The New York Times

THE WEATHER

Today, humid, a shower and thunderstorm, high 81. **Tonight**, humid, a thunderstorm, low 73. Tomorrow, showers and a heavy thunderstorm,

\$4.00

VOL. CLXXIII No. 60,225

© 2024 The New York Times Company

WEDNESDAY, JULY 24, 2024

Prices in Canada may be higher

MONIRUL ALAM/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

A Crisis Born in Vengeance

A charred vehicle Tuesday in Bangladesh. The prime minister's lethal crackdown has divided the country. News Analysis. Page A5.

MENENDEZ PLANS TO QUIT SENATE

Bowing to Party Pressure After a Conviction

By NICHOLAS FANDOS and TRACEY TULLY

Senator Robert Menendez of New Jersey announced on Tuesday that he would resign from Congress effective in late August, bowing to intense pressure from Democratic colleagues who had pushed him to step down or face an expulsion vote after his conviction in a vast international bribery

Mr. Menendez has maintained his innocence and vowed to appeal a guilty verdict returned last week by a federal jury in Manhattan. But with the Senate Ethics Committee fast-tracking a vote to expel him, he opted to quit his term months early, rather than



Senator Robert Menendez faced a possible expulsion vote.

force an ugly intraparty fight that threatened to make him the first senator ousted since the Civil War.

Mr. Menendez conveyed his resignation in a letter to Gov. Philip D. Murphy of New Jersey. shortly after he shared the news with what remained of his staff. Mr. Murphy, a Democrat, said he would promptly appoint a replacement who would serve until Janu-

In the letter, Mr. Menendez, 70, said he had concluded that his presence in the Senate would only complicate his efforts to clear his name and salvage his legacy. However, he notably left open the possibility that he might remain a

Continued on Page A16

For New Rival, Trump's Gibes May Coarsen

By MAGGIE HABERMAN and JONATHAN SWAN

Donald J. Trump and his political team spent nearly two years tailoring a campaign to defeat an old white male president who is conspicuously frail and who most Americans had told pollsters they doubted could handle another four-year term.

Suddenly, Mr. Trump faces a starkly different opponent: a vice president who is a Black woman, who is nearly 20 years younger, and who brings her own strengths and weaknesses but who adds new uncertainty into what had been a remarkably static race.

Allies of Vice President Kamala Harris have already telegraphe that she will run a campaign framed around a "prosecutor versus felon" theme, highlighting her experience as a prosecutor and underscoring the fact that Mr. Trump has been indicted in multiple jurisdictions and convicted of 34 felonies.

prosecutor-versus-felon approach may appeal to undecided voters who had been sour on both Mr. Trump and President Biden. It may also goad Mr. Trump, who reacts strongly to criticism, into resurrecting the language he has used against other Black female prosecutors, such as Letitia James in New York and Fani Willis in Georgia, both of whom he has called "racist" and attacked in personal terms.

In a preview of what's to come, Ms. Harris made the prosecutor's attack line explicit during an appearance on Monday, describing her past as the district attorney of San Francisco and the attorney general of California.

"In those roles I took on perpetrators of all kinds: predators who abused women, fraudsters who ripped off consumers, cheaters who broke the rules for their own gain. So hear me when I say, I know Donald Trump's type," she

Mr. Trump has been trying to soften some of his harshest rheto-Continued on Page A14

ON ISRAEL The vice president will be watched for signs of her approach to the war in Gaza. PAGE A6

NEW CLAIM Republicans said President Biden's primary voters were disenfranchised. PAGE A14

Eager for First Female President, But Wary of Same Old Hurdles

This article is by **Patricia Mazzei**, Jenna Russell, Richard Fausset and Christina Morales

MIAMI — In the eight years since Hillary Clinton failed to win the American presidency, the work force for the first time grew to include more college-educated women than college-educated men. The #MeToo movement exposed sexual harassment and toppled powerful men. The Supreme Court overturned the federal right to abortion.

Will any — or all — of it make a difference for Vice President Kamala Harris?

Ms. Harris seems almost certain to become the Democratic Party's presidential nominee after President Biden's decision not to

seek re-election. As such, she faces, fairly or not, some of the

A presidential contest pitting Ms. Harris against former President Donald J. Trump would represent a rematch of sorts: Mr. Trump would again have to run against a woman who held a top administration position and served in the Senate. He defeated Mrs. Clinton in 2016 in spite of her winning the popular vote by a wide margin.

But the dynamics would be unquestionably different. Ms. Harris has neither the political legacy Continued on Page A13

same electability questions that Mrs. Clinton confronted in a nation that, unlike many of its peers around the globe, has yet to pick a woman as its leader.

Leader of Secret Service Resigns, Citing Failures To Stop Trump Shooting

A Rapid Downfall for an Agency Veteran

This article is by **Hamed Aleaziz**, Zolan Kanno-Youngs and Kate

WASHINGTON — The director of the Secret Service, Kimberly A. Cheatle, resigned on Tuesday, after security failures surrounding the attempted assassination of former President Donald J. Trump and calls for her to step down from lawmakers in both par-In an email to Secret Service

employees on Tuesday, Ms. Cheatle said that one of the agency's foremost duties is to protect the nation's leaders and that it "fell short of that mission" in failing to secure a campaign rally from a gunman on July 13.

"I do not want my calls for resignation to be a distraction from the great work each and every one of you do towards our vital mission," Ms. Cheatle said in the email, which was reviewed by The New York Times

She said she was deeply committed to the agency but added that "in light of recent events, it is with a heavy heart that I have made the difficult decision to step down as your director."

President Biden, in a statement Tuesday, thanked Ms. Cheatle for answering his call to lead the agency. "As a leader, it takes honor, courage and incredible integrity to take full responsibility for an organization tasked with one of the most challenging jobs in public service," he said.

Mr. Biden said he would appoint a new director soon. On Tuesday afternoon, Homeland Security Secretary Alejandro N. Mayorkas, to whom the Secret Service answers, designated Ronald Rowe as the agency's acting director. Mr. Rowe, who was a deputy to Ms. Cheatle, has been at the Secret Service for more than two decades.

The resignation is a rapid fall for the agency veteran who protected Dick Cheney and Mr. Biden in their vice-presidential tenures and was publicly supported by Biden administration officials after the gunman shot at Mr. Trump.

The glaring security mistakes before the shooting, however, and the heated criticism that Ms. Cheatle faced in the days since had left her position increasingly in doubt.

Officials investigating the matter, including lawmakers in hearings this week, have repeatedly questioned why the building from which the gunman eventually fired was excluded from the Secret Service's security perimeter and why no law enforcement offi-



Kimberly A. Cheatle faced bipartisan calls to step down.

cer was placed on the building's roof for the rally. They have also asked why Mr. Trump was allowed to take the event stage when law enforcement was searching for a suspicious person.

Mr. Biden gave high praise to Ms. Cheatle in an announcement of her appointment to the position in August 2022. Mr. Biden said in a statement then that his family "came to trust her judgment and

Continued on Page A17

BREAKDOWNS A police commander gave new rally details, but also raised more questions. PAGE A17

A Harrowing Olympic Event: Airport Check-In Bus After Bus,

By ANDREW KEH

COLUMBUS, Ga. - Olympic shooters have time-tested mental exercises they use to get through some of the most stressful moments of their careers: They exhale deeply to steady their nerves. They assess the targets ahead of them. They trust in the preparation that got them there.

Then, finally, they're ready to check in at the airport.

Before the members of the U.S. shooting team got a chance to fire their rifles, pistols and shotguns this month in the Paris Games, they had to get them there first. And while international air travel is already among the most universally exasperating experiences on earth, imagine doing it with a bunch of guns and ammunition in your luggage.

"I've learned the hard way about saying, 'Oh, this is going pretty smooth,'" said Sagen Maddalena, 30, an American rifle shooter who will be competing at her second Olympics. "You can get there six hours before the flight leaves, and it feels like you're running to the plane every

For globe-trotting shooters like Maddalena, the airport is the crucible before the competition, a logistical bugbear with more hurdles than a track meet.

There's the gear (heavily regulated and physically heavy). There are the airline firearm protocols (byzantine and inconsis-



A desk agent once "physically freaked out" when Sagen Maddalena, a U.S. shooter, notified her about the guns in her bags.

tently applied). And then there is the paperwork required to merely possess guns in various countries (voluminous)

There is also the ever-present fear, worst of all, that some of their meticulously bespoke equipment could get misplaced altogether a rare but real outcome that has temporarily derailed some shooters' careers.

Add to all of this the obvious anxiety involved in taking a weapon to an airport, and it is no wonder many elite shooters approach travel with a creeping sense of

"We just accept that when we get to the airport, it's going to be a nightmare," said Ivan Roe, 28, a rifle shooter attending his first Games this year.

The smallest slip-up can spell disaster.

It was an innocent mistake, for instance, that once saw Will Shaner, 23, a gold medalist in the 10-meter air rifle event at the last Summer Games, spend hours inside a glorified holding cell at Munich Airport. His travel itinerary had changed at the last minute, causing his gun permit to expire

Continued on Page A8

Texas Changed U.S. Migration

This article is by J. David Goodman, Keith Collins, Edgar Sandoval and Jeremy White.

EAGLE PASS, Texas — The au-

tumn of 2021 delivered a shock to the state of Texas. More than 9,000 migrants crossed the border on a September day into the town of Del Rio and huddled in a tent camp under a bridge. Thousands more came later that week from countries all over the world, challenging the town's ability to handle them.

The following spring, Texas opened a new frontier of its own. On April 13, a bus pulled into Union Station in Washington, D.C., carrying 24 migrants who had been offered a free ride from the border city of Eagle Pass, Texas, chartered by the state's Division of Emergency Management. More buses arrived in the capital over the next several days.

Washington's mayor, Muriel Bowser, suggested that many of the migrants had been "tricked" into riding the buses by the Texas governor, Greg Abbott. The White House called it a "political stunt."

In the two years since Mr. Abbott dispatched the first buses from Texas, the busing program has turned into a significant part

Continued on Page A10



BUSINESS B1-5

Olympic Security Muffles Paris

Business owners had hoped the Games would bring crowds, but some areas have become dead zones.

Why Paper Checks Won't Die

Feelings play a role, as do fees. Fear does, too. Here's why we won't be rid of checks anytime soon.

INTERNATIONAL A4-8

One of Gaza's Deadliest Days

A firefight amid a recovery mission. Scores of Palestinians killed. A Times visual analysis shows how the June 8 operation had such a high toll. PAGE A6

Repression, but Prosperity, Too Many people in struggling industrial

areas of Georgia express nostalgia for rule under the Soviet Union.

SPORTS B6-9, 12

New Home for a Top Back

As he rolls into Baltimore, Derrick Henry just might be the best off-season addition in the N.F.L. PAGE B6



ARTS C1-8

Dancing With the Artwork

Works by the postmodern choreographers Jodi Melnick and Annie-B Parson inject movement into the static. PAGE C1

A Rotating Everywoman

Various stars take turns in the lead of Marin Ireland's play on domestic violence, "Pre-Existing Condition." PAGE C1 NATIONAL A9-17, 20

The Targeting of Latinos

Latinos in Montgomery, Ala., said they had been sounding the alarm for months, describing the killings at a grocery store as the culmination of unchecked violence. PAGE A9

Trump Appeals Fraud Fine

His lawyers are trying to dismiss or reduce a \$454 million judgment handed down by a judge who found that he manipulated his net worth to receive favorable terms on loans.

OPINION A18-19

Thomas L. Friedman



FOOD D1-8

Nothing Fancy (That's the Idea)

In an era of show-off Cronuts, crookies and cruffins, the original plain croissant remains an absolute marvel, managing to be both crisp and soft.

