

“All the News  
That’s Fit to Print”

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## 48-Hour Spurt Hoisted Harris To Top of Party

### How Team’s ‘Cascade’ Secured Nomination

**By SHANE GOLDMACHER**

Late on Sunday morning, Vice President Kamala Harris summoned a small clutch of her closest advisers and allies to the Naval Observatory, where she lives and works, with little notice and even less information.

President Biden had informed Ms. Harris earlier that morning that he was withdrawing from the race. The vice president had assembled her team so that the exact moment Mr. Biden formally quit, at 1:46 p.m. — one minute after the president had informed his own senior staff — they were ready to go.

Time was of the essence. A sprawling call list of the most important Democrats to reach had been prepared in advance, according to two people with knowledge of the situation. The vice president, in sneakers and a sweatshirt, began methodically dialing Democratic power brokers.

“I wasn’t going to let this day go by without you hearing from me,” Ms. Harris had said over and over, as day turned to night, according to five people who received her calls or were briefed on them.

She phoned past Democratic presidents, many of her potential rivals — including Govs. Gretchen Whitmer of Michigan, JB Pritzker of Illinois and Josh Shapiro of Pennsylvania — the Democratic congressional leaders, Senator Bernie Sanders, the heads of the various influential caucuses and other top Democrats, a person

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ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Vice President Kamala Harris in Indianapolis on Wednesday.

**ONLINE** Complete coverage of President Biden’s address from the Oval Office at [nytimes.com](#).



KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu on Wednesday portrayed the Gaza conflict as a proxy fight with Iran that must be won at all costs.

## Utah Awarded 2034 Games, With Asterisk

*This article is by Jeré Longman, Tariq Panja and Michael S. Schmidt.*

PARIS — The International Olympic Committee awarded the 2034 Winter Games to Salt Lake City on Wednesday only after a last-minute demand that the agreement shield global sports authorities from U.S. investigations into doping by Chinese athletes.

Organizers of Salt Lake City’s bid and Gov. Spencer J. Cox of Utah agreed to the changes sought by the I.O.C. The unexpected twist came amid an escalating dispute between the global anti-doping agency and its American counterpart, and at a time when the Justice Department and Congress are looking into why Chinese swimmers who tested positive for performance-enhancing drugs three years ago were not subject to penalties from the World Anti-Doping Agency.

Mr. Cox told I.O.C. members before Wednesday’s vote awarding the 2034 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games to Salt Lake City

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## In City of Light’s Shadows, Monuments to Sports

**By ROGER COHEN**

PARIS — There is a glorious folly to the Paris Olympics, the first in the city since 1924, as if France in its perennial revolutionary ardor took a century to ponder something unimaginable, the transformation of a great city into a stadium.

The heart of Paris has fallen silent in preparation for the opening ceremony on Friday, when a flotilla will usher thousands of athletes down the Seine, under the low-slung bridges where lovers like to linger. Not since the Covid-19 pandemic has the city been so still, or so constrained.

From the Pont d’Austerlitz in the east to the Pont Mirabeau in the west, roads are closed, newly built stands for spectators line the riverbanks, fences enclose sidewalks and residents need police-issued QR codes to reach their homes. The golden cherubs, nymphs and winged horses of the Pont Alexandre III gaze out on metal bleachers and posesses of police.

The Olympic project is almost unthinkable in its audacity, and a major security headache, but then the Eiffel Tower would never have risen above Paris in 1889 if the many naysayers had prevailed.

### History as a Backdrop for the Paris Games

As it went up for the Paris World Fair, Guy de Maupassant called the tower a “giant hideous skeleton” that had driven him out of Paris.

Now, between its first and second floors, five giant Olympic rings — in blue, yellow, black, green and red — adorn the tower. They glow at night over the Champ de Mars park, where the beach volleyball competition will be held. Nearby flows the Seine, beautified at a cost of about \$1.5 billion and clean enough, it is said, for several Olympic events, including two 10-kilometer swims

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JAMES HILL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Marching 100 band from St. Augustine High School in New Orleans and the Eiffel Tower, with its illuminated Olympic rings.

**THE WEATHER**

Today, cloudy, humid, showers and thunderstorms during the afternoon, high 85. Tonight, cloudy, low 68. Tomorrow, less humid, some sun high 84. Weather map, Page B12.

## DERIDING CRITICS, NETANYAHU BACKS CONDUCT OF WAR

### ADDRESSING CONGRESS

#### Fierce Speech Exposes Washington’s Deep Rifts Over Gaza

**By ANNIE KARNI  
and DAVID E. SANGER**

WASHINGTON — Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel on Wednesday turned an address to Congress into a full-throated defense of Israel’s military campaign in Gaza. He cast it as a battle for the survival of the Jewish state while making almost no mention of the tens of thousands of Palestinian civilians killed in its drive to destroy Hamas.

The address laid bare deep divisions in Washington over the nine-month war, whose toll on civilians has outraged many Democrats and drawn international condemnation. Dozens of Democrats did not show up, with some openly boycotting the speech.

Vice President Kamala Harris, the party’s presumptive presidential nominee who was campaigning in the Midwest, declined to preside in her capacity as president of the Senate alongside Speaker Mike Johnson, a break with tradition.

Outside the Capitol, pepper spray filled the air as police officers tried to push back thousands of protesters who had gathered to jeer Mr. Netanyahu. Demonstrators held signs calling him a war criminal, burned an effigy of him and an American flag and vandalized statues with anti-Israel slogans, including “Hamas is coming.”

In a speech in which he condemned critics of the war as dupes aligning themselves with the world’s most dangerous actors or apologists for terrorists, Mr. Netanyahu portrayed the conflict as a proxy fight with Iran that must be won at all costs to protect both Israel and the United States.

“When we fight Iran, we are fighting the most radical and murderous enemy of the United States,” he said.

“We’re not only protecting ourselves; we’re protecting you,” he added, emphasizing the alliance that has existed since Israel’s creation. He said nothing about the tensions in the relationship that have flared as Israel has used American weapons in attacks that

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## ‘Iron Lady’ Inspires Venezuelans and Strikes Fear in Ruling Party

**By JULIE TURKEWITZ  
and ISAYEN HERRERA**

BOGOTÁ, Colombia — She travels the country in white, rosaries swinging from her neck. Women cry in her arms, men beg her for salvation. Stripped of her bodyguard last week by the government, she traversed the streets unprotected.

As she climbed onto the windshield of her battered car — her makeshift stage — supporters jostled to touch her. One passed her a hand-drawn portrait. Inside the frameless image, María Corina Machado was shielded by the Venezuelan flag and the arms of Jesus Christ.

“María!” yelled one supporter, “help us!”

Ms. Machado, 56, the newest leader of Venezuela’s opposition, has struck fear into the hearts of the country’s ruling party.

In a matter of months, she has emerged from the political sidelines to build a powerful social movement capable of bringing thousands of people to the streets — and perhaps millions to the

ballot box.

She is not the one running for president, but she is the driving force behind the main opposition candidate, a little-known diplomat named Edmundo González.

The mobilization Ms. Machado

has catalyzed follows years of political apathy in Venezuela, where the government of President Nicolás Maduro has crushed protests and arrested dissidents, helping to spur an enormous exodus from the country.

An effort backed by the Trump administration to install a young legislator named Juan Guaidó as interim president failed, and last year Mr. Guaidó fled to the United States.

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ADRIANA LOUREIRO FERNANDEZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

María Corina Machado in Guanare, Venezuela, last week. Her movement has won wide support.

## A Storied Washington House, Left Vacant in a 22-Year Battle

**By ELIZABETH WILLIAMSON**

WASHINGTON — President-elect John F. Kennedy was there for dinner the night before his inauguration. Years later, President-elect Ronald Reagan was there too. So were Truman Capote, Princess Diana, Supreme Court justices, cabinet members, diplomats, financiers and thousands more who came to a hub of bipartisan Washington power where guests dined, debated and often parted as friends.

“It was a special place to grow up,” said Donald Graham, a former publisher of The Washington Post, remembering his childhood home.

For nearly 60 years, Katharine Graham, Mr. Graham’s mother, presided over the grand Beaux-Arts house at 2920 R Street in Georgetown, first as the young bride of Philip Graham, the publisher of The Post, and then as publisher herself after her husband’s death. After she died in 2001 her estate sold the home to



ALYSSA SCHUKAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Katharine Graham presided over the home for decades.

Mark Ein, a venture capitalist and philanthropist who owns Washington City Paper and has a stake in the city’s N.F.L. team, the Commanders, and in its world-class tennis tournament, the Mubadala Citi D.C. Open. He paid \$8 million.

Mr. Ein, then a bachelor, had no plans to entertain in Mrs. Graham’s grand style and did not move in. But after he married

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THURSDAY STYLES D1-6

**Inside an ‘Orgy of Sensation’**

Fans flocked to the Fourth of July shows of Dead & Company, a Grateful Dead spinoff, in Las Vegas. PAGE D1

**More Than Meets the Eye**

The jewelry that people wear may have more personal and cultural significance than might be apparent. PAGE D4



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As livestock and crops die off, officials across the Mediterranean are still trying to direct enough water to save the vital tourism industry. PAGE A4

**The Mission of ‘Death Doulas’**

The work of those who guide people coping with acute grief has grown in importance in Ukraine, where death has become a daily reality. PAGE A5

**Trash Balloons Stick Landing**

Some balloons, part of a North Korean harassment campaign, landed in South Korea’s presidential compound. They were not deemed hazardous. PAGE A9

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**New York Lifeline Falls Short**

The Medical Indemnity Fund was to provide worry-free health care to children severely injured at birth. But parents say it has failed them. PAGE A11

**Trump Gunman’s Web Search**

The F.B.I. director discloses to lawmakers the shooter sought details about the Kennedy assassination. PAGE A16

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The buzz that surrounded Bronny James, and now Bryce James, is one fellow players can relate to. PAGE B10

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A woodblock forger who fooled collectors for decades was tripped up by a collector of medical antiques. PAGE C1

**Stardom’s Supply and Demand**

The singer Chappell Roan has gotten so popular so quickly that her current tour is facing enviable challenges. PAGE C1



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After years of ridiculing electric vehicles, the former president has eased up since befriendng Elon Musk. PAGE B1

**The Strength of Small Banks**

Community banks that back local businesses say they don’t court the same risks as big commercial lenders. PAGE B1

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**Gail Collins** PAGE A19

