

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION



CAROLYN COLE Los Angeles Times

**CONVENTION-GOERS** listen to the national anthem on the first day of the gathering in Cleveland. Donald Trump has not helped much with the party unity effort; his camp has continued to criticize other Republicans.

# Party scrambles to unite behind divisive Trump

By DAVID LAUTER

CLEVELAND — Ideally, political parties use their conventions to fire up the troops for the battle ahead, but as the Republicans convene here, party leaders continue to face a more basic problem: getting everyone to march in the same direction. At a gathering of Iowa's delegation Monday, for example, the state's veteran senator, Charles E. Grassley, addressed those in the party who have doubts about Donald Trump. Tell them two words, Grassley said: "Supreme Court." He went on to warn



BRIAN VAN DER BRUG Los Angeles Times

**CALIFORNIA DELEGATES** Kim Dalbow-Vann, left, Julie LaGrande and Shari Clark cheer as they and others try to drown out anti-Trump delegates.

about the risk that Hillary Clinton, if elected, could appoint several justices. Earlier, Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker hit the same note with the delegates: "Whether Donald Trump was your first choice, your second choice or your 17th choice," he is "better than Hillary Clinton." And so it went around Cleveland on Monday as GOP leaders appealed for at least a show of unity, even as the party's wounds remained on vivid display on and off the convention floor. Republicans have been through a "very, very divisive primary," House Speaker [See Unity, A7]

## ON THE SIDELINES

California's GOP delegation, seen as irrelevant, lands a hotel about 60 miles from the action

By SEEMA MEHTA

SANDUSKY, Ohio — The California Republicans at the GOP convention are staying so far from Cleveland that they might as well be in, well, California. They're such an afterthought that where they're sleeping, Cleveland radio stations turn to static. They need a law enforcement motorcade to escort them to events on time. Even their

hotel, an African-themed resort attached to the nation's largest indoor water park, has the feel of National Lampoon's "Vacation" rather than a major political event. California may serve as the source of hundreds of millions of campaign dollars and have the biggest delegation in the GOP, but as Republicans convene to nominate Donald Trump in the most unusual convention in decades, the state's delegates are consigned to sec-

ond-class status. They were assigned lodging nearly 60 miles from downtown Cleveland, farther than any other state's delegation, thanks to a combination of the irrelevance of deep-blue California in the presidential election and the difficulty of securing space for the 550 delegates, alternates and their guests when hotel rooms are at a premium. "The worse our registration gets in California, the [See California, A7]



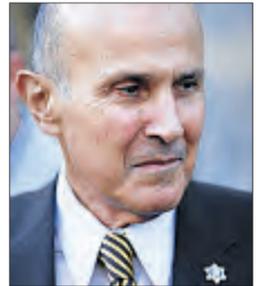
### IN-DEPTH CONVENTION COVERAGE

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- Watch the GOP convention gavel-to-gavel at [latimes.com/conventions](http://latimes.com/conventions)

# Judge says six months for Baca is too lenient

By CINDY CHANG AND MARISA GERBER

A federal judge on Monday threw out a plea agreement that would have given former Los Angeles County Sheriff Lee Baca a maximum of six months in prison, saying the sentence was too lenient considering Baca's role in obstructing an FBI investigation into the county jails.



MARK BOSTER Los Angeles Times

Addressing a downtown courtroom packed with Baca's supporters, U.S. District Judge Percy Anderson said the deal "would trivialize the seriousness of the offenses ... the need for a just punishment [and] the need to deter others."

Baca, 74, had pleaded guilty in February to a single charge of lying to federal investigators. But the former sheriff's involvement in trying to derail the investigation reached further than that, Anderson said.

At stake was what the investigators were trying to expose, Anderson said: an "us-versus-them" culture in which deputies covered up for one another and responded to inmates with enough violence to send them to the hospital.

Six months in prison for the man who ran the Sheriff's Department "would not address the gross abuse of the public's trust ... including the need to restore the public's trust in law enforce-

Baca's plea agreement 'would trivialize the seriousness of the offenses ... the need for a just punishment [and] the need to deter others.'

— JUDGE PERCY ANDERSON, addressing prosecutors and Lee Baca, above, in court

ment and the criminal justice system," Anderson said. The judge said he would allow Baca to withdraw his guilty plea, setting a new hearing date for Aug. 1. The maximum sentence for the false-statement charge is five years — the same amount of time that Baca's former No. 2, Paul Tanaka, received last month after go- [See Baca, A10]

# A vast online trail hinted at Baton Rouge killer's rage

By LOUIS SAHAGUN AND JAWEED KALEEM

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — In the leafy neighborhood where he lived on the south side of Kansas City, Mo., Gavin Eugene Long would speed down 77th Terrace on his bicycle, a former Marine sergeant who stayed in shape and never seemed to bother anybody. That is how neighbors remembered him here on the

predominantly black side of the city. "I'm telling you, there was nothing unusual about him," said Terrence Horad, 38, whose house sits two doors down from the turquoise bungalow where Long lived. "Nothing confrontational. He was just an average guy." But the neighbors didn't really know him. The Long who killed three police officers and wounded three others in Baton Rouge, La., on Sunday lived online.

In YouTube videos, he espoused black separatism and advocated violence against white "oppressors," including police who killed black men. From a studio presumably in Kansas City, he produced podcasts that became increasingly militant in calls for blacks to rise up against an unjust society. "It's a time for peace, but it's a time for war, and most of the times when you want peace, you got to go to war," he said in one of his videos discussing black separatist movements. He went by "Cosmo Setepenra" online and ran a [See Shooter, A6]

## Olympic ban on Russia considered

The historic move could follow reports of concealed positive doping tests by the country's top athletes. **SPORTS, D1**

**Weather** Partly cloudy, warmer. L.A. Basin: 85/63. **B8**



### COLUMN ONE

## Trending in Japan: L.A. life, circa 1976

By JULIE MAKINEN REPORTING FROM TOKYO

What's hot on newsstands in Tokyo this month? Believe it or not, a 200-page Japanese magazine about life in Los Angeles — reprinted from 1976. Twenty-seven pages are

devoted to life at UCLA during the Ford administration, including a campus map and photos of dorm life and Ackerman Student Union (complete with state-of-the-art amenities such as pinball machines and a "ride-sharing bulletin board"). The Kareem Abdul-Jabbar-led Lakers (who played at the Forum, where pretzels were 30 cents) are featured on five pages.

Flip to Page 53 and you'll find an illustrated spread headlined "How to Jog" (complete with helpful tips like keep an upright posture, and use a heel-to-toe stride). If it sounds like a bizarre time capsule written by visitors from another planet, that's not so far off the mark, said 86-year-old Yoshihisa Kinameri. "It's hard to capture the

feeling now, but then, it was just all so different. We had seen running in the Olympics, but seeing jogging in real life was completely strange," said Kinameri, the editor who sent four staffers to Southern California in early 1976 to capture the West Coast lifestyle for the inaugural issue of a new Japanese pop culture and fashion maga- [See Japan, A4]

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**BACK STORY**



BRIAN VAN DER BRUG Los Angeles Times

**REPUBLICAN** National Committee Chairman Reince Priebus at the GOP convention in Cleveland. In the upheaval of 2016, platforms have become a tool for candidates to court skeptics in their parties' activist wings.

# The 'spinal cord' of politics

Over the years, party platforms have evolved in purpose and scope

BY MELANIE MASON AND CHRIS MEGERIAN

CLEVELAND — In 1840, the Democratic Party platform, buttressing the run of unpopular incumbent Martin Van Buren, clocked in at fewer than 540 words: a recitation of the powers and limits of government in simple, broad strokes.

Now, party platforms have ballooned to tens of thousands of words covering such crucial issues as foreign policy as well as ones that perhaps only the most dedicated party activists could love, like the fate of the endangered prairie chicken and sage grouse.

But beyond the canned rhetoric and pedantic detail that risk rendering them all but ignored even by party leaders, platforms have retained an important place in the American political process. They have served as predictors of how candidates will try to govern once in office. And in the upheaval of 2016, they have emerged as a tool for both presumptive presidential nominees to court and placate skeptical members of their parties' activist wings.

A platform, said Betsy Franceschini, who helped craft the current Democratic version, "is the spinal cord" of a party.

The attention the platforms have won in recent weeks has also underscored how much the documents have evolved in purpose and in scope.

"Platforms came from a time when candidates could not have direct contact — or even TV or radio contact — with the people," said Sandy Maisel, a government professor at Colby College in Maine. "So they were basically saying what it was that distinguished them from

their opponents."

Now, in an age of media saturation, platforms function much as a tool for leverage for party insiders seeking certain promises from their presumptive nominees.

The current Democratic version incorporates the wish list of Bernie Sanders backers, who staked out ground to the left of presumptive nominee Hillary Clinton. The document included flavors of the Sanders stump speech, such as calls for a \$15 federal minimum wage and setting a price on greenhouse gas emissions.

But liberal activists gathered this month in Orlando, Fla., did not yank the platform entirely to their side. Sanders allies sought explicit opposition to the Trans-Pacific Partnership, a massive trade deal reviled by the left as well as by presumptive GOP presidential nominee Donald Trump. But the document stopped short of a condemnation, avoiding an embarrassing rebuke for the deal's champion, President Obama, from his own party.

The 2016 platform will be used to judge how well Democrats perform in office, predicted Nina Turner, a former Ohio state senator and Sanders supporter.

"People are fully awake and they're engaged.... We got our scorecard right here, and it's called the platform," she said.

The GOP platform, hashed out in Cleveland on Monday and Tuesday, has echoes of signature Trump policies, including a call for "negotiated trade agreements that put America first" and a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border.

But Trump was outflanked on social issues that animate the Republican

base. The document is unambiguously antiabortion — without exceptions for rape, incest or to save the mother's life — even though Trump had indicated he supports such exceptions.

"The platform that we've produced ... does help assuage concerns that conservatives might have — justified or not — about the presumptive nominee," said Scott Johnson of Georgia, a platform committee member and former supporter of Texas Sen. Ted Cruz's candidacy who has come around to Trump.

To be sure, platforms tend to be more aspirational than fail-safe forecasts of what will happen, given the resistance of lawmakers from the opposition party and the influence of unforeseen events.

The documents are "promises that never take into account political context, and political context is really important," Maisel said.

Still, they continue to have political implications for candidates, who are often hitched, sometimes unhappily, to its contents.

"Even if a presidential candidate is not lockstep with everything in the platform, their opponent can say, 'Well, your party said this,'" said Elizabeth Simas, a political science professor at the University of Houston.

In 1992, for example, George H.W. Bush ceded many GOP platform demands to rival Pat Buchanan, who staked out far-right positions on social issues.

"It clearly hurt him in the general election," Maisel said of Bush, who would go on to lose that election to Bill Clinton.

That same year, allies of Clinton stripped many liberal positions of the George McGovern era from

the Democratic platform, signaling the party's shift to the center during the 1990s.

Some Republicans expressed concern this week with the increasingly bloated size of their manifesto. What was once a few hundred words grew to 30,000 words in 2012 (the Democrats' version was 26,000). The word count for this year's platforms — or their final language — won't be available until delegates approve the platforms at their nominating conventions in the coming weeks.

GOP delegates pointed to the platform delving into micro-issues such as the greater sage grouse and lesser prairie chicken. Both birds are considered endangered by the federal government. The GOP platform calls for repealing that status, saying such protection harms oil and gas development and hunting interests.

Weighing in on too many small issues threatens to divide the party rather than unite it, said Darcie Johnston, a delegate from Virginia.

"It makes us look small — and we're not," she said.

But such specificity is needed to satisfy the many interests in each party, said Jonathan Gardner, a Republican from New Mexico.

"It's not enough just to say, 'We support freedom.' Well, who doesn't support freedom?" Gardner said. "What does that look like? What type of approach are you going to take on certain issues when you actually end up in the position to legislate or sign bills?"

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Mason reported from Cleveland and Megerian from Orlando, Fla.

## Frank Gehry in conversation with Christopher Hawthorne

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## THE WORLD



LUCA BRUNO Associated Press

**PEOPLE GATHER** at a makeshift memorial on the Promenade des Anglais. North Nice, where attacker Mohamed Lahouaiej Bouhlel once lived, is four miles away.

# North Nice, the end of the line

The gritty quarter in France was once home to the truck assailant. Residents wonder what will happen next.

By ERIK KIRSCHBAUM

NICE, France — Karim Madani has spent his life in a rough section of Nice, where many immigrants from North Africa grow up with diminished dreams and limited opportunities a world away from the glamorous Mediterranean shoreline.

But Madani, who was walking his 8-year-old daughter home Monday in the low-rent, high-rise section of Nice, started to get excited when asked about his nationality in a country increasingly riven by divisions after a terrorist attack that killed 84 people on Bastille Day last week.

"I'm French, I'm entirely French, I was born in Nice 38 years ago and have lived here my whole life but people still look at me and see an Arab," said Madani, whose parents emigrated from Algeria four decades ago. "I can barely speak Algerian and the last time I was there on vacation four years ago everyone

called me French. But here everyone sees me as Arab and some even think 'Arab terrorist.'"

Madani said that it was never easy being Arab in France because of a lingering prejudice, but that the attack by a Tunisian immigrant last week was bound to make things more difficult for people like him, whose roots are in France's former North African colonies.

To make things worse, the attacker who plowed a truck into the holiday crowd, 31-year-old Mohamed Lahouaiej Bouhlel, some time ago had lived around the corner in the same downtrodden *banlieue*, or outly-

ing low-rent neighborhood.

Bouhlel, who was shot and killed by police during the attack, was one of about 600,000 Tunisians in France.

The immigrant-dominated quarter of North Nice is only about four miles inland from the Mediterranean and the Promenade des Anglais where Bouhlel caused so much death and destruction. But it feels like a parallel universe far removed from the sea, the pebble-stone beaches, the posh shops, fancy restaurants and glamour that has made France's fifth largest city one of the world's most famous tourist destinations.

High-rise tenement

buildings are strewn out along the hillside and represent a stark contrast to the Old Town charms of the 19th century buildings that line the streets in the center of Nice. Hardly a tourist strays into the northern section and the streetcar connecting the quarter to the city center empties out long before the last stop at what is, in every sense of the word, the end of the line: North Nice.

Pictures of the yellow high-rise nearby where Bouhlel had previously lived with his wife and children have been shown over and over on French television. Reminding the country of

the origins of the perpetrators in two other major terrorist attacks, those TV images have reinforced a notion among some French that immigrants from North African countries are not really part of France.

"This part of town has always been a bit cut off and different, I don't really understand why it's like that," said Yassine Asouali, a 33-year-old from Morocco who moved to France 13 years ago to study information technology. He said he lives in a suburb east of Nice.

Whereas luxury cars with license plates from Italy, Monaco, Switzerland, Germany and France are seen cruising up and down the Promenade des Anglais along the coast, there are mostly small battered and broken cars in the parking spaces in North Nice.

Kamel Meziane, a 46-year-old who came to France from Algeria 13 years ago, said that he was sickened by Thursday's attack and that he was confident that most French people would differentiate between a relatively small number of radicals and the larger population of law-abiding immigrants.

The nation paused for a moment of silence Monday to mourn the victims of the attack. In some cases people booed or jeered political leaders, a display of frustration at a moment of national grieving.

"We absolutely deplore what's happened," said Meziane, who works in a small computer repair shop in the former abattoir, or slaughterhouse, section closer to the center of Nice near the rail station. "It's absolutely horrible and no one has any understanding for such a radical."

He said the ethnically mixed neighborhood that is only about one mile inland from the Mediterranean shoreline has been a bastion of tolerance as long as he has lived there — even though anti-Muslim sentiment in the province surrounding Nice has been rising in recent years, especially after a series of major terrorist attacks began 18 months ago.

Likewise, Sara Mira, who grew up in North Nice, was confident that France would not be divided. Mira, who was working in an Old Town convenience store and plans to start studying law in September, said she had been crying all weekend because her 13-year-old sister's best friend was killed in last week's attack.

"There are some small-minded people who will think that because the attack came from a Tunisian that every Muslim is a potential threat like that," said Mira, 18, whose mother is from Tunisia and her father from France. "Most people in France have an open-minded mind to differentiate."

Kirschbaum is a special correspondent.

# KFC feeling the heat in China

In a game of chicken over the South China Sea ruling, some are urging a boycott of U.S. fast-food outlet.

By JULIE MAKINEN

BEIJING — Does diving into a bucket of Kentucky Fried Chicken make you a Chinese traitor?

That's the in-your-face message some KFC customers in China received over the weekend in the wake of a ruling by an international tribunal in the Netherlands in a case that pitted the Philippines against China.

Colonel Sanders was no party to the arbitration, in which Manila (backed by Washington) prevailed in a dispute over maritime rights in the South China Sea.

But globalization means the chicken restaurant of your enemy's friend can also become your enemy. China, which found the ruling to be anything but Finger Lickin' Good, called the Philippines' case a "trap" and said the proceedings had been "hyped and manipulated by the U.S."

And now KFC is paying the price.

At an outlet of the restaurant chain in the city of Tangshan, scores of protesters carrying Chinese flags unfurled a red banner outside. "Boycott the U.S., Japan, South Korea and the Philippines; love our Chinese nation," it declared. "What you eat is American KFC; what is lost is the face of our ancestors."

A video that circulated on Chinese social media sites captured a protester outside the restaurant trying to persuade three young men not to go in. "If there is a war, every bomb the U.S. uses on us will have some share of your money," he chides. "If you stop now, you are still Chi-



ZHANG PENG LightRocket via Getty Images

**A KFC RESTAURANT** in Tianjin railway station. It is unclear how many KFC outlets in China have been targeted for boycotts after a ruling on maritime rights.

nese. If you enter, when the U.S. and the Philippines start the war, you will all be traitors." The prospective customers then appear to walk away.

Other videos online showed boycott advocates harassing patrons inside other KFC restaurants.

KFC is not the only foreign brand that has been targeted with boycott calls since the ruling — some self-declared patriots have called on their fellow Chinese to stop buying Nike shoes and iPhones (even though they're assembled in China) and refrain from eating McDonald's hamburgers and dried mangoes grown in the Philippines.

One mango vendor on the eBay-like website Taobao posted a message on his own online store proclaiming: "I love China. Ban sales of Philippine dry mangoes. Everyone is responsible for the fate of the nation. Let Filipinos starve to death."

It was unclear how many KFC outlets had been targeted for boycotts; the company opened its first Chi-

nese branch in 1987 and has more than 5,000 stores in China. Reached by phone, a spokeswoman for Yum Brands, the parent company of KFC, said the company had "done nothing wrong" and was a "victim."

"The people who are doing this don't understand what being patriotic really is," said the spokeswoman, who refused to give her name. She said the company had gone to great lengths to "localize" its operations in China.

In September 2012, a dispute between China and Japan over some uninhabited islets in the East China Sea stoked protests that began with online calls for boycotting Japanese automakers and stealing videos from Japanese porn websites. But that rhetoric spilled into the streets, with crowds smashing Japanese-made cars and attacking Japanese restaurants and 7-Elevens, a chain owned by a Japanese company.

That year, Chinese authorities seemed to tolerate and even encourage some of the protests, with dem-

onstrators who marched on the Japanese Embassy in Beijing saying they'd been given the day off by their employers and police appearing to play a large role in guiding marchers on where to go and what to do.

So far, Chinese authorities have appeared reluctant to permit, let alone encourage, any protests at Philippine diplomatic missions.

And Jessica Chen Weiss, an associate professor of government at Cornell University and author of "Powerful Patriots: Nationalist Protest in China's Foreign Relations," noted that the government has tried to keep news of the KFC protests from spreading online.

She said the government wants "to maintain diplomatic flexibility after the ruling and prevent the situation from getting out of control. It may also be a sign of reassurance that Beijing's offer to pursue negotiations with the Philippines is not empty."

Internet censors have removed some of the most

heated online messages after the tribunal's ruling, including some warning that war between the U.S. and China was imminent in the South China Sea.

Since Chinese President Xi Jinping came to power nearly four years ago, his government has been fairly adept at both stoking and quashing nationalist sentiment according to its needs. Patriotic propaganda can be effective in drumming up support for Communist Party rulers, but once public opinion is inflamed, it can become destabilizing if crowds become too rowdy or turn their anger toward the government for failing to protect China's interests.

In the weeks leading up to the ruling, a drumbeat of articles in the state-run media called into question the tribunal's legitimacy and claimed that scores of countries (many of them developing nations in Africa dependent on China's checkbook diplomacy) supported Beijing's stance.

And after the decision last Tuesday, China's state-run press unleashed a huge wave of ink denouncing and rejecting the ruling, including a 20,000-character "white paper."

Any sustained boycott of KFC restaurants could be a major blow to the Kentucky-based Yum, which also owns the Pizza Hut and Taco Bell brands.

Powered mostly by sales at KFC, China has become the largest source of revenue for the company, accounting for about \$1.6 billion of its \$3 billion in revenue in the second quarter, the company reported last week. Yum plans to spin off its China operations into a separate entity this fall.

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Yingzhi Yang and Nicole Liu in The Times' Beijing bureau contributed to this report.

# Before Tokyo, L.A. set trends

[Japan, from A1] zine called Popeye.

With its almost anthropological approach, Popeye delved into a country that was vaguely familiar to Japanese — thanks to the seven-year U.S. occupation after World War II — but also still incredibly foreign. The reprint of the 1976 inaugural edition has stirred up a mix of nostalgia for a more innocent age, and marvel at how Tokyo so quickly came to rival Los Angeles and other cosmopolitan capitals as a global trendsetter.

The mid-1970s were a tough time for Japan. The oil shock of 1973 had sent corporations reeling; the Japanese Red Army, a communist militant group, had been carrying out terrorist attacks around the world. The Sony Walkman had yet to be invented; international travel was something few young Japanese could afford.

Southern California's ethos bowled over Kinameri and his compatriots.

"The hang gliding, the skateboarding, the variety of sneakers. It was all totally new. In Japan at the time, students had maybe two kinds of sneakers, and they were cheap and not stylish at all," Kinameri recalled.

"In Los Angeles, people looked happy and cheerful," he added. "It was magical; it was like heaven."

Kinameri and his colleagues had no inkling at the time, but Popeye would go on to become one of the most successful Japanese pop culture and fashion magazines. Aimed at young urban men called "city boys," the publication was selling 700,000 copies per issue by the 1980s as its staffers ranged around the



**THE POPEYE** magazine's reprint of its 1976 inaugural edition about the L.A. lifestyle includes 27 pages devoted to life at UCLA during the Ford administration. It also features a campus map and photos of dorm living.

world, looking for the latest and greatest trends and styles.

With an "eye on pop," Popeye was almost a "proto-Internet — enormous, timely guides of everything you needed to know [that was] happening at the moment," said W. David Marx, who last year published a cultural history on Japanese menswear called "Ametora: How Japan Saved American Style."

This summer, to mark Popeye's 40th anniversary, Editor in Chief Takahiro Kinoshita decided to return to where it all began with a special issue focused on California. He dispatched his writers to the Golden

State, where they retraced some of the steps of Kinameri's crew but also ventured to skid row and the dormitories of CalArts, plus Joshua Tree National Park, Pioneertown, San Francisco and Silicon Valley.

Tucked inside the July 2016 Popeye is a reprint of the full first edition from 1976 — identical except the ads from the original issue have been replaced by spots from a modern sponsor. The covers of both issues feature the cartoon character Popeye the Sailor, to which Kinameri negotiated the rights in the 1970s.

"We wanted to introduce the spirit of the original magazine's editors," Kinoshita said. "The reaction has been big. Older readers find it nostalgic, while younger readers are very interested in the 1970s design."

Sometimes, it's a bridge between generations. "The 1976 reprint issue explained to me about things my mom felt were cool decades ago," said Naohiro Tamaki, 27, who works for an Internet company in Tokyo.

The anniversary has been the subject of at least one TV show in Japan, an exhibit in the Tokyo subway and bookstore discussions with some of the original writers. The magazine printed 150,000 copies — 30,000 more than normal — and has already sold more than 105,000.

Hiroyuki Yoshikawa, 52, a self-described salaryman who was looking at an issue of Popeye at a bookstore in Tokyo's Shinjuku district this week, said he was a bit

shocked to realize Popeye had been around for 40 years.

"I remember reading it as a young man and looking for places to take dates during the '90s.... That seems like a long time ago," he said. "The general content doesn't seem to have changed much — how to look cool, be cool, get beautiful women."

But Japan's once-awed impressions of Los Angeles have changed, he said. "L.A. used to sound so glamorous. Now I think of riots or shootings," Yoshikawa said. "It's kind of amazing how much we admired America — how much influence it had on the culture and fashion."

Readers of the 1976 edition can pore over a long feature on a radical new fashion trend — gym shorts ("they're now worn on the streets") — and four pages introducing a piece of attire called the "polo sweater."

And there are seven pages of photographs cataloging 78 styles of fashionable sneakers and how much they sold for in the United States 40 years ago. Nike Oregon waffle soles, in yellow and green, were \$25.95. (They're sold on eBay now for \$1,000.)

These days, men around the world look to Japan for fashion trends and some of the highest-quality "American style" casual clothes made anywhere; meanwhile, hipster American brands such as the Hill-Side from Brooklyn even use Japanese-made denim and fabrics. But all

that wasn't preordained, Marx said.

"People assume that Japanese of course would just love jeans and all this American style," Marx said. "But in the early 1960s, people in Japan didn't have a lot of money to spend on fashion. Only deviants and outcasts would buy American jeans or Hawaiian shirts."

Popeye grew out of two earlier America-focused Japanese publications — a magazine called *Ski Life* and a two-volume catalog-type publication called *Made in U.S.A.* — put together by the same core group.

Eric Inoue, a USC grad-turned-ski bum who grew up in the Venice area, was working at Crossroads Drug in Aspen, Colo., when lead writer Jiro Ishikawa and his team walked into the store. Inoue tried out his awkward Japanese with the foreigners. Soon, he became a fixer of sorts for the group, helping its members meet people and introducing them to all manner of American products.

"It was probably the best thing that ever happened to me," said Inoue, now 71 and retired and living in Westchester.

After helping the group with *Ski Life*, Inoue traveled with them to Tennessee, New York, Texas and other places for the *Made in U.S.A.* catalog. Then came the Popeye project, a 50-day excursion across Southern California that involved interviewing and photographing sportsman enthusiasts and residents of Laurel Canyon, not

to mention surf and skateboard pioneer Jeff Ho and hang-glider designer Bill Bennett.

"I didn't even know that much about some of these people," said Gordon Tani, a graphic designer and friend of Inoue's who was recruited to help the Popeye team. He is 66 and lives in Cerritos.

"I don't know how Jiro knew all this stuff. It was before the Internet. But they just turned over every stone and reported what was interesting to their eye."

The reporters took rolls upon rolls of film; illustrator Yasuhiko Kobayashi drew maps of Westwood and sketched pictures of ranch and Spanish-style homes. The reporters collected huge quantities of books and magazines for reference.

"They were just interested in young people, free-spirited people," Inoue said. "And people at the time were really willing to be interviewed. They were curious and open. It wasn't like today where you had to get people to fill out a form and get permission for everything."

One place that did require advance permission was UCLA, Tani said. "I had to send a letter to someone in the administration," he said.

After some brief consideration, campus authorities agreed.

The huge takeout on the school helped turn UCLA into a major tourist destination — and later a university of aspiration — for Japanese youth.

"For UCLA, it was a windfall. After the magazine came out, a lot of Japanese tourists went there, and eventually the bookstore had to put up signs in Japanese for the customers," Tani said.

These days, Popeye is sold at Japanese bookstores such as Kinokuniya in major cities around the world. It's popular in New York and Paris, as well as Taiwan and Hong Kong, said Kinoshita, the current editor.

Although the Popeye team has had a global outlook for decades, even after 40 years, California remains a place of aspiration and inspiration, Kinoshita said.

When he returned to L.A. this time, after a five-year absence, he said he was struck by a number of things, including Angelinos' renewed interest in ceramic arts and the proliferation of tattoos.

"That, plus there's kale everywhere," he said, "and organic coffee."

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Special correspondent Jake Adelstein in Tokyo contributed to this report.

## FOR THE RECORD

**Child-care workers:** In the July 12 Business section, an article about child-care workers living in poverty misspelled the last name of the director of UC Berkeley's Center for the Study of Child Care Employment. She is Marcy Whitebook, not Whitebrook.

**CHP ambush:** In the July 11 California section, a California Retrospective article about the 1970 ambush slayings of four CHP officers reported that gunman Bobby Augusta Davis was serving four life sentences at Pelican Bay State Prison. Davis was sentenced to four life terms and committed suicide in prison in 2009.

**Tour de France:** In the

July 18 Sports section, a brief news item about the Tour de France said Chris Froome won the 15th stage of the cycling race. Jarlinson Pantano of IAM Cycling won Stage 15; Froome is the overall race leader.

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# Post-coup purge continues

Turkey has rounded up or suspended thousands. U.S. and others call on Ankara to observe rule of law.

By Roy Gutman

ISTANBUL, Turkey — In a third day of government purges after a failed military coup, Turkey on Monday suspended 9,000 Interior Ministry officials, drawing U.S. and European Union warnings for President Recep Tayyip Erdogan to keep the crackdown within the boundaries of democracy.

As the total number of military and civilians detained, arrested or suspended reached more than 15,000, Secretary of State John F. Kerry "firmly" urged Turkey to maintain its democratic institutions and the rule of law.

And even as Kerry promised support as Turkey pursues the perpetrators of the coup, he said, "We also caution against a reach that goes well beyond that."

"A lot of people have been arrested and arrested very quickly," Kerry said after talks with European Union officials in Brussels. "I think the level of vigilance and scrutiny is obviously going to be significant in the days ahead."



GURCAN OZTURK APF/Getty Images

**TURKISH MOURNERS** in Istanbul attend the funeral of a victim of last week's coup attempt.

The 28-nation European Union, membership in which Turkey has long sought, expressed alarm over the crackdown in progress after the coup attempt. The EU had condemned the military uprising within hours of its inception and voiced support for the democratically elected government.

But Federica Mogherini, the EU's high representative, said it is important that the rule of law prevail as Turkey pursues the coup plotters. "We need ... to have Turkey respect democracy, human rights and fundamental freedoms," she said Monday.

Kerry echoed Mogherini's comments and emphasized that Turkey, as a

NATO member, has an obligation to respect democracy, and suggested alliance officials will be monitoring whether Ankara follows the rules.

A government official said a decision on whether to reintroduce the death penalty would be made by the Turkish parliament, where Erdogan's Justice and Development Party has an absolute majority.

The coup attempt by a fraction of the military began Friday night and was over in less than 24 hours. But even before security forces had cleared the final pockets of resistance Saturday, the Turkish government announced it would detain nearly 3,000 military officers and soldiers and 3,000 mem-

bers of the judiciary on suspicion of aiding the coup — among them two members of the Constitutional Court, the nation's highest.

Officials acknowledged that the lists had already been drawn up as part of a continuing investigation into the influence of Erdogan's onetime political ally, Islamic cleric Fethullah Gulen, who's lived in self-exile in the U.S. since 1999. Erdogan blames the failed coup on Gulen and demanded his extradition from the United States. Gulen condemned the coup and denied any responsibility.

Also Monday, Pentagon spokesman Peter Cook told reporters that Defense Secretary Ashton Carter and the U.S. military were taken off-guard by the coup attempt.

U.S. warplanes were not authorized Saturday by Turkish authorities to take off from Incirlik Air Base, which has been a vital launching point for airstrikes against Islamic State militants. The U.S. was again allowed to fly from Incirlik on Sunday, but commercial power to the base remained cut.

Gutman is a special correspondent. Times staff writers Tracy Wilkinson and W. J. Hennigan in Washington contributed to this report.

## THE NATION

## The racial divide in Baton Rouge

Florida Boulevard splits the city into black and white sides, and both express fear after killings.

By MOLLY HENNESSY-FISKE

BATON ROUGE, La. — The railroad tracks used to divide north and south Baton Rouge, black and white, but over the years what locals call their Mason-Dixon line shifted about a mile south to Florida Boulevard.

To the north are predominantly black neighborhoods — and the convenience store where police recently shot and killed a 37-year-old black man, Alton Sterling.

“Will they do the same thing to me and say I provoked it?” asked 23-year-old Christopher Morgan, sitting outside a hair braiding shop across the street Monday.

To the south are wealthier, mostly white areas — and the gas station where a black gunman from Kansas City, Mo., shot and killed three police officers Sunday.

A white family was there Monday to pay their respects at a makeshift memorial, planting a small U.S. flag in the grass among blue balloons, bouquets and cards saying “All Lives Matter.”

The family had just come from visiting the grave of Ralph Dwayne Wilder, a sheriff’s deputy shot and killed during a 1972 civil rights demonstration that turned into a riot. It seemed history was replaying itself.

“You don’t feel safe anymore,” said 70-year-old John Wilder, who lives in the Baton Rouge suburbs, eyes tearing as he recalled his brother’s death. “It could happen anywhere.”

Black and white residents on both sides of the dividing line described a city on edge in the wake of the shootings. While some still planned to demonstrate this week for police reforms, others considered it disrespectful to police.

“The powder keg is greater right now than it was in the ‘60s,” said Patrick Fontenot, 70, a graduate of Southern University and A&M College, a historically black school on the north side. “I feel more apprehensive now.”

He recalled living in segregated Baton Rouge: “Colored to the rear, sit in the back of the bus, don’t look too close at the white lady.”

In 1953, local black leaders staged a bus boycott. Martin Luther King Jr. traveled to meet with them at Wesley United Methodist Church before organizing the more famous boycott in Montgomery, Ala., three years later.

Fontenot said the discrimination black residents face at the hands of police now is more difficult to fight. “You don’t know what you’re facing,” he said, adding that “I’ve just seen a turn back to hatred.”

The Rev. Joe D. Connelly at Wesley United Methodist joined the protests following



ALTON STERLING is memorialized at the Triple S Food Mart in Baton Rouge, La., where he was killed by police officers this month.



CHRISTOPHER MORGAN, who used to sell CDs alongside Sterling, worries about what he should do if he is stopped by police. “I just want to be safe,” he said.

Sterling’s death. He said the shooting of police officers “will make our task of pulling people together harder, but not impossible.”

Connelly lives in the Tara subdivision on the south side, so close to the killings that he and his neighbors were ordered to stay inside Sunday. The 500 or so members of his church are the black intelligentsia, business owners and professors at Louisiana State University on the south side of town, active in the civil rights struggle.

“They’re tired of the talk,” he said. “They want some action.”

He had planned a silent, all-male march from his

church to the capital next Sunday but was consulting police Monday about whether to postpone it.

Safety concerns have already led to the postponement of a unity march of black and white residents down Florida Boulevard, said City Councilwoman Tara Wicker.

Wicker, 46, is black and grew up on the north side, where she still lives and pastors a church with her husband. “It’s an area that has suffered a decline,” she said, noting that hospitals and schools had closed. “Property values have plummeted.”

A decade ago, the city and surrounding East Baton Rouge parish — with a popu-

lation of about 400,000 — was tested when Hurricane Katrina brought tens of thousands of new residents, many of them black. Her church alone housed 1,700, many of whom stayed.

“That was a real trying time for Baton Rouge because overnight, Baton Rouge became a big city,” Wicker recalled. “Infrastructure-wise, emotion-wise, I don’t think Baton Rouge was prepared for big-city living. Overnight we woke up and we had to grow up.”

On the north side where she lives, liquor stores abound. But the nearest grocery store is more than a mile and a half away. Youths in the neighborhood take

the bus to work at fast-food restaurants in white suburbs. Last year, Wicker tried and failed to lure a Dollar Store to the area.

“Our neighborhoods are very segregated,” she said. “It’s not surprising to any of us that we had a racial divide in the city of Baton Rouge. We have been working methodically to close that gap, but progress has been slow.”

“Baton Rouge is having to look itself in the mirror and say, ‘We thought we were OK, but we’re not,’” she said.

Woody Jenkins, 69, a white Baton Rouge native, disagreed.

“I’ve read so many headlines saying Baton Rouge is a divided city,” he said. “But I’ve lived here all my life, and I don’t find it to be that way at all. Everywhere I go people are hugging each other, talking,” he said. “They have said this is not going to be Ferguson or Baltimore.”

A longtime Republican state lawmaker and editor of the Capital City News, Jenkins blamed outsiders for disrupting some protests after Sterling’s death.

Ronald Smith, a 50-year-old restaurant manager, straddles the racial divide in Baton Rouge.

Smith is black and serves up barbecue at Remi Restaurant Express on Florida Boulevard to residents from north and south of the divide, as well as police, black and white.

He attended LSU on a football scholarship, saw the disparity between how he was treated by those who

knew he was an athlete versus those who saw him as just another young black man. “The racial profiling is always going to be there,” he said as he packed dinners Monday.

But Smith also counts on police, who last year chased and caught a man who tried to rob him at his restaurant at gunpoint.

“If they had not had police in the area, I might have got killed,” Smith said. “You got to have police on your side.”

He worries simmering racial tensions could boil over, especially if police are not charged in connection with Sterling’s death.

A few blocks north, sitting on the hair salon stoop, Morgan agreed. His mother told him about the riots in 1972. “That’s what we don’t want here,” he said.

But he also hopes protests can continue without a backlash from police. Not all of those arrested during last week’s protests were outsiders: He met a 17-year-old black girl, a local, who told him that she had been beaten and jailed by officers, who confronted the crowd in riot gear.

Every day now, Morgan — who sold CDs alongside Sterling — worries about what he should do if he is stopped by police. Should he raise his hands, or keep them down? Speak up, or obey?

“I just want to be safe,” he said.

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## Oil refiners agree to air pollution settlement

The \$425-million deal will help reduce emissions in six states, including California, the EPA says.

By RICK ANDERSON

SEATTLE — Concluding a long legal climb to cleaner air, the federal government on Monday announced a record \$425-million settlement with two oil refiners that is expected to reduce pollution emissions in the West by almost 43,000 tons annually.

The Justice Department

and the Environmental Protection Agency said the agreement with subsidiaries of Tesoro Corp. of San Antonio and Par Hawaii Refining resolved accusations of Clean Air Act violations against the two corporations.

“This settlement will separate emissions in six separate states and ultimately result in cleaner air,” said Dennis McLerran, an EPA regional director.

The deal, years in the making, includes a civil penalty. But most of the settlement money — \$403 million — is to be spent by the corporations to remedy the ongoing pollution they are accused of creating.

A consent decree with the refiners was filed in federal court in Texas on Monday, along with a civil complaint. After a 30-day public comment period, a judge will be asked to approve the decree.

If for some reason it is rejected, the Justice Department can proceed with the civil litigation, said Assistant Atty. Gen. John Cruden, who specializes in environmental cases.

The affected refineries are in Martinez, Calif., and Anacortes, Wash., and at sites in Alaska, Hawaii, North Dakota and Utah.

Keith Casey, Tesoro’s executive vice president for operations, said in a state-

ment that the company was pleased with the agreement, which would help Tesoro “further improve our environmental performance.”

The settlement figure was a record for refiners, Cruden said. The Clean Air Act violations by the companies were expansive, including leaks of polluted compounds and violations involving repair work and flaring (burning off of excess hydrocarbons), he said.

The so-called fugitive emissions can cause eye, nose and throat irritations for nearby residents and lead to liver, kidney and central nervous system damage.

Cruden and other offi-

cial who spoke at a news conference on Seattle’s waterfront said there would be an “immediate effect” on community health from the agreement, particularly among asthma sufferers. But any changes will come only after the refiners install new pollution-control equipment.

Tesoro will also spend about \$12 million on environmental projects in local communities and pay a \$10.45-million civil penalty.

Noting the jets passing overhead, freight trucks lining up at shipping piers and a mammoth container ship being pushed by tugs, Mark Asmundson, executive director of the Northwest

Clean Air Agency, said “refineries are crucial, critical, to our way of life.”

But so is the effect they have on our health, he said.

“You can treat water,” Asmundson said. “You can’t treat the air we breathe.”

That’s why settlements such as this are necessary if corporations are to be prevented from fouling the air in the first place, he said.

Tesoro will also contribute \$1 million to replace old diesel school buses with natural-gas buses in Contra Costa County, where the city of Martinez is located.

Anderson is a special correspondent.

## BATON ROUGE SHOOTING

## Officers 'targeted, assassinated'

The gunman ignored passersby and stalked police, officials say. A sheriff's deputy 'went down fighting.'

By MOLLY HENNESSY-FISKE AND JENNY JARVIE

BATON ROUGE, La. — The Marine Corps veteran who engaged police officers in a shootout here Sunday, killing three officers and wounding three, hunted down his targets with deliberate and methodical precision, officials said Monday.

Gavin Eugene Long, a 29-year-old black separatist from Kansas City, Mo., was dressed in black and armed with two rifles and a 9-millimeter handgun as he ambushed officers at the B-Quik gas station on Airline Highway, less than a mile from the city's police headquarters.

Long "completely dismissed" civilians who were walking through the area, instead stalking police officers and positioning himself to shoot at close range, Col. Michael D. Edmonson, superintendent of the Louisiana State Police, said at a news briefing Monday afternoon.

Within minutes, Long had left a scene of carnage.

"There is no doubt whatsoever that these officers were intentionally targeted and assassinated," Edmonson said. "It was a calculated act against those who work to protect this community every single day."

Long was "extremely accurate" during the ambush, which unfolded outside the gas station and a beauty salon, Edmonson said. And he seemed skilled in handling the IWI Tavor SAR 5.56 rifle he carried, keeping a strap over his shoulder to keep the rifle in place as he shot officers.

Surveillance video showed a scene that was "chilling in the sheer brutality," Edmonson said.

As Brad Garafola, an East Baton Rouge sheriff's deputy and a father of four, moved toward a crawling officer in an attempt to help



MARK BOSTER Los Angeles Times

**DECHIA GERALD**, widow of slain Officer Matthew Gerald, weeps as she and her two daughters attend a candlelight vigil at a church in Baton Rouge. The officer was a military veteran who served three tours in Iraq.

him, Long opened fire, fatally wounding Garafola.

He "went down fighting," lying in a prone position, returning fire as bullets flew all around him, Sheriff Sid J. Gautreaux III said.

After killing Garafola, Long went back to the wounded officer and fired two shots, killing him.

A SWAT team officer ultimately shot Long from about 100 yards away, taking him down as he approached two other officers.

"I could not be more proud of my SWAT team," said Carl Dabadie Jr., chief of the Baton Rouge Police Department, calling the fatal hit a "helluva shot." Without it, he said, he had little doubt the gunman would

have attacked more officers.

"They did exactly as they were trained, without hesitation, without fear."

Officials suspect Long, who drove a Chevrolet Malibu rental car 800 miles from Kansas City to Baton Rouge, had been in the city for several days planning the attack and looking for locations to target police officers. Long probably intended to keep killing officers as long as he could, Dabadie said.

"After he was finished here, I have no doubt he was headed toward our headquarters and he was going to take more lives," Dabadie said.

The police chief vigorously defended the use of

military-style tactics against protesters in the city — the focus of criticism in the days since officers fatally shot Alton Sterling, igniting street demonstrations.

"We've been questioned for the last two weeks about our militarized tactics and our militarized law enforcement. This is why. We are up against a force that is not playing by the rules.... Our military tactics, as they're being called here, saved lives."

Louisiana Gov. John Bel Edwards contrasted the "innate goodness" of those officers with the "pure unadulterated evil" of the shooter, who "came in here from somewhere else to do harm to our community."

He described the shooting as a "diabolical attack on the very fabric of our society."

Long's military service record included assignments at Camp Pendleton, San Diego and Twentynine Palms before his discharge from the Marines in 2010.

But over the last few years, Long left a lengthy Internet footprint documenting a growing interest in black separatism. In videos and in social media postings, he described violence as the solution to the oppression of black Americans and railed against Baton Rouge police for shooting Sterling. That case is being investigated by the Justice Department.

Last year, Long sought to

legally change his name to Cosmo Ausr Setepenra, identifying himself as a member of a largely black separatist sovereign nation. According to a document filed in May 2015 with the Jackson County, Mo., recorder of deeds, and first reported by the Kansas City Star, Long claimed he was a "vet national of United Washitaw De Dugdah-moundyah Mu'ur Nation."

Also known as the Washitaw Nation, the Washitaw De Dugdah-moundyah is a Louisiana-based group that claims to be a sovereign Native American nation within the U.S. The Washitaw Nation is made up of African Americans, and its core tenet is that followers are descendants of the "Ancient Ones," or "black ones," who occupied North America tens of thousands of years before white Europeans.

It is part of the larger sovereign citizen movement in America, a fringe phenomenon that has gained attention on the Internet.

One of the Washitaw's core beliefs is that the federal government has essentially imprisoned people, said Ryan Lenz, a senior writer at the Southern Poverty Law Center's Intelligence Project. One way they believe the government controls them is through taxation. Followers of the movement, and other sovereign citizen groups, often try to dodge paying taxes.

"Once you go down this perverse rabbit hole of curiosity and accept all of these fantasies as true, then when you're challenged on them, it becomes like a challenge to your fundamental reality and then people start to lash out," Lenz said.

Killed in the shooting were Garafola; Baton Rouge Police Officer Montrell Jackson, 32, an African American who had worked on the force for a decade; and Matthew Gerald, 41, a white man who had been with the department for less than a year. Deputies Nicholas Tullier, 41, and Bruce Simmons, 51, and an unidentified Baton Rouge police officer were wounded in the shooting.

Tullier, who was critically injured and remains in intensive care, had spotted the gunman's car and was about to run his license plate when Long shot him in the head and stomach.

"At this point, we're just praying for him," Gautreaux said. "He's not in good shape at all."

Simmons is in serious condition, the bone running from his elbow to his shoulder shattered by the gunman's bullet. Physicians used a titanium rod to replace the bone.

Dabadie described Gerald as a devoted husband and father of two who had served in the Marine Corps and Army. He was a Black Hawk crew member and served three tours in Iraq. "He spent his whole life serving this country and our city," Dabadie said.

The police chief also praised Jackson, a father of four, noting that just a couple of days before the shooting, when he went to talk to his officers to try to lift their spirits, "Montrell ended up giving me a pep talk."

"That was the last time that I spoke to Montrell, and I'll never forget it," he said. "He is a true hero."

During a speech before the National Organization of Black Law Enforcement in Washington on Monday, U.S. Atty. Gen. Loretta Lynch read from a Facebook post by Jackson in which the officer pleaded for an end to the anger that crested after five police officers were shot and killed in Dallas.

She added: "If we are truly to honor his service and mourn his loss — and the loss of his friends and colleagues, and of too many others who have been taken from us — we must not let hatred infect our hearts. We must remember that no matter who we are, we all feel the same pain when we lose a friend or loved one."

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Times staff writer

Hennessy-Fiske reported from Baton Rouge and special correspondent Jarvie from Atlanta. Times staff writer Del Quentin Wilber in Washington contributed to this report.

## Shooter's anger simmered online

[Shooter, from A1] blog — ConvoswithCosmo.com — in which one post might discuss vegetarianism and the next the inferiority of white people, a subject he also explored in three rambling, self-published books.

Now that he is dead — killed by police minutes after the rampage he carried out on his 29th birthday — much of what is known about Long comes from his vast online trail, where he fashioned himself as a lifestyle guru and activist with fans who ached to know his life story.

As racial tensions escalated nationwide with the police shootings of black men this month in Louisiana and Minnesota, and the killings of five police officers in Dallas, Long's messages grew more pointed.

"I'm not gonna harp on that, you know, with a brother killing the police," Long said in a video uploaded the day after the Dallas shootings. "You get what I'm saying?"

"It's justice," he said. In the same video, he seemed to hint at his own plans: If "anything happens to me ... don't affiliate me with anybody."

Two days later, he posted a video in which he claimed to be in Dallas. "Everyone in this room got a purpose," it shows him shouting to black men in a barber shop. "Just figure it out!"

Long traveled to Baton Rouge in a white Chevy Malibu he rented in Kansas City, investigators said, and he stayed in the area several days as he plotted his attack.

The Long who lived online emerged from what seemed like a normal path.

He grew up in Kansas City, graduated from high school in 2005 and joined the Marines. He wanted to earn money for college and "see



Louisiana State Police Department

**SURVEILLANCE VIDEO** captured Gavin Eugene Long as he ambushed officers at a gas station less than a mile from police headquarters in Baton Rouge, La.

the world," he said in a podcast. He served five years, including two deployments to Iraq.

Records show he served as a data network specialist and received a medal for good conduct.

On July 25, 2009, records show, Long married Aireyona Osha Hill at Pilgrim Chapel, a historic Kansas City wedding venue. They had no children and divorced within two years, at which time Long had a monthly income of \$500, according to the filing.

By then, Long had left the military with an honorable discharge and started college. He received an associate's degree in general studies at Central Texas College, studied for two semesters at Clark Atlanta University and attended the University of Alabama for a semester.

One class he took in Atlanta was "United States, Africa and the World," where he earned an A. Meanwhile, he received Csin algebra and intermediate Spanish, a university official said.

Long halted his studies

after having a "spiritual revelation" in which he gave away "all of his material possessions" and traveled to Rwanda, Ethiopia, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania and Egypt, he wrote on his website.

After returning to Kansas City in 2015, he launched his social media accounts. Online, he praised organizations such as Deacons for Defense and Justice, an armed black self-defense group formed in the 1960s.

In May 2015, Long submitted papers in a Jackson County, Mo., court claiming allegiance to the United Washitaw de Dugdah-moundyah Mu'ur Nation. The sovereign citizenry group's core tenet is that followers are descendants of "ancient ones" who are black and lived in North America tens of thousands of years before white Europeans.

Members believe they are above government laws, dismissing governments as operating illegally and say they do not have to pay taxes or respect law enforcement officials, said Ryan Lenz of the Southern Poverty Law Cen-

ter's Intelligence Project.

The documents Long filed amount to "meaningless" paperwork but are customary among sovereign citizens groups, Lenz said.

A man in the driveway of the Oak Park neighborhood address listed for Long's ex-wife confirmed Monday that Hill lived in the house, which is about a 20-minute drive north of Long's residence. A woman at the house declined to speak and told a reporter to leave her property, using an expletive.

In addition to posting on his own sites, Long apparently made frequent contributions to other forums. On one website, a user named Cosmo Setepenra complained about government surveillance.

He also appeared to follow at least one online radio show hosted by Lance Scurv, who said he featured a Cosmo Setepenra on his radio show this year in a long conversation about nutrition and health. They stayed in touch, talking on the phone every now and then.

Scurv, who is based in Orlando, Fla., said Cosmo

spoke from a phone number with a Kansas City area code. "He seemed to be like a guy in transition," Scurv said. "But he never expressed rage like there was something brewing."

On July 9, Scurv asked an email that Cosmo posted him to share on Facebook.

It began: "I just want everyone to know that if anything may happen to me or with me..." The post went on to reference YouTube videos about the police shooting of Alton Sterling and "standing up when you know you are right."

Scurv said he barely read the email, but shared it because he helps pass along social media updates for everyone who comes on his show, which discusses current events and activism.

Near the end of the post, Long offered a message to readers: "You will win this war not with your actions, but with your responses to their actions."

On Sunday, at the house where Long lived in Kansas City, a man brandishing a gun warned reporters to leave.

"Unless you have a warrant, get off my property!" a woman at the house yelled to dozens of reporters gathered out front the next day.

Horad, like other neighbors willing to talk about Long, said he was struggling to reconcile Long the killer with Long the man on a bicycle: "What is almost dreamlike about all this is that you never know what it could be that would push someone you know — like a neighbor — right over the edge."

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Special correspondent

Jenny Jarvie in Atlanta

contributed to this report.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

## Unity is still a challenge for GOP

[Unity, from A1] Paul D. Ryan, who is also the convention chair, told reporters at a lunch Monday. "I doubt that people are lost forever," he said, but salvaging the divisions "takes some time."

Time, however, dwindles quickly in a presidential contest. Although the fall general-election campaign almost always pulls partisans together, a party that leaves its convention divided seldom prevails, a lesson Democrats learned through bitter experiences in 1968, 1972 and 1980.

A lack of unity hurts a party in at least two ways: It depresses turnout of the party's supporters, and the time and energy spent on fixing internal divisions get in the way of the pressing business of conveying the party's electoral message.

That's especially a problem for Trump, who faces an unprecedented level of doubt among voters about his fitness for office. His campaign needs as much time and focus as possible to try to overcome those.

Trump, however, has not made the party unity effort much easier: The nominee and his top aides keep reopening past wounds.

On Monday, Paul Manafort, Trump's campaign chair, disparaged former Presidents George H.W. Bush and George W. Bush, the only two living former Republican presidents, while criticizing John Kasich, the Republican governor of Ohio, the convention's host state. All three have declined to endorse Trump.

Kasich's decision to sit out the convention and not back the nominee was "embarrassing," Manafort told reporters at the convention's official daily news briefing.

As for the former presidents, "certainly the Bush family, while we would have liked to have had them, they're part of the past," he said. "We're dealing with the future."

The depth of the GOP's divisions remains striking. In an NBC/Wall Street Jour-



DONALD TRUMP introduces his wife, Melania, as a convention speaker. In a new poll, only 13% of Republicans said the party was unified.

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nal survey released as delegates arrived here, only 13% of Republicans said they believed the party was unified, and 78% said it was not. Six in 10 Republicans said they

would have preferred to see someone other than Trump as their nominee, although despite that, about 8 in 10 said they would vote for him over Clinton.

Democrats have divisions as well, but of a more muted variety. Most Democrats say their party is unified; the share saying it wasn't was about half as large as among Republicans in the poll. Sen. Bernie Sanders' endorsement of Clinton last week and his expected work for the ticket in the next several months

seem likely to improve those numbers for Democrats.

Polls consistently have shown Clinton winning a higher share of Democratic votes than Trump gets among Republicans. Although the gap is not large — just a few percentage points in most surveys — it's problematic for the GOP, which starts out with a smaller partisan base than the Democrats have.

Counterbalancing those divisions is dislike and mistrust of the other side — the

feeling that Grassley and Walker hammered at during their meeting with Iowa delegates.

With both candidates setting records for the share of voters who view them unfavorably, large numbers on both sides say they are making up their minds more on the basis of which candidate they are against than which they are for.

Among Trump's voters, distaste for Clinton is the primary motivating force, a new Washington Post-ABC News poll found. Almost 6 in

10 of Trump's voters, 57%, said they were backing him mainly to oppose Clinton. Only 38% said their votes were mainly to support him.

Among the vast majority of the GOP delegates and activists gathered here, opposition to Clinton is enough to quash doubts about Trump. Convincing the rest of the country has so far proved to be more difficult.

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## SECOND-CLASS REPUBLICANS

[California, from A1] further away they move us," said Charles Moran, a delegate from Los Angeles, as he sipped a glass of wine after arriving this weekend in Sandusky at the delegation hotel, dotted with sculptures of wild animals.

Most are trying to make the best of it, noting that they are far from the protests expected in downtown Cleveland, and are instead staying along the shores of Lake Erie in a town that draws families to its famed amusement parks.

"We're basically in the resort part of northeastern Ohio," said Brandon Gesicki, a delegate from Carmel who attended college in Ohio.

Though the destination is a far cry from I-7-Mile Drive, state party Chairman Jim Brulte urged delegates to take advantage of the hotel's amenities.

"I intend to take on all comers in the cannon-ball contest," he told them.

The handful of hotels in or near Cleveland that could house and feed such a large group were given to states such as solidly red Texas, the home of nomination runner-up Sen. Ted Cruz; New York, home to presumptive nominee Donald Trump; perennial battleground Ohio; and Wisconsin, where RNC Chairman Reince Priebus hails from.

Though delegates say they understand, the distance and the accompanying ignominies can sting. In 2012, the group was housed on a barrier island in Florida that was nearly cut off from the continental U.S. when Hurricane Isaac barreled ashore.

The convention that year was in Tampa, about 40 minutes from the delegation hotel in St. Pete Beach. But the transportation system the RNC set up to move delegates around the area left Californians stuck on buses for more than three hours.

Furious delegates

## California's delegates have a long drive to a front-row seat



Sources: Times reporting, Republican National Convention, Mapbox, OpenStreetMap



ANNIE YU Los Angeles Times

CALIFORNIA'S delegation finds itself in Sandusky, Ohio, at an African-themed hotel adjoining a water park. The chairman proposed a cannon-ball contest.

flooded the lobby bar once they finally made it back to the hotel, recalled Kathy Tavoularis, who planned convention logistics for the state party that year.

"I just remember saying, 'Drink? Can I buy you a drink? Let's drown your sorrows. I have a tab, I have a tab,'" said Tavoularis, who is an alternate delegate this

year. It wasn't always this way. In the 1980s, when Ronald Reagan was president, the California delegation stayed in luxurious and conveniently located hotels, such as the Anatole in Dallas. In 2000, the delegation was originally going to be housed far outside of the Philadelphia convention site

until a close California friend of then-nominee George W. Bush intervened and had it moved closer.

No such luck has prevailed in recent years.

Beyond the drive time, this year's hotel at the Kalahari Resort creates additional hurdles for attending the cocktail parties, movie screenings and policy panels

put on by various groups outside of the convention, themselves a key attraction for the party faithful who gather just once every four years.

Lining up notable speakers over breakfast at the delegation hotel, a staple of national political conventions, is a challenge because prospective guests eschew the long travel times.

The state party, which was initially assured the delegation would be housed within 30 miles of Cleveland, worked hard to gain some concessions once it learned that delegates would be in Sandusky, including the motorcade through three counties, said state GOP executive director Cynthia Bryant.

Most notably, the delegation was awarded prime front-row seating inside the convention hall. This was also a strategic move by Trump's campaign to ensure that the images broadcast from the convention floor show unity, a crucial goal that has eluded Republicans amid Trump's divisive candidacy. Because California's primary was held after he clinched the nomination, all of California's delegates are full-throated Trump supporters.

At the Kalahari, the state party set up a separate reg-

istration and lounge area so that delegates can avoid the main entrance, which teemed with vacationing Midwesterners clad in bathing suits and vendors hawking T-shirts, stuffed giraffes and candy apples.

"The lobby, it really is like a carnival or a fair," Bryant said. The separate delegate entrance, decorated with bunting and a large floral California flag, "makes it more special for them."

As in years past, VIPs such as major donor Peter Thiel and House Majority Leader Kevin McCarthy are staying closer to the action. Other delegates said privately that they had rented homes closer to the city, or had arranged to crash in friends' spare hotel beds for a night or two to avoid the commute.

Anna Bryson, an alternate delegate from Orange County, and her husband, Bill Evers, said they planned on checking out the water park, which features numerous tall slides, a lazy river and an enormous wave pool where delegates can take surfing lessons.

There was a limit, though.

"You don't really go from Dana Point to Sandusky to learn to surf," Evers said.

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## OPINION

## EDITORIALS

## Holding Baca responsible

HAVING REJECTED THE plea deal proposed for former Los Angeles County Sheriff Lee Baca because it would not impose enough prison time, U.S. District Judge Percy Anderson may paradoxically give Baca a way to avoid spending any time at all behind bars.

Baca had agreed to plead guilty to lying to federal investigators in exchange for a sentence of no more than six months in prison. But on Monday, Anderson said the deal was too lenient for such a serious offense, leaving Baca to decide whether to withdraw his guilty plea or accept the punishment that Anderson believes more appropriate, up to a maximum of five years.

Six months does seem light for trying to thwart a federal probe. It also seems like a slap on the wrist compared with the five-year sentence that Baca's No. 2 — former Under-sheriff Paul Tanaka — received last month for conspiracy and obstruction of justice. Tanaka encouraged the culture of violence rifle in the department and even participated in what some describe as a gang of deputies that abused the communities they patrolled and the people they jailed.

True, Tanaka directed the scheme to hide an informant from FBI agents who were investigating brutality and misconduct in the county jails. But Baca was Tanaka's boss. And no matter how detached he may have been, Baca was in charge, elected again and again by voters to run the Sheriff's Depart-

ment. Furthermore, Baca knew about the obstruction and lied about it to the FBI. He clearly intended to block the federal investigation. That's a serious offense by one of the country's most powerful lawmen.

So, six months? Sure, a longer sentence might send a stronger message to police officials that they aren't exempt from the laws that govern the rest of us. But it is no small thing considering how rare it is for people in uniform to be held criminally accountable for misuse of power. Besides, six months in prison sends a better message than zero months.

And that's within the realm of possibility now that the judge has reopened a chapter we all thought was well and done. Baca could agree to accept the judge's terms. Alternatively, he could seek a new deal from prosecutors that would require a limited amount of additional prison time in the hope that Anderson would accept it. Or he could go to trial and try his luck with a jury.

It is also possible that this chapter might not end at all in the foreseeable future. Baca is 74 and in the early stages of Alzheimer's disease. Would he even be competent to stand trial in a few months or a year? If not, that would be the end of it, because the condition has no cure and gets progressively worse.

That would be the worst possible outcome. Baca had so much power and he abused it. And if he can't be sent to prison — for six months or 60 — then he'll never be held responsible.

## The thinning blue line

TWICE NOW IN LESS than two weeks, police officers have been targeted in lethal mass shootings by men apparently looking to avenge the deaths of African Americans at the hands of law enforcement. This is unconscionable, and indefensible, conduct by the gunmen. As we noted after the horrific July 7 attack in Dallas that killed five officers and wounded nine more, there is no moral calculation that justifies the ambush of law enforcement personnel. The killings Sunday in Baton Rouge, La., of three officers, and the wounding of three others, was just as sickening, just as reprehensible, and just as indefensible.

So what to do about it? Grieve, of course. And denounce. But ratcheting back the violence will require a better understanding of the nature and extent of the frictions among police officers and the communities they risk their lives to serve. It will require a deeper understanding of the real grievances of people who feel the justice and political systems do not hear them. But it also will require patience. There are no instant solutions to the deep-rooted problems with race relations, over-policing, implicit bias and mistrust, civilians' easy access to military-style firearms and other factors that have led the nation to this dysfunctional juncture. Meanwhile, the attacks in Baton Rouge and Dallas only heighten the sense of danger that police officers, trained to look out for their own safe-

ty as well as others', may feel as they interact with the public.

There also needs to be a better system of accountability. The acquittal Monday of the third of six Baltimore officers (the trial of a fourth ended in a hung jury) charged in the death of Freddie Gray raises fresh questions about how police should treat those in their custody. Gray died last year of injuries suffered when he bounced around unsecured by safety restraints in the back of a police van. Investigations into the deaths of unarmed people at the hands of police too often end in findings that the officers broke no laws or procedures, when common sense tells us that the behavior was unacceptable. If the problem is police policies or legal definitions, then they should be reassessed and recast.

Notably, no official statistics exist on how often police kill civilians, or on the demographics of those encounters, or how many of them are justified by the circumstances. That is where we start: Figuring out the scope of the problem, then devising policies to target it. In the meantime, police departments and political leaders must get better at forging relationships with the people they are supposed to serve. And we can't let the demonic actions of outliers like the Dallas and Baton Rouge shooters derail a national discussion on how to better and more safely police our neighborhoods while respecting the rights and safety of both civilians and those working to protect them.

## Turkey's post-putsch purge

THE FAILURE OF a military coup in Turkey, a NATO member and a key U.S. ally, was a welcome victory for democracy in a region with too little of it. But as he exults in the defeat of the plotters, President Recep Tayyip Erdogan seems to be using the rebellion as a pretext for suppressing dissent and purging the bureaucracy of his political opponents. That is a dangerous course.

It's understandable that Erdogan would arrest participants in Friday's uprising by a group of military officers that claimed to be rescuing the country from Erdogan's oppression. But the dragnet has swept up a ridiculously large number of people in Turkey's employ. The government has detained thousands of military officers and has suspended 3,000 members of the judiciary and 9,000 officials in the Interior Ministry.

The names of many of those being detained were taken from a list drawn up before the attempted coup as part of an investigation into the influence of Islamic cleric Fethullah Gulen, a former Erdogan ally who lives in exile in the United States.

Erdogan blames Gulen and his Hizmet movement for the attempted coup, and he has called on President Obama to arrest Gulen or return him to Turkey. Appropriately, Secretary of State John F. Kerry said that the U.S. would consider a request for Gulen's extradition only if Turkey offered "legitimate evidence that withstands scrutiny." So far, such evidence hasn't been produced.

The U.S. criticized the coup attempt as it was unfolding, with Obama calling on all parties to "support the democratically elected government of Turkey." Nevertheless, the U.S. long has expressed concerns about a drift toward authoritarianism in Turkey. In its most recent report on human rights in that country, the State Department cited interference with freedom of the news media — including the arrests of 30 journalists, at least some of whom worked at publications critical of Erdogan — and an "overly broad application of anti-terror laws," resulting in "politically motivated investigations and court verdicts."

The failed coup must not become a license for further repression. On Monday, Kerry pointedly reminded Turkey that the treaty that created the North Atlantic Treaty Organization commits member states to respect "principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law." Federica Mogherini, the head of foreign affairs for the European Union, which Turkey aspires to join, stressed "the importance of the rule of law prevailing" in that country.

The U.S. and its allies depend on Turkey, and not only as a member of the NATO alliance. The U.S. Air Force has used the air base at Incirlik to launch airstrikes against Islamic State. But Turkey also benefits from its association with Europe and the United States. That relationship will become more strained if Erdogan undermines the democracy he claims to represent.

## LETTERS



MAX BECHERER Associated Press

**POLICE STOP** a driver near a shooting on Sunday in Baton Rouge, La., that left three officers dead.

## The highest calling

Re "Madness in Baton Rouge," July 18

"Keep your hands where I can see them." "This is a call for backup — officer down!"

The mystery is not just whodunit. The mystery is why one of us would want to take the risks and become a police officer. These aren't just physical risks, but also emotional, including the burden placed on an officer's family.

Society (which means you and me) delegates the right and obligation to these chosen few to keep law and order. We even give them permission to punish us if need be. Theirs is the highest risk. Theirs is the highest respect. Theirs is the highest calling.

MALIN DOLLINGER  
Rancho Palos Verdes

The society envisioned, created and nurtured by the National Rifle Assn. and its wholly owned subsidiary the Republican Party has grown to fruition.

We have a nation in which many citizens, regardless of their mental state, may legally be armed with military-style weapons. Anyone at any moment of rage or delusion can use a weapon to kill.

By the way, the killings of police officers in Dallas and Baton Rouge, La., revealed without any doubt that "good guys" with a gun cannot always stop a bad guy with a gun. The Dallas shooter was killed by a bomb-laden robot.

This is our country right now.

FRANK FERRONE  
El Cajon

## Registered, but can I vote?

Re "The anti-Trump 'firewall' is under attack," Opinion, July 17

Carol Anderson's essay on the perverse effects of Republican voter suppression laws is well researched and terribly discouraging.

We hear the Republican mantra of preserving "democracy" in the U.S. and throughout the world; yet they disenfranchise literally hundreds of thousands of young, poor and minority voters in Texas, Alabama and so many other states purely for their political advantage.

This comes at the same time as Ruth Bader Ginsburg is chastised by presumptive Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump for her "too political" remarks from a Supreme Court justice who is supposed to be non-political. And yet all the Republican voter suppression laws are founded on the five conservative justices' overturning of the Voting Rights Act enforcement because, they asserted, the law no longer "speaks to current conditions."

So much for the court being non-political and for the Republicans' hypocritical trumpeting (pun intended) of democratic ideals.

KEN GOLDMAN  
Beverly Hills

There's so much confusion about voter ID laws that poll workers in states without such laws, including California, ask for an ID. Furthermore, many people don't understand that voter registration and voter ID are different, separate requirements.

The reality: It's not enough to register to vote in the 33 states that have a voter ID law. Voters at risk are primarily those without a current driver's license in their state: both older and younger adults, voters with disabilities (57 million Americans), voters of color or low income and

women who have changed their names.

My group — a nonpartisan, nonprofit organization — focuses on helping voters with the identification they need to vote in their state. Not only do millions of voters lack valid voter ID, but our experience also corroborates a 2015 Rice University and University of Houston study, which showed that in 2014, as much as 9% of registered voters of one congressional district in Texas did not vote because of confusion about that state's ID law.

KATHLEEN UNGER  
Santa Monica  
The writer is president and chief executive of VoteRiders.

## Trump's evolved on terrorism

Re "And now the campaign's about fear," Opinion, July 17

In his critique of where the two major candidates stand on terrorism, Doyle McManus fails to note that Donald Trump has recanted his views on torture and the killing of terrorists' families (acknowledging their illegality). He refuses to accept that Trump is at least partially right regarding challenges in the vetting process of refugees.

On the other hand, he conveniently excuses presumptive Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton's dropping poll numbers on this issue as part of a "general slump." There is also no mention of the Obama administration's foreign policy failures, which former Secretary of State Clinton has been a definitive part of.

There is only one word I can think of to describe the veracity of McManus's analysis, and it comes from the Trump lexicon: "Sad!"

LUCAS KLEIN  
Claremont

I agree that keeping families safe will be a key factor in the election.

Trump's "toughness" is obviously aimed at those who are already afraid their country is escaping from them and want it back. Logic does not matter to these voters. The easy solution is to ban Muslims and other refugees, ignoring the fact that perpetrators of these terrorist attacks are citizens of western countries, as is the case of France's recent tragedies.

Closing our borders, as Trump advocates, is not the solution. Eradicating terrorism is a long-term effort involving patience as well as the isolation and elimination of those preaching violence around the globe. Carpet bombing areas where terrorists may be hiding will mean the death of innocent civilians and expand the conflict, which is what Islamic State really wants.

DOMENICO MACERI  
San Luis Obispo

## Drug prices and high CEO pay

Re "An antidote's price shoots up," Business, July 17

This article should surprise me. But it doesn't, because after reading about the huge salaries of California's corporate CEOs in a previous article, nothing surprises me.

What person on Earth needs or deserves (Albert Einstein maybe) \$53 million a year to live on? It's shocking.

Drug manufacturer Kaleo's increase of one drug's price from \$690 to \$4,500 within two years borders on criminal activity, in my mind. All the fuss nationally about raising the minimum wage of workers sounds ludicrous compared to CEO pay and drug costs.

The levels of greed and narcissism are off the charts these days. I was taught that charity begins at home, and home for me is the United States, so let's all take care of one another if we have the means to do so.

SANDRA KELEMEN  
Palm Desert

::

When our insurance co-pay for Kaleo's Ezvio was about \$1,500 for the \$4,500 retail price, the pharmacy suggested I call the manufacturer. In the article in Sunday's paper regarding Ezvio and other opioid rescue drugs, a representative of the manufacturer said that virtually no one pays for the drug, because they have rebates and coupons.

But when I called the manufacturer, I was told that, because we have insurance that helps cover the cost of prescription drugs, there were no programs that would help to pay for this drug.

They charge what they want because they can. We pay what we can, and when we can't, we do without. And there is no government regulation that would stop this kind of exploitation capitalism.

Healthcare, like public schools, should not be run by for-profit businesses. This is a terrible shame.

CAROL UNDERBERGER  
Covina

## Ride transit to save the world

Re "Clean energy, messy issues," July 16

In The Times' article on its sponsored conference on fossil fuels at the Broad Theatre in Santa Monica, there was no mention of anyone taking mass transit to the event (the article noted there were cyclists and electric car drivers).

Consistent use of mass transit is the most immediate and lasting way to reduce the use of fossil fuels and to reduce gridlock. Even electric vehicles cause gridlock.

The Broad, at Santa Monica College's Performing Arts campus, is served by city and Metro buses. With the opening of Phase II of the Expo Line, I now walk from the 17th Street station to the Broad Campus, which is not quite one mile. This is not a crisis of the so-called last mile gap, a convenient excuse not to ride mass transit.

MATTHEW HETZ  
Los Angeles

::

Thanks to the Times for pointing out the problems with the current approach to clean energy. What is needed is the carbon fee and dividend plan.

Under this plan, a fee on carbon is assessed at the source and a dividend is returned to households. California can lead the nation into the future by adopting such a plan.

ANDY MARTIN  
Huntington Beach

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## OP-ED

# How Pence is like Sansa

**JONAH GOLDBERG**  
REPORTING FROM CLEVELAND

WATCHING the “60 Minutes” interview of Donald Trump and Indiana Gov. Mike Pence in my hotel room, all I could think of was Sansa Stark. For those of you who aren’t “Game of Thrones” addicts, I’ll explain. When we are first introduced to Sansa in the first season, we meet an innocent, doe-eyed girl who can’t wait to get out of her backwater province and marry the dashing young king Joffrey. An idealist and a romantic, Sansa learns all too slowly that Joffrey is a sadist and a bully.

In order to survive at court, Sansa has to learn to lie about her devotion and admiration for Joffrey even when speaking privately to sympathizers. With her lips she says “Joffrey is the bravest, wisest King who ever lived,” while her eyes have that glassy POW look. And when she’s in the same room with the mercurial, narcissistic boy king, she seems internally at war with her body’s urge to flinch or flee.

So, yeah, Trump’s vice presidential pick reminds me of Sansa.

Over and over again, CBS’ Lesley Stahl asked Pence to reconcile his long-held positions on free trade (he’s for it), negative campaigning (he’s against it), the Muslim ban (Pence was against it, but now he’s for it because Trump has changed his position, sort of), the Iraq war (Pence voted for it) and so on. Pence would look to Trump for permission to answer, like a dog not sure whether he’ll get the rolled-up newspaper again if he jumps on the furniture. When Trump let the governor go ahead, which wasn’t often, Pence kept falling back on Sansa-like assurances that Trump is a “good man.”

Towards the end of the interview, when Stahl asked Pence whether he agreed with Trump that Sen. John McCain “is not a hero because he was captured.” Pence’s unease was palpable. He started to ramble about his “great deal of respect” for the former POW before Trump let him off the hook.

“You could say yes... that’s okay... that one, you could say yes, I mean, you’re not — it’s fine.” Trump said as if he was trying to keep Pence from having a panic attack.

The spectacle was consistent with the awkward, all-too-public process by which Trump settled on Pence — reportedly at the insistence of his family — in the name of party unity. But Pence is hardly a game-changer.

Trump and his aides claim that conservatives are ecstatic over the selection of Pence.

Though it’s true the Indiana governor has friends and admirers within the conservative and Republican establishments, there’s little evidence of a pro-Pence prairie fire out there. And watching Pence renounce, abdicate or rationalize away 30 years of principles, like a decorated military officer voluntarily ripping off his medals and badges, is unlikely to spark one. Most Americans don’t know enough about him to form an opinion (86% of registered voters, according to a CBS poll), and introducing him to the country as an ideological vacillator may not make the best first impression.

Certainly Pence won’t convert many anti-Trump holdouts. Besides, the Stop Trump movement almost certainly died last week at the hands of RNC Chairman Reince Priebus and his minions on the rules committee. Pence’s ongoing humiliation will, if anything, confirm worries that Trump will demand blind loyalty to his agenda, or at least his cult of personality.

The Pence pick is even odder in the larger context of the Trump campaign. Trump’s greatest asset is Hillary Clinton. For conservatives of a Pencil bent, Trump can wield the prospect of a Clinton presidency like a Medusa’s head, petrifying any who gaze upon it. What Trump really needed was a candidate who could help him win over potential Clinton supporters among independents. It’s unclear that Pence has the skill sets or positions to do that. Awkward promises that his betrothed is a “good man” probably aren’t enough.

Pence is man without a natural constituency. He won’t win over steadfast Never Trumpers, and he won’t woo any moderate independents. Though he may pick up a few sympathy votes from Sansa Stark fans, that’s about all.

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# Don’t blame the Saudis for I.S.

**By F. Gregory Gause III**

CAN A STATE be both the target of Islamist extremists and responsible for their actions? The attacks on July 4 in three Saudi Arabian cities, almost certainly perpetrated by adherents of Islamic State, have once again raised this question for drive-by analysts. They point out that the official interpretation of Islam in Saudi Arabia, which outsiders refer to as Wahhabism and Saudis refer to as Salafism, shares many elements with extremist ideology. Then they argue that Saudi efforts to proselytize Salafism played a role in the development of the global militant movement, and that the Saudis thus bear a special responsibility to rein in their support for Muslim institutions outside their borders and to moderate their practice of Islam at home. The implication is that if the Saudis would only change their behavior, the threat represented by the radicals would be greatly reduced.

This understanding of the relationship between the official Islam of Saudi Arabia and the contemporary Salafi jihadist movement, represented by Islamic State and Al Qaeda, misses as many important facts as it highlights.

It is undoubtedly true that Saudi Arabia, since the 1960s, has built a set of institutions and networks to spread its narrow-minded views on appropriate religious practice, as well as intolerance of other religions or other interpretations of Islam.

With the oil revolution of the 1970s, the Saudis had enormous resources to support that effort. In the 1980s, the Saudis (along with the U.S.) supported a campaign in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union that both they and Washington were happy to call a jihad.

At that point, the Saudis lost control of global Salafism, if they ever really had it.

Saudi Wahhabism is quietist politically. It calls on Muslims to obey their rulers, as long as those rulers implement Islam, however imperfectly, in their society. (That is not particularly surprising for a state religion.) The success of the jihad in Afghanistan, however, lent a revolutionary political content to global Salafism for some of its adherents, such as Osama bin Laden, which soon became a direct threat to the Saudi monarchy and all other Muslim governments around the world.

What had been a largely apolitical phenomenon of Muslims emulating Saudi Wahhabism in their personal lives became, for part of the global Salafi movement, an element of their political identity. Some continued on the path of violence, joining or sympathizing with Al Qaeda and then Islamic State. Others, including activists in Saudi Arabia, eschewed violence but criticized their governments for drifting away from the “true” Islam. Still other Salafis entered the democratic political sphere, winning parliamentary seats in Kuwait, Bahrain, Egypt and elsewhere.

Salafism morphed into a religious movement with a number of political manifestations, only

The Saudis lost control of global Salafism long ago, if they ever had it.

one of which was the blend of social conservatism and political quietism represented by the official Saudi variant.

This means that leaning on the Saudis to become “less Wahhabi” is unlikely to have much effect on militant movements such as Al Qaeda and Islamic State. They and their followers look to other sources of political and doctrinal inspiration, not the official Saudi clerics. The militant groups draw some of their adherents from Saudi Arabia, but the vast majority of Saudi Muslims, including the vast majority of Saudi Wahhabis, reject these groups. Saudi Wahhabism can be a path toward militancy, but it is hardly the only one. Tunisia, probably the most secular state in the Arab world and the one relative success story of the “Arab Spring,” has sent more militants to Syria than has Saudi Arabia. The Europeans and Americans attracted by the propaganda of Islamic State did not grow up in the milieu of official Saudi Wahhabism.

Global Salafism is now unmooored from its Saudi origins.

Saudi Arabia still has a role to play in the campaign against Islamic State and Al Qaeda. Much like it did against Al Qaeda in the mid-2000s, it needs to crush what-

ever incipient Islamic State movement exists within its borders. It needs to police the funding and recruitment networks through which radical organizations raise money and recruit fighters in the country. Saudi-American intelligence cooperation on this issue is extensive and productive, but Washington should not hesitate to call out Riyadh if it detects any slipping. The Saudis need to concentrate more of their newly active military force against Al Qaeda and Islamic State in Yemen.

The Saudis can also contribute to the ideological fight against Salafi militancy, but not in the way most Western liberals think. The admonition for “tolerance” has much to recommend it as Saudi leaders think long term, but the more immediate task is to convince those attracted to Salafism that the violent path is, as the Saudi clerics say, “deviant.” Liberal “reforms” in Saudi Arabia are not going to convince pious Salafis that their interpretation of Islam is incorrect. Rather, the Saudis have to redouble their efforts to use the domestic and international institutions of Islam that they created and funded to convince believers that Salafi Islam prohibits the acts of violence perpetrated in its name.

F. GREGORY GAUSE III is professor of international affairs at the Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University. He wrote about Saudi-American intelligence cooperation for the July/August issue of Foreign Affairs.



A FAMILY arriving at the Tom Jobim International Airport in Rio de Janeiro walks past a banner that reads “Welcome to hell.”

# Say no to the Olympics

Rejecting the Games is the only way to spur meaningful reform.

**By Dave Zirin**

THE OVERWHELMING news in the lead up to the 2016 Olympics has been about the rampant dysfunction of the host city, Rio de Janeiro, and for good reason. The stories are gruesome and sensationalistic, filled with the kinds of pulpy details that make a mental imprint deeply difficult to dismiss.

There have been police officers greeting people arriving at Rio’s international airport with a banner reading “Welcome to Hell,” as they fight for overtime pay. Body parts have washed onto the beaches where Olympic events are due to take place. The Zika virus is causing a few high-profile athletes to back out of participating.

Some of the stories sound like they’ve been pulled from a ham-handed Hollywood satire. Two skydivers fell to their deaths while attempting, with 26 others, to form the Olympic rings in an effort to hype the Games. A real jaguar, standing in for the Olympic mascot at a torch relay event, was shot dead by a police officer when it escaped its leash after the ceremonies. Or take this slogan from Rio’s Olympic Organizing Committee: *A Olimpíada traz mais do*

*que so a Olimpiada*. That means “The Olympics bring so much more than just the Olympics.” No kidding.

As bad as the situation is in Rio, all the clucking about its particular problems has a disturbing side-effect: It drives a narrative that the maladies of the Olympics lie with Brazil’s mangled, corrupt government and not with the Olympic system itself. In every recent Games, we’ve seen some version of the worst of the Olympics maladies: debt, displacement and police violence.

Rio is definitely seeing more than its share of these evils. According to a Rio watchdog group, more than 77,000 families have been compelled to move to new homes to make way for Games construction, the Rio Olympics are over budget by 51%, and, as Amnesty International is cataloging, in the last year, there has been a 135% increase in police killings, all focused on the city’s poorest areas.

Since 9/11, security imperatives have provided host cities with a rationale, and possibly a pretext, for investment in high-tech weaponry and surveillance systems. That, in turn, has added to the Games’ cost and added a reason to remove people from their homes: to create a security perimeter for the foreign dignitaries, athletes and the Games venues.

I have covered every Summer Olympics since 2004, and at each site I’ve seen the negative effects. The 2004 Games in Athens brought 50,000 paramilitary

troops into the streets and came in at 200% over budget. The Olympic structures now shelter communities of squatters and the homeless, and the cost overruns added to Greece’s catastrophic recession.

In 2008, the Beijing Games displaced an estimated 1.5 million people and cost a then-record \$30 billion. The Games’ signature Bird’s Nest stadium is now a mostly empty relic. The 2012 Summer Games in London also went over budget, and put surface-to-air missiles atop residential apartment buildings. In 2014, the Winter Games in Sochi, Russia, cost \$51 billion — more than every other Winter Games combined. Roughly \$30 billion of this was simply unaccounted for, chalked up to corruption, another common corollary of the Olympic enterprise.

After the extremes of Beijing and Sochi, the International Olympic Committee came up with its Agenda 2020, reforms that were supposed to encourage more economical Games, making them more palatable to smaller cities and governments that have to answer to taxpayers and voters, as opposed to autocracies, such as China and Russia. Any discussion of reform is welcome, but the idea that meaningful safeguards against corruption or human rights abuses have been put in place is laughable.

What every city needs to do — and I’m looking right at you Los Angeles — is just say no. Rejecting the Games is the only action that

holds the potential to spur meaningful reform. Then perhaps we’ll see the IOC end the practice of city-by-city bids that encourages high-stakes promises and requires the creation of massive Games infrastructure, often from scratch, every four years. Then perhaps we’ll see the creation of permanent venues for the Winter and Summer Games.

L.A. is in the second phase of making a strong push to host the 2024 Games. The bid organizers maintain that their plan will follow the “no new construction” design that made the 1984 L.A. Games unusually successful, even profitable.

It’s worth noting, however, that a 2012 Oxford University study found that no host city in the previous 20 years had been able to meet its budget.

Even if Angelenos are hopeful that their Games can succeed all over again, there is good reason for the city to rise up and join other cities — from Krakow to Boston — that have actively organized against hosting the Games. Such activism would have an impact well beyond saving Los Angeles from the maladies that inevitably accompany the Games. It’s not too late, and it is the only act that will push the Olympics to change.

DAVE ZIRIN is sports editor of the Nation and author, most recently, of the book “Brazil’s Dance With The Devil: The World Cup, The Olympics, and the Fight for Democracy.”



AL SEIB Los Angeles Times

**FORMER** Los Angeles County Sheriff Lee Baca, center, leaves the federal courthouse in downtown Los Angeles via a loading dock.

# Judge throws out Baca plea deal

[Baca, from A1] ing to trial in a related obstruction-of-justice case.

Seven lower-ranking sheriff's officials who have been convicted and sentenced in the obstruction case received a year and a half to more than three years

in prison.

Baca's plea agreement had called for a sentence ranging from probation to six months in prison. Prosecutors have said they agreed to the deal in part because of Baca's willingness to plead guilty. Baca's attorney,

Michael Zweiback, argued that the former sheriff should not serve any prison time because he is in the early stages of Alzheimer's disease.

Baca must now choose among several unappealing options. He could go ahead with the sentencing and accept whatever punishment Anderson has in mind. He could withdraw his guilty plea and go to trial, taking his chances with whatever charges the government might bring. He could negotiate a new deal with federal prosecutors for a longer sentence that the judge would find more acceptable.

After Monday's hearing, Zweiback said he was disappointed with the judge's decision but hoped to resume talks with prosecutors. He said that if he cannot reach an agreement that includes a specific sentence, rather than an open-ended guilty plea, he will not leave his client's fate in Anderson's hands.

"At that point, we might as well take our chances at trial," Zweiback said.

Baca's Alzheimer's could be a factor if the case heads to trial and his ability to understand the proceedings deteriorates. The trial could be put on hold if he is declared mentally incompetent. "If the government believes it's two years in ... getting to trial and sentencing him, that could leave Mr. Baca in very bad shape," Zweiback said.

Thom Mrozek, a spokesman for the U.S. attorney's office, said prosecutors would not comment because the case is ongoing.

Legal experts said Anderson's move was unusual but not unexpected, considering his law-and-order reputation and comments he has made during sentencing in the related cases.

"We already knew the defendant was facing a federal judge who believed these kinds of acts were as serious as they come," said Miriam Krinsky, a former federal prosecutor who was the executive director of a county commission that investigated brutality by jail deputies and who served as a top aide to Baca's successor, Jim McDonnell, during

his first year in office.

Anderson, who was appointed to the federal bench by President George W. Bush in 2002, is a former federal prosecutor who served on the Christopher Commission, which investigated excessive force by LAPD officers after the 1991 Rodney King beating.

In 2006, an appeals court removed Anderson from a wrongful-conviction case, saying that the judge's "impartiality might be questioned." He was criticized again a few years later after the Daily Journal, a legal publication, published a story highlighting his delays in granting relief to three inmates deemed wrongfully convicted by lower judicial officials.

The Times reported in 2011 that Anderson allowed the cases to languish for several years, including one case in which a prisoner died behind bars while waiting for a ruling. But the chief judge at the time defended Anderson, telling The Times that she didn't believe bias played any role and that the district's heavy caseload was to blame.

Laurie Levenson, a Loyola Law School professor and former federal prosecutor, said Anderson was not likely to be "swayed by sympathy or the emotional aspects of the case." She said he was likely to be especially unyielding of law enforcement officials who did not fulfill their duties.

"He views this type of abuse of trust more seriously, notwithstanding Baca's health concerns," Levenson said.

Federal sentencing law provides that people who are higher up in an organization — mob bosses, for example — are more culpable than lower-level members, said Joseph Akrotirianakis, another former federal prosecutor now in private practice.

"Today's events are not entirely surprising in light of the sentence that Mr. Tanaka received," Akrotirianakis said. "That was not a fact known to the government at the time that Baca entered into his plea."

Baca, who retired in 2014 before completing his fourth

term as the head of the nation's largest sheriff's department, won praise in office for establishing close relationships with local Muslim leaders and championing education for jail inmates.

Meanwhile, some of his deputies were brutally beating inmates as well as a jail visitor. He adopted a hands-off management style, delegating many day-to-day decisions to powerful underlings such as Tanaka.

In 2010, federal officials secretly launched an investigation into corruption and brutality by jail deputies. After sheriff's officials discov-

**'I stand here today humbled and filled with remorse for my mistakes as sheriff of Los Angeles County.'**

— LEE BACA

ered that an inmate, Anthony Brown, was an FBI informant, they booked him under false names and shuttled him to different locations. They also went to the home of an FBI agent and threatened her with arrest.

Prosecutors alleged that Tanaka directed the efforts to hide Brown from the FBI and intimidate the FBI agent, with Baca playing a lesser role.

In his plea agreement, Baca admitted to lying in an April 12, 2013, interview with investigators, stating that he was not aware of the plan to confront the FBI agent at her home. In fact, according to the agreement, Baca was at a meeting where officials came up with the plan, telling his subordinates that they "should do everything but put handcuffs" on her.

Baca was also involved in a conversation with subordinates about keeping Brown away from the FBI, though he denied knowledge in his interview with federal investigators, the agreement said. He was also aware that his subordinates had

stopped FBI agents from questioning Brown, contrary to what he had said in the interview, according to the agreement.

In entering his guilty plea, Baca admitted only to lying about the visit to the FBI agent's home while agreeing not to contest the prosecutors' other allegations.

In the courtroom Monday, many of Baca's supporters wore yellow pins to express solidarity with the former sheriff.

Zweiback quoted from some of the more than 200 letters filed with the court in support of Baca. Former Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger, former Mexican President Vicente Fox, local elected officials, religious leaders and former jail inmates were among those who wrote to the judge describing Baca's good deeds and empathetic nature.

A letter from Baca's wife, Carol, included a passage about her husband's deteriorating mental abilities. The former sheriff loses his keys and forgets appointments, Zweiback said in court on Monday, referring to the letter.

Because his short-term memory is increasingly unreliable, Baca would have trouble following the rules in prison, exposing him to punishment from staff as well as fellow inmates, Zweiback said in arguing for a sentence of probation only.

Wearing a dark suit, with sheriff's star pins affixed to his lapel and shirt cuffs, the former sheriff addressed the judge. He said he regretted not taking control of the investigation into Brown.

"I stand here today humbled and filled with remorse for my mistakes as sheriff of Los Angeles County," Baca said. "I did not lead. Instead, I delegated the responsibility for this important duty, and I should not have."

Assistant U.S. Atty. Brandon Fox told Anderson that Baca's lies were part of an attempt to cover up what had been going on in the Sheriff's Department.

"That's not what a leader does," Fox said. "That's what a coward does."

Brian Moriguchi, head of the union that represents Sheriff's Department supervisors, said Baca is responsible for the actions of his subordinates, especially Tanaka, and should receive more than six months considering the sentences the others will serve.

Many sheriff's deputies have been closely watching the criminal prosecutions to see if the punishments for former bosses would approach those of lower-ranking employees following their orders.

"It's not only widespread in the department, it's widespread in society — the feeling that those who have power seem to be exempt from the same rules as everyone else," Moriguchi said.

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# ELECTION 2016

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION



CAROLYN COLE Los Angeles Times

**DONALD TRUMP** introduces wife Melania. Her speech drew raves, then criticism because several lines seemed to have been borrowed.

**ANALYSIS**

### Mixed signals and missed chances

On the first night of the GOP convention, the party fails to send a convincing message.

By CATHLEEN DECKER

CLEVELAND — The theme of Monday's opening night of the Republican National Convention was "Make America Safe Again." In other words, "Make America Safe from Hillary Clinton."

Donald Trump, who will accept his party's nomination Thursday, was barely mentioned by many of the speakers, nor were specifics of the few concrete proposals he has made.

The focus instead was on presumptive Democratic nominee Clinton and Republican fears that she would extend President Obama's two terms in office.

Criticism of the other side, of course, is always part of the convention lineup. But successful conventions typically have a point — to send a strong message to the Americans who will decide the next president.

Sometimes the candidate needs to be humanized. Sometimes gaps of knowledge need to be filled in. At the least, each convention night provides an hour — more on cable stations — of free TV coverage to convey a consistent message.

By that standard, the first night of Donald Trump's convention was less than fully successful — scattershot in its message and undisciplined in its delivery.

Indeed, the most disciplined moment may have been Trump's own extremely brief introduction of his wife, Melania.

The evening did have dramatic high points. Bereft parents whose children had been killed by immigrants in the country illegally spoke emotionally. Trump himself appeared, backlit on stage before introducing his wife.

But the night lacked the thematic unity that usually marks a successful production.

[See Analysis, B10]

# The Trump show begins

The party gets started with adoring celebrities and a little chaos

By MARK Z. BARABAK AND NOAH BIERMAN

CLEVELAND — Mixing put-downs with protest, Republicans opened their national convention Monday still working to reconcile themselves to the takeover of their party by business tycoon Donald Trump, who put his unmistakable stamp on the program.

Onstage in a hall bathed in red, white and blue, a parade of speakers sang

Trump's virtues, portraying him as strong and decisive, canny and compassionate, un beholden to Washington and selfless in a way the presumptive Democratic nominee, Hillary Clinton, is not.

Instead of "a woman who somehow feels that she's entitled to the presidency ... we can go for Donald Trump, a man doing this from the goodness of his heart [who] genuinely wants to help," said actor Scott Baio, one of a grab bag of speakers that

included Trump's wife, Melania, but few of the political stars who normally populate the convention stage.

Breaking with the usual protocol, which calls for him to absent himself until his Thursday night acceptance speech, Trump swooped in from Manhattan to offer a brief introduction of his wife, calling her "an amazing mother, an incredible woman."

She responded in kind. "With all of my heart, I

know that he will make a great and lasting difference," the potential first lady said in the accent of her native Slovenia. "Donald has a great and deep and unbounding determination and a never-give-up attitude.

"If you want someone to fight for you and your country, I can assure you he is the guy," she went on. "He will never, ever give up. And, most importantly, he will never, ever let you down."

The speech won raves in-

side the convention hall, but the response quickly turned to criticism when it became evident that several lines were strikingly similar to the speech First Lady Michelle Obama delivered at the Democratic convention in 2008.

And on the streets of downtown Cleveland, in hotel function rooms and, for a time, on the convention floor, the tone was considerably less welcoming toward a figure who has upended [See Day One, B9]

**OUTSIDE THE HALL**

## Heat, sweat and paranoia in Ohio

By MATT PEARCE REPORTING FROM CLEVELAND

Tales from the streets outside the GOP convention, where thousands are holding their own debate over America's future.

Day 1, 10:40 a.m.

Cleveland is already hot, sweaty and paranoid, as if a slice of the Rust Belt had been colonized by Washington, D.C., and turned into an outdoor airport security checkpoint.

Men in suits and women in dresses (I suspect this is not how most Clevelanders normally dress) drift past

black metal fencing that surrounds the arena, the mayor's office, the city's convention center.

Police officers roam alleyways between the buildings downtown, guarding vulnerabilities unknown to the public. Local activists have been spooked by FBI agents knocking on their doors, looking for information or threats to this week's proceedings.

Through all this, I watch two men rolling a cart of transparent tubs filled with thousands of tortilla chips down the sidewalk, headed to parts unknown.

For the last week, almost [See Outside, B9]



MARCUS YAM Los Angeles Times

**AFTER A PROTEST** outside the Republican convention, demonstrators listen to the group Prophets of Rage play a short set of songs on an abandoned lot.

**A public show of discord**

"Never Trump" is called a failure, but it manages to deliver a jab to the venter of party unity. **B2**

**Protests small and peaceful**

Aside from a shouting match in a downtown park, Day One passed with few arrests and no violence. **B2**

**A multi-front offensive**

Hillary Clinton tries to draw attention away from the GOP with speeches to teachers and the NAACP. **B10**

\$2.00 DESIGNATED AREAS HIGHER.



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## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

'He may not always tell you what you want to hear... But Donald Trump will always, always tell you the truth as he sees it.'

— WILLIE ROBERTSON of "Duck Dynasty"



ACTIVISTS MARCH in downtown Cleveland near Quicken Loans Arena, where the Republican National Convention kicked off.

CAROLYN COLE Los Angeles Times

# The only sparks are verbal

Despite fears, street protests stay mild with few arrests on first day of GOP convention.

BY MATT PEARCE AND JAMES QUEALLY

CLEVELAND — Before the Republican National Convention began Monday, the volatile mix of Donald Trump, planned street protests and Ohio's open-carry gun laws raised fears of clashes in Cleveland.

But aside from a raucous rock concert and a shouting match in a downtown park, the first day of the convention passed with few arrests and no violence.

Cleveland police reported two arrests connected to demonstrations Sunday and Monday as of 6 p.m., but one involved a warrant unconnected to the convention.

At one point Monday afternoon, a band of religious activists began to confront anti-Trump protesters. Police on bicycles quickly moved between them and prevented anything beyond a screaming match.

Earlier, Alex Jones, a far-right conspiracy theorist, led a large pro-Trump crowd in chants of "Hillary for Prison!" on the banks of the Cuy-



BIKERS who support Donald Trump rally in Cleveland. Despite concerns about Ohio's open-carry gun laws, few weapons were visible along protest routes.

MARCUS YAM Los Angeles Times

ahoga River.

The two largest protests downtown saw several hundred people loudly denouncing the presumptive Republican nominee, as well as poverty and police brutality. Police said both protests ended peacefully.

So far at least, activists on both sides of the political spectrum seem more interested in message than melee.

"Our focus is not about trying to be louder than the next person," said Devin Rodgers, 27, of Cleveland as men in military fatigues shouted profanities at the anti-Trump demonstrators with whom he was marching.

"It's about trying to show people who we are and get them to understand where we come from." Cleveland Police Chief

Calvin Williams said officers broke up several minor clashes Monday, but none resulted in arrests or violence.

"We just wanted to make sure we got in there before anything got out of hand," Williams said.

A few prohibited items, including a small knife and a slingshot, were seized from people trying to enter secured areas near the

convention center and Quicken Loans Arena, Williams said.

Despite concerns about Ohio's open-carry laws, especially after a gunman shot and killed three police officers Sunday in Baton Rouge, La., few weapons were visible along protest routes Monday.

Instead, confrontations relied on rhetoric. At mid-afternoon, half a dozen men, some wearing military fatigues, collided in a park with a swarm of anti-Trump protesters who had just finished a march.

Bullhorn in hand, their leader began chiding the anti-Trump protesters, hurling slurs against lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people.

The demonstrators drowned him out with a Black Lives Matter chant.

Police quickly separated the two groups, and no one was arrested.

Sara Flounders, a New Jersey resident in her late 60s, said she was happy to see groups unite against what she described as Trump's exclusionary message.

"There is a real racist mobilization that is going on in this nation, and it's important to put a stop to it," she said.

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## Voters rue their options

Broad dissatisfaction with Trump and Clinton stands out in new polls.

BY DAVID LAUTER

CLEVELAND — The GOP convention has brought a surfeit of new polls, and although they differ slightly on the standing of the two major candidates, they concur that voters don't like their choices.

A Washington Post/ABC News poll released over the weekend, for example, found 58% of voters were dissatisfied with the choice between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. Among those surveyed, 64% had an unfavorable view of Trump; 54% felt unfavorably toward Clinton.

An NBC News/Wall Street Journal survey offered a similar verdict: Trump was viewed favorably by 27% of those surveyed and unfavorably by 60%. That net negative rating of 33 points was the worst in the history of the poll. But Clinton's image was only somewhat better: 34% positive, 56% negative.

Despite the unpopularity of the two major-party presumptive nominees, third parties aren't garnering a lot of support. Gary Johnson, the Libertarian nominee, and Jill Stein, the Green Party candidate, drew 8% and 5%, respectively, in the ABC/Washington Post survey when their names were offered to voters. They got 11% and 6%, respectively, in the NBC/Wall Street Journal survey. The two drew roughly equally from Clinton and Trump, the polls found.

Rather than flocking to a third choice, many voters are being driven by negative feelings about the candidate they don't like, more than positive feelings about their own candidate. That's particularly true for Trump, who leads a party still badly divided between his supporters and detractors.

Among registered voters who said they backed Trump, fewer than 4 in 10 in the ABC/Washington Post poll said they did so mainly because they supported him. The majority, 57%, said they mostly opposed Clinton. On the other side, the picture was only slightly more optimistic: 44% who mainly supported Clinton, 54% who mostly opposed Trump.

One political figure Americans like: President Obama. His job approval continues to stay above 50%, at some of the highest levels of his presidency. That has helped buoy Clinton, even as concerns over her handling of classified information in her email while secretary of State have pulled her down.

As for who is winning, the new surveys almost all show a very close race, with most showing a slim lead for the Democrat. The NBC/Wall Street Journal poll had Clinton ahead 46% to 41%. The Washington Post/ABC poll had her leading 47% to 43%. Both leads were within the surveys' margins of error.

The USC Dornsife/L.A. Times Daybreak poll, which tracks voter preferences daily, now has the two effectively tied, with Trump ahead by less than a point. The small lead that Trump had in the poll last week appears to have dwindled, with Clinton at least partially recovering from the slide in her support that came after harsh criticism from FBI Director James B. Comey over her emails.

Similar verdicts have come from recent polls of swing states that show close contests in Ohio, Michigan, Iowa, Virginia and elsewhere.

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## 'Never Trump' makes noisy dissent

Renegade movement is taunted as a failure, but it delivers a jab to viceroy of party unity.

BY MELANIE MASON, MICHAEL FINNEGAN AND NOAH BIERMAN

CLEVELAND — After a series of procedural roadblocks stopped a rogue band of delegates who were seeking to block Donald Trump's nomination, Ron Kaufman, a Republican stalwart, taunted them as a failure from the start.

"One thing is clear," said Kaufman, co-chairman of the panel that wrote the rules for this year's convention. "Never Trump never was."

Not quite. Only hours after Kaufman's derisive verdict, the renegades struck back, delivering a noisy rebuke to Trump on the convention floor and underscoring the lingering discontent that some Republicans harbor toward their presumptive nominee.

Their quixotic efforts to deny Trump the nomination

were squelched Monday afternoon, but not before they landed an embarrassing jab to a party looking to project unity after a divisive primary.

The ruckus centered on what's normally the driest of pro forma votes: approval of the convention rules.

Typically, delegates eagerly move past the parliamentary procedure to reach the pomp and circumstance of a presidential nomination. This time, however, the rules vote turned dramatic.

The rules package, approved last week by a panel stacked with Trump loyalists, included a requirement that delegates vote according to the results of the primary or caucus in their states.

That rule would prevent what the anti-Trump forces were calling a "conscience vote" by delegates who wanted to choose someone else, despite Trump's primary victories. The change they backed, allowing delegates to not be bound by the primaries, would have imperiled Trump's otherwise easy path to the nomination.

When party officials brought the rules to the floor

for approval, the insurgents tried to force a roll call vote. The maneuver was a long shot but threatened a prolonged display of dissent within the party, marring opening-night festivities.

Party officials and the Trump campaign swiftly crushed the insurgents, twisting the arms of delegates to back off.

"It was a very small, embittered group that refuses to stand down.... I think we put away the nonsense," said Tim Clark, director of the Trump campaign in California. "We had to stamp it out one more time so we could go about the business of electing Donald Trump."

When the rules were deemed adopted by voice vote, with no accommodation for a roll call, the convention erupted into boos and jeers from the anti-Trump faction, as well as chants of "free the vote."

Trump supporters countered with cheers of their own: "USA! USA!"

The rowdy spectacle opened the convention on a discordant note, interfering with the Trump campaign's effort to convey a party undivided in its resolve to defeat Hillary Clinton.

Anti-Trump delegates called the heavy-handed procedural move emblematic of a presidential campaign that has shown little desire to soothe intra-party relationships.

"They haven't been interested in reconciliation. They've been interested in crushing the opposition," said Randy Corporon, a Colorado delegate who counts himself in the "Free the Delegates" movement.

Success for the movement was always improbable. Many delegates, even those personally queasy about the grandiose real estate mogul, were disinclined to overturn the will of the more than 13 million primary voters who cast ballots for Trump.

"The rules of the RNC prevailed over the chaos created by a few," said Bruce Ash, a delegate from Arizona.

"Democracy is a messy thing," he added, but "grassroots voters' will was expressed by the delegates."

After the brouhaha, Kaufman dismissed the uprising as insignificant, compared to the tumult some predicted during this unruly primary season.

"Four months ago, it was going to be an open, contested convention and real chaos," said Kaufman, who predicted there would be more discord at the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia next week.

But Kendal Unruh, a leader in the delegate mutiny, said the resistance ran deeper than naysayers would admit.

"I'm not alone here. I wasn't the one screaming roll call vote. I wasn't the only one screaming point of order," said Unruh, a schoolteacher from Colorado. "There's an awful lot of support on this floor."

That abiding resistance may spill over into the general election, she said, warning that Trump would be unable to win over holdouts like her.

"Not after behavior like this," she said. "Not after he's shown us that we're not wanted, and not after he's said that he can win without us."

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# CALIFORNIA

TUESDAY, JULY 19, 2016 :: LATIMES.COM/CALIFORNIA



GARY KAZANJIAN Associated Press

**RAMON MARTINEZ** of Monterey County Public Works checks a crack in a bridge from a quake in Parkfield, Calif., where the San Andreas transitions from its northern section to its southern portion, which is locked and capable of producing the so-called Big One.

## Shaking from on high

Some quakes on San Andreas fault are triggered by gravitational tug

By ROSANNA XIA

The gravitational tug between the sun and moon is not just a dance of high and low tides: It can also trigger a special kind of earthquake on the San Andreas fault.

This phenomenon has fascinated scientists for years. Like sea levels, the surface of the Earth also goes up and down with the tides, flexing the crust and stressing the faults inside. Further study found that during certain phases of the tidal cycle, small tremors deep underground — known as low-frequency earthquakes — were more likely to occur.

“It’s kind of crazy, right? That the moon, when it’s pulling in the same direction that the fault is slipping, causes the fault to slip more — and faster,” said Nicholas van der Elst, a U.S. Geological Survey geophysicist and lead author of a new study on the subject published Monday in the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences. “What it shows is that the fault is super weak — much weaker than we would expect — given that there’s 20 miles of rock sitting on top of it.”

Studying how these low-frequency earthquakes respond to the tides can reveal new information about the San Andreas and what it might mean for larger earthquakes, researchers say. The data



U.S. Geological Survey

**NEW DATA** offer a window into deeper parts of the San Andreas that would otherwise be inaccessible.

offer a window into deeper parts of the fault — as much as 20 miles underground — that would otherwise be inaccessible.

Scientists first discovered these deeper tremors on the fault about 10 years ago, along a particularly sensitive section in Parkfield, a Monterey County town where the San Andreas transitions from its northern section, where it’s gently releasing tectonic energy, to its southern portion, which is locked and capable of producing the so-called Big One.

For his most recent study, Van der Elst and his team looked at about 81,000 low-frequency earthquakes from 2008 to 2015 along the Parkfield section of the fault and compared the data to the two-week tidal cycle known as the “fortnightly tide.” They found that these earthquakes were most likely to occur during the waxing period, when the tide was getting bigger the fastest.

Like ocean tides, the strongest Earth tides occur when the sun and moon are aligned, and the weakest occur when they are 90 degrees apart. The same gravitational forces stretch and compress the Earth’s crust, though the rock moves less dramatically than seawater.

Some faults are more susceptible to tidal triggering than others, such as offshore faults such as the Cascadia subduction zone off the Pacific Northwest [See **Quakes**, B6]

## College system names new leader

Long Beach educator Eloy Ortiz Oakley will be the first Latino to run the state’s 113 community campuses.

By ROSANNA XIA

Eloy Ortiz Oakley, a nationally recognized leader in public education who heads the Long Beach Community College District, was named Monday as the new chancellor of California’s community college system.

He will become the first Latino chancellor of the 113-college system, which serves 2.1 million students and is the nation’s largest higher education system. He replaces Brice W. Harris, who retired in April after leading the system through a crucial period of budget cuts, academic reform and controversies over accreditation.

The community college Board of Governors announced its unanimous selection of the system’s 16th chancellor at a board meeting in Sacramento on Monday.

Addressing the board, Oakley emphasized his commitment to student needs in a fast-changing economy, particularly to those who have been historically underrepresented in higher education.

“We must pay particular attention to African Americans and Latinos in this state. This is the backbone of our workforce,” he said. “Our economy no longer has a spot for those who lack skills.... We need to redouble our efforts as a system to ensure that every student in California has the opportunity to obtain a college credential.”

Oakley was a first-generation college student who served four years in the Army and then enrolled at Golden West College. From there, he was able to transfer to UC Irvine, where he received a bachelor of arts in environmental analysis and design and a master’s in business administration.

“I, like so many people in our great state, grew up in a working-class family, and the opportunity to go to college was not something that we spoke too much about or thought too much about,” he said. “Golden West College opened that door for me and gave me the opportunity to be here today.”

He was praised for establishing innovative partnerships and programs while leading the Long Beach district.

“He struck me immediately as an individual with deep commitment to, and a unique understanding of, the needs of our students,” board President Geoffrey L. Baum said. “In Oakley we see a change agent — someone whose relentless focus on student success will help more students obtain certificates and degrees or [See **Oakley**, B6]

## Airbnb strikes lodging tax deal with L.A.

Home-sharing firm will collect millions that city hopes to use for homeless services.

By EMILY ALPERT REYES

Under a newly announced deal with Los Angeles city officials, Airbnb will soon start collecting lodging taxes from rental hosts, providing millions of dollars in revenue to the city annually.

Angelenos who rent out rooms or whole homes for short stays are already supposed to pay the same kind of lodging taxes as hotels, but L.A. tax officials have struggled to track down hosts and make sure they pay.

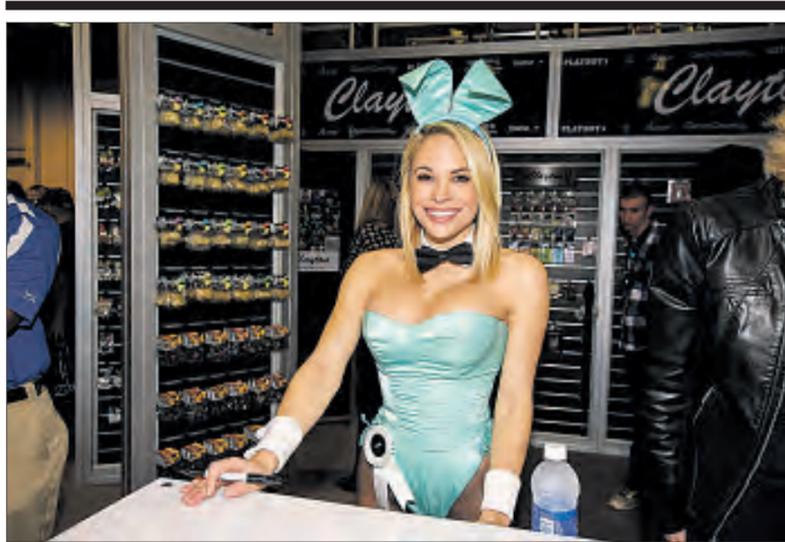
Now Airbnb, one of many websites that help people rent out their homes to travelers, will facilitate that process by collecting the

taxes and handing them over to the city.

The deal, which was worked out with city budget and tax officials, would go into effect in August. Los Angeles had been banking on more than \$5 million in tax revenue from such rentals for the budget year that began in July — money that would help pay for homeless programs.

“The hosts are required to pay that tax,” said City Administrative Officer Miguel Santana, L.A.’s top budget official. “We’re simply creating a mechanism to facilitate that.”

Airbnb praised the move, saying it would help Angelenos and ensure that the city shared in the economic benefits of such rentals. “Our community of hosts wants to pay their fair share and we want to help,” John Choi, Airbnb public policy manager for Southern California, said in a statement [See **Airbnb**, B8]



DANIEL KNIGHTON FilmMagic

**DANI MATHERS'** Snapchat photo of a nude woman in the locker room at an LA Fitness gym got her membership revoked and launched a police investigation.

## Caught in a 'net of shame

By VERONICA ROCHA AND RICHARD WINTON

Last week, Playboy model Dani Mathers took a photo of a nude woman in a locker room shower at an LA Fitness gym and posted it on Snapchat with the caption, “If I can’t unsee this then you can’t either.”

Mathers immediately faced the wrath of critics on

social media who accused her of fat shaming, violating the woman’s privacy and worse. Mathers apologized, but that has done little to quell the storm.

The Los Angeles Police Department has launched a criminal investigation into the matter and is looking for the woman whom Mathers photographed.

Legal experts said that in the era of social media and

smartphones, prosecutors are increasingly grappling with cases in which people have aspects of their personal life unwittingly exposed on social media.

“The person appears to have an expectation of privacy in the gym shower,” said Dmitry Gorin, a former prosecutor who represented several clients in voyeurism criminal cases. [See **Shaming**, B7]



**ELOY OAKLEY** established innovative programs as head of the Long Beach district.

## CRIME WATCH

## Assessing risk of truck attacks

Southland authorities say protecting pedestrians from terrorists in vehicles may be difficult.

RICHARD WINTON

In the wake of the terrorist attack in Nice, France, law enforcement officials in Southern California say preventing violence by attackers using vehicles could prove a challenge.

"It is extremely difficult to protect pedestrians from events such as the one in Nice. We enjoy living in a free society, and with that comes inherent risks," said Orange County Sheriff Sandra Hutchens, a veteran of counterterrorism work.

Hutchens acknowledges that in countries such as Israel, a different level of security exists on a daily basis with constant bag inspections at restaurants and other public gatherings. "I hope we will never get to that place," she said.

Locally, police across the region are on heightened alert, as is always the case after such a large-scale attack, but officials said they had no intelligence to suggest any attack was planned.

But the Los Angeles County sheriff's counterterrorism chief said the recent series of attacks, including the one in Nice, are going to lead law enforcement in the region to reassess security for events with large crowds, which are inviting targets for potential terrorists.

"We have to strike a balance between privacy and protection, and we are starting to move the pendulum toward the protection side," said Chief Scott Edson, who oversees the Special Operations Division.

"Do we have radio cars at fixed positions for the event? Do we bring in K-rails to block the path to the crowd from vehicles? Do we



CLAUDE PARIS Associated Press

**INVESTIGATORS** examine a truck that ran through a crowd of revelers in Nice, France, last week. Eighty-four people were killed.

set protections for a parade or marathon or something? Those are all now planning considerations in this society," he said.

Intelligence, he said, can prevent an attack. But that may not be enough in cases in which attackers are so alone they don't communicate, or when they do, they do it with encryption, he said.

Edson said additional security measures would come at a cost to governments and event sponsors. "Any kind of planned event

in which there are soft targets, we need to reevaluate and contain that event to make it safe for the public," he said.

At high-level government facilities and even the Academy Awards in Hollywood, approaching vehicles must zigzag through barriers that prevent a vehicle from building up speed by driving directly down the road.

Since Timothy McVeigh used a rental truck packed with ammonium nitrate to attack the federal building

in Oklahoma City in 1995, killing 168 people, counterterrorism officials have run a scenario with trucks exploding in downtown L.A., the ports and at LAX.

Local officials say the danger of a vehicle as a weapon was brought home in 2003, when a confused 86-year-old man drove the length of the Santa Monica Farmers Market, plowing through a crowd of terrified shoppers, killing 10 people and injuring 68 others.

Brian Levin, a counterterrorism expert and pro-

fessor at Cal State San Bernardino, said both Al Qaeda and Islamic State have delivered messages to followers, calling for them to use vehicles as weapons absent other means.

Islamic State senior leader Abu Mohammad al-Adnani in 2014 called for targeting various westerners including the French: "Smash his head with a rock, or slaughter him with a knife, or run him over with your car, or throw him down from a high place, or choke him, or poison

him." Counterterrorism experts say the measures to prevent such attacks are often more than an open society can endure. "A lot of these measures of protection impose on a free society and ultimately don't show that much benefit," said Brian Jenkins, a terrorism expert at Rand Corp. "The question with any measure is: Is this going to protect society?"

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## COASTAL WATCH



NELVIN C. CEPEDA San Diego Union-Tribune

**A SURFER** walks past the carcass of a whale that washed ashore in Encinitas. It's believed to be Wally, who in life was known on YouTube and in death has plagued Southland beaches by repeatedly drifting toward land.

## Whale washes ashore yet again — in Encinitas

Carcass is believed to be that of the female humpback Wally.

LYNDSAY WINKLEY

Wally, the dearly departed humpback whale, seems unwilling to leave the Southern California coast—even in death.

Efforts to push the carcass out to sea have been thwarted, with the remains emerging on various beaches every few days.

Now, a whale carcass found on a San Diego County beach over the weekend is believed to be that of Wally.

A construction crew attempted Sunday to cut up

and remove the decomposing whale from Grandview Beach in Encinitas, since lifeguards didn't have a boat big enough to haul it to sea. Work was halted when part of a forklift snapped off during the effort.

Encinitas Marine Safety Capt. Larry Giles said lifeguards covered it in sand to cut down the stench. He said workers would try again Monday. "You can smell it up to about a quarter-mile away," he said.

Giles believes the dead cetacean is Wally, who in life was known on YouTube and in death has plagued Southern California beaches by repeatedly drifting toward shore.

"We're pretty sure of it because of the other agencies we've spoken to," Giles

'We're pretty sure of it because of the other agencies we've spoken to. Yeah, it's Wally.'

— LARRY GILES,  
Marine safety captain in  
Encinitas

said. "Yeah, it's Wally."

The 22-ton, 45-foot-long carcass was first found on Dockweiler State Beach in Los Angeles County on June 30. Lifeguards tugged it back to the ocean, but it reappeared farther south, twice being towed after floating close to Newport Beach and then again when

it got too close to Dana Point and San Clemente.

Wally, a female about 15 years old, was regularly spotted off Orange County in her later years. Though she was covered in whale lice, which usually signifies poor health, she was seen eating and breaching.

Last year, photographers who caught up with Wally off Newport Beach took video of her surfacing. Water expelled from her blowhole caught the light just so, creating a rainbow. The footage was put on YouTube and has been viewed more than 1 million times.

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Winkley writes for the San Diego Union-Tribune.

## CALIFORNIA BRIEFING

## PASO ROBLES

## Woman facing murder charge dies in custody

A self-proclaimed clairvoyant who was charged with killing a man and firing nearly 40 gunshots at law enforcement during a standoff on the Central Coast died this weekend while awaiting trial, officials said Monday.

While being held on a murder charge, Nicole Honait Luxor had "significant medical issues" from a terminal illness, according to the San Luis Obispo County Sheriff's Department. Luxor, 62, died Saturday, sheriff's officials said.

Luxor was arrested after a 34-year-old ranch hand, Benjamin Derrel Terra, was found dead from a gunshot wound at her ranch in rural Paso Robles.

After San Luis Obispo County sheriff's deputies arrived at the ranch Nov. 14, 2015, on a report of assault, Luxor barricaded herself and waged a nine-hour standoff. During the standoff, she fired more than three dozen gunshots at deputies, sheriff's officials said. She surrendered after SWAT deputies fired tear gas into her home.

Luxor was charged with one count of murder and 36 counts of attempted murder for the shots fired at deputies. She pleaded not guilty and was being held on \$1 million bail.

— MATT HAMILTON

## LOS ANGELES COUNTY

## Sewage spill closes beaches

A sewage spill in downtown Los Angeles flowed into the L.A. River on Monday and prompted officials in Long Beach to close the city's beaches.

The spill occurred about 2 p.m. near 6th Street and Mission Road in Boyle Heights, according to Paul Gomez, a spokesman for the City of Los Angeles Department of Public Works.

The top of a sewer pipe collapsed and sent debris

into the pipe, clogging it, according to a statement from the Department of Public Works. Sewage overflowed and reached the L.A. River. Officials estimate the spill involved about 108,000 gallons. Officials asked the public to avoid puddles of water near the spill.

The 51-mile river runs from the Santa Monica and Santa Susana mountains, through L.A. County and ends in Long Beach.

— MATT HAMILTON

## INLAND EMPIRE

## Making headway against wildfires

Firefighters are making progress against small wildfires that have partially closed a freeway and briefly threatened homes.

Fire officials say residents in the community of Barona Mesa in eastern San Diego County were asked to evacuate Monday as a precaution after a wildfire charred 133 acres. The evacuation order was later lifted after crews stopped flames from advancing.

About 50 miles northwest in Riverside County, several small brush fires temporarily closed the northbound lanes of Interstate 15 near Temecula.

The fires, which were 25% surrounded, damaged several golf carts and a storage shed. A firefighter was treated at a hospital.

— ASSOCIATED PRESS

## Lottery results

**Tonight's Mega Millions**  
Estimated jackpot: \$25 million  
Sales close at 7:45 p.m.

For Monday, July 18, 2016

**Fantasy Five:** 13-17-18-27-37

**Daily Four:** 5-5-2-2

**Daily Three (midday):** 9-7-8

**Daily Three (evening):** 0-9-6

**Daily Derby:**

(2) Lucky Star  
(1) Gold Rush  
(10) Solid Gold  
Race time: 1:40.78

**Results on the Internet:**

www.latimes.com/lottery

**General information:**

**(800) 568-8379**

(Results not available at this number)

## CITY &amp; STATE



MICHAEL OWEN BAKER For The Times

**FROM LEFT:** Stefanie Rodriguez, lawyer Lance Filer, lawyer Shelly Albert, defendant Gregory Merritt, defendant Patricia Clement, lawyer Joseph Gutierrez, defendant Kevin Bom and lawyer Hagop Kuyumjian.

## Social workers arraigned in case of tortured boy

A judge declines to drop charges of abuse and falsifying records.

BY ALEXIA FERNANDEZ

A Los Angeles County Superior Court judge denied a motion to drop charges of felony child abuse and falsifying public records against four social workers related to the torture and death of 8-year-old Gabriel Fernandez.

Stefanie Rodriguez, 31, Patricia Clement, 65, Kevin Bom, 37, and Gregory Merritt, 60, were arraigned Monday, after Judge M.L. Villar denied a defense motion that claimed there was insufficient legal basis for the charges.

They were each charged in April with one felony count of child abuse and one felony count of falsifying public records. No pleas were made.



**GABRIEL** Fernandez died in 2013. His mother and her then-boyfriend are accused of murder.

The child's mother, Pearl Fernandez, and her then-boyfriend, Isauro Aguirre, face a separate trial on capital murder charges.

The former Los Angeles County Department of Children and Family Services child protective workers appeared in court and sat to-

gether with their attorneys.

Clement, a former nun and chaplain in the county's juvenile detention centers, declined to comment, as did Rodriguez, Bom and Merritt.

Los Angeles County prosecutors allege that the four minimized the injuries that Gabriel suffered and allowed him to remain at home with his mother and Aguirre where the abuse continued.

Lance M. Filer, Rodriguez's attorney, said his client should not be held accountable for "the independent actions of criminals."

"Everyone is surprised that the county has brought these charges," he said. "Everyone is confident that when all the evidence is presented that my client will be cleared."

The arraignment comes three years after Gabriel's death on March 24, 2013. The boy suffered a cracked skull,

three broken ribs, burns and bruises. He had BB pellets embedded in his lung and groin, and two teeth were knocked out.

Fernandez and Aguirre allegedly tortured the boy for eight months, according to prosecutors, forcing him to eat his own vomit and cat feces, locking him in a cupboard to sleep in and hitting him with a small bat.

A Facebook page, "Gabriel's Justice," was created a day after his death, dedicated to supporting Gabriel and raising awareness of child abuse.

Founder Amanda Nevares was in court Monday with other supporters.

"The fact of the matter is these four people have absolutely no sense of responsibility," she said. "None."

The next hearing for the four workers is scheduled for Aug. 25.

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## Body found by home buyer

BY VERONICA ROCHA

The scene was like a modern twist on William Faulkner's short story "A Rose for Emily," which concludes in a musty bedroom with the cadaver of an old beau lying on a bed.

Having paid \$430,000 on June 22 for a house in the 6200 block of Anastasia Street in Simi Valley, accord-

ing to property records, the new homeowner was eager to move in.

But when the unidentified buyer went to the home Sunday afternoon about 4:15 p.m. and walked through an open door into a bedroom, he or she found the body of Salvatore Orefice, 84. His body was covered and lying on a bed.

The gruesome discovery led to the arrest of the dead

man's girlfriend, Mary Karacas, said Simi Valley Police Cmdr. Roy Jones.

After hearing from the person who purchased the home, detectives went there and called Karacas — asking that she meet them there, Jones said.

Karacas, 75, told detectives she and Orefice had gotten into an altercation, he said. At some point during the fight, Karacas told de-

detectives, she shot him. She was arrested on suspicion of murder, Jones said.

Orefice and Karacas had 30 days to move out of the home after selling it, Jones said.

Jones said investigators don't know exactly how long Orefice had been dead.

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## Ex-county lawyer sues over ouster

Mark Saladino says Board of Supervisors forced him out because he sought to prevent misconduct.

BY ABBY SEWELL

The former top attorney for Los Angeles County has filed a second lawsuit against the county and his former clients, the Board of Supervisors, alleging that he was ousted for trying to prevent misconduct by the board.

In particular, former county counsel Mark Saladino alleged that he was targeted by Supervisor Mark Ridley-Thomas for refusing to steer contracts to the supervisor's political supporters and because Saladino was seen as being close to one of Ridley-Thomas' political enemies.

Saladino, who had previously served as county treasurer and tax collector, was appointed county counsel in September 2014, with Ridley-Thomas casting the lone dissenting vote. A few months later, two of the supervisors who had voted to put Saladino in the position — Zev Yaroslavsky and Gloria Molina — retired and were replaced by Hilda Solis and Sheila Kuehl. The former county chief executive, William T. Fujioka, who had recommended Saladino for the position, also retired.

In June 2015, Saladino abruptly stepped down as county counsel and took a position as third in command in the Department of Treasurer and Tax Collector, which he previously headed.

In a wrongful termination lawsuit filed Friday — and a previous lawsuit filed in May seeking a court order to have him reinstated as county counsel — Saladino alleged that the county supervisors forced him out of the top attorney job and into the lower-ranking position.

In the new lawsuit, Saladino alleged that he had come into conflict with board members over his attempts to make sure they followed the state's open meetings law and other statutes.

They also clashed, Saladino alleged, over cases in which the board pressured him to represent their interests over those of other county officials, including the elected sheriff and district attorney.

Louis "Skip" Miller, a private attorney representing the county in the case, said in an emailed statement, "There is no merit to these accusations; they're all sour grapes. The Board of Supervisors lost confidence in Mr. Saladino as its lawyer, and so decided to change counsel as any client has the right to do."

The suit cited examples of clashes between Saladino and all five supervisors, including Michael D. Antonovich and Don Knabe over his "refusal to present biased legal information" in a lawsuit over the placement of a Christian cross on the county seal and with Solis and Kuehl over an attempt to direct the sheriff to exclude federal immigration agents from the county jails.

But it alleged that Ridley-Thomas, in particular, had waged a campaign against Saladino.

The suit alleges that Ridley-Thomas had "harbored ill-will toward Mr. Saladino" since 2009, when Saladino was still treasurer and tax collector.

At that time, the suit alleged, Ridley-Thomas "pressured Mr. Saladino to procure professional services from a political supporter of Supervisor Ridley-Thomas who was unqualified to provide the services in question."

Kenneth F. Spencer, an



lacounty.gov

**MARK SALADINO** alleges he was targeted by Supervisor Mark Ridley-Thomas.

attorney representing Saladino, said the political supporter in question was Napoleon Brandford, who was a partner with the firm Siebert Brandford Shank & Co.

The firm was providing underwriting services to the county at the time as a "co-manager," he said, but was pushing for a "promotion" to the rank of senior managing underwriter, which would have meant "a large increase in his firm's total compensation."

He said Saladino refused to promote the firm.

The complaint also alleged that Ridley-Thomas had targeted Saladino because he was supported by and had worked closely with Fujioka, with whom Ridley-Thomas "had been feuding for several years."

The lawsuit also claims that Saladino had refused a directive from Ridley-Thomas "to take actions which would violate his professional and ethical obligations," after the dis-

'There is no merit to these accusations; they're all sour grapes.'

— LOUIS 'SKIP' MILLER,  
a private attorney representing L.A. County

trict attorney's office investigated the use of county resources to convert Ridley-Thomas' garage into a home office. It did not say what those actions were.

Spencer declined to elaborate, citing attorney-client privilege between Saladino and the county.

Ridley-Thomas' chief deputy, Winston Peters, said the supervisor "cannot comment at this time."

Saladino argued that his ouster "reflects the Board's continued politicization over managing and administering essential county services and operations" and that managers who oppose supervisors' actions "will be pushed aside, abused, or terminated, even if the opposition is correct or well-founded."

In both lawsuits, Saladino argues that the board violated the Ralph M. Brown Act, the state's open meeting law, by failing to report the decision to terminate him, which was made in a closed-door meeting.

The county has argued in court filings that he was not terminated and that Saladino signed an agreement saying that his transfer to the new position was voluntary and that he would not sue the county over it.

Upon stepping down as county counsel, Saladino initially kept his salary of \$288,915, according to documents filed with the lawsuit, but beginning in November, it was reduced to \$219,000.

According to the suit, Saladino went on disability leave in September and this month was approved for disability retirement.

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## This smile is newly minted

Ranger, 94, gets new presidential coin after original was stolen.

BY VERONICA ROCHA

The oldest park ranger in the U.S. received a new presidential commemorative coin Sunday to replace one that was stolen last month during a violent home invasion robbery in Richmond, Calif.

Interior Secretary Sally Jewell gave Betty Reid Soskin, 94, the coin and a letter from President Obama during a speech at a ceremony marking the 72nd anniversary of the Port Chicago Disaster at the Concord Naval Weapons Station. Obama had given her



BEN MARGOT Associated Press

**BETTY REID SOSKIN** is the nation's oldest park ranger. An intruder stole her presidential coin in a violent robbery last month at her home in Richmond, Calif.

the original coin at the national tree-lighting ceremony in December.

"Betty is pretty tough," Jewell said.

The letter and coin presentation came as a surprise for the longtime ranger, who was attending the ceremony to honor the 320 Americans, mostly African American sailors, killed in 1944 when two ships being loaded with ammunition and bombs blew up. Soskin's family hosted sailors who served in the U.S. Navy during that time, Jewell said.

"Seventy-two years ago, she was a witness to that ex-

plosion," Jewell said.

Soskin returned to work last week after she was severely beaten by a robber June 27.

The coin, electronics and jewelry were stolen last month from her town home in Richmond, police said. Soskin told KTVU-TV her attacker dragged her from the bed through a hallway and struck her face. She thought "he was going to kill me," she told the news station.

Soskin locked herself in a bathroom until he left.

Soskin is a ranger at the Rosie the Riveter WWII

Home Front National Historical Park in Richmond, where she leads tours and provides a detailed history of women who worked in factories during wartime. She began working with the park service at 85.

Soskin, the great-granddaughter of a slave, worked as a file clerk during World War II.

The Rosie the Riveter Trust has established a fund for Soskin to help replace the stolen items.

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# College system names new leader

[Oakley, from B3] transfer to four-year institutions on time."

Oakley, who has served as superintendent-president of the Long Beach Community College District since 2007, is most notably known for the Long Beach College Promise, which brought high school and college administrators and instructors together to create a pathway for students transitioning from K-12 to higher education. Students are guaranteed a tuition-free year at Long Beach City College and preferred admission to Cal State Long Beach after completing the transfer requirements.

In 2015, President Obama introduced America's College Promise, an initiative modeled after the Long Beach program.

Oakley was also cited for a creative partnership with Goldman Sachs to jumpstart Long Beach's economy by helping more than 600 local business owners expand operations, which created more job opportunities.

Those who have worked with Oakley in the Long Beach district said he earned respect for being open-minded.

"He's known up and down the state as one of the most supportive presidents

of the faculty senate," said Karen Kane, president of the Long Beach City College Academic Senate. "[Oakley] has the right vision and the ability to see things that other people don't see. And he lays it out there and has the patience to wait for most people to catch up and understand where it is he's trying to go. He's the right leader at the right time."

Oakley said that in his first 90 days he will focus on building relationships and continuing the priorities begun under Harris and former Chancellor Jack Scott.

"They did a wonderful job of setting a very aggressive agenda for our system. So we're going to continue to move forward on the various student success initiatives, the workforce initiatives that are already well underway," he told The Times.

Community colleges were hit hard by the recession, with more than \$1 billion in funding cuts that forced campuses to ration course offerings and shut out more than 500,000 students.

The system has yet to recover fully from the cuts. The state's final budget agreement for 2016-17 provides funding to increase enrollment by an additional



RICH PEDRONCELLI Associated Press

**ELOY ORTIZ OAKLEY** has run the Long Beach Community College District since 2007. There, he established the Long Beach College Promise.

50,000 students. The budget deal included an additional \$200 million to improve career technical training.

Another challenge that will confront Oakley is resolving the ongoing controversy over accreditation after the Accrediting Commission for Community and Junior Colleges was heavily

criticized for meting out a disproportionate number of sanctions on California colleges compared with accrediting agencies in other parts of the country.

Oakley's experience prior to leading the Long Beach district will also prove useful in his new role, Baum and others said. He first joined

the Long Beach district in 2002, overseeing the budget as the executive vice president of administrative services. He also served as vice president of college services at Oxnard College.

His relationships run deep across the state: He served on the boards and committees of the Los Ange-

les Area Chamber of Commerce and the American Assn. of Community Colleges.

Gov. Jerry Brown appointed Oakley to the UC Board of Regents in 2014.

In a statement, UC President Janet Napolitano said Oakley "distinguished himself by always asking the right questions and his unwavering commitment to expanding access to higher education in California.... I look forward to working with him, especially on further improving the pathway to UC for California transfer students."

Cal State Chancellor Timothy P. White added: "Eloy challenges and empowers all of us to think deeply about higher education's role in our society and act accordingly. He understands the needs of California's communities and is dedicated to our shared success."

Oakley will receive an annual base salary of about \$280,000, plus benefits. This is higher than Harris' \$213,000 salary but less than Oakley's current salary of \$320,000 at Long Beach City College. He will assume duties Dec. 19.

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U.S. Geological Survey

**IT'S REMARKABLE** the San Andreas even produces small quakes in response to tidal forces, researchers said, given the fault's location.

## Sun and moon shake things up

[Quakes, from B3] coast, scientists said. Other characteristics of the fault, such as its orientation or how close it is to the Earth's crust, also affect the tidal response.

It's remarkable that the San Andreas even produces small earthquakes in response to tidal forces, researchers said, given that the fault is not oriented in a way that gets the full strength of the tides.

Low-frequency earthquakes — they're called "low-frequency" for the rumbling sound that they make, not for their rate of occurrence — tend to have magnitudes less than 1.0 and occur about nine to 19 miles below ground, nearing the deepest part of the crust where it transitions to the Earth's mantle.

The significance here is less the earthquakes them-

selves, and more the information they're giving scientists about the deeper parts of the fault, said USGS seismologist David Shelly, who helped write the new study.

"They tell us that the fault continues down below where the regular or typical earthquakes stop on the San Andreas," about six to seven miles, Shelly said. "And they tell us a lot of things about that deep part of the fault that before, we had no idea existed at all."

They also show that this part of the San Andreas is slowly moving almost all the time.

These low-frequency earthquakes, with the help of tidal forces, have essentially created a natural laboratory for scientists to keep tabs on the fault's movement.

"It's almost like having a lot of little creep meters em-



GARY KAZANJIAN Associated Press

**JIM BATSON** carefully walks across dislodged bricks in his living room after a strong earthquake struck the Monterey County town of Parkfield in 2004.

bedded in the fault," Shelly said. "We can use these low-frequency earthquakes as measurements of, at least in a relative sense, how much slip is happening at each little spot on the deep part of the fault where we see these events. When we don't see them, we don't know what's happening; we don't know whether it's slipping silently or not slipping at all."

The information is incredibly useful, he added. Whenever the deep part of the fault slips, the stress gets transferred to the shallow part of the fault.

"So if all of a sudden, we saw that the deep part of the fault was slipping a huge amount, it might be an indication that there was an in-

creased chance of having an earthquake come at the shallower part of the fault," he said.

By looking at how the rate of activity varied over a two-week tidal cycle, Van der Elst and Shelly found in their study that the fault produced more low-frequency earthquakes if the tidal stress was larger than it was the day before.

It's like the fault has an earthquake budget, Van der Elst said. "If you used them up yesterday, you don't have as many to trigger today. By actually measuring that, we get an estimate of what that stress budget is."

Essentially, scientists now have a way to measure the fault's recharge time in

certain locations.

"Scientifically, it's really cool because we don't have any other way to directly estimate that number — the rate at which stress is accumulating on the fault," Van der Elst said.

"This is another study that's adding to our knowledge of how faults work in this transition."

But, he added: "We don't quite know yet what it's going to mean in the long term, whether it'll result in some sort of warning that an earthquake is coming. We're going to have to monitor it for a lot longer."

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## DUI is alleged in girl's death

Woman crashed into a home while driving four children without seat belts, police say.

By JOSEPH SERNA

A woman was driving intoxicated and with four children not wearing seat belts inside the car when she lost control and smashed into a house in South L.A., killing a young passenger, police said.

Erica Lynn Naranjo, 36, was released from the hospital and booked into county jail about 3:30 a.m. Monday on suspicion of vehicular manslaughter while driving under the influence in connection with the crash on East 93rd Street in Green Meadows, Sheriff's Department records show.

Authorities said that Naranjo was southbound on McKinley Avenue when she lost control of her beige sedan and crashed into a home on the southeast corner of 93rd Street about 5:45 p.m. Sunday.

Inside the car with Naranjo were a 7-year-old girl and three boys, ages 6 years, 4 years and 18 months, Los Angeles Fire Department officials said.

The girl, identified as Angelina Lynn Naranjo, died from her injuries. The boys were rushed to the hospital with critical injuries, police said. None were wearing seat belts when the crash occurred, police told KTLA.

"Seat belts certainly would've made a difference," LAPD Sgt. Allan Rabina said. "Sometimes speed is such an overwhelming factor ... at least seat belts would've minimized or mitigated the injuries."

Los Angeles fire dispatchers received a series of 911 calls from witnesses beginning at 5:47 p.m. Sunday, after the sedan crashed through a white fence and smashed into a brick exterior wall of the house in the 700 block of East 93rd Street.

The driver was temporarily trapped in the wreckage, LAFD spokesman Brian Humphrey said. The 7-year-old girl was, "sadly, beyond our help," Humphrey said. Rescuers pronounced her dead at the scene.

DMV records show Naranjo's driver's license expired in May. She is being held in lieu of \$100,000 bail.

No one inside the home was injured.

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Times staff writer Jack Dolan contributed to this report.

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## OBITUARIES

MELVIN DURSLAG, 1921-2016

# Sportswriter and columnist

BY JILL LEOVY

**M**elvin Durslag, a sports columnist who covered the Los Angeles scene for decades beginning in 1939, died Sunday at a convalescent home in Santa Monica after a brief illness, according to friend and former colleague Larry Stewart. He was 95.

Durslag was said to string "together words like Nolan Ryan strings together strikeouts," in the words of former Dodgers manager Tommy Lasorda.

Durslag was born in Chicago on April 29, 1921, to William and Frieda Durslag. His father was a clothing salesman and his mother worked in a sandwich shop.

He came to L.A. as a child. He began his career while still a student at Los Angeles High School, said Doug Krikorian, another former colleague. That first job had Durslag stringing newspaper stories for 10 cents an inch. He joined the Los Angeles Examiner's staff while still a freshman at USC.

Durslag served in the Army Air Forces during World War II and went on to a prolific career at what was later the Herald Examiner, chronicling changes in L.A.'s sports world. He began writing sports columns for Hearst papers in the 1950s, penning seven columns a week for national syndication, Krikorian said.

In 1960, when Otis Chandler took over as publisher of the Los Angeles Times, his marching order was to hire a "great sports columnist,"

former sports editor Bill Dwyre said. It came down to Jim Murray and Durslag. The Times hired Murray in 1961, and the two spent years facing off at rival papers.

Durslag wrote in support of the referendum making it possible to build Dodger Stadium in Chavez Ravine, and of the move to relocate the Raiders to L.A.

After the Herald Examiner folded, Durslag joined the Times in 1989 and wrote his last column in May 1991 after 51 years on the job.

By then, he was established as "the elder statesman of the Los Angeles sporting literati," Krikorian wrote at the time in a Long Beach Press-Telegram piece. He described Durslag as "a courtly gentleman with a keen sense of humor," and tallied the events he had covered in his long career — 10 Olympic Games, 34 World Series, 25 Super Bowls.

Tim Tesselone, USC's sports information director, remembers following Durslag's column for years.

"He was a staple of the Southland sports scene," Tesselone said. "He had a voice and the pulse of the L.A. sports scene. He was never afraid to express his opinion and was a must read."

In his parting column, Durslag noted, with his usual tongue-in-cheek style, that despite all his years in California, he had yet to attend a Rose Parade or camp in Yosemite.

He is survived by his wife of 68 years, Lorayne; children Bill, Jim and Ivy Durslag; and three grandchildren.

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# Police seek to ID woman in photo

[Shaming, from B3]

LAPD Capt. Andrew Neiman said the department received a report of an "illegal distribution" of the image last week from LA Fitness.

On Friday, LA Fitness responded to Mathers' action by permanently revoking her membership at all of its health clubs.

"Her behavior is appalling and puts every member at risk of losing their privacy," said Jill Greuling, the company's executive vice president of operations. The company would not say at which gym the incident occurred.

"Our written rules are very clear: Cellphone usage and photography are prohibited in the locker rooms," Greuling said. "This is not only our rule, but common decency."

Mathers issued an apology on Snapchat and she apparently deleted her Twitter and Instagram accounts.

"That was absolutely wrong and not what I meant to do," she said. "I know that body-shaming is wrong. That is not the type of person I am."

She said the photo was meant to be sent as a private message but was posted

publicly.

State law prohibits recording and photographing someone in a private setting in which they have a reasonable expectation of privacy. Such a crime is a misdemeanor punishable by up to six months in jail.

Although Mathers' attorney might argue she didn't mean to post the photo publicly, Gorin said her comments could be used to show her motive for taking the photo in the first place.

Prominent defense attorney Lou Shapiro noted that images posted on Snapchat are temporary and are automatically deleted after 24 hours. Still, he said, "a judge could take a dim view of the action and really want to see her punished."

For now, detectives at the LAPD's West Los Angeles station are piecing together the facts. As of Monday, they were still looking for the woman photographed in the locker room.

"Without a victim, we can't go forward," said LAPD spokeswoman Jenny Houser.

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PAUL ARCHULETA FilmMagIt

**MATHERS** apologized for posting the Snapchat photo, saying, "I know that body-shaming is wrong."



K.C. ALFRED San Diego Union-Tribune

## TAKING THE PLUNGE

San Diego Junior Lifeguards leap off the Ocean Beach Pier as part of their training Monday. For a fee, members of the public also could jump, with proceeds going to the local Junior Lifeguard Foundation.

# Police kill man carrying shotgun

BY VERONICA ROCHA

A man armed with a sawed-off shotgun was shot dead by San Bernardino police Saturday after a report of a stolen vehicle, authorities said.

An officer was driving about 9:18 p.m. near Highland and Mt. View avenues when he saw Cody Wayne

Jarrett, 26, driving a stolen Honda Accord, according to Police Lt. Rich Lawhead.

Police said the car was reported stolen that day in Yucaipa.

Jarrett, a San Bernardino resident, drove into the parking lot of a market and got out of the Honda with a sawed-off shotgun, Lawhead said.

Jarrett ran to the rear of

the store, and the officer followed, he said.

At some point, the officer deployed his Taser, but it was ineffective, Lawhead said.

"When the suspect got up the second time after being Tased, the officer realized that the suspect was armed with a sawed-off shotgun," he said.

The officer and Jarrett

had a confrontation, and the shooting occurred, police said.

Police Chief Jarrod Borgan said Jarrett was taken to St. Bernardine Medical Center, where he later died.

The officer, he said, was OK.

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# OBITUARY NOTICES

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## CARB, Melvin Eugene

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## CHAMBERLAIN, Ruby Comfort

July 8, 1925 - July 14, 2016

Our beloved Mother and Grandmother Ruby passed away on July 14, 2016 in Granite Bay, California at the age of 91. She was born on July 8, 1925 in Chicago Heights, IL to Ruben and Opal Robertson. She was married to Lamond Chamberlain on March 1, 1942 and was the devoted Mother of three sons - Douglas, Scott, and Robert. Ruby will always be remembered for her captivating style and beauty, energetic spirit, sense of humor, and unconditional love for her family that included 11 Grandchildren and 33 Great-Grandchildren. In her later years Ruby was cared for by her devoted son Scott Chamberlain. Ruby will be deeply missed and forever cherished. She was preceded in death by her husband Lamond and son Douglas. A viewing will be held on Wednesday, July 20, 2016 from 1:00 - 3:00pm at PRICE FUNERAL CHAPEL (6335 Sunrise Blvd., Citrus Heights, CA, 916-725-2109). Additionally, a graveside service will be held on Friday, July 22, 2016 at 2:00pm at Westminster Memorial Park (14801 Beach Blvd., Westminster, CA 92683). For further information, please visit [pricefuneralchapel.com](http://pricefuneralchapel.com).



## DAU, Ralph

February 27, 1938 - July 14, 2016

Ralph "Bud" Dau dies at 78; Los Angeles County Superior Court Judge and Former Litigator.

Ralph W. Dau, Los Angeles County Superior Court Judge and former partner with the law firm of O'Melveny & Myers, has died. He was 78.

Surrounded by his family, Judge Dau died on Thursday in Los Angeles, bringing to a close a distinguished 50-year legal career.

Born in Milwaukee to Ralph and Angie Dau, he was raised in Dallas, where his work ethic first made an appearance in elementary school with a paper route by bicycle before dawn.

Through a Naval ROTC scholarship, he earned a bachelor's degree from The University of Texas at Austin in 1959. Upon graduation, he was commissioned as an Ensign in the United States Navy and later promoted to Lieutenant (junior grade). He served aboard a destroyer in the Pacific as weapons officer until 1963, and saw duty off the coast of the Republic of China during the period when an invasion of Taiwan was threatened and with the first U.S. task force to patrol in the Gulf of Tonkin at the outset of the Vietnam War.

Judge Dau received a law degree with Honors from The University of Texas School of Law in 1966, and was elected to Order of the Coif. He served on the board of editors of the Texas Law Review, and was its Comment Editor in 1965-1966. He was admitted to the Texas Bar in 1966, followed by the California Bar in 1967.

He spent almost 30 years in trial and appellate practice with O'Melveny & Myers in Los Angeles, where he specialized in complex litigation with a focus on environmental law, insurance and constitutional litigation. He became a partner in 1974, organized and ran the firm's trial advocacy program from 1983 to 1991, and became the first chair of the firm's environmental law practice group in 1991.

Appointed by Governor Pete Wilson, he served as a Los Angeles County Superior Court Judge beginning in 1995, with the majority of his service in an unlimited civil trial department in the Mosk Courthouse in downtown Los Angeles. In 1999, he was assigned by the Chairperson of the Judicial Council to sit Pro Tem on the Court of Appeal. He moved to a dedicated trial courtroom in 2015.

Praised for his intellect, integrity and exhaustive approach to the pursuit of justice, Judge Dau handled thousands of cases in his courtroom, typically managing a case load of more than 300. Numerous affirmances by the appellate courts attest to the quality of his decisions. Upon learning of his death, his judicial colleagues described him as "a gentleman of the highest order," "a man of grace and dignity," "who served justice as a meticulous craftsman and as an exemplar of judicial virtue."

Those close to him enjoyed Judge Dau's dry sense of humor, wit and mischievous nature. He was a voracious reader, and held a deep appreciation for classical music, regularly attending the Los Angeles Philharmonic. He enjoyed hiking in the Sierras with friends, skiing in Colorado with family, and sailing with anyone who was brave enough to climb aboard knowing they would be docking under sail. He was a member of the California Club.

Judge Dau is survived by his wife of 52 years, Marilyn, their son Ramsey and daughter Sara Jones, and by his grandson Kevin Jones. He treasured his friends and family, who he considered to be "the joy of his life."

A funeral service will be held on Wednesday, July 20 at 11:30 am at St. Bede the Venerable Church in La Canada Flintridge.  
Cabot & Sons, Pasadena Directors

## DOROSHKIN, Alvin

Mount Sinai Memorial Parks and Mortuaries 800-600-0076  
[www.mountsinainaparks.org](http://www.mountsinainaparks.org)

## LEEMON HEFT, Andrea

Mount Sinai Memorial Parks and Mortuaries 800-600-0076  
[www.mountsinainaparks.org](http://www.mountsinainaparks.org)

## NASH, Virginia Journey

June 6, 1923 - July 5, 2016

Virginia Journey Nash, 93, of Garden Grove and Stanton, CA, passed away on July 5, 2016. Virginia, daughter of David and Jessie Journey, loving wife of Walter M. Nash, deceased, is survived by daughter Charmaine Nash Simmons and son Jeffrey Nash; his wife Kathleen, two grandsons and a great-granddaughter. Virginia grew up in the Greensboro, NC area and lived there until WWII ended. She married Walter M. Nash, a former USAF pilot. In 1954, they settled in Garden Grove and established Nash Realty on Chapman Avenue. Virginia was a strong and loving mother, a successful businesswoman and inspirational to her entire family. She enjoyed the great outdoors, charity activities and church fellowship as well as her grandchildren and family holidays. She is greatly missed by her friends and family.

Services will be held Saturday, July 23rd, 2016 at 10:00 a.m. at Garden Grove United Methodist Church. In lieu of flowers, memorials may be directed to the church operating fund.

## Cemetery Lots/Crypts

Beautiful Inglewood Park Cemetery plot 105D available in the highly desirable Cherry Blossom area. List price \$12,190 asking \$9,000 OBO. Call 805-478-7061 or email [lumvrotties5@yahoo.com](mailto:lumvrotties5@yahoo.com)

## Honor a life

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Los Angeles Times

## Alfred Thomas Villeneuve

March 14, 1930 - July 15, 2016

A gentle and loving family man, Alfred "Fritz" Villeneuve passed away peacefully in the early morning hours of July 15th at home surrounded by loved ones. Born in Syracuse, NY to Frank and Elizabeth, he grew up with three sisters - Mary, Doris and Margot. Fritz attended Manhattan College and Syracuse University, where he earned a Ph.D in Electrical Engineering and where he met the love of his life and steady partner for over sixty years - Mary Anne Smith. They married in 1956 and together have raised five children, traveled the world, contributed to the community in innumerable ways and have cherished their life together.

An Electrical Engineer with Hughes Aircraft Company for 30 years, Fritz was an intellectually curious man with an extraordinary ability to solve complex antenna design problems. He was a scout leader, family camp trumpeter and an active parishioner at Visitation Church.

Fritz loved his family and delighted in their activities and adventures, sometimes joining in. His twelve grandchildren adore him and are grateful for the memories of a life well lived that he leaves for them and their parents to emulate. His five children and their spouses appreciate the lessons he imparted about integrity, hard work and most of all being a loving partner.

Fritz loved a good pun; sometimes just for the halibut. He could nap almost anywhere. He nurtured a love-hate relationship with golf, never giving himself enough credit for his game. A trumpet player until hearing loss became too great an impediment, Fritz passed on a love of music to the next generations. Spending time with his children and grandchildren at Lake Tahoe each summer was especially sweet; ending the day on the deck with an ice cold beer and a big smile is how he will be remembered.

Fritz is survived by his wife of sixty years Mary Anne; children Tom (Victoria), Anne (Stuart), John (Deborah), Joe (Jennifer), and Ed (Mitzi); grandchildren Nicole, Greg, Jesse, Daniel, Cassidy, Rachael, Michael, AJ, Sam, Dylan, Zachary and Jenna; his sister Sister Doris Villeneuve, CSJ; and Junod, Burke and Alberg nieces and nephews and their families.

A funeral mass will be held Wednesday, July 20th at 11 a.m. at Visitation Church, 6561 W. 88th Street, Los Angeles, CA 90045. Donations may be made in Fritz's memory to Carondelet Center, 11999 Chalon Rd., Los Angeles, CA 90049 or to Sarah's Guesthouse <http://sarahsguesthouse.org/>

To place an obituary ad please go online to:

[latimes.com/placeobituary](http://latimes.com/placeobituary)

or call  
1-800-234-4444

Los Angeles Times

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1-800-234-4444

Los Angeles Times

THE WEATHER

Today in Southern California

Mostly sunny, seasonably warm: A waning upper-level trough across the Pacific Northwest and an expanding upper-level high pressure system centered to the east will raise temperatures the rest of the week. The building upper-level high will keep the marine influence and onshore flow to a minimum, leading to plenty of sunshine today and Wednesday.

5-day forecasts

High/low temperatures are average forecasts for entire zone.

	L.A. Basin	Valleys	Beaches	Mountains	Deserts
Today	85 63 Partly cloudy	90 65 Mostly sunny	78 63 Low clouds, then sun	82 55 Mostly sunny	111 82 Mostly sunny; warm
Wednesday	Mostly sunny 87/65	Mostly sunny 93/67	Afternoon sun 81/64	Mostly sunny 83/51	Sunny 111/85
Thursday	Mostly sunny 90/66	Mostly sunny 96/70	Afternoon sun 85/64	Mostly sunny 81/52	Sunny 113/85
Friday	Sunny; warm 93/65	Sunny; hot 101/71	Partly cloudy 89/64	Sunny 85/53	Sunny 116/87
Saturday	Sunny 94/65	Sunny; hot 102/65	Sunny; warm 90/64	Partly sunny 87/55	Some sun 115/87

**Los Angeles Basin:** Low clouds quickly clearing to sunshine during the morning. A seasonably warm afternoon.

**Valleys/canyons:** Sunny and seasonably warm. Clear tonight.

**Orange County:** Low clouds along the coastal plain quickly clearing to sun; seasonably warm. Low coastal clouds late tonight.

**Ventura/Santa Barbara:** Low clouds and fog mainly at the coast to start; clearing to sunshine by noon.

**San Diego County:** Areas of low clouds to start; otherwise, mostly sunny with near-average temperatures. Coastal clouds late tonight.

**Local mountains:** Mostly sunny and seasonably warm. Mostly clear tonight.

**High desert:** Sunny and seasonably hot with a windy afternoon. Clear tonight

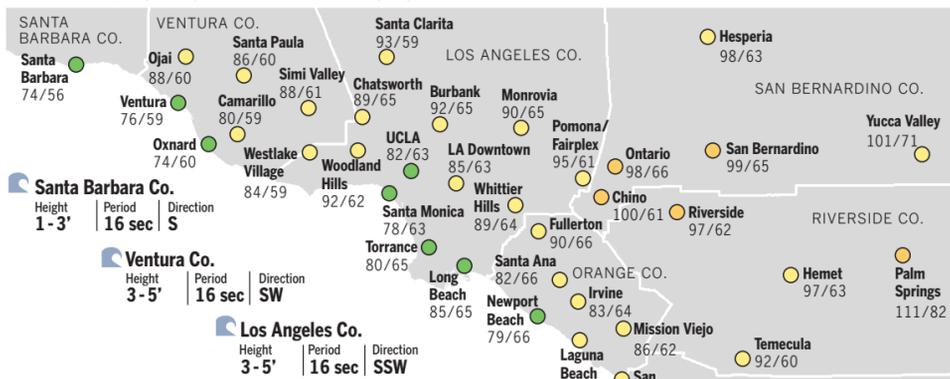
**Low desert:** Sunny and seasonably hot; breezy during the afternoon. Clear and warm tonight.

**San Francisco Bay Area:** Low clouds across most of the area during the morning; mostly sunny and windy in the afternoon.

Air quality

Good Moderate Unhealthy for: Sensitive people All Not Available

South Coast Air Quality Management District forecasts air quality



Surf and sea

POINT CONCEPTION TO MEXICO  
Inner waters: Wind becoming west 10-20 knots. Wind waves 1-5 feet; mixed west and south swells 2-4 feet.

Surf zone: Potential for rip currents is high today along beaches in Los Angeles, Ventura and Orange counties; dangerous conditions expected. A moderate risk in San Diego County.

Station	Time	Wind	Waves	Temp
Morro Bay	4p	W8	3/13	59/68
Santa Barbara	4p	SW8	3/16	66/74
Ventura	4p	WSW12	5/16	67/75
Zuma Beach	4p	WSW12	4/16	67/73
Marina del Rey	4p	SW12	4/16	69/77
Hermosa Beach	4p	WSW12	4/16	67/76
Cabrillo Beach	4p	WSW12	5/16	67/76
Hunt'n' Beach	4p	WSW11	4/16	67/79
Newport Beach	4p	W10	4/16	68/78
Dana Point	4p	W10	4/16	69/78
San Clemente	4p	W10	4/16	72/80
Oceanside	4p	W10	4/16	73/74
Solana Beach	4p	W10	4/16	73/78
Mission Beach	4p	WNW10	4/16	73/76
Avalon	4p	W10	4/16	64/78

Tides

L.A. Outer Harbor, in feet.  
Today 10:26a 4.1 Hi 4:03a -0.6 Lo  
9:30p 6.3 Hi 3:17p 2.0 Lo  
Wed. 11:00a 4.2 Hi 4:36a -0.7 Lo  
10:07p 6.2 Hi 3:57p 1.9 Lo

Almanac

Monday Downtown readings  
Temperature Los Angeles Fullerton Ventura  
High/low 82/65 89/65 75/64  
High/low a year ago 87/65 90/68 78/60  
Normal high/low for date 84/64 84/65 74/58  
Record high/date 97/1936 93/2009 86/1955  
Record low/date 53/1884 62/2011 51/1966  
Precipitation  
24-hour total (as of 4 p.m.) 0.00 0.00 0.00  
Season total (since Oct. 1) 6.88 5.26 8.43  
Last season (Oct. 1 to date) 8.83 6.58 8.05  
Season norm (Oct. 1 to date) 14.77 13.69 16.41  
Humidity (high/low) 86/48 80/25 84/63

UV index

Minutes to burn for sensitive people  
Las Vegas, 25  
Los Angeles, 25  
Phoenix, 25  
San Francisco, 25

Sun and moon

Today's rise/set  
Los Angeles County  
Sun 5:56a/8:03p  
Moon 7:52p/5:45a  
Orange County  
Sun 5:55a/8:01p  
Moon 7:51p/5:44a  
Ventura County  
Sun 5:59a/8:08p  
Moon 7:57p/5:48a

California cities

City	Monday	Today	Wed.
	Hi Lo Prcp.	Hi Lo	Hi Lo
Anaheim	87 65 -- 89 63	91 64	
Avalon/Catalina	72 56 -- 77 62	80 63	
Bakersfield	96 68 -- 96 66	97 68	
Barstow	106 73 -- 107 76	107 78	
Beaumont	94 64 -- 95 64	97 66	
Big Bear Lake	78 54 -- 82 55	83 51	
Bishop	100 51 -- 100 54	101 57	
Burbank	88 62 -- 92 65	96 68	
Cambridge	78 65 -- 80 59	81 61	
Chatsworth	93 61 -- 89 65	92 67	
Chino	95 60 -- 100 61	103 63	
Dana Point	72 65 -- 79 65	81 66	
Death Valley	116 92 -- 115 79	115 80	
Del Mar	70 66 -- 75 65	76 66	
Escondido	86 65 -- 87 59	89 62	
Eureka	66 55 .03 62	50 61 51	
Fallbrook	85 63 -- 87 61	88 63	
Fillmore	90 59 -- 89 58	92 61	
Fresno	94 63 -- 96 65	97 66	
Fullerton	89 65 -- 90 66	93 68	
Hemet	95 64 -- 97 63	100 67	
Hesperia	95 68 -- 98 63	99 65	
Huntington Beach	77 64 -- 79 66	80 67	
Idyllwild	84 55 -- 87 63	89 65	
Irvine	80 68 -- 83 64	84 65	
L.A. D'town/USC	82 65 -- 85 63	87 65	
L.A. Int'l. Airport	76 66 -- 77 65	80 66	

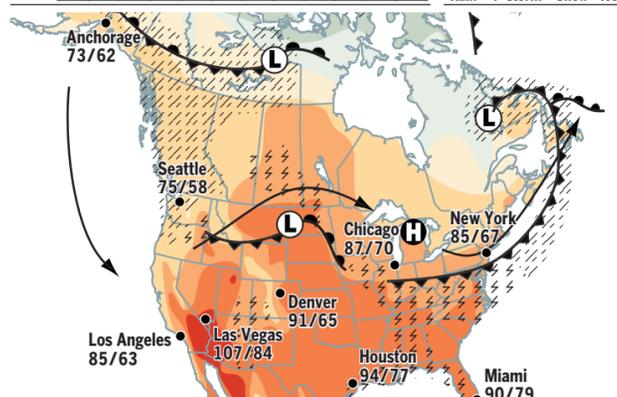
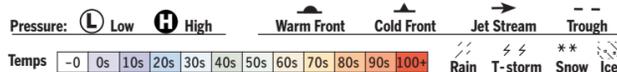
City	Monday	Today	Wed.
	Hi Lo Prcp.	Hi Lo	Hi Lo
Laguna Beach	78 68 -- 79 65	81 65	
Lancaster	96 66 -- 99 66	102 70	
Long Beach	84 64 -- 85 65	87 66	
Mammoth Lakes	80 44 -- 83 43	84 45	
Mission Viejo	90 65 -- 86 62	89 64	
Monrovia	92 59 -- 90 65	93 67	
Monterey	66 56 -- 65 53	64 51	
Mt. Wilson	82 62 -- 84 61	87 62	
Needles	111 90 -- 112 89	114 89	
Newport Beach	73 67 -- 79 66	80 67	
Northridge	92 60 -- 92 64	96 66	
Oakland	70 58 -- 69 56	69 56	
Oceanside	78 66 -- 83 59	84 61	
Ojai	93 53 -- 88 60	90 60	
Ontario	94 62 -- 98 66	101 68	
Oxnard	74 64 -- 74 60	75 61	
Palm Springs	108 81 -- 111 82	111 85	
Pasadena	88 62 -- 89 63	92 66	
Paso Robles	93 53 -- 92 51	96 53	
Pomona/Fairplex	93 60 -- 95 61	98 64	
Poway	86 61 -- 83 64	85 65	
Redding	86 63 -- 89 61	92 62	
Rialto	97 60 -- 98 65	101 67	
Riverside	94 63 -- 97 62	100 64	

City	Monday	Today	Wed.
	Hi Lo Prcp.	Hi Lo	Hi Lo
Sacramento	82 56 -- 85 55	87 54	
San Bernardino	95 64 -- 99 65	102 67	
San Clemente Pier	68 57 -- 81 62	83 65	
San Diego	74 65 -- 77 67	79 68	
San Francisco	69 56 -- 68 55	69 55	
San Gabriel	xx xx -- 93 64	96 66	
San Jose	73 58 -- 74 56	76 54	
San Luis Obispo	79 57 -- 77 53	80 54	
Santa Ana	78 66 -- 82 66	83 67	
Santa Barbara	71 60 -- 74 56	76 58	
Santa Clarita	93 71 -- 93 59	96 63	
Santa Paula	88 55 -- 86 60	91 61	
Santa Monica Pier	76 65 -- 78 63	81 64	
Santa Rosa	88 55 -- 86 60	91 61	
San Jose	79 52 -- 78 49	80 47	
Simi Valley	86 57 -- 88 61	91 63	
Tahoe Valley	74 54 -- 76 42	79 43	
Temecula	90 60 -- 92 60	94 61	
Thousand Oaks	79 59 -- 83 59	86 61	
Torrance	79 66 -- 80 65	82 68	
UCLA	77 63 -- 82 63	85 64	
Van Nuys	92 60 -- 96 66	99 68	
Ventura	75 64 -- 76 59	77 61	
Whittier Hills	89 62 -- 89 64	92 66	
Woodland Hills	94 58 -- 92 62	96 64	
Wrightwood	82 64 -- 89 62	91 64	
Yorba Linda	90 62 -- 92 62	94 64	
Yosemite Valley	91 54 -- 87 53	90 56	

Forecasts provided by AccuWeather, Inc. ©2016

Today in North America

Clearing in the Northeast: In the wake of a cold front, the Northeast and Great Lakes will be dry and relatively mild. Steamy air will persist over the mid-Atlantic and Southeast with scattered storms. The Rockies and the Southwest will see thunderstorms.



U.S. cities

High 116 in Death Valley, Calif.  
Low 24 in Bodie State Park, Calif.

City	Monday	Today
	Hi Lo Prcp.	Hi Lo Sky
Albuquerque	97 70 Tr	92 70 Pc
Amarillo	95 69 --	95 69 Pc
Anchorage	80 57 --	73 62 Cy
Atlanta	93 74 .04	93 72 Ts
Atlantic City	85 76 .33	84 70 Su
Austin	98 71 --	96 75 Pc
Baltimore	94 72 .12	88 66 Pc
Birmingham	94 58 .08	97 62 Ts
Birmingham	94 73 .04	94 76 Ts
Boise	96 62 --	92 60 Su
Boston	95 68 .09	81 64 Su
Brownsville	96 78 --	92 76 Pc
Buffalo	85 73 .01	78 58 Su
Burlington, Vt.	85 67 .22	74 55 Su
Casper	94 51 Tr	93 58 Pc
Charleston, S.C.	89 74 .16	90 75 Ts
Charleston, W.Va.	87 68 .11	86 63 Ts
Charlotte	93 71 --	92 70 Ts
Chicago	88 71 .07	87 70 Su
Cincinnati	87 73 .40	88 67 Pc
Cleveland	86 72 .28	83 62 Su
Colorado Springs	91 59 Tr	89 64 Pc
Columbia, S.C.	96 72 .12	96 74 Ts
Columbus	88 68 .34	87 64 Su
Concord, N.H.	90 63 .15	79 50 Su
Dallas/Ft.Worth	95 79 --	96 80 Su
Denver	95 58 .19	91 65 Ts
Des Moines	87 70 .42	92 77 Ts
Detroit	88 72 .04	84 64 Su
Duluth	78 59 .02	81 65 Su
El Paso	102 76 --	97 74 Pc
Eugene	74 61 --	78 52 Ts
Fairbanks	58 56 .86	65 54 Sh
Fargo	86 57 Tr	88 72 Ts
Flagstaff	78 59 Tr	78 52 Ts
Grand Junction	93 75 .03	89 67 Pc
Grand Rapids	86 72 --	88 63 Su
Green Bay	83 61 --	84 67 Su
Heartford	96 68 .05	83 56 Su
Helena	89 57 .10	93 58 Su
Honolulu	87 76 .12	89 77 Sh
Houston	97 76 .24	94 77 Ts
Indianapolis	82 67 2.71	88 69 Su
Jacksonville, Fla.	91 72 Tr	91 71 Ts
Kansas City	90 73 --	93 76 Pc
Las Vegas	107 84 --	107 84 Su
Little Rock	98 79 --	96 77 Pc
Louisville	86 76 .03	91 73 Ts
Medford	81 63 --	83 57 Pc
Memphis	96 78 .16	97 79 Pc
Miami	92 77 .08	90 79 Sh
Milwaukee	87 68 .20	85 68 Su
Minneapolis	88 67 --	87 74 Su
Nashville	97 73 --	93 73 Ts
New Orleans	91 81 .34	93 79 Ts
New York	93 77 .35	86 66 Su
Oklahoma City	95 70 --	94 73 Pc
Omaha	86 68 2.24	91 78 Pc
Orlando	94 78 7.33	92 76 Ts
Philadelphia	96 76 .68	88 69 Su
Phoenix	106 84 .04	106 88 Pc
Pittsburgh	87 75 .01	84 59 Su
Portland, Maine	85 64 .06	77 55 Su
Portland, Ore.	77 63 .01	77 61 Pc
Providence	92 70 .01	84 61 Pc
Pueblo	96 63 Tr	99 66 Pc
Raleigh	93 73 --	90 70 Ts
Rapid City	95 61 .01	98 65 Pc
Reno	86 60 --	88 56 Su
Richmond	93 73 --	88 68 Ts
St. Louis	95 80 .04	95 77 Pc
Salt Lake City	98 78 --	100 75 Su
San Antonio	97 77 --	95 77 Pc
San Juan, P.R.	88 75 .20	89 79 Pc
Santa Fe	95 68 Tr	91 60 Pc
Seattle	70 60 .04	75 58 Pc



Taken at 3 p.m. Monday

Spokane	83 61 Tr	78 58 Pc
Springfield, Mo.	93 73 --	92 73 Pc
Tallahassee	94 75 .04	93 74 Ts
Tampa	95 75 .13	92 77 Ts
Tucson	98 74 .30	98 78 Ts
Tulsa	96 72 --	97 77 Pc
Washington, D.C.	95 77 .15	90 71 Pc
Wichita	99 73 --	96 76 Pc
Yuma	107 83 --	108 84 Su

World

Acapulco	92 78 .10	90 77 Ts
Amsterdam	77 60 --	85 66 Su
Athens	90 77 --	89 76 Su
Baghdad	117 83 --	119 88 Su
Bangkok	97 81 .14	96 80 Ts
Barbados	87 79 .05	87 79 Sh
Beijing	90 70 .01	78 72 Ts
Berlin	70 63 --	77 58 Ts
Buenos Aires	52 36 --	53 37 Pc
Cabo San Lucas	95 76 --	93 77 Su
Cairo	91 77 --	94 75 Su
Calgary	73 48 .05	75 51 Su
Cancun	90 77 .30	86 75 Pc
Copenhagen	67 57 .30	69 58 Pc
Dublin	79 61 --	75 61 Ts
Edinburgh	73 57 .16	77 62 Su
Frankfurt	84 63 --	86 64 Su
Geneva	88 57 --	88 62 Su
Havana	90 73 .25	87 73 Ts
Ho Chi Minh City	93 77 .14	91 77 Ts
Hong Kong	91 83 .19	90 81 Cy
Istanbul	82 75 --	83 71 Su
Jerusalem	87 68 --	85 68 Su
Johannesburg	62 37 --	65 39 Su
Kabul	93 69 --	91 59 Su
Kingston	90 82 .07	90 79 Ts
London	84 61 --	89 70 Su
Madrid	100 68 --	103 74 Hz
Manila	97 81 --	93 78 Ts
Mecca	109 88 --	108 80 Su
Mexico City	77 55 .12	73 52 Ts
Montreal	84 68 .12	74 59 Pc
Moscow	79 63 .10	78 66 Sh
Mumbai	88 79 1.00	83 79 R
New Delhi	90 79 .38	96 83 Pc
Oslo	70 48 .04	71 56 Pc
Paris	88 63 --	94 70 Su
Rio de Janeiro	70 64 --	72 65 Su
Rome	84 61 --	88 67 Su
Seoul	81 66	

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

'If you want someone to fight for you ... I can assure you he is the guy. He will never, ever give up... He will never, ever let you down.'

— MELANIA TRUMP



DELEGATES CHEER after a voice vote beating back a revolt by anti-Trump forces. The upheaval was just one of many signs this would not be a typical convention. Photographs by BRIAN VAN DER BRUG Los Angeles Times

# Reality TV from Cleveland

[Day One, from B1] not only the GOP but also many of the norms of politics and civil discourse.

Just three hours after the four-day convention was gavelled open, chaos briefly descended when anti-Trump activists sought to force a vote on a rule that would have allowed delegates to vote as they wished instead of being bound to the presumptive nominee.

The presiding chairman briefly fled the stage rather than allow a potentially embarrassing roll call vote, prompting a wave of boos and shouts, which Trump backers sought to drown out with chants of "U-S-A!"

After several minutes of tumult, Rep. Steve Womack of Arkansas took the stage wielding the gavel and called for a voice vote instead of polling delegates. With that, a majority shouted its affirmation and turned back the anti-Trump forces, who vowed to fight on.

But on the convention stage at least, there was not a discouraging word.

In the session's most robust appearance, a hollering and arm-waving Rudolph W. Giuliani, the former mayor of New York, shouted out a



WILLIE ROBERTSON of TV's "Duck Dynasty" said onstage that "Donald Trump will have your back."

vociferous endorsement of the presumptive nominee.

"I am sick and tired of the defamation of Donald Trump by the media and by the Clinton campaign!" he said as delegates leaped to their feet with a roar. "I am sick and tired of it!"

The program had the politically idiosyncratic mark of Trump, though it fell short of his boastful preview; he had promised A-list stars, but several on the podium were no longer household names or never had been.

Although the day's theme was security at home and abroad, and the lineup of speakers included several

with military and other backgrounds to inform their views, there were many more personalities with no obviously relevant credentials, and the scattershot nature of their addresses reflected that.

Melania Trump, who appeared as the featured speaker in TV's prime time, is a former fashion model who studied architecture and design.

Willie Robertson, who stars in the reality show "Duck Dynasty," opened the program with his long hair wrapped in a star-spangled bandanna.

"I can promise you this:

No matter who you are, Donald Trump will have your back," Robertson said, a line he repeated several times referring to America's service members, business owners, police officers, job hunters and those who feel "the deck is stacked against you and you just can't win."

"He may not always tell you what you want to hear. You may not always agree. And it may not always be politically correct," Robertson said. "But ... Donald Trump will always, always, tell you the truth as he sees it."

Moments of gravity mixed in with the celebrity froth.

Several speakers spoke intimately about the 2012 attack on the diplomatic outpost in Benghazi, Libya, which killed four Americans — an event Republicans blame on Clinton. Several in the convention hall were moved to tears.

The mother of one victim, Sean Smith, spoke of her frustration dealing with the State Department, which Clinton led at the time, and accused Clinton of lying to her about the cause of the attack, which was initially attributed to an inflammatory video.

"How could she do this to me?" Patricia Smith said, her voice choked with emotion. "How could she do this to any American family?"

But in a fitting coda to one of the odder days in recent convention history, the evening petered to a close after Melania Trump finished her speech, walking off arm in arm with her husband.

The overwhelming majority of delegates quickly abandoned the hall. By the time one of the night's featured speakers, Iowa Sen. Joni Ernst, took the stage, she addressed a cavern of empty seats.

The upheaval at the afternoon session was just one of many signs this would not be a typical convention, robotically scripted and hermetically designed to eliminate the slightest discord.

The sun had barely cleared the high rises overlooking Lake Erie when the chairman of Trump's campaign, Paul Manafort, took a rhetorical jab at the host governor, Ohio's John Kasich, an erstwhile Trump rival for the GOP nomination. Kasich has refused to endorse Trump and said he would steer clear of the convention stage.

"He's making a big mistake," Manafort said on MSNBC, drawing groans from an audience sitting in. "He's hurting his state and embarrassing his state, frankly."

Kasich defenders immediately fired back on Twitter, one of Trump's favorite creative outlets, suggesting Manafort, in the words of Ohio Republican Chairman Matt Borges, "still has a lot to learn about Ohio politics."

Manafort, however, was far from contrite.

At a morning briefing with reporters, he reiterated his criticism of Kasich, then turned his sights on Republicans' dynastic Bush family. In a break with custom, former President George H.W. Bush and his son, former President George W. Bush, are boycotting the convention along with others in their extended political clan.

"Certainly the Bush family, while we would have liked to have had them, they're part of the past," Manafort said. "We're dealing with the future."

Setting out the week's intended themes — getting voters to look anew at Trump, litigating the "failures of the Obama administration," attacking Clinton — Manafort suggested the lowest priority was unifying the party.

"The unification is happening," he said despite evidence to the contrary. "We hope that when the Bush family decides to participate again in the political process, they will join us. But healing takes time, and we understand that."

It was clear many in the party were still coming around to accepting Trump, who defeated a number of long-serving stalwarts, including former Florida Gov. Jeb Bush, to seize the GOP nomination.

At a gathering of Iowa delegates, the state's veteran U.S. senator, Charles E. Grassley, plainly acknowledged many in the party still have doubts about Trump. Tell them "two words," Grassley advised: "Supreme Court."

Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker hit the same note, telling Iowans that "whether Donald Trump was your first choice, your second choice or your 17th choice," he is "better than Hillary Clinton."

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Times staff writers Cathleen Decker, David Lauter, Lisa Mascaró, Seema Mehta, Melanie Mason and James Queally contributed to this report.

# Packing body armor, just in case

[Outside, from B1] everyone who finds out I'm going to be covering the protests outside the Republican National Convention has asked me a version of the same question: How bad do you think it will be? Will there be riots? Will protesters get in fights with Trump supporters? Will a lot of people bring guns (which is allowed under Ohio law)?

My answer each time has been: I really don't know. But like many other journalists, I packed body armor just in case, and would have brought a gas mask if the Cleveland City Council hadn't banned them. Sunday a man was arrested when officials said he tried to rip away the gas mask strapped to a state trooper's side. They think he may be mentally ill.

"Can you hit ctrl+alt+delete for me?" a security agent asks as I try to enter the fenced-in security zone, where journalists are prompted to open their laptops and power them on. A woman in front of me can't get hers to turn on. Dead battery. She's sent away to plug it in. The security agent

sees my password screen, swipes his finger randomly across the keyboard to enter a jibberish password and hits Enter. Incorrect password, but the right answer. It's not a bomb.

I regret to report that my mother isn't pleased that I'm here.

**'Dysfunctional veteran — leave me alone'**  
Day 1, 12:25 p.m.

At a pro-Trump rally on the Cuyahoga River waterfront, I saw a man in a U.S. Marines vest with a patch that said, "DYSFUNCTIONAL VETERAN — LEAVE ME ALONE."

Of course I had to talk to him. "Los Angeles Times!" Mike Welch barked, immediately frowning at a liberal reporter who would twist his words. He took out his phone to take a picture of my ID badge. I promised I would record what he had to say and give him a fair shot, so Welch, still feisty, said he came from Michigan to prevent leftist protesters from shutting down the Republican National Convention.

"Bill Ayers I would like to meet. I come to these to find



"I DON'T want terrorism to come to nobody," says Mike Welch, whose brother was killed in a bombing.

him," Welch said, referring to the man who co-founded the Weather Underground during the leftist domestic bombing campaigns of the 1970s. "And when I do — you can have that — I'm going to kick his ass."

Welch wanted tougher immigration laws, a tougher fight on terrorism. He was sickened by the recent terror in France, sickened by the recent nuclear deal with Iran. Terrorism, in fact, was deeply personal to him.

That's why he was for Trump.

"They killed my brother. They killed him," Welch said, projecting disbelief. "Chief Warrant Officer Kenneth Welch. Defense intelligence. The last bombing in Beirut." A suicide car bomber attacked the U.S. Embassy in Lebanon on Sept. 20, 1984, and two Americans were among the dead. "Michael Ray Wagner of the Navy, and my brother.... Nobody gives a

damn today because they're too busy running around."

Welch had a photo of his brother and his brother's name and rank sewn onto the front of his vest. On the back of Welch's vest were the names and photos of other fallen service members: Staff Sgt. Gregory McCoy. Sgt. Chad J. Vollmer. Spc. Holly McGeogh. Pfc. Casey Mason.

"I don't want terrorism to come to nobody. It destroyed my mom. It destroyed our family. For what?" For international politics, Welch said.

"Now we go to Arlington to see him, see a name on the wall. George Bush Sr. asked if we were proud of him. You know what? I was proud of him while he was alive. I don't need him blown apart to see his name on the wall; we didn't need that from him. So when families are affected, you see the bitterness that comes back. You think I am, my mother was five times worse. So I'm here for him, and people like him that served."

Welch sounded sad now. "Sorry about the cuss words."

matt.pearce@latimes.com

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

‘The Bush family, while we would have liked to have had them, they’re part of the past. We’re dealing with the future.’

— PAUL MANAFORT, Donald Trump’s campaign manager

# A missed opportunity for Trump

[Analysis, from B1]

Despite the ostensible message of safety, the shootings of and by police that have riveted the nation in recent weeks were barely mentioned, except for in praise of the police. Only one speaker, former New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, even mentioned civilian deaths and that came amid a screaming, arm-flailing defense of law enforcement.

More than a dozen speakers spent far more time on criticism of Clinton and Obama than on any sustained effort to explain the direction that Trump would take beyond generalities attesting to his toughness. Even that message was somewhat undercut as Melania Trump talked of her husband’s big heart and cast him as a softie.

Other speakers used language and images of the sort that have tormented the Republican Party in its efforts to expand its reach among general election voters, who are less conservative and less white than those who dominate GOP primaries.

One speaker, actor Scott Baio, pointedly said that being American “doesn’t mean getting free stuff,” the precise wording that Republicans have used to characterize the government programs that they contend poor and minority Democrats abuse. That came before Melania Trump asserted that her husband planned “new programs to help the poor.”

Others referred to “illegal aliens,” a term offensive to many Latinos, a group that Republicans promised to focus on after they lost the last election and before Trump fueled his campaign with talk of building a huge wall on the Mexican border and used the terms “murderers” and “rapists” to describe Mexican immigrants coming to the U.S. illegally.

Lengthy speeches were devoted to the attack on the U.S. mission in Libya in 2012, when Clinton served as secretary of State. That issue remains a potent one among core Republican voters, but after myriad investigations into Benghazi, most of those voters are probably already in Trump’s camp.

Among the headline speakers, only one, Arkansas Sen. Tom Cotton, overtly reached out to voters who did not participate in the



**IN KEEPING WITH** the night’s theme of “Make America Safe Again,” former New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani delivered a screaming, arm-flailing defense of law enforcement during his speech at the Republican National Convention in Cleveland.

Republican primaries.

“My generation is willing to fight so that our children might live in peace,” said Cotton, who served as an Army officer in Iraq and Afghanistan. “And for that cause, I speak tonight not only to Republicans, but to the millions of Independents and Democrats who share that dream and who wish to make America safe again.”

By contrast, one of the final speakers, retired Lt. Gen. Michael Flynn, struck a partisan tone that was harsh even by the standards of political conventions.

“Yeah, that’s right, lock her up,” Flynn said of Clinton, who he said should drop out of the campaign because of her use of a private server to house her emails while secretary of State. “You’re damn right, exactly right,” he added as the crowd began

to chant “lock her up.”

Part of the problem for Republican convention planners is that most of Trump’s plans remain on the drawing board. His campaign has rested on more general statements about the need for economic change, a closing of the borders, lessened trade and a less interventionist policy abroad.

The lack of a specific set of plans that each speaker could hammer home may represent a lost opportunity for Trump—one he can ill afford given that he trails, if narrowly, in most polls and faces a financial deficit in the general election.

Other lost opportunities have been visible as the convention neared.

An interview broadcast Sunday on CBS’s “60 Minutes” designed to showcase the relationship be-

tween Trump and his new running mate, Gov. Mike Pence of Indiana, demonstrated the differences between them on key subjects — trade, the Iraq war, negative campaigning.

On Monday morning, rather than remain focused on what he would bring to the country, Trump instead delved into innuendo about President Obama’s loyalties.

In an interview on Fox News, Trump agreed with the host’s repetition of a prior guest’s comment that Obama “has blood on his hands” when it comes to violence against police officers. Referring to Obama’s speech to the nation Sunday, Trump called the president “a great divider.”

“I mean, you know, I watched the president and sometimes the words are OK, but you just look at the

body language. There’s something going on,” Trump told the Fox anchors. “Look, there’s something going on and the words are not often OK, by the way.”

“What does that mean, there’s something going on?” host Steve Doocy asked.

“There’s just a bad feeling, a lot of bad feeling about him,” Trump said.

Seconds later, after host Brian Kilmeade referred to assertions by other Republicans that African Americans often are treated more severely by law enforcement, Trump asserted that there’s “definitely something going on there also.”

Clinton took the opposite tack. In a speech Monday to the NAACP in Cincinnati, she insisted that rather than a nation divided over race relations, America was coming

together.

“Yes, we have made progress,” she said. “We can see the results in classrooms where children of all races side by side, in boardrooms and break rooms where workers of all backgrounds are able to earn a living and support their families, every level of government where more and more the people we elect to represent America actually look like America.”

Of the police shootings in Dallas and Baton Rouge, La., and earlier shootings by police of black men, she said, “This madness has to stop.”

Clinton outlined specifics to improve relations between African Americans and law enforcement, to improve the lot of struggling blacks and to provide more accountability and support to police.

That was the kind of approach that might have been expected to be on the agenda Monday night, as Trump opened the convention that will give him the nomination. Instead, there was little to help guide the decisions of the undecided voters who will determine the election.

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## A multi-front offensive by Clinton team

Speeches to teachers and NAACP and ads take aim at Trump’s character and record.

By EVAN HALPER

WASHINGTON — As Republicans gavelled in their national convention in Cleveland on Monday, Hillary Clinton wasted no time in launching counter-programming, taunting Donald Trump and offering a vision for confronting the recent spate of violence in American communities that is starkly different than his.

Taking the stage at an NAACP conference in Cincinnati, Clinton mocked Trump for declining to join her at the event. She described him as a bigot, a sexist and a xenophobe, among other things, before launching into an anecdote about the first time her publicity-friendly opponent spoke to the New York Times.

It was in 1973, she said, when his family businesses was accused by the government of discriminating against black people seeking to rent apartments.

“We have heard a lot of troubling things from Donald Trump,” she said. “But that one is shocking.”

The attacks from Clinton, which were to continue later in the day during an address before the American Federation of Teachers in Minnesota, were the apex Monday of a large-scale disruption effort by the Demo-



JOHN SOMMERS II Getty Images

**HILLARY CLINTON** speaks to NAACP leader Cornell William Brooks before her address to his group.

crats. Following a time-honored tradition during conventions, the Clinton campaign and its allies are working furiously to get voters to question everything they are seeing in Cleveland.

They attacked on multiple fronts. The lead pro-Clinton super PAC, Priorities USA Action, rolled out an anti-Trump ad that will play on screens inside the taxicabs of Cleveland an estimated 28,000 times. The PAC is also spending heavily to treat social media users who log in at the convention site to images of some of the more notorious figures who have praised Trump, including former Ku Klux Klan head David Duke and North Korean leader Kim Jong Un, alongside the words “He’s with Trump.”

Back at Clinton cam-

paign headquarters in Brooklyn, they created an expertly produced reprisal of an ad Democrats ran in 1964, when Barry Goldwater was the GOP nominee.

The current installment is a Web ad titled “Confessions of a Republican II.” In it, a self-identified Republican actor, who as a young man appeared in the original ad against Goldwater, returns to say Trump does not represent his values and, frankly, scares him.

The Clinton campaign also invited its supporters to sign an open letter to Trump that lists the many reasons it finds him detestable. By late afternoon, it had 20,000 electronic signatures.

Clinton also announced at the NAACP convention a registration drive intended to bring 3 million new voters to the polls.

Her speech to the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People came as both she and Trump find their campaigns overshadowed by the shooting deaths of three police officers in Baton Rouge, La., over the weekend, the latest incident in an epidemic of violence that has claimed as victims several police officers, as well as African American civilians who were killed by police.

As Trump positions himself as the “law and order” candidate whose answer to the violence is cracking down on lawbreakers, with little patience for movements such as Black Lives Matter, Clinton warns that the problems can be solved only by rooting out racism from the criminal justice system. She is also pushing for new gun-control laws.

The conflicting approaches reflect the different groups of voters each candidate is courting. Trump won the Republican nomination in large part because of his appeal to disgruntled whites. His message continues to target white voters, and particularly white male voters, even as they have shrunk considerably as a share of the overall electorate. He is looking to his message against free trade to nonetheless increase the number of whites who vote Republican by attracting Democratic-leaning blue-collar voters.

Clinton is seeking to recreate the diverse coalition of voters that twice propelled President Obama to

victory. Even amid the shootings of police that have raised concerns about personal safety among Americans, Clinton is not backing away from railing against the different ways whites and minorities are treated by police, the deaths of black men in police custody and the surge in the country’s prison population.

“Let’s admit it,” she said. “There is clear evidence that African Americans are disproportionately killed in police incidents compared to any other group.... Something is profoundly wrong. We can’t ignore that. We can’t wish it away. We have to make it right.”

Clinton used her platform before the NAACP to tear into Trump’s record on issues of equality, accusing him of demeaning the first African American president by accusing him of not being a U.S. citizen, playing “coy with white supremacists,” showing disrespect for women and wanting to “ban an entire religion” with his plan to block Muslims from entering the country.

“At times like these, we need a president who can help pull us together, not split us apart,” Clinton said. “I will work every single day to do just that. The Republican nominee for president will do the exact opposite. He might say otherwise if he were here, but of course he declined your invitation. So all we can go on is what he has said and done in the past.”

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