

DANIEL ELLSBERG 1931-2023



WALLY FONG/AP

Daniel Ellsberg in 1973 in Los Angeles, where he was on trial. The judge, citing governmental misconduct, declared a mistrial.

Leaker exposed secrets of Vietnam War

Pentagon Papers' publication contributed to Nixon's downfall as well as stronger press freedoms

BY HARRISON SMITH
AND PATRICIA SULLIVAN

Daniel Ellsberg, who leaked the voluminous, top-secret history of the Vietnam War known as the Pentagon Papers, a disclosure that led to a landmark Supreme Court ruling on press freedoms and enraged the Nixon administration — serving as the catalyst for a series of White House-directed burglaries and “dirty tricks” that snowballed into the Watergate scandal — died June 16 at his home in Kensington, Calif. He was 92.

The family confirmed his death in a statement. Mr. Ellsberg announced in an email to friends and supporters on March 1 that he had pancreatic cancer and had

declined chemotherapy. Whatever time he had left, he said, would be spent giving talks and interviews about the Russian invasion of Ukraine, the perils of nuclear war and the importance of First Amendment protections.

Mr. Ellsberg, a Harvard-educated Midwesterner with a PhD in economics, was in some respects an unlikely peace activist. He had served in the Marine Corps after college, wanting to prove his mettle, and emerged as a fervent cold warrior while working as an official at the Defense Department, a military analyst at the Rand Corp. and a consultant for the State Department, which dispatched him to Saigon in 1965 to assess counterinsurgency efforts.

Crisscrossing the Vietnamese countryside, where he joined American and South Vietnamese troops on patrol, he became increasingly disillusioned by the war effort, concluding that there was no chance of success.

He went on to embrace a life of advocacy, which extended from his 1971 leak of the Pentagon Papers — a disclosure that led Henry Kissinger, President Richard M. Nixon's national security adviser, to privately brand him “the most dangerous man in America” — to decades of work advocating for press freedoms and the anti-nuclear movement.

Mr. Ellsberg co-founded the Freedom of the Press Foundation and championed

SEE ELLSBERG ON A7

DOJ finds years of police abuses in Minneapolis

‘SYSTEMIC PROBLEMS’ LONG BEFORE FLOYD

89-page report details discrimination, excessive force

BY DAVID NAKAMURA,
MARK BERMAN
AND HOLLY BAILEY

The Minneapolis Police Department routinely used excessive force and discriminated against Black and Native American people in the years before one of its officers killed George Floyd, federal authorities said Friday.

In an 89-page report that followed a more than two-year federal civil rights investigation, the Justice Department excoriated the Minneapolis police force as an agency that put officers and local residents at unnecessary risk, failed to act upon repeated warnings about biased behavior

and countenanced the “systemic problems” that gave way to Floyd's death in 2020.

The report's release came a little more than three years after Floyd, a Black man, was filmed gasping for air while pinned down by Derek Chauvin, a White police officer in Minneapolis, on Memorial Day in 2020. Floyd's death helped ignite nationwide protests over policing and social and racial injustice, and Chauvin was convicted of murder the following year.

The Justice Department

SEE MINNEAPOLIS ON A6

Report: Seven conclusions from the Justice Department report. **A6**

Pa. synagogue gunman guilty on all 63 counts

BY DAVID NAKAMURA

A Pennsylvania man was found guilty Friday on federal charges of fatally shooting 11 people and wounding seven others at a Pittsburgh synagogue in 2018, a verdict that makes him eligible for the death penalty for what authorities say was the deadliest antisemitic attack in U.S. history.

A 12-member jury in federal court in Pittsburgh convicted Robert G. Bowers, 50, of Baldwin, Pa., on all 63 counts, including hate crimes and weapons violations, after two weeks of searing testimony from dozens of prosecution witnesses. Among

those who testified were survivors, including police officers, who had been shot during the attack.

Prosecutors also played haunting 911 emergency calls, during which victims could be heard screaming and struggling to breathe before dying amid rapid gunfire from Bowers, who used an AR-15 semiautomatic rifle and three handguns.

Five police officers were wounded as they attempted to apprehend Bowers during the attack on Oct. 27, 2018, in the Squirrel Hill neighborhood, a longtime Jewish enclave. Bowers fatally shot six victims in the

SEE VERDICT ON A14

Grizzlies star Morant gets 25-game suspension

BY GUS GARCIA-ROBERTS,
MOLLY HENSLEY-CLANCY
AND BEN GOLLIVER

The NBA on Friday suspended point guard Ja Morant for 25 games after he appeared to flash a gun on Instagram Live a second time, derailing the upcoming season for one of the league's most ascendant but troubled stars and his team, the Memphis Grizzlies.

In a statement, Commissioner Adam Silver called Morant's actions “alarming and disconcerting.”

“For Ja, basketball needs to take a back seat at this time,” Silver said, adding Morant will have to “fulfill a program with the league that directly addresses the circumstances that led him to repeat this destructive behavior.”

In a statement released Friday, Morant apologized to the NBA, SEE MORANT ON A2

BY DESMOND BUTLER
AND ALICE LI

Chapter 1: The natural

Onstage at the 2014 Texas Shredder Classic, Candace Foxx couldn't see the crowd through the klieg lights, but she could just about make out the judges.

The 35-year-old bodybuilder flexed her muscles, focusing on the poses she'd been practicing for years. She knew that her legs were more impressive than her upper body, and her right side was better than the left.

Turning her back to the judges, she curled her arms, squeezed her shoulder blades together and opened her back muscles like a bird spreading its wings. It had taken her two years to master what bodybuilders call the “lat spread.”

After 39 athletes had performed the prescribed poses, the

SEE SURVIVORS ON A8

BUILT & BROKEN

The Survivors

She was told she had to take steroids to compete in bodybuilding.
He ignored health warnings and nearly lost his life.



TIM MCDONAGH FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

They support DeSantis, but not his law on migrants

BY MARIA SACCHETTI

HIALEAH, FLA. — When Pastor David Monduy heard last year that migrant families fresh from the U.S.-Mexico border had nowhere to live in Florida, he transformed his conservative evangelical church into a shelter.

He allowed migrants to sleep on air mattresses in the Sunday-school classrooms, bathe in portable showers next to the “God Is Love” sign in the parking lot and borrow bicycles to ride to work.

So, he was appalled last month when Gov. Ron DeSantis signed a new law expected to make it more difficult for undocumented immigrants to work or seek medical treatment in Florida.

Monduy and many other Latino pastors voted for the governor and

SEE DESANTIS ON A4

Ground game: Allies get to work training a door-knocking army. **A5**

IN THE NEWS



SERGEI SUPINSKY/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Missile attack Russia launched airstrikes as a delegation of African leaders visited Kyiv with a proposal aimed at halting the war. **A11**

THE NATION **Engineers** investigating the Surfside condominium collapse in Florida identified stress on the pool deck as a “leading hypothesis” for the building's failure. **A3** **The Biden** administration announced Mandy Cohen, a former North Carolina health secretary, as the new director of the CDC. **A3**

THE WORLD **Peru** extended a health emergency across much

of the country after recording more than 140,000 cases of dengue fever, an outbreak that has led to at least 200 deaths. **A10** **Secretary of State** Antony Blinken will face a frosty welcome in China, amid tense economic relations with Beijing. **A11** **Japanese lawmakers** adopted legislation to raise the age of sexual consent to 16 from 13, changing an age limit that had existed since

1907. **A12**

THE ECONOMY **A growing array** of apps and gadgets are making it easier to appreciate and take care of your plants. **A13** **UPS union workers'** vote to authorize a strike brings the country a step closer to the largest work stoppage in 26 years. **A13**

THE REGION **Environmental** and historic preservation groups filed a motion to undo approval for a project that would add toll lanes to the Capital

Beltway and I-270 in Maryland. **B1** **The D.C. office** cleaners union is negotiating higher wages after the risks its workers took during the pandemic. **B1** **A GOP primary** fight in Virginia between an establishment-friendly candidate and an outsider could be a test of Gov. Glenn Youngkin's staying power. **B1** **Parents** at Mundo Verde Bilingual Public Charter in D.C. said teacher turnover and administrative inaction has hurt their children's education. **B1**

INSIDE



STYLE **Quench this!** Attitude and a sense of humor help Liquid Death sell its canned water. **C1**

SPORTS **Berhalter is back** U.S. Soccer reappointed Gregg Berhalter as coach of its men's team after a chaotic six months. **D1**

BUSINESS NEWS.....A13
COMICS.....C5
OPINION PAGES.....A15
OBITUARIES.....B4
SPORTS.....D1
TELEVISION.....C3
WORLD NEWS.....A10

CONTENT © 2023
The Washington Post / Year 146, No. 53519
0 70628 121100 3

The Washington Post

NEWSPAPER DELIVERY
For home delivery comments or concerns contact us at washingtonpost.com/subscriberservices or send us an email at homedelivery@washpost.com or call 202-334-6100 or 800-477-4679

TO SUBSCRIBE
800-753-POST (7678)

TO ADVERTISE
washingtonpost.com/mediakit
Classified: 202-334-6200
Display: 202-334-7642

MAIN PHONE NUMBER
202-334-6000

TO REACH THE NEWSROOM
Metro: 202-334-7300;
metro@washpost.com
National: 202-334-7410;
national@washpost.com
Business: 202-334-7320;
business@washpost.com
Sports: 202-334-7350;
sports@washpost.com
Investigative: 202-334-6179;
investigations@washpost.com
Style: 202-334-7535;
style@washpost.com
Reader Advocate: 202-334-7582;
readers@washpost.com

TO REACH THE OPINION PAGES
Letters to the editor:
letters@washpost.com or call 202-334-6215
Opinion:
oped@washpost.com
Published daily (ISSN 0190-8286).
POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Washington Post, 1301 K St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20071.
Periodicals postage paid in Washington, D.C., and additional mailing office.



Download The Washington Post app

Stay informed with award-winning national and international news, PLUS complete local news coverage of the D.C. metro area. Create customized news alerts, save articles for offline reading in My Post, browse the daily print edition and scroll through our the Discover tab to find stories that interest you. Free to download on the App Store and Play Store, subscribers enjoy unlimited access.

CORRECTIONS

The Washington Post is committed to correcting errors that appear in the newspaper. Those interested in contacting the paper for that purpose can:
Email: corrections@washpost.com.
Call: 202-334-6000, and ask to be connected to the desk involved — National, Foreign, Metro, Style, Sports, Business or any of the weekly sections. Comments can be directed to The Post's reader advocate, who can be reached at 202-334-7582 or readers@washpost.com.

Bipartisan letter escalates U.S.-South Africa tensions over Russia



Federal Insider
JOE DAVIDSON

The six months since Washington hosted an African trade conference have seen a notable bump in business with the continent and a troubling deterioration in relations with its top continental trading partner.

President Biden's U.S.-Africa Leaders Summit in December resulted in \$15.7 billion in trade agreements between American companies and African countries and companies, diplomat Johnnie Carson told an international video news conference Tuesday. "Since then, the number of deals has actually increased to \$16.2 billion," said Carson, the special presidential representative for summit implementation.

Since December, the Biden administration has demonstrated its commitment to Africa with nine trips by senior officials, "an unprecedented number of high-level visits to the continent," added National Security Council Senior Director for African Affairs Judd Devermont, "and of course it will be culminated with a trip by President Biden."

But now, the U.S. relationship with one of its major continental partners, South Africa, is pained because of its business with Russia.

The latest manifestation of that was a bipartisan letter last week from congressional leaders urging Biden to move a planned U.S.-led trade forum from South Africa and questioning its

eligibility for continued inclusion in the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA), which includes broad duty-free access to American markets and, as the legislators said, "is the cornerstone of the United States' economic relationship with sub-Saharan Africa."

The letter writers are an influential group, with all but one of the Democratic and Republican leaders of the Senate and House committees on foreign matters. The first signature on the letter is Sen. Christopher A. Coons (D-Del.), chairman of the Senate Appropriations subcommittee on foreign operations. But, equally important, he is known for his close relationship with his most prominent constituent — President Biden.

Other signers were Rep. Michael McCaul (R-Tex.), House Foreign Affairs Committee chairman; Rep. Gregory W. Meeks (D-N.Y.), the ranking Democrat on the House panel; and Sen. James E. Risch (R-Idaho) the top Republican on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Notably missing from the letter was Sen. Robert Menendez (D-N.J.), chairman of the Senate committee.

The letter complained that despite being formally neutral on Russia's invasion of Ukraine, South Africa "has deepened its military relationship with Russia over the past year."

According to the letter, intelligence suggests that the South African government covertly supplied arms and ammunition to a Russian cargo vessel subject to U.S. sanctions

that docked in its largest port last year. South Africa also held joint military exercises with Russia and China in February. Two months later, a South African air force base hosted a Russian military cargo plane, which also faces U.S. sanctions.

"On top of this, in August, South Africa will host the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) Summit where the government aims to strengthen its ties with China and Russia and is working to facilitate the participation of Russian President Vladimir Putin, despite the outstanding arrest warrant issued by the International Criminal Court (ICC)," the letter adds.

South African officials in Pretoria and Washington could not be reached for comment.

Mkhuseleli "Khusta" Jack, who fought the country's racist rule and now is a Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality council member, said "the majority of people here will be badly hurt" if Washington downgrades economic ties to South Africa. But the United States could be hurt too, financially and with declining Africa influence, as competition from BRICS countries grows. U.S. trade with its largest African trading partner, South Africa, totaled \$24.5 billion in 2021, according to the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative. Imports were more than two-thirds of that, \$16.8 billion.

While Jack supports strong U.S. involvement in South Africa, he said by video call that "even people like me will always feel affection for the Soviet Union because of its stance at the time

when the West was totally opposed to us fighting against apartheid. But the current Russia is no Soviet Union. It's something completely different."

Washington has no right to dictate Pretoria's foreign policy, but the congressmen cited AGOA's requirement that beneficiary countries "not engage in activities that undermine United States ... foreign policy interests."

Yet, the activities the letter cites include the unproven allegation about South African covert arms supply to Russia and a visit by Putin that hasn't happened yet. It's also ironic that the congressional leaders cite the international court warrant when the United States has rejected membership in the court.

That leaves the joint military exercises and the landing of a Russian cargo plane. Is that enough to disrupt what has been a generally close relationship with an important regional leader?

Meeks described the letter, in a phone interview, as "leverage," or a warning about possible U.S. repercussions if Pretoria gets too cozy with Moscow as it wages war on Ukraine. "It's trying to get them to do a course correction," he said. "It would be damaging to them if Putin would show up in Johannesburg for the BRICS conference."

Molly Phee, the assistant secretary of state for Africa, pointedly noted Washington's "expectation that the South African Government will adhere" to its policy of nonalignment. South Africans are divided on

issues involving the United States and Russia, explained Rich Mkhondo, a South African political commentator in a phone interview from Durban, South Africa. There is an affinity for America and its many companies providing jobs, goods and services in South Africa. Yet they reject U.S. hypocrisy, he added, that allows U.S. officials to "criticize people who support Russia's atrocities, while they've also committed atrocities around the world."

Bob Wekesa, deputy director of the African Center for the Study of the United States at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, called the congressional letter "an escalation of tensions" and warned that "a hard stance by the United States might hasten South Africa's embrace of Russia and the BRICS." This year, Wekesa is a visiting fellow at the University of Southern California's Washington campus. Moving the AGOA forum from South Africa would "embolden those who do want to see the government align more closely with Russia and China," said Krista Johnson, director of the Howard University Center for African Studies.

Yet even if Washington excludes Pretoria from AGOA, other bilateral activities will continue and both sides will get over this, predicted Melvin P. Foote, president and CEO of Constituency for Africa.

"I don't think the U.S. wants to dump South Africa," Foote said, "and I don't think South Africa wants to dump the United States."

NBA suspends Morant 25 games after gun video

MORANT FROM AF

the Grizzlies, his fans and his sponsors, saying he would spend his suspension training and working on his "mental health and decision making."

"I know my teammates are going to hold it down and I'm so sorry I won't be out there with you at the beginning of the season," Morant said. "I hope you'll give me a chance to prove to you over time I'm a better man than what I've been showing you."

The Grizzlies issued a terse statement saying the team respected the league's decision.

Tamika Tremaglio, the head of the National Basketball Players Association, said in a statement Morant's suspension was "excessive and inappropriate for a number of reasons" and it was "not fair and consistent" with previous punishments.

"Ja has expressed his remorse and accepted responsibility for his actions, and we support him unequivocally as he does whatever is necessary to represent himself, our players and our league in the best possible light," Tremaglio said. "We will explore with Ja all options and next steps."

Morant and the NBPA have 30 days to formally appeal the suspension to an arbitrator, who would review the terms of the suspension and could reduce its length and accompanying financial penalties. Morant has not yet decided to proceed with an appeal, but he could expect the arbitrator to issue a ruling before the start of the 2023-24 season, according to people with direct knowledge of the situation.

An appeal effort could be centered on Morant's punishment relative to other gun-related incidents and the NBA's nebulous return-to-play requirements. Ste-

phen Jackson was suspended seven games in 2007 for pleading guilty to criminal recklessness after he fired a gun outside a strip club, and Raymond Felton was suspended four games in 2014 after he pleaded guilty to criminal possession of a firearm. Morant hasn't faced any criminal charges related to either of his gun videos, and he wasn't found to have brought a firearm into a team facility like Gilbert Arenas did in 2009.

Previously, the NBPA raised concerns with the NBA's implementation of return-to-play requirements for Kyrie Irving, who was suspended by the Brooklyn Nets for his refusal to apologize after promoting an antisemitic film on his social media accounts.

Morant was suspended eight games last season for streaming himself on Instagram Live with a gun in a Colorado strip club, a punishment largely seen as the league offering a second chance to a supremely talented player who was poised to be one of its biggest stars and pitchers.

But in May, two months after an apology tour that included meeting with Silver and expressing contrition in an ESPN interview, Morant again appeared to flash a gun in a car while his friend broadcast live on Instagram. The two gun videos came on the heels of allegations Morant and his friends attacked a teenager at his home, accosted a mall security guard and got in a confrontation with high school students at a volleyball game.

Silver indicated in recent public comments that he planned to levy a far more significant suspension this time, remarking he was "shocked" by the latest video and he didn't want to announce his decision until after the NBA Finals so as not to distract from the



TIM NWACHUKWU/GETTY IMAGES

Memphis's Ja Morant flashed a gun in an Instagram video last month after he was suspended for eight games last season for a similar incident. He plans to work on his "mental health and decision making."

series between the Denver Nuggets and Miami Heat.

The suspension, one of the longest in NBA history, will sideline Morant from the start of the 2023-24 season in mid-October through early December. The two-time all-star guard will miss out on \$7.6 million of his \$33.5 million salary for next season during the suspension; Morant's first suspension cost him more than \$668,000 in lost salary, and he missed out on approximately \$39 million in additional salary because he wasn't named to an all-NBA team this season.

Because of a rule in the new NBA collective bargaining agreement requiring players to appear in at least 65 games to qualify for postseason awards, Morant also will be ineligible for MVP or all-NBA consideration in 2024.

It is the third-longest gun-related ban in NBA history. Then-Washington Wizards Arenas and

Javaris Crittenton were suspended 50 and 38 games, respectively, for bringing guns into the locker room.

Morant, 23, rose from obscurity in rural South Carolina to win the 2020 rookie of the year award, riveting NBA fans with electric play and gravity-defying dunks. A two-time all-star, he earned a contract extension worth \$193 million and had begun to build a formidable brand, announcing a signature shoe with Nike and a deal to become the new face of Powerade.

But in recent months, Morant has been plagued by scandals that raised questions about his judgment.

Morant is being sued by the Memphis-area teenager he admitted punching during a pickup game on the grounds of his Tennessee mansion. Morant has since countersued, claiming he punched the teenager in self-de-

fense and blaming the negative publicity for his costly all-NBA snub — though he lost roughly a tenth of that season because of the first gun-related suspension.

Morant was part of two other incidents last summer in which police were involved, The Washington Post has reported. A shoe salesman and security guard told police Morant and his associates threatened them in a disturbance at a local mall. In September, Morant and his family stormed a volleyball game at his sister's high school, where somebody with Morant allegedly threatened teenagers and slapped a cellphone out of one of their hands, according to the police report.

Morant was not charged in any incident. But The Post previously reported police in Memphis repeatedly didn't follow up with alleged victims and neglected leads when it came to investigating the city's most famous resident.

Newspaper publishes, then retracts, letter bashing dead teen's pronouns

BY ANDREA SALCEDO

Laura Adelman-Cannon of New Orleans was drinking her morning coffee when her husband abruptly tossed their local newspaper aside.

"And I can't believe they published it," Adelman-Cannon recounted her husband saying on Wednesday.

The Times-Picayune/The Advocate, the papers owned by the same company, had published two stories and a separate obituary on the death of her 17-year-old child Belle Adelman-Cannon after she was struck by a school bus on June 3. But now the paper had printed a letter to the editor that referred to her child's pronouns as an "inner confusion" and a "whimsical ideation," Adelman-Cannon, 48, told The Washington Post. Her child was gender fluid and used she/he/they pronouns.

The Times-Picayune/The Advocate on Wednesday retracted the letter, which criticized the papers for using the teen's identifying pronouns and was published in Wednesday's newspapers and online. The papers issued an editor's note the same day apologizing for what they said was a mistake.

"On Wednesday, June 14, The Times-Picayune | The Advocate published a letter that did not meet our editorial standards and was insensitive to a local family's grief," the editor's note read. "We apologize for the error."

Rene Sanchez, The Times-Picayune/The Advocate's executive editor and vice president for news, told The Washington Post in a statement that they had apologized to the family and would use this incident to "review and improve our process for vetting reader letters."

"Our editorial standards require treating all families and their communities with full respect, especially when they are coping with grief," Sanchez said. "We removed the letter [on Wednesday] as soon as senior editors became aware it had published. We sincerely regret the hurt it caused and apologize for it."

Adelman-Cannon said an editor with the paper called her later that night to apologize for the "mistake."

The incident comes at a time when transgender youth are being targeted by conservative state legislatures across the country with bills banning them from sports, using their pronouns in school, preventing them from using certain restrooms and undergoing gender-affirming surgery.

When reached for comment, the author of the letter to the editor, David Larose, told The Post

that he stood by his submission. "I do not wish to be disrespectful," he wrote, "but an individual's inner confusion — a whimsical ideation — is not a sufficient reason to blithely ignore thousands of years of convention."

Belle told her parents around eighth grade that she identified as gender fluid and would like everyone to address her using she/he/they pronouns.

Belle's identity was as fluid as the many languages she spoke — French, German, Hebrew and Chinese, her mother said. They were as fluid as the poetry they wrote and the movement of the needles they used to sew her own clothes.

She looked forward to working part-time at a local youth farm growing sustainable food and serving as a counselor at a Jewish camp this summer.

"Belle was extremely proud of who they were, of their queerness

and their Jewishness, and never once felt the need to apologize for that," Adelman-Cannon said.

Last year, Belle and a group of other Benjamin Franklin High School students walked out of classes to protest a set of local bills that would ban the discussion of LGBTQ issues in some public classrooms, bar transgender athletes from girls' sports and ban gender-affirming care for children.

On Wednesday, minutes after reading the letter in the opinion section, Adelman-Cannon grabbed her phone to type another letter responding to the stranger's opinion.

She was supposed to return to work for the first time since Belle's death that day, but she would not let this man win — not because she believed what he said about her child to be true but because other children like Belle shouldn't be-

lieve a word of what the paper published, she said.

"Maybe there is someone that thinks their pronouns are not valid," Adelman-Cannon said. "I want the other children who aren't in families like ours to know that they are not alone. I just don't want that to be the last word. I want that child to know, 'No, you are loved. You have a right to be wholly yourself and there's *nothing* wrong with you.'"

The papers published her letter to the editor online that same day. A copy of the letter ran in Thursday's newspaper, which they get delivered to their home daily.

When Adelman-Cannon opened Thursday's paper, she saw the last word was hers.

"It's out there," she said. "That means that there's someone who can see that they are loved, they are whole and that they are not broken."

POLITICS & THE NATION

Surfside investigation points to pool deck as likely trigger

Faulty design and excess weight under scrutiny, but findings not complete

BY TIM CRAIG

Structural engineers investigating the deadly 2021 collapse of the Champlain Towers South condominium building in Surfside, Fla., have identified the pool deck as a “leading hypothesis” for what triggered the building’s failure but say it will still take more than a year to finalize their inquiry, officials told a federal committee Thursday.

At a day-long series of presentations before the National Construction Safety Team Advisory Committee (NCSTAC), investigators said they are heavily scrutinizing the building’s pool deck area because of a “series of safety concerns” at the time of the collapse.

The investigators pointed to “multiple compounding factors” that put stress on the pool deck, including a faulty original design, subsequent substandard renovations and stress caused by extra weight placed on the elevated structure, including landscaping planters.

“All of these factors combined to result in margin against failures in some areas that were critically low at the time of collapse,” said Glenn R. Bell, associate lead investigator of the inquiry.

But as South Florida prepares to mark the two-year anniversary of a building collapse that killed 98 people, Bell cautioned that his team’s findings are preliminary. Investigators continue to explore as many as two dozen other potential causes for the tragedy.

In addition to the prevailing theory of a faulty pool deck, officials said they continue to explore whether the building failure could have originated in the 12-story tower itself — either by “construction deficiencies,” “overstressed” support beams or “extraordinary loading” elsewhere in the structure, such as a



GERALD HERBERT/AP

Rescue personnel work at the remains of the Champlain Towers South condo building on June 25, 2021, in Surfside, Fla., where 98 people died. In addition to the leading theory, investigators are also exploring whether the fault originated with the building’s construction itself.

vehicle striking a support beam.

But as of now, officials say they have not unearthed much to support theories that the collapse itself started in the tower.

“It seems more likely that something moving in the tower may have triggered an already overloaded pool deck area that failed and then progressed back into the rest of the system,” said Jack Moehle, a project leader for the investigation.

Within weeks of the building’s collapse, several major outlets, including the Miami Herald and The Washington Post, published investigations that pinpointed the pool deck area as the likely cause of the accident. Thursday’s investigative report, first report-

ed by the New York Times, indicates that federal authorities continue to home in on the pool deck as the likely trigger.

Officials said they hope to complete the technical analysis of their investigation by April 2024. It will take another year after that for them to write a final report and identify recommendations that can be incorporated into building codes and national engineering standards.

Bell, an engineer with the National Institute of Standards and Technology, urged both the families of the victims and the public to be patient as the investigative process plays out over the next two years. He said the stakes are too high for investigators to rush

their findings.

“We are doing all we can to communicate our findings publicly, and today is a major step forward with doing that,” said Bell, who quickly added that it “would be a disaster” to make a premature finding that was later disproved.

“The goal here is to find out what happened and correct things,” Bell told the panel. “Whatever those corrections are, are not going to be easy. They are going to cost money and create hardship, and there will probably be resistance, so it is absolutely critical that our findings are iron-clad.”

Yet while they remain hesitant to make a definitive conclusion,

investigators are increasingly confident that the Champlain Towers South building was designed and built in 1979 and 1980 without adhering to the proper building codes at the time.

“Furthermore, there is evidence of errors in construction and renovations that compounded those deficiencies,” said James Harris, another investigator, who added those “quality issues are eerily parallel” to how poor construction led to the collapse of two walkways at a Hyatt Hotel in Kansas City, Mo., in 1981.

That collapse, which occurred during an evening tea dance, killed 114 and injured more than 200 others. Federal investigators later determined that the two

Biden taps former North Carolina health secretary to lead battered CDC

BY DAN DIAMOND AND LENA H. SUN

The Biden administration announced Friday that Mandy Cohen, a physician and former North Carolina health secretary, will be the next director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, assuming leadership of an agency left battered by the coronavirus pandemic.

“Dr. Cohen is one of the nation’s top physicians and health leaders with experience leading large and complex organizations, and a proven track-record protecting Americans’ health and safety,” President Biden said in a statement. He said Cohen has been recognized by leaders from both parties for her ability “to find common ground and put complex policy into action.”

Cohen’s first day at the CDC will be in early July, officials said. The Washington Post reported earlier this month that Biden planned to select Cohen, with White House officials citing her leadership experience in federal and state government, oversight of North Carolina’s coronavirus response, and track record of working with Republicans and the private sector.

Cohen declined to comment on the announcement. She will replace outgoing CDC Director Ro-

chelle Walensky, who is stepping down June 30. The role does not require Senate confirmation, although that will change in January 2025.

Walensky issued a statement congratulating Cohen, calling her “a respected public health leader who helped North Carolina successfully navigate the COVID-19 pandemic” and someone who has dedicated her career to improving health outcomes for all Americans.

“Her unique experience and accomplished tenure in North Carolina — along with her other career contributions — make her perfectly suited to lead CDC as it moves forward by building on the lessons learned from COVID-19 to create an organization poised to meet public health challenges of the future,” Walensky said.

Health officials have acknowledged that the CDC suffered a loss of some public trust — and blows to staff morale — amid the pandemic. Walensky last year established a center for forecasting and outbreak analytics to provide better, faster information about future outbreaks, and she announced an organizational overhaul that aims to make the 13,000-person agency more nimble and accountable.

Lawmakers have scrutinized

the agency’s operations, with Congress holding two hearings this month that reviewed the CDC’s decisions during the pandemic.

“We need some data authorities so that we can act nimbly, and so that we can actually, intentionally put resources where they’re needed,” Walensky testified Tuesday to a House panel scrutinizing the nation’s coronavirus response. She also called for more flexibility to hire and deploy staff, especially during emergencies.

Walensky “identified these systematic barriers that still need to be addressed” at the CDC, said Rep. Raul Ruiz (D-Calif.), the top Democrat on the panel. “We need information and diagnostics quickly, in real-time, during a deadly, fast-moving virus in order to make decisions at the local level to keep people safe.”

Republican lawmakers and some public health experts have criticized CDC officials for relying on remote work in 2022 and into 2023, saying the scattered workforce complicated efforts to transform the agency — which has headquarters in Atlanta — following the pandemic. Walensky often worked from her Boston-area home during her two-year-plus tenure.

“We need a culture change at the CDC, and that is not going to

happen over Zoom,” said Sen. Bill Cassidy (La.), the top Republican on the Senate health panel, who has repeatedly pressed Walensky on the agency’s policies toward remote work. “As a physician who worked in public health, in-person collaboration is essential to quickly respond to a threat and save lives.”

Cohen has told colleagues she plans to relocate to Atlanta, although she hopes to regularly visit Washington to elevate the agency’s presence on Capitol Hill and strengthen its ties across the administration.

One CDC official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because he was not authorized to speak to the news media, said he and colleagues are “cautiously curious” about the new director, and “hopeful she will be as good” as news stories have suggested. But morale is low. “We’ve been so battered since 2020. People are just tired. And weary.”

Cohen led North Carolina’s health department for nearly five years, overseeing the state’s pandemic response in 2020 and 2021 and rolling out changes to the Medicaid program. Cohen also worked in the Obama administration, where as a senior official at the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services, she helped

oversee federal health insurance programs that provided health coverage to more than 140 million people.

As a young physician, she worked with Vivek H. Murthy, now the surgeon general, to co-found Doctors for Obama, a group that campaigned for Barack Obama in 2008 and was later rebranded Doctors for America, to advocate for the Affordable Care Act, Obama’s signature health law. Cohen most recently has been a senior executive at Aledade, which works with independent primary care practices and health centers on improving care delivery.

Some CDC staff and alumni bristled this month at reports of Cohen’s planned selection, lamenting that her career had been more focused on managing health-care programs such as Medicare and Medicaid than on traditional public health, including fighting outbreaks and infectious diseases. But public health experts said Cohen had sufficient expertise to lead the agency.

“Cohen’s public health experience spans covid response to chronic disease prevention,” said Dave A. Chokshi, a physician and a former New York City health commissioner. “I am excited to see how she bridges public health

skywalks were built in such a way that they barely supported their own weight, in defiance of local building codes.

At Champlain Towers South, investigators say their concern about the pool deck stems from a belief that it fell short of the “margin of safety” — which essentially means something is built with the strength “required to resist the loads and conditions of the building’s use over its life,” Bell said.

Bell added the building’s pool deck was built with “deficiencies in the original structural design,” including slabs that were “well short of the applicable building code.”

“So from the beginning, the original structural design provided low margins of safety,” said Bell, who added that steel reinforcement beams were also placed lower than they should have been during construction of the building.

During later renovations, Bell said, the pool deck was stressed further by the addition of “heavy planters” near the area’s north side that were not part of the building’s original design.

“At one time, there were palm trees in those planter boxes, some approaching three stories tall,” Bell said. “The weight of those palm trees and the action of wind blowing on them could have damaged the slabs over time.”

Even more weight was added to the pool deck when nine inches of sediment and sand was placed in that area during a renovation, Bell said. In another part of the pool deck, a sand bed was added with a waterproofing layer on top of the tile and mortar, Bell added.

“These additional loads even further reduced the margins against failure,” Bell said.

Finally, Bell said investigators have discovered that some of the reinforced steel that supports the pool deck had corroded over time.

But he stressed that it will still take more work to evaluate just how big of a role the corrosion played. As they work to finalize their findings, investigators plan to build a reproduction of the pool deck area to continue testing their theories.

and health care delivery at the CDC, since she has significant expertise in both.”

John Auerbach, a former Massachusetts public health commissioner who served as CDC director of intergovernmental and strategic affairs, said Cohen’s role in North Carolina “was a really complicated administrative job that is not unlike the administrative challenge of running a complicated federal agency. Nonetheless, she undoubtedly will want to spend her first few months getting to know the agency and its employees, a process that takes some time.”

Auerbach remembers Cohen relating a story about her experience as a physician caring for a patient. The patient kept returning to see Cohen, who couldn’t figure out what the problem was “because all the tests were negative” for various medical conditions.

Then, Cohen discovered the patient was living in a car and not eating regularly, a situation that had nothing to do with medical conditions. That experience touched her and contributed to Cohen’s understanding of the importance of paying attention to the social and economic factors that contribute to health, Auerbach said.

DIGEST

IOWA Court declines to back 6-week abortion ban

Abortion in Iowa will remain legal until roughly 20 weeks of pregnancy after a deadlock on the state’s Supreme Court over whether to grant a request by Gov. Kim Reynolds (R) to reinstate a 2018 law that would have banned the procedure in most cases after six weeks.

With the split decision, announced Friday, a lower-court ruling that the state’s “fetal heartbeat law” is unconstitutional remains in effect.

Iowa is among a wave of Republican-led states that have sought to significantly curtail abortion rights after the U.S.

Supreme Court’s overturning of *Roe v. Wade* last year.

The state Supreme Court deadlocked 3-3 over the unusual process state leaders were taking to restrict abortion rights.

Reynolds signed the law five years ago. It has remained blocked by a 2019 district court ruling, but last year Reynolds asked the Supreme Court to take another look, given developments on abortion nationally and in the state.

The state’s high court has seven members, but one was recused from the case, creating the prospect of a tie.

In a statement Friday, Reynolds harshly criticized the “lack of action by the Iowa Supreme Court” and vowed that “the fight is not over.”

— John Wagner and Amy B Wang

WEATHER Storms hit South, killing 5, razing homes

Cleanup efforts continued Friday after severe storms — including some that produced tornadoes — tore across a swath of Southern states, killing at least five people as they destroyed hundreds of homes, tossed vehicles into buildings and left hundreds of thousands without electricity.

In Perryton in the Texas Panhandle, Ochiltree County Sheriff Terry Bouchard said three people were killed when the tornado struck Thursday afternoon.

Another person died Thursday night in the Florida Panhandle when at least one confirmed

tornado cut through Escambia County, toppling a tree onto a home, county spokesperson Andie Gibson told the Pensacola News Journal.

Also, a Mississippi man died after a tree fell on him during stormy weather early Friday. Canton Police Chief Otha Brown told WLBT-TV the man was killed after high winds toppled over a tree onto his carport as he was entering his car.

In Texas, of the homes searched so far in Perryton, all but one occupant had been accounted for, Perryton Fire Chief Paul Dutcher said on NBC’s “Today” show.

Dutcher estimated that 150 to 200 homes in the community had been destroyed and said that in the downtown area, many storefronts were totally wiped off and buildings had collapsed or

partially collapsed.

— Associated Press

PENNSYLVANIA 3 officers indicted on excessive force charges

Three small-town police officers collectively “kicked, punched, choked and otherwise used excessive force” in 22 arrests over a three-year period, according to a federal indictment unveiled Friday.

The U.S. attorney’s office accused Mount Carmel Borough Police Patrol Officer Kyle Schauer, 34, and two other former officers, David Donkochik, 51, and Jonathan McHugh, 35, of violating civil rights in attacks between 2018 and 2021 that caused injuries. They were

indicted Thursday.

The indictment accuses the three men of trying to hide their alleged crimes by avoiding cameras and lying about the victims.

Schauer is accused of pushing a man down a flight of stairs five years ago, injuring him. Donkochik was accused of using pepper spray against a man as well as punching, kicking and dragging him. McHugh, according to the indictment, punched a man in the face and “threw him against walls,” and slammed a woman’s head against a wall.

Mount Carmel is a town of about 6,000 people 110 miles northwest of Philadelphia, in what was once a thriving coal mining region.

— Associated Press

Despite backing DeSantis, some Floridians feel his immigration law goes too far

DESANTIS FROM A1

support strict enforcement of the U.S.-Mexico border hundreds of miles away, but they and members of their congregations feel compelled to help migrants in their communities, regardless of their legal status.

“I can’t turn my back on someone who needs food because they don’t have documents,” Monduy, who still supports DeSantis on many issues, said in a recent interview. “He’s making a mistake.”

Starting July 1, Medicaid-funded hospitals must ask patients whether they are in the United States legally and report the cost of treating undocumented immigrants to the state. The law also requires businesses with 25 or more workers to enroll in the federal E-Verify program to screen out immigrants who are unauthorized to work. And while some states issue driver’s licenses to people who are not in the country legally, Florida’s new law prohibits using them in the state.

DeSantis, a Republican who is running for president and seeking to outflank former president Donald Trump and other rivals for the GOP nomination, has signed a law considered one of the nation’s strictest state-level immigration crackdowns. The governor said the law discourages migrants from settling in Florida and straining state resources, but civil rights advocates who plan to challenge the law in court say it could lead to harassment of state residents.

DeSantis’s immigration agenda shows the complexities and conflicts of immigration politics in Florida, a state with a large and growing population of residents from other countries, and offers a look at the governor’s view of immigration and what he might attempt if he became president.

Florida is home to 770,000 undocumented immigrants, in a state of 22 million people, according to estimates from the Migration Policy Institute, a research organization in D.C. They account for nearly half of all workers in the state’s farming and related industries, according to the non-profit Florida Policy Institute. Others work in fields such as construction, child care and tourism.

DeSantis defended the law at a recent news conference, saying it is better to have a workforce in the state legally than to rely on unauthorized workers.

“Florida law is that you have to be here legally to be able to be employed,” he said. “You can’t build a strong economy based on illegality.”

Some of the law’s penalties do not kick in until 2024, such as fines for bosses who hire undocumented workers and felony charges for employees who use fake identification to get jobs.

But the law quickly expands penalties for smuggling migrants into Florida, which supporters said targets people who sneaked into the country. Opponents of the law said that could lead to wrongful arrests because the U.S. government enforces federal immigration laws, not local police, and it can be difficult to parse who is in the country legally or not.

Advocates and religious leaders say some immigrants are already wondering if it is safe to visit Florida, while others are considering fleeing the state.

“There’s a lot of fear, a lot of confusion,” said Agustin Quiles, director of government relations for the Florida Fellowship of Hispanic Councils and Evangelical Institutions, a network of about 2,500 churches statewide that lobbied against the bill.

DeSantis representatives did not grant requests for an interview.

On his campaign website, DeSantis said his Florida policies — including mandating E-Verify — are part of his expectations for the rest of the country. He also says he would “shut down” the southern border, without saying how, and build a longer wall to deter illegal crossings from Mexico.

Polls show that border security and immigration enforcement resonate with Republican voters, and DeSantis has a history of embracing hard-line policies. He was a member of the U.S. House in 2013 when the Senate approved a bipartisan immigration bill that would have put millions of undocumented immigrants on a path to citizenship. In his recent book, DeSantis said he and others fought to prevent the bill from getting a vote in the House. He wrote that immigrants in the country illegally should be repatriated instead.

During his first term as governor, he signed laws that banned sanctuary cities that aid immigrants and required county jails to volunteer to serve as immigration agents. He also deployed law enforcement officers to help out at the border and drew scrutiny



PHOTOS BY BRYAN CEREJO FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



TOP: Yovany Hernandez, center, 45, and his wife, Mary Chavez, 44, are surrounded by parishioners during a prayer for undocumented immigrants at Iglesia Rescate in Hialeah, Fla. **RIGHT:** The church’s pastor, David Monduy, who supports Gov. Ron DeSantis but doesn’t agree with his immigration law. “I can’t turn my back on someone who needs food because they don’t have documents,” Monduy said. **ABOVE:** Vivian Monduy, the pastor’s wife, helps distribute breakfast before Sunday service.

for transporting migrants from Texas to affluent Martha’s Vineyard in Massachusetts.

The newest law, passed by Florida’s Republican-controlled legislature, is narrower than what DeSantis called for in February. He wanted to repeal tuition breaks for undocumented college students and introduce tough penalties for anyone who shelters or drives migrants inside Florida.

State Sen. Blaise Ingoglia, a former Republican Party state chairman who shepherded the final bill for DeSantis, said the measure should be a model for the rest of the nation. The senator has rejected claims that Republicans were demonizing immigrants.

“That is not the case,” he said during a Senate committee hearing on the bill in March. “We are demonizing illegal immigrants.”

DeSantis easily won reelection last year, including in Democratic-leaning Miami-Dade County, which is majority Latino. But some analysts say the governor’s immigration policies might not translate well to the national stage, where DeSantis will have to court more-moderate voters in the general election should he become the Republican nominee.

Immigration crackdowns have backfired for Republicans before, leading to Democratic gains in once-red states. A 2010 law in Arizona that authorized police to check the immigration status of people they detained galvanized Latino voters in that state and led to the recall of the bill’s sponsor. A 1994 ballot initiative in California that sought to shut undocumented immigrants out of schools and hospitals drew outrage and voter registrations.

Critics say DeSantis is playing politics with the livelihoods of people who fled poverty or authoritarian regimes in Latin America and elsewhere in hopes of building a better life in the

United States. They say he aims to look tough because polls show the leading Republican candidate for president in 2024 is Trump, who made immigration the center of his agenda, including separating migrant children from their parents and erecting a wall at the southern border.

Advocates for immigrants said the law could endanger migrants’ health by scaring them away from going to hospitals and posing intrusive questions about their legal status.

Republicans “found a bunch of different ways to make life harder on immigrants,” said Paul R. Chavez, a senior supervising attorney for the Southern Poverty Law Center and SPLC Action Fund.

A person’s immigration status can take months or years to sort out as they apply for residency or defend themselves in immigration court.

The complexity of immigration status in Florida was apparent in the long line of people outside federal immigration court one recent day amid the glittering skyscrapers, palm trees and reflecting pools in downtown Miami. Some were legally seeking asylum but were not yet permanent residents. Others were U.S. citizens trying to prevent their relatives from other countries from being deported.

James Smith, 44, an immigrant from Haiti, said he had temporary protected status, a category created by Congress to allow foreigners to stay because it is too dangerous for them to return home. Gangs are rampant in Haiti, and the president was assassinated in July 2021. Nevertheless, Smith’s wife, Marie, 38, was facing deportation from the United States because she arrived after the November 2022 cutoff to apply for that protection.

“This is my life, apart from God,” he said, gesturing to his



wife and children. “Anything that happens to her, happens to my heart.”

At Monduy’s church on a wide, sunbaked avenue in Hialeah, where most city residents are Latino American immigrants, church members said the DeSantis approach to immigration caught them off guard. Many favor his conservative views, particularly his support for abortion restrictions, but they also care for the more than 20 migrants sleeping in the Sunday-school classrooms at night, helping them to find work so they can strike out on their own.

Danay Armas, 44, a church volunteer wearing a T-shirt reading “Jesus Loves Me,” said the Florida immigration law did not reflect her Christian values of welcoming newcomers.

“I’m a Republican and everything,” said Armas, a Cuban immigrant and a naturalized citizen. But “if he’s not in agreement with the law of God, then I can’t be in agreement with him.”

Later that day, about 200 people poured into Iglesia Rescate for nearly two hours of singing and praying for DeSantis to back down on his original proposal. The church’s name in Spanish means “rescue.”

In the crowd were Mary Chavez, 44, and her husband, Yovany Hernandez, 45, a carpenter. The couple, Cuban nationals who arrived in the border city of Del Rio, Tex., in 2021 with their two sons, now 22 and 18, said they were well on their way to starting a new life in the United States.

Chavez, a former nurse, said she had worked on a bone-marrow transplant team but could never get ahead in Cuba. They left for South America four years ago, testing out life in Suriname, Guyana, Brazil, Peru and

finally Chile, where they lived for two years. Then Joe Biden became president and, with few prospects for gaining permanent residency in Chile, they saw that migrants were getting into the United States.

Relatives have helped her to study nursing in hopes of restarting her career. Her family is applying for permanent residency. “This is the best country in the world,” she said, beaming.

She said she had hoped the governor would welcome migrants who are willing to work hard. “We came here with the desire to prosper,” she said. “I want to work.”

Monduy said he had hoped for a similar future for other migrants in his shelter. In March, he joined caravans of Latino church pastors in Tallahassee to lobby lawmakers against the bill, and in May, he and about 1,000 other church leaders signed a letter urging the governor to veto it.

He also led his church in prayer for DeSantis — whom he still supports — to change his mind.

Nothing worked. Monduy said he has reached out to church leaders in other states to see whether they would take in the families in his shelters. They include a family of four from Venezuela whose children, ages 7 and 3, play games on tablets while their parents worry about where they can afford to live.

Monduy said churches in Pennsylvania, North Carolina and Virginia have offered to accept the migrants, though nobody has left yet.

“They were happy to know that at least they have a solution,” he said. “If they have to leave before the 1st of July, they have a place to go.”

Lori Rozsa contributed to this report.

DeSantis allies set up a school to train a \$100 million door-knocking army

BY MICHAEL SCHERER

WEST DES MOINES, IOWA — This door is filled with opportunity and danger for supporters of Florida Gov. Ron DeSantis.

It stands on a pine-board frame, beneath fluorescent lights in an office park conference room — a training tool for hundreds of students who have flown in from across the country this summer as part of the \$100 million DeSantis donor bet on the art of knocking.

Always be polite, the trainees are told by Joe Williams, who runs the sessions for Never Back Down, a super PAC supporting the governor. Body language matters. Passion counts. Never accept water or go inside. Mention DeSantis's wife, Casey, her cancer diagnosis and his military service.

If a journalist answers or the voter targets say they are steadfast supporters of former president Donald Trump, quickly exit the conversation. Push back on the mailers that say DeSantis wants to cut Social Security. Be ready with the details of Florida's abortion law. Close with a caucus commitment card, when possible.

"Conversations can be great. Yard signs are awesome but don't vote," said Williams, a lively teacher who rewarded students with beer koozies and hats when they did well. "Close the sale."

Never before has a presidential effort invested in doors in the way the DeSantis machine is doing. By Labor Day, Never Back Down aims to have about 2,600 trained canvassers in the 18 early nominating states, many with hotel rooms and rental cars, iPads and evolving scripts, not to mention a paycheck from working in a position that is now advertised on job boards as between \$20 to \$22 an hour. The work will continue through March, with staff redeployed as the election season proceeds.

It is designed to allow the PAC to run a paid-field operation bigger than ever before tried in a presidential primary, on the scale of four simultaneous congressional races in Iowa, two in New Hampshire and seven in South Carolina. DeSantis has effectively abandoned the old model of running field operations with volunteers from a cash-strapped campaign, outsourcing the effort to a super PAC in ways that test the



Attendees of a training session practice knocking on doors at the West Des Moines, Iowa, offices of Never Back Down, a super PAC that is backing Florida Gov. Ron DeSantis.

boundaries of campaign finance law.

Every canvasser has to first go through this eight-day class at the office park, at a school organizers have nicknamed "Fort Benning," an homage to the U.S. Army base in Georgia that recently underwent a name change because Henry L. Benning was a Confederate brigadier general, champion of secession and defender of slavery. (DeSantis has called such military name changes "political correctness run amok.")

"We want our army out in the field to be able to provide a concierge type of service," the group's chief operating officer Kristin Davison said. "There are people that don't make it through the school. We are not going to graduate someone who is not up to the standards of what we want at the doors."

The culling speaks to the complications of mounting such a large paid-canvassing effort this early, which is distinct from the massive volunteer armies assembled by Democrats in past cycles. So-called "paid doors" can be effective, say Republican strategists, boosting voter share by single digits. But the process can also be rife with fraud and high turn-

over, as workers, who operate independently with geotracking on their phones, slack off or lose interest. Not all of the recruits come to the job with a passion for politics or DeSantis, a factor that the training is intended to address.

Under campaign finance laws, Never Back Down can accept donations of any value but is prohibited from coordinating strategy

relationships with key stakeholders and building out a constant slate of events.

For the moment, Never Back Down is focused on the dual mission of introducing the candidate they support and separating a sizable portion of the Republican Party's right flank from Trump. Training materials cast the Florida governor as a superior fighter

"We want our army out in the field to be able to provide a concierge type of service. There are people that don't make it . . . We are not going to graduate someone who is not up to the standards."

Kristin Davison, chief operating officer of super PAC Never Back Down

directly with the DeSantis campaign. But a Never Back Down official said the law will allow the two operations to swap data later of equal value after the information is collected.

A DeSantis campaign official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss the strategy, said the governor was focused on securing endorsements from state legislators, fostering rela-

fire" as Trump but a better track record of accomplishment. They are encouraged to point out that Trump never finished the border wall, did not reduce the national deficit and "did not drain the swamp or get control of the bureaucracy." The training also includes a discussion of Trump's advanced age — 33 years older than DeSantis, who is 44.

"Political rallies are meaningless if conservatives don't get the job done," reads one briefing slide. "DeSantis gets the job done. Trump didn't."

Chris LaCivita, a senior adviser to the Trump campaign, argues that the broader DeSantis effort is doomed to fail, in part because Republican voters continue to recoil at direct attacks on the former president. The Trump campaign has been standing up a smaller, more traditional, volunteer-driven door-knocking operation, he said.

"Everybody and their mother knows you can't beat Donald Trump by trying to be him," LaCivita said. "If the only way to beat Trump is to go to the right of Trump, that means they have to attack Trump. DeSantis hasn't shown the male fortitude to attack Trump."

The practical elements are also handled in class, like the difference between "No Soliciting" signs, which can be ignored because the canvassers do not consider themselves solicitors, and "No Trespassing" or "No Handbills" signs, which carry more weight. Canvassers agree to non-disclosure agreements tailored to prevent internal information from being given to "Democrats or the media." Social media posting about the job is prohibited, according to training documents.

Students are coached to de-escalate conflicts with angry residents, be wary of dogs and avoid interaction with door-knockers from rival campaigns. They are told to make notes of campaign signs, beware of smart doorbells that will record their efforts and ask open-ended questions to get feedback from voters about their thoughts on DeSantis.

Data gathered at the door can be used like a focus group to tailor and target persuasion messaging later in the season. Never Back Down says it has 519 volunteers so far, and that 173 of them have been

recruited through door knocking.

The 54 trainees who sat through class on Thursday, hoping to join the 267 who have already graduated, were far more diverse in age, race and ethnicity than most Republican Party gatherings in early states, which tend to attract a uniform demographic of older White voters. They were the sixth group to make their way through the eight-day program. Some, like Navy veteran Leonard Schlingloff, 32, of Reedley, Calif., had decided to shift away from a career in car sales to try his hand at politics.

"I've never experienced a politician that had the same exact values as I do," he said.

Others who were also made available for interviews by Never Back Down explained similar passion for the candidate they hope to elect without actually working on his campaign. Workers said they can hit between 30 and 85 homes a day depending on the density of the area, with about one in four knocks resulting in a voter interaction.

Marisa Kahn, 42, had moved up from Florida, and has already been working the doors in Iowa. The face of DeSantis was printed on her socks and canvas bag, and his name was etched across her T-shirt and hat.

Sometimes she had to push back against the Trump mailers, which have claimed DeSantis wants to cut Social Security and Medicare, she said. (DeSantis opposes reforms that effect older Americans, but has not closed the door for changes to the program for younger generations.) She also said she has heard concerns from voters about the Florida governor's age.

But just as often, she said there were people at the doors who had not yet tuned into the political season. That was one of the audiences the DeSantis donors hoped to win over with their early investment.

"I'll educate them — someone who doesn't know anything about him. And I go, 'Do you know he took a whole plane of immigrants and sent them to Martha's Vineyard?'" Kahn said. "And they are sitting there, like, 'Is this man for real?' And I say, 'Look him up. Look at all the things he has actually done.' And they are stunned, stunned."



The Washington Post

Post readers,

\$

C

nats tickets are back!

VS

STL

field-level tickets

june 19-21



FOR THIS EXCLUSIVE OFFER, VISIT: nats.com/post

EXCLUSIVE OFFER FOR WASHINGTON POST READERS. AVAILABLE ONLY AT [NATS.COM/POST](https://nats.com/post), WHILE SUPPLIES LAST. CERTAIN RESTRICTIONS APPLY, SEE WEBSITE FOR DETAILS.

SHOW SOME **NATITUDE**

Report reveals years of police troubles before Floyd murder

MINNEAPOLIS FROM AI

launched its civil rights investigation immediately after he was convicted. Appearing Friday at a federal courthouse in Minneapolis, Attorney General Merrick Garland announced the investigation's results and depicted Floyd's death not as an isolated episode, but instead a tragedy enabled by the deep-rooted issues within the Minneapolis police.

Many Minneapolis police officers were observed during the investigation acting properly, Garland said at the news conference. "But the patterns and practices we observed made what happened to George Floyd possible," he said.

"As I told George Floyd's family this morning, his death has had an irrevocable impact on the Minneapolis community, on our country and on the world," Garland said. "His loss is still felt deeply by those who loved and knew him and by many who did not. George Floyd should be alive today."

Garland said the Justice Department, the city of Minneapolis and the Minneapolis police had agreed in principle to negotiate toward a federal consent decree — a court-approved reform order that can be used to ensure changes within a local law enforcement agency.

The Justice Department released a copy of the signed agreement, which was dated Thursday, and said an independent third-party monitor will be appointed to help assess whether the consent decree's goals are being achieved.

Minneapolis Mayor Jacob Frey (D) appeared with Garland on Friday. He touted progress on improving police conduct since Floyd's killing but said more change is needed.

"To take real action, we first have to acknowledge where we've been, the pain we've caused," Frey said.

The Police Officers Federation of Minneapolis did not respond to a request for comment about the report.

President Biden called the findings "disturbing" and said in a statement that the report highlighted the need for Congress to pass a criminal justice reform bill. After a legislative bill inspired by Floyd's death failed on Capitol Hill in 2021, Biden last year announced a list of executive actions on policing that fell short of the demands from liberal civil rights groups.

The Justice Department report presented a dire portrayal of the Minneapolis department as a place where officers use force recklessly, including against people who criticized or questioned them; face little to no accountability for allegations of wrongdoing; and patrolled the streets with "deficient and inadequate training."

Investigators concluded that they "have reasonable cause to believe that" the city of Minneapolis and its police department "engage in a pattern or practice of conduct that violates the Constitution and federal law."

These issues, the report said, encompassed things as significant as how police use force and which people are subject to the most intensive law enforcement



PHOTOS BY NICOLE NERI FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

ABOVE: The mural outside of Unity Foods at George Floyd Square in Minneapolis on Friday. BELOW: Attorney General Merrick Garland discusses the Justice Department's probe into Minneapolis police on Friday. The investigation's 89-page report was released a little more than three years after the murder of George Floyd.



Minneapolis police officers were “quick to use force on unarmed people, even without reasonable suspicion that they are involved in a crime or are a threat.”

Justice Department report on Minneapolis police, released on Friday

circumstances.

Between May 25, 2020, and Aug. 9, 2022, the report said, police searched Black residents 22 percent more often than White people in stops under similar circumstances. Native Americans were searched 23 percent more often than White people.

The Minneapolis police force "has long been on notice about racial disparities and officers' failure to document data on race during stops," which they are required to do, the report said.

But the data being documented suddenly began to dry up after

Floyd's death in 2020, the report said, as officers in many cases did not report racial data on stops and searches over the next two years, investigators said.

A lack of accountability is presented in the report as a pervasive problem for the Minneapolis police, and one that directly contributes to the other issues highlighted in the report, the Justice Department said. The Minneapolis police "accountability system is fundamentally flawed," the report said, calling it "an opaque maze."

Ben Crump, an attorney for the

Floyd family, and other attorneys pointed to the breadth of the report's allegations of wrongdoing, including the unjustified uses of force and discrimination.

"Each alone is deeply disturbing, and the cumulative effect of these unconstitutional patterns and practices on the community and individual lives is devastating," the attorneys said in a statement.

Investigators said they reviewed thousands of documents, body-camera videos and incident reports; analyzed data on uses of force, stops and calls for service; accompanied officers on more than 50 ride-alongs; and interviewed residents, police officers, city employees and local leaders, among many others.

The Justice Department's findings echoed repeated claims made by residents over the years about the Minneapolis police, and they also are similar in many ways to a state investigation that concluded last year that the department was riddled with unnecessarily aggressive behavior and lacking oversight.

In March, the Minneapolis City Council approved a tentative agreement with the city's human rights department to settle that investigation. That move was widely seen as a precursor to federal action. City leaders said they will seek to collaborate with federal authorities to streamline the reform efforts.

Federal authorities praised Minneapolis officials for moving forward on efforts to improve the police department while the Justice Department probe was underway. The consent decree that federal and local officials will negotiate is likely to include hundreds of specific actions that city and police leaders will be required to pursue in the coming years under the oversight of a federal court-appointed monitor.

The Minneapolis findings marked the latest effort by the

Justice Department to bring the weight of the federal government to bear on places where police uses of force against Black people fueled unrest and public outcries.

When Garland launched the Minneapolis investigation, it marked his bid to reinvigorate the use of "pattern or practice" probes that had become a staple of the Justice Department during the Obama administration. In such investigations, federal authorities undertake a sweeping review of a local police department's use-of-force policies, training, disciplinary measures, data collection and public transparency efforts.

The department moved away from those investigations during the Trump administration, which viewed such efforts as federal overreach. Under Garland, the Justice Department has launched investigations into police departments in Minneapolis, Louisville and Phoenix, along with other probes.

In March, the department released findings from its investigation into the Louisville Police Department sparked by the fatal police shooting in 2020 of Breonna Taylor. That report offered a similarly withering assessment of officer misconduct in that city.

The Justice Department also has prosecuted individual officers for misconduct, including winning convictions against Chauvin and three other officers in Minneapolis involved in Floyd's death.

While noting that the Minneapolis police force "has a strained relationship with the community it serves," the report also pointed to the turmoil still facing the department — including the departure of hundreds of officers in recent years.

As of last month, there were 585 sworn Minneapolis police officers, the report said, down from 892 in 2018.

Garland aimed some of his remarks at Minneapolis officers, saying, "For you to succeed, your police department must provide you with clear policies and consistent training that explain and reinforce constitutional boundaries and responsibilities. It must give you the support you need to do your jobs safely and effectively . . . This agreement is an important step toward providing you with the support and resources you need to do your job effectively and lawfully."

Brian O'Hara, who was hired last year as the new Minneapolis police chief, appeared alongside Garland, Frey and other officials on Friday to address the report. He previously worked in Newark, helping navigate a federal consent decree issued in 2016 following a lengthy Justice Department probe there that identified constitutional violations.

The goal in Minneapolis, O'Hara said, is having a department that earns greater faith from local residents.

"We acknowledge the pain, anger, frustration, fear and sense of vulnerability that many people in our community have endured," he said.

O'Hara said he was speaking on behalf of the police department "to affirm our commitment to moving forward together."

Bailey reported from Minneapolis.

Multiple problems found in Minneapolis Police Department in Justice report

BY MARK BERMAN

The Justice Department on Friday released the findings of its civil rights investigation into the Minneapolis Police Department, launched in the aftermath of the police killing of George Floyd.

Here are seven conclusions from the report, which found deep, systemic problems in the department:

1. Minneapolis police use excessive force

The report says officers use excessive, unconstitutional force, "often when no force is necessary."

Investigators examined incident files for every Minneapolis police shooting between Jan. 1, 2016, and Aug. 16, 2022, along with an in-custody death during that same period, and looked at hundreds of incidents of so-called "less-lethal force" between Jan. 1, 2016, and Sept. 30, 2021.

Officers would often use unnecessary force, including deadly force, to subdue people they encountered and "obtain immediate compliance with orders, often forgoing meaningful de-escalation tactics," the report said. It said officers sometimes used this force "within seconds of giving a lawful or even an unlawful order."

2. Officers discriminate against Black and Native American people

The report said investigators "have reasonable cause" to conclude that Minneapolis police conduct racially discriminatory policing against Black and Native American people, based on how officers conduct stops, patrol neighborhoods and use force.

The report said Minneapolis police officers carry out more searches during stops with Black and Native American people than White people in similar circumstances and use force more often on Black and Native American people during these stops.

3. After Floyd, police ignored requirement to document race of those they stopped

After Floyd was killed in May 2020, public attention on law enforcement and racial justice issues skyrocketed nationwide.

About the same time, the report said, Minneapolis police "suddenly stopped reporting race and gender in a large number of stops," even though they were required to do so.

The Minneapolis police force "has long been on notice about racial disparities and officers' failure to document data on race during stops," the report said.

Just before Floyd was killed, "the percentage of daily stops with known race data recorded" was estimated to be about 71 percent. Afterward, it dropped to about 35 percent, a decrease that continued for the next two years.

4. Department did little to counter racial bias

The investigation found evidence that some Minneapolis police officers and supervisors "have made discriminatory statements and committed discriminatory acts," but these often resulted in no real discipline.

The report ticked through a series of troubling accounts, notably citing a remark by a high-ranking officer — a lieutenant who oversaw the Minneapolis Police Department's use-of-force training — that demonstrators during a May 2020 protest were likely White because "there's not looting and fires." The report said other officers made racist comments to and about Black people in custody, or about Black people generally. Such incidents were neither hidden nor whispered, the report said, adding: "In fact, in the incidents we heard about, officers made little effort to hide them."

When the department did "hold officers accountable for biased conduct, it was often only

after public outrage," the report said.

But even then, the report added, the department's response to officers and the public failed to make clear that such behavior would not be tolerated.

5. Minneapolis police shoot at people unnecessarily

Investigators examined 19 police shootings between Jan. 1, 2016, and Aug. 16, 2022, and concluded that while "this number is relatively small," a high share of them were unconstitutional.

"At times, officers shot at people without first determining whether there was an immediate threat of harm to the officers or others," the report said.

It described officers firing shots "without regard to people in their line of fire," including a case involving officers who were responding to a call about gunfire. Responding officers sent a car full of people out of the area by telling them to reverse down a one-way street, the report said.

An off-duty officer who was also responding to the scene was on the same street, and the car full of people backed into his police car. The off-duty officer got out of his vehicle and, "within three seconds," fired his gun at the car, hitting it near the left rear window, the report said.

6. Officers use neck restraints unreasonably, even after a ban

Investigators reviewed dozens of cases in which Minneapolis police used neck restraints, concluding that "most of these restraints were unreasonable."

Officers used neck restraints on people who were not posing a threat, or "who were accused of low-level offenses, were passively resisting arrest, or had merely angered the officer," the report said.

In one example, police were depicted in the report as "sneaking up behind an unarmed Latino man and choking him until he blacked out." In another, police are described as responding to a 2017 call from a woman saying her teenage children had assaulted her. When they found a Black 14-year-old on a bedroom floor playing on a phone, they moved to arrest him, and he pulled away, the report said.

One officer hit the teen in the head with a flashlight repeatedly, pinned him to the wall by his throat and knelt on his back or neck, keeping it there for more than 15 minutes, the report said. The report identified this officer as Derek Chauvin, who was later convicted of murdering Floyd.

In June 2020, not long after Chauvin was filmed kneeling on a gasping Floyd, the Minneapolis police department revised its policies and banned all neck restraints and chokeholds. Officers viewed the change as an unnecessary reaction, the report said, and they continued to use neck restraints.

7. Poor accountability and oversight

The report described the Minneapolis police force's own accountability system as "fundamentally flawed." Significant allegations of wrongdoing "are mischaracterized or ignored," the report said. "Officers who commit serious misconduct are diverted to coaching or retraining, and sometimes, the coaching or retraining never happens."

Discipline is a rarity, the report added, and complaints may sit unexamined for years. Even when the department does investigate complaints, inquiries are beset by delays and sidestep "key investigative steps."

In one case, when an officer was accused of using excessive force at a barbecue in front of multiple witnesses, the investigator did not interview any of the eight officers at the scene, the report said.

Ellsberg's later activism centered on risks of nuclear war

ELLSBERG FROM A1

the work of a new generation of digital leakers and whistleblowers, including Edward Snowden and Chelsea Manning. He also continued to release secret government documents, including files about nuclear war that he had copied while working on the military's "mutually assured destruction" strategy during the Cold War, around the same time he leaked the study that made him perhaps the most famous whistleblower in American history.

"When I copied the Pentagon Papers in 1969," he wrote in the email announcing his cancer diagnosis, "I had every reason to think I would be spending the rest of my life behind bars. It was a fate I would gladly have accepted if it meant hastening the end of the Vietnam War, unlikely as that seemed."

Commissioned by Defense Secretary Robert McNamara in June 1967, the Pentagon Papers comprised 7,000 pages of historical analysis and supporting documents, revealing how the U.S. government had secretly expanded its role in Vietnam across four presidential administrations.

The papers showed that government leaders had concealed doubts about the war's progress and had misled the public about a troop buildup that eventually took half a million Americans to Vietnam at the peak of U.S. involvement. The conflict cost the lives of more than 58,000 U.S. service members and millions of Vietnamese.

The study was given a bland official title, "Report of the Office of the Secretary of Defense Vietnam Task Force," and a classification of "Top Secret — Sensitive," an informal designation that suggested the contents could cause embarrassment.

Mr. Ellsberg, one of three dozen analysts who helped prepare the report, had access to a copy at Rand, an Air Force-affiliated research organization in Santa Monica, Calif. As his opposition to the Vietnam War hardened, he began smuggling the papers out of his office, a full briefcase at a time, and photocopied them with help from a colleague, Anthony J. Russo, whose girlfriend owned an advertising agency with a Xerox machine.

Their efforts got off to a rocky start: On their first night copying papers, they accidentally tripped a burglar alarm in the office, drawing the attention of police who stopped by but saw no sign of trouble.

Hoping to hasten the end of the war, Mr. Ellsberg contacted several U.S. senators and tried to share the documents through official channels. When he found no takers, he contacted New York Times reporter Neil Sheehan, leading to the publication of the first story about the files on June 13, 1971, above the fold on the front page of the Times.

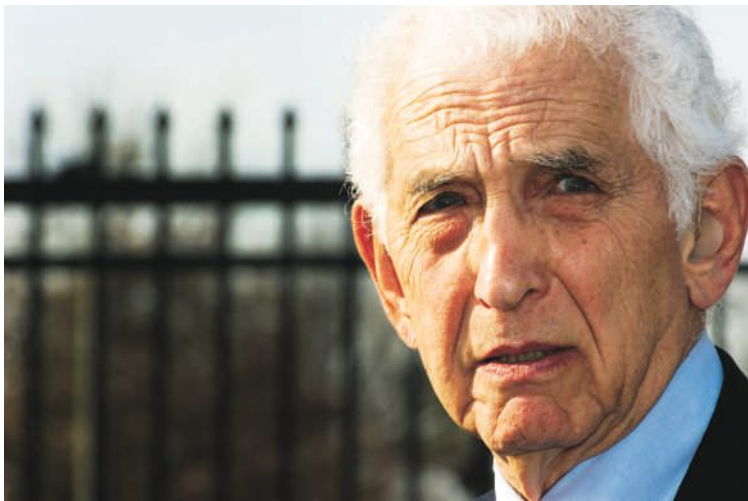
The disclosures bolstered criticism of the war, horrified Mr. Ellsberg's former colleagues in the defense establishment and blindsided the White House. After the third day of stories, the Nixon administration won a temporary injunction that blocked further publication by the Times.

The ruling set up a legal and journalistic showdown, later dramatized in Steven Spielberg's Oscar-nominated film "The Post" (2017). Mr. Ellsberg, who was played on-screen by Matthew Rhys, had by then started sharing material from the study with almost 20 other media organizations, including The Washington Post, which began printing stories of its own.

When The Post, too, was ordered to stop publishing, it partnered with the Times in court. The newspapers won a landmark decision on June 30, with the Supreme Court ruling 6-3 in favor of allowing publication to continue.

The ruling was hailed as a victory for the First Amendment and an independent press, and seemed to blunt the government's use of prior restraint as a tool to block the publication of stories it did not want the public to read. It also meant the Pentagon Papers would continue to find an audience even if Mr. Ellsberg, who turned himself in to the authorities, faced a potential 115-year sentence.

He and Russo were charged with theft, conspiracy and violations of the Espionage Act. But a jury never reached a verdict on those charges: U.S. District Judge William Matthew Byrne Jr. declared a mistrial in 1973, citing governmental misconduct so severe as to "offend the sense of justice."



TOP: Daniel Ellsberg at a news conference in Cambridge, Mass., on July 1, 1971, about two weeks after the New York Times published the first story on the Pentagon Papers. He had leaked the papers — 7,000 pages of historical analysis and supporting documents — after becoming disillusioned by the Vietnam War effort.
ABOVE: Mr. Ellsberg at Fort Meade, Md., in December 2011.

into a coma. With his mother's death, he decided not to continue piano lessons.

Mr. Ellsberg enrolled at Harvard on a scholarship and studied economics, graduating in 1952. He spent a year at the University of Cambridge in England, studying on a Woodrow Wilson fellowship, and enlisted in the Marine Corps upon his return. He rose to become a rifle company commander and, after being discharged in 1957 as a first lieutenant, returned to Harvard, receiving a PhD in economics in 1962.

By then he had joined Rand, linking up with like-minded economists who were trying to apply their game-theory research to the Cold War.

Mr. Ellsberg was known as a brilliant theorist, with a paradox in decision theory named for him, but his estranged colleagues later told Wells that he seemed unable to complete his assignments.

In 1964, he was hired as a top aide to an assistant secretary of defense, John T. McNaughton. His first day on the job coincided with the Gulf of Tonkin incident, an apparent confrontation between U.S. destroyers and North Vietnamese patrol boats. Doubts later emerged about official reports, but the incident led Congress to pass a resolution giving President Lyndon B. Johnson broad and open-ended powers to wage war in Southeast Asia.

Growing doubts

Mr. Ellsberg's interest in the war led him to volunteer for his State Department trip to Vietnam, where he served for two years on an interagency task

force before resuming work at Rand. He was soon attending antiwar rallies and conferences, including a War Resisters League meeting where he met Randy Kehler, a Harvard student who was headed to jail for his failure to register for the draft.

The experience left Mr. Ellsberg shattered.

"A line kept repeating itself in my head: We are eating our young," he recalled in "Secrets," a 2003 memoir. For more than an hour, he sat on the floor of the men's room, sobbing and thinking about Kehler's antiwar activism and the sacrifices it entailed. "It was as though an ax had split my head, and my heart broke open. But what had really happened was that my life had split in two."

Around that same time, Mr. Ellsberg and Russo, one of his friends at Rand, began talking about making the Pentagon Papers public.

As Russo told it, Mr. Ellsberg took some convincing and "rolled his eyes at the ceiling" when it was suggested that he leverage his more influential position to share the contents with the public. He eventually came around to the idea while withholding some of the study's pages, fearing the Nixon administration might use some of that information to sabotage peace talks.

Mr. Ellsberg's first marriage, to Carol Cummings, the daughter of a Marine general, had by then ended in divorce. They had two children, who played a small role in copying the papers: Robert, then 13, who tagged along twice and helped with the Xerox machine, and Mary, the younger of the two, to whom her father once handed a pair of scissors and showed her how to snip off the words "top secret."

In 1970, Mr. Ellsberg married Patricia Marx. They had a son, Michael.

In addition to his wife and three children, survivors include five grandchildren and a great-granddaughter.

Desperate to get the Pentagon Papers into public view, Mr. Ellsberg attempted to have the documents admitted as evidence in a Minnesota draft-board break-in trial.

When that didn't work, he gave them to senators including J. William Fulbright, the Arkansas Democrat and chairman of

the Foreign Relations Committee.

Eventually he contacted Sheehan, an acquaintance from Vietnam to whom he had leaked earlier documents about the war. Mr. Ellsberg gave the reporter a key to his apartment in Cambridge, Mass., where he stashed the files, and insisted that Sheehan could make notes but not photocopy the papers. First, he said, he wanted the Times to fully commit to publishing the materials.

As Sheehan told it, Mr. Ellsberg behaved recklessly during that period. He said Mr. Ellsberg offered to give him the papers but changed his mind, worrying about the risk of imprisonment and the loss of control that came with turning over the documents to a reporter.

"It was just luck that he didn't get the whistle blown on the whole damn thing," Sheehan told the Times in 2015, in an interview that wasn't published until after his death six years later. (Mr. Ellsberg disagreed with that version of events, telling Britain's Observer newspaper that he "was very anxious for the Times to print it" but was never out of control.)

Sheehan eventually took matters into his own hands. When Mr. Ellsberg was away, the journalist secretly photocopied the papers to obtain them for his editors. Then he prepared for publication while misleading his source, fearing that if Mr. Ellsberg knew what he was doing, he might unintentionally tip off the government. A few weeks before publication, he again asked Mr. Ellsberg for a copy of the documents, seeking what he described as a kind of "tacit consent" that it was all right to publish. This time, Mr. Ellsberg agreed to share the study, which soon began to appear in print.

A life of advocacy

Three months after the papers were leaked, members of the Plumbers group, led by E. Howard Hunt and G. Gordon Liddy, broke into the Beverly Hills office of Mr. Ellsberg's psychiatrist, Lewis Fielding, using a crowbar to pry open a four-drawer file cabinet where they hoped to find information that could discredit Mr. Ellsberg.

That burglary was unsuccessful, as was a May 1972 operation in which a group of Cuban exiles attempted to beat up Mr. Ellsberg while he was addressing an antiwar rally on the steps of the U.S. Capitol.

Barred from government work and unwelcome at Rand, Mr. Ellsberg continued to speak at protests and rallies for the rest of his life. By one count, he was arrested nearly 90 times for participating in protests or acts of civil disobedience.

Much of his activism centered on spotlighting the risks of nuclear war, the subject of his 2017 book "The Doomsday Machine." Mr. Ellsberg recalled seeing top-secret documents in the 1960s that indicated roughly 600 million people would be killed in a first strike by the United States. The files included a classified 1966 study about the 1958 Taiwan Strait crisis, revealing that American military leaders had called for a first-use nuclear strike on China and drawn up plans for the attack.

Mr. Ellsberg, who quietly posted the study online and first highlighted the document in a 2021 interview, said he hoped to draw attention to the risk of nuclear war at a time of renewed tensions between the United States and China.

He wanted something else, too, telling the Times that he hoped to face federal prosecution so that he could argue against the Justice Department's increasing use of the Espionage Act. The law had been used to target leakers such as Chelsea Manning, who shared troves of diplomatic cables and battlefield reports with WikiLeaks, and Edward Snowden, who revealed U.S. government surveillance programs.

Mr. Ellsberg said he felt a kinship with those 21st-century leakers, though their methods were vastly different. While Manning and Snowden used digital technology to download and share vast file sets in a matter of minutes, Mr. Ellsberg spent weeks copying the documents with a bulky Xerox machine — "the cutting-edge technology of my day," as he put it in a 2017 address at Georgetown University.

"Manning and Snowden and I all thought the same words," he added, "which I heard them say: 'No one else was going to do it, someone had to do it — so I did it.'"



THE WASHINGTON POST

In their quest to improve, they witnessed sport’s dark side



MARVIN JOSEPH/THE WASHINGTON POST

Candace Foxx has what bodybuilders call “good genetics.” Once she started training, her muscles quickly grew bigger and more defined — but to reach the top of the sport she was told she’d have to take steroids.

SURVIVORS FROM A1

emcee conferred with the judges. Five finalists were called back to the stage, Foxx among them. She and her husband had agreed that if she won, she’d go to a top national contest in New Jersey. She waited.

The emcee called out fifth place. Fourth. Third.

In those moments, when the second runner-up wasn’t Foxx, when the judges named her the winner, she thought about a lifetime of trauma, and euphoria washed over her.

Foxx has what bodybuilders call “good genetics.” Once she started training, the muscles on her 5-foot-6-inch-frame quickly grew bigger and more defined. Her weight dropped to between 125 and 130 pounds. She became cut and her veins bulged. And she had a rare quality among bodybuilders: a natural stage presence and a dazzling smile.

But for all her talent, Foxx was naive about the track she was on. The shows she was competing in were overseen by the largest bodybuilding federation in the world, the National Physique Committee, or NPC. The organization does not drug test at most of its shows, and since 2017, NPC President Jim Manion has been on the Prohibited Association List of the World Anti-Doping Agency for violating the agency’s rules.

The failure to create or enforce protocols has essentially given the green light for bodybuilders, some in their teens, to experiment with a growing number of risky substances.

Foxx’s bodybuilding career was a short stretch of the road she’d traveled. She was born to a single mother from a family that had fled the cross burnings and lynchings of Mississippi in the 1950s to the Rio Grande Valley in Texas. She was beaten by her mother and sexually abused by one of her mother’s boyfriends. She was a runaway, an addict, a drug dealer, an underage strip dancer and a mother — all before turning 20. The dancing got her off the streets. She earned a GED and enrolled in college with aspirations of becoming a lawyer.

Months after her win at the Shredder Classic, Foxx took the stage at the NPC Nationals Team Universe show in New Jersey, competing against top amateur athletes in the sport. Dressed in a baby blue bikini, she was in the masters’ figure division for women 35 and older, a category for slimmer and less-muscled athletes.

Bodybuilders call the run-up to a contest “peak week.” They flush the water out of their bodies,

often with dangerous pills, and usually go on extreme diets to lose the last ounces of fat. The leaner they are, the better their muscles look.

Under the hot lights, and despite being hungry, dehydrated and almost totally exposed, they flex their muscles as mightily as they can. The competitors perform their poses for a table of judges, mostly men, and smile throughout, often with forced grins.

Foxx had skipped the extreme measures. Instead of pharmaceutical diuretics, she took dandelion root. Instead of chemical “fat burners,” she carefully ate lean food. When she placed 11th among about 75 competitors, Foxx was delighted. In her mind, that put her in spitting distance of qualifying to be a pro with the NPC the following year or the year after that. She noticed that the top women on the stage were bigger than she was, but figured she could get there with enough time in the gym.

After Foxx had eaten and hydrated, dressed and absorbed her achievement, an NPC official stopped her to tell her how great she looked onstage.

He asked her what she was on, ticking off a list of names that sounded like pharmaceuticals. Foxx’s face made plain that she didn’t know the lingo. She mentioned the dandelion root.

The official smiled. “Oh so you are a natty,” he said, using slang for a bodybuilder who doesn’t take steroids. That was impressive, he told her, that she had gotten so far naturally. Then he said something she would never forget, because it changed her entire trajectory:

“We are not going to allow you to move up, if you are not one of us. You are going to have to start taking something.”

It was as if someone had taken her behind the curtain and explained how the sport really worked:

If she wanted to make a career as a professional bodybuilder, steroids were not an optional shortcut. She couldn’t be a natty anymore.

Chapter 2: The Animal

Jason Galihadd woke up vomiting blood. As he drove himself to a Corpus Christi hospital he was worried, but not about his health. It was July 2015, and he had a contest soon.

Like Foxx, he was on the fast track in South Texas and the two bodybuilders competed in some of the same shows. Galihadd also had the genetics — he was 5-foot-8, ripped, and from his first show had commanded attention. At his peak, he competed at 175 pounds.



ALFONSO AGUIRRE

Foxx at the 2013 NPC Battle on the Bay. She began to compete to give herself credibility and woo athletes to train at her gym.

“Bodybuilding saved my life. It made me realize that there was something I could control. I could control myself. I could control my surroundings.”

Candace Foxx,
gym owner and trainer

Someone designed him a T-shirt with the nickname “The Animal.” Other bodybuilders started calling him that. He loved it. When he was onstage, he felt transformed, like a superhero. The Animal.

The bloody vomit wasn’t the first symptom. When he was preparing for contests, his ankles would swell so much that his calves didn’t taper through the ankle to the foot. His legs looked like wooden clubs.

He kept a strict diet, cut out salt, and like many bodybuilders, took diuretics to drain fluid from his muscles so that they would appear taut under the stage lights.

But diuretics cause the kidneys to shed sodium, potassium and, with them, water. The loss of electrolytes can strain the heart, cramp the body, cause fainting and even death. Galihadd got his advice on what to take from

bodybuilders, not doctors. Everyone just wanted to get huge.

The bodybuilders at the top of the sport were way bigger than he was. Galihadd wanted to live up to the name on his T-shirt. He would swell his muscles, become more intimidating, more extreme. People would drop their jaws when he walked on the stage.

At the hospital, he was admitted. They took a biopsy of his kidney and blood tests. The protein levels in his urine were off the charts. At one point, a doctor took him aside. Whatever he was taking, the doctor said, he should stop. He handed Galihadd a newspaper article about a bodybuilder who lost his kidneys from steroid abuse.

But that just made him mad. The doctors didn’t understand bodybuilders. They were wrong. He was young and strong and invincible. He was The Animal.

Chapter 3: The trauma

As a little girl, Foxx would go to sleepovers with other girls. “Who’s your dad?” they would ask. “Where is your dad?”

She didn’t have an answer.

Foxx grew up in a poor neighborhood of low-slung bungalows on cinder blocks near a Black Baptist church in McAllen, Tex., smack on the Mexican border. It was called La Paloma. The Rio Grande Valley was majority Hispanic and White with only a small Black population. Her mother, Janice Fox, had dropped out of college when she got pregnant at 23 with Candace. She added an extra x to the baby’s last name on the birth certificate. Foxx instead of Fox.

When Foxx came back from a sleepover, she asked her mother about her father.

“You don’t have one,” Janice said. “You’re a test tube baby.”

A boyfriend moved into their house when Foxx was about 5 and her mother was pregnant.

“I’m your father,” the man told her. He molested her when Janice wasn’t around.

“This is what fathers and daughters do all the time,” he told Foxx. She believed him.

The abuse continued for years until the day Janice found her boyfriend on top of her 9-year-old daughter.

Instead of protecting her, Janice accused the child of seducing her boyfriend, and threw her out of the house.

One day, Foxx found 20 cents in their front yard, and brought it to her mother. Janice responded with a punch. “You stole it!”

Janice was 5-foot-10 and 225 pounds. She grabbed her daughter by the hair, pushed her against a wall. Foxx felt a knife blade against her neck. Certain her mother was going to kill her, she wet herself. That time, her mother let her go.

But Janice would often beat her bloody. Sometimes with a frying pan. Sometimes with a belt buckle. Sometimes, she would rip the hair out of her daughter’s head or throw her into a wall.

Foxx would go to school with bruises and cuts that no one asked about.

She put on a lot of weight, developed acne and started fighting. She was determined that no one would ever jump her again. She stole cigarettes from her mother and learned how to puke her food. The bulimia took the weight off.

On her 13th birthday, her real father showed up to the party. He was an attorney from Mexico who lived in Corpus Christi. She only remembers seeing him one more time during her childhood.

One day, her mother offered her a joint. Another time, they

tripped on acid together, and later it was coke. Foxx started dealing at school.

The drugs took her away from her reality. She still thinks it’s what she needed then, because her reality was unbearable. She prayed, asking God why her family couldn’t be normal.

When Foxx was 15, Janice took up with another boyfriend. He came after Foxx just like the last one. This time she was big enough to fight back. But the boyfriend told her he could make up a story and complain to Janice.

“She’s going to believe me,” he said. He was right.

Janice went into a rage. They fought and tore up the house before Foxx told her mother she would never see her again.

Chapter 4: The Palace

For about a year, she lived on the streets or in a car, sleeping in alleyways or wherever she could find a safe spot. Predators were everywhere. She even feared the police.

She started driving to Austin to buy sheets of acid to sell back home. It got her under a roof. She rented a one-bedroom apartment with a gang of teenagers. Twenty of them slept on the floor. It was fine with the landlord, so long as they paid.

She found a job dancing at a strip club. She was 16, but no one asked. She quickly made enough to get her own place.

One day, Foxx visited a friend who was looking after his grandmother in McAllen. She noticed a black and white picture of the grandmother competing as a young woman in a relay race. She had a baton and wore a skirt with a shirt marked “Haiti.”

“Oh, my grandmother competed in the Olympics for Haiti,” the friend said.

Foxx felt a pang of wonder. How incredible it must be to perform in front of a crowd and be cheered. She would never have that pleasure, she thought. Her mother had been a track star in high school and had been offered college scholarships only to see them withdrawn after an injury. Foxx thought that was why Janice forbade her from ever participating in sports.

“They’ll only use you until you’re no longer useful,” Janice told her.

By the time she turned 17, she’d saved enough money to quit dancing. She took a job as a cocktail waitress. A boyfriend she’d met at work moved in with her.

One day, he told her that she looked pregnant. She was: six months along. Her boss fired her for sleeping with her boyfriend, a co-worker. He kept his job, and

then left her. Her car broke down.

She was pregnant, carless, job-less and soon homeless again.

Foxx thinks the news of her pregnancy brought out some buried maternal instinct in Janice, who begged her to come home. She moved onto the couch in the one-bedroom with her mother, her two half-siblings, a pair of pit bulls and a boxer. She slept on that same sofa for 18 months after she had her son. She went back to stripping and started commuting to clubs in Corpus Christi. One was called the Palace.

But she wasn't going to dance forever. She got an apartment and a high school diploma. At 25, she won a scholarship to the University of Texas-Pan American. She reasoned that she was good at arguing, so she'd study to become a lawyer. She got married.

During her junior year, Foxx was visiting her mom when Janice mentioned that she'd found a lump in her breast.

"When did you notice?" Foxx asked.

"Six months ago."

Foxx was angry that her mother was casual and careless. She got Janice in to see a doctor, who confirmed it was cancer. During chemotherapy, Janice was too sick to continue her job as a truck driver. Neither of them could afford a nurse.

No one was going to help except the daughter she used to beat with a frying pan.

Foxx withdrew from her classes.

Chapter 5: The Holy Grail

Galihadd's mom was a bodybuilder and he remembers sitting in the audience at the age of seven watching her posing onstage in a small bikini. Men would hoot and holler. Galihadd didn't like it, and he told her so.

"There's no way I'm going to be up there in a bathing suit with my butt hanging out," he told her.

His grandfather, a Mexican American, sent his father to a reform school, where he lived and worked under strict discipline. To make a break from his parents, his father changed his last name to Galihadd, inspired by the knight of Arthurian legend. Sir Galahad pulled the mythic sword Excalibur from the rock and led the quest to find the Holy Grail.

It was a noble name, Galihadd's dad had told him, and he should live up to it. To the younger Galihadd, a devout Christian, it was also a godly name.

And yet, Galihadd dropped out of college after two semesters. He got a job at a TGI Fridays, bussing tables. To keep afloat, he worked security for a strip club — the Palace.

He started lifting weights and getting bigger. Galihadd found he liked being the tough guy who threw out unruly customers. He felt like he was Patrick Swayze in "Road House."

He was about 26 when he told his mother he wanted to compete at a bodybuilding contest. He hit the weights hard and ate clean. His waist shrank. His muscles popped with more definition and bigger veins. He would rise early to train and immediately check his progress in a mirror.

The change, the hardening, felt like he was taking command of his life through hard work.

But when Galihadd started competing in the NPC, it became apparent that his genetics alone wouldn't get him to the top. He became obsessed with being the biggest guy on the stage. Everyone told him that you had to take steroids to get that big, so he did. Very quickly, the weights lightened, his recovery shortened and his body felt superhuman. It was exactly what he wanted.

A medical expert at a testosterone treatment center showed Galihadd how to monitor his blood pressure and advised him to get routine testing.

For a while, he followed the advice, but then he skipped the precautions. He would get steroids, illegal without a prescription, from friends in the gym. He ignored the warning signs and even an emergency room doctor.

Less than a year later, Galihadd was two weeks out from a contest when his legs swelled again. He was admitted to the hospital. After lab tests, a nephrologist came to his room with the test results.

His kidneys couldn't be saved. He would need regular dialysis until he could get a transplant.

When Galihadd got out of the hospital, he drove straight to see his coach. In tears, Galihadd told him he might never be able to compete again. To the coach, he seemed more devastated about his bodybuilding future than whether he had a future at all.

Chapter 6: The perfect 10

Foxx walked into Gold's Gym in McAllen at the urging of her husband. She had dropped school, but not the 45 pounds she gained there. She was caring for



MARVIN JOSEPH/THE WASHINGTON POST

At his peak, Jason Galihadd competed at 175 pounds. He was 5-foot-8, ripped and commanded attention onstage. He took steroids to become bigger, but they damaged his kidneys. He spent years on dialysis before getting a kidney transplant in 2022.

her mother and her son, and coping with depression.

There were racks of dumbbells and dozens of machines. Many of them were mysterious. Trainers were expensive. She watched people work out and spent hours on cardio machines with weights strapped to her ankles and wrists. It didn't work.

People would say that food is 80 percent of the fight, but she didn't know what that meant. Then she read bodybuilding magazines that talked about "eating clean"— natural foods, no sugar, no white grains and smaller portions, more often.

She thought about how she gorged as a teenager. The magazines said she could eat five times a day and look like the taut bodybuilders on the cover. It was worth a try.

Within a few months, she got ripped. The weight came off, her muscles grew and for the first time in her life she could see their definition. Other women in the gym noticed, so Foxx gave them advice.

One day, the manager of the gym told her to leave the training table for the pros. Foxx laughed to herself.

The big men who lifted heavy weights and ran gyms were threatened by her?

Without trying, she was taking business from Gold's Gym. Not long after, she was confronted while working out with another woman. To her astonishment, they revoked her membership.

It seemed like a sign that she was onto something. She began teaching Zumba at another gym and working on a trainer certification with the National Academy of Sports Medicine.

In 2012, she scraped up enough money to open a tiny gym. That gave her the flexibility to work and care for her mother, whose cancer had come back.

But to woo athletes to train, she needed to compete herself. She could easily outperform the former bodybuilders. One guy was so out of shape that he reminded her of a washed-up Hollywood tough guy.

She thought, if getting up on a stage would give her as much credibility as the gone-to-pot trainers, then why not? It was a business decision. She put a contest date on her calendar.

Foxx started sculpting her muscles. She would compete in the figure category, which required a V-shaped torso and a slimmer lower body. It was the opposite of her physique. She worked obsessively on her back and her arms, and when the muscles hardened it gave her a sense of structure and control over her life that she had never experienced before.

She could push herself hard. Bodybuilders talk about the satisfying pain of the workouts — "the pump," when blood and lactic acid flood the muscles — swelling them with a burning sensation. But Foxx scoffs at the idea that it's painful — it was nothing compared to her mother's beatings.

Watching her own progress in the mirror was deeply satisfying to Foxx.

She started competing in contests under the amateur arm of the World Natural Bodybuilding Federation, where the drug testing was real and sometimes included lie detector tests about steroid use.

When Foxx walked onstage for the first time and executed the poses she'd learned online, the crowd began cheering and chant-



JAMES ALLEN

Galihadd participates in the 2016 Battle on the Bay in Corpus Christi, Tex. In July 2015, he vomited blood, and doctors said he should stop whatever he was taking.

ing her number. It was bewildering and exhilarating. She might have been too happy. When she came off the stage, a judge told her not to bug out her eyes so much.

In her first contest, she placed third. After the pictures on the podium, she dressed and walked downstairs to leave. There was a crowd chanting "Bo Derek!" She had bleached and braided cornrows like the model-actress from the movie "10."

She remembered Derek running on the beach. Foxx's eyes watered.

"You think I look like Bo Derek?" she asked them.

"Yes, you're so beautiful!" one of her new fans told her. Another handed Foxx a Polaroid picture of her on the stage.

"Can you please autograph it for us?"

She signed in shock.

She remembered how she'd stuffed herself as a teenager and tried to hide any beauty in the body her mother's boyfriend had abused. She could see herself in baggy clothes and the ugly oversized glasses she had gotten free from the Lions Club. And now a crowd wanted her autographed picture.

She also thought of the photograph of her friend's Haitian grandmother, and how — at 17 — she thought she'd never get that chance.

Foxx was quickly moving up in the sport when an official told her that her body might be too muscular for the aesthetic of the natural federation she was competing in. Maybe she should try the NPC, he said.

As she was training for her first NPC show in 2013, her mother

died. She was grateful that her mom was no longer suffering but saddened that she would never see her daughter compete. Foxx threw herself into the training. She placed fifth at her first show and third at the next one.

But then at the Team Universe competition in New Jersey, when the NPC official took her aside after the show, he introduced her to the reality you don't find in the federation's rule book: Steroids were not optional. The way Foxx understood it, they were required.

She thought about the judges that just watched her on the stage. How much did their objective judgments matter, if they had other orders? The official, whose name she doesn't remember, was waiting for an answer.

Her mother's suffering was still fresh. When Foxx was nursing her through the cancer, Janice was given diuretics and steroids. She had seen how they could ravage a body. She also thought about her binge eating, her bulimia, drug abuse and all the terrible things that had been done to her own body.

She had started fitness and bodybuilding to save herself from that. Why would she now go on drugs? The official, after all, thought she was already taking them.

"I'm sorry, sir, I can't do that," she told him.

She would go back to the organizations that banned steroid use.

Chapter 7: The ambush

The following year, Foxx was back at an NPC show, but this time as a coach. It was the 2015 Phil Heath Classic in Houston

where Galihadd was also competing.

Foxx had two athletes posing for judges. Though she had walked away from the NPC, some of the women she trained wanted to be on the bigger stages, and Foxx was not going to stand in the way. She warned them about the drugs.

Foxx was an all-purpose coach. She had trained the two women, coached them through their posing, helped them choose bikinis and sprayed on their tans. She didn't think her job ended when the event started.

During contests, officials known as expeditors stage-manage the athletes. They call them by number, tell them when to go on and how to line up.

For some reason, during the call-outs, in which all the athletes were supposed to go out, the numbers for the two women she was coaching were not getting called. She sneaked up behind an expeditor and looked over his shoulder. Her athletes had dashes next to their names. She concluded that someone had blacklisted them.

"Why aren't you calling out these numbers?" she asked.

"I don't know what you are talking about."

"You *do* know what I'm talking about."

She pushed her athletes onto the stage.

In the middle of the day-long competition, organizers cleared everyone out to clean during intermission. As Foxx waited outside, a security guard approached her and said that trainers were being let back in. She walked into an empty hallway. Someone grabbed her and pulled her into the event hall in front of the stage. As it happened, Galihadd had just returned there after the break and noticed a commotion. NPC officials were yelling at a woman carrying a backpack.

People were shouting. One of the men was cursing at her. It shocked Galihadd.

Foxx was threatening to call the police. And then she was escorted out. Amid all the shouting and chaos, Galihadd thought he recognized her.

"Isn't that the dancer from the Palace?" he thought to himself. "She's a bodybuilder?"

The next day she posted a message on Facebook marked "feeling ferocious."

"Yesterday was the greatest experience I have had in my life!" she wrote. "An example was made of me by a group of people who are used to intimidation and manipulation."

The bullying would only spur her on, she said. "To know that little old me, the poor fatherless barrio girl from the Paloma has become such a threat to many puts a smile on my face!" she wrote. "All you did was create a bigger monster to deal with!"

Chapter 8: The wait list

Galihadd might get a kidney transplant, if he was lucky, but the wait list was around five years. He signed up right away. They told him to answer his phone whenever it rang, day or night.

It was hard to let go of bodybuilding. Without the steroids or the growth hormone or the diuretics, he didn't have the strength or the stamina to work out. His testosterone level crashed. That was a common symptom of steroid abuse: the testicles shrink because they

make less testosterone.

His mother offered to give him one of her kidneys, but she wasn't a match. He was 37 years old.

Three times a week, early in the morning, he would drive to the clinic. A nurse would use a catheter in the right side of his chest to draw blood. It would be filtered in a dialyzer, which performed the role his failing kidneys could no longer fulfill. Then the blood would be pumped back in.

Eventually, he required more hours of treatment. Doctors also joined and artery and a vein in his arm creating a fistula that helped draw blood more easily. It looks like a tangle of thick tubes under the skin on the biceps he had sculpted into beauty.

He slept through most of the dialysis, but it was still 13½ hours a week out of his life, year after year. People would see him in the chair and ask what had happened. He felt like he had to tell the story hundreds of times. He prayed to God to get him out of that chair.

In April 2022, an out-of-state call appeared on his cellphone. He expected spam, but he'd heeded the advice he'd gotten more than four years earlier when he started dialysis.

"Mr. Galihadd, this is Kidney Transplant from Methodist Hospital in San Antonio. We need to ask you some questions."

There were a lot of questions, and then deliverance.

"We found a kidney for you."

Jason Galihadd cried into the phone.

Chapter 9: The healing

Set inside an old warehouse, Foxx's gym, Fit Science, has an industrial feel to it. The ceilings rise more than 20 feet in a spacious 2,200-square-foot gym. On the gym's Facebook page, before-and-after client photos show her skill: She builds bodybuilders.

Foxx is a certified nutritionist and has researched the psychology of eating disorders. What she learned connected the trauma of her childhood to her bulimia, her overeating and her drug abuse.

She's angry that so many bodybuilders, from teenage amateurs to top pros, are dying — or, like Galihadd, learning the long-term consequences of steroid abuse.

Bodybuilders, including some of the most prominent in the sport, have died after using extreme measures to get built. In an investigation last year, The Washington Post documented the cases of more than a dozen athletes who died young within weeks of competing — when risk of death is highest. At the time, Manion issued a statement saying: "The health, safety and welfare of all our competitors has, and always will be, of utmost importance to us."

But Manion has not reined in the sport's drug culture, and he declined to comment on the pitfalls that Foxx and Galihadd faced in the sport.

At the critical forks in their NPC careers, Foxx and Galihadd chose different paths. But now they've both dedicated themselves to the same mission: to help others reach the joy they both found in transforming their bodies, while steering them past the shoals of a dangerous sport.

They coach all kinds of people. Some look for a cure to obesity. Some have major health problems. Some arrive with pictures of bodybuilders, asking how they can look like that.

Even when he was on regular dialysis, Galihadd never stopped training others in the sport that nearly killed him. He has slowly built a stable of clients.

Today, more than a year after his transplant, he's put on 20 pounds of muscle. His body is cut again. The doctors don't want to undo the fistula, just in case, but last month they tied it down in a surgical procedure because it had become painfully tight on his growing biceps.

During the long recovery, Galihadd says he wasn't sure that he'd ever feel the pleasure of "the pump" again, but now it's back.

"It fills out my shirt and the muscles gorge to burst out," he says. "That's a great feeling."

Foxx believes that fitness and nutrition healed the savage wounds of her childhood.

"Bodybuilding saved my life," she says. "It made me realize that there was something I could control. I could control myself. I could control my surroundings. I could eat food without feeling like I was fat."

She now judges natural competitions and runs drug-free contests in Texas for Physique America, a competitor of the NPC.

She sees bodybuilding as the art of making the body beautiful, strong and healthy.

"At its best it's about the beauty of the body. It's about showing people they can achieve something they never thought they could."

Alice Crites contributed to this report.

THE WORLD



ERNESTO BENAVIDES/AFP/GETTY IMAGES



MARTIN MEJIA/AP

CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: David Salazar, a 19-year-old dengue patient, rests under a mosquito net at a hospital in the Piura region of northern Peru. Ana Barco, daughter Angie and son Enzo, all dengue patients, look out their window in the city of Piura. A health worker fumigates against the mosquitoes that carry the dengue virus at a cemetery in Lima, Peru's capital.



SEBASTIAN CASTANEDA/REUTERS

Peru extends health emergency as it fights the spread of dengue

More than 140,000 cases and at least 200 deaths have been recorded in largest such outbreak in nation's history

BY JINTAK HAN

Peru has extended a health emergency in 18 of its 24 regions, after recording more than 140,000 cases and at least 200 deaths in the largest dengue outbreak in the South American nation's history. Although Peru has faced dengue epidemics before — even alongside the coronavirus pandemic — it has been struggling to contain this year's outbreak since February, when it first declared a 90-day health emergency in 13 regions. Exacerbated by global climate change and compounded by an incoming El Niño cycle, a warmer climate is providing mosquitoes — carriers of the tropical disease — with ideal conditions for breeding. Peru has resorted to drastic measures, such as banning water-filled vases in homes and carrying out mass fumigations. But the outbreak seems to show no signs of

slowing as field hospitals set up to treat dengue patients remain chronically overcrowded, especially in northern Peru, where they are operating far beyond their capacities. Two vaccines have been developed against dengue, but obstacles to mass immunization remain. The older Dengvaxia vaccine fell out of favor after it was discovered that it increases the risk of severe dengue in people who have never contracted the virus, while Qdenga is so new that it is not yet approved for use in Peru. For now, containment focuses more on stopping mosquitoes from spreading the disease, either chemically with pesticides or physically with mosquito nets. Most people recover from dengue fever within a week when they receive proper treatment. But when left untreated, dengue can kill up to 13 percent of patients, according to the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

DIGEST

CANADA 15 dead after bus, tractor-trailer collide

A tractor-trailer collided with a bus carrying senior citizens on a rural highway in Canada on Thursday morning, killing at least 15 people and injuring 10, authorities said, in one of the deadliest road accidents in the country's recent history. The bus, carrying about two-dozen passengers heading to a casino, was struck by the tractor-trailer as it crossed an intersection along the Trans-Canada Highway near Carberry, Manitoba, roughly 105 miles west of Winnipeg, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police said. Officers arrived at the site at about 11:40 a.m.; the injured were taken to a hospital. The majority of the victims were seniors from the nearby city

of Dauphin, according to Assistant Commissioner Rob Hill, who commands the Manitoba RCMP. The drivers in Thursday's collision were being treated in the hospital, said Superintendent Rob Lasson of the Manitoba RCMP Major Crime Services. The investigation was focusing on who had the right of way. — *Kyle Rempfer and Amanda Coletta*

BRAZIL Bolsonaro aide had coup plans on phone

Brazil's federal police found a detailed planning document for a military intervention to block the handover of power in last year's election on the phone of an aide to former president Jair Bolsonaro, news magazine *Veja* reported.

It was unclear who wrote the document and whether it reached Bolsonaro, a far-right politician and a former army captain who narrowly lost the October election to leftist rival Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva. A similar, less-detailed document was found in January at the home of former justice minister Anderson Torres, part of a growing body of evidence that members of Bolsonaro's inner circle were looking at ways to block Lula from taking office and strip the powers of Brazil's top federal courts. — *Reuters*

SERBIA Proceedings begin against arrested police

Serbian prosecutors opened legal proceedings Friday against three Kosovo police officers

arrested earlier this week, defying U.S. and other demands for their immediate and unconditional release. Serbian officials have said the three Kosovo Albanians were arrested by Serbian security on Wednesday deep inside Serbia and close to the border with Kosovo, and that they were heavily armed when seized. Kosovo officials insisted they were "kidnapped" inside Kosovo and taken to Serbia by force. The dispute adds to tensions between the two countries that have flared into recent violent clashes in the Serb-majority north of Kosovo, stirring fears of a renewal of the 1998-99 conflict in Kosovo that left more than 10,000 people dead. — *Associated Press*

Visa restrictions imposed on Uganda officials: The United States has imposed visa

restrictions on Uganda officials after the African nation passed an anti-LGBTQ law that was condemned by many countries and the United Nations, the U.S. State Department said Friday. The law, considered one of the harshest in the world, was enacted in May and carries the death penalty for "aggravated homosexuality," an offense that includes transmitting HIV through gay sex. It drew immediate rebukes from Western governments and put in jeopardy some of the billions of dollars in foreign aid the country receives each year. The State Department statement Friday did not mention any names or even the number of officials that would be hit with the visa restriction but said the U.S. would hold accountable those who are responsible for abusing human rights in Uganda, "including those of LGBTQI+

persons." **Cyclone Biparjoy weakens as it churns toward Pakistan:** Cyclone Biparjoy knocked out power and threw shipping containers into the sea in western India on Friday before weakening as it headed toward Pakistan, officials said. More than 180,000 people took shelter in the two countries, but some of Pakistan's evacuees prepared to return home as the storm weakened. Indian officials said electricity had been restored in some villages, while many others were still without power. The storm's toll was felt especially where it made landfall in India. A man and his son died when they tried to save their livestock in Gujarat state. The storm had wind speeds of 53 mph and gusts up to 65 mph through the coastal regions of western Gujarat. — *From news services*

Moscow fires missiles at Kyiv amid African leaders’ visit

Delegation is visiting Ukraine and Russia to push proposal to halt war

BY DAVID L. STERN,
EMILY RAUHALA
AND ROBYN DIXON

KYIV, UKRAINE — As a delegation of African leaders visited the Ukrainian capital Friday morning, bringing a proposal for “confidence-building measures” aimed at halting the war, Moscow launched a daytime barrage of airstrikes, bombarding Kyiv with a “massive combined attack” of ballistic missiles, cruise missiles and drones.

South African President Cyril Ramaphosa’s official Twitter account posted a video of his arrival in Kyiv by train early Friday morning, along with leaders and top officials from Senegal, Egypt, Zambia and the Comoros — the first stop in a peace mission to Ukraine and Russia. Shortly after, air raid sirens sounded in the capital. Then, explosions from air defenses rang out.

The barrage was a departure from the Kremlin’s typical strategy of bombarding Ukrainian cities during the early-morning hours as residents attempt to sleep and it is easier to detect Ukrainian air defenses in the dark.

On Friday, Russia launched six Kinzhal hypersonic ballistic missiles, six Kalibr cruise missiles and two self-destructing drones — “a massive combined air attack on Kyiv,” Serhiy Popko, the head of the city’s military administration, said in a post on the Telegram social media app.

Ukrainian officials said air defense systems intercepted the entire bombardment.

Vincent Magwenya, a spokesman for the South African president, said that Ramaphosa and the other leaders arrived in Kyiv “safely” and that the mission was “proceeding quite well and as planned,” but he did not mention the air attack.

Later, Magwenya tweeted: “Strangely, we didn’t hear the sirens or explosions.” However, the explosions were clearly audible to a Washington Post reporter and numerous observers on social media.

In a news conference later, however, Ramaphosa addressed the missile attack, saying it hadn’t deterred the mission but only made it more important. “It’s precisely this type of event that we saw today or witnessed or even experienced that makes us call for de-escalation.”

He said peace talks were important even as a conflict worsened, noting how former South African president Nelson Mandela saw the need for negotiations when he was in prison to bring an end to apartheid.



Egyptian Prime Minister Mostafa Madbouly, Senegalese President Macky Sall, Comoros President Azali Assoumani, Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky, South African President Cyril Ramaphosa and Comoros President Azali Assoumani in Kyiv on Friday.

Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky, for his part, expressed a degree of bafflement at the delegation’s plans to travel to Moscow after it had fired missiles at them: “How logical it is, I don’t really understand.” He reiterated Ukraine’s long-held stance that negotiations could only happen once the Russians withdrew.

“We need real peace, and therefore, a real withdrawal of Russian troops,” he said.

Ukrainian Foreign Minister Dmytro Kuleba tweeted that “Russian missiles are a message to Africa: Russia wants more war, not peace.”

Ruslan Kravchenko, the head of the Kyiv regional military administration, said six people were injured by falling shrapnel in the Kyiv region, including one child, and three houses were destroyed.

The attack follows Ukrainian officials’ announcing modest but steady gains in their multi-pronged counteroffensive in the country’s east, saying they have retaken some 40 square miles of territory and seven villages. The claims could not independently be verified.

On Friday, Ukrainian military spokesman Andriy Kovalyov said Kyiv’s forces had achieved “partial success” in the previous 24 hours. “Where Ukrainian soldiers are defending themselves, not a single position has been lost,” he said.

Commander of Ukraine’s ground forces Oleksandr Syrsky,



People shelter during an air raid alert in Kyiv as Russia launched a missile attack. It was a departure from the Kremlin’s typical strategy of bombarding Ukrainian cities during the early-morning hours.

in remarks posted on social media, said the battlefield situation in eastern Ukraine “remains tense.” Moscow’s “most combat capable units” were being transferred to the area around the eastern city of Bakhmut, while Russian forces carried out “powerful artillery fire and strikes by assault and army aircraft” on Ukrainian positions.

For its part, Russia’s Defense Ministry in its daily briefing said it had repelled numerous attacks along the front line. None of these claims could be verified because of restrictions on reporting in the conflict zone.

NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg said Friday that allies are looking to create a new NATO-Ukraine Council and hope

to hold the first meeting at the summit of NATO leaders in Vilnius, Lithuania, next month.

The summit is expected to focus on questions of Ukraine’s membership in NATO, with Kyiv officials hoping for a clear path for joining the alliance, while other countries are looking more to short- and medium-term security guarantees.

Blinken faces frosty welcome in China, where the focus is on economic ties

BY LILY KUO

Anticipation in Beijing about Secretary of State Antony Blinken’s imminent arrival has been, at best, lackluster.

After months of diplomatic freeze following the discovery of a high-altitude Chinese balloon floating over the United States — which derailed Blinken’s original trip to Beijing in February — Chinese and U.S. officials face a yawning gap between the two sides’ interests and positions.

One trip is unlikely to do much to change that.

“In reality, the Chinese side doesn’t harbor hope that Blinken’s visit will result in any meaningful results. You could say China has no hope for this meeting,” said Wang Yong, director of the Center for International Political Economy at Peking University.

Blinken, he said, “probably won’t be very welcome.”

In a phone call with Blinken on Wednesday, Chinese Foreign Minister Qin Gang said it was “clear where the responsibility lies” when it comes to the challenges the U.S.-China relationship faces.

Behind China’s frosty reception is a new sense of confidence. For months, China has hosted world leaders — including U.S. partners like French President Emmanuel Macron and European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen — and successfully mediated conflicts like the Saudi-Iran rift.

Beijing has offered to do the same in the Ukraine crisis, casting itself as a peacemaker and foil to the United States. Last month, its special representative for Eurasian affairs, Li Hui, traveled to Ukraine and Russia to pitch China’s proposal for ending the

conflict.

This week, Xi hosted Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas in Beijing, where the Chinese offered a three-point plan to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Honduras, after breaking off relations with Taiwan to recognize China in March, opened an embassy in Beijing on Sunday.

“China has made diplomatic progress and under these circumstances may feel that now these are the right conditions to deal with the United States,” said Zhao Minghao, professor at the Institute of International Studies at Fudan University in Shanghai.

Even as Beijing tries to establish a separate world order that is not dominated by the United States, China still needs — and wants — American investment and trade.

China faces sluggish growth, a property slowdown, record levels of youth unemployment and shrinking foreign investment. China’s central bank this week cut key interest rates and new economic data showed its post-pandemic recovery has lost momentum.

That’s a key part of why Chinese officials have been courting executives such as Bill Gates, who met Xi on Friday.

Xi told Gates during their meeting that the Microsoft co-founder was the first “U.S. friend” he had met in Beijing this year, according to Chinese state media. Xi reportedly added that the future of China-U.S. relations lies with the people.

JPMorgan Chase CEO Jamie Dimon, Starbucks CEO Laxman Narasimhan, and Tesla and Twitter CEO Elon Musk all traveled to Beijing last month to shore up



Analysts doubt anything meaningful will come from Secretary of State Antony Blinken’s trip to China, but recognize a thaw in ties.

their business interests.

“China hopes the relationship between China and the United States can be improved in part to help its economic recovery and other economic challenges,” said Zhao.

But separating politics and business is difficult. Last week, Sequoia Capital, an early investor in TikTok’s parent ByteDance, said it would split its China and U.S. operations into separate companies. The ubiquitous video platform faces various restrictions and bans in the United States on national security grounds.

At the same time, Chinese officials are sending mixed messages. Raids on due-diligence firms operating in China such as Mintz Group and Bain & Company have made other foreign companies nervous. A recent overhaul of the country’s espionage law has fore-

ign executives worried that normal business operations could be deemed illegal.

For its part, the Biden administration has not made the environment easier. On Monday, it blacklisted more than 30 Chinese companies for selling U.S. technology to the Chinese military and is expected to set new limits on U.S. investments in China. Washington has already prohibited the sale of advanced U.S. semiconductors to China.

“Easing ties with the U.S. will help the government’s goal of ‘stable foreign trade, stable foreign investment,’” Zhao said, quoting a government campaign that has gained urgency as Chinese officials insist the country is open again for business.

This is one of the reasons Chinese officials, while giving defense and political officials the cold shoulder, have been meeting

with U.S. trade and commerce officials. Chinese Commerce Minister Wang Wentao met Commerce Secretary Gina Raimondo and Trade Representative Katherine Tai in the U.S. last month.

“Beijing agreed to the visit because it seems to be the one thing that is blocking many other things, such as working level dialogues and the visits by other cabinet members,” said Yun Sun, the director of the China program at the Washington-based Stimson Center.

“It is also important for China not to appear to be the one rejecting dialogue, especially when the U.S. has been pushing for it,” she said.

For China, the trip paves the way for other visits by U.S. officials like special climate envoy John F. Kerry or Treasury Secretary Janet L. Yellen, whose remarks that decoupling from China would be a mistake have won her fans in China.

“I think we gain and China gains from trade and investment that is as open as possible and it would be disastrous for us to attempt to decouple from China,” Yellen told a House Financial Services Committee hearing on Tuesday.

Chinese officials are also looking ahead to Xi’s potential appearance at the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) meeting in San Francisco in November, where he could meet with President Biden. Their last meeting in November on the sidelines of the Group of 20 Summit in Bali helped ease tensions.

“If there’s hope of any concrete results from this visit, it may be a signal that China’s leader will visit the U.S. to attend APEC,” said Wang, the Peking University pro-

The alliance says the upgrade from “NATO-Ukraine Commission” to “NATO-Ukraine Council” would give Ukraine a seat at the alliance table, allowing it to convene meetings and raise concerns.

“That is a different type of working together politically, and we will bring Ukraine closer to NATO in political terms,” Stoltenberg said.

But the proposal falls short of what Ukraine says it needs: full membership, including Article 5 protection. U.S. officials have given tentative backing to a plan that would allow Ukraine to avoid a formal process of candidacy — a Membership Action Plan — thereby shortening the period needed before joining.

Meanwhile, at Russia’s annual investment forum in St. Petersburg, once touted as Moscow’s answer to the Davos Economic Forum, Russian President Vladimir Putin claimed on Friday that Ukraine’s leader, Zelensky, was not Jewish.

“I have a lot of Jewish friends, since childhood,” Putin said in a question-and-answer period, after delivering a 79-minute speech claiming Russia’s economy was strong and growing. “They say Zelensky isn’t a Jew.”

Putin said Zelensky was a “disgrace” to the Jewish people and that he supported Nazis — a frequent but false assertion by the Kremlin. Both of Zelensky’s parents are Jewish, and members of his family were among the estimated 2 million Ukrainian Jews who perished in the Holocaust.

Putin repeated false claims that Russia did not start the war in Ukraine and said that he took military action to bring an end to the fighting that had taken place there since 2014.

Putin said Russia would use nuclear weapons only if there was a threat to its existence but said there was “no such need” to do so. He boasted about the quantity of Russians nuclear arms and dismissed any talk of reducing them.

“Russia has more nuclear weapons than NATO countries, they want us to reduce them, f--- them,” he said.

He also confirmed earlier statements by Belarusian President Alexander Lukashenko that Russia had started deploying nuclear weapons in Belarus and would complete the task by the end of the year, calling it a “deterrence measure.”

Before Russia’s invasion of Ukraine, the St. Petersburg International Economic Forum drew world leaders and hundreds of top international businesspeople, but this year’s event failed to draw any high-profile Western guests, reflecting Russia’s increasing economic and financial isolation.

Natalia Abbakumova in Riga, Latvia, contributed to this report.

fessor. For that to happen, Blinken’s visit would need to create “more positive conditions,” he said.

Chinese officials have not given any details of Blinken’s visit. According to the State Department, Blinken will meet senior Chinese officials Sunday and Monday, including Foreign Minister Qin. After meeting Gates on Friday, it would be a notable snub if Xi didn’t see Blinken.

“Given the current levels of mistrust and tension in the relationship, a good outcome would be a better understanding of each side’s concerns and red lines as well as modest progress on areas of overlapping interest,” said Jessica Chen Weiss, a professor at Cornell University focusing on U.S.-China relations.

China also has areas where it could compromise and collaborate, according to Wang. These include climate change, public health and counternarcotics efforts.

Yet one critical sticking point for Beijing is continued U.S. support for Taiwan, which China worries is increasing and undermining U.S. adherence to the “One China” policy. That policy recognizes the People’s Republic of China as the sole legal government of China but stops short of accepting Beijing’s claims over Taiwan.

“China has no illusion about the U.S. changing its stance on Taiwan,” said Lau Siu-kai, an emeritus professor of sociology at the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

“Without any possibility of bridging the gap between the two sides on these issues, any rapprochement is impossible.”

Pei-Lin Wu contributed to this report.

After more than a century, Japan raises age of consent from 13 to 16

Change part of an overhaul of the nation’s laws on sex crimes

BY MICHELLE YE HEE LEE AND JULIA MIO INUMA

TOKYO — Japanese lawmakers on Friday adopted legislation to raise the country’s age of sexual consent to 16 from 13, an age limit that had remained unchanged since 1907 and was so low that it made Japan an outlier in the developed world.

The change came as a part of an overhaul of Japan’s laws on sex crimes. The new laws were prompted by growing public outcry over repeated acquittals of sexual abusers and increasing instances of people taking sexually exploitative photos and videos without consent — including foot-age of girls.

Advocates of stricter sex-crimes laws welcomed the changes, but said more needed to be done to ensure greater protection of women and girls in Japan.

“It is still far from the reality of sex crimes and only really scratches the surface. I really hope that the laws will catch up to the reality imminently,” said Ikuko Ishida, founder of the sexual violence survivors group Be Brave Japan.

The changes are a part of a gradual modernization of laws that protect victims of sexual crimes. In 2017, Japan revised its Penal Code and Code of Criminal Procedure for the first time in more than a century to clarify what constitutes rape and to remove the stipulation that only women can be victims of forced sexual assault.

Japan is a male-dominated society with vast underrepresentation of women in positions of power. Its government — run by a mostly older, conservative and elite group of men — has been slow to adopt changes that concern the welfare of women and girls.

An opposition lawmaker resigned in 2021 after public outrage over his comment that it would be “strange” if he were arrested for having sex with a 14-year-old “even if there was consent.”

Human rights advocates and experts say Japan’s weak laws on sexual crimes, especially when it comes to protecting youth, have exacerbated the fetishization of young Japanese.

“The very fact that the age of consent was set at 13 created the societal mood that teenagers starting at 13 can be exploited sexually and be viewed sexually,” said Hiroko Goto, a law professor and expert on sexual violence at Chiba University.

“It has created a culture and mood where everyone assumes that teenagers have the ability to make decisions around sexual consent, and therefore people



KYODO NEWS/GETTY IMAGES



KAZUHIRO NOGI/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

TOP: Students return to school in Kuwana, Japan, in May 2020 after a pandemic closure. Activists welcomed the changes in sex-crimes laws but said more needs to be done to protect women and girls in Japan. ABOVE: Japan’s upper chamber of parliament in plenary session on Friday, when members voted to raise the age of consent, which had been among the lowest in the developed world.

don’t question their sexual exploitation,” she said.

With the limit set at 13, Japan had the lowest age of consent

among the Group of Seven advanced economies and among the lowest in the developed world. The age of consent is 16 in Canada

and most states in the United States; 15 in France; and 14 in Germany and Italy.

Japan’s laws regarding sexual

consent came under the spotlight in 2019 when a string of defendants charged with sexual crimes were acquitted.

The most shocking case was in Nagoya, where a man was found not guilty after raping his daughter when she was between the ages of 14 and 19. Prosecutors had to prove that the daughter was unable to resist and therefore raped, but the court rejected their argument.

Hundreds of people protested the acquittal, leading to a nationwide movement of “flower demonstrations” expressing solidarity with sexual assault survivors and demanding changes to sex crimes laws.

Prosecutors appealed and the man was convicted and sentenced to 10 years in prison.

Advocates also noted that had the girl been younger than 13 when she was first sexually assaulted, the court would have automatically ruled her case as rape in the first hearing.

Japanese law requires two conditions for a crime to be punishable as sexual assault: nonconsensual sex, and proof that it was “significantly difficult to reject” the sexual attack, either because of physical violence or threat of such violence.

That second condition is ambiguous and burdensome on victims to prove, proponents of change say. The requirements exclude people who could not out-

right repel an attack, such as when they are in shock or too frightened to fight back, or are being groomed by people close to them, such as family members or educators.

As a result of these requirements, Japan “still fails to meet international rape legislation standards,” according to Human Rights Now, a nongovernmental organization based in Tokyo.

It called on Japan to clearly state that all nonconsensual intercourse is rape. But the changes adopted Friday fell short of such wording.

Japan has now identified eight scenarios that could be criminally punished as “forced sexual intercourse,” including sex with victims who could not reject sex because they were under the influence of alcohol or drugs.

“There is definitely progress we are seeing, but we are still disappointed,” said Chisato Kitanaka, member of a citizen’s group of lawyers and organizations supporting sexual crime survivors. “We recognize the fact that the reform this time has definitely broadened what constitutes a sex crime, but it still isn’t enough because it doesn’t clearly stipulate what we have been asking for, which is to say: ‘Sexual intercourse without consent is a crime.’”

Kitanaka and other experts say that raising the age of consent from 13 is long overdue, but that the change also needs to come with a more robust effort to inform teens about consent as a part of their sexual education programs, which are now focused on reproduction and biology.

“In Japan, there is a saying, ‘Don’t wake someone sleeping,’ which is often used around sex education — meaning that if someone isn’t sexually active, there is no need to teach them about sex and awaken them to it,” said Goto, the law professor.

Issues of consent may be addressed at the university level, but there are few opportunities to teach such curriculum to younger students, she said.

Other newly adopted changes include a crackdown on “photo voyeurism,” making it illegal nationwide for people to take, distribute or possess sexually exploitative photos taken without consent. Until now, such crimes were governed through local ordinance, which led to inconsistent enforcement.

Arrests of people taking surreptitious photography — including of underage athletes in changing rooms, up women’s skirts or at bathhouses — have increased in recent years. In 2021, there were 5,019 such cases, or about three times the figure in 2010, according to the National Police Agency.

Japan will now also penalize grooming and lift the statute of limitation for rape to 15 years from 10 years.

What to know about the MOVEit ransomware hack

BY JOSEPH MENN

U.S. officials announced this week that a “small number” of federal agencies had been breached by a ransomware gang known as Cl0p and that they were working to assess the data stolen and mitigate the impact. Here’s what we know about the attack.

How serious is it?

Officials are still assessing the full impact, but the initial thought is that while serious, it is not as threatening as some previous ransomware attacks. The current attack is not a deep penetration of many Cabinet-level departments, as happened with 2020’s SolarWinds compromise or the theft in 2015 of millions of security clearance records at the Office of Personnel Management. And it won’t stop critical infrastructure from functioning, as happened with the Colonial Pipeline hack in 2021. But some of the stolen data could be used in follow-on attacks, including by impersonating those whose personal information was taken.

Who was behind the attack?

The group behind the attack is known as Cl0p, a hacking organization that has Russian-speaking members and is probably based in Russia. While it would not be a surprise if some members of the group included Russian police or spies, there is no indication that Cl0p takes orders from the Russian government, and its past

targeting has been all about money. Analysts believe that the government victims of the hack were caught up in a broad campaign aimed at extracting money from corporations, not at blackmailing government agencies.

How did the hackers get in?

The attackers used a previously unknown or “zero-day” flaw in the MOVEit file-transfer program sold by Progress Software to thousands of clients in the United States and elsewhere. Aimed at handling sensitive data, the program encrypts files and sends them to designated people or groups. Shortly after the attacks began, Progress identified the vulnerability in its software and offered a patch in late May, though not all clients applied it.

Attacks through such providers of software or services are especially dangerous because they can hit many customers at once. The good news about this hack is that the flaw permits access only to the database of files being transferred and not the overall networks of the companies or agencies.

What sensitive information was taken and from where?

The known federal victim so far is the U.S. Department of Energy, which oversees nuclear programs. That includes a victimized unit that manages nuclear waste, the Waste Isolation Pilot Plant in New Mexico. It is unclear how often the plant used MOVEit



HENRY NICHOLLS/REUTERS

The BBC was among the victims of the MOVEit hack. Officials are still assessing the full impact, but the initial thought is that while serious, it is not as threatening as some previous ransomware attacks.

or for what data.

Oil giant Shell was hit but said only a small number of employees used the service. The British Broadcasting Corp. and British Airways might have lost sensitive payroll information because of their reliance on a servicing firm called Zellis that used MOVEit.

On Friday, Louisiana and Oregon warned that all their driver’s licenses had been exposed, which would include birth dates and home addresses. Louisiana said Social Security numbers and vehicle registration numbers were

also at risk. The states recommend that drivers get free credit reports to check for unauthorized activity, freeze their credit to stop new accounts in their name, and get a personal identification number from the IRS to block outsiders from obtaining their tax refunds.

What will Cl0p do with the data?

The group has begun posting the names of the hundreds of companies it claims to have information from. It says it will start

publishing content from those that do not negotiate an extortion payment on June 21. Cl0p said it did not mean to hit governments and that it will delete their data, though it could sell that information to others without anyone realizing it.

Is this a sign that the U.S. can’t defend itself from overseas hacking gangs?

No. The fact that Cl0p felt obliged to declare it wasn’t after the government or hospitals indicates that U.S. arrests and disrupt-

tions of some of the most aggressive ransomware gangs are having an impact. The Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency also moved rapidly to warn potential targets and urge them to apply the protective patches. Ransomware groups still claim new victims daily, and because many attacks go undeclared, it is impossible to know where things are headed. But some indicators, such as the declining average amount of money demanded, show improvement in discouraging such attacks.

ECONOMY & BUSINESS

UPS union workers authorize nationwide strike for this summer

BY LAUREN KAORI GURLEY

UPS union workers voted to approve the right to strike Friday, putting the nation's largest shipping company a step closer to a shutdown that could threaten the transportation of goods and commodities nationwide later this summer.

The Teamsters, the union representing 340,000 UPS employees, authorized a nationwide strike as of Aug. 1.

The vote does not mean that a strike will happen, but it gives labor leaders the right to call a walkout that could paralyze the

economy, if a contract deal is not reached in negotiations by the end of July.

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters said UPS union members voted by 97 percent to approve a strike.

The UPS contract negotiations could have sweeping implications for the U.S. labor movement and the economy. For decades, the UPS Teamsters contract has set and raised standards for workers around the United States, ensuring a path to the middle class for many Americans who do not have college degrees. Meanwhile, a strike could have devastating con-

sequences for an economy that is increasingly reliant on its delivery infrastructure, with an estimated 6 percent of the country's gross domestic product passing through UPS delivery vans each year.

It would be the first strike to threaten the nation's transportation system since the last time UPS employees went on strike 26 years ago and the largest of any U.S. industry since the 1950s.

"This vote shows that hundreds of thousands of Teamsters are united and determined to get the best contract in our history at UPS," Teamsters President Sean O'Brien said in a statement. "If

this multibillion-dollar corporation fails to deliver on the contract that our hard-working members deserve, UPS will be striking itself."

A spokesperson for UPS said that the vote results do not mean a strike is imminent and "do not impact our current business operations in any way." "We continue to make progress on key issues and remain confident that we will reach an agreement that provides wins for our employees, the Teamsters, our company and our customers," they said in a statement.

UPS and the Teamsters have been in talks since early May over

the UPS contract, which sets pay, benefits and working conditions for UPS employees nationwide. The major sticking points are higher pay, the creation of more full-time jobs, and the elimination of UPS's reliance on a lower-paid class of delivery driver.

The Teamsters and UPS have reached more than two dozen tentative deals on their contract, including a landmark agreement to equip new package delivery vans with air conditioning. Air conditioning has been a longtime demand of delivery drivers who toil each summer in the heat for up to 14 hours a day. Older vans

also will be equipped with a second fan as part of the deal.

More than 140 UPS employees have been injured in heat- or dehydration-related incidents since 2015, according to data reported to the federal government by UPS.

The Teamsters and UPS also have agreed to contract language that prevents UPS from using driverless vehicles or drones without negotiating with the union. The parties also settled on terms that would prevent the installation of driver-facing cameras in vehicles and would provide for increased UPS penalties for payroll errors.

Growing array of plant tech delivers information and inspiration

These apps and gadgets are built for the novice, green thumb alike

BY TATUM HUNTER

Keeping up with the latest tech doesn't have to mean wearing a computer on your face or letting AI programs write your emails. Some new apps and gadgets are helping people get outside and touch grass.

Tools that make it easier to appreciate and take care of plants — "plant tech," we'll call them — are getting smarter thanks to advances in gene editing, computer vision and smart home setups. Some plant products draw on the same technologies powering breakthroughs in augmented reality and medicine. These new avenues for plant care are making life easier for novices and experienced green thumbs alike, said Hank Adams, chief executive and founder of indoor hydroponic company Rise Gardens.

"Gardening is a cool way to connect with the earth and have something that's not purely analytical and technical," he said. "But at the same time, I can follow along on my phone as my garden grows, and it kind of acts like a fallback."

For Adams, tech and the natural world aren't opposed — they're complementary. Plants make us happy, he said, and tech can help keep our plants happy.

Plant tech is a big category that includes apps, smart sensors and bioengineered plants themselves. So whether you're struggling to manage a sprawling outdoor garden or just trying to keep a succulent alive, you don't have to toil alone. Here's a list of our favorite plant tech to keep you informed and inspired along the way:

Cleaning the air

Plants help capture carbon and other pollutants from the air. And with the power of genetic engineering, some plants go above and beyond.

Take Neoplants, a company that made a splash at this year's CES, a giant consumer tech exhibition in Las Vegas, with its air-purifying houseplants. Neoplant engineers edited the genetics of the plants so they would absorb more volatile organic compounds — chemicals emitted from thousands of household products that can cause short- and long-term health problems, according to the Environmental Protection Agency.

A single Neoplant can remove 30 times more volatile organic compounds from the air than a typical houseplant, the company says. The plants are in testing to see how they perform compared to air purifiers, said Patrick Tor-

bey, co-founder and chief technology officer. And the company has plans for more genetically engineered houseplants.

"Every year we want to offer a new species of plants to people that are maybe bigger, more performant, that have a different look," Torbey said.

You can join a waiting list as the company releases small batches of the plants to start. The plants, along with a stand and three months' worth of special bacteria drops, run \$179. (The drops help the plant continue cleaning the air, Torbey said.)

Learning about the plants where you live

Curious about that weird tree you saw on a hike or the aromatic flower outside your apartment door? There is, of course, an app for that, and the best ones are totally free. As Washington Post climate columnist Michael J. Coren found, scientists have shared

the latest data on plant and animal species to power augmented-reality apps that can identify flowers, trees and everything in between.

Coren recommends the Seek app, which identifies plants and animals in real time as you shoot live video. If you want more information about the plant you found, switch over to the iNaturalist or Pl@ntNet apps and upload an image. There, amateur and professional nature lovers work together to identify plants and document their observations. The apps are fun, Coren said, and the data they generate helps scientists and citizens take better care of the natural world.

You may not even need to download a new app to start identifying the flora around you. If your iPhone runs iOS 15 or newer — which it really should be, considering that software was released two years ago — the "visual lookup" feature built into the

Photos app can try to figure out what flowers you've snapped pics of. A similar feature — Google Lens — will do the same for photos on Android phones, also free.

Lighting up the night

String lights are a backyard staple, but glow-in-the-dark plants could soon give you a new way to illuminate your garden or patio.

Light Bio, another cell-programming company in the vein of Neoplants, took genetic information from bioluminescent mushrooms and used it to make other plants emit light, the company says. You can join a waiting list to get your hands on one of the company's proprietary "firefly petunias," which give off a soft green glow.

Growing your own food

When it comes to indoor gardening, your setup can be as fancy

or simple as you like.

For an easy set-it-and-forget-it option, check out tiny indoor gardens like the herb garden kit from Click and Grow. This countertop-friendly unit comes with plant pods like basil and lavender, an LED grow light and self-watering reservoir. Just drop in the pods, fill up the water and wait.

For something more elaborate, look at the personal-sized rig from Rise Gardens. This setup fits up to 12 plants, including fruits, vegetables, herbs and microgreens, the company says. The accompanying app alerts you when the plants need water or nutrients.

Keeping track of water

Overwatering is the easiest way to kill a houseplant. But without real-time feedback from your plant, it's hard to know how much hydration is too much.

Apps like Planta can be handy for figuring out what kind of care

your plant friends need, while smart plant pots and sensors can help you keep tabs on their health. This smart sensor, for instance, sits in the soil next to your plant and pairs with an app. It claims to provide data on water level, soil fertility, temperature and light exposure. Guesswork, be gone.

Scaring hungry critters away

If squirrels or deer are eating your hard-won garden, an unexpected bath might send them packing.

A motion-sensor-equipped sprinkler detects when something is moving nearby and sprays it with water. It's more humane than chemicals and traps — just don't forget you set it up or you'll end up wet. And remember: Some animals love water even when they arguably shouldn't.

Chris Velazco contributed to this report.



ILLUSTRATION BY ELENA LACEY/THE WASHINGTON POST

DIGEST

RETAIL

Holidays don't look good for clothing sales

There are warning signals that some U.S. retailers are bracing for apparel and footwear sales to fall off sharply during the next several quarters, a sign that the better-than-expected retail sales data may give way to deeper declines in the coming months.

The value of retail purchases climbed 0.3 percent after a 0.4 percent gain in April, Commerce Department data showed Thursday. But the outlook for the end of this year and next looks bleaker. Some factory owners say they are starting to see big drops in

retailers' holiday orders as companies become increasingly cautious about consumers' budgets. At least one company that works with major brands has heard about plummeting demand from retailers for merchandise they plan to sell in the spring and summer of 2024.

The drop-off in apparel orders further bolsters the view that a U.S. economic recession is increasingly likely after the Federal Reserve said this week that it's prepared to raise interest rates again.

The quantity of apparel imports tumbled 31 percent in the first four months of this year versus a year earlier, according to U.S. government trade figures published last week. "You can

really see the anxiety in the apparel market," said Sheng Lu, an associate professor of apparel studies at the University of Delaware.

— Bloomberg News

TECH

Musk says he changed 'corrosive' Twitter

Elon Musk, speaking at a conference in Paris, said that he bought Twitter because the social network was having a "corrosive effect" on civil society that he hoped to improve.

"My hope was to change that and have it be positive for civilization," he said as part of a wide-ranging discussion at the

VivaTech conference on Friday in front of a crowd of about 4,000 people. Musk said he believed that most regular users of Twitter would say that their experience on the site has improved.

Musk also expressed optimism about new CEO Linda Yaccarino's ability to court advertisers. Use of the network is at an all-time high and that "almost all the advertisers have said they have either come back, or they will come back," he said.

When Musk took over, advertisers began fleeing Twitter because they were concerned about the type of content their ads would appear next to. Since October, Twitter's advertising revenue has declined by

50 percent, Musk said in March.

— Bloomberg News

ALSO IN BUSINESS

Airline, hotel and cruise stocks have jumped since late May as consumers rush to travel, but the outlook for later this year is murky and higher interest rates may take their toll on the shares. The S&P Supercomposite Airlines Index and the S&P Composite 1500 Hotels, Resorts & Cruise Lines Index are both near highs last touched in mid-2022, rising steadily in recent weeks. SkyWest, Hawaiian Holdings, Delta Air Lines, Carnival, Norwegian Cruise Line Holdings and Royal Caribbean Cruises led the advances.

JPMorgan Chase CEO Jamie Dimon won't face a second round of questioning in the bank's litigation over its ties to Jeffrey Epstein, after a judge blocked an attempt to reopen depositions in the case. The U.S. Virgin Islands, which is suing JPMorgan, claiming the company knowingly benefited from Epstein's sex trafficking, had asked for a federal court's approval to question one former and two current bank employees, including Dimon. He had already faced a seven-hour deposition on May 26, denying ever meeting Epstein. On Friday, U.S. District Judge Jed Rakoff denied the USVI's request.

— From news services

Dueling reports are released on vulnerabilities in Georgia’s voting machines

The
Cyber 202

TIM STARKS

A long-awaited report on the cybersecurity vulnerabilities of election machines in Georgia was finally released alongside another report this week, but the two sides of a long-running dispute over the security of the state’s election machines can’t agree on what conclusions to draw.

The first report — by University of Michigan professor J. Alex Halderman and Auburn University assistant professor Drew Springall, who helped him — outlined several cybersecurity flaws, the most critical of which they say could be exploited by malicious hackers to change votes and alter election outcomes. Importantly, Halderman said there’s no evidence that the vulnerabilities have actually been used by malicious hackers to change votes or steal an election.

Another report by research nonprofit Mitre — which Dominion Voting Systems brought on to evaluate the Halderman report — downplayed the seriousness of the vulnerabilities, concluding that they were “operationally infeasible.”

The dueling reports emerge from a long-running court battle over Georgia voting equipment that began in 2017 and illustrates a years-long fight over election security.

David Cross and other lawyers from Morrison Foerster who represent the individual plaintiffs in the case got Halderman and Springall to evaluate Dominion’s ImageCast X Ballot Marking Devices. The two professors “discovered vulnerabilities in nearly every part of the system that is exposed to potential attackers,” in the words of Halderman.

Georgia officials have been touting Mitre’s report. They have insisted that the machines in

question are secure and they say they will not update them until after the 2024 elections.

One authority that’s got no stake in the court battle, the Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency, said last year that the vulnerabilities Halderman and Springall found “present risks that should be mitigated as soon as possible.”

On Wednesday, CISA Executive Director Brandon Wales said in a statement: “Working closely with the security researchers, the voting system vendor, and election officials, CISA was able to responsibly disclose actionable mitigations addressing certain vulnerabilities, which affected versions of Dominion Voting Systems’ software used in ballot-marking devices deployed in several states. To date, we have no evidence that these vulnerabilities were exploited and no evidence that they affected any election results.”

The Election Assistance Commission also touted that it had certified fixes to the identified vulnerabilities. “Working alongside other federal partners, the need to quickly identify and respond to vulnerabilities to our voting systems is critical,” the four commissioners — Chairwoman Christy McCormick, Vice Chair Ben Hovland, Donald Palmer and Thomas Hicks — said in a statement.

Claim vs. claim

The 2021 report by Halderman and Springall had been sealed until this week over security concerns. A federal judge last week allowed a redacted version of the report to be released.

The most severe vulnerability they found was a software flaw that would allow hackers to spread malware from machine to machine, via a county’s central election management system (EMS), according to Halderman. “This attack is especially

dangerous because it is scalable — a single intrusion to the EMS computer in a county office could affect equipment in polling places over a very wide area,” Halderman wrote in a blog post. “Attackers do not need access to each individual machine.”

Installing that malware would allow hackers to change votes without being detected, the report concluded.

Meanwhile, Georgia Secretary of State Brad Raffensperger (R) and Dominion both declared the Mitre report — with its opposite conclusions — vindicated them.

“The MITRE report confirms that Georgia’s election infrastructure is secured by the toughest safeguards,” Raffensperger said in a statement. “For years, election deniers have created a cottage industry of ever-shifting claims about conspiracies to change votes, steal elections, and undermine voter confidence. This report says it all: voting machines do not flip votes. Cast ballots are counted as the voter intended. Georgia elections are secure.”

“The MITRE report concluded that none of the alleged vulnerabilities listed in Plaintiff’s Expert Report would allow a bad actor to change the outcome of an election, particularly given scale considerations,” reads a statement on Dominion’s website.

But according to Halderman, that logic is flawed. For one, Mitre didn’t have access to the Dominion voting equipment or software like he and Springall did.

Mitre’s report also makes a flawed assumption about insider access to voting equipment, according to Halderman.

Mitre said it “assumes strict and effective controlled access to Dominion election hardware and software.”

In 2021 in Coffee County, Ga., forensics experts working for



BRYNN ANDERSON/AP

Voting machines in Atlanta in 2020. While one report outlined several cybersecurity flaws that could be exploited by hackers, a second report downplayed the seriousness of the weaknesses.

lawyers allied with former president Donald Trump copied virtually every component of the Dominion equipment. (Georgia officials ultimately said they would replace the county’s voting equipment.)

A Coffee County official apparently described other physical security issues.

Access to equipment — like in Coffee County — is what’s needed to carry out the attack on the most severe vulnerability that Halderman described, he said.

What’s next

It would take tens of thousands of hours to update nearly 45,000 pieces of Georgia voting equipment, Raffensperger explained last year, and he wants jurisdictions to focus their energy on running elections through the 2024 election cycle. In the meantime, there will be

pilots in Georgia to test the updates, he said.

“Election deniers and those with similar claims in the courts may want us to irresponsibly move faster to make this change,” Raffensperger said. “However, I have told our team we will move in a responsible, deliberate, and mature way that will put the needs of voters and our election workers first. I’m an engineer. To build a solid structure, you need a strong well laid foundation. That is what this plan does.”

But Halderman says that’s a bad approach. “Announcing this is worse than doing nothing at all, since it puts would-be adversaries on notice that the state will conduct the presidential election with this particular version of software with known vulnerabilities, giving them nearly 18 months to prepare and deploy attacks,” he

said.

Still, no one who takes Halderman’s research seriously should jump to the conclusion that hackers have successfully compromised elections. Halderman said nothing in his findings provide anything like evidence that the 2020 election was “stolen.” It’s just that risks exists going forward, depending on how everyone reacts.

“We’re sorry to be the bearers of bad news when trust in elections is already low, but the public needs accurate information about election security,” Halderman said. “Whether our findings ultimately strengthen or weaken public trust will depend on how responsible officials respond.”

You can subscribe to The Cybersecurity newsletter, which is published every weekday, at wapo.st/cyber202.

Pittsburgh synagogue gunman faces potential death penalty after guilty verdict

VERDICT FROM A1

head and fired about 100 rounds of ammunition in all, prosecutors said.

“The defendant turned this sacred ground of worship into a hunting ground,” prosecutor Mary Hahn told the jurors in her closing arguments Thursday, according to local news accounts.

The jury deliberated for a total of about five hours over two days before reaching the verdict.

Bowers’s defense team, which did not call any witnesses and introduced no evidence, did not dispute that he carried out the massacre. In her opening statement, public defender Judy Clarke suggested that Bowers was motivated to violence not because of a hatred of Jews, but rather because he feared that congregants were aiding immigrants, whom he considered a threat to Americans.

“None of this is true,” another defense attorney, Elisa Long, said during her closing arguments Thursday. “But it is what Mr. Bowers believed to be true.”

Bowers sat next to his lawyers at the defense table during the trial, but he did not testify. Survivors and family members of the victims also attended the proceedings each day.

“I am grateful to God for getting us to this day,” Rabbi Jeffrey Myers of the Tree of Life congregation said in a statement after the verdict Friday. “Today I’m focused on being with my congregation and praying, singing and clapping in praise of God as we do each Shabbat.”

Pennsylvania Gov. Josh Shapiro, who is Jewish, said in a statement that the verdict was “a step toward justice in Pittsburgh, but the horror and pain of October 27, 2018 will never go away.”

The first phase of the trial determined whether Bowers would be found guilty or not guilty of the charges. A second phase, now that a jury found him guilty, will determine whether he will face the death penalty or life in prison. U.S. District Judge Robert Colville said he expected the second phase to begin June 26.

Prosecutors are seeking the death penalty, and the next phase of the trial could last up to six weeks, authorities said.

Defense lawyers have filed motions stating that Bowers has schizophrenia and epilepsy, brain impairments that they could argue are mitigating factors against capital punishment. Prosecutors rejected a defense offer of a plea agreement that would have resulted in Bowers spending the rest of his life in



JAHl CHIKWENDU/THE WASHINGTON POST

The Tree of Life synagogue was the site of the 2018 mass killing that authorities say was the deadliest act of antisemitism in U.S. history.

“Today I’m focused on being with my congregation and praying, singing and clapping in praise of God as we do each Shabbat.”

Rabbi Jeffrey Myers, of the Tree of Life congregation, after the guilty verdict

prison. Colville permitted prosecutors to conduct their own psychiatric analysis of Bowers in the days before the trial began in late May. The results remain confidential.

If the jury does not land unanimously in favor of capital punishment, Bowers would automatically receive a sentence of life in prison, under federal sentencing guidelines.

The conviction comes as the Justice Department has sought to bolster efforts to combat a nationwide spike in hate crimes, which reached a 30-year high in the United States in 2021, according to FBI statistics.

In 2022, the Anti-Defamation League tallied 3,697 antisemitic incidents nationwide — including assaults, harassment and vandalism — a 36 percent increase from the year before and the most since the group began collecting such data in 1979.

Amy Spitalnick, chief execu-

tive of the Jewish Council for Public Affairs, tweeted Friday that the attack at the Tree of Life synagogue was “part of a broader cycle of right-wing extremism in which each attack inspires the next. And in the five years since Tree of Life, the white supremacist conspiracy theory behind it has been fully normalized in our politics and our society.”

During the first phase of the trial, prosecutors called an FBI specialist to read dozens of vile antisemitic messages and memes that Bowers posted on Gab, a social media website popular with far-right extremists, including neo-Nazis. Witnesses testified that Bowers entered the Tree of Life synagogue on a Saturday morning when members of three congregations — Tree of Life, Dor Hadash and New Light — that shared the building were observing Shabbat prayer services.

Bowers killed members of

each congregation, moving through the building from the chapel to the basement and stalking his victims in the pews, a kitchen and a supply closet.

Myers testified that he survived after hiding in a bathroom for more than 40 minutes, one hand clutching the door handle in case Bowers tried to burst in. Dan Leger, who was wounded, testified that he thought he was going to bleed to death from a gunshot to the abdomen in a synagogue stairway before being rescued by a police officer.

Bowers retreated to an empty children’s classroom on the third floor and engaged in a fierce shootout with SWAT team officers, during which he was shot and surrendered after running out of bullets.

Those killed were: Rose Mallinger, 97; Bernice Simon, 84, and her husband, Sylvan Simon, 86; brothers David Rosenthal, 54, and Cecil Rosenthal, 59; Dan

Stein, 71; Dr. Jerry Rabinowitz, 66; Joyce Fienberg, 75; Melvin Wax, 87; Irving Younger, 69; and Richard Gottfried, 65. Leger and Andrea Wedner, Mallinger’s daughter, were shot but survived.

On the final day of testimony Wednesday, Wedner, 66, testified that she and her mother tried to hide in the pews of the Pervin Chapel. Bowers found them after returning to the room and shot them both.

When police officers found her, she said she kissed her fingers and pressed them to her mother’s skin, calling out, “Mommy,” as they led her out.

After Wedner finished testifying and left the courtroom, prosecutors played the audio recording of her 911 emergency call. She could be heard saying, “Oh God, I can’t believe this is happening” amid screaming in the chapel.

After the recording ended, prosecutors rested their case.

FREE FOR ALL

The battle of the sexes for coverage

Such a discouraging comparison:
An article on American men losing the third round of the French Open was written by a staff reporter and was on the June 4 Sports section front [“American men are done in Paris, but there’s hope”].
Meanwhile, an American woman advanced to the fourth round and was relegated to a wire bit buried on the sixth page of the section [“Playing role of veteran, Gauff makes fourth round”].
Seriously, how is this still going on?
J.M. Shearer, Annapolis

They aren’t ‘culture wars’

Regarding the June 5 news article “Amid feud with DeSantis, Gay Days still strong at Disney”:
The extreme right is targeting corporations that support Pride and LGBTQ people. Please stop using the term “culture wars.”
When store employees are being threatened with scissors and shooting, it’s not about bluegrass vs. classical music. Using doublespeak obscures the danger.
These are hate campaigns designed to stir up fear and hatred of “the other.” They are succeeding; anti-LGBTQ violence is on the rise. If you were reporting on Germany in the 1930s, would you term Brownshirts threatening Jews a “culture war”? That’s where we are.
Mindy Oshrain, Durham, N.C.

Giving credit where it’s past due

Though I was happy to see “Intoxicating performances in ‘Days of Wine and Roses,’” Peter Marks’s glowing June 7 Style review of the new Broadway musical adaptation of “Days of Wine and Roses,” I was shocked to discover that nowhere in the review did the name of the author of the original screenplay appear. For the record, it is the great television writer JP Miller.
Christopher Conlon, Takoma Park

Barely passing grammar

The June 8 front-page article on the firing of CNN chief executive Chris Licht, “CNN fires CEO after blunders, staff revolt,” reported that he “had barely been on the job for a year.” This led me to wonder whether a contributing factor in his firing was that, like the emperor of folklore, Licht wore no clothes while working.
My confusion would have been avoided if the article had stated, more correctly, that Licht “had been on the job for barely a year.”
David M. Cohen, Chevy Chase

Clamoring against ‘clamber’

The June 3 issue gave us a twofer of misuses of the word “clamber.”
If officials had to clamber to help President Gerald Ford up when he fell on the tarmac in Salzburg, Austria, let’s hope there have been some airport repairs since 1975 [“When the mighty fall: Biden not the only politician to tumble”].
And competing in the National Spelling Bee is stressful enough without having to clamber onto the stage [“Fla. speller aces *psammophile* for bee glory”]. For heaven’s sake, build the poor kids some steps next year!
Jane Bourdow, Alexandria

Superb writing about spelling

Every year, the National Spelling Bee is very exciting for the participants and the admirers, including me. This year’s contest was no exception.
What made it more thrilling this year was the June 3 Metro article by Lizzie Johnson, “Fla. speller aces *psammophile* for bee glory.” From the first sentence to the end, Johnson described the finals in such a way that it seemed to be a chapter from a mystery novel.
Anil Prayag, Rockville

Big if true

So Anne Frank survived Bergen-Belsen?
A caption with a photograph that accompanied the June 4 Book World article “Anne Frank, as her friend remembered her” contained the following: “Pick-Goslar holds a photo of Frank a few months before her death in 2022.”
That’s burying the lede.
Terence Byrne, Gaithersburg

Reader’s stock in Post plunges

I was dismayed when The Post stopped providing even limited information about daily movements in the Dow Jones Industrial Average, etc., because such information is of interest to me and, I suspect, to many other readers. But I was dumbfounded when the print edition of The Post completely ignored the significant 700-point surge in the Dow on June 2. Didn’t The Post consider this a newsworthy reflection of the impact of the enacted debt ceiling legislation and the unexpected 339,000 jobs added in May?
Maurice Axelrad, Bethesda

Many pages, few details

The June 4 Post had almost five full pages devoted to either describing or opining on the negotiations on the debt ceiling bill, and this was on top of days of coverage of the process as it happened. However, I didn’t see a single article devoted to what’s in the bill. Any information on that came in bits and pieces in the process articles.
Could we please have at least a little bit of coverage of the sausage and not just the sausage-making?
Kevin W. Parker, Greenbelt

Big ups for ‘Big Nate’

I really enjoyed the extended story about Big Nate and his girlfriend in the comic strip “Big Nate.” It keeps the strip’s humor and adds warmth. Thanks to The Post for carrying the comic.
Larry Ozanne, Washington



MARVIN JOSEPH/THE WASHINGTON POST

Men, women and bikes rumble down Constitution Avenue during Rolling to Remember on May 25.

A ride to remember

When I was looking at the May 29 Metro article “Bikers’ event returns to Pentagon,” it was clear to see that the return of a Memorial Day tradition deserved more photographs and, perhaps, an appearance on the front page. Nevertheless, seeing Rolling to Remember (formerly Rolling Thunder) was a sight to behold.
My mother and I arrived in D.C. to watch Rolling to Remember pass along the traditional route used by Rolling Thunder. We last went in 2019, when Rolling Thunder went out in style by having hundreds of thousands of motorbikes roll

down Constitution Avenue. It appeared there were fewer motorcyclists this year, and it took only three-quarters of an hour for them to pass by our spot.
There was plenty to see, from booths with memorabilia to the occasional tourist who asked people to pose like models and the unexpected sighting of Marine One and its escort.
I am thankful to the motorbikers for an impressive display worth four years of waiting. I am also thankful to the law enforcement officers who helped.
Casey Emmer, Great Falls

Arts depreciation

I enjoyed reading Sebastian Smee’s June 4 Arts & Style review of the Vincent van Gogh exhibits in Chicago and New York, “Watching van Gogh find his own voice.” However, I was angered by his snarky put-down of how they did “much to air out the ambient flatulence of cheapo experiences such as the ubiquitous ‘Immersive Van Gogh.’” His uncalled-for pan put a damper on this article for me.
It seems Smee believes all readers of The Post can easily make their way to Chicago or New York to see these exhibits and should skip any other chance to experience van Gogh.
The immersive shows give fans of van Gogh the opportunity to see his works locally and learn more about the artist. Hopefully, they create new fans along the way.
Steve Lodge, Bethesda

The decline and fall of the Arts & Style section was displayed on June 4. I have been appalled on seeing the large amount of white space, huge photos and color graphics, gossip columns, and ads for special features overtaking the reviews of local arts events.
On June 4, I reached for the abacus. I totaled page space for out-of-town arts activities, local arts and other reportage in the section. Here are the sad results:
Out-of-town arts: four and a half pages, including New York theater plus van Gogh exhibitions in New York and Chicago
Local art exhibits: three pages
Ads for The Post: one and three-quarters pages
Local music preview: one page
Restaurant review, movie guide, gossip, horoscope and crosswords: three and a half pages.
What was missing? No mention was made of theater or dance activities in the D.C. region.
Maybe the time has come to change the name of the paper. I suggest the East Coast Post. Or simply admit that dance and drama in Washington are limited to the halls of Congress.
Christel Stevens, University Park



DAN KITWOOD/GETTY IMAGES

Visitors look at parts of the Elgin marbles at the British Museum in 2018.

The question of art

I enjoyed Sebastian Smee’s June 4 Great Works, in Focus column, “A meta moment at the Met captures a specific mood.”
I particularly liked his question, “Why, I wondered, do we cherish representations of things in the world when we ourselves are already in the world, surrounded by real things?”
It’s a great question — *the* question of art.
Art (music, dance, sculpture and drawing) is core to who we are, and it has been with us for something around 100,000 years. The powerful shoulders of the aurochs, the bristling manes of the horses and the graceful antlers of the reindeer of the Lascaux and Font-de-Gaume caves show that a keen artistic eye is an essential trait we possess as humans.
But why do we feel compelled to produce representations of what we see?

Undoubtedly, it’s a kind of manipulation — holding an object in our hands and saying, “Ah, yes, that is it, the essence of the object.” The artists of Lascaux, the sculptors of the Elgin marbles, Goya depicting the Disasters of War and Claude Monet painting Rouen Cathedral were all engaged in the same act.
I’m not saying that this is the only artistic impulse, but it’s a powerful one.
One of the enduring legacies of Edgar Degas is that he left so much unfinished work and so many studies. We can look at these drawings and sculptures and see Degas asking, “What is this; what am I looking at?” Taking his subject apart and trying to put it back together on a piece of paper with charcoal or in a small sculpture. Saying to God, “I see.”
Stuart Gallant, Boston



TING SHEN/BLOOMBERG

These are the best photos The Post can find?

It’s hard to imagine that some editor approved the two photographs that accompanied the May 28 news article “U.S. leaders gamble with pivotal asset in debt limit battle.”
A photo of the Treasury Department with who-knows-what in the foreground and the photo of Treasury Secretary Janet L. Yellen’s head from the nose up were the best editors could find? The Post can do better — and usually does.
Robert E. Smith, Rehoboth Beach, Del.



RICKY CARIOTI/THE WASHINGTON POST

Top: The Treasury building. Bottom: Treasury Secretary Janet L. Yellen testifies before Congress in March.

Drawing bored

I used to look forward to Saturday’s op-ed page because of its Drawing Board with four political cartoons. As of May 27, they disappeared, replaced by a large, paneled cartoon. Losses of loved aspects of The Post make me less enamored.
Please bring back the political cartoons!
Gretchen Dunn, New Carrollton

I have really been disappointed the past couple of weeks with the political cartoons — mainly the lack thereof in the Saturday Opinions section and even the sometimes-bland ones in the daily Opinions section.
Readers can go to the Style section for normal funnies. Please bring the political cartoons back. I enjoy the biting humor, seeing both sides and the tradition of Herblock in The Post.
Sandra Morris, Reston

Drawing ‘stupid’ bored

I was perplexed to see the June 5 editorial cartoon depicting a man and woman in the front of a car, with the man saying, “Just you, me, the open road, and all the profoundly stupid things I’ll say out of boredom.”
What bothered me about the cartoon was how out of sync it was from the experiences of me and my family while driving “the open road.” My late wife and I found the discussions we had while on road trips to be some of the most interesting, consequential and fun we had during our almost 50 years together. Particularly when we both were working, our time together in the car gave us a chance to discuss things that we didn’t otherwise have the time to talk about. While we were driving, with or without our kids, we would talk about important things, including making the decision to get married. We would tell silly stories and laugh. We would learn things about each other that we didn’t know before. We would attempt to solve all the problems of the world. If we wanted to be quiet, we could, but boredom was never a problem.
But whether my experiences are the norm or unusual, a cartoon complaining about “stupid” comments during a car trip hardly qualifies for the editorial page of a first-rate newspaper.
Randell Hunt Norton, Washington

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

EDITORIALS



MICHELLE KONDRICH/THE WASHINGTON POST

Air wars

Marijuana smoke is pungent and toxic. A D.C. case finds it’s also a nuisance.

IN OCTOBER 2019, Cleveland Park resident Josefa Ippolito-Shepherd sent an email appeal to her neighbor: Please stop polluting my home with marijuana smoke. “Today, after a short stay outside the house, upon returning and entering my home, the horrible Cannabis smell was overwhelming, so much so that I got very, very nauseated/sick and started vomiting repeatedly until nothing was left in my stomach,” wrote Ms. Ippolito-Shepherd, who shares a wall with the neighbor.

That was among the more than 200 emails that Ms. Ippolito-Shepherd sent to her neighbor and his landlord in her campaign for clean residential air. Her appeals are now a matter of public record because in 2020, Ms. Ippolito-Shepherd sued for nuisance, in a case that would to an end this month with a ruling from D.C. Superior Court Judge Ebony Scott in her favor.

“While the Court recognizes that [the defendant] possesses a license to purchase medical marijuana from licensed dispensaries in the District of Columbia, he does not possess a license to disrupt the full use and enjoyment of one’s land, nor does his license usurp this long-established right,” wrote Judge Scott. The court prohibited the neighbor, Thomas Cackett, from smoking marijuana on his premises or within 25 feet of Ms. Ippolito-Shepherd’s residence.

The Post’s Meryl Kornfield and Kim Bellware reported that the ruling is “believed to be the first of its kind and could open the door to additional legal action.” That makes sense, given the city’s residential topography: In 2020, only 12 percent of the District’s households inhabited single-family detached homes. In a city full of townhouses and condo buildings, residential adjacencies are everywhere — and pot smoke has a way of seeping through them.

The legal clash was one small byproduct of the upheaval in D.C. marijuana regulation over the past decade. The city in 2014 decriminalized possession of small amounts of marijuana and the next year implemented Initiative 71, which went further by legalizing use and possession of small amounts for people 21 and older, as well as the transfer — or “gifting” — of marijuana, among other provisions.

The liberalization left behind a legal oddity: Marijuana use remains prohibited in public spaces. “I do not want the public smoking of marijuana around my kid — I do not,” said D.C. Council Chairman Phil Mendelson in 2014.

Yet it’s allowed on private property, a point that figured into Ms. Ippolito-Shepherd’s lawsuit. The case was initially dismissed on the rationale that the offending activity was legal, then reinstated by the D.C. Court of Appeals because “a complaint can state an actionable nuisance claim based on conduct that is not inherently against the law.” Correct: There are many legal activities — owning a dog or listening to music, for example — that can double as nuisances when carried out by inconsiderate residents.

“Nobody from a health perspective should be exposed to contaminants that we know . . . are carcinogenic,” Ms. Ippolito-Shepherd told us. Ample research supports that contention. “Many of the chemical constituents that have been identified in marijuana smoke are carcinogens,” notes a 2009 report from a California state agency. What the scientific research doesn’t show is “serious harm from secondhand exposure to marijuana smoke,” says Dale Gieringer, state coordinator of California NORML, who pointed to a 2017 National Academy of Sciences report that found “moderate evidence of no statistical association between cannabis smoking and the incidence of lung cancer.” Federal law, which classifies marijuana as a Schedule I drug, has hampered efforts to study its impact, as The Post has noted.

We editorialized against legalization in 2014 in large part because of marijuana’s linkage to “memory problems, impaired thinking and weakened immune systems.” The suffusion of weed smoke in residential and public spaces adds heft to that argument.

So what to do from here? Some have proposed social consumption spaces — “analogous to a bar or a restaurant,” said Morgan Fox, NORML’s political director — though such sites could pose a nuisance to neighbors as well as workers. Another idea is to rescind the prohibition on smoking in public spaces, which would presumably cut consumption in cramped residential settings. It would also import the smellscape of New York City, where sidewalk pot smoking is legal. “The number one thing I smell right now is pot,” said Mayor Eric Adams in July 2022. “It seems like everyone is smoking a joint now, you know. Everybody has a joint.”

All of which places the solution in the hands of pot smokers. “The overarching issue is that as a responsible cannabis user, you should be conscientious about how your consumption impacts the people around you,” said Mr. Fox.

Get the chief on the beat

D.C., New York and Baltimore need new police leaders.

AMONG THE hardest jobs to fill lately is police chief, and it’s concerning how many major U.S. cities are searching for one. This month alone, heads of police in D.C., New York City and Baltimore all announced their departures. Chicago is also hunting for a new police superintendent after the prior one left in March. It’s always a challenge to find the right person for this critical role, but it’s especially fraught right now. Numerous officers and policing experts told us this is the hardest time to lead a police department since the 1960s — and social media didn’t exist back then.

Violent crime spiked during the pandemic. While the murder rate appears to have peaked nationally, it remains above pre-pandemic levels in many cities. D.C. has seen more than 100 murders so far this year — the earliest the city has hit that grim milestone in two decades. It has been especially challenging to handle the number of teenage offenders and the mental health crisis. At the same time, there are rightly calls for police reform in the wake of the murder of George Floyd and the killings of Breonna Taylor and others from the unjust use of deadly police force. Police morale is low, and recruiting is a struggle. (D.C. is offering a \$25,000 signing bonus to new hires.) City budgets are also coming under strain as pandemic aid fades and workers aren’t coming into downtown offices like they once did.

What triggered the recent police chief departures is different in each city. But two takeaways are clear: The chiefs made known the heavy toll of the job on their families and the lack of support from city hall. Then-D.C. Police Chief Robert J. Contee III frequently faced protesters, including at his home, where his 10-year-old son struggled with the hate directed at the family. Departing New York City Police Commissioner Keechant Sewell found it eerie to be recognized at the supermarket, though she ultimately departed because of

a rift with Mayor Eric Adams (D), himself a former police captain. Chicago Police Superintendent David Brown stepped down after the mayor who appointed him was not reelected and the challengers vowed to fire him. Baltimore Police Commissioner Michael Harrison served for four years — one of the longer tenures for the job — but surprised many with his abrupt decision to depart.

The picture that is emerging suggests success requires the mayor and city officials to be aligned with the police chief. That includes on policing tactics and reforms, on money and on jail time for crimes. Mr. Contee told us and anyone else who would listen that violent criminals need to stay behind bars, including while awaiting trial. He lamented how often offenders would race toward the D.C. border from neighboring states because they knew it was unlikely they would be detained long in the District. D.C. Mayor Muriel E. Bowser (D) has proposed fixing this, and the council should act swiftly.

There’s an unfortunate tendency to think of policing as a pendulum that has shifted from calls to “defund the police” in 2020 to calls for more officers as crime escalated. That’s not helpful. What’s really happening in many large cities is an ongoing push for better policing. In practical terms, that means utilizing data to really home in on the hot spots, as Dallas has done by breaking the city into 101,000 microgrids. It also means responding appropriately to different risk levels. Smart cities have ramped up mental health and other social service responders so the police can focus their attention on crime. Albuquerque, for example, now has a Crisis Intervention Team to respond to mental illness cases.

There’s an urgency to fill these police chief roles as summer arrives, which often coincides with a pickup in crime. If cities want police chiefs who will stay for the long term, politicians need to step up as their partners in finding solutions.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

letters@washpost.com

Keeping guns out of schools

The June 11 Metro article “Schools try AI to detect weapons” detailed the increasing number of students bringing guns to school since the pandemic. The article suggested artificial-intelligence weapons detectors could help stop these guns and keep students safer.

The article failed to mention one of the most important ways to keep guns from getting into the hands of students in the first place: safe storage of firearms. More than two-thirds of school shooters access a firearm from their own home or that of a relative. Guns should be stored unloaded and locked in a secure place inaccessible to children, such as a gun safe. States with laws that require safe storage have lower rates of adolescent suicide, and safe storage can help prevent unintentional gun injuries and deaths, homicides and mass shootings.

Virginia Gov. Glenn Youngkin (R) is spending millions to purchase school security systems, as the article noted. Mr. Youngkin could address the root cause of this crisis by supporting a safe-storage law. Gun owners have a responsibility to store their guns safely. Our laws should hold them to that standard, for the safety of our kids.

Lori Haas, Richmond

A national police academy

In her June 7 Wednesday Opinion column, Megan McArdle suggested the United States needs a West Point for police officers. However, the nation *already* has a West Point for police officers, one that I attended in 1972: the FBI National Academy (FBINA) at Quantico, Va.

This academy, in existence since 1935 and revitalized in 1972, has graduated more than 53,000 students from 50 states, 194 countries and more than 8,200 law enforcement agencies. Understandably, the academic material includes the major crime and socioeconomic issues this country has faced before, during and after the 2020 murder of George Floyd, and brings in speakers to enhance the instruction presented by bureau personnel. After graduation, the students return to their departments to discuss and present the course material to younger officers through state-mandated training. Some midcareer and senior police graduates return to the academy to discuss contemporary issues, review lessons learned and highlight issues affecting the retention, promotion and enlistment of those interested in a law enforcement career and also those sworn officers who might not remain “on the job” until retirement.

I would consider these sessions akin to graduate schooling, and they get high praise from those selected to attend. I am immensely proud of my 50-year law enforcement career and as a life member of the FBINA Associates. Most graduates live and breathe the academy’s motto, “Knowledge, Courage and Integrity.”

FBINA comes close to the U.S. Military Academy — without the hazing.

Arnold Daxe Jr., Burke

Reenfranchisement is good

In his June 11 op-ed, “Once again, the high court repudiates colorblind law,” George F. Will criticized Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr.’s majority opinion that overturned the Alabama legislature’s 2021 redistricting. That map allocated only one federal voting district to Black Alabamians and six districts to White residents. Alabama legislators packed Black voters into Alabama’s 7th Congressional District and cracked the remaining Black voters among three other districts. Though Black residents make up 26.8 percent of the state’s population, they would receive only 14.3 percent representation in the U.S. House.

Mr. Will’s argument was that the federal government should not change the disproportionately small representation for Black Alabamians so as to avoid “racialism.” Unfortunately for Mr. Will, the data makes clear that it was Alabama’s state legislators, not Chief Justice Roberts, who engaged in racially “infused” actions.

Using Mr. Will’s logic, state legislatures could disenfranchise large blocs of Black, Latino and Asian populations by racially motivated gerrymandering, and the president, Congress and the Supreme Court would not be able to redress this racially focused political suppression. This could lead to widespread disenfranchisement of minorities — a clear violation of an essential element of U.S. democracy.

Len Zuza, Solomons, Md.

A tool to stop mail theft

As someone who has recently been subject to check fraud as a result of mail theft, I read with interest Joe Davidson’s June 11 Federal Insider column on postal street crime, “Can Postal Police patrol street crime? USPS says no, but the union says yes.”

Postmaster General Louis DeJoy’s position that the U.S. Postal Service does not have authority to deploy Postal Police officers to patrol the streets and protect letter carriers is surprising, particularly

given the increasing amount of postal street crime, including theft from blue mailboxes.

It is atypical for the head of a federal agency to argue that his or her agency should have less rather than more jurisdiction. Most agencies seek to interpret their governing statutes in a way that expands their jurisdiction. Expanding an agency’s jurisdiction increases the agency’s power and influence and generally boosts the morale of employees.

Mr. DeJoy’s position not only runs counter to this tradition but also is inconsistent with a decision of a federal district court that he has the discretion to use the Postal Police to combat street crime. Saying the agency doesn’t have the manpower to do so is one thing, but saying it doesn’t have the authority seems wrong and is an insult to dedicated Postal Service employees.

This is a nonpartisan law-and-order issue. Mr. DeJoy should exercise the authority he already has to protect letter carriers and the general public from the postal street crime that harms all of us.

David Ansell, Arlington

Lowering drug prices

Regarding the June 13 Politics & the Nation article “Sanders is opposing NIH nominee until Biden produces drug-pricing plan”:

The National Institutes of Health did not drop its “reasonable pricing clause” because of “pressure from the drug industry.”

The NIH was forced through political pressure to insert a provision requiring industry partners to sell products arising from its cooperative research and development agreements or licenses at a “reasonable price,” an undefined term. But rather than this leading to a golden age of cheap drugs, companies walked away. Realizing the consequences, then-NIH Director Harold Varmus rescinded the provision in 1995, saying it had “driven industry away from potentially beneficial scientific collaborations . . . without providing an offsetting benefit to the public.”

The public has benefited tremendously from NIH-industry R&D partnerships. The rallying together of our public and private sectors to combat the coronavirus is an example. Thanks to this framework — codified in the Bayh-Dole Act of 1980 — private companies have successfully commercialized more than 200 drugs and vaccines that originated in federal laboratories and universities, and the United States leads the world in the life sciences. These companies assume tremendous risk, and most times those bets don’t pay off, but our system is the most effective in the world.

Reimposing a “reasonable pricing clause” would have the same effect now as it did when tried before. There’s no excuse for going down that road again.

Joseph P. Allen, Washington
The writer is executive director of the Bayh-Dole Coalition.

Catch wildfires earlier

Over the past 25 years, I’ve been deeply involved in fighting numerous major wildfires. Though gaps in risk assessment and under-resourced fire crews are key challenges in reducing the damage caused by these catastrophic events, perhaps the most fundamental issue is that the technology we use to detect, monitor and battle wildfires hasn’t evolved in decades.

Even today, most wildfires are brought to the attention of emergency responders through 911 calls. By the time that call comes in, the fire may have already spread extensively and become much more difficult to stop. Although 98 percent of wildfires are suppressed before they cause severe damage, the ones that aren’t and become extreme wildfire events cost lives and billions of dollars each year.

The growing “firetech” industry is developing new technology to detect and stop these fires sooner, but we need to make advancing those innovations a priority. And the kind of rapid progress we need is possible only if all spheres of society — including business, government, the nonprofit sector and the communities affected by these destructive events — work together and invest in technology to revolutionize the way we fight fires.

The damage and disruption from the recent Canadian wildfires and the resulting air pollution have been deeply painful to watch. How many more firefighters must lose their lives, how many more natural resources must be destroyed and how many more homes need to be lost before we are ready to embrace change?

Jay Stalnacker, Berthoud, Colo.
The writer, a former member of the federal smoke jumper program and operations branch director for the Pacific Northwest Federal Type 1 Incident Management Team, is technical lead for XPRIZE Wildfire.

✉ Read more letters online: wapo.st/letters
Letters: letters@washpost.com
Op-eds: oped@washpost.com
Submissions must be exclusive to The Post.

NEWS

SALLY BUZBEE.....Executive Editor
CAMERON BARR.....Senior Managing Editor
JUSTIN BANK.....Managing Editor
KRISHNA THOMPSON.....Managing Editor
BARBARA VOBEJDA.....Managing Editor

SHARIF DURHAMS.....Deputy Managing Editor
MONICA NORTON.....Deputy Managing Editor
LIZ SEYMOUR.....Deputy Managing Editor
MARK W. SMITH.....Deputy Managing Editor
SCOTT VANCE.....Deputy Managing Editor

EDITORIAL AND OPINION

DAVID SHIPLEY.....Opinion Editor
LARRY DUENWALD.....Deputy Opinion Editor
KAREN TUMULTY.....Deputy Opinion Editor
DAVID VON DREHLE.....Deputy Opinion Editor

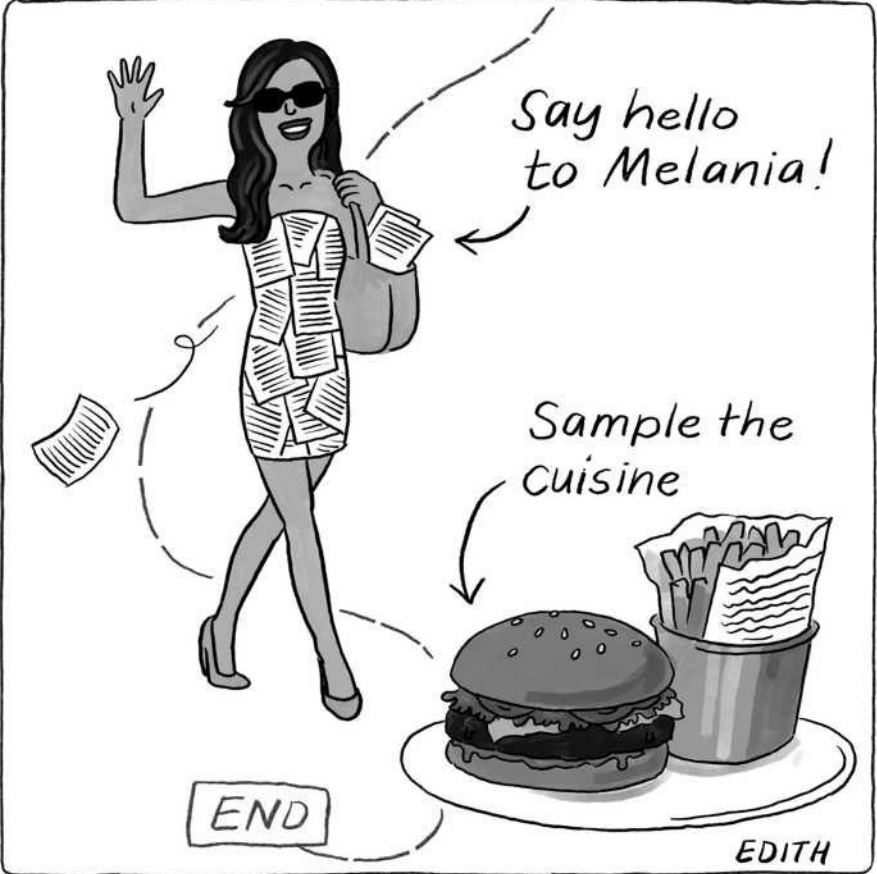
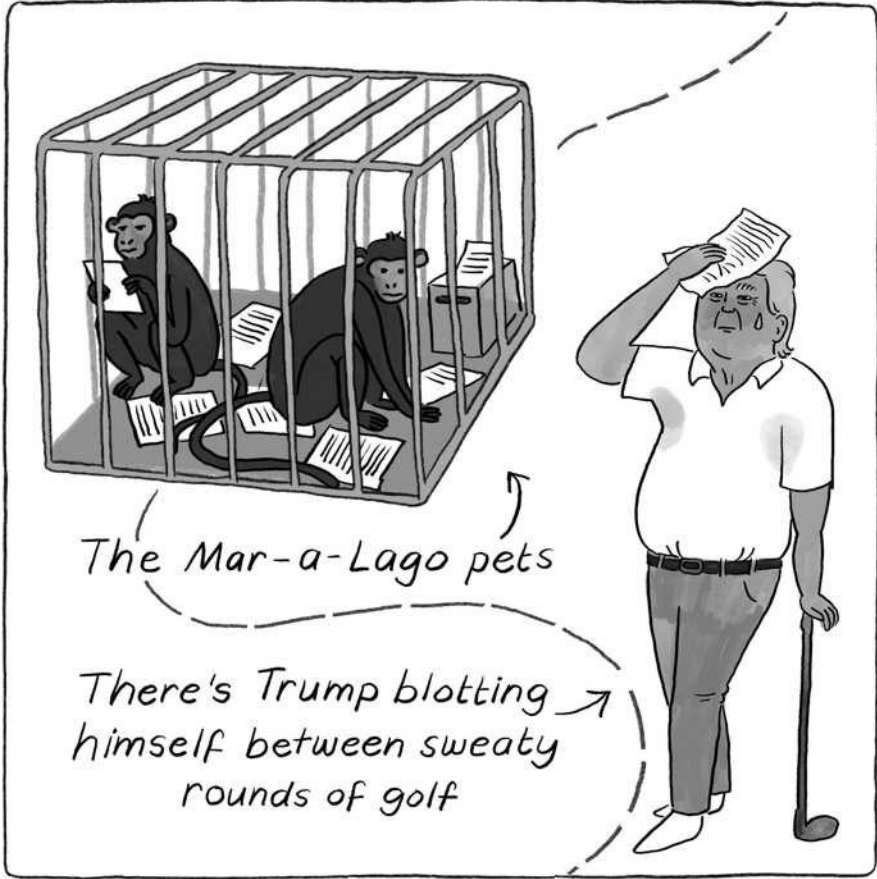
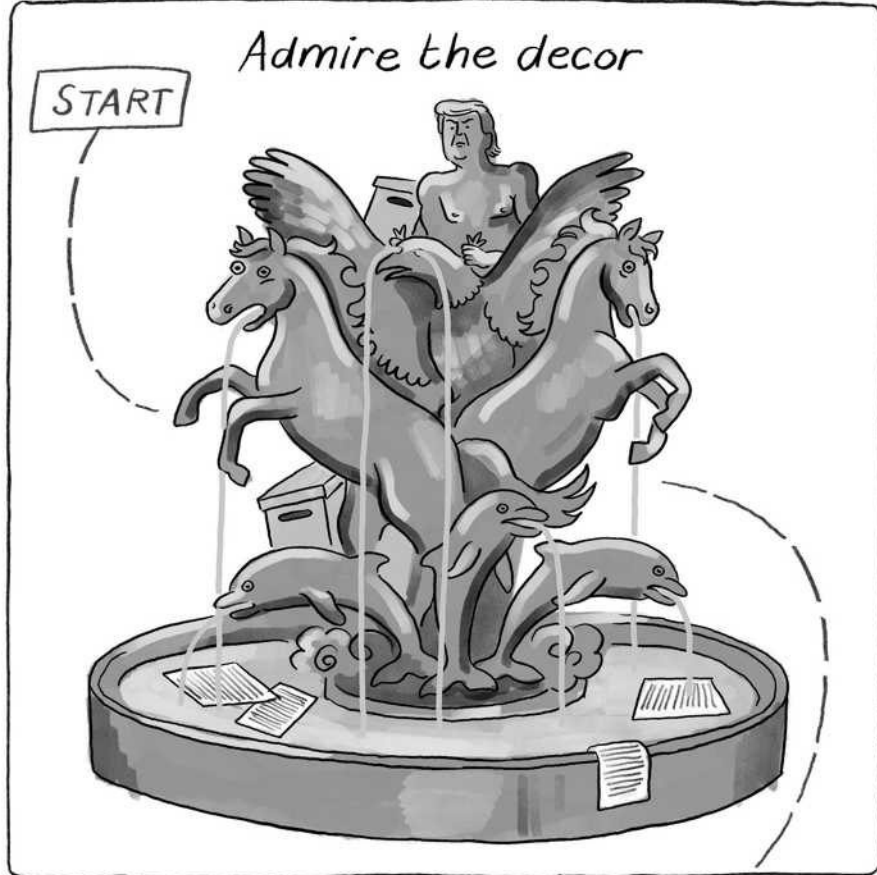
KATHY BAIRD.....Communications & Events
L WAYNE CONNELL.....Human Resources
KATE M. DAVEY.....Revenue Strategy
GREGG J. FERNANDES.....Customer Care & Logistics
STEPHEN P. GIBSON.....Finance & Operations
JOHN B. KENNEDY.....General Counsel & Labor
MIKI TOLIVER KING.....Arch Xp

OFFICERS

MICHAEL A. RIBERO.....Subscriptions
VENKATESH VARALU.....Data and Analytics

EDITH PRITCHETT

Welcome to Mar-a-Lago! Can you spot the state secrets?



COLBERT I. KING

Good fathering is about being present, and anyone can do it

On Sunday, I expect to touch base with my brother Cranston and my sons Rob and Steve, all of whom also are fathers. Of course, my late father, Isaiah King III, will figure into our conversations — how could he not? He was, and remains, larger than life in our lives.

And I expect we will all have something to say about our experiences with fatherhood — what it was like being on the receiving end, as children, as well as our own trials as dads raising children in a race-conscious country where answers come before questions can get asked.

As for my sons and me, the three of us are fathers who lived in the home, engaged 24/7 in the pull and strains of parenting. Like my father and my two grandfathers — Robert and Isaiah King II — before us, my sons and I considered ourselves to be figures of authority in our households. At least we tried to project ourselves as such.

We helped pay the bills, pitched in with emotional support and worked our butts off keeping a roof over our families’ heads. In reality, we were in two-income families. And my wife, Gwen, supplanted me as top breadwinner decades earlier — to my everlasting pride and relief. But all of us learned, each in his own way, that there is no substitute for being present. For being there when life’s hurts enter a child’s world. For listening and learning about your children. There also is no substitute for showing them a little love, especially when they least expect it.

We aren’t likely to get into all that on Sunday, at least not in detail, since we all know the hills that we had to climb to give real meaning to fatherhood. But how could the four of us celebrate Father’s Day without sharing a little time with each other?

Which brings me to the hard part of Father’s Day — those moments when we take our minds off ourselves and give some thought to what fatherhood means in the lives of other children in this city.

I’m thinking about Ronald Steven Banks, a 30-year-old pallbearer and friend of the family of 10-year-old Arianna Davis, who died after being struck by a stray bullet while riding in a car with her family on Mother’s Day.

As the pastor, family and friends were about the lay Arianna to rest on June 6 at Washington National Cemetery in Suitland, Wilson Wesley Chavis, 48-year-old owner of the Compassion and Serenity Funeral Home, allegedly shot Banks fatally and wounded a woman also at the scene. Chavis was reportedly providing the burial service, and authorities said the shooting stemmed from a dispute between two funeral homes, and Banks might have

been a bystander. Chavis was charged with first- and second-degree murder and attempted murder.

This much is clear: Banks’s 9-year-old son will be without a father on Father’s Day. So will hundreds of other D.C. children whose fathers will be locked up in prisons this Father’s Day. I also think of those youths between 15 and 21 years old under D.C. Superior Court supervision or in custody of the Department of Youth Rehabilitation who are fathers. What about their children?

We have had more than 100 homicides committed year to date in the District. How many of the victims — and perpetrators — are fathers?

These children of incarcerated, murdered or otherwise victimized parents face challenges and burdens of their own — in school, in the community, even within their own families.

Thoughts turn to them on Father’s Day, as they should during the year. Who’s there to care for them? Not just putting food on the table or having a strong lock on the door. But being there in their daily lives as positive, constructive forces. Government can do only so much. Yes, there’s cash, food and shelter assistance, and social services to attend to some needs.

But what about time with a child? Hands-on involvement in their growth and development? Teaching them how to deal with others? Making life choices?

And let’s get something clear on Father’s Day. You don’t have to be a man to do the things that good fathers and dedicated partners do. Anyone can be a good parent or even a halfway decent one. The important thing is to have a supportive, trusting and loving relationship with children. That takes time and attention. Whether it’s minutes or hours out of the day, no matter if you are bedraggled with worry or dog tired from work, find and make time for children. Even if it is done as a surrogate. For nearly three years, I mentored an “at risk” teenager as a volunteer in the Washington Urban League’s Linking Lifetime project. It was a challenge. But it helped change his life’s trajectory, and was also a mutually rewarding experience.

One more thing: Spare me the gender-role debate — LGBTQ+ parents everywhere do this vital work on Father’s Day and any other day.

A director of Compassion and Serenity Funeral Home allegedly draws and opens fire at a burial service that he is directing, and you tell me labels and stereotypes are informative?

To perform the tasks of fathers, I say bring on all those dedicated to raising children to be the best they can. This city surely needs all the help it can get.



Trash outside an ICU room at the Stillwater Medical Center in Stillwater, Okla., last year.

LEANA S. WEN

Plastics are everywhere in health care. That must change.

After my column last week urging the health-care sector to consider the environmental costs of medical care, many readers wrote to ask why I didn’t address the “elephant in the room.” As Bob from Oregon wrote, “Every time I go to the hospital, I see plastic everywhere. Everything’s wrapped in plastic, and then it’s all thrown away. Why aren’t we calling for the health-care industry to reduce their plastics use?”

Bob is right. Every day, U.S. health-care facilities generate 14,000 tons of waste. One patient being hospitalized results in nearly 34 pounds of waste every day. Of that waste, up to 25 percent is plastic.

Plastics are ubiquitous in health care today, but it wasn’t always that way. Several decades ago, medical supplies were commonly made of metal, cloth and glass. Now, it’s hard to find items that aren’t made of plastics or wrapped in them.

The reasons behind that change were justifiable: Busy clinicians prioritize efficiency, and it’s convenient to open a package and find a procedure kit that’s new, sterile and ready to use. Economics played a major role, too, as it’s often cheaper to purchase disposable plastics than to run reusable items through sterilization procedures.

But as I discussed before, it should be a major concern to the health-care industry that medical care itself is perpetuating the climate crisis. The pollution the sector causes harms not only the planet but also the health of our patients.

Some hospital leaders are showing that cutting single-use plastic is possible. One bright spot is the switch from disposable plastic gowns to those that can be laundered and reused 75 to 100 times. One study found reusable gowns reduced solid-waste generation by 84 percent and cut greenhouse gas emissions by 66 percent. Another found that these gowns are clinically superior to disposable ones; they are less likely to break and tear and increase infection protection for the wearer.

Many hospitals are making this switch. UCLA Health was using 2.6 million disposable isolation gowns every year, generating more than 230 tons of landfill waste. By switching to reusable ones, it dramatically reduced waste and saved an estimated \$450,000 annually.

As an added bonus, because the UCLA system altered its practice before the pandemic, it did not

experience the cost surge of single-use gowns during the height of covid-19 fueled by the global supply-chain disruption and the nationwide run on protective equipment. UCLA hospitals also avoided the critical shortage of gowns faced by other health-care facilities.

The Virginia-based Carilion Clinic similarly avoided shortages by stopping its dependence on single-use gowns. Over the first three years after the switch in 2011, it eliminated nearly 515,000 pounds of waste and saved more than \$850,000. Another set of Virginia hospitals, the Inova Health System, partnered with a sports apparel company to design and produce custom reusable gowns that are reportedly better fitting, more comfortable temperature-wise and easier to put on and take off.

If such changes are better for the environment and reduce costs without negative impacts on patient care, what’s preventing more widespread adoption? One reason is the misconception that reverting to reusable materials will incur more costs or result in greater inefficiencies. Providers and administrators from institutions that have successfully implemented changes should widely share their stories and best practices.

Another reason is that incentives are not aligned in favor of the change. Here’s where regulatory agencies can nudge the health-care sector. The Food and Drug Administration can help motivate manufacturers to switch to reusable materials, and the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services can be more aggressive in pushing hospitals to meet sustainability goals.

There are many single-use plastic products that don’t have an affordable and clinically comparable reusable alternative. Research should focus on designing resilient materials that can be disinfected and reused like metal and glass instruments.

As the smoke from the Canadian wildfires has recently reminded us, there is a close tie between the environment and human health. The health-care sector needs to do more to decrease its impact on worsening the environment — and, in so doing, help safeguard our patients’ well-being.

This column is excerpted from Leana S. Wen’s Post Opinions newsletter, The Checkup. To sign up, go to wapo.st/checkup-newsletter.

The Washington Post | LIVE

Coming Up This Week



TUES. JUNE 20 AT 11:00 A.M.

PRESENTING SPONSOR

GLOBAL FOOD SECURITY

Isobel Coleman, Deputy Administrator for Policy & Programming, USAID
Alexandre Chequim, Co-Founder & CEO, DigiFarmz Smart Agriculture
Content from World Food Program USA: Barron Segar, President & CEO, World Food Program USA

Coleman and Chequim assess the record-high levels of food insecurity worldwide and suggest possible solutions to combat the global hunger crisis.



TUES. JUNE 20 AT 1:00 P.M.

FRANCES HAUGEN

Author, “The Power of One,” Co-Founder, Beyond the Screen & Advocate for Transparency in Social Media

The former Facebook manager discusses her new book about blowing the whistle on one of the world’s largest companies and her continued calls for greater accountability in social media.



WED. JUNE 21 AT 1:00 P.M.

PRESENTING SPONSOR

CHASING CANCER: EQUITY AND DISPARITIES

Chiquita Brooks-LaSure, Administrator, Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services
Joseph Betancourt, President, The Commonwealth Fund
Content from AstraZeneca: Ricki Fairley, CEO, TOUCH, The Black Breast Cancer Alliance, Cleo A. Ryals, PhD, Senior Director & Head of Health Equity Research, Flatiron Health and Carlos Doti, MD, Vice President, Head of Medical Affairs, US Oncology, AstraZeneca

Brooks-LaSure and Betancourt examine how social determinants of health can impact cancer care and outcomes in the United States.



WED. JUNE 21 AT 3:00 P.M.

EXPLAINING AMERICA

Mary Ziegler, Professor of Law, University of California at Davis

Ziegler offers perspective on the contentious history of abortion rights in the United States and the state-by-state battle over abortion access in post-Roe America.



THURS. JUNE 22 AT 11:00 A.M.

ACROSS THE AISLE

Rep. Michael Turner (R-Ohio)
Rep. Jim Himes (D-Conn.)

Turner and Himes discuss special counsel John Durham’s upcoming testimony about the FBI’s probe of the 2016 Trump campaign and ongoing questions about the mishandling of national security secrets.



THURS. JUNE 22 AT 1:00 P.M.

PRESENTING SPONSOR

THIS IS CLIMATE: MEXICO

Luisa Palacios, Senior Research Scholar, Center on Global Energy Policy, Columbia University
Jimena Marván, Executive Director, Chapter Zero Mexico
Content from 3M: Jana Nieto, Director, Government Affairs & ESG, 3M Latin America

Palacios and Marván talk about the impact of climate change on Mexico and efforts across the region to cut carbon emissions.



THURS. JUNE 22 AT 3:00 P.M.

RACE IN AMERICA: GIVING VOICE

Ruth E. Carter, Author, “The Art of Ruth E. Carter” & Award-winning Costume Designer

The Oscar-winning costume artist behind “Black Panther” details her creative process, her designs for actors from Samuel L. Jackson to Halle Berry and the strides made by Black women in Hollywood.



FRI. JUNE 23 AT 9:00 A.M.

FIRST LOOK

The Post’s **Jonathan Capehart**, **E.J. Dionne** and **Hugh Hewitt**

Washington Post Live’s “First Look” offers a smart, inside take on the day’s politics. Jonathan Capehart hosts a reporter debrief followed by a roundtable discussion with Washington Post columnists.





8 a.m.
68°



Noon
78°



4 p.m.
83°



8 p.m.
78°

High today at approx. 4 p.m.
83°
Precip: 0%
Wind: NW 10-20 mph

RELIGION
Bishops began a process that could bar treatments for transgender people at Catholic hospitals. **B2**



THE DISTRICT
A former police lieutenant pleaded guilty in the fatal shooting of a library officer during training. **B3**



OBITUARIES
Glenda Jackson, 87, paused her Oscar-winning acting career to serve in Britain's Parliament. **B4**

Va. GOP primary is a test for Youngkin

One of the governor's fiercest critics faces his ally in state Senate race

BY TEO ARMUS

FREDERICKSBURG, VA. — When she first ran for office here two years ago, Tara Durant framed her campaign as a crusade against the status quo.

The former teacher at a Catholic school said she was called to jump into politics only after a fateful night in 2020, when — as she tells it — she drove through this Virginia city's downtown with her daughter in the back seat as Black Lives Matter protesters marched through the streets and surrounded her car.

Her panicked call to 911 about the “angry mob” allegedly trapping their vehicle — and her complaints that neither emergency dispatch nor government officials took action — led to a fiery segment about the incident on “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” a campaign promise to stop Democrats’ “dangerous rhetoric” and a slim victory against a liberal incumbent.

As she seeks a promotion to the state Senate two years later, though, the Republican state delegate is now by any definition part of the Richmond in-crowd — and some of her most visible allies are the ones in charge.

That's the friction she faces in a tense GOP primary faceoff with Army veteran Matt Strickland, a lockdown-defying grilled-cheese restaurateur with his own striking political origin story and a tough-talking campaign slogan — “Crush the establishment” — that he says is targeted toward Gov. Glenn Youngkin (R) as much as Durant.

As they battle ahead of Tuesday's primary, Strickland has accused Durant of aligning herself too closely with Youngkin, whom he has slammed as an “American in name only” after a state agency's raid on his restaurant. Durant, a Marine wife who has been endorsed by many of the state's top Republican officials, has used her much larger war chest to send out mailers that boast of her endorsement from the governor.

The primary in this reddish-purple district, then, will test whether the outsider appeal that led both Youngkin and Durant to victory as first-time candidates might carry the same sway now that the two are incumbents.

Stephen Farnsworth, a politician
SEE VIRGINIA SENATE ON **B4**



PHOTOS BY MINH CONNORS/THE WASHINGTON POST

ABOVE: Members of Local 32BJ of the Service Employees International Union march for higher wages during Justice for Janitors Day on Thursday in D.C. BELOW: Wendy Diaz Sanchez recounts her experience working during the pandemic.

They clean D.C.'s buildings, but they struggle to make ends meet

Office cleaners union demands higher wages after risks that workers took during pandemic

BY ELLIE SILVERMAN

Ana Rivera can still remember in the early days of the pandemic the wails of her two children crying outside her bedroom door.

“Mom,” she'd hear through the tears. “I miss you.”

Rivera, 38, wanted to hug them and tell them everything would be okay. She wanted to protect them and comfort them. But in the spring and summer of 2020, she was terrified that embracing her own children could infect them with the coronavirus.

While much of the country's labor force was allowed to work from home — or was laid off — Rivera continued to show up to the office building she cleaned.

“Thankfully, I had a job,” Rivera, of Silver Spring, said in Spanish through an interpreter. “But emotionally, I was devastated.”

She was considered an essential worker. But Rivera said she doesn't feel like she or the thousands of other cleaners in her union have been treated as such.

Rivera, who is from El Salvador, is a member of Local 32BJ of the Service Employees International Union, which



represents 9,200 commercial office cleaners in the D.C. region and soon will be negotiating a new contract with the Washington Service Contractors Association, which represents the area's major commercial cleaning companies.

The members, who help maintain about 1,500 office buildings in the D.C. region, want a significant wage increase

that reflects the work they say has been unseen, overlooked and underappreciated — particularly at the height of the pandemic, when just showing up to clean a building meant risking their own health and the well-being of their families, said Jaime Contreras, executive vice president of the southern re-
SEE **WORKERS** ON **B6**

New bid to stop toll lanes in Md.

MOTION CHALLENGES EARLIER APPROVALS

Groups pan damage assessment for project

BY ERIN COX AND MICHAEL LARIS

Environmental and historic preservation groups filed a motion Friday, as part of an ongoing lawsuit, that seeks to undo federal and state environmental approvals for a project that would add toll lanes to the Capital Beltway and Interstate 270.

The motion, filed in federal court in Maryland, argues that the Maryland Department of Transportation and the Federal Highway Administration failed to provide a candid assessment of damage that the 15-mile project would create along the busy corridor.

It's the latest challenge to former governor Larry Hogan's (R) plan to ease some of the nation's worst road congestion. Supporters say the project to widen highways through suburban areas would help alleviate traffic backups in suburban Washington, while critics cite concerns about effects on parkland and historic sites, arguing it does little to boost transit options.

In the motion filed Friday, the groups allege that the project would increase pollution in communities near the highway, disproportionately affecting residents who are racial minorities or have lower incomes. They also cited the potential for disturbances to unmarked graves around a historic Black cemetery, intrusions on the environmentally sensitive Plummer's Island near the American Legion Bridge, and decreased quality of life for those who live near new interchanges.

“Despite spanning tens of thousands of pages, the Agencies' review of the toll lanes project still omits critical information about the project's harms to communities, historic sites, and the environment,” the motion says. It calls on the court to reverse project approvals “so the Agencies can reconsider their decision after a full evaluation of the project's impacts.”

Terry Owens, a consultant for the Maryland Department of Transportation, said the state and the Federal Highway Administration
SEE **TOLL LANES** ON **B3**

Potential Jack Nicklaus golf course tees up fury

Environmentalists oppose second links on Annapolis peninsula

BY FREDRICK KUNKLE

A chatty item tucked into the U.S. Naval Academy's alumni magazine has renewed the ire of a group of environmentalists and local residents working to preserve Greenbury Point on the Chesapeake Bay near Annapolis.

The entry in the June edition of Shipmate says a wealthy Naval Academy alum turned real estate developer signed a contract with the legendary golfer Jack Nicklaus and his son to design a second golf course on Greenbury Point, the peninsula across from the academy, as its director of athletics proposed last year.

Jerry Miller, a graduate of the academy's Class of 1977 who later found success in real estate, met the Nicklauses in Florida and sealed the deal over a two-hour



ERIC LEE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Carr Creek and the Severn River, seen from the Greenbury Point Conservation Area across from the Naval Academy in Annapolis.

lunch in the golfer's Bear's Club, the alumni magazine reported. “And, yes, they signed a design contract,” the item says.

That wasn't quite true. But it was enough to rev up opponents fighting to keep the 280-acre Greenbury Point Conservation Area as a refuge for hikers, bird-

ers and others.

Several said the news of a design contract — which could run to millions of dollars for an 18-hole, championship course designed by a golf pro of Nicklaus's stature — suggested that the plan to redevelop the peninsula has been moving along behind closed

doors.

“What it means to me is that this thing is much, much further along than any of us knew,” said Gerald W. Winegrad, a former Maryland state senator and Navy veteran fighting to preserve the area. “We're all in shock.”

The battle for Greenbury Point began after Chet Gladchuk, the academy's athletic director and president of the Naval Academy Golf Association, wrote to the secretary of the Navy early last year proposing that the private organization develop a second golf course on the peninsula. He said a new 18-hole course would accommodate the academy's athletic programs, including intramural and varsity, as well as active military personnel and veterans of all branches, their civilian employees and academy graduates.

Gladchuk, in his letter and interviews, envisioned adding a second golf course as part of a broader overhaul of the area that would include nature trails, a boat launch, birdwatching blinds
SEE **GOLF COURSE** ON **B3**

D.C. parents protest teacher turnover at charter school

Accountability, education quality among concerns at Mundo Verde

BY LAUREN LUMPKIN AND CORINNE DORSEY

Parents at D.C.'s Mundo Verde Bilingual Public Charter say too many of the school's teachers are leaving, their students aren't getting the quality education they deserve, disciplinary incidents have increased, and school administrators are ignoring their concerns.

For two days this week, parents and students lined the sidewalk outside the school's Northwest Washington J.F. Cook campus with signs calling on leaders to listen, correct the problems and “stop gaslighting us.” One pigtailed student carried a sign that read: “Why do my teachers keep quitting?”
SEE **PROTEST** ON **B2**

The issues at Mundo Verde — one of the city's most sought-after charter schools in part because of its bilingual curriculum — have been festering since at least last school year, parents said. Several teachers quit, they said, as families urged school leaders to address recurring violence between students and improve communication to parents.

Those same issues have spilled into this school year, according to parents, and have stoked questions about accountability — a recurring concern about charter schools, which are publicly funded but privately operated.

School leaders said they have been meeting with concerned parents — primarily those of third-grade students who have experienced what parents said is a startling level of teacher turnover during the past two school years — throughout the year in “both scheduled and impromptu group meetings, individual phone calls and emails, and meet-

RELIGION

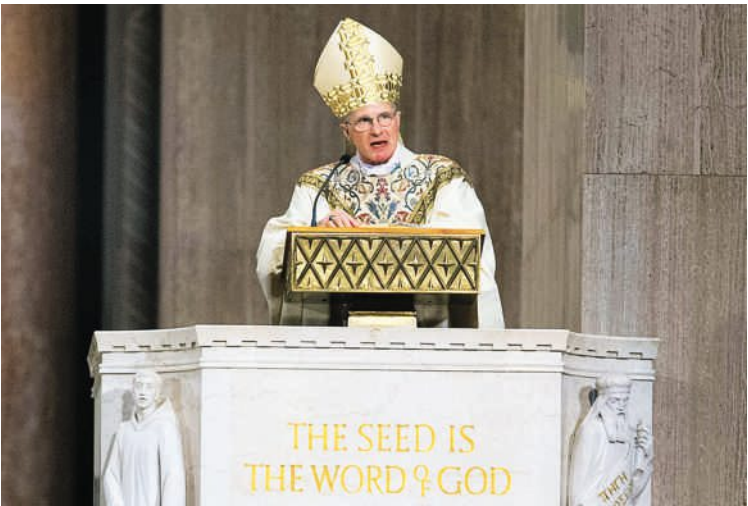
Bishops to weigh transition care at Catholic hospitals

Directives for treating transgender people could result in a ban

BY MICHELLE BOORSTEIN

U.S. Catholic bishops on Friday voted to craft their first bioethics directives for Catholic health-care institutions treating transgender people. The Catholic Church over- sees about 1 in 7 U.S. hospital beds. The U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops voted unanimously at their annual meeting to authorize their doctrine-crafting body to come up with a proposal. The proposal would be a revision to the Ethical and Religious Directives — or ERDs — that are binding on the vast network of Catholic hospitals, physicians’ systems, surgery centers and urgent-care centers. The section being discussed, which deals with professional-patient relationships, has not been updated since 1994. The range of views about just what the bishops are about to do was on display at their meeting, where various clerics rose to the microphone and characterized the process as either the start of a fairly open inquiry, or instead as a means to a more specific end. The Doctrine Committee, which will draft proposed revisions, in March issued a kind of position paper called “The Moral Limits to Technological Manipulation of the Human Body.” The 14-page paper, which uses the word “order” 45 times, says a core tenet

of Christianity is that there is a God-crafted natural order, and that “sexually differentiated” male and female bodies are part of it. Contemporary interventions to alter the body “for what is termed ‘gender dysphoria’ or ‘gender incongruence,’” the paper says, are “not morally justified. ... They do not repair a defect in the body; there is no disorder in the body that needs to be addressed. “Such interventions, thus, do not respect the fundamental order of the human person as an intrinsic unity of body and soul, with a body that is sexually differenti- ated. ... Catholic health care services must not perform interventions, whether surgical or chemical, that aim to transform the sexual char- acteristics of a human body into those of the opposite sex.” But some experts within Catho- lic health care said that the process that’s starting is somewhat open in some aspects, and that there are many bishops and Cath- olic health-care workers who be- lieve science about gender is still evolving. Part of this process, they said, could come down to asking: What falls into the bucket of “gender-af- firming?” “The biggest issue is our under- standing of human sexuality. Will we into the future continue to see human sexuality as what we call binary, male and female, or are there shades between? What does this mean from a theological per- spective is the big question, and I don’t know what the answer will be,” said the Rev. Charles Bouchard, the senior director of theology at the Catholic Health



Archbishop Timothy Broglio, president of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, conducts Mass in the District in 2020.

Association, which includes most Catholic health entities. “There is a broad cultural trend where peo- ple see gender as totally fluid. We don’t buy that, but is there another understanding of human sexuali- ty we’ll come to see?” Until now, Catholic health or- ganizations have no directives when it comes to trans-specific issues, and a generally conserva- tive approach. In general, Bouchard said Cath- olic health entities don’t initiate, advance or encourage transition- ing from one gender to another. They don’t do gender-affirming surgeries that could alter a per- son’s fertility. And usually they don’t do appearance-altering sur- geries like breast augmentation or removal or facial surgeries that help a trans person appear more in line with their gender identity.

Because appearance-altering surgeries are common in society, he said, there are legal pitfalls for Catholic health-care institutions if they would do a certain surgery for a man but not a woman, or for a cis person but not a trans person. That could also be true of a surgery like a hysterectomy. Then there are institutions in a gray area, such as those that result from a merger of a Catholic entity and a non-Catholic one. However, it’s common, for ex- ample, for Catholic health-care workers to renew subscriptions for hormones and oversee hor- mone therapy, and to provide emotional support for families sorting through issues around a trans child. Some health-care advocates are extremely concerned about the re- visions to the ERDs, partly be-

cause of the huge number of Americans treated in Catholic health facilities and because of the cultural climate and crackdown on gender-affirming care. “We are preparing to speak out in dismay about this action as being harmful — extremely harm- ful to thousands of trans people across the country and being based not in science or medicine, which is what people expect when they go to the hospital, but instead in theology,” said Lois Uttley, a longtime adviser on health-care equity and accountability issues. “Many people who work in Catho- lic hospitals are distraught.” Uttley and others raised ques- tions about the timing of the bish- ops’ project, at a time when states dotting the country are passing limits and bans on the health care trans people can get. “The bishops are jumping on the bandwagon of attacks on trans health care in the political sphere,” Uttley said. The doctrine committee’s role, said USCCB spokesman James Rogers, is to update the ERDs to give practical guidance on trans health care. The doctrinal note — which appears to make clear where the bishops are headed — is more of a theological statement. “Some people are getting ahead of the committee on doctrine.” In late March, after the Doc- trine Committee issued the note, a coalition led by Catholic nuns rep- resenting thousands of women re- ligious released a letter voicing support for trans, nonbinary and gender-expansive people, a docu- ment seen as an implicit rebuke to the ethos of the note. The letter also states transgen-

der people are “experiencing harm and erasure” in various ways, list- ing daily discrimination, a groundswell of state-level legisla- tion aimed at LGBTQ+ rights and “harmful rhetoric from some Christian institutions and their leaders, including the Catholic Church,” the Religion News Ser- vice reported in March. RNS reported that the letter was in the works before the note was published, but that the note made it more urgent. “There’s a sense of urgency in me to say that there are many, many faithful Catholics who know a different way,” Sister Barbara Battista, the congregation justice promoter for the Sisters of Provi- dence, St. Mary-of-the-Woods, told RNS. Some bishops Friday at the USCCB meeting urged the Doc- trine Committee members to con- sult more broadly. Cardinal Robert McElroy, bish- op of San Diego, said the process needs to distinguish between Catholic teaching on the “impor- tance of maintaining” the differ- ence between male and female and “the existential question of those who are suffering from dys- phoria. ... I urge that be the center- piece and urge consulting very wide and deep within the medical community and with people who are suffering from dysphoria.” Some previous revisions of the ERD took years of consulting. Doctrine Committee Chair Bishop Daniel Flores told the bishops that once the committee comes up with a draft, it will be subject to review and ultimately a vote by all the bishops.

New memoir of Anne Frank’s girlhood friend reveals life outside the attic

Accounts of youth under Nazis portray diarist with ‘far more’ realism

BY MICHELE CHABIN

JERUSALEM — When Dina Kraft read “Anne Frank: The Diary of a Young Girl” as a teenager in the 1980s, she felt an instant connec- tion with the vivacious young Jewish girl who chronicled her life while hiding from the Nazis in a secret attic in Amsterdam. After discovering the Franks’ hiding place, the Nazis sent them to the Auschwitz-Birkenau con- centration camp. Later, Anne and her sister, Margot, were trans- ferred to the Bergen-Belsen camp, where they died of typhus and starvation. “Anna seemed like someone who would be my friend. She was a chatterbox and got in trouble for talking in class. She seemed vibrant and personable and real,” Kraft said, using the name Anne herself used. When Kraft learned her fate, “I felt bereft, like I had lost a friend.” The famous diary resonated with Kraft for another reason: Her grandparents fled from Eu- rope to New Zealand with Kraft’s mother, then an infant, in 1939, as the Nazis advanced across Eu- rope.

So when Kraft, a Tel Aviv-based journalist, was asked to co-write the memoir of Hannah Pick-Gos- lar, a dear childhood friend of Anne Frank’s and a survivor of Bergen-Belsen, she leaped at the opportunity. The resulting book, “My Friend Anne Frank,” was released June 6. But Pick-Goslar didn’t live to see her book published. She died in October 2022, just shy of her 94th birthday. Like Anne Frank’s family, the Goslar family members were Ger- man Jewish refugees who found a temporary haven in Amsterdam. The families lived in adjoining buildings. From a young age, Anne and Hannah attended school together and quickly be- came inseparable. The book is filled with anec- dotes that only Pick-Goslar could share. “Hannah Pick is one of the few people who could offer the world a far more realistic portrayal of who Anne Frank really was,” said Efraim Zuroff, a Holocaust histo- rian and Nazi hunter. In her memoir, Pick-Goslar re- calls that the Franks “were our regular guests for Shabbat din- ner.” Anne’s father, Otto, was “ful- ly secular” and “never learned Hebrew, but he heard the prayers so many times at our table that he’d memorized them, and he could join in.” Anne’s mother, Edith, “who grew up in a more traditional Jewish home, keeping



Hannah Pick-Goslar in 1998, at age 69. At the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, she spoke with Anne Frank as her friend battled typhus and starved.

kosher and attending synagogue, appreciated the ritual and fami- liarity of these Shabbat meals.” Remarkably, even the tighten- ing grip of Nazi oppression didn’t prevent Anne from celebrating her June 12 birthday in typical Anne style. In the spring of 1942, as the Nazis imposed curfews on the Jews and forced them to wear a yellow star with the word “Jew” emblazoned on it, Anne pressed an envelope into Hannah’s hands. “She smiled and watched me open it. An invitation to her 13th birthday party on Sunday. On the invitation there was also a cine- ma-style ticket with my seat num- ber. ‘Father’s renting a film pro- jector again so we can watch Rin Tin Tin!’ Anne explained. Anne

and [her sister] Margot always had the nicest birthday parties.” Less than a month later, when Hannah’s mother sent her to bor- row the Franks’ kitchen scale, the teen discovered the Franks had vanished. “I walked through the rooms gingerly,” Pick-Goslar writes. “It was as if everything was suspend- ed in that exact rushed moment of the Frank family’s departure. The dining room table was still covered in breakfast dishes. The beds were unmade. It felt wrong to be there without them, like we were sneaking in. I’d never been in their home without them there.” “The Franks wanted it to look like they left in a hurry. This was their cover story,” said Kraft, who began to interview Pick-Goslar in March 2022, usually for hours at a time. “Hannah was in failing health but completely sound of mind. She seemed energized by talking,” Kraft said. Even so, the interviews were emotionally draining for both au- thor and co-author. “Hannah and I both had bad dreams” after some of their inter- views, Kraft said. “As a journalist, I try to create a bit of distance, to remind myself that their trauma is not my trauma. But Hannah — who had wanted to write a mem- oir for decades — “had no such emotional wall” as her memories came flooding back, Kraft ob-

served. Pick-Goslar and her little sister were the only ones in their family to survive the war. They were imprisoned in Bergen-Belsen for 14 months. It was there, toward the end of the war, where Pick-Goslar learned Anne Frank was impris- oned in an even worse part of the camp, on the other side of an impenetrable wall patrolled by Nazi guards. Hannah managed to give Anne some scraps of food donated by other imprisoned Jewish women. The girls could speak, but not see each other, three times before Anne died. “The Anna who Hannah en- countered is broken by typhus,” Kraft said. “Her beautiful hair has been shaved. She’s starving. She tells Hannah about the gas cham- bers. Anna cries, ‘I have no one left.’ They sit on each side of the fence weeping.” While the memoir documents the Nazis’ day-to-day cruelty as well as the decision by the United States and many other Western nations to close their borders to desperate Jewish refugees, it also reflects Pick-Goslar’s infectious optimism and sense of purpose. “Hannah was very funny. She had a wry sense of humor,” Kraft said. Despite her horrific experi- ences, Pick-Goslar created a hap- py new life for herself and her sister in Israel. She immigrated to

then-British Mandate Palestine in 1947, the year before Israel was established. She married and became a nurse, a mother, a grandmother and a great-grandmother. Her Jewish faith sustained her. “For her, religion was like a compass,” Kraft said. “It gave her a community and a framework and a continuity of the life her parents gave her. She recalled her father wrapped in his prayer shawl, praying with a full heart. She wasn’t angry at God. God was her lifeboat.” Pick-Goslar’s daughter, Ruti Meir, said, “Mom was full of life and optimistic and kept to the path of faith that she got from her parents’ home. Also, during the Shoah, she saw her father main- tain his faith, giving Torah les- sons that raised people to a high- er spiritual level. This is also how she built her home and taught her children.” Kraft considers the memoir an extension of the story that Anne Frank never got to tell — of events that unfolded outside the Franks’ hidden attic, and after the Holo- caust ended. “But it’s also the story of surviv- al that Hannah was able to experi- ence. That was the most beautiful task of writing this book. Sharing not only the account of the trials and dehumanization and degrada- tion she had to endure but the story of coming back to life.” — Religion News Service

Parents voice worries with D.C. charter

PROTEST FROM B1

ings.” But many caregivers left those sessions disappointed and without a clear sense of the school’s future. “The kids are getting hurt, they’re coming home with bruises, they’re interacting with each other in very inappropriate ways,” said Jacqueline Walters, a parent of a third-grader. “On top of that, there’s no instruction going on.” Families have made several re- quests to leadership, including a meeting with the school’s execu- tive director, board chair and the Office of the State Superinten- dent of Education, the district’s school governing agency. They also asked for more transparency, including holding more open meetings with the community, timely communication and a clear plan to address learning loss among third-grade students. Officials in a statement said they are “committed to working collaboratively with every mem- ber of our community in support of our mission and values.” They also acknowledged the school has lost teachers and pointed to a spike in midyear resignations be- tween March and April when seven staff members left the

school. Three of those were third- grade teachers, with two report- ing they were dissatisfied with the school, according to officials. The attrition rate for lead teachers across Mundo Verde’s campuses — a second location called Calle Ocho opened in Northeast in 2019 — was 26 per- cent during the 2020-2021 school year, according to the school’s most recent annual report. The figure is on par with other charter schools in the city, which also saw 26 percent of their teachers leave their jobs or change schools be- tween the 2020-2021 and 2021-2022 school years, according to data from the state superinten- dent’s office. “We know that midyear staff resignations are disruptive and that long-term substitutes are not what anyone wants for our stu- dents,” Mundo Verde officials said. “Regarding the teacher turnover we have experienced in this grade, we continue to pri- oritize student learning through a temporary solution for this year and planning for next year.” However, there have been com- plaints that teaching fellows — who parents said are not as expe- rienced or credentialed as lead teachers but have stepped in to

fill their jobs — and long-term substitutes are not equipped to teach Mundo Verde’s unique cur- riculum. Chirine Mabrouki, 43, whose 8-year-old child attends the school, recalled that substi- tute teachers who filled in for her child’s class were not provided with lesson plans to follow. “They ended up just having our kids sit on a computer for three hours,” Mabrouki said. Many chil- dren would come home and com- plain that they hadn’t learned anything. “They would give them a worksheet without explaining anything, or they would get mad at them for not figuring things out.” The D.C. Public Charter School Board, which provides oversight to the city’s public charter schools, did not respond to re- quests for comment. Amid concerns about the qual- ity of instruction, some parents have turned to outside tutoring, Walters said. But the school has a “huge percentage of kids” who can’t afford tutoring, she said. “So what does that say about equity?” For Brett Cloninger-West, 53, the issues at Mundo Verde were so severe, he pulled his daughter out of Mundo Verde after last school year. He said she lost five



Parents gather Wednesday outside D.C.’s Mundo Verde Bilingual Public Charter School to protest leadership concerns, teacher turnover and other issues.

teachers — two English teachers, two Spanish teachers and an after-school teacher — over the course of her second-grade year. “By the end of second grade, our child tested ready to enter first grade,” said Cloninger-West, who was among the parents who

sought tutoring. His daughter was also being “physically abused by another student every day” and, according to Cloninger- West, administrators would not intervene. Still, Cloninger-West said he has friends who have been satis-

fied with the school and decided to keep their children enrolled. “All of the parents really en- tered. . . Mundo Verde with hope- fulness, and not every family has had a negative takeaway,” he said. “For the kids it’s not working for, you can’t ignore them as a school.”

Motion aims to halt Md. toll project

TOLL LANES FROM B1

tion will reply in court by Aug. 7, citing a schedule ordered by the court.

“While we maintain the Managed Lane Study fully complied with all federal requirements in [the] environmental review process, the Maryland Department of Transportation cannot comment further as this is an ongoing legal proceeding,” he wrote in an email.

A spokesman for Gov. Wes Moore (D) reiterated that the administration is committed to easing congestion and replacing the 60-year-old American Legion Bridge, which often creates a bottleneck for traffic between Virginia and Maryland.

But the administration has not expressly said that it would build the toll lane project as designed. Moore spokesman Carter Elliott IV said in an email that “the governor is committed to reviewing solutions that will ease congestion and providing more trav-

el options that serve everyone.”

“Gov. Moore’s first priority is to review solutions through the lens of equity, sustainability, environmental protection and environmental justice,” the email continued.

Among other allegations, the motion claims that state and federal officials failed to clearly analyze and articulate the project’s community and environmental costs, citing some of the same issues Moore has said are important to him.

Plaintiffs include the Maryland Chapter of the Sierra Club, the National Trust for Historic Preservation, the Natural Resources Defense Council, and Friends of Moses Hall, formed to help preserve the Morningstar Tabernacle No. 88 Moses Cemetery and Hall, a historic African American cemetery in the shadows of the Beltway. The Northern Virginia Citizens Association, which had filed a separate lawsuit, joined portions of Friday’s brief, the groups

said.

The plaintiffs singled out what they allege was a lack of analysis and public communication about environmental air quality for vulnerable communities along the path of the project and the disturbance of graves in the Morningstar Tabernacle No. 88 Moses Cemetery, which was separated from its church when the Beltway was constructed decades ago.

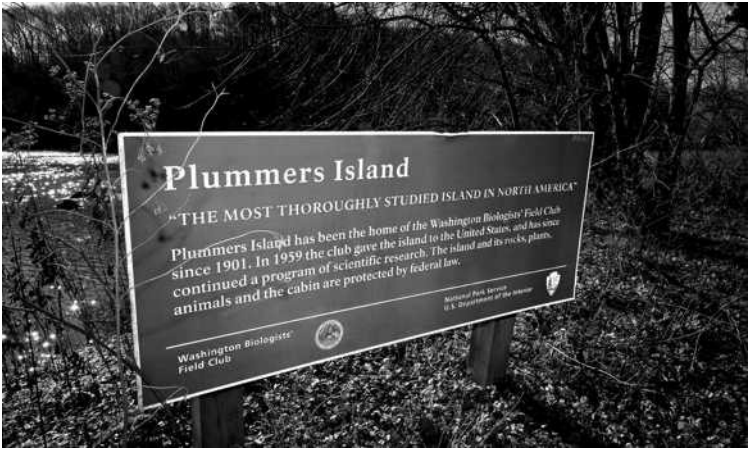
Hogan announced the plan in September 2017 as part of a \$9 billion proposal to widen Maryland’s most troubled roadways without getting public support from local officials. Many of those officials — particularly in Democrat-heavy Montgomery County — preferred a more transit-oriented approach. Hogan pitched the public-private partnership as a way to relieve bottlenecks without relying on taxpayer money.

Part of his plan faltered early: the state couldn’t secure control of the Baltimore-Washington Parkway from the federal govern-

ment to widen the highway. But the remaining proposal to launch one of the nation’s largest public-private partnerships to build toll lanes and replace the bridge moved forward in fits and starts until March.

That month, the company selected for a 50-year deal to design, build and operate the toll lanes walked away, leaving the \$6 billion project’s future uncertain. By then, Maryland had spent \$200 million to design it. Australian toll company Transurban cited the ongoing lawsuit as part of the reason it quit the project. The decision came amid uncertainty over whether Moore, who has criticized the project, would support building it.

Owens said the state is working on “design and permitting activities, field work and data collection, and developing funding options and procurement approaches to deliver a new American Legion Bridge and multimodal corridor improvements, includ-



KATHERINE FREY/THE WASHINGTON POST

A motion to halt the addition of toll lanes to 15 miles of Maryland freeway cited the potential for damage to Plummers Island.

ing seeking federal grants.”

Diane E. Baxter, who has two great-grandparents buried at the cemetery, said in a new legal filing along with the motion Friday that she finds it “galling that MDOT keeps saying that the project will not harm the Cemetery when they have no idea whether that’s true.” She said that a ground penetrating radar survey conducted in connection with the project in 2021 did not cover all of the land around the cemetery

where people might be buried.

In an earlier legal filing, Maryland acknowledged “there remains limited potential for burials located outside the historic property boundary” that could be affected by the toll lanes project. To account for that possibility, the state said it agreed to “fully investigate areas to be impacted by construction that are near or may be associated with the Morningstar Cemetery as design is advanced further.”

Residents ready to fight to preserve peninsula

GOLF COURSE FROM B1

and other features.

The alumni magazine’s report this month moved Joel Dunn, president of the Chesapeake Conservancy, to suggest that President Biden set aside the area as a national monument by invoking the Antiquities Act, as he did a few months ago with Castner Range in El Paso. “Greenbury Point Conservation Area’s vital historical, recreational and scientific importance is threatened by these influential developers,” Dunn wrote in an email.

But Miller said in an interview Monday that the alumni magazine misinterpreted what happened. Miller, acknowledging that he has agreed to foot the bill for planning and feasibility stud-

ies on overhauling the peninsula, said he retained the Nicklauses as consultants to determine whether it would be feasible to build a second golf course on the peninsula.

“We want to know — I want to know — if it’s possible to include a golf course,” said Miller, founder and chief executive of the Miller Group in Virginia Beach. “And so we thought that it might be helpful to have a golf course designer as part of the feasibility study. And that’s all we’re doing. There’s no contract to design a golf course.”

A spokesman for Palm Beach Gardens, Fla.-based Nicklaus Design — which has created hundreds of golf courses around the world and is part of the business empire Nicklaus founded and



MICHAEL REAVES/GETTY IMAGES

Jack Nicklaus, seen this month at a tournament in Ohio, will review the feasibility of a second course on Greenbury Point.

walked away from in an acrimonious split — referred calls to a firm recently created by Nicklaus.

Scott Tolley, a spokesman for that firm, IJN Design, confirmed that Nicklaus, 83, has agreed to review the feasibility of putting a

second golf course on Greenbury Point.

“Mr. Nicklaus’ extensive experience in such design projects makes him eminently qualified to evaluate the geographical and environmental conditions neces-

THE DISTRICT

Retired lieutenant pleads guilty in library shooting

BY KEITH L. ALEXANDER

A former D.C. police lieutenant pleaded guilty Friday to involuntary manslaughter and unlawful discharge of a firearm in the fatal shooting of a library officer during a training exercise at the Anacostia Neighborhood Library.

Jesse Porter, 58, faces a maximum of 30 years in prison in the Aug. 4 shooting death of 25-year-old library officer Maurica Manyan.

Porter had initially been charged with involuntary manslaughter, but earlier this year a grand jury voted to elevate the charges to second-degree murder.

Authorities have alleged previously that Porter shot Manyan during an incident that witnesses described as a possible joke that went awry. The retired D.C. police lieutenant, who online records show runs a training company called Porter Consulting and Expert Tactical Training, had been contracted by the library to train its officers on using handcuffs

and batons.

At the end of the day, according to charging documents, those in the training went to pose for a picture, and Manyan said she wasn’t ready because she was still wearing a mask to protect against the coronavirus. Manyan’s classmates jokingly said “she’s never ready,” a federal prosecutor recounted at the hearing. And Porter, according to charging documents, said, “Ah, here we go again,” removed his handgun from his waist, pointed the firearm at Manyan and shot her once in the chest.

Manyan’s attorney, Brian McDaniel, said his client was “remorseful” and that in a security video that captured the shooting, Porter immediately put both of his hands on his head as if to say, “I can’t believe this happened.” Porter then began performing CPR on Manyan.

It was an emotional sentencing as members of Manyan’s family objected to the plea offer and alleged in a lengthy letter to D.C.

Superior Court Judge Anthony Epstein that the assistant U.S. attorney prosecuting the case, Andrea Coronado, “repeatedly failed to inform and show respect or empathy” to the family during her handling of the case.

“Ms. Coronado neglected to greet or meet with the family. Our family was not involved or informed during these plea talks. We have been humiliated and re-victimized by her behavior,” Manyan’s cousin Monique Simpson told Epstein.

Simpson and about 15 other family members, including Manyan’s parents, sobbed loudly during the hearing. The family also told Epstein that their requests to view the security video that captured the shooting were repeatedly denied. Simpson also asked Epstein to refer the prosecutor to D.C. Bar’s Office of Disciplinary Counsel for an investigation.

Coronado declined to comment on the family’s allegations saying that the family also sent a similar letter to her supervisors

in the U.S. attorney’s office. One of Coronado’s supervisors, veteran homicide prosecutor Sharon Donovan who was seated next to Coronado at the hearing, said the office “disagreed” with the family’s allegations.

Epstein requested that Coronado’s office allow the family a chance to watch the security video, but he warned the family, repeatedly, how emotionally difficult watching the video that captured the shooting could be.

Coronado asked Epstein to order Porter jailed until sentencing. Porter, a 33-year veteran with the D.C. police, had been allowed to stay at home on condition that he did not possess any weapons and reported to all court hearings.

McDaniel argued his client has been compliant with all court orders and was neither a danger to the community nor a flight risk and should be allowed to remain home until sentence. Epstein agreed.

Epstein is scheduled to sentence Porter on Aug. 25.

MARYLAND

Prince George’s names health agency leader

Matthew D. Levy, a pediatrician, chosen after 9-month national search

BY JENNA PORTNOY

Prince George’s County has a new health officer.

County Executive Angela D. Alsobrooks this week named Matthew D. Levy, a pediatrician who previously worked at MedStar Georgetown University Hospital, to lead the public health agency in a county hit hard by the coronavirus pandemic.

Levy, who for the past two years has worked as a professor and head of general and community pediatrics at the Medical College of Wisconsin in Milwaukee, was hired after a nine-month national search.

“While we have made tremendous progress in expanding quality health care and services for our residents throughout this administration, we were severely impacted by the covid-19 pandemic and recognize the health care challenges we continue to face,” Alsobrooks said in a statement.

“We are extremely pleased to have Dr. Levy accept this position and join our team. He is eminently qualified to serve our residents, and with his background, knowledge, and expertise, we are confident that he will work to improve the overall health and well-being of all Prince Georgians.”

The county is not alone in struggling to replace the top physician in charge of public health, a

field that has seen clinicians and administrators leave because of burnout and the increasing influence of politics.

District officials took nearly a year to hire Ayanna Bennett, a pediatrician and former health equity officer in San Francisco, to lead the D.C. Department of Health. Virginia also recently welcomed a new health commissioner; about two months after lawmakers declined to confirm Colin Greene, Gov. Glenn Youngkin appointed Karen Shelton.

Levy comes to Prince George’s with much familiarity with the region. From 2000 to 2017, he worked at MedStar Georgetown University Hospital in Washington as division chief of community pediatrics, where he developed a mobile medical clinic and two school-based health centers in the District. He also directed the HOYA clinic, the first medical-student-driven clinic at the D.C. General family emergency shelter.

From Georgetown, he served as medical director of the Clinically Integrated Network for Children’s Healthcare of Atlanta, where he ran population health programs that addressed community needs, such as asthma and immunizations.

Levy holds a bachelor’s degree in political science from the University of Michigan, a master’s degree in public health from Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health and a medical degree from New York Medical College in Westchester, N.Y.

He starts on Aug. 14 and will serve as acting health officer, pending confirmation by the state.

THE DISTRICT

Pregnant woman slain, baby survives in double shooting

BY EMILY DAVIES

The pregnant woman slain in a double shooting Thursday gave birth to her baby, who, by Friday, was still alive, police said.

The woman, 22-year-old Samya Gill of Fort Washington, Md., was killed about 11:20 a.m. Thursday, after two people with rifles walked over to a parked car where she sat with a man and started shooting.

The man was struck but survived. Gill’s family, outside of their home Friday, said they did not want to talk to reporters.

Police have described the attack as targeted and put out a lookout for two suspects and a white car. By Friday, the department said they had no further updates in their investigation.

The shooting occurred in the 300 block of 37th Street SE. The

victims then drove to Minnesota Avenue and Dix Street NE, officials said, where police found them suffering from gunshot wounds.

Gill’s killing was one of four slayings this week in the nation’s capital — a city that has continued to struggle with surging violent crime. Later Thursday, 18-year-old Khalliqo Ford was fatally shot in the 200 block of K Street SW. Maurice Robinson, 24, was killed

Tuesday in Southeast. Joseph Crockett, 43, was fatally shot Monday in Southeast.

Homicides, as of Friday, were up 16 percent compared with the same time in 2022. Last year, the city surpassed 200 killings for only the second time in almost two decades.

Magda Jean-Louis contributed to this report.

THE DISTRICT

Dark clouds, gusts were a feint of incoming rain

BY MARTIN WEIL

Some places are known for dry heat, but Washington on Friday suggested that we may be witnessing something like dry rain.

All day long, it seemed that rain loomed all about us. All the atmospheric equipment appeared on hand. This included the mandatory dark clouds, and a mildly humid hint that water

vapor filled the air. At stray moments, winds gusted a bit and a hazy sense of the semitropical seemed pervasive.

We could almost hear the patter of fat droplets falling through the treetops, pooling on the pavements. But they failed to actually appear. Officially, the National Weather Service recorded a trace of rain here. Traces are amounts too small to measure.

A few places did, however, see signs of the summertime sort of storminess.

The prime evidence came a-clattering in the form of hailstones. The storm strewed hail in Fredericksburg, and La Plata. Hailstones, some marble-sized, carpeted a wooden deck in western Fairfax County. With rising winds, at least one tree branch snapped in Fairfax.

But in Washington, as of evening, nothing in the way of precipitation occurred to budge our meager June rainfall total from a pinched and parched 0.23 inches, nearly two inches below average this late in the month.

At Dulles International Airport, a little rain fell Friday — but at about an eighth of an inch, it left June’s total at about 0.25 inches, far below average.

RELIGIOUS SERVICES DIRECTORY

ANNOUNCEMENTS

ANNOUNCEMENTS

RELIGIOUS SERVICES DIRECTORY

Advertise your

* Weekly Services * Special Events

* Guest Speakers & Lectures * Bible Study

* Volunteer Openings

* Church & Pastor Anniversaries * Retreats * Concerts

* Employment Listings & More

To advertise, email:

ReligionAdvertising@washpost.com

In GOP primary, a battle between Youngkin ally and critic

VIRGINIA SENATE FROM B1

cal scientist at the University of Mary Washington, said that is an especially important factor in the race as the governor — who is prohibited by the Virginia Constitution from serving a second consecutive term — is rumored to be seeking higher office himself.

“Every major player in this scenario — Youngkin, Durant, Strickland — is making this primary a Youngkin referendum,” Farnsworth said. “It’s a midterm grade report for the governor on how well his candidates do.”

This race is not just a symbolic battle. As Republicans seek to claw back a majority in the state Senate, the new 27th Senate District, which includes Fredericksburg and parts of Stafford and Spotsylvania counties, is a can’t-lose seat if they hope to tear down Democrats’ narrow “blue wall” in the chamber, Farnsworth said.

A court-ordered redistricting process redrew the statewide map, adding this new district without an incumbent. Located in a traditionally Republican stronghold, it also includes rapidly suburbanizing pockets along Interstate 95 that have turned the area increasingly purple — and in the case of last fall’s congressional elections, light blue.

The winner of Tuesday’s primary will face multiple general-election opponents: Two candidates are battling it out in a heated, expensive primary clash for the Democratic nomination that also pits one with establishment backing, Joel Griffin, against a more crusading outsider, Ben Litchfield.

A third candidate — a politically independent stripper turned Christian minister turned county supervisor named Monica Gary — is running an insurgent campaign that eschews the two-party



Durant and Strickland campaigns

Del. Tara Durant and restaurateur Matt Strickland. The results of their primary fight could determine the GOP’s success in the fall.

establishment entirely.

Whether Strickland or Durant makes it on the GOP ticket, Farnsworth said, could ultimately determine how successful the GOP is here in November — and how successful Youngkin might be in pushing through a conservative agenda needed to bolster a bid for the White House.

(Youngkin spokeswoman Macaulay Porter referred questions to Youngkin’s Spirit of Virginia PAC. Zack Roday, a spokesman for the PAC, did not immediately respond to a request for comment Friday.)

“Do the voters in the primary prefer an experienced conservative lawmaker who is close to the governor,” Farnsworth asked, “or a more combative conservative who might speak more effectively to the anger that many primary voters feel these days? ... In the world of swing Senate districts, this might be the swingiest one of them all.”

Dueling backstories

Durant has maintained a strong advantage in fundraising, collecting about \$557,000 in donations to Strickland’s roughly \$174,000, according to the Virginia Public Access Project. In addition to the endorsement from Youngkin, she has drawn the support of Lt. Gov. Winsome Earle-Sears (R), Attorney General Jason S. Miyares (R), and former House speakers Bill Howell and Kirk Cox, the latter of whom first recruited her to run for office.]

But Strickland has nonetheless managed to turn the battle into one of the more closely watched races on the GOP side this spring, political observers say, as he repeatedly recounts a battle against Virginia’s since-lifted coronavirus mandates that made him a conservative cause célèbre.

In a flurry of videos posted across social media, the buff, baldheaded former infantryman has recounted how he traded

combat boots for oven mitts to open an artisan grilled cheese restaurant, Gourmeltz, where he had flouted Virginia’s pandemic mandates.

The restaurant had fought the administration of Democratic Gov. Ralph Northam in court for nearly two years to resist face mask requirements and indoor seating restrictions.

Strickland said he expected that Youngkin and Miyares would make the state’s alcohol authority drop a related case against him when they entered office in early 2022, particularly because both men had offered him their support during their campaigns.

That never happened. The grilled cheese restaurant lost its liquor license over the pandemic rules, and agents with the Virginia Alcoholic Beverage Control Authority — now an arm of Youngkin’s administration — entered the eatery in a Spotsylvania strip mall with a search warrant. Strickland filmed them as he berated the “tyrannical government” on camera, comparing them to Nazi officers.

“I realized in my fight to stand up for small businesses,” he said in a campaign video, “that even some Republicans are unwilling to stand up for you and I when we need them the most.”

Durant has emphasized her endorsements from statewide GOP figures to frame herself as a “conservative champion in Richmond.” But she, too, has also continued to mention her own viral incident that played out in news headlines.

“Tara was called to get off the sidelines when she was surrounded by rioters and the 911 dispatch said there was nothing they could do,” the narration in one of her ads says. “Tara knew someone had to back the blue.”

She said in an interview that

she did not know demonstrators were in the streets of Fredericksburg when she drove her black Toyota Highlander downtown in June 2020 — and ended up surrounded by them as she called for help.

“You know this is going to get dangerous,” she shouted on a panicked 911 call. “I got a kid here.”

“We would suggest you call up city hall to let them know about your frustrations,” the dispatcher said.

A court has since dismissed Durant’s lawsuit against two teenagers who she claimed had stopped her vehicle. One defendant never attended the demonstration and proved it in court, according to the Free-Lance Star newspaper in Fredericksburg, and another lawsuit has been filed alleging Durant committed defamation in the initial suit.

Strickland did not address Durant’s story of the 911 call — he said in an interview that he had never heard of the incident — but has instead gone on the offensive about her ties to the “establishment.”

While his campaign has lacked the money to send out more than one mailer, Strickland has made repeated social media missives accusing her of being funded by lobbyists, pointing to a \$36,000 donation from the politically powerful utility company Dominion Energy and votes to subsidize major companies and a water park coming to Stafford. (Griffin, one of the Democratic candidates, has also donated to Durant’s campaign.)

“My opponent telling people she’s the better choice because she’s ‘friends with all of the Virginia Republican leadership’ just proves why she’s not,” he wrote in one Twitter post. “She’s concerned with impressing them, I’m

concerned with representing you.”

Durant suggested in an interview that money is necessary to build up a war chest to ultimately win in a politically competitive contest in November. “Especially in very competitive races, it’s important you have somebody that can do that, that they can raise the funds they need to do to be able to win,” she said.

A heavy Youngkin factor

Looming over the race is a much more personal conflict of how Durant’s ties to the governor — and Strickland’s feud with Virginia — ended up prompting something of a political run-in by the time both had already set their sights on the state Senate.

After Strickland’s video of the Gourmeltz raid went viral, Youngkin promised he would reimburse businesses who paid “unjust” fines for breaking covid rules — a direct response, it seemed.

The governor also floated two related amendments to the state budget as part of the package to fund the reimbursement bill. Of all the people he could have asked to introduce those proposals on his behalf in the House of Delegates, he asked Durant.

Strickland was incensed. On social media, he called the governor’s bill a “typical kick the can down the road political response.” He told Youngkin directly: “You have proven how ineffective and weak you are as a leader.”

Now, as he drives around the district and sees yard signs featuring the governor side by side with his primary opponent, he has made a blunt conclusion on the race.

“I am not running against Tara Durant,” he said. “I am basically running against Glenn Youngkin.”

OBITUARIES

GLENDA JACKSON, 87

Two-time Oscar winner paused acting for time in politics

BY BRIAN MURPHY

Glenda Jackson, a British actress with a pugnacious spirit and caustic wit who won two Oscars and later left acting for nearly 25 years while serving as a member of Parliament, only to return to the stage at age 80 for a triumphal performance as “King Lear,” died Thursday at her home in London. She was 87.

The death was announced by her agent, Lionel Lerner, who did not provide a specific cause.

Ms. Jackson was regarded as one of the leading screen and stage talents of her generation. As a young woman in the 1960s and ’70s, she drew attention for pushing cinematic boundaries in her portrayals of fiercely independent, even abrasive, female characters, many of whom explore their sexual freedoms.

Decades later — after 24 years in politics — she tackled stage roles confronting mortality and grief, including “King Lear” in 2016 in London and on Broadway with a Tony Award-winning performance as the aged, death-defying character called A in Edward Albee’s “Three Tall Women” in 2018.

She never wore her fame lightly, however. Ms. Jackson could be defensive and dismissive in interviews, troublesome with other actors and directors, and carried herself with a gruff defiance. She chain-smoked, flung around curse words like confetti and treated acting the way a rodeo cowboy treats a steer. It was something to be chased, roped and brought under control. Acting, she said, was hard work. And that requires sacrifice and focus.

“I regard acting,” she once said, “as a serious job for serious-minded people.”

As a teenager from a working-class background, Ms. Jackson joined an amateur acting troupe on a lark while working at a pharmacy near her hometown outside Liverpool. It led to a scholarship to the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art in London, the steppingstone for Britain’s elite of stage and screen. Yet Ms. Jackson said she was self-conscious about her looks, including eyes that compress into a piercing gaze.



ROBERT DEAR/AP

Glenda Jackson holds her Oscar for best actress for her performance in “Women in Love” in 1971. Ms. Jackson, who won a second Oscar in 1974 for “A Touch of Class,” died Thursday at 87.

The academy’s principal said she was destined to be nothing more than a middle-aged character actress, she recalled. Ms. Jackson took it as a lifelong challenge. She always seemed to be trying to set her own agenda on her own timetable.

In the 1960s and early 1970s, Ms. Jackson brought a mix of neurosis and eroticism to a series of roles, including the sex-obsessed wife in Ken Russell’s biopic on Russian composer Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky, “The Music Lovers” (1971), and as the French Revolution assassin Charlotte Corday in Peter Brook’s production of “Marat/Sade” (1967). For a time, she was dubbed “the first lady of the flesh” of British cinema.

After her first Oscar nomination — as the cursed Gudrun Brangwen in Russell’s 1969 “Women in Love,” based on the

D.H. Lawrence novel — Ms. Jackson was not on hand at the Academy Awards ceremony when her name was read out as the winner for best actress. She said she was “busy,” but the rebuff was widely interpreted as a personal stand against Hollywood’s glitz and vanities.

She also stayed away for her second Oscar in the 1973 romantic comedy “A Touch of Class,” playing opposite George Segal as a couple having a deepening affair. She received two more Academy Award nominations: as part of a love triangle with gay and bisexual men in “Sunday Bloody Sunday” (1971) and for 1975’s “Hedda,” an adaptation of Henrik Ibsen’s “Hedda Gabler,” about a manipulative woman.

By the early 1990s, after a mediocre run of cinema roles, she put acting aside and won a seat in

Parliament representing north London for the Labour Party. “The best theater is trying to tell the truth,” she said. “And the best politics is trying to tell the truth.” For Ms. Jackson, who raged against conservative Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, getting into politics was a chance for payback.

Ms. Jackson stayed in the House of Commons until 2015, including two years as a junior transport minister in the late 1990s in Prime Minister Tony Blair’s government. She left the Cabinet to make an unsuccessful run for London mayor and later slammed Blair for sending British forces into the U.S.-led war in Iraq in 2003.

At age 79, she decided she was running out of steam for politics. Acting, she said, turned out to be easier in some ways. She missed the ensemble. “The responsibility in acting is not exclusively mine,” she told the Guardian. “There’s a shared responsibility.”

She picked Shakespeare for her return. She watched her friend, actress Núria Espert, take on the role of King Lear in Spain. Ms. Jackson marveled at how well a woman could pull it off. Espert suggested Ms. Jackson do the same. “Don’t be absurd,” Ms. Jackson replied.

“Then other people said to me: ‘If you’re going to come back, come back with something.’ ... So I said, ‘I’ll either crash and burn or whatever,’” Ms. Jackson recalled.

“King Lear” opened at London’s Old Vic in 2016. (It premiered on Broadway in 2019.) New York Times drama critic Ben Brantley judged it a “powerful and deeply perceptive performance as the most royally demented of Shakespeare’s monarchs.”

Family struggles

Glenda May Jackson was born in Birkenhead, near Liverpool, on May 9, 1936. Her father was a bricklayer, and her mother was a house cleaner and worked at a pub. The family moved to nearby Hoylake and struggled to make ends meet after her father was called to military service in World War II.

“We used to eat candle wax as an alternative to chewing gum,”

she recalled.

Ms. Jackson left school at 15 and found a job at the chain pharmacy Boots. On a whim, she signed up for a local theater group. In 1954, she received a scholarship at the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art and made her professional debut in London in a production of Terence Rattigan’s “Separate Tables” in 1957.

Six years later, she received her first big break. Brook picked her for an experimental troupe within the Royal Shakespeare Company. She made her mark with a burning intensity, leading to her being cast in “Marat/Sade.”

That same passion also became a red flag for other actors and directors. Ms. Jackson was soon labeled as someone who needed a wide berth. She berated other actors she felt were not carrying their weight and challenged directors over how they envisioned a scene. A co-star in “Women in Love” and two other films, Oliver Reed, described working with Ms. Jackson as “being run over by a Bedford truck.”

In a 1989 Los Angeles production of “Who’s Afraid of Virginia Woolf?” directed by the playwright, Albee, Ms. Jackson even bickered with him over stage directions for her character, Martha. “He is a very, very good writer,” she later said. “Terrible director, in my opinion.”

At the same time, she was also seen as a performer who could, at her best, elevate any role and bring her castmates along. In 1971, she helped infuse a raw power to a BBC television miniseries, “Elizabeth R,” about the 16th century reign of Elizabeth I. For the part, which earned Ms. Jackson an Emmy Award and aired on public television in the United States, she learned archery and calligraphy and shaved her head as the queen progressed from youth to old age.

In “Stevie” (1978), she won multiple film critic awards, playing the British poet Stevie Smith, and received an Emmy nomination for her 1981 TV movie, “The Patricia Neal Story,” about the Hollywood actress after several strokes left her incapacitated.

In 1985, she earned a Tony nomination for her role as Nina

Leeds, the central character in Eugene O’Neill’s four-hour melodrama “Strange Interlude.”

When Ms. Jackson fell short, however, the reviews could be scathing. “Dirty Habits,” a 1977 film about a Watergate-style scandal retold in a convent and starring Ms. Jackson, was blasted by film critic John Simon as an “ugly, unfunny travesty.” In 1978, Variety wrote that Ms. Jackson’s performance in the rom-com “House Calls” with Walter Matthau “would certainly suggest that comedy is not her bag.” The film did well at the box office and brought unusually glowing praise from Ms. Jackson about Matthau.

“Oh, God, did I enjoy working with him!” she said in a 2018 interview with the Hollywood Reporter. She teamed up again with Matthau in “Hopscotch” (1980), about a CIA retiree on the run from his former agency.

She recently completed filming “The Great Escaper,” co-starring Michael Caine as a World War II veteran who slips away from his care home to attend the 70th anniversary commemoration of the D-Day landings.

Ms. Jackson’s marriage to Roy Hodges, an actor and stage manager, ended in divorce. Survivors include their son, journalist Dan Hodges. Ms. Jackson remained single, saying that “men are awfully hard work for very little reward.”

“When I have to cry,” she later said, “I think about my love life. And when I have to laugh, I think about my love life.”

While Ms. Jackson described herself as a performer deeply rooted in Britain, one classic British role was turned down. She was offered a chance to play M, the intelligence chief, in the James Bond series — a role that went to Judi Dench. No regrets, Ms. Jackson said. She rejected the M role “because it was boring.”

“That is one of the really shocking things that hasn’t changed in my 25 years of being out of it,” she told the Guardian in 2016 after returning to acting. “Creative writers still don’t find women interesting. They are hardly ever the dramatic engine, they are mostly an adjunct, and I find that very bizarre.”

What’s for dinner?

Search our database of tested recipes by ingredient or name.
washingtonpost.com/recipes

The Washington Post

SEPTEMBER 15, 2023

OBITUARIES



CHRISTOPHER JOHNSON/OCEAN ALLIANCE/AP

Ater discovering that whales could sing, Roger Payne produced a hit 1970 album, “Songs of the Humpback Whale,” that galvanized the anti-whaling movement.

ROGER PAYNE, 88

Biologist helped save the whales by sharing their songs

BY HARRISON SMITH

Roger Payne, a biologist who put his ear to the ocean and pioneered the study of whale songs, recording the creatures’ hypnotic, intricately patterned vocalizations — haunting wails, birdlike chirps, playful squeals and mournful moos — for a hit album that galvanized the anti-whaling movement and seemed to suggest the animals had a far richer inner life than previously imagined, died June 10 at his home in South Woodstock, Vt. He was 88.

The cause was pelvic cancer, said his wife, Lisa Harrow.

By the time Dr. Payne discovered whale songs in the late 1960s, the creatures had started to disappear from the world’s oceans, decimated by industrial hunting operations that killed tens of thousands of whales each year. His research, and the release of his 1970 album “Songs of the Humpback Whale,” transformed attitudes toward a creature that was variously prized as a lucrative source of meat and blubber, feared as a Jonah-swallowing leviathan of the deep, and ignored as just another fish in the sea (even if it was technically a mammal).

David Gruber, a marine biologist who collaborated with Dr. Payne in recent years, said his recordings “sparked the ‘Save the Whales’ movement, one of the most successful conservation initiatives in history, which saved several whale populations from extinction.” Congress passed the Marine Mammal Protection Act in 1972, inaugurating new protections for whales, dolphins and other animals, and in 1982 the International Whaling Commission voted to implement a moratorium on commercial whaling.

“To scientists and conservationists,” Gruber added in an email, “Roger will be remembered not only for saving the whales, but for teaching humanity how to marvel at the wonders of the natural world, and hopefully save ourselves in the process.”

Dr. Payne remained endlessly fascinated by animal hearing and communication. A classical music lover who had played the cello since childhood, he wrote his doctoral dissertation on barn owls, demonstrating how they could locate a mouse using hearing alone, and later studied moths, marveling in an interview with Nautilus magazine that they could detect the approach of a bat “even though each moth ear contains just three sense cells.”

As he told it, he was motivated not just by curiosity but by a sense of ecological obligation, looking for research subjects that could spur people to take action against “the destruction of the wild world.” He turned toward whales after seeing another cetacean, a dolphin, wash up near Boston, where it was mutilated by beachgoers who hacked away at its tail, carved initials into its flanks and stuffed a cigar butt inside its blowhole.

“I thought to myself, ‘Is this the only interaction that can occur between people and the wild world?’ I sat there, soaked to the bone, and decided it would be

wonderful to do something about this,” he told Britain’s Observer newspaper in 2020. “I had no chance of that at that moment, but a chance slowly appeared.”

Following an acquaintance’s suggestion, he traveled to Bermuda in 1967 to meet Frank Watlington, an underwater acoustics specialist who had worked for the Navy. While using underwater microphones to track Soviet submarines, Watlington had recorded unusual rhythmic sounds that he played for Dr. Payne in the engine room of his research vessel, shout-

ing over the generator’s roar, “I think these may be whales!”

“In spite of the racket, what I heard blew my mind,” Dr. Payne told Nautilus in 2021. “It seemed obvious that here, finally, was a chance to get the world interested in preventing the extinction of whales.”

Still, it took time to realize exactly what he was hearing. There were no breaks between the calls, which would sometimes continue for hours, and it could take 30 minutes for a call to repeat. Only after he began using Watlington’s tape as an alarm clock, waking up to it each morning for about 40 days, did he realize that the animals — in this case humpback whales — were repeating themselves.

Working with a research team that included his first wife, Katy Payne, and another colleague, Scott McVay, Dr. Payne used a sound spectrograph to analyze the recordings and demonstrate that the calls had rhythms and repetitions, features that led him to use the term “song” to describe the vocalizations. He and McVay published the group’s findings in a 1971 article in the journal Science, noting that “the function of the songs is unknown.”

Since then, Dr. Payne and other researchers have continued to make advances in studying whale songs, which serve as a form of communication and play a role in mating, according to Gruber, a professor at Baruch College in New York. Dr. Payne notably proposed that whale vocalizations could be heard thousands of miles across the ocean, a theory that was later confirmed in experiments by one of his former students, Christopher Clark.

In 1971, Dr. Payne founded the Ocean Alliance, a research and advocacy group now based in Gloucester, Mass. He went on to conduct hundreds of research trips, living with Katy Payne and their four children in Argentina for a time while studying right whales, and wrote books including “Among Whales” (1995). He also co-wrote and co-directed a 45-minute Imax film, “Whales: An Unforgettable Journey,” narrated by actor Patrick Stewart.

But he remained best known for “Songs of the Humpback Whale,” a 34-minute, five-track record — song titles include “Solo Whale” and “Three Whale Trip” — that sold more than 100,000 copies. Musicians including Judy Collins and Kate Bush used excerpts from the recordings, and in 2010, the album was added to the National Recording Registry at the Library of Congress.

To Dr. Payne’s delight, some of the whale songs were also included on a golden record aboard NASA’s Voyager spacecraft, which was launched in 1977 and has since crossed into interstellar space. Their inclusion, alongside other animal sounds and music, meant that any extraterrestrial with a record player could hear what Dr. Payne considered “the longest, loudest, slowest music made by any creature.”

The younger of two children, Roger Searle Payne was born in Manhattan on Jan. 29, 1935. His father was an electrical engineer, and his mother was a music teacher who played the viola and filled the home with classical music.

From a young age, Dr. Payne was convinced he belonged in the country, not the city. He spent much of his free time rambling through Central Park or sailing Long Island Sound, and at age 18 he traveled to Alaska for the summer, working as an excavator at a gold mine near Fairbanks.

After graduating from the Horace Mann School in the Bronx, he studied biology at Harvard University. He earned a doctorate from Cornell University in 1961, taught at Tufts University and returned to New York in 1966 to join the faculty of Rockefeller University, finding a home in the Bronx that looked out over the Palisades and the Hudson River instead of the jagged cityscape to the south.

Dr. Payne launched conservation programs at the New York Zoological Society, now the Wildlife Conservation Society, and in 1984 received a MacArthur Foundation fellowship, also known as a “genius grant.” He soon stopped teaching to focus on the Ocean Alliance, and around that same time befriended another MacArthur fellow, novelist Cormac McCarthy, who traveled with him to Antarctica and attended his 1991 wedding to Harrow, a New Zealand-born actress he met at a Greenpeace rally.

“Roger and Cormac were joined at the hip,” said Harrow, noting that Dr. Payne died just days before McCarthy. “God, they could crack each other up. I don’t believe in heaven — I’m a rational atheist — but I just know that they’re now somewhere up there causing havoc.”

Dr. Payne’s marriage to Katy Boynton, a zoologist who moved from whales to elephants, ended in divorce. In addition to his wife, Harrow, survivors include his four children, John, Holly, Laura and Sam Payne; a stepson, Tim Neill-Harrow; and 11 grandchildren.

Five days before his death, Time magazine published an essay by Dr. Payne calling for a new conservation movement. He was working with Gruber on an initiative called Project CETI, which aims to translate sperm whale vocalizations, and hoped its findings would remind people of the interdependence of life on Earth.

“As my time runs out,” he wrote, “I am possessed with the hope that humans worldwide are smart enough and adaptable enough to put the saving of other species where it belongs: at the top of the list of our most important jobs.”

DEATH NOTICE

DERAMUS

LISA DERAMUS
Lisa (Wood) DeRamus, passed away May 25, 2023 in Port Angeles, Washington, age 65, after a long battle with squamous cell carcinoma. Born January 15, 1958 in Honolulu, Hawaii, to Cdr. Malcolm L. and Mary Louise Grambo Wood, Lisa grew up in Chevy Chase, Maryland. She graduated from Walt Whitman High School in 1976, and earned a B.A. in history at Saint Mary’s College of Maryland in 1980.
Survivors include her husband of 42 years, James DeRamus; a brother, Anthony Wood (Teresina), two sisters, Teresa Coffren (Frank) and Mary Edwards (Mickey), and a host of nieces, nephews and cousins. She was predeceased by twin brothers Malcolm L. and John K. Wood.
Lisa worked most of her career in horticulture, despite her degree in history, because she loved plants and flowers.
We miss her deeply. She fought bravely, and passed gently in the end. In lieu of flowers, please consider donating to Volunteer Hospice of Clallam County <https://vhocc.org/give.php> or to your local animal shelter in Lisa’s name.
A private celebration of life will be on August 16, from 1 to 3 p.m. at Brookside Gardens in Wheaton MD.

ISAACS

MYRTLE WILLIAMS ISAACS
Myrtle Williams Isaacs (nee Critzer) of The Villages, Florida, formerly of Hyattsville, Maryland and Colonial Beach, Virginia, passed away on Friday, April 7, 2023 at the age of 97. Born on December 19, 1925 in Esmont, Virginia, the fourth youngest of thirteen children, she is preceded in death by her beloved husband Robert Ashby Isaacs; her parents, Claude and Emma Critzer, five brothers, seven sisters and one grandson. She is survived by three daughters, Emma Ringgold, Susan Randles (Gary) and Barbara Bullock (John), 12 grandchildren, and numerous other descendants.
Myrtle had a 35-year career at Giant Food, accruing multiple awards and appearing on several television programs as a representative of Giant Food.
Myrtle was an exceptional cook and gardener, with a wicked sense of humor and a love for music and romantic movies. A celebration of life was held on May 17, 2023.



DEATH NOTICE

NYMAN

ERIC W. NYMAN
June 10, 2023, Eric W. Nyman of Arlington, Virginia, died suddenly at Virginia Hospital Center. He leaves behind a wife, three children, and six grandchildren. No services are planned. In lieu of flowers, donations may be made to either Virginia Hospital Center, Infinite Legacy, or Anatomy Gifts.

WRIGHT



GWENDOLYN B. WRIGHT
On Friday, June 9, 2023 Gwendolyn B. Wright peacefully transitioned at INOVA Fairfax Hospital, Falls Church, VA. She is preceded in death by her husband, Francis C. Wright and daughter, Valerie A. Morton. She leaves to mourn her passing, her daughter, Synthia D. Wright; her son Francis C. Wright; one grandson, Devonn Morgan; two great granddaughters, Renee and Alexis Morton; two great granddaughters, Kehiani Jones and Ayanna Courtney, in addition to a host of other relatives and friends. A viewing will be held at Shiloh Baptist Church, 70704 Gunston Rd, Lorton, VA on Monday, June 19, 2023 from 6 p.m. until 8 p.m. and Tuesday, June 20, 2023 from 10 a.m. until time of service at 11 a.m. Internment, Shiloh Baptist Church Cemetery. Arrangements by Phillip Bell Sr. and Winona Morrisette-Johnson Funeral Service, P.A.

DEATH NOTICES

MONDAY-FRIDAY 8:30 a.m. - 5 p.m.
SATURDAY-SUNDAY 11 a.m. - 4 p.m.

To place a notice, call:
202-334-4122
800-627-1150 ext 4-4122
EMAIL:
deathnotices@washpost.com

Email and faxes MUST include name, home address & home phone # of the responsible billing party.
Email deadline - 3 p.m. daily
Phone-in deadline 4 p.m. M-F
3 p.m. Sa-Su

CURRENT 2023 RATES:

(PER DAY)

MONDAY-SATURDAY
Black & White
1" - \$155 (text only)
2" - \$355 (text only)
3" - \$505
4" - \$555
5" - \$700

SUNDAY
Black & White
1" - \$185 (text only)
2" - \$390 (text only)
3" - \$560
4" - \$590
5" - \$765

6"+ for ALL Black & White notices
\$155 each additional inch Mon - Sat
\$185 each additional inch Sunday

MONDAY-SATURDAY
Color
3" - \$650
4" - \$700
5" - \$855

SUNDAY
Color
3" - \$685
4" - \$735
5" - \$955

6"+ for ALL color notices
\$260 each additional inch Mon - Sat
\$290 each additional inch Sunday

Notices with photos begin at 3" (All photos add 2" to your notice.)
ALL NOTICES MUST BE PREPAID

MEMORIAL PLAQUES:
All notices over 2" include complimentary memorial plaque
Additional plaques start at \$26 each and may be ordered.

All Paid Death Notices appear on our website through www.legacy.com

LEGACY.COM
Included in all death notices
Optional for in Memoriams

PLEASE NOTE:
Notices must be placed via phone or email. Photos must be emailed. You can no longer place notices, drop off photos and make payment in person.
Payment must be made via phone with debit/credit card.

The Washington Post

IN MEMORIAM

CALLAWAY



SUSAN GILMOUR CALLAWAY
JUNE 17, 1939 - DECEMBER 29, 2011
A dozen loving thoughts
in lieu of a dozen lovely roses



DEATH NOTICE

TARDIFF



ALBERT N. TARDIFF
(Age 92)

Albert N. Tardiff (Bud) passed on June 11, 2023, in Easton, Maryland. Born on March 5, 1931, Bud Tardiff was the son of Nelson J. and Lydia E. Tardiff. His wife of 64 years, Florence, died on January 16, 2017. Bud is survived by his children, Laura Violand, Carrie Garvin (spouse Buddy), and son Albert Nelson Tardiff, Jr. (Buddy); his grandchildren, Tami Carrico (spouse Michael), Cara Sanders (spouse Drew), Joey Garvin (spouse Jodi), Vanessa Tardiff, Kirk Garvin (spouse Lindsay), Jamie Violand (spouse Ali), Danielle Violand, Albert Nelson Tardiff III (Buddy - partner Samantha), and Marilyn Tardiff; his great-grandchildren, Ashley and Grace Carrico, James and Hannah Sanders, Samu-

ATTENTION!!

JUNETEENTH HOLIDAY HOURS

Monday,
June 19, 2023
11 a.m. ~ 3 p.m.

Photo Deadline:
1 p.m.

NO EXCEPTIONS

To place a notice,
call:

202-334-4122
800-627-1150
Ext. 4-4122

deathnotices@washpost.com

DEATH NOTICE

DEATH NOTICE

DEATH NOTICE

MALLON



LINDA DIANE MALLON

Linda Mallon, age 69, of Washington, D.C., loving wife, beloved mother of three, grandmother of two, friend of so many — and, we think she would want us to emphasize, fervent daughter of New Jersey — died of breast cancer May 25, at home with her husband.

She is predeceased by her parents, Paul and Helen (Ross) Mallon of Basking Ridge, N.J.; a pet cemetery’s worth of much-loved cats, she likely knocked her down wire excitedly upon her arrival in the hereafter; and Gordon Lightfoot.

Linda grew up in Basking Ridge, the daughter of a nurse and a WWII G.I.-turned-banker; she inherited her mother’s deeply ingrained drive to help and serve others, and her father’s implacable sense of hard work and integrity (but perhaps not his math skills). Didn’t matter. The girl could write. She graduated from the University of Pennsylvania with an English B.A. in 1975 and began her career as a reporter for the Morristown (later Morris County) Daily Record, where she was known for her love of cats, books, and vocabulary. (To quote a former colleague, when she moved on, “the newsroom lost its chief unallurophobic user of big words.”)

The Record is also where she met her future husband, John Mueller. He was smitten from the start; she was galled that he stole her beat. Love ultimately won over annoyance. She eventually followed him to the District, and the two married in 1979. They had three children, Christian, Peter, and Lucy, in neat, three-year increments. Linda was a very organized woman.

And again, a writer. Turned editor. She was great at taking topics that would lower a lay person’s heart rate, and making them accessible — even fascinating. She knew how to ferret a good story out of anyone, from a tight-lipped dinner companion to a nonagenarian.

From 1980 to 1989, she was an editor for Modern Maturity, the AARP official magazine, eventually leading the Washington Bureau for five years. With the birth of her third child, she left to be home with the kids, but picked up a position as a book reviewer for USA Today, regularly writing bylined reviews of adult contemporary and young adult fiction. Every month, stacks of unproofed galleys arrived at her doorstep, an awesome thing for a child to wander through, and she filed reviews peppered with more than a few bon mots that would make their way onto dust jackets. As in: “Jack and Sarah are as delicious a couple as Rhett and Scarlett. The three-hankie ending to their long love affair will definitely make you give a [very mild expletive].”

In 2000, Linda went back to full-time work at the American Academy of Actuaries, where

she was first managing editor of member publications, then editor-in-chief of Contingencies, the Academy’s flagship magazine. Under her stewardship, the publication won several awards, including the SNAP Excel Gold. She requested that then-senators Barack Obama and John McCain write articles defining their competing visions for the future of healthcare. (Both complied.) She worked with actuaries to analyze why it makes perfect mathematical sense that celebrities die in threes, or how football coaches can use game theory to rethink the fourth-down risk, or why you’re wrong about the answer to the Monty Hall problem. She published an investigative piece on Franz Kafka’s day job as a multiline insurance adjuster, which concluded that, despite grumbling, he probably actually liked it. She commissioned illustrations from the late Reuben award-winning editorial cartoonist, Richard Thompson. If you’ve ever read “The Sopranos” or “Schmidt” at the exact right point, you can see an issue she edited next to Jack Nicholson’s meaty face.

In 2002, she officially became a published book author, after retirement, with her profiles of Penn Women,” which she co-wrote with her long-time friend, editor, and writing partner, Anita Sama. Published by the University of Pennsylvania Press to mark the 125th anniversary of the first women students at Penn, it documented the struggles and successes of the University’s female pioneers.

Her last job, before a long-awaited and much-deserved retirement, was as Senior Retirement Communications Advisor for the National Rural Electrical Cooperative (NRECA).

In her spare time, Linda loved to read, swim, and hike. She and her daughter walked a 120-kilometer section past the Camino de Santiago from Ferrol to Santiago de Compostela (known as the “Camino Ingles”) in the summer of 2016. She volunteered with numerous organizations, including So Others Might Eat and D.C. Central Kitchen, staffing vehicles that delivered food to homeless people throughout the city. She served on her church’s Arts Council, designing programs that reliably placed posteriors in pews, and, as its chair, shepherded with a firm hand the scheduling of visual art exhibits with musical performances. She took inordinate joy in spoiling her grandkids and over-valoring their children’s accomplishments. She finished every New York Times Sunday crossword puzzle and boasted an enviable Wordle score.

Perhaps it was because she won the genetic lottery (born in New Jersey), but it needs to be said: Linda Mallon was the soul of the party, the fizz in our lives, the one to sit by, the plural cats’ pajamas, warmth itself.

She is survived by her husband, John, brother Stephen and his family, three children and their spouses, two grandchildren, her beloved Aunt Margaret and Uncle Joe Hey, countless other loved and far-flung family members, and many friends.

Services will be held at National United Methodist Church, Metropolitan Memorial Campus, 3401 Nebraska Ave NW, July 15, 2023, at 2 p.m. with a reception to follow. She will be interred at Congressional Cemetery. In lieu of flowers, contributions may be made to So Others Might Eat. For more information, please visit: Lindamallon.com



STAFFORD



MARY JANE STAFFORD

Mary Jane Stafford passed away in her home on Saturday, June 10, 2023. She was the daughter of the late Rose Marie Yeropoli and James Vadala and a 1949 graduate of McKeesport, PA High School. In 1960 she moved to Arlington, VA and began her career with the Department of the Army, Chief of Information Office, Pentagon and later worked with several other Dept. of Defense organizations. She retired in 1990

as the Director of Administration for the Defense Mapping Agency, now known as the National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency and received the agency’s Meritorious Civilian Service award for her outstanding accomplishments.

She spent many summers at the Delaware beaches and after retirement lived in Lewes Beach, DE for several years before returning to Arlington VA. She is survived by her daughter, Lynn R. Penn; granddaughters Christy M. Fraze (Dave) and Adrienne M. Berry (Roy); four great grandchildren: Ryan M. Moriarty, Sean P. Moriarty, Ashley N. Baldwin and Alexander C. Berry; one great great grandson Kaiden M. Moriarty; nephew Anthony Barbera and niece Diana Barbera. She was predeceased in death by her brother Sonny Vadala and sister Josephine Barbera.

Mass of Christian burial will be held at St James Catholic Church, 905 Park Avenue, Falls Church, VA on Saturday, July 8, 2023 at 10 a.m.
Other funeral arrangements will be private. Memorial contributions can be made to the Wounded Warrior Project at <https://support.woundedwarriorproject.org/default.aspx?72-sid=10043>
Arrangements by Advent Funeral Home, 7211 Lee Highway, Falls Church, VA

Take The Post for a run

wpost.com/podcasts

Washington Post podcasts go with you everywhere

Politics • History • Culture • More



50103275

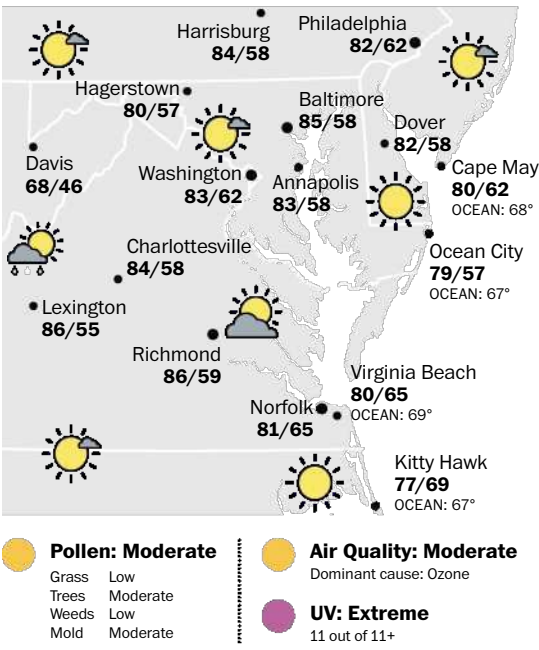
THE WEATHER

WASHINGTONPOST.COM/WEATHER • TWITTER: @CAPITALWEATHER • FACEBOOK.COM/CAPITALWEATHER

Breezy but beautiful

If there's a downside here, it's probably wind. Otherwise, Saturday is looking delightful. There may be a touch of wildfire smoke aloft, but mainly sunny regardless. Highs are mainly in the low and mid-80s.

REGION



Blue Ridge: Today, sunny. High 65 to 71. Winds northwest 7–14 mph. Tonight, clear. Low 54 to 58. Winds north-northwest 4–8 mph. Sunday, mostly sunny. High 68 to 74. Winds southwest 6–12 mph. Monday, a thunderstorm. High 70 to 76.

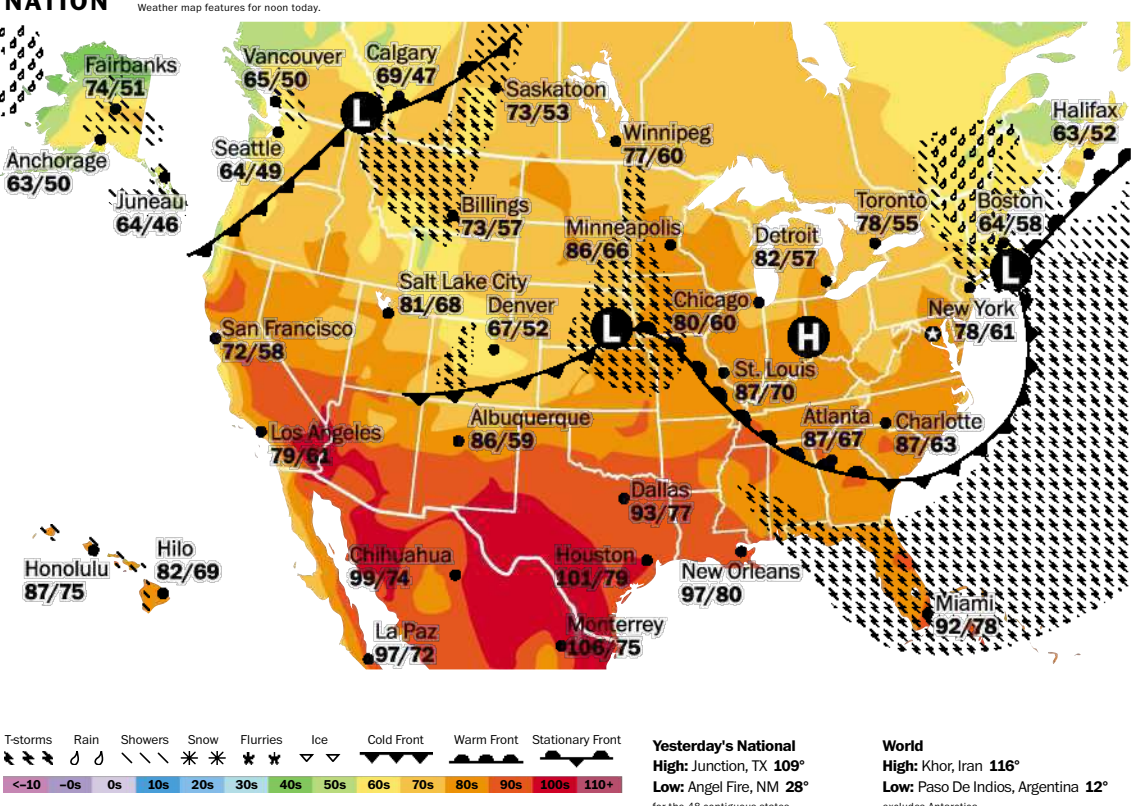
Atlantic beaches: Today, mostly sunny. High 78 to 82. Winds west–northwest 10–20 mph. Tonight, mainly clear. Low 57 to 65. Winds west 6–12 mph. Sunday, mostly sunny. High 77 to 81. Winds southwest 4–8 mph. Monday, a thunderstorm in the south.

Waterways: *Upper Potomac River:* Today, mostly sunny. Wind northwest 7–14 knots. Waves 1–3 feet. Visibility unrestricted. • *Lower Potomac and Chesapeake Bay:* Today, mostly sunny. Wind northwest 8–16 knots. Waves 1–2 feet on the Lower Potomac; 1–3 feet on the Chesapeake Bay. • *River Stages:* The stage at Little Falls will be around 2.80 feet today, with no change of 2.80 Sunday. Flood stage at Little Falls is 10 feet.

Today's tides

	(High tides in Bold)			
Washington	2:34 a.m.	8:07 a.m.	3:32 p.m.	8:43 p.m.
Annapolis	5:43 a.m.	12:25 p.m.	5:21 p.m.	11:15 p.m.
Ocean City	1:54 a.m.	7:31 a.m.	1:32 p.m.	7:58 p.m.
Norfolk	3:57 a.m.	9:46 a.m.	3:38 p.m.	10:06 p.m.
Point Lookout	1:27 a.m.	8:40 a.m.	1:31 p.m.	7:09 p.m.

NATION



NATIONAL

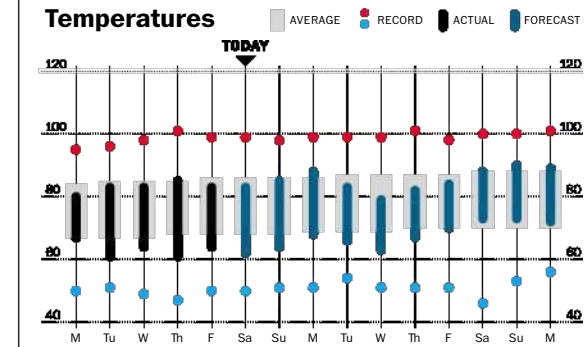
	Today	Tomorrow
Albany, NY	69/58/r	73/56/sh
Albuquerque	86/59/s	93/63/s
Anchorage	63/50/c	71/52/s
Atlanta	87/67/p	89/70/c
Austin	97/75/p	101/74/s
Baltimore	85/58/s	86/63/s
Billings, MT	73/57/s	79/52/p
Birmingham	84/68/t	89/69/r
Bismarck, ND	82/57/c	85/65/p
Boise	81/59/p	70/47/p
Boston	64/58/r	68/58/sh
Buffalo	75/56/p	77/58/p
Burlington, VT	64/59/r	68/55/sh
Charleston, SC	89/70/p	89/70/s
Charleston, WV	79/52/s	85/57/s
Charlotte	87/63/p	88/68/p
Cheyenne, WY	68/47/t	79/53/p
Chicago	80/60/p	84/66/p
Cincinnati	81/60/p	85/65/c
Cleveland	76/56/s	81/59/s
Dallas	93/77/p	94/73/s
Denver	67/52/t	83/58/p

Des Moines	83/66/t	79/65/t
Detroit	82/57/s	83/61/p
El Paso	99/74/p	100/78/s
Fairbanks, AK	74/51/sh	74/53/p
Fargo, ND	79/62/p	86/63/t
Hartford, CT	69/59/t	75/59/sh
Honolulu	87/75/sh	87/75/p
Houston	101/79/p	101/79/s
Indianapolis	82/62/p	84/65/p
Jackson, MS	88/71/t	84/72/t
Jacksonville, FL	86/69/t	89/69/p
Kansas City, MO	85/66/t	79/66/t
Las Vegas	97/78/s	98/76/s
Little Rock	92/72/t	85/69/t
Los Angeles	79/61/p	75/61/p
Louisville	84/64/p	88/69/p
Memphis	91/73/p	83/69/t
Miami	92/78/t	88/77/t
Milwaukee	76/59/p	79/61/p
Minneapolis	86/66/t	78/66/t
Nashville	89/62/p	91/72/t
New Orleans	97/80/p	96/80/c
New York City	78/61/t	80/64/p
Norfolk	81/65/s	80/66/s

Oklahoma City	87/65/p	84/66/s
Omaha	81/63/t	85/64/t
Orlando	92/74/t	89/74/t
Philadelphia	82/62/p	84/64/p
Phoenix	104/80/s	106/79/s
Pittsburgh	77/51/s	80/56/s
Portland, ME	61/55/r	64/53/sh
Portland, OR	72/54/p	62/51/sh
Providence, RI	86/58/r	72/58/sh
Raleigh, NC	87/62/s	90/67/s
Reno, NV	86/63/s	80/51/s
Richmond	86/59/s	86/62/s
Sacramento	87/59/s	83/51/p
St. Louis	87/70/s	84/68/r
St. Thomas, VI	89/80/sh	88/79/sh
Salt Lake City	81/68/p	85/65/c
San Diego	72/63/p	72/63/p
San Francisco	72/58/p	69/54/p
San Juan, PR	91/78/sh	93/76/sh
Seattle	64/49/c	59/44/sh
Spokane, WA	74/47/s	64/42/p
Syracuse	72/56/p	73/57/c
Tampa	91/80/t	88/80/t
Wichita	87/62/t	86/65/s

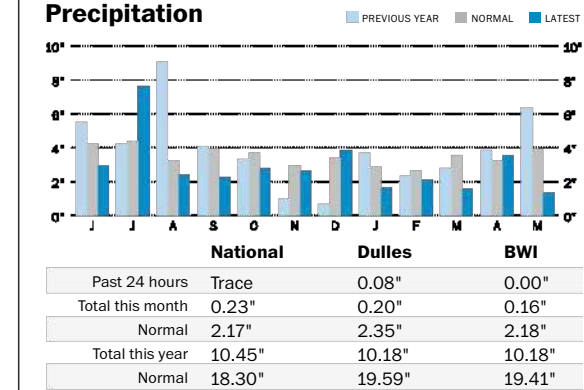
	Today	Tomorrow
Addis Ababa	75/56/sh	69/56/sh
Amsterdam	79/62/s	81/65/p
Athens	78/67/s	76/65/p
Auckland	58/47/sh	61/46/sh
Baghdad	107/82/p	104/83/p
Bangkok	95/81/t	93/81/t
Beijing	103/72/p	97/75/p
Berlin	71/54/t	80/58/s
Bogota	63/49/c	65/49/c
Brussels	81/63/p	76/64/p
Buenos Aires	56/43/s	54/48/p
Cairo	97/72/s	92/71/s
Caracas	75/64/sh	76/65/t
Copenhagen	72/59/t	72/58/p
Dakar	88/80/s	88/79/p
Dublin	66/54/t	67/55/t
Edinburgh	71/54/c	68/56/c
Frankfurt	86/60/s	90/66/p
Geneva	85/61/p	84/62/p
Ham, Bermuda	82/75/s	82/74/t
Helsinki	81/59/s	74/54/c
Ho Chi Minh City	87/76/t	89/75/t
Hong Kong	86/81/t	90/83/t

OFFICIAL RECORD



	National	Dulles	BWI
High	83° 3:19 p.m.	82° 3:36 p.m.	83° 3:39 p.m.
Low	64° 5:30 a.m.	55° 5:07 a.m.	59° 3:00 a.m.
Normal	86°/68°	83°/62°	85°/63°
Record high	99° 1994	96° 1991	99° 1991
Record low	50° 1917	47° 1978	50° 1961

Difference from 30-yr. avg. (National): this month: -1.7° yr. to date: +3.0°



	National	Dulles	BWI
Past 24 hours	Trace	0.08"	0.00"
Total this month	0.23"	0.20"	0.16"
Normal	2.17"	2.35"	2.18"
Total this year	10.45"	10.18"	10.18"
Normal	18.30"	19.59"	19.41"

Moon Phases	Solar system
June 18 New	Sun Rise 5:42 a.m. Set 8:36 p.m.
June 26 First Quarter	Moon Rise 4:53 a.m. Set 8:38 p.m.
July 3 Full	Venus Rise 9:12 a.m. Set 11:29 p.m.
July 9 Last Quarter	Mars Rise 9:41 a.m. Set 11:43 p.m.
	Jupiter Rise 3:00 a.m. Set 4:30 p.m.
	Saturn Rise 12:35 a.m. Set 11:33 a.m.

Islamabad	100/78/s	103/77/s	Rio de Janeiro	73/65/r	73/67/p
Istanbul	78/65/t	80/67/p	Riyadh	106/80/s	106/83/s
Jerusalem	94/64/s	79/60/s	Rome	83/62/s	83/62/s
Johannesburg	70/46/s	71/49/s	San Salvador	89/68/t	88/70/r
Kabul	91/67/s	91/68/s	Santiago	77/40/p	60/44/p
Kingston, Jam.	89/81/p	89/81/t	Sarajevo	72/51/t	79/51/s
Kolkata	100/85/p	99/85/p	Seoul	87/67/s	90/69/s
Kyiv	83/63/p	84/66/p	Shanghai	74/72/sh	77/74/r
Lagos	87/77/t	86/77/r	Singapore	90/79/p	87/78/t
Lima	74/67/s	73/66/p	Stockholm	79/57/p	67/56/t
Lisbon	83/63/p	79/64/c	Sydney	69/47/s	67/43/s
London	78/61/c	75/59/t	Taipei City	89/75/t	95/78/t
Madrid	94/66/p	89/66/c	Tehran	97/77/s	100/80/s
Manila	94/79/r	92/80/t	Tokyo	85/72/s	86/71/c
Mexico City	88/59/s	90/59/s	Toronto	78/55/s	77/58/p
Montreal	63/56/c	67/56/p	Vienna	76/53/s	82/58/s
Moscow	82/56/c	77/54/c	Warsaw	76/57/t	74/57/t
Mumbai	94/84/t	94/84/t			
Nairobi	74/58/t	76/56/c			
New Delhi	101/81/p	95/81/r			
Oslo	89/63/c	79/62/p			
Ottawa	68/56/c	73/54/p			
Paris	87/65/p	80/62/t			
Prague	70/52/t	80/56/s			

Key: s=sunny, pc=partly cloudy, c=cloudy, r=rain, sh=showers, t=thunderstorms, sf=snow flurries, sn=snow, fcs=fog, h=high, l=low. Sources: AccuWeather.com, US Army Centralized Allergen Extract Lab (pollen data), aimow.gov (air quality data), National Weather Service. * AccuWeather's RealFeel Temperature® combines over a dozen factors for an accurate measure of how the conditions really "feel."

D.C. office cleaners push for better pay

WORKERS FROM B1

gion of Local 32BJ. They also want options for retirement, such as a pension, while maintaining benefits such as health care, Contreras said.

Contreras estimated that about 60 percent of the members are part-time workers and about 90 percent are immigrants from Central and South America, most of whom are women. At least 25 members in the D.C. area died of the coronavirus during the pandemic, he said.

"These are people who had to go to work and put the economy on their backs during the pandemic," Contreras said. "They need to be recognized for the sacrifices that they've made."

Peter Chatiloviz, chief negotiator for the Washington Service Contractors Association, said that everyone who worked during the pandemic "was going over and above," and that the association values the service they provided during such a difficult time.

At the same time, he said, the contractors tried hard to keep the workers employed during a time when others were being sent home. He also said the association needs to take into account "headwinds" in the industry.

"Leases are running out. They're not being renewed in the same square footage. Owners and building managers are to cut costs and cut staffing. So that's never good for us as contractors or for the union members who are looking for pretty steady jobs in the cleaning industry," Chatiloviz said. "I would never say we are not going to provide

wage increases. That's not the case. It is always the question of what are the wage increases going to be?"

The contract negotiations start June 22, and the current four-year contract — which Contreras said included a 65-cent raise per year — expires October 15.

Contreras estimated that members made about \$15 an hour in Virginia as of July, a little more than \$17 an hour in Maryland and about \$18.60 per hour in D.C. That, he said, is not close to what is needed to live in the region and support a family. Rivera, who said she earns \$17 per hour, hopes wages increase to at least \$20.

During the last contract negotiations, in 2019, unionized janitors and building workers twice marched through rush-hour traffic in downtown Washington to draw attention to labor negotiations, which drew the support of city lawmakers, including D.C. Mayor Muriel E. Bowser (D) and Council Chairman Phil Mendelson (D).

Contreras said they are prepared to mobilize again: "On October 15th, we will be celebrating and getting ready to ratify a new contract, or we will be going on strike."

At least half a million workers in D.C. earn enough to place them above the federal poverty line yet cannot afford to pay for rent, health care, food and other necessities, according to a May analysis from the United Way of the National Capital Area. The analysis estimates a family of four needs a minimum of \$101,281 annually in this region to afford basic needs like housing, trans-

portation, child care, food and health care.

At home in El Salvador, Rivera graduated from college and law school and was working as a lawyer. She had a nanny at home to clean and take care of her children. Now, she said she is working two jobs, seven days a week, cleaning office buildings, just to get by.

During the pandemic, she and her kids all tested positive for the coronavirus multiple times. While everyone is healthy now, she used up all her sick leave and fell behind on rent. Rivera's son, who had a preliminary diagnosis for autism, did not understand why his mother was afraid to hug him when she came home from work.

Her daughter eventually gave up cheerleading after school so her mother did not have to pay a babysitter to watch her brother.

"Every time I would come home, he would come to hug me, and I had to pull away from him. He thought I was rejecting him," said Rivera, who is part of the bargaining committee. "He had to do a full year of speech therapy and then emotional therapy to be able to hug and kiss me again, and that is the hardest part of all this."

As a single mother of four children, ages 2 to 16, Wendy Diaz Sanchez, 33, said she has not been making enough to cover her expenses.

Diaz Sanchez, of Severn, Md., works at the luxury Apartments at City Center, where the rent for a one-bedroom apartment can be upward of \$2,800 a month, according to current listings. She said she makes \$18 an hour clean-

ing the building, a wage that does not support the high cost of living in this region or the rate of inflation, causing her to make tough choices on what to go without.

One of her kids has been struggling to eat and is very thin, so she supplements his diet with pediatric protein drinks. But some weeks, she can't afford it. Diaz Sanchez, who is from El Salvador, is hoping for a minimum hourly increase of \$2 to \$3 for workers like herself in the next contract and double that for those who work the night shift.

She thinks



SEAN SCHEIDT FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Quencher drenched in attitude

Liquid Death uses humor and hubris to sell its canned water

BY KAREN HELLER
IN MARINA DEL REY, CALIF.

In recent years, water has become something bigger, odder and more fluid than Earth's original elixir. Despite its ubiquity in our homes, water has been packaged, branded and relentlessly marketed. It fuels a multibillion-dollar industry that shows not one globule of running dry, now outpacing soda sales while often costing more.

Bottled water is blessed by celebrities. It is Smart. It is peripatetic, traveling great distances from exotic locales such as Fiji or Norway, conferring geographical pedigree from artesian aquifers. It projects identity. It signals virtue. It has become a necessity *and* an accessory, a message in a bottle, something to parade on the street and upsell in tony establishments, the designer handbag of bottled beverages.

Liquid Death co-founder and CEO Mike Cessario plunged into the flooded water market in 2018. He sensed something was missing. Like cans. Like humor. Like appealing to “weird people” — his phrase — rather than assuming they imbibe only liquor and energy drinks, which he believes other brands tend to do.

“Mostly what I saw was that they were trying to fancy up water to make you feel luxurious about it,” he says, sitting in the company's headquarters. Liquid Death will never be confused for fancy or luxurious.

Cessario compares Liquid Death to alcohol. He compares it to “Saturday Night Live.” He compares it to many things — except other packaged water.

Here was Cessario's thinking: “How do we make the healthiest thing you could drink just as fun, if not more fun, to walk around with as a beer? Like, pretend you're a

SEE LIQUID DEATH ON C2

“I didn't want it to be hipster water,” says Mike Cessario, founder of Liquid Death. “We are a comedy entertainment platform that lives on the internet.”

THEATER REVIEW

Cerebral sorcery from ‘Enigmatist’

BY THOMAS FLOYD

By the time David Kwong concludes the final puzzle of “The Enigmatist” and asks his audience to decode the mesmerizing mash-up of cryptology, magic and intellect that preceded, the invitation reads as rhetorical. The only mystery, at that point, is how any theatergoer isn't already trying to unpack Kwong's masterful exercise in head-spinning illusion and fleet-footed problem-solving.

As a magician and New York Times crisscrossword constructor — that's a 14-letter word for crossword constructor — Kwong dazzled “The Enigmatist” audiences in New York and Los Angeles before taking the interactive solo show to the Kennedy Center in Washington. The mood proves ripe for mental stimulation in the intimate Family Theater, thanks to lecture-hall-like seating and production designer Brett J. Banakis's tidy library set. And Kwong makes an amiable emcee, blending sly wit with dad jokes and nerdy quips that would make Ted Mosby proud.

What makes “The Enigmatist” so marvelous is not the sleight of hand or real-time code cracking but the way Kwong deploys both so harmoniously that it's impossible to isolate either pillar of the performance. Utilizing a slew of props — including playing cards, celebrity photos, the periodic table, an audience cellphone and, most memorably, a ripe kiwi — Kwong delivers trick after hypnotizing trick.

The 42-year-old's brain-flexing feats of
SEE THEATER REVIEW ON C3

Ain't no party like a hip-hop party

Unprecedented 50-MC live-mixtape show is part of the genre's 50th anniversary

BY KEITH MCMILLAN

For 50 years, there hasn't been a party in America quite like a hip-hop party. And for the artists who've made it into a cultural and worldwide phenomenon, the party isn't stopping anytime soon.

Aug. 11 marks the agreed-upon birth of the culture, 50 years to the day from when DJ Kool Herc held a going-back-to-school party for his sister Cindy on Sedgwick Avenue in the Bronx. A 15-minute medley during the Grammys in February kicked off the year of celebration, De La Soul's music finally hit streaming services, and the Fugees pulled off a surprise reunion at the Roots Picnic in early June. Now that summer is here, the hip-hop celebrations will be lined up back to back, like songs on a mixtape.

And it's that format that inspired a trio of hip-hop's most respected DJs, promoters and entertainers to attempt an unprecedented feat: 50 MCs taking the stage in succession Saturday in Atlantic City to perform a live mixtape, with DJ Jazzy Jeff on the turntables and Doug E. Fresh hosting. Days later, some of the genre's legendary DJs will re-create Park Jams on Juneteenth in New York City, and a run of arena tours, festivals and even a hip-hop-themed cruise, with headliners ranging from LL Cool J to the Wu-Tang Clan to Snoop Dogg, follow.

“The amount of artists performing, the level of success, the multigenerational appeal, the new acts, the timeless acts,” LL, whose Rock The Bells brand is



CHRIS PIZZELLO/INVISION/AP

LL Cool J, pictured at February's Grammy Awards, will be among the hip-hop artists on a cruise commemorating 50 years of rap music.

behind the cruise, a festival and a tour, told The Washington Post. “We really can't get better than this moment.”

A rap roller coaster

The Atlantic City show came together when legendary Philadelphia-area promoter Charlie Mack merged an idea he said had been “sitting on my spirit for 10 or 15 years” with something Jazzy Jeff had always wanted to do: a traditional hip-hop mixtape, which seamlessly blends songs in nonstop succession, performed live.

The DJ in Jazzy Jeff had always envisioned himself playing maybe four songs, then having the artist behind the fifth come out to perform, then playing a few more and surprising the audience with another live performance.

“And then Charlie went and got 50 MCs,” Jazzy Jeff, laughing, said of the promoter who got his start in 1978 and is the eponym of a song on his 1988 album with Will Smith's Fresh Prince. “I said ‘Jeez, I didn't think you would get them all.’”

SEE HIP-HOP ON C3

TV REVIEW

Righteous praise for ‘Gemstones’

BY LILI LOOFBOUROW

This review contains spoilers for Season 3 of “The Righteous Gemstones.”

HBO's “The Righteous Gemstones” comes roaring back Sunday with its car chases, pompadours, botched assaults and neon lights. The third season of the third series in what creator and star Danny McBride calls his “misunderstood angry man trilogy” steers the foul-mouthed Gemstone family — still squabbling for control of their predatory megachurch now that patriarch Eli (John Goodman) has retired — toward a number of minor but moving epiphanies.

While the show has dedicated plenty of time to the oddball escapades of Gemstone brothers Jesse (McBride) and Kelvin (Adam Devine), the new season turns its spotlight on the lone Gemstone daughter, Judy (Edi Patterson), as she struggles with newfound stardom and its temptations. Patterson is a standout in this cast of comic heavyweights, so it's a particular pleasure to watch Judy — a brilliantly unappealing gem of a character — wrestling with challenges other than failure and exclusion. Viewers are also treated to an epic poolside number by Walton Goggins' Uncle “Baby” Billy, Eli's seedy brother-in-law, who feels his career has hit a rut. There's some snake-handling, more passionate rollerblading by Judy's husband BJ (Tim Baltz), and a gratifying
SEE TV REVIEW ON C4

Liquid Death tries to turn water into something cool

LIQUID DEATH FROM C1

beer company.”

So the water, originally sourced from Austria, is packaged like tallboys and emblazoned with the company’s dripping skull logo, designed by Will Carsola (of Adult Swim’s “Mr. Pickles”), which has become a popular tattoo. It has the buzz of an energy drink without the buzz. It appeals to males, half its market, in a female-dominated space. It’s water with a heavy-metal swagger while promoting aluminum cans as better for the environment than all that plastic. It’s marketed as a beverage that is amusing *and* exemplary. The cans have become drenched with meaning and purpose, buying you entrance into a fun club achieved through consumption. They’re an identity statement disguised as water.

Other companies preach purity and other virtues inherent in their water, but Liquid Death is infused with humor starting with its name and motto: “Murder Your Thirst.” The company produces a constant stream of comic videos, often featuring celebrities. Martha Stewart and a \$58 Dismembered Moments Candle (black, naturally). Travis Barker and a \$182 Enema of the State Collectible Kit. It sold out in less than four hours. The price is not a typo.

“I didn’t want it to be hipster water. We are a comedy entertainment platform that lives on the internet,” says Cessario, 40, in his office, which is kicked out with a skateboard ramp. The headquarters’ style might be best described as Mid-Century Irony: a “grandma’s living room,” ersatz barber shop and mock fusty boardroom that’s inspired by the movie “Caddyshack” and the physical manifestation of the Liquid Death Country Club, where a member is required to “sell your soul.” (Which more than 235,000 fans have done.)

In 2019, the brand concept launched with \$2,000 worth of Facebook ads — and this is critical



PHOTOS BY SEAN SCHEIDT FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

— before manufacturing a single can, quickly attracting followers and comments. It was the emperor’s new water.

“Social media is like this superpower where you can actually see how people respond to things in the market without actually having to put the product in,” Cessario says. “Because people comment all the time on social media when they’ve never tried something, right?”

He is not wrong. Cessario’s background is not in food and beverages but advertising and marketing, where he tired of clients who wanted “the boring, safe thing.” He came to the realization that “if I want to make the kind of marketing I want, it seems that I’m going to have to just create my own product.”

Which he did with the safest thing imaginable.

“They take something as boring as canned water and turn it

into a cool thing,” says Evan Butler, a tattoo artist in Dayton, Ohio. “I don’t know how counterculture staying hydrated is, but they’ve managed to do that.” Butler keeps Liquid Death stocked in his shop and has inked the company logo on a couple of clients, including on top of a welder’s skull. “I’m 40. My days of sucking down beer and soda pop are over. I like drinking water more than anything else.”

Cans appeared online in January 2019 after an investment of \$150,000. Initially, stores wouldn’t touch a product with *death* baked into the name, plus there’s the skull business. Cessario says, “We knew that we had to build the brand where we had control, which was online.” First-year sales reached \$3 million. Now, the company has a valuation of \$700 million. Liquid Death has attracted 3.8 million followers on TikTok and 2.1 million on Instagram — for canned water.

Last year, the company received an infusion of \$70 million in funding. Investors include the venture capital firm Science and the entertainment behemoth Live Nation, which sells the cans at its venues. With 200 employees, Liquid Death is available for purchase at 90,000 locations. More than 70 percent of the customers are millennials and Gen Z. In 2022, Liquid Death expanded into flavored, agave-sweetened sparkling water (growing to four flavors, such as Berry it Alive). In March, the company launched iced tea (three varieties, including Rest in Peach).

“Like every truly large valuable brand, it is all marketing and brand because the reason people choose things 98 percent of the time is not rational. It’s emotional,” Cessario says. For his company’s vaunted love of humor, he comes across as intense, serious and slow to smile. “People often



In 2017, Mike Cessario, at left, helped launch the Liquid Death brand concept with \$2,000 worth of Facebook ads, even before a single can had been produced. The can’s dripping skull logo has been a popular tattoo choice for some people.

picked other brands, weren’t Tasered and starred in a humorous video.)

Cans are critical to Liquid Death’s brand, not only for the tallboy identity, but to tout as better for the environment in multiple videos. A portion of proceeds is donated to “help kill plastic pollution,” with more than \$1 million donated so far.

Water needs to be packaged at its source. Cessario found a supplier 6,000 miles away, in the Austrian Alps. This year, Liquid Death also began production in Bland County, Va.

Are cans better for the environment? “The recycling rate for cans is much greater” than plastics, says Erik Olson, senior strategic director at the Natural Resources Defense Council, who has spent three decades examining safe drinking water. But, he adds, “it’s complicated. The amount of energy that goes into producing aluminum is substantial,” he says, and it involves mined bauxite, which is hazardous to the environment.

Fossil fuels are burned transporting canned or bottled water long distances from their original sources. Contaminants have been detected in “purified” bottled water, including potentially toxic chemicals, according to recent studies. And there’s the cost. The retail price for Liquid Death still water is \$12.99 for a 19.2-ounce eight-pack.

“It’s more environmentally sound to drink water out of a tap,” says Olson, while it’s “hundreds of times less costly.” Despite occasional high-profile instances of highly contaminated drinking water, “just because you’re buying something out of a bottle or a can doesn’t mean that it’s any safer than tap water.”

Still, Liquid Death saw an opening and canned it. “A lot of brands perceive the world as really dumb, and they try to dumb everything down to the lowest common denominator,” Cessario says. “The vast majority of people are smart. They have a sense of humor.”

Brother often lashes out. Mom blames the sibling.



Carolyn Hax

Adapted from an online discussion.

Dear Carolyn: My brother exploded at me when we were doing some online shopping. He lashed out this way when we last spent extended time together traveling a few years ago. At one point, he became so angry with me that he yelled at me and came toward me with clenched fists. I booked a hotel room for myself nearby and didn’t see him for the rest of the trip.

He used to have angry outbursts toward my mom, but in the past few years, he has mostly

directed them at me. And now my mom blames me for his behavior. She told me more than once recently that she tried to “keep the peace” when we were young for my sake — I do remember asking them to stop fighting once — but it kept her from addressing the issue. Now when he is angry with me, she says it’s because I triggered him, and we need to find a “middle ground” in the situation.

When I try to express my concerns to my mom, she gets even more upset with me for supposedly creating conflict in the family.

The rest of my family sees the situation the way I do — that his outbursts are out of line, and



NICK GALIFIANAKIS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

that’s that — but everyone’s tiptoeing around the issue. I want to have good relationships with my family members, but I don’t want to be around someone who treats me this way. At a loss for how to navigate this one.

— *At a Loss*

At a Loss: The angry outbursts are not okay, it’s not okay that

your brother and mom blame you or anyone else, and you are right to separate yourself from this dynamic (and the people, if it comes to that) unless and until you see key signs of health — i.e., mom and brother taking clear responsibility for their own stuff instead of lashing out.

It is also okay — recommended — that you not hold your breath till

these things come to pass, because, by your description, neither of them is close to being able to look inward and own their stuff.

It is a worthy goal to have “good relationships with my family members,” yes. But “good” is something you can’t make happen alone. If they won’t behave, they won’t behave. The only thing you can cultivate on your own is good emotional health.

When unhealthy family patterns repeat from one generation to the next, therapy can help break them. Given the high demand for therapists right now, that might not be available immediately (my resource page, wapo.st/hax-resources, has ideas), but it’s worth trying to set up immediately and persisting if you can’t.

With good health and awareness, and with your confidence in both, you position yourself to engage productively

with others and disengage as needed, which is really all you can do.

Your question sent me to Harriet Lerner’s “The Dance of Anger,” and this from the first chapter seems on point: “Venting anger may serve to maintain, and even rigidify, the old rules and patterns in a relationship, thus ensuring that change does not occur. When emotional intensity is high, many of us engage in nonproductive efforts to change the other person, and in so doing, fail to exercise our power to clarify and change our own selves.” In case you need backup on how unhealthy acquiescing to your family’s anger-and-blame patterns is for you.

Write to Carolyn Hax at tellme@washpost.com. Get her column delivered to your inbox each morning at wapo.st/gethax.

Join the discussion live at noon Fridays at washingtonpost.com/live-chats.

the **GUIDE** to the Lively Arts

SHOW NAME	DATES & TIMES	DESCRIPTION	DETAILS	PRICE	ADDITIONAL
THEATRE					
 KUMANANA! An Afro-Peruvian Musical Revue	Thru June 25 Wed – Sat at 8 pm Sun at 2 pm	Experience the power of the Afro-Peruvian beat and the resilience of a people that inspired change to a country and its culture. Be part of the movement.	GALA Theatre 3333 14th Street NW' 202-234-7174 www.galatheatre.org	\$25 -\$48	In Spanish with English surtitles
 Washington Women in Theatre Festival of New Play Staged Readings by diverse women+	June 16 & 17 at 9:30 P.M- Witty Women a Cabaret with Barbara Papendorp & Amy Conley June 17 at 2:00 P.M & 7:30 P.M - Dawn by Tuyet Thi Pham	A first-generation Cambodian American’s struggle with guilt, anger, and grief of generational trauma as she tries to unpack her parents’ experiences as survivors of the Cambodian genocide in the play Dawn by Tuyét Thị Phạm. An original Cabaret	Comedies, Choreoplays, Cabarets, Poetry, Tragedies, One Woman Shows, and Personal Stories by Helen Hayes Award winners and nominees, https://washingtonwit.org	\$12	Intimate setting in the Studio Theatre Free Parking in the Katzen Arts Center garage
MUSIC - CONCERTS					
 Free Country Motown & Classic Rock	Wednesday, June 21 at 7 p.m.	Marine Band summer concerts are back now through August! Enjoy indoor, outdoor & livestreamed concerts around the DMV. This week Free Country takes the stage for a lineup of Motown, Classic Rock & the like. Check out full programs and the diverse schedule of performances for the summer online.	Spirit Park Amphitheater 115 National Plaza National Harbor, MD 20745 www.marineband.marines.mil	Free, no tickets required	Inquiries: 202-433-5809
 Sunday Funday at Harris Pavilion Concert Band	SUNDAY June 18 3PM *check Facebook for rain cancellation	Excited to be back in Manassas, The U.S. Army Concert Band presents a FREE program of all-American composers. Bring the dad in your life, along with a chair or blanket and enjoy afternoon of world-class music right in your backyard.	Harris Pavilion 9201 Center St Manassas, VA 20110 usarmyband.com	FREE	Check full schedule at usarmyband.com

The Guide to the Lively Arts appears: • Sunday in Arts & Style. deadline: Tues., 12 noon
• Monday in Style. deadline: Friday, 12 noon • Tuesday in Style. deadline: Mon., 12 noon • Wednesday in Style. deadline: Tues., 12 noon
• Thursday in Style. deadline: Wed., 12 noon • Friday in Weekend. deadline: Tues., 12 noon • Saturday in Style. deadline: Friday, 12 noon
For information about advertising, call: Raymond Boyer 202-334-4174 or Robin Wilkerson 202-334-7089
To reach a representative, call: 202-334-7006 | guidetoarts@washpost.com

22-0776

TELEVISION

WEEKEND TV HIGHLIGHTS



PETER KRAMER/AMC

The Walking Dead: Dead City (Multiple networks at 9 on Sunday) “The Walking Dead” favorites Maggie (Lauren Cohan) and Negan (Jeffrey Dean Morgan) return for their latest adventure in this spinoff series where they explore the ruins of a post-apocalyptic Manhattan.

SATURDAY

Vacation House Rules (HGTV at 9) After his best friend purchased an outdated lake house, Scott McGillivray was eager to help, with Debra Salmoni, they look to transform the outdated cliffside home into a charming and stylish vacation rental.

SPECIAL

John Early: Now More Than Ever (HBO at 10) Comic John Early takes the stage at Roulette Intermedium in Brooklyn to perform in the style of a gritty ’70s rockumentary to do stand-up and explosive song covers from Britney Spears to Neil Young.

MOVIE

The Wedding Contract (Hallmark at 8) A teacher and an ad executive are excited to plan their Jewish wedding, but their future is put in jeopardy when their mothers meet.

SUNDAY

The Real Housewives of Atlanta (Bravo at 8) Drew contemplates how much she should include Ralph in her music career; Sanya stands her ground about her friendship alliances; Sheree gathers everyone together for her Gucci brunch as she feels stuck in the middle of the ladies’ drama.

Summer House: Martha’s Vineyard

(Bravo at 9) Alex lands in the hot seat; Preston attempts to lighten the mood; Jasmine and Silas deal face their first real challenge as a newlywed couple; the connection between Summer and Alex continues to grow.

The Idol (HBO at 9) Tedros inserts himself into Jocelyn’s life by giving her input on her wardrobe and collaborators; Leia tells her concerns to Chaim and Destiny.

Fear the Walking Dead (AMC at 10:12) While fighting his past, Morgan races with Madison to stop PADRE’s expansion.

PREMIERE

Ridley (PBS at 8) Retired Detective Inspector Alex Ridley is asked by a former protégée, DI Carol Farman, to consult on a missing person case that ends up taking a dark and unexpected turn.

RETURNING

Endeavour on Masterpiece (PBS at 9) Season 9.

Beachside Brawl (Food at 10) Season 2.

The Righteous Gemstones (HBO at 10) Season 3. Read Lili Loofbourow’s review, C1

— Olivia McCormack

Broadcast Channels											
6/17/23	7:00	7:30	8:00	8:30	9:00	9:30	10:00	10:30	11:00	11:30	
4.1 WRC (NBC)	(1:00) • U.S. Open Golf Third Round (Live)				• 2023 U.S. Open Golf Championship Third Round (Live)				• News	• SNL	
4.2 WRC (IND)	Emergency!		Columbo			Columbo			Las Vegas		
5.1 WTTG (Fox)	• MLB Baseball New York Yankees at Boston Red Sox (Live)										
7.1 WJLA (ABC)	• Wheel	• Jeopardy!	• Funniest Home Videos		• Funniest Home Videos		• Funniest Home Videos		• News	• PaidProg.	
9.1 WUSA (CBS)	• Retirement	• Paid Prog.	• NCIS		• 48 Hours		• 48 Hours		• 9 News	• Magnum	
14.1 WFDC (UNI)	• Vecinos	• Vecinos	(:(55) • Movie: The Tuxedo ★ (2002)				(:(55) • Fútbol				
20.1 WDCA (MTV)	• Fox 5 News On the Plus		• FamFeud	• Family Feud	• Mod Fam	• Mod Fam	• Movie: The Mercy (2018)				
22.1 WMPT (PBS)	• Water's Edge: Black			• '70s Soul Superstars (My Music)					• Memory Makeover		
26.1 WETA (PBS)	• Academic	• Henry Louis		• Roy Orbison				• Ken Burns: The National Parks			
32.1 WHUT (PBS)	• Weekend	• Hidden Gem	• Legacy Series		• Eliades Ochoa		• Weekend in Havana		• Hemingway in Cuba		
50.1 WDCW (CW)	(6:00) • Black Music Honors		• Masters of	• Masters of	• Weird	• Weird	• DC News Now		• 9-1-1		
66.1 WPXW (ION)	• Law & Order: SVU		• Law & Order: SVU		• Law & Order: SVU		• Law & Order: SVU		• Law & Order: SVU		
Cable Channels											
A&E	60 Days In		Exposing Parchman						(:05) 60 Days In		
AMC	Movie	Movie: Avatar ★★★ (2009)							Movie: Gods of Egypt ★		
Animal Planet	Pit Bulls and Parolees		Pit Bulls and Parolees		Pit Bulls and Parolees		Pit Bulls and Parolees		Pit Bulls and Parolees		
BET	(5:00) Movie: Tyler Perry's M...		Queen	Movie: Tyler Perry's Why Did I Get Married Too? ★★ (2010)					Martin		
Bravo	(5:00) Movie: The Blind Side		Movie: The Blind Side ★★ (2009)						Movie: Miss Congeniality		
Cartoon Network	King/Hill	King/Hill	King/Hill	King/Hill	Rick	Rick	American	American	American	American	
CNN	CNN Newsroom		CNN Special Program		CNN Special Program		CNN Special Program		CNN Special Program		
Comedy Central	Movie	The Office	The Office		The Office		The Office		The Office		
Discovery	(6:00) Naked and Afraid XL		Naked and Afraid XL				Naked and Afraid XL				
Disney	Pretty Frk	Pretty Frk	Movie: Inside Out ★★★ (2015)			(:40) Hailey	(:05) Hailey	Ladybug	Ladybug	Ladybug	
E!	Sex-City	Sex-City	Sex-City	Sex and the City		Movie: True Lies ★★ (1994)					
ESPN	2023 Men's College World Series LSU vs. Tennessee (Live)						UFC Fight Night: Vettori vs. Cannonier (Live)				
ESPN2	UFC Fight Night: Vettori vs. Cannonier - Prelims (Live)						SportsCenter (Live)		SportsCenter (Live)		
Food Network	Diners, Drive	Diners, Drive	Diners, Drive	Diners, Drive	Diners, Drive	Diners, Drive	Diners, Drive	Diners, Drive	Diners, Drive	Diners, Drive	
Fox News	Weekend (Live)		One Nation		Lawrence Jones (Live)		FOX Saturday (Live)		Gutfeld!		
Freeform	(:20) Movie: Monsters, Inc. ★★★ (2001)					(:25) Movie: Monsters University ★★★ (2013)					
FX	Movie: Shang-Chi and the Legend of the Ten Rings ★★ (2021)						Movie: Shang-Chi and the Legend of the Ten Rings				
Hallmark	(6:00) Movie: Royally Ever After		Movie: The Wedding Contract (2023) (P)				Movie: Dating the Delaneys (2022)				
Hallmark M&M	Movie: Carrot Cake Murder: A Hannah Swensen Mystery								Aurora Teagarden Mysteries		Murder, She Wrote
HBO	Movie	(:40) Movie: X-Men: Days of Future Past ★★ (2014)					John Early: Now More		Movie: Matrix Resurrections		
HGTV	Hunters	Hunters	Hunters	Hunters	Vacation House Rules		Hunters Int'l	Hunters	Hunters	Hunters	
History	Ancient Aliens		Ancient Aliens		Ancient Aliens		(:05) Ancient Aliens		(:05) Ancient Aliens		
Lifetime	(6:00) Movie: Mary J. Blige's...		Movie: Mary J. Blige's Strength of a Woman (2023) (P)				(:05) Movie: Safe Room (2022)				
MASN	Major League Rugby Rugby		ATL at Old Glory DC (Live)		MMA		Fight Sports WCK		Wall to Wall Baseball		
MSNBC	American Voices (Live)		Ayman (Live)		Ayman (Live)		American Voices		Ayman		
MTV	(6:00) Movie: Billy Madison		Movie: Happy Gilmore ★★ (1996)				Movie: Just Go With It ★★ (2011)				
Nat'l Geographic	To Catch a Smuggler		To Catch a Smuggler		Smuggler	Smuggler	To Catch a Smuggler		To Catch a Smuggler		
NBC SportsNet WA	(12:00) FanDuel (Live)		Contenders	Contenders	Contenders	Contenders	Fairways of Life		Greatest	Pure Outdoor	
Nickelodeon	(6:45) Movie: The Croods: A New Age		★★★ (2020)		Friends	Friends	Friends	Friends	Friends		
NWSN	NewsNation Prime (Live)		NewsNation Prime (Live)		NewsNation Prime (Live)		NewsNation Prime		NewsNation Prime		
PARMT	(:20) Yellowstone		(:20) Yellowstone			(:40) Yellowstone			Movie		
Syfy	(5:05) Movie: Transformers: Last Knight		(:35) Movie: Jurassic World ★★ (2015)					Movie			
TBS	(6:00) Movie: The Mummy ★★ (1999)			Movie: The Mummy Returns ★★ (2001)					I Survived Bear Grylls		
TCM	(6:15) Movie: Badlands		Movie: Time After Time ★★ (1979)				Movie: Repeat Performance ★★ (1947)				
TLC	Hoarding: Buried Alive		Dr. Pimple Popper		Dr. Pimple Popper		Dr. Pimple Popper		Dr. Pimple Popper		
TNT	(5:00) Movie: Avengers: Age ...		All Elite Wrestling: Collision (P)				The Lazarus Project		Movie: Godzilla vs. Kong		
Travel	Mysteries at the Museum		Mysteries at the Museum		Mysteries at the Museum		Mysteries at the Museum		Mysteries at the Museum		
TruTV	Jokes	Jokes	American	American	American	American	Jokers	Jokers	Jokers	Jokers	
TV Land	Mike & Molly	Mike & Molly	Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	(:05) King	(:40) King	
TV One	Different	Different	Different	Different	Different	Different	Different	Different	Different	Different	
USA Network	Movie		Movie: Fast Five ★★ (2011)				Movie: Furious 7 ★★ (2015)				
VH1	(6:30) Movie: Jumping the Broom ★★ (2011)				Movie: Goodfellas ★★★★★ (1990)						
WNC8	World News	Paid Program	20/20				WJLA News	WJLA News	Attkisson	Armstrong	
LEGEND: Bold indicates new or live programs ♦ High Definition Movie Ratings (from TMS) ★★★★★ Excellent ★★★ Good ★★ Fair ★ Poor No stars: not rated											

LA TIMES CROSSWORD

By Christopher Bolduc & Matthew Sewell

ACROSS

1 Focus of a Stockholm museum whose slogan is “Walk In. Dance Out.”

5 Kindles

10 Stock expert?

14 Do the honors, so to speak

15 Luau performances

16 It may wind up on a fire truck

17 Porch pirate deterrent, hopefully

19 Foot part

20 “So I’m out of the running?”

21 Fermented paste

22 “Allez Bleus!”: Coupe du Monde cry

23 Grammy

24 Lose interest in

26 USN officer

27 Phanerozoic —

28 R-V hookup?

29 Question of motive

33 Iterative testing method

34 Buy time?

35 Egg layer

36 Anatomical foot

37 “Succession” family name

38 Overwhelm

40 Vibe

42 “Try me”

45 Impromptu screwdriver

46 Summit result, maybe

48 Best Picture of 2021

49 Very loud, in music

50 Gender-neutral possessive

51 Wide-ly read works?

52 Tub

53 Some read-athon fundraising gps.

54 Bellyache

55 Drinks with steep prices?

DOWN

1 New Beer’s Eve month

6/17/23

© 2023 Tribune Content Agency, LLC.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55

2 Snake River tributary

3 Some sacrifices

4 Frustrated cry

5 “Whew!”

6 Like Peter Quill of the Guardians of the Galaxy, in part

7 Novelist Ferrante

8 Oceanic staple

9 U.S. ID issuer

10 Orchestra position

11 Classroom setup that facilitates group discussions

12 Micromobility option

13 Dismissive syllable

18 Red shade

21 Spare parts?

24 Exact words?

25 Faux —

26 Unwanted crack in crackleware

27 Fades to black

29 Delusion

30 Triple Crown of Surfing sponsor

31 Class that may be lit

32 Small club, maybe

33 “Fine, be lazy”

34 — shed

39 Sch. near Emily Dickinson’s home

40 Physics Nobelist of 1938

41 Taken in

42 “The — Network”:

43 Island nation whose flag features the Southern Cross

44 Is hip to

46 Bear with a “Thotful Spot”

47 “C’mere!”

48 “Blue Bloods” extra

49 Celebratory initialism

A hip-hop concert season for the ages

HIP-HOP FROM C1

The set list, which is based on an actual mixtape that the ever-meticulous Jazzy Jeff created, is “going to be sensory overload,” Mack said. The run time is about 2 hours 15 minutes.

“If you have to go to the bathroom, you’d better do it before the show, Mack said. “If you go during the show, you might miss 10 artists.”

The show’s attempt to put early ’80s hip-hop royalty ranging from Melle Mel, Treacherous Three and Schoolly D in the same room with golden-era stalwarts such as EPMD, Onyx, Black Sheep and Naughty By Nature is akin to getting the greatest living blues guitarists onstage with classic rock standouts and letting them all jam.

Hip-hop fans can be fickle and list-obsessed, but 2023 is offering them a smorgasbord of options.

Run-DMC, which has rarely performed since the death of Jam Master Jay in 2002, headlines a performance at Yankee Stadium on Aug. 11. They will be joined by a star-studded lineup including Snoop Dogg, Ice Cube, Lil Wayne and Common, a Queens of Hip-Hop set featuring Lil’ Kim and Eve, and a Pillars of Hip-Hop set highlighting — most importantly — Kool Herc.

For fans who were struggling through the covid pandemic, DJ Cassidy’s “Pass the Mic” got many a hip-hop fan through the dol-drums. Now he’s bringing it back for a 25-artist performance at Radio City Music Hall in July. 50 Cent is embarking on what he’s calling his “Final Lap” tour, supported by the always-mesmerizing Busta Rhymes. The Wu-Tang Clan and

THEATER REVIEW FROM C1

intelligence, when he speeds through Scrabble or concocts a crossword puzzle from scratch, also astound. But there’s always another layer, as Kwong splices it all together in an intricately constructed maze of setups, callbacks and applause-inducing payoffs. No detail is too small to be woven into the grander “Enigmatist” tapestry.

The experience begins when you’re handed a map card and asked to crack four brain teasers in the lobby, well before Kwong takes the stage. Doing so isn’t mandatory — if you run out of time, the ushers will charitably punch all four answer holes in your card — but the

ANDY KROPA/INVISION/AP

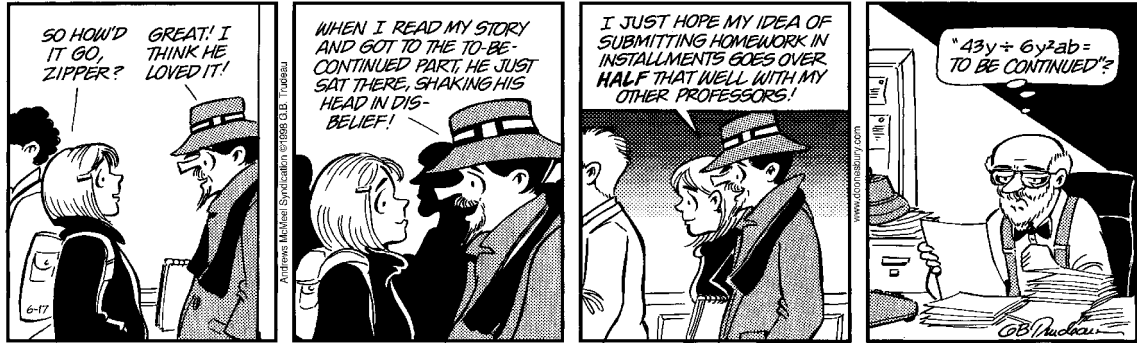
DJ Jazzy Jeff will be on the turntables at Saturday’s show.

Nas are running back last year’s “N.Y. State of Mind” arena tour, where they’ll be joined by De La Soul.

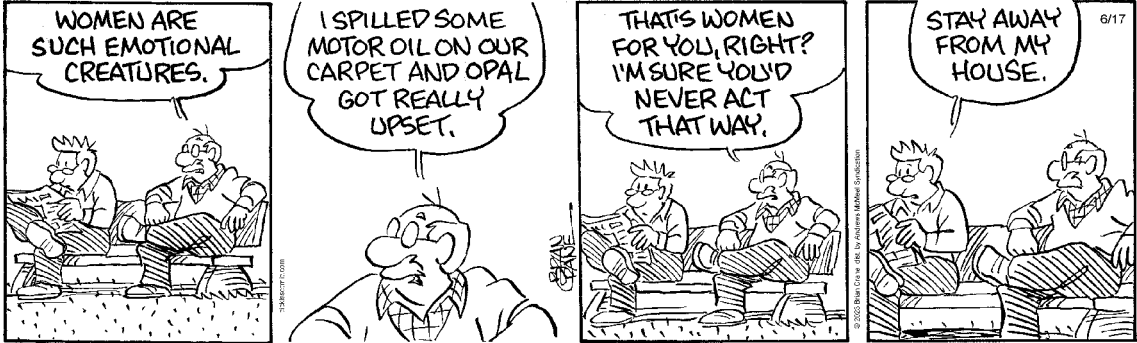
Elsewhere, everyone from KRS-One to Digable Planets to Atmosphere will be hitting stages, many as they normally do, but some to mark milestones. Souls of Mischief is beginning the U.S. leg of a 93-plus-stop tour with visits to places as varied as Helsinki and Burlington, Vt., celebrating 30 years of their seminal classic album “93 ‘til Infinity.”

LL and Rock The Bells are putting on the second annual festival in LL’s native Queens with a lineup that includes Redman and Method Man, Queen Latifah, Slick Rick, and the Boot Camp Click. Rick Ross, Lil Jon, Trina and Big Daddy Kane are among the performers scheduled for the cruise leaving from Miami in November.

CLASSIC DOONESBURY



PICKLES



BRIDGE

BOTH SIDES VULNERABLE

NORTH (D)

♦ J9 6 2
♥ A Q 7
♦ 4 2
♣ K Q 7 5

WEST

♠ 5
♥ J 10 6 2
♦ A K 7 6 3
♣ A 10 2

EAST

♠ 8 4
♥ K 9 5
♦ Q J 10 9 8
♣ 9 8 6

SOUTH

♦ A K Q 10 7 3
♥ 8 4 3
♦ 5
♣ J 4 3

The bidding:

NORTH	EAST	SOUTH	WEST
1 ♠	Pass	1 ♠	Dbl
2 ♠	3 ♦	4 ♠	All Pass

Opening lead — ♦ K

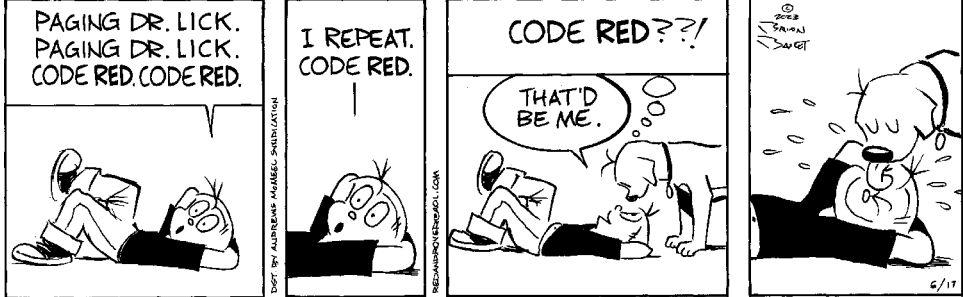
“Simple Saturday” columns treat basic technique and logical thinking. As declarer, you see dummy’s assets, but a defender can’t see his partner’s hand. To overcome that handicap, defenders use signals such as “attitude”: whether they want a suit led or continued. In simple methods, signal with a high card to encourage, a low card to discourage or offer no opinion. Today’s West led the king of diamonds against four spades, and East played the eight. That card looked pretty high to West; he continued with the ace. South ruffed, led a club to dummy’s king, drew trumps and led a second club. He set up a club winner in dummy for a heart discard and lost only one heart. Making four.

I’ve heard players say a seven or higher is a “high” signal, a six or lower is “low.” That is nonsense. Consider partner’s signal in context. Here, West can see that East’s eight was his lowest diamond, discouraging. If West duly shifts to the jack of hearts at Trick Two, South fails.

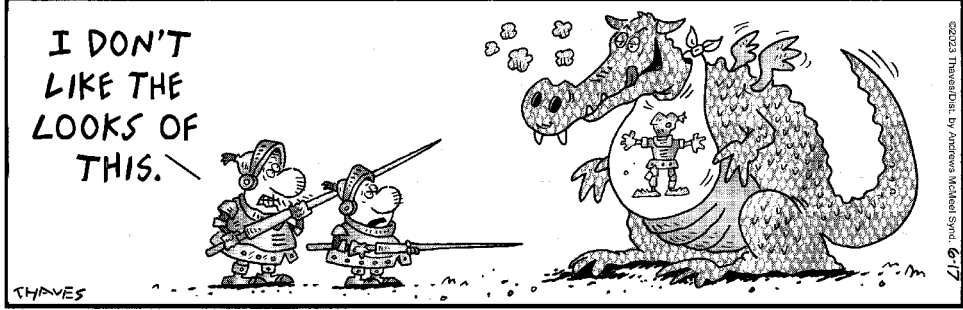
DAILY QUESTION
You hold:
♠ 5 ♥ J 10 6 2
♦ A K 7 6 3 ♣ A 10 2
You open one diamond, and your partner bids one spade. What do you say?
ANSWER: This situation is uncomfortable. You must tell partner a lie no matter what you bid. A bid of two hearts would be a “reverse” and would promise a much better hand. A rebid of two diamonds would suggest a six-card or longer suit but would be the choice of some players. Bid 1NT, though you would prefer to hold Q, J 10 6 2, A Q 9 6 3, A 10 2.

— Frank Stewart
©2023, TRIBUNE CONTENT AGENCY, LLC.

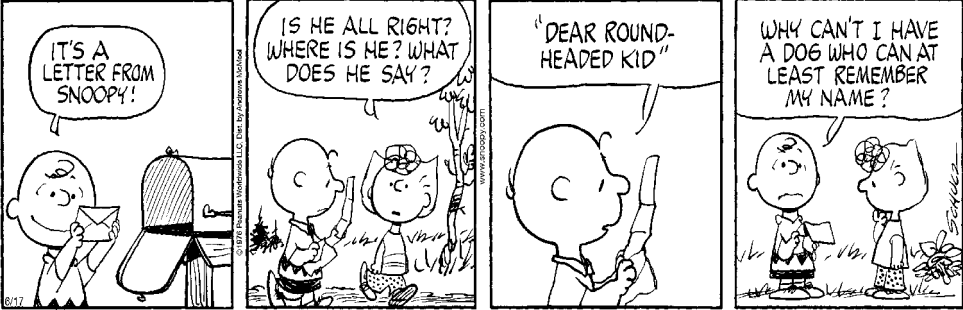
RED AND ROVER



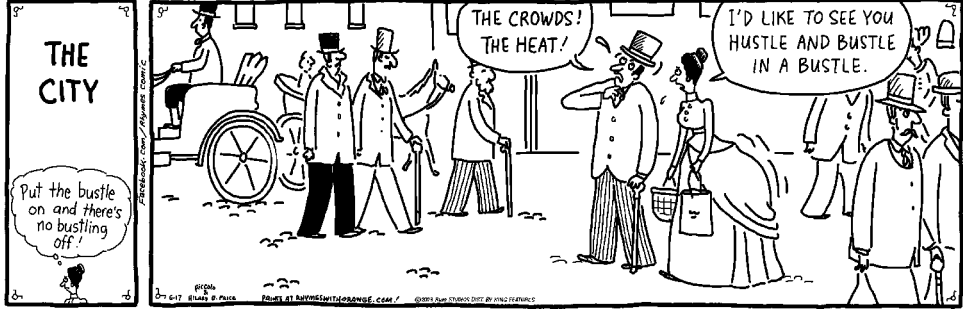
FRANK AND ERNEST



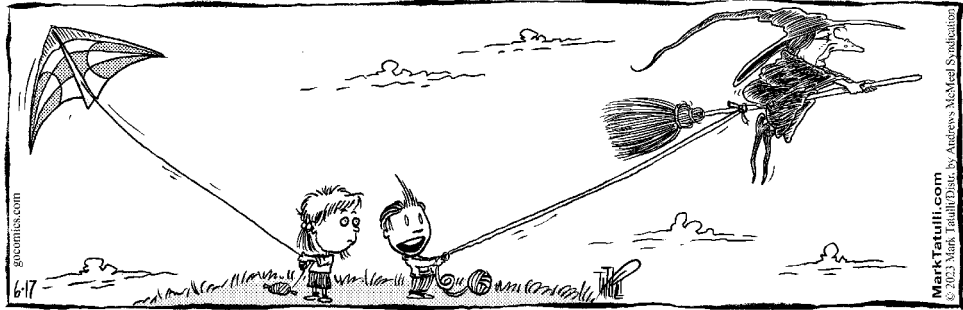
CLASSIC PEANUTS



RHYMES WITH ORANGE



LIO



HAGAR THE HORRIBLE

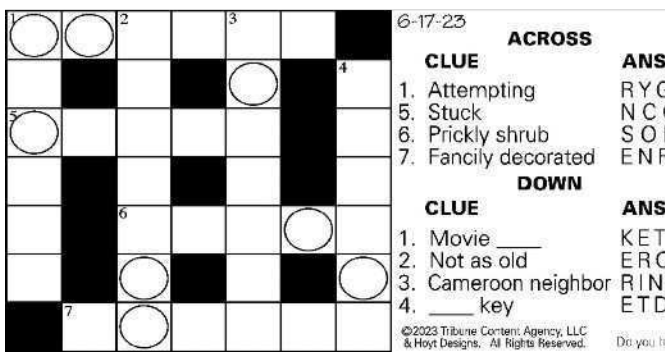
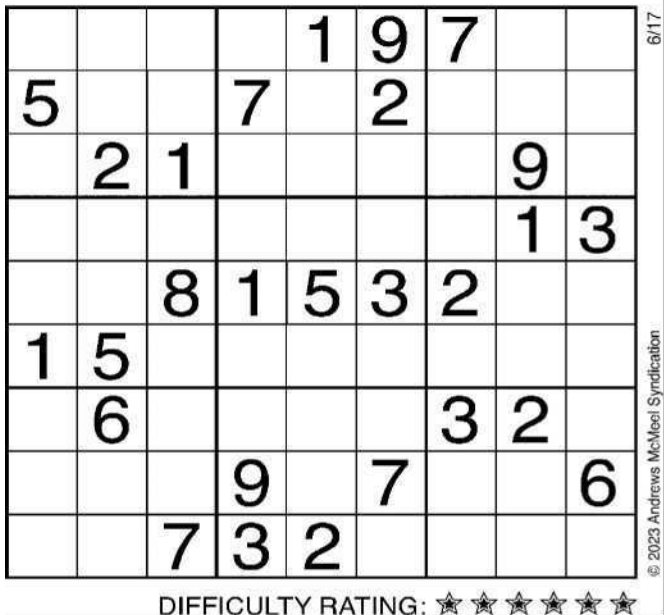


BLONDIE



SUDOKU

Complete the grid so that every row, column and 3x3 box contains every digit from 1 to 9 inclusively.



SCRABBLE G R A M S

Heablo and his logo, SCRABBLE®, associated logo, the design of the distinctive SCRABBLE brand game board, and the distinctive letter tile designs are trademarks of Hasbro in the United States and Canada. ©2023 Hasbro. All rights reserved. Distributed by Tribune Content Agency, LLC.

A1 I1 H4 M3 P3 S1 D2

3rd Letter Double

RACK 1

A1 E1 O1 M3 R1 W1 R1

RACK 2

E1 Y4 T1 T1 N1 S1 C3

Triple Word Score

RACK 3

A1 A1 I1 T1 N1 R1 D2

RACK 4

PAR SCORE 165-175
BEST SCORE 221

FOUR RACK TOTAL
TIME LIMIT: 20 MIN

DIRECTIONS: Make a 2- to 7-letter word from the letters in each row. Add points of each word, using scoring directions at right. Finally, 7-letter words get 50-point bonus. "Blanks" used as any letter have no point value. All the words are in the Official SCRABBLE® Players' Dictionary, 5th Edition. SOLUTION TOMORROW

For more information on tournaments and clubs, email NASPA - North American SCRABBLE Players Association info@scrabbleplayers.org. Visit our website - www.scrabbleplayers.org. For puzzle inquiries contact scrgams@gmail.com

06-17

JUMBLE CROSSWORDS

by David L. Hoyt

How to play

Complete the crossword puzzle by looking at the clues and unscrambling the answers. When the puzzle is complete, unscramble the circled letters to solve the BONUS.

CLUE: Limit

CLUE: Creatures

CLUE: More demanding when enforcing rules

TRIPLE BONUS

The circled letters can be unscrambled to form different BONUS answers.

ANSWERS: 1A-Trying
5A-Gone
7A-Ornate
8A-Clung
9A-Ginger
10A-Heretic
11A-Blasphemy
12A-Blasphemy

©2023 Tribune Content Agency, LLC & Hoyt Designs. All Rights Reserved.

Do you have any comments? I would love to hear from you. You can email me at: D.L.Hoyt@hoytinteractiveMedia.com

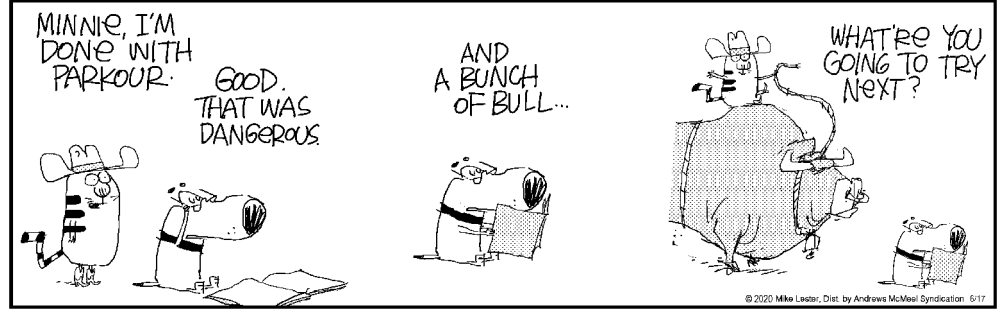
AGNES



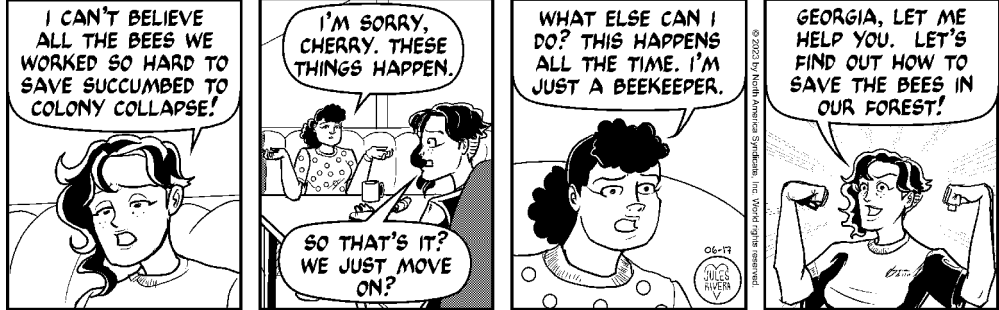
WUMO



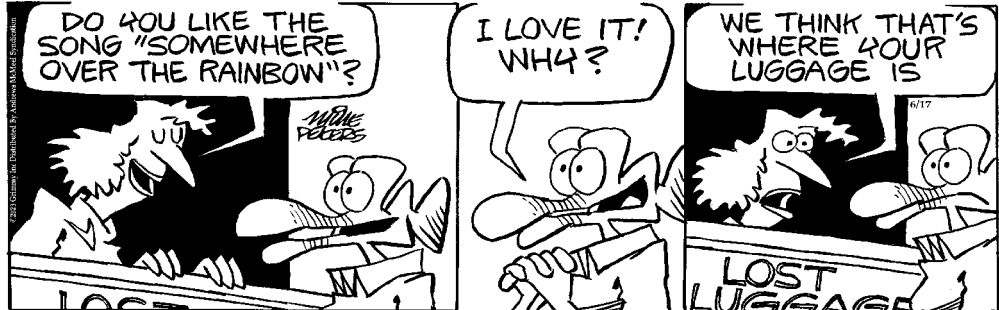
MIKE DU JOUR



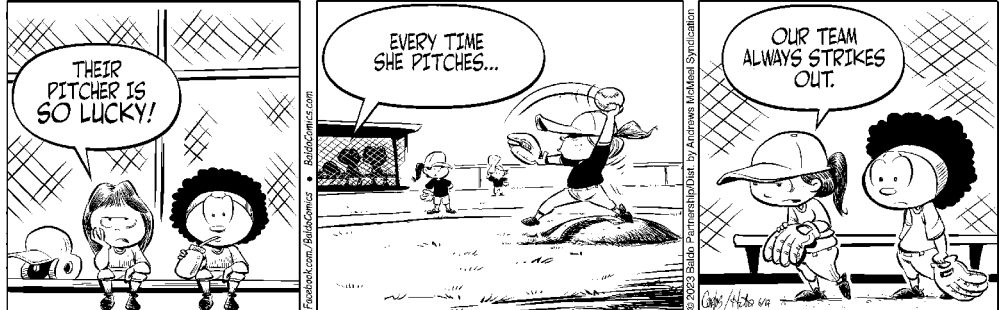
MARK TRAIL



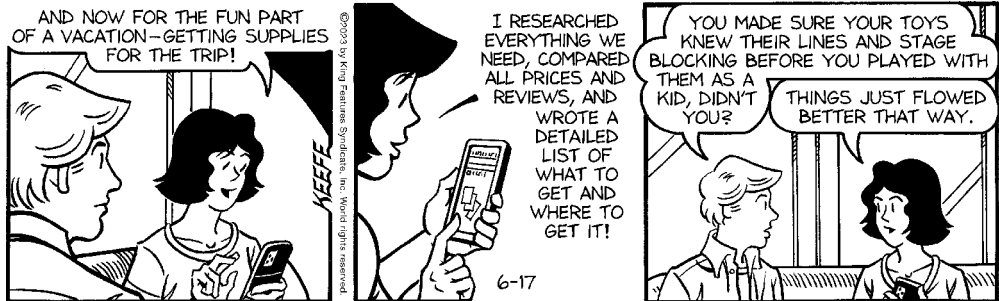
MOTHER GOOSE & GRIMM



BALDO



SALLY FORTH



SHERMAN'S LAGOON



CURTIS



BREWSTER ROCKIT: SPACE GUY!



MUTTS

PATRICK McDONNELL

ZITS

JERRY SCOTT & JIM BORGMAN

HOROSCOPE

BIRTHDAY | JUNE 17

You are intelligent and inspirational. You are also an excellent performer who knows how to entertain others. Lucky you! This is a fun-loving, social year. Let your guard down and loosen up a bit. Have fun and enjoy yourself. Remember your goals. Old friends might reappear.

Moan Alert: Until 11 p.m. today, there are no restrictions to shopping or important decisions. The New Moon is in Gemini.

HEART OF THE CITY

STEENZ

JUDGE PARKER

FRANCESCO MARCIULIANO & MIKE MANLEY

FRAZZ

JEF MALLET

CANDORVILLE

DARRIN BELL

GARFIELD

JIM DAVIS

BARNEY AND CLYDE

WEINGARTENS & CLARK

DUSTIN

STEVE KELLEY & JEFF PARKER

THE AMAZING SPIDER-MAN

STAN LEE & ALEX SAVIUK

PRICKLY CITY

SCOTT STANTIS

LOOSE PARTS

DAVE BLAZEK

NON SEQUITUR

WILEY

BABY BLUES

RICK KIRKMAN & JERRY SCOTT

BIG NATE

LINCOLN PEIRCE

ON THE FASTTRACK

BILL HOLBROOK

BEETLE BAILEY

GREG, BRIAN & NEAL WALKER

PEARLS BEFORE SWINE

STEPHAN PASTIS

ARIES

(MARCH 21-APRIL 19).

This is an excellent day to think about how you can improve your communications with your daily contacts – siblings, relatives and neighbors. Do you listen to what others are saying, or are you just waiting for your turn to speak?

TAURUS

(APRIL 20-MAY 20).

Today's New Moon is a chance to give yourself a report card about your relationship with your possessions and whatever you own. Are you in charge? Or do your possessions own you? Are you skillful in making what you own work for you? Think about this.

GEMINI

(MAY 21-JUNE 20).

Today the only New Moon in Gemini all year is taking place, which is the perfect time to take a realistic look in the mirror to check out your image. Are you happy with the impression that you create on your world? Can you do anything to improve it?

CANCER

(JUNE 21-JULY 22).

Today's New Moon is a gentle reminder that we need a balance of work, play and a spiritual touchstone or belief system. This is a good day for you to think about your values and what you think about when you're in the dark.

LEO

(JULY 23-AUG. 22).

Friendships play an important part, not only to enrich our lives but also to make us healthier. Studies have proved this. Are you happy with the friends you have? Do you hang out with quality people?

VIRGO

(AUG. 23-SEPT. 22).

Today the only New Moon all year that is taking place at the top of your chart is happening. That means this is an excellent time to think about your life direction in general. Are you headed where you want to go?

LIBRA

(SEPT. 23-OCT. 22).

What further education or training might you get so you are more proficient or more successful in your job? Likewise, what further education or travel might enrich your life?

SCORPIO

(OCT. 23-NOV. 21).

This is an excellent day to think about red-tape details and loose ends that you might have to deal with pertaining to taxes, debt, shared property, inheritances, wills or estates. If there is something that has to eventually be done, do it.

SAGITTARIUS

(NOV. 22-DEC. 21).

The New Moon this weekend is directly opposite your sign. This is the only time all year this occurs. It means it's your perfect opportunity to think about how to improve your closest relationships with friends, partners and spouses.

CAPRICORN

(DEC. 22-JAN. 19).

When it comes to work, you're no slouch. The New Moon this weekend is the perfect time to think about how you can improve your job or the way you do your job. Likewise, do you have ideas about how you can improve your health?

AQUARIUS

(JAN. 20-FEB. 18).

This is the ideal time for you to think about the balance that you have in your life between work and play. Are you happy with this balance? Do others think that you work too much?

PISCES

(FEB. 19-MARCH 20).

The New Moon this weekend is a wonderful opportunity to think about how you can improve your relations with various family members. Likewise, it's the best time all year for you to think about what you can do to improve where you live. Ideas?

— Georgia Nicols

© 2023, KING FEATURES SYNDICATE, INC.

PREVIOUS SUDOKU SOLUTION

7	8	2	4	3	1	9	6	5
1	6	4	9	5	7	8	2	3
5	3	9	8	6	2	4	1	7
6	5	3	1	2	9	7	8	4
9	7	8	6	4	3	2	5	1
2	4	1	5	7	8	6	3	9
8	1	6	7	9	5	3	4	2
3	9	5	2	8	4	1	7	6
4	2	7	3	1	6	5	9	8

PREVIOUS SCRABBLEGRAMS SOLUTION

B	S	A	K	E	R	Y	
D	E	V	I	L	O	U	S
A	C	I	R	I	D	L	Y
C	A	N	T	I	N	A	

RACK 1 = 18
RACK 2 = 61
RACK 3 = 63
RACK 4 = 77
TOTAL 219

SPEED BUMP

DAVE COVERLY

DENNIS THE MENACE

H. KETCHAM

FAMILY CIRCUS

BIL KEANE

REPLY ALL LITE

DONNA A. LEWIS

PRO BASKETBALL

The NBA suspends Memphis Grizzlies all-star guard Ja Morant for 25 games for his second gun incident. **A1**

PRO BASKETBALL

NBA Hall of Famer Michael Jordan agrees to sell his majority ownership of the Charlotte Hornets. **D2**

GOLF

PGA Tour, Saudis dismiss lawsuits, clearing a hurdle for them to come together on a proposed deal. **D3**



The Mystics' Brittney Sykes fires a three-pointer in the first half against the Mercury. The guard scored 16 points on 6-for-9 shooting, including 2 for 3 from deep.

Ovation and onslaught

BY KAREEM COPELAND

Li Meng gave out personalized gifts to her teammates Friday, including a toy for Elena Delle Donne's dog, Rue. Hours later, the rookie from China had a career game as she buried three-pointers from all over the court in an 88-69 win over the Phoenix Mercury. The game had a slightly larger spotlight. It was going to be Brittney Griner's first appearance in Washington since she was released from a Russian prison, but Griner didn't play because of a hip injury. Instead, the Mystics celebrated their best offensive output of the season after coming into the game ranked last in the league in field goal percentage and second to last in points per game and three-point percentage.

Washington's 88 points were a season

MYSTICS 88, MERCURY 69

Washington celebrates Griner, then tops season high in points

high, as was its 50 percent shooting from the field. The Mystics stormed out of the gate, turning defense into offense, and never trailed. "One, it helps to make shots," Coach Eric Thibault said. "There's no substitute for making shots, but I just think we played with a better tempo and purpose for more possessions. I think we did it for a quarter or half. . . . I thought we did it for longer."

Delle Donne led the team with

17 points, and Brittney Sykes added 16. Li finished with 14, and Ariel Atkins had 11. Li made her first start and hit a career-high four three pointers after Natasha Cloud was ruled out. "I was very excited; I wanted to do well and help the team," Li said. The Mystics took advantage of the shorthanded Mercury (2-7), which has had its own struggles this season. Washington's 28 first-quarter points were a season high, and the team never looked back. "I felt like the group after the awful loss in Indiana had a focus in practice, a different one," Delle Donne said. "So I felt like we'd come out strong, but sometimes you never know."

Here's what else to know about the

SEE **MYSTICS** ON **D5**

Sky at Mystics | Tomorrow, 3 p.m., NBC Sports Washington

Return of Robles is no balm for weary Nats

MARLINS 6, NATIONALS 5

Washington falls to 0-4 vs. Miami this season

BY JESSE DOUGHERTY

It was a sleepy afternoon in the Washington Nationals' clubhouse, seeing that they landed back from Houston around 4 a.m. Friday, seeing that they played (and won) Thursday night against the Astros at Minute Maid Park. Manager Dave Martinez walked around with a blue Sharpie wedged in the side of his hat, threatening — through a grin — to put a sticky note on anyone's locker who showed up after 4:30 p.m., when the team would typically be taking batting practice. The alleged fine was \$100. In the end, no one was hit with it, though a few players were tardy to the late call time. But in the

SEE **NATIONALS** ON **D3**

Marlins at Nationals

Today, 7 p.m., MASN

Berhalter gets second shot with U.S. Soccer

Old coach impressed new management, which looked past controversy

BY STEVEN GOFF

LAS VEGAS — The U.S. Soccer Federation's search for a men's national team coach ended where it began Friday with the reappointment of Gregg Berhalter. The decision came about six months after Berhalter's contract expired and followed off-the-field controversy involving the parents of a star player, an investigation into a domestic abuse incident that occurred about 30 years ago and major turnover in the USSF's front office. Berhalter agreed to a contract through the 2026 World Cup, which will take place in the

SEE **U.S. SOCCER** ON **D2**

Nations League final: Canada at United States

Tom., 8:30 p.m., Paramount Plus

At U.S. Open, recovery is key in second round

Fowler remains in lead as others find pitfalls all over the course

BY CHUCK CULPEPPER

LOS ANGELES — This 123rd U.S. Open has gone heckled and pilloried for inflicting insufficient displeasure, but it tried to atone Friday. It treated Dustin Johnson to a quadruple-bogey 8, wrung four bogeys out of Rory McIlroy and caused Brooks Koepka to commit one of his uncommon knacks: candor. Yet with Johnson and McIlroy remaining in contention, it just couldn't quite subdue these past champions with the misery it prefers.

It came out Friday morning at debutant host Los Angeles Country Club in further clouds after

U.S. OPEN

L.A. Country Club, second round

	LEADER BOARD	TO PAR
1	Rickie Fowler	-10
2	Wyndham Clark	-9
T3	Rory McIlroy	-8
T3	Xander Schauffele	-8
5	Harris English	-7
T6	Dustin Johnson	-6
T6	Min Woo Lee	-6
T8	Two tied	-5

Today's TV: 1 p.m., NBC

the soothing clouds of Thursday, the first day in U.S. Open history in which not even one contestant treated the audience to the sight of an excellent player shooting 80 or above. At an event where Rickie Fowler followed his 62 of

SEE **U.S. OPEN** ON **D3**



HARRY HOW/GETTY IMAGES

Dustin Johnson, the 2016 U.S. Open champion, had a quadruple bogey on No. 2 but rebounded for an even-par 70 Friday afternoon.

Gators power past Cavs in World Series opener

FLORIDA 6, VIRGINIA 5

BY GENE SCHINZEL

OMAHA — Florida baseball's potent power hitters showed up just in time Friday night. The No. 2 Gators hit three homers in the last two innings to rally for a 6-5 win over No. 11 Virginia during the opening night of the College World Series. Trailing by two in the bottom of the ninth inning, Florida got a leadoff home run from pinch hitter Ty Evans to open the inning. Two batters later, Wyatt Langford blasted a game-tying homer to left. The next three Gators reached base before Luke Heyman's sacrifice fly to center brought home Jac Caglianone with the winning run.

Florida had hit 129 home runs in its first 65 games this season. "Certainly a tough loss," Virginia Coach Brian O'Connor said. "They put big-time swings in the ninth inning." Virginia put itself in position to win after trailing 1-0 through six innings. The Cavaliers last played the Gators in 2015, when Virginia won two of the three meetings on its way to the program's only national title. On Friday, the teams were locked in a pitchers' duel. Florida's pitching staff had allowed a total of 12 runs in seven NCAA tournament games. And on Friday, Florida starter Brandon Sproat allowed three hits and struck out seven through the first six innings.

SEE **VIRGINIA** ON **D2**

Virginia vs. TCU

Tomorrow, 2 p.m., ESPN

Sauerbrunn, captain of American team, to miss World Cup with foot injury

BY STEVEN GOFF

Becky Sauerbrunn will miss the World Cup with a foot injury, the fourth notable absence for the U.S. women's national soccer team as it attempts to win a record third consecutive title.

Sauerbrunn, the U.S. captain and one of the best defenders in program history, made the announcement Friday on Twitter. "I had hoped and worked and hoped some more to make it back in time to help lead the team at this World Cup, but after lots of discussion, unfortunately, there's

just too much variability in my return-to-play timeline," she wrote.

Sauerbrunn's withdrawal came five days before Coach Vlatko Andonovski is scheduled to announce his 23-woman roster for the tournament in Australia and New Zealand. Training camp will open June 26 in Southern California.

The Americans will begin Group E play July 22 against Vietnam in Auckland, New Zealand.

No men's or women's team has won three consecutive world tro-

phies. The top-ranked United States will attempt to do so without not only Sauerbrunn, its superb center back, but winger Mallory Swanson, midfielder Sam Mewis and attacker Catarina Macario. All are sidelined with knee injuries.

Swanson was in the best form of her career before she ruptured a patella tendon in a friendly against Ireland in April. Macario has not fully recovered from an ACL injury suffered last June. Mewis has not played in more than a year.

Midfielder Rose Lavelle, a

breakout star at the last World Cup, is also a concern: She has not played for club or country since April 8 because of a knee injury, though she seems to have made enough progress to earn a World Cup roster spot.

Sauerbrunn has appeared in five of the Portland Thorns' 11 regular season matches. After a six-week layoff, she logged 23 minutes June 3 but sat out last weekend's game.

While Andonovski has ample depth in the attack to help compensate for Swanson, Mewis and Macario, Sauerbrunn is almost

irreplaceable. At 38, she is the active leader in appearances with 216, ninth on the U.S. career list.

The University of Virginia graduate has been a member of the national team since 2008 and started in the 2015 and 2019 World Cups. This injury ends her string of six consecutive major tournaments.

With Sauerbrunn out, Alana Cook is the top candidate to join Naomi Girma in central defense. Neither has World Cup experience. Julie Ertz, who recently returned from a long layoff after giving birth, could join the mix.

She was a center back on the 2015 World Cup squad before transitioning into a defensive midfielder.

"It's been an honor to work and play alongside this incredible group of athletes," Sauerbrunn wrote. "They have my unwavering support. And, more importantly, they have my unyielding belief."

She added, "To my teammates, I love you. Please, take a minute to enjoy the moment, to appreciate everything that brought you here . . . and then back to work and go win the whole [expletive] thing!"

After tumult, U.S. gives Berhalter another chance

U.S. SOCCER FROM D1

United States, Mexico and Canada. Terms were not disclosed. The USSF's most recent tax filing showed he earned roughly \$1.6 million between April 2021 and March 2022.

Berhalter, 49, will return to the post following the Concacaf Gold Cup, which will run from June 24 to July 16. B.J. Callaghan, the second interim coach since Berhalter's departure in the winter, will continue to run the team.

"The process has been really comprehensive and evidence-based," said Matt Crocker, the U.S. Soccer Federation's new sporting director. "From the first moment that I met [Berhalter] through the end of the process, what came through in abundance was his passion, his knowledge, his leadership and his growth mind-set."

Crocker said he conducted a "worldwide search" and spoke to several candidates with both club

and national team experience before offering Berhalter the job this week. Jesse Marsch, an American who has coached European clubs for several years, was among the candidates, U.S. officials confirmed.

"You can imagine what the last six months have been like," said Berhalter, who also interviewed with Mexico's Club America for a coaching job. "It was a great moment [getting offered the U.S. position]. Thinking about the team and the possibilities, your mind is going 100 miles an hour, but I was really motivated to come back and really make a go of this next World Cup and making the nation proud."

Crocker said he was impressed with Berhalter's ability to push the program forward over four years.

"Clearly what he's done is [develop] a really young, dynamic, front-footed team," Crocker said. "There's been a tremendous amount of great work on the

pitch and off the pitch, but we have to try to get better. . . . We have to push those boundaries."

The process moved much quicker than anticipated. Less than a month ago, Crocker said he planned to conduct interviews in June before narrowing the list of candidates and beginning the evaluation process. "Our aim is to have our new coach in place by the end of summer," he said at the time.

Crocker was appointed this spring following the departure of sporting director Earnie Stewart and men's general manager Brian McBride. Formerly with the English Football Association and English club Southampton, Crocker figured to favor a European coach.

On Thursday night, though, Crocker gave a 45-minute presentation to the USSF's board of directors, which backed the decision but not unanimously. One member on the 20-plus board dissented, USSF chief executive JT Batson said.

The concern, a person close to the situation said, was the effectiveness of a coach in a second World Cup cycle. Bob Bradley (2006-11) and Jurgen Klinsmann (2011-16) were rehired for a sec-

ond term but fired within two years.

Crocker emphasized Berhalter's return is not "business as usual" and that he would work closely with the coaching staff on charting a path forward.

One person close to the situation said Crocker is firmly in charge of the program's direction and Berhalter won't enjoy as much autonomy as he did under Stewart and McBride, who were his U.S. World Cup teammates. Oguchi Onyewu, a former U.S. standout defender, recently joined Crocker's staff as vice president of sporting.

Crocker said Berhalter won't start right away because "there's some real big-ticket items around some real strategic stuff over the next couple of seasons that we need to map out first. [With Callaghan,] the team is in good hands."

Crocker told the players of the coaching decision at the team hotel after the 3-0 victory over Mexico in the Concacaf Nations League semifinals. None were made available to comment Friday.

Berhalter was generally well liked by the players and received endorsements from star attacker

Christian Pulisic, among others. "Today is a testament of the work that [Berhalter] has put into this team," Pulisic said after Thursday's match.

Berhalter said he watched the entire game on his flight to Las Vegas for Friday's news conference. "Great performance," he said. His first games back in charge will be in the Sept. 4-12 match window.

Berhalter had a 37-11-12 record over four years, the best winning percentage in U.S. men's history among long-term coaches. He also holds the best record in official competition (25-6-7).

He led the Americans to a 1-0-2 record in the group stage of the World Cup in Qatar and a 3-1 defeat to the Netherlands in the round of 16. The U.S. men were the second-youngest squad in the tournament.

Berhalter does, however, return with notable baggage. He will need to clear the air with Gio Reyna, one of the program's young standouts, whose lack of playing time at the World Cup triggered a rift between his parents and Berhalter.

The matter spilled into the public eye when, claiming he was being blackmailed, Berhalter ad-

mitted to kicking his now-wife, Rosalind, when they were freshmen at the University of North Carolina. The couple have been married for 25 years and have four children.

An investigation into the abuse incident reported that Reyna's mother, Danielle, brought the incident to the USSF's attention. She was incensed that Berhalter, during what he was told was an off-the-record speech in New York, implied her son caused disruptions before the World Cup.

"There's work to do, and part of it is working together with Matt and trying to rebuild the relationship that we know will be important moving forward," Berhalter said.

The investigation into the 1992 incident said Berhalter had not committed any additional acts of violence and hadn't violated any disclosure rules during his hiring process in 2018.

"We take accusations of domestic violence very seriously," USSF President Cindy Parlow Cone said. "There was an independent investigation into the matter, and we trust those findings. And Gregg has our full support."

Cavs rally, then blow lead in loss to Gators

VIRGINIA FROM D1

But after Ethan Anderson led off the Virginia seventh with a walk, Casey Saucke grounded a single to right to put runners at the corners on Sproat's 100th pitch. Anderson scored on a groundout, and the Cavaliers had two on with two outs when Griff O'Ferrall drilled a shot down the third-base line for a two-run double and a 3-1 lead. Ethan O'Donnell followed with a single to center that scored O'Ferrall.

Florida's bats soon came to life. The Gators, coached by Virginia alumnus Kevin O'Sullivan,



Griff O'Ferrall, who was tagged out at third base to end the first inning, hit a two-run double to give Virginia a 3-1 lead in the seventh.

scored on a groundout in the bottom of the seventh and loaded the bases with two outs. But Jake Berry, the third Virginia pitcher of the inning, got another groundout to keep the Cavaliers up 4-2.

After Florida's BT Riopelle led off the eighth with a homer to left center to make it a one-run game, Virginia restored its two-run lead in the ninth when Henry Godbout hit a two-out RBI triple to the right field corner.

Behind the solo homers, Florida quickly tied it in the bottom of the ninth. Langford, who is expected to be one of the first players selected in next month's MLB draft, made it 5-5 before a deep fly to center brought home the winning run.

With the loss, Virginia will play an elimination game at 2 p.m. Sunday against TCU, which also blew a ninth-inning lead in a 6-5 loss to Oral Roberts.

"This team has fought all year," O'Ferrall said. "We're not going to get down on ourselves, and [we'll] get back to work like we have all year."

DIGEST

PRO BASKETBALL

Jordan reaches a deal to sell the Hornets

NBA legend and Charlotte Hornets owner **Michael Jordan** reached a deal to sell the franchise to a group led by **Gabe Plotkin** and **Rick Schnall**, the team announced Friday. Jordan will retain a minority interest in the franchise.

A six-time NBA champion and five-time MVP, Jordan has been majority owner of the Hornets since February 2010, when he paid \$275 million to become the first former NBA player and second African American to own a franchise (after **Robert L. Johnson**, who sold the Hornets to Jordan). Since then, the Hornets have made the playoffs only two times, losing in the first round in each, and have not made the postseason since 2016.

Forbes estimated that the Hornets were worth \$1.7 billion after the 2021-22 season, ranking 27th out of 30 NBA franchises. It's unclear how much Plotkin and Schnall will pay for the Hornets.

The NBA will need to approve the sale, and Jordan will still be in charge for Thursday's NBA draft (the Hornets have the No. 2 pick) and the start of free agency on

July 1, according to ESPN's **Adrian Wojnarowski**.

— *Matt Bonesteel*

The Golden State Warriors are promoting from within to replace general manager **Bob Myers**, naming **Mike Dunleavy Jr.** as their new GM ahead of next week's draft.

The 42-year-old Dunleavy has worked closely under Myers since his move to the front office, serving as vice president of basketball operations the past two seasons after two years as assistant general manager.

Dunleavy, the third overall pick in 2002 out of Duke, wrapped up his 15-year NBA playing career in 2017.

SOCCER

Strikers **Olivier Giroud** and **Harry Kane** extended their national team scoring records as France and England maintained perfect starts to European Championship qualifying with their third straight wins.

Switzerland also has a maximum nine points after a 2-1 win at Andorra.

Giroud took only three minutes to head home **Kingsley Coman's** cross to make it 54 goals with Les Bleus in a 3-0 win at Gibraltar.

Kane's penalty in a 4-0 romp at Malta made it 56 career goals for

TELEVISION AND RADIO

MLB	
2 p.m.	Detroit at Minnesota » MLB Network
2:15 p.m.	Baltimore at Chicago Cubs » MASN2, WIYY (97.9 FM), WSNB (630 AM)
4 p.m.	Miami at Washington » MASN, WJFK (106.7 FM)
4 p.m.	Los Angeles Angels at Kansas City » Fox Sports 1
7 p.m.	New York Yankees at Boston » WTTG (Ch. 5), WBFF (Ch. 45)
10 p.m.	Cleveland at Arizona » Fox Sports 1
WNBA	
2 p.m.	Commissioner's Cup: Seattle at Dallas » WUSA (Ch. 9), WJZ (Ch. 13)
AUTO RACING	
12:30 p.m.	Formula One: Canadian Grand Prix, practice » ESPN2
4 p.m.	Formula One: Canadian Grand Prix, qualifying » ESPN2
GOLF	
1 p.m.	U.S. Open, third round » WRC (Ch. 4), WBAL (Ch. 11)
3 p.m.	LPGA Tour: Meijer LPGA Classic, third round » Golf Channel
SOCCER	
9 a.m.	UEFA Euro, qualifying, Group G: Lithuania vs. Bulgaria » Fox Sports 1
11 a.m.	Africa Cup of Nations, qualifying: Tunisia at Equatorial Guinea » beIN Sports
Noon	UEFA Euro, qualifying, Group A: Norway vs. Scotland » Fox Sports 1
2:45 p.m.	UEFA Euro, qualifying, Group J: Slovakia vs. Iceland » Fox Sports 2
4 p.m.	NWSL: Angel City FC at San Diego » WUSA (Ch. 9), WJZ (Ch. 13)
7:30 p.m.	MLS: Real Salt Lake at D.C. United » Apple TV Plus, WONK (104.7 FM)
9:30 p.m.	Concacaf Gold Cup, qualifying: Grenada vs. Guyana » Fox Sports 2

his nation.

In other results, Greece topped visiting Ireland, 2-1; Ukraine edged host North Macedonia, 3-2; Armenia won, 4-2, at Wales; Turkey downed host Latvia, 3-2; Denmark blanked visiting Northern Ireland, 1-0; Kazakhstan posted a 3-0 away win over San Marino; Finland topped visiting Slovenia, 2-0; Israel beat Belarus, 2-1, in Budapest; and Romania and host Kosovo played to a 0-0 draw.

TENNIS

5 a.m. **ATP/WTA: Rosmalen Grass Court Championships, semifinals; ATP: Stuttgart Open, semifinals; WTA: Nottingham Open, semifinals** » Tennis Channel

USFL

1 p.m. **Pittsburgh vs. New Jersey** » USA Network
4 p.m. **Birmingham vs. Memphis** » WTTG (Ch. 5), WBFF (Ch. 45)

CANADIAN FOOTBALL LEAGUE

7 p.m. **Edmonton at British Columbia** » CBS Sports Network

AMERICAN HOCKEY LEAGUE — CALDER CUP FINALS

7 p.m. **Game 5: Coachella Valley at Hershey** » NBC Sports Washington

PROFESSIONAL LACROSSE

Noon **Premier League Lacrosse: Archers vs. Chaos** » ESPN

MIXED MARTIAL ARTS

7 p.m. **UFC Fight Night, prelims** » ESPN2
10 p.m. **UFC Fight Night, middleweight main event: Martin Vettori vs. Jared Cannonier** » ESPN

RUGBY

5 p.m. **Premier Rugby Sevens** » CBS Sports Network

COLLEGE BASEBALL — COLLEGE WORLD SERIES

2 p.m. **Stanford vs. Wake Forest** » ESPN
7 p.m. **Tennessee vs. LSU** » ESPN

PRO FOOTBALL

New England Patriots second-year cornerback **Jack Jones** was arrested Friday evening at a security checkpoint at Boston's Logan Airport after two guns were found inside his carry-on luggage, Massachusetts State Police said.

Jones, 25, had been planning to travel from Boston to Arizona, according to police. He is facing charges that include unlawful possession of a firearm and

carrying a loaded firearm.

GOLF

In Belmont, Mich., **Ayaka Furue** of Japan shot a bogey-free 5-under-par 67 to take a one-stroke lead over four players after two rounds at the Meijer LPGA Classic. Furue had an 11-under 133 total in the final event before next week's Women's PGA Championship.

— *From news services and staff reports*

Golf alliance clears hurdle as PGA Tour and Saudis dismiss their lawsuits

BY RICK MAESE

The PGA Tour and its Saudi rival-turned-partner filed to dismiss their lawsuits in federal court Friday, formally ending the costly legal battle that divided the golf world and clearing an early hurdle for an agreement both sides hope will stabilize the sport. The case is being dismissed with prejudice in the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of California, which means neither side can refile the same claim, regardless of what happens with the pending agreement between the tour and the Saudi wealth fund that operated LIV Golf, the breakaway circuit that sought to challenge the PGA Tour over the past 1½ years. The deal is likely to face several more obstacles, including scrutiny from Congress, which launched two investigations this

week into the surprising partnership, and the Department of Justice, which was already in the midst of an antitrust investigation into the PGA Tour and will have to decide whether the alliance violates federal antitrust laws. But the dismissal was a key component of the deal brokered by the tour and the Saudi Public Investment Fund (PIF), turning feuding courtroom combatants into allies, and is considered by the parties to be an important early step. The entire partnership was contingent on the dismissal, and both sides were eager to end the litigation as soon as possible — even before they formalized the details of their new relationship or crafted terms of the final agreement. The basic framework of the agreement was struck Monday, and the two sides agreed they

would file dismissal paperwork by the end of this week. But the filing didn't happen until the 11th hour, after the court closed Friday evening, and some people close to the deal were increasingly anxious this week, fearful one side was wavering, potentially casting uncertainty over the entire deal. With the legal fight formally settled, the PGA Tour and PIF will continue sorting out details of the broader agreement. The two sides initially hoped that process could be completed in a matter of weeks. Backlash to the deal was significant, particularly from PGA Tour players who felt blindsided, and tour officials now say it could be several months before the final terms are agreed upon. The deal is also subject to approval by the PGA Tour's policy board, which is composed of five independent directors, five tour play-

ers and a representative from the PGA of America. The tour has remained hopeful it will be able to convince its players — as well as fans, sponsors and lawmakers — the partnership with the Saudis will make the tour sustainable for years to come, injecting billions of dollars into the sport while eliminating its biggest threat. The tour feared that continuing the litigation — and prolonging its feud with LIV Golf — would further drain its coffers, distract fans and ultimately diminish the product. Complicating matters, at least in the near term: One of the major stakeholders has been sidelined. Jay Monahan, the PGA Tour commissioner, went on leave this week for an unspecified “medical situation.” It is not known when he might return or what role he will play in crafting the final deal between the tour and PIF.

The antitrust lawsuit started last August when 11 LIV golfers, led by Phil Mickelson and Bryson DeChambeau, sued the PGA Tour, saying it engaged in anti-competitive behavior by attempting to impede LIV's launch and unfairly punishing players for defecting. The PGA Tour countersued in September, accusing LIV Golf of “tortious interference” for encouraging golfers to violate terms of their PGA Tour contracts. The golfers eventually left the suit, leaving the PGA Tour battling LIV Golf and the Saudi PIF head-on. The case wasn't scheduled for trial until 2024, and the two sides were in the midst of discovery when they announced they had worked in secret to negotiate a truce. Both parties were motivated to end the suit. Though it scored some early victories in the case, the cash-strapped PGA Tour was

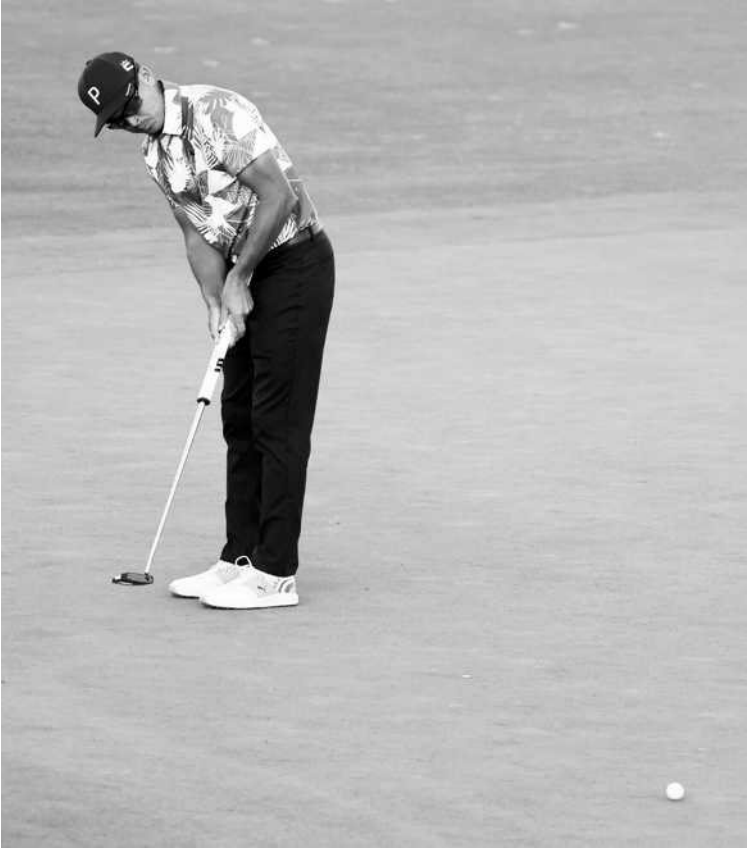
paying millions in legal fees and was already dipping into its reserves to keep pace with the deep-pocketed LIV, which offered eight- and even nine-figure contracts to lure away golfers. Both sides now avoid further discovery and the public airing of financial records and private communications. And the Saudi fund gets to exit the case before Yasir Al-Rumayyan, its governor, has to sit for a deposition. The Saudis' claim of sovereign immunity did not sway a magistrate judge, who said in February that Al-Rumayyan was subject to discovery. PIF was appealing the judge's order. The dismissal filing comes as players for both circuits compete at the U.S. Open, which is run by the U.S. Golf Association and is one of the only events on the golf calendar that feature both PGA and LIV golfers.

At the U.S. Open, second round brings more sensible scoring and plenty of fits

U.S. OPEN FROM D1

Thursday with a 68 to lead half-way through, some bemoaned all the red scores, such as Fowler's 10 under par. “I think it should be around par,” two-time champion and reigning PGA Championship winner Koepka said Friday of the leading U.S. Open scores. “Yeah, I mean I don't — I'm not a huge fan of this place. “I just think that there's a — I'm not a huge fan of blind tee shots, and then I think there's just some spots that no matter what you hit, the ball just ends up in the same spot. I think it would be more fun to play on just like a regular round than it would be a U.S. Open. I mean, there's what, two [8-under scores] yesterday? That doesn't happen.” In microcosm, Johnson's trip through hole No. 2 might have provided some salve. It looked too graphic for normal U.S. Open bogeying, but an 8 on a par-4 hole certainly qualified as somber. The two-time major champion and 2016 U.S. Open champion had his tee shot bounce in front of a fairway bunker on the left, bounce right in, make itself at home and travel the soft sand to a place close to the lip. His second shot careened 95 yards and dove down into the rough. His third shot went 60 yards and visited one of the hallmarks of this North Course, a barranca, which is a narrow, winding river gorge better suited for hiking.

His fourth shot wasn't a shot but a barranca penalty. His fifth shot went just behind the green. His sixth shot emerged from there and rolled and rolled and rolled, curling around the pin without ever getting close enough to say hello before stopping at 27 feet beyond. His seventh shot got close. His eighth shot closed it. He narrated later on: “Caught the corner of the [fairway] bunker and then chunked my bunker shot and then chunked the next one, skulled the next one. Everything that you could do wrong, I did wrong.” That kind of thing can be destructive beyond the hole in question: “Sometimes it is,” Johnson said. But it didn't fell this long-standing great talent: “Today it wasn't, though.” While it got everybody wondering whether anybody ever committed a quadruple bogey and wound up winning a major — not in the past 30 years, anyway, according to the Elias Sports Bureau — Johnson went on to the key to the round: the next shot. “Just think about hitting the fairway on No. 3,” he said. He hit that fairway, at 296 yards down the right side, then he got it to 14 feet and curled one of the prettier right-breaking birdie putts you will see. By day's end, his 4 under for the round after No. 2 had become one of the better level-par rounds you will see. “I've got a lot of confidence in the game and what I'm doing



Leader Rickie Fowler ended Friday one shot ahead of Wyndham Clark and two ahead of Rory McIlroy and Xander Schauffele.

right now,” he said as he took a spot at 6 under, the score left over from his 64 of Thursday. Oddly, the only person in those past 30 years to win a major after even a triple bogey would be the least likely of all to have done so: Tiger Woods at the 2000 U.S. Open at Pebble Beach, which he won by only 15 shots because of his triple on No. 3 on the blustery Saturday by the sea and the seals. What a shame. The unwelcome merriment here down south continued through the morning, and the

sun came out for once, and Wyndham Clark, who won the tournament at Quail Hollow in Charlotte this year, got to 9 under after 36 holes. He led until Fowler caught him. He also led as McIlroy somehow turned up right behind him. Here we go with another major and another contention for McIlroy and another turn of the topic gone ancient — his bid to end his major drought nobody foresaw when he won the 2014 PGA Championship at Valhalla in Louisville, 33 majors ago. Here he goes into the weekend with a 65-67 that has him at 8 under and with the audacity of hope. “I've been trying, and I've come close over the past nine years or whatever it is, and I keep coming back,” he said. “I feel like I've showed a lot of resilience in my career, a lot of ups and downs, and I keep coming back. And whether that means that I get rewarded or I get punched in the gut or whatever it is, I'll always keep coming back.” If the round could not subsume him with displeasure, at least it could provide it in pockets. It did become a carnival round. He had four bogeys mixed in with his seven birdies, but he did close with a 30 on a front nine everybody finds more “scoreable,” and he did make his closing hole (No. 9) a gasp and a gas when he knocked it off the tee to a trickle right by the pin and a stop within 2 feet 11 inches. Then a golf sage presented him

with a statistic flying around, the one about him never winning a tournament when the winning score ended up in single digits, hinting he needs a chance at good offense to triumph. “So if I had shot single digits under at Congressional [at the 2011 U.S. Open he dominated] I would have won,” he said. “If I would have shot single digits under at Kiawah [at the 2012 PGA Championship he dominated], I would have won. So I think it's a flawed statistic.” He, like many others, did find surprise in another flawed statistic, the one about the scoring at a U.S. Open at a vaunted course here, a course Southern Californian Collin Morikawa called “a big-boy course.” “I didn't see the scores being as low as they are,” McIlroy said. “I think the overcast conditions yesterday combined with that little bit of rain in the morning, I think the course just never got firm at all.” He spoke as many around him hoped for harsher days Saturday and Sunday and as Johnson outlined the ideal mentality for approaching the weekend, as well as for overcoming a quadruple bogey. “How empty or full is your head when you're playing?” “I have no idea,” he said to laughter. He added soon: “I guess there's maybe a lot going on but not a lot at the same time. Does that make any sense?”

Robles's return brings optimism but no salvation as the Nats fall

NATIONALS FROM D1

middle of a quiet, lazy wait for the 68th game of the year, a well-rested burst of energy joined the mix. Victor Robles arrived from Rochester, from his rehab stint with the Class AAA Red Wings, and shouted in Spanish by his locker. He wore all pink for the occasion. He greeted each of his teammates with a swinging handshake. Then, before their series opener with the Miami Marlins, the Nationals optioned Alex Call to Rochester and activated their everyday center fielder, batting Robles eighth between Dominic Smith and CJ Abrams. Those vibes ultimately preceded a 6-5 loss to the Marlins, who improved to 4-0 against the Nationals in 2023. Luis Arráez, leading the National League with a .390 average, beat Nationals starter Trevor Williams for a single in the first, a two-run homer in the second and an RBI single in the fourth, then added two more singles to finish 5 for 5. Washington's offense had evened the game behind Jeimer Candelario, Joey Meneses, Abrams and Lane Thomas, who smacked an RBI double and his team-leading 10th homer of the year. But the Marlins went ahead on an odd play in the eighth, when Abrams couldn't cleanly field a soft grounder up the middle, then skipped an offline throw that catcher Keibert Ruiz couldn't handle, allowing Yuli Gurriel to score when Ruiz fumbled it while trying to apply a tag that would have otherwise ended the inning and preserved a tie. Carl Edwards Jr. was hooked with the loss despite getting a groundball that, at the very least, would have loaded the bases with two outs and set up a matchup with nine-hole hitter Jonathan Davis. Five pitches after Gurriel slid in safely, Davis bounced out to Abrams, who made that routine play to end the threat. “Ball hit pretty far, and I was trying to keep it on the infield,” Abrams said, adding that he closed his glove too early. “I don't



Keibert Ruiz couldn't handle CJ Abrams's poor throw Friday, allowing Miami's Yuli Gurriel to score.

know if I had a chance at first or not, but I was trying to get him going home. Didn't complete step two, but we'll be all right.” Robles finished 1 for 4 with two strikeouts and a single. Beyond one night, his return from back spasms was welcomed for a couple of reasons: Following three rough years, Robles had started the season with a .748 OPS in 107 plate appearances, a notable step in the right direction. In 14 plate appearances with Rochester, he collected five hits and crushed two homers. And in his absence, the Nationals received little at the plate from Call, who heads to the minors with the second-lowest OPS among qualified hitters at .590. With Call, Smith and Abrams, the Nationals had three regular players in MLB's bottom 25 in

OPS. Now they have two. After Call left Martinez's office Friday, he passed Robles and the two hugged. Once Robles was healthy again, the team demoted Call instead of Stone Garrett, a 27-year-old with solid power numbers against lefties. So Call, 28, sat at his locker to gather his thoughts. He heard Robles greeting guys in the weight room, some yelling and a couple loud high-fives and smiled lightly. As always, there were only 26 spots to go around. “Toward the end there I think he was starting to press a little bit, trying to get hits,” Martinez said of Call, who came to Washington as a waiver claim last August. “I think this will kind of reset him a bit and hopefully get him going again, and then we'll see what transpires here. You

know we still got a lot of baseball left. I'm sure down the road we'll probably need Alex again.” Robles and Call aside, the Nationals couldn't solve Arráez on Friday and paid. The second baseman entered with a .378 average and raised it 12 points in his five plate appearances. Showing his versatility, Arráez collected hits on a low fastball, an inside fastball, a high-and-outside fastball, a low curve from Mason Thompson and Chad Kuhl's low-and-in slider. Unlike his first three at-bats, his final did not generate at least one run. But the Marlins (39-31) went up anyway to maintain their hold on second place in the NL East. Washington is 4-19 against Miami across the past two seasons. “What [Arráez] is doing is special,” said Williams, who yielded

seven hits, five runs and three walks on 86 pitches in 4⅓ innings. “To get five hits like he did today, to stay on pitches, some good pitches from the relievers, he's a really good hitter. When you game-plan for a guy like that, you see the .380, you see the .400, and you say: ‘Well, okay, he's going to get his hits.’ You just have to try to eliminate slug. He's a tough out because he doesn't swing and miss and he'll take his walks.” The Nationals (27-41) had their shot after Candelario cracked his third double with one out in the seventh. But lefty reliever Andrew Nardi struck out Meneses and Garrett, who pinch-hit for Dickerson to gain the platoon advantage. In the next half inning, Edwards walked Gurriel with one out, and Joey Wendle followed with a single. A batter later, Garrett Cooper, pinch-hitting for catcher Jacob Stallings, rolled a grounder up the middle Abrams could only knock down. If he caught it cleanly, he may have had an outside shot to nail the slow-footed Cooper at first —

NATIONALS ON DECK		
vs. Miami Marlins		
Today	4:05	MASN
Tomorrow	1:35	MASN
vs. St. Louis Cardinals		
Monday	4:05	MASN
Tuesday	7:05	MASN
Wednesday	4:05	MASN
vs. Arizona Diamondbacks		
Thursday	1:05	MASN

Radio: WJFK (106.7 FM)

and Gurriel definitely isn't sent home. And if Abrams waited a beat to make a stronger throw, not skipping it three times, then maybe he doesn't force Ruiz to slide toward third base to make a catch. And if Ruiz was able to catch it, then maybe he tags out Gurriel and the Nationals find it deep within themselves to push across one more run. And then maybe they would have beaten the Marlins. As it stands, they have not done that this season. They will have another chance Saturday.

1,300 Tables! BUY! SELL! Trade!

Largest Gun Show in Metro DC!

Over 2 Miles of Guns, Knives & Accessories!

NATION'S GUN SHOW

JUNE 16, 17 & 18

DULLES EXPO

4320 Chantilly Shopping Center, Chantilly, VA 20151

FRI: 3 - 8 | SAT: 9 - 5 | SUN: 10 - 5

VA & Utah CCW Courses | (757) 331-1439 | firearmtrainingstore.com

Join or Renew your NRA membership at the show and get in FREE!

NRA National Firearms Museum Display Best of 1911's and 1911A1's

Every WW I & WW II manufacturer represented. Includes a North American & a Singer. Over \$100,000 worth of 1911's.

\$1 Off One Adult Admission

Produced in accordance with all local, state and federal laws. 540-951-1344 | www.TheNationsGunShow.com | www.ShowmastersGunShows.com

VOTE PRO-GUN JUNE 20TH!!!!

BASEBALL

National League

EAST	W	L	PCT	GB	L10	STR
Atlanta	44	26	.629	—	8-2	W-4
Miami	39	31	.557	5	7-3	W-2
x-Philadelphia	35	34	.507	8½	8-2	W-3
New York	33	36	.478	10½	3-7	W-2
Washington	27	41	.397	16	2-8	L-1

Marlins 6, Nationals 5

MARLINS	AB	R	H	B	B	B	SO	AVG
Arraez 2b	5	2	5	3	0	0	390	
Soler dh	4	1	1	0	1	2	58	
De La Cruz lf	5	0	0	0	0	0	275	
Sánchez rf	3	0	1	2	1	0	271	
Gurriel 1b	3	1	0	1	0	1	262	
Wendle ss	4	0	1	0	0	1	239	
Berti 3b	4	0	1	0	0	2	259	
Stallings c	2	1	0	1	0	1	163	
Cooper ph	0	0	1	0	0	0	233	
Fortes c	0	0	0	0	0	0	232	
Davis cf	4	1	1	0	0	1	268	
TOTALS	35	6	11	6	4	6	—	

MIAMI	220	100	010	—	6	11	0
WASHINGTON	201	200	000	—	5	12	0

LOB: Miami 6, Washington 7. **2B:** Berti (6), Candelario 3 (20), Abrams (11), Thomas (16). **HR:** Arraez (2), off Williams; Thomas (10), off Alcantara. **RBI:** Sánchez 2 (20), Arraez 3 (33), Cooper (27), Thomas 2 (33), Meneses 2 (34), Abrams (31), SF: Meneses.

MARLINS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	NPERA
Alcantara	5½	10	5	5	0	1	934.97
Nardi	1½	1	0	0	0	3	242.35
Scott	1	0	0	0	0	2	122.73
Puk	1	1	0	0	0	1	152.29

NATIONALS	IP	H	R	ER	BBSO	NPERA
Williams	4½	7	5	3	2	864.50
Weems	1½	0	0	0	2	182.45
Thompson	1	1	0	0	1	133.82
Edwards Jr.	1	2	1	1	1	263.23
Kuhl	1	1	0	0	0	167.64

WP: Nardi (4-1); **LP:** Edwards Jr. (1-3); **S:** Puk (8). **Inherited runners-scored:** Nardi 2-0, Weems 1-0. **HBP:** Alcantara (Robles). **T: 2:45. A: 22,379 (41,376).**

HOW THEY SCORED

MARLINS FIRST

Luis Arraez singles. Jorge Soler walks. Luis Arraez to second. Bryan De La Cruz flies out. Jorge Soler to second. Luis Arraez to third. **Jesus Sanchez singles, advances to second. Jorge scores, Luis Arraez scores.** Yuli Gurriel pops out. **Joey Wendle lines out.**

Marlins 2, Nationals 0
NATIONALS FIRST
Lane Thomas homers. Luis Garcia singles. Jeimer Candelario doubles. Luis Garcia to third. **Joey Meneses out on a sacrifice fly, Jeimer Candelario to third, Luis Garcia scores.** Corey Dickerson grounds out. **Keibert Ruiz grounds out.**

Marlins 2, Nationals 2
MARLINS SECOND
Jon Berti doubles. Jacob Stallings grounds out. Jon Berti to third. Jonathan Davis reaches on a fielder's choice. Jon Berti out at home. **Luis Arraez homers, Jonathan Davis scores.** Jorge Soler singles. Bryan De La Cruz grounds out. **Marlins 4, Nationals 2**

NATIONALS THIRD
Lane Thomas grounds out. Luis Garcia grounds out. Jeimer Candelario doubles. **Joey Meneses singles, Jeimer Candelario scores.** Corey Dickerson grounds out. **Marlins 4, Nationals 3**

MARLINS FOURTH
Jon Berti strikes out swinging. Jacob Stallings walks. Jonathan Davis singles. Jacob Stallings to second. **Luis Arraez singles, Jonathan Davis to second, Jacob Stallings scores.** Jorge Soler singles. Luis Arraez out at second. **Marlins 5, Nationals 3**

NATIONALS FIFTH
Jesus Sanchez flies out. Yuli Gurriel walks. **Joey Wendle singles, Yuli Gurriel to second.** Jon Berti strikes out swinging. Garrett Cooper pinch-hitting for Jacob Stallings. **Garrett Cooper singles, Joey Wendle to second, Yuli Gurriel scores.** Jonathan Davis reaches on a fielder's choice. Garrett Cooper out at second. **Marlins 6, Nationals 5**

Marlins 6, Nationals 5

Marlins 6, Nationals 5

Marlins 6, Nationals 5

Marlins 6, Nationals 5

Marlins 6, Nationals 5

Marlins 6, Nationals 5

Marlins 6, Nationals 5

Marlins 6, Nationals 5

Marlins 6, Nationals 5

Marlins 6, Nationals 5

Marlins 6, Nationals 5

Marlins 6, Nationals 5

Marlins 6, Nationals 5

Marlins 6, Nationals 5

Marlins 6, Nationals 5

Marlins 6, Nationals 5

Marlins 6, Nationals 5

Marlins 6, Nationals 5

Marlins 6, Nationals 5

Marlins 6, Nationals 5

Marlins 6, Nationals 5

Marlins 6, Nationals 5

Marlins 6, Nationals 5

Marlins 6, Nationals 5

Marlins 6, Nationals 5

Marlins 6, Nationals 5

Marlins 6, Nationals 5

Marlins 6, Nationals 5

Marlins 6, Nationals 5

Marlins 6, Nationals 5

Red Sox 15, Yankees 5

Justin Turner had a grand slam, a two-run homer and a double and matched his career high with six RBI as Boston knocked off New York for the third time in four games this season.

Boston's 15 runs and 17 hits were season highs.

YANKEES	AB	R	H	B	B	B	SO	AVG
Baers rf	5	1	1	0	0	0	221	
Stanton dh	5	1	1	0	0	0	221	
Torres 2b	4	1	1	0	0	0	252	
Rizzo 1b	4	1	1	0	1	3	1265	
Donaldson 3b	4	1	2	1	0	1	160	
Calhoun lf	4	0	1	0	0	1	238	
McKinney cf	4	0	1	1	0	0	310	
Higashioka c	4	0	1	0	0	1	240	
Volpe ss	2	0	1	0	0	2	195	
TOTALS	36	5	10	5	2	5	—	

Verdugo rf.....	5	2	2	0	0	0	294
Turner dh.....	5	3	6	0	0	0	278
Devers 3b.....	4	1	0	1	2	43	
Duvall cf.....	4	1	1	0	0	2	327
Duran ph-cf.....	1	1	1	0	0	0	291
Yoshida lf.....	4	1	4	3	0	0	309
Refsnyder ph-lf.....	1	0	0	0	0	0	284
Arroyo 2b.....	4	2	1	0	0	0	240
Casas 1b.....	4	2	1	1	1	1	308
Wong c.....	4	2	1	1	1	1	238
Reyes ss.....	4	1	2	2	0	0	305
TOTALS	40	15	17	13	3	5	—

NEW YORK	100	003	010	—	5	10	2
BOSTON	226	301	015	—	17	1	1

E: Baers (2), Torres (8), Reyes (3). **LOB:** New York 6, Boston 5. **2B:** Baers (7), Rizzo (9), Turner (14), Yoshida 2 (17), Verdugo (22), Duvall (7), Arroyo (9), Duran (18), Casas (9). **HR:** Donaldson (6), off Kibler; Turner (9), off German; Turner (10), off Krook.

YANKEES	IP	H	R	ER	BBSO	ERA
German	2	7	7	2	14	30
Krook	1½	4	5	5	1	02.0
Abreu	1½	3	2	0	0	23.7
Ramirez	1½	1	0	0	0	21.42
Kiner-Falecia	1	2	1	1	0	09.00

RED SOX	IP	H	R	ER	BBSO	ERA
Houck	4	4	1	1	1	25.05
Jacques	2	3	3	1	0	22.25
Kluber	2	0	1	0	1	16.75
Bernardino	1	0	0	0	1	02.66

WP: Jacques (1-0); **LP:** German (4-4). **Inherited runners-scored:** Krook 2-2, Abreu 2-2, Ramirez 1-1, Jacques 1-0. **HBP:** German (Arroyo). **WP:** German, Jacques. **T: 2:53. A: 37,086 (37,755).**

Braves 8, Rockies 1

Travis d'Arnaud hit two massive homers, and Atlanta beat Colorado for its 11th win in 13 games.

D'Arnaud hit a 474-foot, two-run shot in the first inning, staking Jared Shuster to a 3-0 lead. He added another two-run homer in the third off Dinelson Lamet, this one a 433-foot drive that put the Braves up 5-0.

Eddie Rosario also hit a two-run homer to put the Braves up 7-0 in the fourth.

Braves 8, Rockies 1

Braves 8, Rockies 1

Braves 8, Rockies 1

Braves 8, Rockies 1

Braves 8, Rockies 1

Braves 8, Rockies 1

Braves 8, Rockies 1

Braves 8, Rockies 1

Braves 8, Rockies 1

Braves 8, Rockies 1

Braves 8, Rockies 1

Braves 8, Rockies 1

Braves 8, Rockies 1

Braves 8, Rockies 1

Braves 8, Rockies 1

Braves 8, Rockies 1

Braves 8, Rockies 1

Braves 8, Rockies 1

Braves 8, Rockies 1

Braves 8, Rockies 1

Braves 8, Rockies 1

Braves 8, Rockies 1

Braves 8, Rockies 1

Braves 8, Rockies 1

Braves 8, Rockies 1

Braves 8, Rockies 1

Braves 8, Rockies 1

Braves 8, Rockies 1



BRIAN FLUHARTY/GETTY IMAGES

Fright night at Fenway

Yankees right-hander Domingo German was lit up in his Friday night start against the Red Sox, allowing seven earned runs on seven hits and two walks in just two innings before he mercifully got the hook.

Tigers 7, Twins 1

Matt Vierling hit two solo homers, Javier Báez had a three-run shot to cap a five-run third inning, and Detroit cruised to a victory over Minnesota.

The Tigers, who haven't won a season series against the Twins since 2016, entered the four-game series at AL Central-leading Minnesota having lost 13 of 15.

TIGERS	AB	R	H	B	B	B	SO	AVG
McKinsty rf-lf	4	1	1	0	0	0	1.243	
Torkelson 1b	4	0	1	0	0	2	.238	
Carpenter dh	3	0	1	1	0	0	.268	
Báez ss	3	1	3	1	1	1	.1233	
Short ss	0	0	0	0	0	0	.274	
Maton 2b	4	0	0	0	0	0	.156	
Ibáñez lf	3	0	0	0	0	0	.212	
Marisnick cf	1	0	0	0	0	0	.206	
Vierling cf-rf	4	3	3	2	0	1	.268	
Haase c	4	1	1	0	0	1	.1222	
Schoop 3b	4	1	1	1	0	0	.202	
TOTALS	34	7	9	7	1	8	—	

Twins	Ab	R	H	B	B	B	SO	AVG
Julien 2b	4	0	2	0	0	0	272	
Correa ss	4	0	0	0	0	0	215	
Buxton dh	4	0	0	0	0	0	311	
Kirilloff lf	4	1	1	1	0	1	272	
Solano 1b	4	0	0	0	0	0	291	
Lewis 3b	4	0	0	0	1	1	283	
Gallo lf	3	0	1	0	0	0	196	
Vázquez c	3	0	1	0	0	0	220	
Taylor cf	3	0	0	0	0	1	227	
TOTALS	32	1	7	1	1	—	—	

DETROIT	005	100	001	—	7	9	0
MINNESOTA	010	000	000	—	1	7	0

LOB: Detroit 2, Minnesota 5. **2B:** Torkelson (17), Carpenter (7), Gallo (7). **HR:** Báez (5), off Ryan; Vierling (6), off Ryan; Vierling (7), off Winder; Kirilloff (6), off Englert.

TIGERS	IP	H	R	ER	BBSO	ERA
Vest	1	0	0	0	0	23.08
Englert	2	4	1	1	0	24.87
Holton	2½	2	0	0	1	11.96
White	1½	1	0	0	0	22.70
Cisnero	1	0	0	0	0	22.70
Shreve	1	0	0	0	0	14.21

Twins	IP	H	R	ER	BBSO	ERA
Ryan	7	7	6	6	0	73.30
Windsor	2	1	1	1	1	15.79

WP: Englert (2-2); **LP:** Ryan (7-4). **T: 2:20. A: 27,170 (38,544).**

WP: Englert (2-2); **LP:** Ryan (7-4). **T: 2:20. A: 27,170 (38,544).**

WP: Englert (2-2); **LP:** Ryan (7-4). **T: 2:20. A: 27,170 (38,544).**

WP: Englert (2-2); **LP:** Ryan (7-4). **T: 2:20. A: 27,170 (38,544).**

WP: Englert (2-2); **LP:** Ryan (7-4). **T: 2:20. A: 27,170 (38,544).**

WP: Englert (2-2); **LP:** Ryan (7-4). **T: 2:20. A: 27,170 (38,544).**

WP: Englert (2-2); **LP:** Ryan (7-4). **T: 2:20. A: 27,170 (38,544).**

WP: Englert (2

SCOREBOARD

PRO BASKETBALL

WNBA

	W	L	Pct	GB
EAST				
Connecticut	3	727		—
New York	3	667		—
Washington	6	4,600		1½
Chicago	5	6,455		3
Atlanta	5	5,404		3
Indiana	4	6,400		3½
WEST				
Las Vegas	9	1,900		—
x-Los Angeles	5	4,556		3½
Dallas	5	5,500		4
Seattle	2	7,222		6½
Phoenix	2	7,222		6½
x-Minnesota	2	7,222		6½

x-Late game

THURSDAY'S RESULTS

Atlanta 92, at Connecticut 88 (OT)
 Indiana 92, at Chicago 90
 at Las Vegas 96, Seattle 63

FRIDAY'S RESULTS

at Washington 88, Phoenix 69
 Minnesota at Los Angeles, late

SATURDAY'S GAME

Seattle at Dallas, 2

SUNDAY'S GAMES

Chicago at Washington, 3
 Phoenix at New York, 12
 Atlanta at Indiana, 4
 Connecticut at Los Angeles, 7:30
 Minnesota at Las Vegas, 9

MONDAY'S GAMES

No games scheduled.

Mystics 88, Mercury 69

Phoenix	14	24	17	14	—
Washington	28	26	18	16	—

Phoenix	MIN	FG	FT	O-T	A	PF	PTS
Cunningham	27:05	4-9	2-3	0-1	2	13	20
Onyewere	32:02	7-11	6-7	1-9	1	3	20
Turner	25:52	2-3	1-2	3-7	1	3	5
Jefferson	23:40	3-9	2-2	0-1	2	7	7
Sutton	39:03	2-8	3-3	0-1	8	1	7
Peddy	16:16	2-6	0-0	0-0	3	0	6
Gustafson	15:38	2-4	2-3	1-3	0	3	6
Westbrook	13:04	0-6	0-0	0-3	1	0	0
Sissoko	11:20	1-3	0-0	0-2	1	2	2
TOTALS	200	23-59	16-20	5-27	20	69	

Percentages: FG .390, FT .800, 3-Point Goals: 7-22, 31.8 (Cunningham 3-6, Peddy 2-3, Jefferson 2-5, Sutton 0-1, Onyewere 0-3, Westbrook 0-4). **Team Rebounds:** 7. **Team Turnovers:** 2. **Blocked Shots:** 5 (Onyewere 2, Turner 2, Westbrook). **Turnovers:** 17 (Onyewere 5, Cunningham 3, Sissoko 3, Sutton 3, Gustafson, Jefferson, Westbrook). **Steals:** 8 (Onyewere 3, Jefferson 2, Sutton 2, Gustafson). **Technical Fouls:** Mercury, 5;18 first.

Washington	MIN	FG	FT	O-T	A	PF	PTS
Delle Donne	28:43	7-12	2-2	0-1	3	3	17
Meng	26:51	5-12	0-0	1-2	0	3	14
Austin	8:41	3-4	0-0	0-6	1	2	6
Atkins	31:25	5-11	0-0	2-5	1	3	11
Hawkins	18:54	6-9	2-2	0-4	3	3	16
Walker-Kimbrough	23:39	1-3	2-2	1-8	1	4	3
Sykes	23:39	1-3	2-2	1-8	1	4	3
Toliver	13:16	2-4	0-0	1-2	1	1	6
Hines-Allen	13:05	0-2	0-2	1-2	1	0	0
Zahui B	10:13	1-1	5-6	1-4	0	1	7
TOTALS	200	32-64	13-16	6-34	22	88	

Percentages: FG .500, FT .813, 3-Point Goals: 11-26, 42.3 (Meng 4-9, Sykes 2-3, Toliver 2-4, Walker-Kimbrough 1-1, Delle Donne 1-3, Atkins 1-5). **Team Rebounds:** 7. **Team Turnovers:** 14 (Atkins 3, Austin 3, Walker-Kimbrough 3, Hawkins 2, Meng 2, Sykes). **Steals:** 2 (Sykes 5, Atkins, Delle Donne, Walker-Kimbrough). **Technical Fouls:** Mystics, 00:14 fourth.

Aces 96, Storm 63

Late Thursday

Seattle	17	20	15	11	—
Las Vegas	30	20	19	27	—

Seattle	MIN	FG	FT	O-T	A	PF	PTS
Horston	21:38	1-7	2-2	1-5	0	1	4
Nurse	23:50	1-1	0-0	0-2	1	1	2
Magboger	33:46	9-17	5-8	1-11	2	4	23
Dojick	32:10	6-14	2-4	0-2	3	3	16
Loyd	34:40	7-18	0-0	0-1	2	1	17
Whitcomb	17:34	0-4	0-0	0-1	2	1	0
Russell	11:18	0-0	0-0	1-4	2	1	0
Fankam Mendjeadou	10:31	0-1	0-0	1-2	0	3	0
Melbourne	9:55	0-0	0-0	0-0	0	0	0
Turner	8:04	0-0	0-0	0-0	0	0	0
Guirantes	2:47	0-1	1-2	0-0	0	0	1
Holmes	2:47	0-1	0-0	0-0	0	0	0
TOTALS	200	24-61	10-16	4-28	12	63	

Percentages: FG .375, FT .625, 3-Point Goals: 5-23, 21.7 (Loyd 4-7, Dojick 2-7, Holmes 0-1, Horston 0-1, Magboger 0-2, Whitcomb 0-4). **Team Rebounds:** 11. **Team Turnovers:** 16 (Loyd 3, Dojick 2, Horston 2, Whitcomb 2). **Blocked Shots:** 2 (Fankam Mendjeadou, Holmes, Nurse, Russell, Turner). **Steals:** 3 (Dojick, Loyd, Nurse). **Technical Fouls:** None.

Las Vegas	MIN	FG	FT	O-T	A	PF	PTS
Wilson	28:55	5-9	4-6	1-12	1	1	14
Young	27:10	12-18	0-0	0-2	1	0	28
Parker	25:14	3-6	0-0	1-4	6	3	7
Gray	30:17	4-11	0-0	0-4	9	4	8
Plum	31:26	7-12	2-2	0-1	4	3	19
Clark	22:05	2-4	0-0	1-6	1	0	6
Bell	12:50	5-8	0-0	0-3	0	0	12
George	10:00	1-2	0-0	1-1	3	2	2
Stevens	8:34	0-0	0-0	0-0	0	0	0
Colson	3:31	0-0	0-0	0-0	1	0	0
TOTALS	200	39-70	6-8	4-37	25	14	96

Percentages: FG .557, FT .750, 3-Point Goals: 12-26, 46.2 (Young 4-7, Plum 2-5, Clark 2-4, Bell 2-5, Parker 1-1, George 0-1, Wilson 0-1, Gray 0-2). **Team Rebounds:** 3. **Team Turnovers:** 2. **Blocked Shots:** 3 (George 2, Wilson, Young). **Turnovers:** 11 (Clark 4, Gray 2, Plum 2, George, Parker, Young). **Steals:** 10 (Gray 3, Parker 3, Wilson 2, Bell, Young). **Technical Fouls:** None, A: 8;18 (12,000)

AUTO RACING

NASCAR Cup Series

SCHEDULE

Feb. 5: x-Heat Race 1 (Aric Almirola)
Feb. 5: x-Heat Race 2 (Aric Almirola)
Feb. 5: x-Heat Race 3 (Denny Hamlin)
Feb. 5: x-Heat Race 4 (William Byron)
Feb. 5: x-Last Chance Qualifying Race 1 (Michael McDowell)
Feb. 5: x-Last Chance Qualifying Race 2 (Chase Elliott)
Feb. 5: Clash at the Coliseum (William Byron)
Feb. 16: x-Duel at Daytona 1 (Joey Logano)
Feb. 16: x-Duel at Daytona 2 (Aric Almirola)
Feb. 19: Daytona 500 (Ricky Stenhouse Jr.)
Feb. 26: Pala Casino 400 (Kyle Busch)
March 5: Pennzoil 400 (William Byron)
March 12: Work United 500 (William Byron)
March 19: Ambetter 400 (Joey Logano)
March 26: EchoPark Automotive Grand Prix (Tyrrell Bello)
April 2: Toyota Owners 400 (Kyle Larson)
April 9: x-Qualifying Race 1 (Austin Dillon)
April 8: x-Qualifying Race 2 (Ryan Blaney)
April 8: x-Qualifying Race 3 (Kyle Larson)
April 8: x-Qualifying Race 4 (Bubba Wallace)
April 9: Food City Dirt Race (Christopher Bell)
April 16: WCOO 400 (Kyle Larson)
April 23: Geico 500 (Kyle Busch)
April 30: Wirth 400 (Martin Truex Jr.)
May 7: AdventHealth 400 (Denny Hamlin)
May 14: Goodyear 400 (William Byron)
May 20: x-Heat Race 1 (Daniel Suarez)
May 20: x-Heat Race 2 (Chris Buescher)
May 21: x-NASCAR All-Star Open (Josh Larson)
May 21: x-NASCAR All-Star Race (Kyle Larson)
May 28: Coca-Cola 600 (Ryan Blaney)
June 4: Envy Illinois 300 (Kyle Busch)
June 11: Toyota/Save Mart 500 (Martin Truex Jr.)
June 25: Ally 400, Lebanon, Tenn.
July 2: Grant Park 220, Chicago
July 9: Quaker State 400, Hampton, Ga.
July 16: Crayon 301, Loudon, N.H.
July 23: M&M's Fan Appreciation 400, Long Pond, Pa.
July 30: Cup Series Race at Richmond
Aug. 6: FireKeepers Casino 400, Brooklyn, Mich.
Aug. 13: Verizon 200 at the Brickyard, Speedway, Ind.
Aug. 20: Go Bowling at the Glen, Watkins Glen, N.Y.
Aug. 26: Coke Zero Sugar 400, Daytona Beach, Fla.
Sept. 3: Southern 500, Darlington, S.C.
Sept. 10: Hollywood Casino 400, Kansas City, Kan.
Sept. 16: Bass Pro Shops Night Race, Bristol, Tenn.
Sept. 24: AutoTrader EchoPark Automotive 400, Fort Worth
Oct. 1: RivaWood 500, Talladega, Ala.
Oct. 8: YellaWood 400, Concord, N.C.
Oct. 15: South Point 400, Las Vegas
Oct. 22: NASCAR Cup Series Race, Homestead, Fla.
Oct. 29: Xfinity 500, Ridgeway, Va.
Nov. 5: NASCAR Cup Series Race Championship, Avondale, Ariz.

x-Non-points race

NASCAR Cup Series

POINTS LEADERS

Through Monday

1. Martin Truex Jr., 525.
 2. William Byron, 512.
 3. Ryan Blaney, 501.
 4. Ross Chastain, 501.
 5. Kevin Harvick, 500.
 6. Kyle Busch, 496.
 7. Christopher Bell, 493.
 8. Denny Hamlin, 462.
 9. Joey Logano, 440.
 10. Kyle Larson, 440.
 11. Chris Buescher, 430.
 12. Brad Keselowski, 424.
 13. Tyler Reddick, 420.

SOCCER

MLS

	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Cincinnati	12	1	4	40	27	16
Nashville	9	3	5	32	25	12
Philadelphia	9	5	3	30	28	17
New England	8	3	6	30	28	21
Atlanta	7	5	6	28	35	29
Columbus	8	6	3	27	35	25
Orlando City	7	4	5	26	22	17
D.C. United	6	7	5	23	25	24
CF Montreal	7	9	1	22	19	27
Charlotte FC	6	8	4	22	25	33
New York	4	6	7	19	11	16
Toronto FC	3	5	10	19	17	21
New York City FC	4	7	6	18	17	22
Chicago	3	6	8	17	22	27
Inter Miami CF	5	12	0	15	16	24

West	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
St. Louis City SC	9	5	2	29	33	17
Seattle	8	6	4	28	24	17
Los Angeles FC	7	3	6	26	23	15
FC Dallas	7	6	5	26	21	19
San Jose	7	5	5	26	21	20
Houston	7	7	3	24	20	21
Vancouver	5	7	7	22	27	21
Portland	5	7	20	20	24	
Sporting KC	5	8	5	20	20	25
Minnesota United	5	7	5	20	15	22
Real Salt Lake	5	7	5	20	18	27
Austin FC	5	8	4	19	18	27
Galaxy	3	4	13	14	27	
Colorado	2	9	7	13	14	27

SATURDAY, JUNE 10

at Atlanta 3, D.C. United 1
 Seattle 3, at Charlotte FC 3
 at CF Montreal 4, Minnesota 0
 at New England 3, Miami 1
 Nashville 1, at Toronto FC 1
 at Orlando City 2, Colorado 0
 Columbus 2, at Chicago 1
 at Houston 4, Los Angeles FC 0
 at Sporting KC 4, Austin FC 1
 New York City FC 0, at Real Salt Lake 0
 at San Jose 2, Philadelphia 1
 Cincinnati 1, at Vancouver 1

SUNDAY'S RESULTS

LA Galaxy 1, at St. Louis City SC 1
 at Portland 1, FC Dallas 0
 at Houston 4, Los Angeles FC 0
 at Sporting KC 4, Austin FC 1

SATURDAY'S MATCHES

Real Salt Lake at D.C. United, 7:30
 Columbus at New York City FC, 3:30
 Orlando City at New England, 7:30
 Los Angeles FC at Sporting KC, 8:30
 St. Louis City SC at Nashville, 8:30
 Portland at San Jose, 10:30

WEDNESDAY'S MATCHES

New York City FC at Atlanta, 7:30
 Toronto FC at Cincinnati, 7:30
 Nashville at CF Montreal, 7:30
 Charlotte FC at New York, 7:30
 Philadelphia at Orlando City, 7:30
 FC Dallas at Austin FC, 8:30
 San Jose at Houston, 8:30
 New England at Minnesota, 8:30
 Real Salt Lake at St. Louis City SC, 8:30
 Vancouver at Colorado, 9:30
 Chicago at Portland, 10:30

SATURDAY, JUNE 24

Cincinnati at D.C. United, 7:30
 CF Montreal at Charlotte FC, 7:30
 Nashville at Columbus, 7:30
 Toronto FC at New England, 7:30
 Atlanta at New York, 7:30
 Miami at Philadelphia, 7:30
 Houston at Austin FC, 8:30
 Chicago at Sporting KC, 8:30
 LA Galaxy at Colorado, 9:30
 Minnesota at Real Salt Lake, 9:30
 Vancouver at Los Angeles FC, 10:30
 New York City FC at Portland, 10:30
 St. Louis City SC at San Jose, 10:30
 Orlando City at Seattle, 10:30

NWSL

	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
San Diego	6	3	2	20	17	11
Washington	6	1	5	20	15	10
Portland	5	2	4	19	26	14
OL Reign	6	4	1	19	19	14
Gotham FC	5	3	1	18	15	11
North Carolina	5	4	2	17	15	11
Houston	4	3	4	16	10	10
Orlando	4	6	1	13	10	16
Louisville	2	3	6	12	13	21
Chicago	3	7	1	10	28	28
Angel City	2	6	3	9	14	21
Kansas City	3	8	0	9	11	20

FRIDAY, JUNE 9

San Diego 0, at Louisville 0

SATURDAY, JUNE 10

at Washington 2, Angel City 1
 North Carolina 5, at Chicago 0
 at OL Reign 2, Kansas City 1

SUNDAY'S RESULTS

Gotham FC 1, at Houston 1
 at Orlando 3, Portland 1

SATURDAY'S MATCHES

Angel City at San Diego, 4
 Orlando at North Carolina, 7
 OL Reign at Houston, 8:30
 Sunday's MATCHES

Washington at Kansas City, 7
 Gotham FC at Louisville, 4
 Portland at Chicago, 6

FRIDAY'S MATCH

Washington at Portland, 10:30
 Saturday, June 24

Kansas City at Orlando, 7
 Louisville at North Carolina, 7
 OL Reign at San Diego, 10

SUNDAY, JUNE 25

Chicago at Gotham FC, 5:30
 Houston at Angel City, 8

COLLEGE BASKETBALL

Men's College World Series

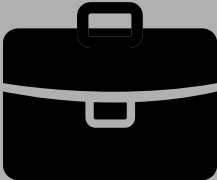
Double elimination; x-if necessary
 All games at Charles Schwab Field; in Omaha

BRACKET 1

FRIDAY'S RESULTS

Game 1: Oral Roberts 6, TCU 5
 Game 2: Florida 6, Virginia 5

SUNDAY'S GAMES



the local expert
on local jobs

washingtonpost.com/
recruit



homes for sale,
commercial real estate

washingtonpost.com/
realestate



rentals

washingtonpost.com/
rentals



merchandise, garage
sales, auctions, tickets

washingtonpost.com/
merchandise



dogs, cats, birds, fish

washingtonpost.com/
pets



Trustee Sales
202-334-5782

mypublicnotices.com/
washingtonpost/
PublicNotice.asp

For Recruitment advertisements, go to
washingtonpost.com/recruit or call
202-334-4100 (toll free 1-800-765-3675)

To place an ad, go to
washingtonpostads.com or call 202-334-6200
Non-commercial advertisers can now place ads 24/7 by calling 202-334-6200

Legal Notices: 202-334-7007
Auctions, Estate Sales, Furniture: 202-334-7029
Biz Ops/Services: 202-334-5787

C JOBS

Newspapers carriers
needed to deliver
The Washington Post
in the
DC, MD and VA area

**Excellent part-time income
opportunity!**
Transportation required

To apply, go to
deliverthepost.com

DC • NORTHEAST

Apartments
Condos • Co-ops

NE DC - 1012 17th Place NE 2 BR,
509 K st. 3 BR, 1.5 ba. Section 8
welcome Call 202-635-1766

DC • SOUTHEAST

Apartments
Condos • Co-ops

SE DC - 3335 C St. SE, Unit A3
Sect 8 welcome, if interested Call
202-635-1766

MARYLAND

Roommates

COLLEGE PARK - Furnished BR in
house to share. \$625 inc all util.
No smoking. Male Pref. 240-423-7923

Fort Washington, MD-Nr Nat'l Harbor.
Private bedrm, in bsmt. All util, cable
& int incl, fully furn. VETS WELCOME.
\$1000/mo. 703-362-0505

Rockville-Share 5 BR house, clean,
quiet, no smoking, no pets, nr trans
shopping, 3 rooms avail.
\$749/\$849/\$1299. Avail 7/1.
240-331-5150

102 • Happy Days

ST JUDE & ST ANTHONY
Thank you for
prayers answered. JP

110 • Lost

Thank you St. Jude, for blessings
bestowed.

M. Molina

**291 • Sporting Goods
& Services**

POOL TABLE 8 foot Brunswick Brad-
ford Queen Anne drop pocket slate
pool table, \$950. 240-678-4566

**Business and
Financial
Opportunities
/Services**

Call 202-334-5787 or
email businessopportunities@washpost.com

**1372 • Business for
Sale/Lease**

Profitable interior design and
drapery manufacturing
company in Naples, FL
239-331-1323

820 Official Notices

Notice of Public Hearing
Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority
Proposed Changes to Transit Facilities at Deanwood Metro Station
Washington, DC
Docket R23-02

PURPOSE

Notice is hereby given that a public hearing will be held by the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority on proposed changes to transit facilities at the Deanwood Metro Station in Washington, DC as follows:

Hearing No. 651

Tuesday, July 11, 2023
Open House 6 p.m. Public Hearing 6:30 p.m.

Ron Brown High School
Monarch Hall
4800 Meade Street NE
Washington, DC 20019

This hearing will also be conducted virtually, and testimony can be provided via phone or video (see below). The hearing can be viewed online at: youtube.com/metroforward

To listen via telephone: (206) 899-2028, Meeting Code 212 669 966#

Please note that this date is subject to cancellation. In the event of a cancellation, Metro will post information about the rescheduled hearing on wmata.com

Sign language interpretation will be provided. Any individual who requires special assistance or additional accommodation to participate in this public hearing, or who requires these materials in an alternate format, should contact the Office of the Board Corporate Secretary at 202-962-2511 or TTY: 202-962-2033 as soon as possible in order for Metro to make necessary arrangements. For language assistance, such as an interpreter or information in another language, please call 202-962-1082 at least 48 hours prior to the public hearing date.

For more information please visit wmata.com/plansandprojects

PURPOSE OF THE PUBLIC HEARING

Notice is hereby given that a public hearing will be held by the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority (WMATA) regarding the environmental report and general plans for changes to transit facilities at the Deanwood Metro Station, Washington, D.C. At the hearing, WMATA will receive and consider public comments and suggestions about the proposal. The proposed design concepts may change as a result of this hearing.

HOW TO REGISTER TO SPEAK AT THE PUBLIC HEARING

All organizations or individuals desiring to be heard with respect to the proposal will be afforded the opportunity to present their views and make supporting statements and to offer alternative proposals. Public officials will be allowed five minutes each to make their presentations. All others will be allowed three minutes each. Relinquishing of time by one speaker to another will not be permitted.

Individuals can provide testimony at the hearing in one of three ways:

In person: Individuals wishing to provide testimony in person during the hearing are encouraged to pre-register by emailing speak@wmata.com or calling (202) 962-2511 by 5 p.m. on Monday, July 10, 2023. Please submit only one speaker's name per request. Advance registration to provide in-person testimony is not required.

By videoconference: Individuals wishing to provide testimony during the hearing via videoconference are required to furnish, in writing, their name and organizational affiliation, if any, via email to speak@wmata.com by 5 p.m. on Monday, July 10, 2023. Please submit only one speaker's name per request.

By telephone: Individuals should call (206) 899-2028 during the hearing and enter Meeting Code 212 669 966#. Advance registration to provide testimony via telephone is not available.

HOW TO SUBMIT TESTIMONY NOT AT THE PUBLIC HEARING

Testimony may be submitted online about this proposal at wmata.com/plansandprojects. Options to submit testimony online include completing a survey, providing written comments or uploading letters or other documents. Online submission will begin at 9 a.m. on Saturday, June 10, 2023 and will close on Friday, July 21, 2023 at 5 p.m. This is in addition to your ability to speak at a public hearing. For those without access to computers or internet, testimony may also be mailed to the Office of the Board Corporate Secretary, SEC1 2E, Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority, P.O. Box 44390, Washington, DC 20026-4390. All comments must be received by the Office of the Secretary by 5 p.m. on Friday, July 21, 2023 to be included in the public record.

The comments received by the Office of the Board Corporate Secretary, along with the online submissions and public hearing comments, will be presented to the WMATA Board of Directors and will be part of the official public hearing record. Please note all statements are releasable to the public and may be posted on WMATA's website, without change, including any personal information provided.

820 Official Notices

Garage Sales, VA

FAIRFAX Downsizing, moving garage sale Sat 7am-2pm, antiques, vintage items, sports equip, luggage, 10410 Woodbury Woods Ct. 22032

602 • Found

FAIRFAX CO. ANIMAL SERVICES
If you have lost an animal in the Fairfax County/Washington Metro area: Please call the Fairfax Co. Animal Shelter at 703-830-1100 or online for found animals at fairfaxcounty.gov/animalsshelter

HOWARD CO. ANIMAL CONTROL
If you have lost an animal in the Howard County/Washington Metro area: Please call Howard Co. Animal Control at 410-313-2780

MONTGOMERY CO. ANIMAL SHELTER
If you have lost an animal in the Washington Metro area: Please call the Montgomery Co. Animal Shelter at 240-773-5940 or online for found animals at www.mchumane.org

610 • Dogs for Sale

AKITA PUPS
2 females, 6 months old.
All shots, \$200.
Call 301-633-7372 Cliff

German Shepherd puppies.
Top imports, AKC regd.
black n blk bicolors.
2 males, 1 females.
\$1000 Call 202-612-1266 Website <https://jeffreylay1982.wixsite.com/jigermanshepherds>

GERMAN SHEPHERD PUPS
Vet checked, shots, \$585.
Ready to go 301-481-4943

Labradoodle f1b pups \$1,000 45lbs
Hith Guar Vet check. Ready now
call/txt 540 729 6365
www.doodledogpups.com

LABRADOR - Champion blood lines,
AKC, CQC, health tested parents,
deformed, vaccinated, ready for
new homes. 540-470-7511

MALTESE YORKIES POODLE PUPS
Purebred puppies located in
Ruther Glen, VA. For pics and info
TEXT Marie at 210-584-8896

SHELTIE PUPPIES - AKC registered,
very small parents. Males, blue
merles, sable & white Ready now.
Reduced price. Call 540-560-5132

SHIH TZU puppies, AKC, vet checked,
1st shots, parents on premises.
8 weeks, \$1500-\$1700. Hill Family
Shih Tzu, 38 yrs exp with this breed.
Call 434-607-2320, 434-414-8742

SIBERIAN HUSKY PUPS - 5 black &
white, 2 gray & white. Vet checked,
family raised, microchipped. Ready
to go. \$500 cash. Call 301-791-3806

Yorkies, CKC, 3 males
9 weeks old, ready now,
301-523-6728

more

HEALTH & WELLNESS?

Washington Post newsletters
deliver more of what you're looking for.
Discover and subscribe for free at
washingtonpost.com/newsletters

S0114 4x5

Take The Post shopping

Washington Post podcasts
go with you everywhere

wpost.com/podcasts

Politics • History • Culture • More

S0108 4x5



Try new foods

Search our database of tested recipes by ingredient or name.

washingtonpost.com/recipes

The Washington Post

S0115-10x5.25



AM's Lib

Bienvenue! J'aime lire, et toi?

Here I've built for each and every English enthusiast a
shared community of portable access to trendy
NEWSPAPERS & MAGAZINES....

[JOIN CHANNEL](#)