the vice presidency, Nelson has shared about 90 of their emails and text messages, primarily from 2014 through 2017, with The New York Times.

The emails, in which Mr. Vance criticizes former President Donald J. Trump both for “racism” and as a “morally reprehensible human being,” add to an already-existing body of evidence showing Mr. Vance’s ideological pivot from Never Trump to Mr. Trump’s running mate.

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CHANG W. LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Simone Biles, training in Paris for her third Games, has a record 37 Olympic and world medals.

To Biles, Only Judge Who Matters Is in the Mirror

By JULIET MACUR

With a toe-tapping Beyoncé song blasting in the arena, Simone Biles leaped up to the balance beam and wobbled, leaning over and circling her arms like windmills as if she were trying not to fall off a cliff.

A few more times in her routine, she faltered on the four-inch-wide beam. And when she finished her routine at June’s U.S. Olympic gymnastics trials, it was clear what she thought of her effort.

Instead of just frowning or shaking her head in frustration, which would have been the norm, because the judges were watching, Biles — who ended up winning the meet — let out an expletive.

Fans in the arena loudly gasped.

From a top gymnast on the national stage, showing that kind of emotion is rare, and that particular word may have been unprecedented. But Biles no longer worries about being judged, on or off

the competition floor.

At 27, she is the best gymnast in history, by natural talent and also medal count, having transformed the sport with dangerously difficult routines that remain unmatched. For years, she sacrificed both mind and body for gymnastics, competing under psychological torment as a sexual assault survivor and with physical pain that made her feel as if she would need a wheelchair by the time she turned 30.

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The Secret Service Strains To Keep Presidents Safe

On Its No-Fail Mission, the Agency Faces
Fatigue, Scrutiny and Low Morale

By KATE KELLY

Over the years, whenever the United States Secret Service’s lack of resources has been an issue, agents invoke a tongue-in-cheek motto: We do more with less.

It’s a sentiment that might no longer apply.

Interviews with current and former Secret Service agents reveal an agency that wears down its employees, risking their sharpness. And they portray an organization that spends so much money on physical protection that there are few funds left to stay abreast of the latest law enforcement training and technologies.

An assassination attempt on former President Donald J. Trump at a campaign rally on July 13 in Butler, Pa., has exposed weaknesses in the Secret Service’s make-do approach to security for the country’s highest elected officials, their families and visiting foreign leaders.

Kimberly A. Cheatle, before she resigned as Secret Service director, told a congressional committee on Monday that the shooting — which left the former president’s ear bloodied and injured three other spectators, one fatally — “is the most significant operational failure at the Secret Service in decades.”

The agency’s security lapses in Butler have spurred numerous investigations and prompted debate as to whether the Secret Service, which is operating with its largest-ever budget, has adequate resources to fulfill its critical mandate and is using its funds in the most effective manner. So far this year, according to an agency official, the Secret Service has secured more than 7,500 sites, including the Republican National Convention in Milwaukee.

“The Secret Service is conducting a top-to-bottom review of all of our operational security policies and procedures to see where we

may need to request additional resources to bolster our protective mission,” a spokesman for the Secret Service said in a statement to The New York Times.

The agency has come under scrutiny for having turned down some requests for additional federal security assets for Mr. Trump’s detail, though the agency says that was not the case on July 13. The agency says it routinely uses local law enforcement officers to supplement its protective forces. While the agency has said about 100 law enforcement officers were present in Butler, it has not said how many of them were active Secret Service employees.

On Saturday, Mr. Trump said on social media that he would continue to hold outdoor rallies.

The Secret Service currently looks after 36 protectees, down from 42 during Mr. Trump’s presidency. This year, the service, which employs more than 8,000 people, received \$3.1 billion in congressional funding.

By comparison, the U.S. Marshals Service, whose 5,600 employees protect federal judges and courts and transport prisoners, *Continued on Page 18*



KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Kimberly A. Cheatle resigned as Secret Service director.

Cutting Politics To Sell Movies To the Masses

By BROOKS BARNES

LOS ANGELES — For nearly two decades, Hollywood has seemingly missed no opportunity to sound the alarm about climate change.

There have been cri de coeur documentaries, most notably “An Inconvenient Truth.” Superheroes have been concerned, with Batman bemoaning mankind’s treatment of the planet in “Justice League.” Nary an award show goes by without a star or several begging viewers to take environment-saving action.

So it was startling when the weather-focused “Twisters” arrived from Universal Pictures this month with no mention of climate change at all. If ever there was a perfect vehicle to carry Hollywood’s progressive climate change messaging — a big-budget movie about people caught in worsening storm patterns — wasn’t this it?

Apparently not. Movies should not be about “preaching a message,” Lee Isaac Chung, who directed “Twisters,” said in a prerelease interview that served as a dog whistle to conservative ticket buyers.

Trend spotting in cinema is a hazardous pursuit. Sometimes a movie is just a movie. “Twisters,” however, is emblematic of a clear shift in Hollywood: After a period of openly using movies to display progressive values, sometimes

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In West Bank, Residents Cling To Livelihoods

By STEVEN ERLANGER

JENIN, West Bank — Less than three years ago, Wassif Frahat spent \$3 million to open a lavish, two-story restaurant, the Ali Baba. With an impressive, pillared entryway, polished stone floors, glittering chandeliers and colorful frescoes on the high ceilings, the restaurant was his commitment to a better future.

The Ali Baba, in Jenin, is just a few minutes’ drive from the Jalameh checkpoint, which in normal times allows Israeli Arab citizens entry to the West Bank. The atmosphere is Palestinian, and the shops, restaurants and services are significantly cheaper than in Israel. The crossing also allows Palestinians with valid entry permits to go to jobs in Israel.

But after Hamas invaded Israel from Gaza on Oct. 7, the checkpoint was closed. Israel withheld most tax revenue from the authorities in the West Bank, in an effort to weaken them and clamp down more broadly on Palestinians. The economy in the territory’s north collapsed, and the better future that Mr. Frahat expected now seems farther away than ever.

The war that followed the invasion is devastating Gaza, but it is also impoverishing the West Bank, which has become a kind of second front in Israel’s battle against Palestinian militancy.

The Palestinian Authority, *Continued on Page 6*

SPORTS

Decathlete Who Went to Fight

About 500 top Ukrainian athletes and coaches have died in the war. This is Volodymyr Androshchuk’s story. **PAGE 1**

INTERNATIONAL 4-10

Fatal Attack on Golan Heights

A rocket from Lebanon hit a soccer field, leaving at least 12 dead and about 20 wounded. Israel blamed Hezbollah, which denied responsibility. **PAGE 7**

Russian Rape in Ukraine

Prosecutors are pursuing cases of sexual assault by Russian soldiers, but survivors say more is needed. **PAGE 4**



NATIONAL 11-20

High Waters in Vermont

A growing cohort of young farmers is experimenting with new ways to mitigate the impact of catastrophic flooding and other extreme weather. **PAGE 11**

SUNDAY STYLES

You Can’t Escape This Color

An intentionally repulsive color, the hue of “bilious sludge,” wins over the internet, the summer and even an entire presidential campaign. **PAGE 9**

METROPOLITAN

Made by Hand, With Gusto

Young people are learning old-fashioned handicrafts like leather-making, millinery and lacework while there are still masters to teach them. **PAGE 1**

SUNDAY OPINION

Lydia Polgreen

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ARTS & LEISURE

Has Madden Lost Its Oomph?

The video game series scored an exclusive N.F.L. license 20 years ago. Today, its ratings are dismal. **PAGE 8**

Horror’s Cellphone Issue

When one quick call can eliminate danger and shrieks, filmmakers have to figure out workarounds. **PAGE 6**



SUNDAY BUSINESS

Weathering the Boss’s Whims

Linda Yaccarino, the chief executive of X, has worked hard to bring back advertisers and fix the platform’s business. But its owner, Elon Musk, often unravels her efforts. **PAGE 6**

Scoring the Risks to Women

In Spain, the widespread use of an algorithm to help gauge the safety of domestic violence victims sometimes leads to deadly consequences. **PAGE 1**



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