Today, partly to mostly sunny, not as humid, high 84. **Tonight,** partly cloudy, low 70. **Tomorrow,** intervals of clouds and sunshine, low humid-

\$4.00

VOL. CLXXIII No. 60,220

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FRIDAY, JULY 19, 2024

Prices in Canada may be higher

How Trump Stifled G.O.P. And Remade Its Platform Drastic Cuts to Document as Veteran Team's Ruthless Efficiency Limited Debate

This article is by **Jonathan Swan**, Shane Goldmacher and Maggie Ha-

Donald J. Trump long ago decided he wanted a very different Republican Party platform in 2024. The delegates who arrived in Milwaukee early last week before the Republican National Convention, with grand plans of drafting a sweeping document of party principles, quickly found out just how determined he was.

Within minutes of their arrival, their cellphones were confiscated and placed in magnetically sealed pouches. There would be no leaks of information. It was only then that the delegates received a copy of the platform language the Trump team had meticulously prepared, which slashed the platform size by nearly three-quar-

"This is something that ultimately you'll pass," Mr. Trump told the delegates by phone and made audible to the room, according to a person who was there and who was not authorized to speak publicly. "You'll pass it quickly."

He was right. Within hours, the platform committee had endorsed a document that Mr. Trump had personally dictated parts of, according to two people with direct knowledge of the events, and it all happened before the delegates got their phones back.

The committee passed the platform by a vote of 84 to 18.

The new platform softened language on abortion, excised old language referring obliquely to gay conversion therapy and culled a section about reducing a national debt that Mr. Trump had increased by nearly \$8 trillion during his term in office. But the most revealing part was not any particular provision or plank.

It was the ruthless efficiency of a process months in the making that squelched, silenced or steamrolled any forces who might oppose Mr. Trump. The result was the latest evidence of the political maturation of Mr. Trump and his operation.

The first years of Mr. Trump's presidency were defined by obstruction. He was repeatedly redirected by advisers and rebuffed on Capitol Hill. But now, as he is about to formally accept the Republican Party's nomination on Thursday in Milwaukee for the third consecutive campaign, Mr. Trump is a political veteran who

has spent nearly 10 years grinding Continued on Page A17

POWER PLAYER Donald Trump Jr. is a confidant to his father and a key MAGA enforcer. PAGE A16



RECAP FROM MILWAUKEE More coverage of the Republican National Convention, including Donald J. Trump's speech, at nytimes.com.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Pelosi Presses Biden on Odds

She Doubts He'll Win and Fears Toll on Party

By CARL HULSE

WASHINGTON - Nancy Pelosi is all about winning. Regarded by many as her party's most ruthless tactician, she fought her way to the top of the Democratic leadership in the House, won the majority not once but twice and retained her speakership by putting down a rebellion from younger Democrats demanding she pass the torch to a new generation.

And the former speaker is in no mood to start losing now, as evidence mounts that President Biden is staring at a major defeat that could drag his party down with him.

In private conversations with Mr. Biden, colleagues and allies, Ms. Pelosi, the Californian who still wields tremendous influence in her party and is seen by many as key to resolving the status of Mr. Biden's candidacy, has let it be known in the days since his disastrous debate performance that she is skeptical that the president can win. And his loss, she fears, could cost her party its chance to win back the House, potentially its only firewall against a second Donald J.

Trump presidency. Ms. Pelosi, according to those who have talked with her, conveyed those sentiments in phone calls with the president and with alarmed colleagues who have reached out to her for guidance on what to do. The former speaker is intimately familiar with the minutiae of campaigns from her years following House races district by district, and she has been marshaling her knowledge of the political map, polling Continued on Page A17

PIVOTAL MOMENT A Covid diagnosis throws images of both campaigns into sharp relief. PAGE A16

Biden Is Said to Soften on Ending His Campaign

This article is by Michael D. Shear, Peter Baker and Katie

WASHINGTON - Several people close to President Biden said on Thursday that they believe he has begun to accept the idea that he may not be able to win in November and may have to drop out of the race, bowing to the growing demands of many anxious members of his party.

One of the people close to him warned that the president had not yet made up his mind to leave the ace after three weeks of msisting that almost nothing would drive him out. But another said that "rePresident Hasn't Made Final Decision Yet — In Covid Isolation

ality is setting in," and that it would not be a surprise if Mr. Biden made an announcement soon endorsing Vice President Kamala Harris as his replacement.

This account is based on interviews with four people close to the president, all of whom described cate and spoke on the condition of anonymity to avoid offending the

president. Mr. Biden remained in isolation at his vacation home in Rehoboth Beach, Del., after being diagnosed with Covid on Wednes-

Many other Democrats more distant from the White House said expectations were rising within the party that the president would soon relent, a shift from just days ago when many were in despair about changing his mind. But there was also caution about reading signs from a president with an exceedingly small circle of confidants.

tion to become public came from Continued on Page A19

A New Kind of Image-Making J.D. Vance, the newly nomia defining gender trope in his

Potential Second Lady Shows

nated vice-presidential candidate, may represent the new generation of the MAGA movement. But, as became clear Wednesday night

when Usha Vance

stepped gingerly

introduce her

into the spotlight to

VANESSA FRIEDMAN

CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

Republican convention, his wife represents

That is not because she is a Yale-educated lawyer with three children, or the daughter of two Indian immigrants. It's because she does not hew to the very specific mold of femininity that has become the norm in the

world of Trump. After all, there is a certain kind of look that the women in Mr. Trump's closest orbit — his wife, daughters and daughters-in-law

– all share, and that has become

own political reality show. It involves a lot of hair, often

left to cascade in glossy, carefully controlled Breck Girl waves. It involves heavy mascara (or false eyelashes), lip gloss and vertiginous heels. It often involves a brightly colored sheath dress. It calls to mind a cross between a Miss America — or Miss Universe - pageant contestant and a Fox newscaster. It is the equivaient of the Paim Beach billionaire take on the trad wife (even if these wives also have work). It looks as if it requires a lot of effort to maintain.

See, for example, one Trump family speaker, Kimberly Guilfoyle, the fiancée of Donald Trump Jr. Ms. Guilfoyle took to the stage to rouse the crowd in a scarlet dress and spike heels. brown hair flowing down to frame her heavily made-up face

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BOB NEWHART, 1929-2024

Everyman Who Quickly Became a Comedy Star

By NEIL GENZLINGER

Bob Newhart, who burst onto the comedy scene in 1960 working a stammering Everyman character not unlike himself, then rode essentially that same character through a long, busy career that included two of television's most memorable sitcoms, died on Thursday at his home in Los Angeles. He was 94.

His publicist, Jerry Digney, confirmed the death.

Mr. Newhart wasn't merely un-

Hit Albums, Then Two Memorable Sitcoms

known a few months before his emergence as a full-fledged star; he was barely in the business, though he had aspirations. In 1959, some comic tapes he had made to amuse himself while working as an accountant in Chicago caught the ear of an executive at Warner Bros. Records,



Bob Newhart, an accountant, was 30 when he broke into comedy.

which in 1960 released the comedy album "The Button-Down Mind of Bob Newhart."

The record shot to No. 1 on the charts, and at the 1961 Grammy Awards it improbably captured the top prize, album of the year. Among the nominees Mr. Newhart bested: Nat King Cole, Harry Belafonte and Frank Sinatra.

He won two other Grammys that year as well, for best new artist and best spoken-word comedy performance, an honor that was given not to his first album but to his second, a hastily made followup titled "The Button-Down Mind Strikes Back!" For a while, his first two albums occupied the top two spots on the Billboard album

"Playboy magazine hailed me 'the best new comedian of the decade," Mr. Newhart wrote in his autobiography, "I Shouldn't Even Be Doing This: And Other Things That Strike Me as Funny" (2006), describing this period. "Of course, there were still nine more years left in the decade."

Unlike many entertainers who achieve fame almost overnight, Mr. Newhart was able to handle the unexpected success of the "Button-Down Mind" albums. He transitioned quickly and easily

Continued on Page A22



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Usha Vance stood out at the Republican National Convention.

BUSINESS B1-6

More Gas Trucks, Fewer E.V.s

Ford will build large pickups at a Canadian factory it had previously scheduled to produce electric vehicles.

The Oil Industry's Boom

Despite the push for renewable energy and electric cars, U.S. oil producers are making record profits.



INTERNATIONAL A4-11

The 'Almost' Jewish President

Javier Milei of Argentina has developed a public devotion to Judaism unusual for a leader of a predominantly Roman Catholic country. PAGE A7

S. Koreans Redefine Family

Hwang Sunwoo and Kim Hana, who are single and live together, say laws should reflect the alternative unions chosen by many in the country.

Ukraine Loses a Foothold

Soldiers and military analysts said holding on to a hard-won position on the eastern bank of the Dnipro River was bloody and hard to justify.

NATIONAL A12-21

Port Chicago Sailors Cleared

Eighty years after an accident at a port near San Francisco that killed hundreds, the Navy exonerated 258 Black sailors convicted of mutiny. PAGE A21

A One-Man Telemundo

Carlos Espina is one of the new kind of TikTok stars whom politicians view as modern-day broadcasters.

OBITUARIES A22-23

Charismatic N.B.A. Executive

Pat Williams, a founder of the Orlando Magic, was known for his eccentric promotions. He was 84.

WEEKEND ARTS C1-10

A Real Killer Performance

The creators of "Inspired by True Events" wanted their new theater piece to convey ominousness.

Ten Counties, Endless Sights The Upstate Art Weekend festival is

underway. Below, Maren Hassinger's installation in Claverack, N.Y. PAGE C1



SPORTS B7-10

W.N.B.A. Power Move

Before sitting down at the bargaining table for a new labor deal, the players are seeking expert advice.

Beware the Postage Stamp

At the British Open at Royal Troon, the short holes have often befuddled golfers and ended many title runs. PAGE B9

OPINION A24-25

Neal K. Katyal

PAGE A24

