

“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Today, a spotty morning shower, not as hot, high 86. **Tonight**, clear to partly cloudy, low 68. **Tomorrow**, partly to mostly sunny, low humidity, high 84. Weather map, Page B12.

VOL. CLXXIII . . . No. 60,219 © 2024 The New York Times Company THURSDAY, JULY 18, 2024 Prices in Canada may be higher \$4.00



EYAD BABA/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

After an Attack

The collapsed minaret of a mosque following heavy bombardment by Israeli forces in Nuseirat, in the central part of the Gaza Strip.

GUNMAN WAS SEEN BUT SLIPPED AWAY

**Inquiry Finds Blind Spot
in Critical Minutes**

This article is by David A. Fahrenthold, Glenn Thrush, Campbell Robertson, Adam Goldman and Aric Toler.

WASHINGTON — About an hour before a gunman let loose a volley of bullets that nearly assassinated a former president, the law enforcement contingent in Butler, Pa., was on the verge of a great policing success.

In a sea of thousands of people streaming in to cheer former President Donald J. Trump at a campaign rally on Saturday, local officers spotted one skinny young man acting oddly and notified other law enforcement. The Secret Service, too, was informed, through radio communication. The suspicious man did not appear to have a weapon.

Remarkably, law enforcement had found the right man — Thomas Matthew Crooks, a would-be assassin, though officers did not know that at the time. Then they lost track of him.

Twenty minutes before violence erupted, a sniper, from a distance, spotted Mr. Crooks again and took his picture.

As time slipped away, at least two local officers were pulled from traffic detail to help search for the man. But the Secret Service, the agency charged with protecting Mr. Trump, did not stop him from taking the stage. Eight minutes after Mr. Trump started to speak, Mr. Crooks fired off bullets that left the Republican presidential nominee bloodied and a rally visitor dead.

The call to let the proceedings go on as planned while law enforcement looked for a suspicious person is one of many Secret Service agency decisions that are now being called into question as new information continues to be revealed. The agency is also under fire for allowing a building within a rifle’s range to be excluded from its secure perimeter, creating a blind spot close to the former president that the gunman exploited.

Continued on Page A15

ON THE SPOT The assassination attempt puts the Secret Service chief’s job in jeopardy. PAGE A15

Cord Blood Banks Sold Families on False Hope

**By SARAH KLIFF
and AZEEN GHORAYSHI**

Millions of pregnant women get the pitch through their OB-GYN: Put a bit of your newborn’s umbilical cord on ice, as a biological insurance policy. If your child one day faces cancer, diabetes or even autism, the precious stem cells in the cord blood could become a tailor-made cure.

Many families are happy to pay for the assurance of a healthy future. More than two million umbilical cord samples sit in a handful of suburban warehouses across the country. It’s a lucrative business, with companies charging several thousand dollars upfront plus hundreds more every year

**Private Firms Charged
Thousands of Dollars
for Tainted Cells**

thereafter. The industry has grown rapidly, bolstered by investments from medical device companies, hospital partnerships and endorsements from celebrities like Drew Barrymore and Chrissy Teigen.

But the leading banks have consistently misled customers and doctors about the technology’s promise, an investigation by The New York Times found. Doctors rarely use cord blood anymore, thanks to advances that have

made it easier to transplant adult stem cells. And the few parents who try to withdraw cord blood samples often find that they are unusable — either because their volume is too low or they have been contaminated with microbes.

When the first cord blood banks opened three decades ago, doctors were optimistic about turning the stem cells, otherwise discarded as medical waste, into a powerful new treatment for patients with leukemia and other blood disorders. Private banks promised peace of mind for anxious parents-to-be, knowing the cells would be ready and waiting if their child ever got sick.

Continued on Page A19



EVA MARIE UZCATEGUI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Jenna Edwards was still charged for years after her son’s cord blood was found to be contaminated.

Extreme Weather Causes Record Amtrak Delays

By MINHO KIM

WASHINGTON — On June 20, after millions of Americans had suffered through a sweltering heat wave for three days, Amtrak sent an ominous warning over social media: Trains connecting the largest cities in Northeast could face up to an hour of delay from high temperatures.

Later that afternoon, after the temperature peaked at 96 degrees in Newark, Amtrak lost electricity near the New Jersey side of the

**Rail-Warping Heat and
Power Outages**

Hudson River tunnels. The power failure soon shuttered a 150-mile stretch of the busiest rail corridor in the United States for more than three hours. The impact reverberated until the next day, when trains chugged through with hours of residual delays.

As the planet rapidly warms,

train delays and breakdowns are becoming more frequent as America’s antiquated rail infrastructure struggles to remain functional during prolonged extreme weather events that were not typical when the system was constructed.

A New York Times analysis of Amtrak data found that the rail service’s passengers have faced record delays in recent years caused by inclement weather such as heat waves, storms,

Continued on Page A20

An Apology Broke the Ice As Vance Courtied Trump

Former Critic Spent Years Winning Favor

By JONATHAN SWAN and MAGGIE HABERMAN

The meeting got off to a bad start.

J.D. Vance walked into Donald J. Trump’s office at Mar-a-Lago on a warm winter afternoon in February 2021. The former president had a thick stack of papers on his desk: printouts of Mr. Vance’s copious broadsides against Mr. Trump. Mr. Vance’s past criticisms had included an essay in one of Mr. Trump’s least favorite magazines, The Atlantic, where Mr. Vance described Mr. Trump as “cultural heroin” — a purveyor of false promises to the white working class.

Mr. Trump, using an expletive, bluntly told Mr. Vance: You said some nasty stuff about me. The discussion that followed was described in detail by two people with knowledge of the meeting who insisted on anonymity to talk about a private conversation.

Mr. Vance’s next move was crucial. This was the first time he was meeting Mr. Trump, and Mr. Vance needed the former president to like him or at least leave the meeting with an open mind. Mr. Vance — the author of “Hillbilly Elegy,” a best-selling memoir about his troubled upbringing and the struggles and pathologies of the white working class — was running for the open U.S. Senate seat in Ohio as a Republican populist, a Never Trumper turned Trumper.

Mr. Vance decided to immediately apologize. He told Mr. Trump that he had bought into what he described as media lies and that he was sorry he got it wrong. Of all people, Mr. Vance told Mr. Trump, Mr. Vance himself should have understood.

Mr. Trump agreed, telling Mr. Vance that he should have understood because Mr. Vance had written the “Hillbilly Elegy” book. His implication was that Mr. Vance should have supported him because Mr. Trump’s own base of non-college-educated voters angry about globalization, immigration and foreign wars comprised

exactly the people Mr. Vance purported to represent.

At that point, Mr. Trump seemed disarmed, and the meeting went on for almost two hours. They discussed the 2020 election and the Ohio race, but mostly they talked about the difficulties of politics. It had been less than a month since Mr. Trump left the White House a pariah, in the wake of a pro-Trump mob storming the Capitol after the president had spent two months lying about a stolen election.

Mr. Trump closed the conversation by asking Mr. Vance what he wanted. Mr. Trump told him that everyone else had already been down to Mar-a-Lago begging for his endorsement — a reference to Mr. Vance’s potential opponents in the Ohio Senate primary.

Mr. Vance, who along with a spokesman for Mr. Trump declined to comment for this article, told the former president he wasn’t going to do that.

Mr. Trump, surprised, asked Mr. Vance if he wanted the endorsement.

Mr. Vance said that of course he wanted it, but that Mr. Trump

Continued on Page A12



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

ONLINE Donald J. Trump with J.D. Vance. Follow Thursday’s developments at nytimes.com, including live updates.

Dissent Forces Party to Delay Vote for Biden

This article is by Reid J. Epstein, Luke Broadwater and Carl Hulse.

Democrats’ rebellion against President Biden intensified on Wednesday with the party’s congressional leaders lobbying successfully to delay his nomination by a week, prolonging the debate over the viability of his candidacy.

The maneuver came as Representative Adam B. Schiff of California became the highest-profile Democratic lawmaker to call on Mr. Biden to end his run.

After a brief pause in the aftermath of the assassination attempt on former President Donald J. Trump, conversations among Democrats on Capitol Hill and elsewhere about replacing Mr. Biden at the top of the ticket have resumed with vigor. More details have emerged of heated conversations the president has held with lawmakers in which he has angrily pushed back on their entreaties for him to drop out of the race.

Mr. Biden’s disastrous debate performance last month, his uneven public appearances and his struggles in the polls have fueled deep worries within his party. Nearly two-thirds of Democrats

Continued on Page A16

COVID The president tested positive for coronavirus, and has “mild symptoms.” PAGE A16

Voters Worry Political Strife Is Here to Stay

This article is by Emily Cochrane, Shawn Hubler, Rick Rojas, Kurt Streeter and Amy Qin.

BUTLER, Pa. — Before Saturday, when Butler became the latest stunned backdrop for the nation’s political fury, Mayor Bob Dandoy thought of his town as a place that had learned to work around party lines. A Democrat in a Republican stronghold, he had campaigned on consensus.

“I’ve never seen a Republican or Democratic pothole,” Mr. Dandoy, 71, a retired high school English teacher, would tell voters. “Or a Republican or Democratic playground. Or a Republican or Democratic fire that the fire department needs to put out.”

He was at dinner with his family on Saturday when a city councilman texted. One spectator was dead at Donald J. Trump’s campaign rally on the farm show grounds, two more were critically injured. The former president’s right ear had been grazed by a bullet. The gunman, an isolated 20-year-old with an AR-15-style rifle, was fatally shot by the Secret Service. All this in the town of about 13,000 people where Mr. Dandoy has lived “all my life.”

Since then, national discord has descended on Butler with such force that this week it crashed the town’s website.

E-mailers charged that the city failed to protect Mr. Trump, maybe even

Continued on Page A17



NATIONAL A11-21

It’s Like ‘Living in Hell’

In New York homeless shelters, even with a doctor’s note air-conditioners are hard to come by. PAGE A21

Bird Flu Testing Lags

Even as the virus mutates, gaps remain in the nation’s contingency plans for testing people, scientists say. PAGE A18

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

‘Memory Saved Us’

The French had a far-right government before, one that collaborated with the Nazis. That helps explain the leftist bloc’s surge in recent voting. PAGE A4

Holy War in Moldova

Traditional allegiance to the Russian Orthodox Church has led to strife during the Ukraine war. PAGE A8

SPORTS B8-12

They Share McIlroy’s Agony

People in Rory McIlroy’s tight-knit hometown in Northern Ireland reflected on his drought in golf majors. PAGE B8



BUSINESS B1-7

A.I. Strikes Gold With Copper

A huge discovery in Zambia could make billions for Silicon Valley and provide minerals for an energy shift. PAGE B1

Labour in the Driver’s Seat

The Labour Party’s economic agenda puts political leaders more firmly in charge of industrial policy. PAGE B1

ARTS C1-6

Farewell, Childish Gambino

“Bando Stone & the New World,” Donald Glover’s new album, tells a story about the potential end of the world — and the conclusion of his pseudonymous musical project. PAGE C1

Yes, Please Look Down

Observation decks atop city skyscrapers offer visitors a variety of immersive experiences, almost turning them into towering amusement parks. Our reporter checks them out. PAGE C4

OPINION A24-25

Charles M. Blow

PAGE A24



THURSDAY STYLES D1-6

Shortening Men’s Shorts

Every few years, the same question surfaces: How short should shorts be? One possible answer was provided recently, above, in Central Park. PAGE D6

